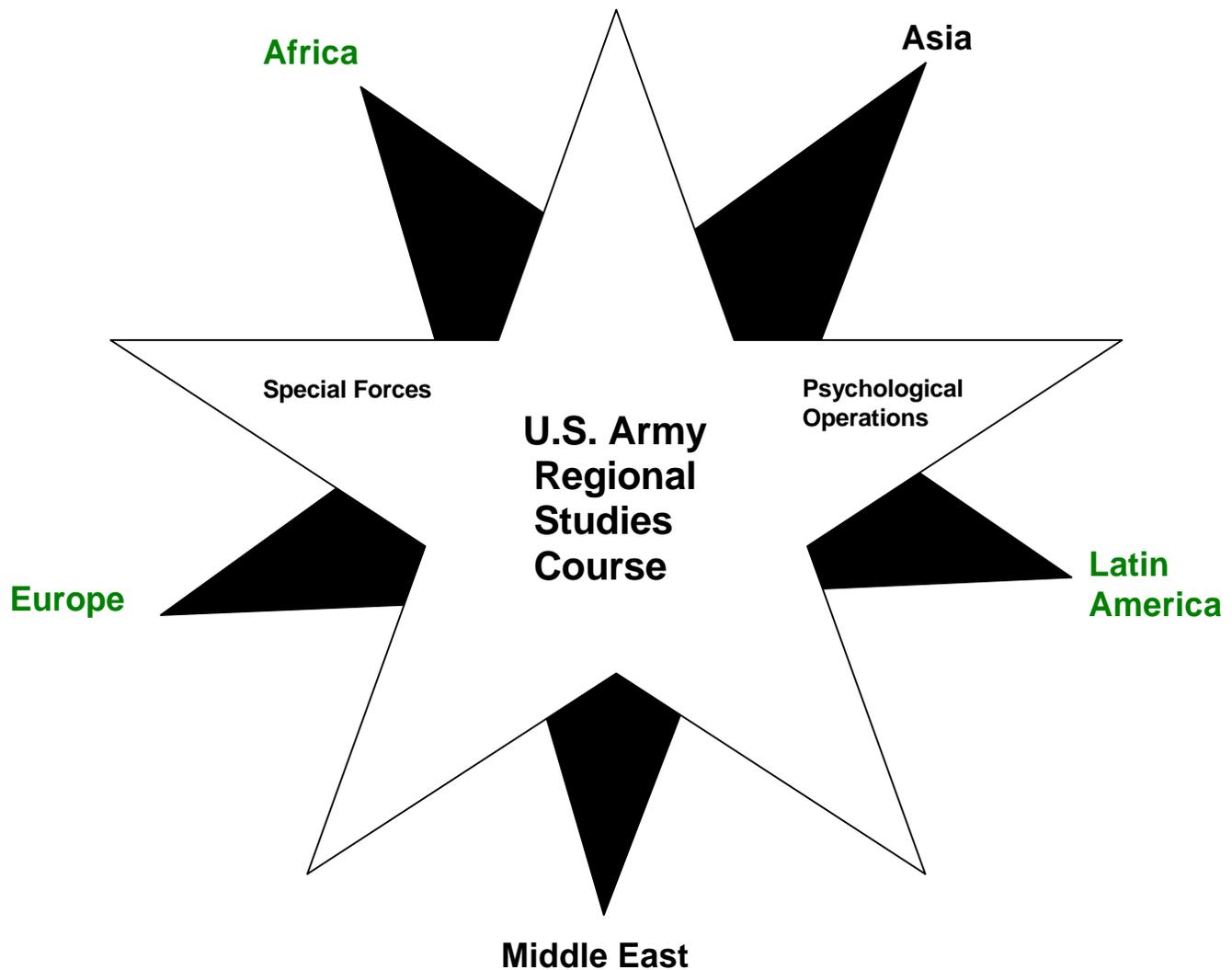


**Special Operations and International Studies**

# **Political Military Analysis Handbook**



**United States Army John F. Kennedy Special Warfare  
Center and School**

**Fort Bragg, North Carolina 28310  
2004**

## FOREWORD

This handbook has been prepared by the faculty (appendix 1) of the “Regional Studies Course” (RSC) to support a program of study that prepares Army officers for Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations assignments abroad. In the course, students survey five world “regions” -- Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East -- and study one of them in some depth. The faculty uses the sixteen discrete “Political-Military Factors” discussed herein as common reference points for teaching the course's five regionally focused seminars. More important, they are introduced to the students as a reliable framework for analysis that, when applied judiciously, will lead to a sophisticated understanding of the dynamics within the foreign country or region of their assignment. Furthermore, the framework provides the start point for specific analyses of associated operational issues, questions, and problems. The theories, concepts, and insights developed in-conjunction with these sixteen factors are drawn from broadly accepted scholarship; but they are selected, organized, and presented to support the course's practical goal of preparing officers for challenging Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations assignments abroad.

We welcome your comments, ideas, and critiques. Address them to: Regional Studies Course Attn: Seminar Director, P.O. Box 74145, Ft. Bragg, NC . 28307.

## INTRODUCTION

As a Civil Affairs or Psychological Operations officer conducting or planning for operations in foreign environments you will need a solid grasp of the military, political, and sociological dynamics at work within the “Area of Operation.” Experience shows that developing a sophisticated understanding of the operational environment in another country or region is a very complex endeavor. Success requires a deliberate analytical approach using a well-vetted framework and solid methodology.

By analytical approach, or analysis, we mean the study of the whole by dividing it into discrete parts, examining the nature of each part, and determining how they function in relation to each other and the whole. The objective is not merely a multi-faceted description of a certain phenomenon, physical or social, but an **explanation** of how those facets relate to each other and create the whole. For example, we cannot explain how a Swiss watch works simply by disassembling it and describing the various parts. We must also determine how those parts fit and operate in conjunction with each other.

### The "Pol-Mil" Factors

The sixteen Political-Military factors discussed in this handbook provide a carefully constructed framework for use in analyzing an operational environment. Each factor addresses an important aspect of that environment, nominally assumed to be that of a foreign country. When used collectively, and in conjunction with the research methodology reviewed in chapter 1, these factors will develop a comprehensive base of knowledge about the country or region of interest. When assessed in conjunction with each other, they form the start point for multi-discipline analyses of the issues and questions that are associated with Civil Affairs or Psychological Operations activity abroad. You will exercise with these factors in the Regional Studies Course with the intent that you apply them in your assignments after graduation.

The sixteen factors presented here have been selected to ensure that all the “parts” or dimensions of complex foreign environments are captured and brought under examination. While this specific list, or framework, is somewhat arbitrary, we consider it a comprehensive one that incorporates insights from a range of academic disciplines to ensure the development of a fully dimensioned understanding of the operational environment. Recently we have added “Media” and “Technology” to the mix of factors as their impact on operations abroad has clearly increased in the age of “globalization.”

### How to Use the Handbook

Each chapter is devoted to an individual "factor" or dimension of a country or region. The chapters begin by defining important terms and introducing academic approaches that have been developed to help interpret data and explain events within the domain of that factor. The aim is to provide important fixed markers that are commonly used when examining the area under study through that chapter's particular domain or lens and, at the same time, alert you to the often broad scope of thought and approach within it. For

example, while "history" is succinctly defined early on in Chapter I, the review of literature that follows illuminates the multitude of approaches and perceptions that lurk just under the surface of the definition. The chapters then turn to a practical distillation of approaches, concepts, cautions, and questions. You should use these as guides to help you with the task of sorting through the voluminous available data and opinion relevant to the factor, or aspect, of the area under study.<sup>1</sup> This task, the selection and evaluation of data is the crucial start point for all analyses.

Understanding how each of these factors or dimensions are reflected or manifested in the area you are studying is, in most cases, just the first step in your analysis. Just as the mainspring and gears of a watch do not operate in isolation from each other, neither do the various discrete factors taken up by the chapters in this handbook. For instance, Chapter 13 alerts you to the fact that ethnicity can have its "roots" in other factors, such as religion or culture; and Chapter 5 warns that, "the study of economics cannot be divorced from the political context." Determining how such interrelationships function in the country under study puts a premium on reflection and breadth of thought, and the final section of each chapter is written to help you begin this process.

This leads to a third aspect of the analytical process supported by this handbook. Generally, your analyses will be undertaken in response to an identified issue, problem, or question. The analytical task may be broad or narrow -- for instance, "how does it work?" versus "does it need a new mainspring?" in the case of Swiss watches -- but it will call for explanation or prediction, as opposed to mere description. The issues and questions arising in your Civil Affairs and Psychological Operations assignments will be diverse, for example: "What type of civil affairs projects can make a difference in Ethiopia?" "How might current socio-political dynamics in Venezuela affect U.S. political-military operations, such as disaster relief, there?" "What propagandist themes will advance peacemaking/peacekeeping efforts in the Balkans?"

To answer such questions with confidence you must determine how each of the Pol-Mil factors might affect the particular issue or question being addressed. That effect is issue dependent, and its impact on your analysis can, and often does, vary from country to country and issue to issue. This then is really the heart your analysis -- assessing how each of these factors acts on the issue in question and then drawing the appropriate conclusions. In so doing, do not discount any of the factors *a priori*. You need to understand and consider all of them and then, if you conclude that several are not relevant to your conclusion, explain why.

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<sup>1</sup> Apart from their role in developing a comprehensive assessment to the area, some of these concepts can also be used in a more discrete fashion. For example, given a well developed democracy, the "median voter theorem" might be helpful in assessing the likelihood of country "x," perhaps Finland, adopting a particular policy, such as whether or not to join NATO.

In summary, use these sixteen factors as a framework for beginning analyses that address operational and planning issues in foreign environments. Determine how each is manifested in that area and how each influences the other there. Then assess those insights against the specific issue or question at hand. The result will be solidly grounded conclusions that you can use with confidence.

# Table of Contents

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**Foreword**

**Introduction**

<b>Chapter 1</b>	<b>Research Methods</b>
<b>Chapter 2</b>	<b>History</b>
<b>Chapter 3</b>	<b>Natural Environment</b>
<b>Chapter 4</b>	<b>Regional Perspective</b>
<b>Chapter 5</b>	<b>Foreign Influence</b>
<b>Chapter 6</b>	<b>National Interests</b>
<b>Chapter 7</b>	<b>Ideology</b>
<b>Chapter 8</b>	<b>Political Systems</b>
<b>Chapter 9</b>	<b>Political Economy</b>
<b>Chapter 10</b>	<b>Role of the Military</b>
<b>Chapter 11</b>	<b>Leadership</b>
<b>Chapter 12</b>	<b>Elites</b>
<b>Chapter 13</b>	<b>The Cultural Environment</b>
<b>Chapter 14</b>	<b>Religion</b>
<b>Chapter 15</b>	<b>Ethnicity</b>
<b>Chapter 16</b>	<b>Technology</b>
<b>Chapter 17</b>	<b>Media</b>

# Chapter 1

## Research Methods

### **I. Introduction:**

This chapter includes the methods used to conduct social science research. It provides guidance in principle rather than instructions in detail. Therefore, it starts with an overview of how social science research uses ideas and facts to generate knowledge. Then, it moves to a brief description of the standards of scholarly research. This is followed by an examination of how theories and data are used in social science research. The chapter ends with sections on how to structure a research paper and how to attribute and document sources.

Important concepts are introduced and defined throughout the chapter. However, it will be useful to define the following key terms from the start<sup>1</sup>:

Method: the systematic application of reasoning to the analysis of data.

Analysis: “1. The breaking up of any whole into its parts so as to find out their nature, proportion, function, relationship etc.” (*Webster’s Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, 2d ed.).

Theory: A set of ideas that explain observed phenomena in terms of underlying relationships to other phenomena.

Data: Qualitative and quantitative observations of the world.

Empirical: Having to do with the analysis of data

### **II. Overview: Combining Ideas and Facts**

The aim of scholarly research is to increase our knowledge about the world. But what is knowledge? Is it simply the sum total of factual information we have about the world? Astrologers have very detailed information about the movement of planets and stars but they ask questions and find answers that are very different from those of astronomers. This is largely because astrologers have a different understanding of how observable events (or phenomena) are related to each other than astronomers do. Given the same information, astronomers and astrologers will claim to know entirely different things about the world.

Therefore, one can define knowledge as a body of facts, and ideas that interpret and explain them. The importance of this definition is that it points to two approaches to gaining knowledge. Theoretical research focuses on ideas about how the world works and empirical research focuses on observing the world as it works. Though individual projects may be purely theoretical or empirical, social science research as a whole depends on the interaction of theoretical and empirical research to expand our knowledge of the world.

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<sup>1</sup> With the exception of the definition of analysis, these definitions have been derived from common usage in social science. See Johnson and Joslyn (1995) for a more detailed discussion of these terms.

The methods of social science research emphasize the use of both theory and data (ideas and facts). Theories explain how two or more general classes of phenomena (e.g., income inequality and political violence) are related. In most empirical research, data is collected to test the generalizations that theories produce. Theories that survive the testing process (i.e., “hold water”) are used to explain particular events or to predict the outcome of future events. Table 1-1 illustrates the role ideas and facts play throughout the research process.

**Table 1-1: Interplay of Ideas and Facts**

<b>Ideas :</b>	<b>Facts:</b>
	Observations suggest topic (or preliminary answer to question)
Other people’s work suggests how to break topic down.	Further observation along with others’ ideas refines understanding of topic.
Develop specific research goal.	
Look for and develop theoretical framework within which to consider facts.	
Use conceptual framework to generate new propositions about the world.	AND/OR Collect and analyze data to test propositions about the world, OR Use theoretical framework to analyze the world.
Interpret results and draw conclusions	

**III. Standards of Scholarly Research in International Relations (IR)**

There are several substantive standards for research in social science in general, and IR in particular. Though they are often labeled and categorized in different ways, the following list captures the main criteria:

**Interest:** The research topic should be positive, significant, and general. A positive topic is non-normative and deals with the world as it is, not as it should be. A significant topic is not trivial and does not leave the reader asking “So what?” Research should also focus on events or classes of events that are likely to occur again and thus are general in nature.

**Originality:** Research should extend the existing body of knowledge. This can be done by adding new theories or data, by refining existing theories or data, and/or combining existing theories and data in new ways. It is incumbent on researchers to review the literature on their topic to ensure that they are not “reinventing the wheel”.

**Cumulation:** Though it should be original, research should also build on existing theoretical and empirical research. Researchers are expected to use the information and ideas of previous researchers as a foundation for their research. In doing so, researchers must be candid and critical about what they take from others. That is researchers must properly attribute the

sources of their ideas and data to ensure there is no doubt which ideas are original and which are not. They must also scrutinize the ideas and cross-examine the information they use to ensure that the foundation of their research is solid.

**Method:** Research must have a discernible methodology that is appropriate, transparent, and persuasive. There are many different methodological approaches from which a researcher may choose. The choice of an appropriate methodology is often governed by the topic and the existing literature on the topic. Whatever methodology is chosen, it must be transparent to the reader how the research is conducted. That is, it must be apparent to the reader how each step of the research was conducted. This standard is that readers should be able to reproduce the research themselves (thus this standard is often described as reproducibility). Finally, the research must be persuasive in that it must support the conclusions of the researcher's analysis and there must have been the possibility that the research could have pointed to a different conclusion.

**Results:** Though the results may be qualified or ambiguous, research is not done until it comes to a conclusion. From the beginning of the research, it should be clear what the research is trying to explain, or what question it is seeking to answer. At the end of the research, the researcher should be straightforward about presenting the explanation or answer produced by the research.

#### **IV. Using Theories**

Theories explain observed events in terms of unobserved relationships to other phenomena. The events that theories explain are called dependent variables and the phenomena that are used to explain the dependent variable are called independent variables. Theories tell stories about how independent variables affect dependent variables. They also make predictions, called hypotheses, about what will happen to the dependent variable given different values of the independent variable.

Theories are very useful for analyzing particular events because they suggest likely cause and effect relationships. In so doing, they point out what data is important and what data is not. This filtering function simplifies the data collection task and prevents the researcher from being overwhelmed by data. Theories not only tell the researcher what data to collect but also what different the data mean. Thus, by providing a framework for interpreting the data, theories also simplify the analysis task.

One might object that, by driving the collection and interpretation of data, theories bias and limit the analysis. To a certain extent they do, but, as a practical matter, researchers must limit the data they collect and analyze. Whatever bias a theory may impart on the research, it is preferred to the bias that results from basing research on ad hoc explanations, or on the data that happen to be the most readily available. However, researchers must examine the "track record" of the theoretical perspective they select and be aware of the limitations it imposes on their analysis. For this reason, researchers usually employ more than one theoretical perspective when interpreting an event.

**Finding Theories:** Choosing a theoretical perspective or perspectives upon which to

base one's research is perhaps the most important part of the research. The selection and development of a conceptual framework of analysis is also the most intellectually challenging task a researcher faces. For this reason many students try to bypass this step and go straight to analyzing data. Unfortunately, in not making a choice, they have chosen to develop ad hoc explanations based on unsystematically collected data. This is an approach that is acceptable in journalism but not in social science.

Therefore, once a topic is assigned or selected, research must begin with a survey of the literature to identify the relevant theoretical perspectives. The *Pol-Mil Factors Handbook* presents theoretical perspectives on many different topics, and thus, it is a natural starting point. Students should also conduct a search of the scholarly literature on their specific topic to identify additional theoretical perspectives. Students should search academic journals, libraries and publishers for the latest scholarly articles and books on their topic. The emphasis here is on scholarly works because these will have more developed theoretical frameworks, as well as discussions of and references to the larger literature on the topic.

**Using Theories:** Once the various theoretical perspectives have been identified, the researcher must choose which one or ones to use. The researcher may choose to refine a theory, combine it with others, or develop a new theory. The choice is generally governed by the theory's record at producing results and its applicability to the exact question the researcher is interested in answering. Most importantly, the theory's dependent variable must be the same as that of the researcher. If the researcher is trying to predict how a war will end (the researcher's dependent variable), then theories that explain when wars start (the theories' dependent variable) are not applicable.

The goal is to create a conceptual framework that defines key concepts and specifies cause and effect relationships between them. Concepts are general characteristics or aspects of events under study. For instance one might describe events in Chechnya as a war, an ethnic conflict, a rebellion or a counterinsurgency. Each of these descriptions is a concept that needs to be explicitly defined before its relevance to the particular events can be examined. A good theory about the cause of ethnic conflicts will provide a clear definition of ethnic conflicts and well as of the causes. It can not be overemphasized that it must be clear what aspect of the event the researcher is trying to explain (the dependent variable), and what aspects of the event the researchers is using to explain it (the independent variables).

#### **IV. Using Data**

Once the conceptual framework has been established, the researcher is ready to engage the data. This part of the process is more concrete and systematic, but also more tedious and frustrating. The researcher must identify, find, evaluate, and analyze the data. Each of these steps is described below.

**Identifying Data:** The researcher must determine what data to collect to measure each of the key concepts in the conceptual framework. If the conceptual framework is well thought out, then it will be a fairly straightforward task to identify the ideal types of data. Of course, the ideal data are rarely available, but the researcher must start out with a good idea about what the best data would be in order to identify what the next best data are.

**Finding Data:** Given time and resource constraints, most student researchers use existing data, as opposed to conducting primary research to collect new data. Research libraries, such as UNC Chapel Hill's Davis Library, are some of the most valuable sources of data available. They either contain or have electronic access to an overwhelming supply of data. More importantly, they have a staff of reference librarians who are professionals at connecting researchers with information.

Unfortunately, students often attempt to collect all their information off the Internet. While the Internet is an invaluable research tool, the websites on it are a problematic source of information. Most high quality texts, articles and data are copyrighted, and are not available to the general public over the Internet. The best sources of information on the Internet usually require some kind of subscription or access fee.

Fortunately, libraries have started buying access to these services for their patrons. Many universities offer its full and part-time students remote access to a number of on-line subscriptions such as InfoSeek and EBSCO host. North Carolina Public Libraries offer cardholders access to a wide range of subscription services in a service called NC Live. A description of these services can be found at <<http://www.nclive.org/>>. UNC Chapel Hill cardholders have access to NC Live and a number of other services described on their website at <<http://www.lib.unc.edu/>>. NC Live and most of UNC Chapel Hill's services require the researcher to physically be in the library.

**Evaluating Data:** Researchers have a responsibility to critically evaluate the origin and quality of the information they use. This task has been greatly complicated by the explosion of information available on the Internet. The low cost and relative anonymity of web publishing allows not only for a diversity of ideas and viewpoints but also for a great deal of dubious or false information, and outright propaganda. Because web publications have typically not been through a review process, researchers must be much more critical of web publications than of traditional publications.

Generally, researchers must evaluate both the sources and content of their data. To evaluate the data's source, the researcher must identify the author of the data and how the author originally acquired the data. The researcher must also critically examine the reliability and objectivity of both the original author and the original author's data. Researchers are free to use data from biased or unreliable sources, as long as they acknowledge and describe the bias or unreliability, and qualify their analysis to account for the imperfections of the data.

When evaluating the content of sources, one of the biggest problems researchers face is sorting out propaganda from scholarship. Bodi (1995) lists the following indicators of propaganda and scholarship that students and researchers can use to evaluate both print and web publications:

Indicators of Scholarship:

Describes limits of data  
Presents accurate description of alternate views  
Presents data that both does and does not  
Support favored views

Indicators of Propaganda:

Excessive claims of certainty  
Personal attacks or ridicule  
Emotional appeals  
Distortion of data that doesn't support favored

Encourages debate, discussion, and criticism	view
Settles disputes with generally accepted	Suppresses contradictory views
Methods for analyzing data.	Suppresses contradictory facts
Looks for counter examples	Appeals to popular prejudices
Uses language in conventional ways	Relies on suggestion, innuendo
Updates information	Devalues thought and critical appraisal
Admits own ignorance	Transforms words to suit aims
Attempts to discuss general laws and	Magnifies problems and minimizes problems
Principles	with suggested remedies
Finds fault and admits difficulties in own field	Presents information and views out of context
Relies on logic and critical thinking skills	

**Analyzing Data:** Once the data has been evaluated in terms of itself, it must be analyzed in terms of the overall research question. If the data is qualitative in nature, then the researcher must subjectively appraise the data and use logic to derive conclusions. As stated before, the theoretical perspective adopted provides an invaluable starting point for logical arguments. A detailed discussion of how to construct logical arguments is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, useful discussion of using logic can be found at Purdue University's Online Writing Laboratory at <http://owl.english.purdue.edu/Files/123.html> .

Statistical methods are usually used to analyze quantitative methods. Again a detailed discussion of these methods is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, Johnson and Joslyn (1995) provide a thorough introduction to the range of statistical methods used in political science research. In addition, Middleton (1997) provides detailed instructions on using Microsoft Excel to conduct statistical analysis.

## V. The Research Report:

The structure of the report, usually a paper, is a thing apart from the structure of the research. That is, the sequence of the paper does not follow the sequence of the research. While you can, and should, write large parts of the paper as you conduct the research, you must write the paper as a report of your results, not as narrative of your research. The main difference between the sequence of the research and the paper is that research will end up pointing to one fundamental conclusion while your paper must start and end with that conclusion.

**Introduction:** In terms of presentation, this section is the most important. It orients your reader to your question, methodology and subsequent conclusions. You want to lay out your paper for your reader by explaining what you're doing, and how you are doing it. It is essential that the writer and reader know where the paper is going from beginning to end. Generally, one should be able to read the first and last paragraphs of a paper (or the first and last pages of a thesis) and have it make sense. To that end, the introduction as a whole should answer the following questions:

*What is the question, hypothesis or story you are telling?* By the end of the first paragraph, the reader should know what your paper is about. You need to be very clear exactly what it is you are trying to explain or understand. In technical terms, what is your dependent variable?

*What is the state of the art on this subject?* Describe the literature as a whole paying particular attention to seminal works and the most recent works. If there is more than one school of thought on your subject, then describe the debate. Your purpose is to point out what has been done and what has been left undone. It may be that no one has looked at your particular problem or you think there is a shortcoming in their approach. Your review of the literature should lead into the answer to the next question.

*What are you going to do to improve on the literature?* Having pointed out the shortcomings of the literature, you must now show how you're going to - at least partially - correct them. Explain your methodology and how it improves on existing works. The reader should have a good idea of what it is you are going to do.

*Where are you going from here?* Your introduction should always end with a road map of the remaining paper or thesis. Explain the structure of your paper/thesis and the logic behind it.

*Where will it end?* You should always give a sense of what your conclusions will be. You are not trying to surprise your reader.

**Methodology/Theory:** It may be that your methodology or theory is particularly involved and requires a detailed explanation. If so you should briefly describe your methodology in the introduction and go into detail in a separate section.

**Substantive Sections:** Here you do the work. It is important that as you present information, you also analyze it. Never assume that a quote, a fact, a graph or figure speak for themselves. Always explain the significance of the data and the implications of the analysis for the overall point you are making. Don't wait until the paper's conclusion to point out the major points.

**Conclusions:** There should be nothing new in the conclusions. The reader should be convinced by now. If, when writing the conclusion, you see a new argument for or against your point, you need to go back and put that in the body. What you are doing here is summing up what you've found and suggesting broader implications of your findings.

**Reference List:** All papers require a reference list or bibliography. One should list only works that have been cited in the paper/thesis. There is a school of thought that advocates a "Reference List" of works cited and a "Bibliography" of a wider list of relevant works. However, if the work is so relevant, it should have been cited; or, if it isn't worth citing, it's not relevant enough to be listed. If there are interesting works on tangential subjects, it's better to comment on them in footnotes.

## **VI. Attribution and Documentation**

The fundamental principle of academic integrity is simple. Ensure that there is no doubt about the origin of all the ideas and information in your work. Earnest adherence to this principle is far more important than adherence to any particular format. For this reason, the principles of attribution and documentation are discussed before going into details of format.

**Attribution:** It is a matter of academic integrity that scholars not take credit for the words or ideas of other scholars. At the same time, it is imperative for the cumulative growth of knowledge that scholars use the ideas and words of others scholars. Indeed, the value of a scholar's work is often measured by how often it is cited by others. Therefore, all scholars must learn to honestly use and properly attribute the ideas and words of others.

When you use someone's ideas or words, there are two things you must do. First, make it clear to what extent you are using them and, second, give the original author credit. The dual nature of the standard is most easily seen in the case of using another person's words. In such a case, the other person's words are separated from one's your own by quotes or double indentations, thus satisfying the clarity requirement. Then a citation is attached to it (as discussed below) to give appropriate credit.

When using someone's ideas, it is generally necessary, and preferable, to paraphrase and reinterpret the original author's words. Authors are expected to summarize, interpret and criticize the ideas of others, not to "cut and paste" their words. Therefore, lengthy direct quotations are discouraged. Instead authors are expected to write their narrative so that it is apparent to the reader where the other authors' ideas begin and end. Thus, though there are several specific formats for crediting authors, being clear about how you have used another's ideas is a very subjective matter which calls for good judgment on your part.

**Documentation:** As discussed before, research must be transparent and reproducible in order to be considered scientific. Therefore, it is important that all data presented as fact is from verifiable sources, and that sufficient information is provided to allow the reader verify those sources. This is not as much an issue of integrity as it is of competence. To this end, citations are used for data from documented sources and appendices for data from undocumented or inaccessible sources (e.g., results from a survey conducted by the author).

It must be added that documentation is not authoritative. That is to say that when you document a fact, you are not showing that it is correct. Rather you are showing that you did not make it up or misinterpret it to support your conclusion. Furthermore, ideas, as opposed to empirical observations, cannot be presented as fact. Therefore, if Henry Kissinger is quoted as saying that anti-war protests had no effect on policy in Vietnam, documenting the quote only allows someone to verify whether or not he said it. Documentation does not establish whether or not he was right. It is very important to avoid the temptation to prove by citation.

**Styles of Attribution and Documentation:** There are several formats, usually referred to as styles, for citing other people's work. Almost every professional association and journal will have its own particular style. The style presented below comes from the *Chicago Manual of Style* (1993; hereafter referred to as *CMS*) which contains extremely detailed guidance on writing and editing. While *CMS* is one of the most commonly used style manuals, it is far from alone in the field. *The MLA Style Manual* (Achttert, and Gibaldi 1985) is commonly used in the humanities, *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (1994) is often used in social and behavioral sciences, and Turabian (1987) publishes a guide to writing papers, theses and dissertations which is very popular among students. While all of the styles presented in these manuals will satisfy the requirements of attribution and documentation, it is important that a writer chooses one and consistently uses it.

There are two basic styles of citation, the documentary-note system and author-date system (CMS 1993 15.2). The note system uses footnotes or endnotes to indicate the source of whatever is being documented. This system is popular in the humanities because it involves the least intrusion on the text. The author-date system uses in-text references, which consist of the author or authors' last name(s) and the year in which the work was published, and a reference lists with full bibliographic information. Since social scientists use citations more often for attribution than documentation, this system is favored in the social sciences because it gets the cited author's name into the text.<sup>2</sup> For this reason, and because the author-date system is so easy to use, I will concentrate on the use of this system.

As already mentioned, the author-date system has two components, the in-text reference and the reference list. In the next two sections, I explain how to list the full bibliographic information in the reference list and, then, how to use in-text references. For clarity, entries in the reference list will be referred to as references and in-text references will be referred to as citations. Therefore, citing an author's work will involve using a citation and a reference.

**References:** References provide the readers with the information they need to locate and acquire the works you cite. Therefore, it is important that the information given be accurate and complete. In the author-date system, references are associated with the citations made in the text. Therefore, given a citation, it must be easy for the readers to find that particular reference in the reference list. These then are the two standards for references, completeness of information and ease of use.

It is easier to meet both of these standards if you write complete references for works when you first get them and build your reference list before you write your paper. Attempting to put the reference in its final form alerts you up front to any possible questions about how the information should be listed. This is a question that is much easier to resolve when you have the book in hand and the time to consult a style manual. Also, if the reference list is written and in hand, it will be easier to correctly cite works as you write.

*Books:* Here is the basic format for a book reference and three examples showing how multiple authors are listed.

Author's Last Name, First Name Middle Initial. Date. *Title in Italics*. City of Publication: Publisher.

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1981. *War Trap*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and David Lalman. 1992. *War and Reason*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, David Newman, Alvin Rabushka. 1985. *Forecasting Political Events*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

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<sup>2</sup>This is not to say that only the author-date is used in social science. There is some social science journals (e.g., *International Organization*) that use the documentary-note system.

*Journal Articles:* Academic journals are usually published, paginated and shelved in yearly volumes. Therefore, it is usually sufficient to know the volume and page number of an article to find it. Accordingly, the volume and page numbers are the meat of the reference.

Author's Last Name, First Name Middle Initial. Date. "Title of Article." *Title of Journal*. Volume Number (Issue Number): Starting page – Final Page Number.

Grieco, Joseph M. 1988a. "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation." *International Organization*.42:485-508.

*Chapter in a multi-author (edited) collection:* A great many academic books are collections of works written by various authors. If you wish to refer to the entire volume, then the reference is done in the following manner:

Editors Last Name, First Name Middle Initial, ed. Date. *Title of Collection*. City of Publication: Publisher.

Midlarsky, Manus I, ed.. 1997. *Inequality, Democracy, and Economic Development*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

However, if you wish to refer to a chapter of the collection, then the chapter gets its own reference emphasizing the author of the chapter and not the editor of the collection. This is done even if the author of the chapter happens to also be the editor of the collection. This type of reference is done in the following manner:

Author of Chapter's Last Name, First Name Middle Initial. Date. "Title of Chapter." In *Title of Collection*, ed. Editor's First Name Middle Initial Last Name. City of Publication: Publisher.

Muller, Edward N. 1996. "Economic Determinants of Democracy." In *Inequality, Democracy, and Economic Development*, ed. Manus I. Midlarsky. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Midlarsky, Manus I. 1996. "Introduction." In *Inequality, Democracy, and Economic Development*, ed. Manus I. Midlarsky. New York: Cambridge University Press.

*Theses or Dissertations:* Universities keep copies of master's thesis and Ph.D. dissertations somewhere in their library systems. To reference one, it is sufficient to indicate the type of work and the university to which it belongs in the following manner:

Author's Last Name, First Name Middle Initial. Date. "Title." Ph.D. diss. (Or Masters Thesis.) Name of University.

Lynch, John M. 1998. "Algeria, Iran and Turkey: A Model of Secular Versus Religious Nationalism." Master's Thesis. Troy State University at Ft. Bragg.

***Electronic Sources:*** The most important thing to remember when citing information

received from the web is that you are citing the content and not the site. Therefore, you need to include the information you would normally include in a citation and reference, plus the information about where and when it was retrieved from the web. Most importantly, as with all citation, you must cite the author not the work. This is both more difficult and more important on the Internet since authorship of websites is often obscured and obscured authorship is often a sign of questionable content.

As in other forms of citation, there are differing styles. However, the International Standards Organization's format is gaining widespread acceptance. Full description of this format can be found at <http://www.nlc-bnc.ca/iso/tc46sc9/standard/690-2e.htm> . An adapted form of the basic format is as follows:

Author. Date of Publication. Title of Content. Secondary Responsibility. [Type of Medium]. Place of Publication: Publisher. [Date of Citation]. Availability and access. Standard number.

Examples: Each of these example deviates from the basic format in some way based on the type of online document and the available information.

Bureau of Public Debt. 1999. "Historical Public Debt Outstanding – Annual 1950 - 1999." *The Public Debt Online* [online]. Washington: Department of the Treasury. Available on the WWW at <<http://www.publicdebt.treas.gov/opd/opdhisto4.htm>>.

CNNfn. 2000. "China-Taiwan WTO Link." February 15 [online][accessed on Feb. 16, 2000] Available on the WWW at <[http://www.cnnfn.com/2000/02/15/asia/wires/taiwan\\_trade\\_wg/](http://www.cnnfn.com/2000/02/15/asia/wires/taiwan_trade_wg/)>.

Paul, Satya.1999. "Relative Deprivation, Envy and Economic Inequality: A Comment." *Kyklos*. [online]. 52 (3):441-449.[Accessed on Feb. 16, 2000] Available on EBSCOhost. AN: 2239560.

OECD. 2000. "OECD Policy Brief: Economic Survey of the Czech Republic, 2000." [online] Washington: OECD Public Affairs Division, Public Affairs and Communication Directorate. [Accessed Feb, 16, 2000] Available on the WWW at <[http://www.oecd.org/publications/Pol\\_brief/economic\\_surveys/e-czech.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/publications/Pol_brief/economic_surveys/e-czech.pdf)>.

**Organizing the Reference List:** The reference list must be organized so that cited works can easily be found. Since the citation includes the author's name and date of the work, the list is arranged alphabetically by the author's last names and chronologically by date. That is to say, where an author has more than one work listed, the works are listed chronologically. If an author has more than one work from a particular year, adding and a, b, c, etc. to the year distinguish the works. Here is an example of a short reference list.

### **Reference List**

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 1981. *War Trap*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce and David Lalman. 1992. *War and Reason*. New Haven, CT:

Yale University Press.

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, David Newman, Alvin Rabushka. 1985. *Forecasting Political Events*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, David Newman, Alvin Rabushka. 1996. *Red Flag Over Hong Kong*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers.

Grieco, Joseph M. 1988a. "Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation." *International Organization*.42:485-508.

----- 1988b. "Realist Theory and the Problem of International Cooperation: Analysis with an Amended Prisoner's Dilemma." *Journal of Politics*. 40:600-624

----- 1990. *Cooperation Among Nations: Europe, America, and Non-Tariff Barriers to Trade*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

**Citations:** As discussed above, citations are used to attribute ideas to their original author and to document sources of information. In the author-date system, the citation is provided through the use of an in-text reference. This reference takes the following basic form:

( Last Name of Author(s) Date of Publication)

Citations are quite easy to form if the reference list has already been written. Given the example reference list, if one wanted to cite Bruce Bueno de Mesquita's book *The War Trap*, one would simply write:

(Bueno de Mesquita 1981)

Notice that only the last name is used (albeit a long one) and no punctuation is used between the name and the date. However, punctuation is used if there is more than one author as in this citation for *Red Flag Over Hong Kong*:

(Bueno de Mesquita, Newman, and Rabushka 1996)

Notice here that all three authors' names are included, commas separate their names and the conjunction "and" are used. That is to say that their names are written as they would be in a sentence.

More than one work by an author can be cited at once. In such a case, commas are used to separate the dates. If one wanted to cite Grieco's three works on cooperation, the following citation would be used:

(Grieco 1988a, 1988b, 1990)

Works by several authors can also be cited in one in-text reference. When so doing semi-colons are used to separate the works of different authors or sets of authors as the following examples show:

(Bueno de Mesquita 1981; Grieco 1988a, 1988b, 1990)

(Bueno de Mesquita 1981; Bueno de Mesquita and Lalman 1992)

If reference is being made to a particular part of a work, the page, chapter, section, or figure number should be given in the citation (note p or pp is not used) A comma is used to separate the date from the page or section number. The following examples illustrate this:

(Bueno de Mesquita 1981, 15) (Grieco 1990, 20-25 (Bueno de Mesquita 1981, fig. 3.2)  
Using Citations in the Text: Citations may be put in the text in one of three ways. If no reference to the authors or text being cited is made in the text, then the citation is included where it makes the most sense to be and where it will do the least damage to the flow. For example:

It has been argued that nations will not cooperate if they are concerned about relative gains (Grieco 1988a, 1988b, 1990). Others (Powell 1991; Snidal 1991) argue that nations may cooperate in spite of relative gains concerns.

If the author is referred to in the text, then only the date is included in parentheses. For example:

Bueno de Mesquita (1981) presents an expected utility model of war initiation.

Finally, if the work is referred to in the text, then the whole citation is included in the text. In such a case the citation acts as a short title for the work. For example:

The analysis in Bueno de Mesquita, Newman, and Rabushka 1996 indicates that Chinese policy towards Hong Kong will be turbulent for the next decade.

## References:

Bodi, Sonia. 1995. "Scholarship or Propaganda: How Can Librarians Help Undergraduates Tell The Difference?" [online] *Journal of Academic Librarianship*. 21: 21-26. [Accessed may 5, 1999] Available on EBSCOhost.

*The Chicago Manual of Style, 2d Edition (CMS)*. 1993. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Johnson, Janet Buttolph and Richard A. Joslyn. 1995. *Political Science Research Methods. Third Edition*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Middleton, Michael R. 1997. *Data Analysis Using Microsoft Excel*. Belmont, CA: Duxbury Press.

## Chapter 2

### History

*There is a relation between the hours of our life and the centuries of time.* Ralph Waldo Emerson

*The past does not repeat itself, but it rhymes.* Mark Twain

#### **I. Introduction and definitions**

Emerson and Twain's perspectives on history are a useful starting point for understanding the role of history in analyzing political-military phenomena. Both ascribe value to a historical perspective while avoiding any tendency towards an absolute reverence for history as a sole means for understanding.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the role of history in: 1) understanding the past, 2) helping to illuminate the present, and 3) casting some light on the future. The study of history is not a panacea for understanding other cultures, but it is possible to gain some insight based on an exploration of the past. History is also useful in another vein. Understanding the prevailing *conceptions* of history among a people, when used in conjunction with the other pol-mil factors, can be a powerful aid in designing psychological operations campaigns and in the planning and execution of civil-military operations.

One significant benefit of the study of history for the political-military officer is that it can make us less ethnocentric. "Historical study leads to broader views, to escape from the parochialism of the present, to an understanding that there were once other standpoints as commanding as the tenets of today" (Vincent, 1996, p. 25). Shafer makes a similar argument; the study of history can liberate "us from our own narrow experience, our own time, our own society . . ." (1960, p. 156). Studying history helps us to *unlearn* the prevailing myths that we have both about our own culture and others.

History is defined as 1) the actual events of the past, and 2) the academic discipline that studies the character and significance of past events. Because we can never have absolute knowledge concerning the actual events of the past, we will focus on the second definition. But the definition by itself does not elucidate the essence of historical study. In addition to describing the past, historians also attempt to explain it.

The study of history includes the selection *and* interpretation of facts about the past. In the words of historian George Kent, "Facts have to be selected, arranged, and interpreted before they acquire meaning . . . the same facts, differently arranged and interpreted, can be used to arrive at different, even opposite conclusions" (Kent, p. 309). Since history is about interpretation done by individuals, there cannot be a definitive interpretation. For example, at the end of the 19th century, the history of the American Civil War written from the Northern perspective was a much different story than the history of the War from the Southern perspective.

If there can be no definitive interpretation, then we must look to the philosophy of history to further understand the value of the historical perspective.

## II. Review of the literature

### Why study history?

There exists a plethora of introspective material written by historians focusing on questions concerning the utility and method of historical work. The ancient historian Thucydides gave the following reason for studying history: “The accurate knowledge of what has happened will be useful, because, according to human probability, similar things will happen again.” (As quoted in Jordan, 1960, p. 53) Like Emerson and Twain, Thucydides does not tend toward an absolute.

Throughout modern writings there is a recurring theme that the study of history is useful. But there is also a strong admonition against simply trying to apply historical analogies to current events. Lessons are never so clear cut. In the process of studying history we learn that there are no perfect historical analogies, only complexities and subtleties. We must be on guard against those who claim excessive fungibility. It is at least as relevant to ask: How are things different?

For Leff, (1969) the study of history is “the record of difference rather than of similarity” (p. 60). And from Leff’s perspective, this is the proper role: “Something is historically important in the degree to which it makes a difference.” However, Pratt’s approach may be more complete. According to Pratt (1974), the historian must explore both continuity and discontinuity. The historian’s “interest in continuity obliges him to pay attention to similarities and generalities. His interest in discontinuity leads him to seek the unique, the novel, and the particular” (p. 208). Change and continuity are not mutually exclusive.

Concerning the utility of history, Schlesinger (1966) makes the point: “history generally serves as a ‘negative’ model rather than a ‘positive’ model” (p. 317). History does not tell the things that we must do, rather it tells us the mistakes that we ought to avoid. Schlesinger also warns against those who look to history for superficial analogies: “The only antidote to a shallow knowledge of history is a deeper knowledge, the knowledge which produces not dogmatic certitude but diagnostic skill, not clairvoyance but insight” (p. 320). History can be an interpretive *guide*, allowing us to make judgments about what is possible or probable, particularly when studying the long-term effects of actions.

Jordan argues that the study of history may not be immediately useful to the task at hand; nonetheless, it is valuable as part of a general education. According to Jordan, the greatest purpose of studying history is to increase “depth and breadth of insight” (p. 52). A broad understanding of history helps in developing perspective. For the political-military officer, the study of the history of a particular people helps in a general understanding of those people. And a study of what they *perceive* to be their history is of at least equal value.

From Kammen's (1979) point of view, the purpose of studying history is: "To make us more cognizant of human differences and similarities, over time and through space; To enhance our awareness of the complexity of historical causation; To acknowledge more fully than we do the consequences of what is at stake when powerful people interpret history for partisan purposes" (p. 57). History is not merely a factual subject; rather it is an analytical one: "an attempt to discover the *significant* things that have happened, and *why* they happened, what *caused* them and what *they* caused in their turn" (Perkin, 1970, p. 70). But Perkin is traveling down a dangerous slope because the issue of causality is rarely clear-cut.

### **Is the study of history science?**

Concurrent with the rise of the social sciences in the 20th century, historians have debated amongst themselves on the nature of the study of history. Historians look at what has happened and they strive to answer the question: why? Historians often try to isolate causes. But the cause and effect relationship is nebulous in the study of history. Much of the debate is in response to the influential historian Collingwood and his theory of historical knowledge which postulates that the discipline of history "should be regarded as scientific because the methods appropriate to it are as rigorous as those utilized in the natural sciences and lead to conclusions which are equally justified and defensible" (As summarized in Pompa, 1995, p. 168). This attempt to create immutable laws as a result of the study of history is also a reflection of what was once the fashionable Marxist trend to create all-encompassing theory out of past events.

Vincent argues that the study of history is by nature different than the natural sciences because history "is no longer there." All that the historian can study are the particular pieces of evidence that remain, and "That evidence is an infinitesimal part of the evidence which once existed" (Vincent, p. 2). It follows that the interpretation of events based on partial evidence is inherently limited.

Science gives the same results in every place and time; history is incapable of such replication, for each historical event is unique . . . historical circumstances do not have knowable, predictable, and replicable causes and consequences, in a way that causes regularly beget consequences in science. (Vincent, p. 18, 46)

As Pompa adds: "the subject matter of history differs from that of the natural sciences because history is concerned with human activities and experiences" (p. 168 in Broucher et al). The number of variables, particularly human action, defies the attempt to isolate causes.

Although moving from observations of the available evidence to generalizations is risky, this is not to say that some degree of induction can not be applied to the study of history. As political-military officers we can look for relationships as long as we realize the limits and understand that the rhymes occurring in the centuries of time are not absolute laws.

### **Types of written history**

One can identify several classifications of written history. First it is useful to make distinctions based on the purpose of the author. Though all authors have the bias of their own

history and opinions, there is clearly history that is written primarily for political purposes. Of this type, there is the official or state-sponsored history that is most often the servant of the ruling regime. This history is what is most likely to be found in state sponsored/mandated educational programs, which is not to suggest that all state-sponsored history is necessarily of this type, but the caution flag must be raised.

There is also the writing of history that supports political positions already formed. Butterfield (1951) argues that political leaders and statesmen use “history to ratify the prejudices they already had” (p. 227). By the same token, if you look for historical examples to support your preconceived point of view, you will find them.

It is also possible to classify based on what is covered. Much of written history falls into the category of political histories (to include diplomatic histories). This type of history focuses on the milestones and the events that seemingly “changed” history. But this type of history is not sufficient if it does not examine the context and the “system of values to which it belongs” (Leff, p. 62). To the extent that political history ignores a fuller social context, it risks missing important underlying factors.

Another category of history popular in the last century is economic histories. These studies often examine development or the lack thereof, the distribution of wealth, and socio-economic conditions and strive to make generalizations based on the economic systems in place. But historians of different bents can examine much the same evidence and arrive at very different conclusions.

Finally, there is what some historians call total history -- a history that focuses not only on politics but also includes social and cultural history. Butterfield was a strong advocate of this approach. In *The Whig Interpretation of History* he argues history should be the study of more than just kings and battles where the focus is only on politics. This type of total history will probably be the most relevant for the political-military officer.

### **Role of myth**

No philosophical discussion of history can be complete without examining the role of myth. In the words of Vaughn (1985), “myth is more powerful than truth in guiding our actions; what we believe to have happened is more important than what did happen” (p. 10). Dunning echoes this sentiment: “whatever a given age or people believe to be true, *is* true for that age and that people” (as quoted in Kent, 1969, p. 310). This is not to suggest that the political-military analyst should only study myth, but it is important to understand the role and power of myth.

### **III. What/how to study?**

As previously mentioned, historians, like so many others, do not agree. Two observers can look at the same events and draw very different conclusions and/or lessons. It is therefore prudent to be cognizant of sources of bias and proceed with caution.

There are many sources of bias, both intentional and unintentional. Related to the

previously mentioned bias of official history, is the possibility of a difference between what actually occurred and what is recorded. As Vincent points out, there is “bias in the creation of evidence, and a bias in the survival of evidence,” (p. 51) and there is also a bias in what is accessible. By any name, much of what transpires in terms of both government and non-government action is “classified.” Since the evidence is imperfect, so too may be the conclusions.

Because the study of history is the study of abridged history, we must be mindful of Butterfield’s (1951) admonition:

Abridged history gives men a greater appearance of sovereignty over events than they actually possess; and it tends to magnify the controlling power of governments over the next stage in the story . . . men and nations rely on the abridged history they have learned to give them their impression of their place in the sun, their purposeful intent, and their idea of what they can do with their destiny. They acquire an academic dream-impression of what statesman can do in the world, what governments achieve, what their national mission is, and what can be brought about by sheer self-assertion and will. (p. 226)

This is not presented to minimize the role of planned efforts and campaigns; it is only meant as a caution.

In selecting materials for study, there are two basic types of sources: primary and secondary. Shafer defines primary sources as: “manuscripts, published letters and memoirs of eyewitnesses, the public documents, the newspapers, the pamphlets, the books, and the material remains of the time about which we are writing” (p. 151, 152). Secondary sources are historical manuscripts derived from primary sources or from other secondary sources (which would more properly be called tertiary).

One of the greatest challenges in studying history is in selection of materials. The limits of time will often not permit us to study and focus on primary sources, so we usually must choose from the multitude of secondary sources. The key will be to use your knowledge about the discipline of history to aid in the selection of secondary sources. Then you must read those sources with a critical eye. Because of the omnipresence of bias, you should choose multiple and varied sources. It is particularly useful to read history from both the native perspective and the western perspective and then synthesize based on those sources. In making your choices, ask for assistance from others who have studied the area. In addition, you should consult annotated bibliographies. Trevelyan (1914) sums up the importance of reading diverse points of view: “The only way in which a reader can arrive at a valuable judgment on some historical period is to read several good histories . . . written from several different points of view, and to think about them for himself” (p. 198).

In addition to selection of materials, there are several issues to be aware of when studying history. For example, how far back should one look? There is no easy answer, but generally it must pass the relevancy test. That is, what events and periods seem to have an effect on current events and the current psyche?

The role of “facts” must also be considered. While facts in and of themselves are not

very useful, knowledge of facts and their context can help us arrive at insights. Knowing dates can be enlightening but only as part of the larger picture. For example, knowing that the American Civil War started in 1861 and that the Emancipation Proclamation was not issued until 1863 can shed some light on causal arguments. In addition, for the political-military officer, the knowledge of key dates in a region *and their importance* can also increase credibility with members of host nations.

When studying history (and the present) it is important to avoid the mistake of simply looking at political structures and arriving at conclusions based on those structures. Structures do not tell us how things may actually operate. For example, the rules of the U.S. Congress, the importance of agenda setting and control, the role of lobbyists, and the cost of election campaigns, may tell us more about the operations of Congress than a superficial look at structure.

The reading of historical documents is also not sufficient. If one were to merely read the contents of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, one may well conclude that U.S. citizens were at last equal under the law. But if one continued with a study of court decisions, a social history, and an examination of poll taxes and literacy tests, then one would arrive at a very different conclusion (Zinn, 1970, p. 163).

#### **IV. Questions to consider**

What are the understandings about history that are prevalent? What are seen as the key events by the people?

What roles does the study of history perform in the society? What role does history play in the socialization of the young?

What are the historical analogies used by the current regime in support of policy? How does the regime use history to legitimize the current order?

What is the prevailing story associated with the birth of the state?

What are some of the prevailing historical myths?

What are the events and milestones (collective memory) that have shaped the current psyche? What is the perception about those events? What are the purported causes of selected significant events?

What are the important historical ideals? (e.g. the Declaration of Independence has certain ideals.)

Who are the important historical/legendary figures and what are their purported attributes?

What are the threads of continuity in the state's history?

What is the history of current political and social issues?  
What are the significant variations in different sources?

## **V. Discussion of inter-relationships with selected other pol-mil factors**

Given enough time, you could look at each of the other political military factors from a historical perspective. In fact, in many cases you will do this as a matter of course. In examining a political, social, or economic issue you generally can not understand the issue without looking at its history. For example, current monetary policy in Germany is probably affected by the German historical experience with inflation in the post WW I period.

Culture and history are inextricably intertwined. Shared historical experiences are one component of cultural tradition. According to Lerner (1982), history itself is a cultural tradition: “A shared body of ideas, values and experiences, which has a coherent shape, becomes a cultural tradition” and this “symbolic universe” can unite diverse groups (p. 106). And the method by which a culture captures and depicts its history sheds light on the way the culture comes to terms with its actual history.

As a political force, history can unite and divide. A common history can help to establish tradition, bind men together, and foster a sense of belonging:

Nations, institutions, and social groups use it to inspire loyalty to themselves and to create a sense of shared community by the telling of stories about past struggles, victories and defeats, and the sacrifices made for the benefit of posterity. Heroes are held up for emulation and villains paraded as warnings (Nevins, 1938, 236).

People can be “bound together by reverence for the tale of their past” (Nevins, p. 241) or they can be separated by a history of ethnic disputes.

As previously mentioned, history is also intertwined with political systems and leadership. History “legitimizes those holding power, by rooting its source in a distant past” (Lerner, p. 106). An historical perspective can show how political leaders use ideology to mobilize, legitimize, and retain power *and* it can show how those not in power use ideals in pursuit of power. The tendency for cultures to “make legends out of its leaders is a factor of immense historical importance” (Gallie, 1978, p. 80). To understand the qualities that are revered by a culture, look at its historical leaders. But when examining a historical figure, remember to relate the personage to the context in which they operated.

## **VI. Summary**

That there is a relation between the past and the present, is not to suggest that they are twins. History does not provide universal laws. “History does serve some useful purposes, but it is not an infallible teacher . . .” (Stephens, 1974, p. 98). Historical analogies have their uses in *thinking* about the present and future, but only if we accept the limits. Butterfield’s admonition can be expanded to include the entire spectrum of military operations:

“If men are to shape their minds too rigidly by a study of the last war, they are to some degree unfitting themselves for the conduct of the next one. If a nation decides conversely that it will set out with the particular purpose of avoiding the mistakes of the last war, it is still liable to be the slave of history and to be defeated by another nation that thinks of new things. Historical study, therefore, has sometimes had a deadening effect on military strategists; and it has often been a criticism of them that they were too prone to conduct the present war on the method of the previous one, forgetting how times had changed.

It seems true, however, that many of the errors which spring from a little history are often corrected as people go on to study more and more history. If a man had a knowledge of many wars and of the whole history of the art of war, studying not merely the accounts of battles and campaigns, but relating the weapons of a given period to the conditions of the time, relating policies to circumstances, so that he came to have an insight into the deep causes of things, the hidden sources of the changes that take place -- if he allowed this knowledge not to lie heavily on his mind, not to be used in a narrow and literal spirit, but to sink into the walls of his brain so that it was turned into wisdom and experience -- then such a person would be able to acquire the right feeling for the texture of events, and would undoubtedly avoid becoming the mere slave of the past. I think he would be better able to face a New World, and to meet the surprises of unpredictable change with greater flexibility. A little history may make people mentally rigid. Only if we go on learning more and more of it -- go on ‘unlearning it’ -- will it correct its own deficiencies gradually and help us to reach the required elasticity of mind.”

While the study of the past is often a necessary condition for understanding the present, and the possibilities of the future, it is never a sufficient one (Pratt).

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## Chapter 3

### The Natural Environment

#### **I. Introduction and definitions**

The economic, political, social, cultural, and even military behavior and development of any society are influenced by that society's natural environment. The effects of the environment can be discerned--sometimes distinctly, sometimes subtly--in almost every aspect of a society, including the way it is organized and ruled; its trade patterns; its population growth, distribution, and migration; its eating habits and style of clothing; and its military formations. If a political-military analyst wants to do sound political-military analysis, his first step is to understand the environment of the region in which he is operating. Just as no one would attempt to launch an attack without first studying maps of the battle area--preferably with a good leader's reconnaissance on the ground as well--neither can they hope to analyze a country or culture without first knowing the environment in which it exists.

#### **Natural Environment Defined**

When discussing the natural environment, be concerned with the three-dimensional terrestrial space centered on the earth's surface within which all material things are contained.

When analyzing the natural environment, divide it into four spheres.

Atmosphere: The layer of gas around the earth. The condition of the atmosphere at any given time we call weather. The condition of the atmosphere over time we call climate. Climate, more than anything else in the environment, sets limits to what man can physically and economically do. For example, the debilitating heat and humidity of the tropics and the bitter cold of Siberia and northern Canada have hindered development in these regions. The cultural habits of many societies are linked directly to climate conditions. For example, the midday siesta--which is by no means limited to Central America--is a result of people's understandable desire to avoid work in the hottest part of the day. Other aspects of the atmosphere are of interest to us as well. For example, the thin air in the high altitudes of the Andes or Himalayas limits the amount of physical exertion that can be done in these regions. The quality of the atmosphere has also become an important concern lately as noted from issues arising from air pollution or depletion of the ozone layer by chlorofluorocarbons.

Lithosphere: The soil and rock crust of the earth and all that is beneath it. Landforms may facilitate or inhibit transportation and interaction among societies. The fertility of the soil or its ability to retain moisture can have a significant influence on societal development. Transplanted soils, such as the alluvium of the Nile River in Egypt or the loss of the Yellow River valley in North China, can be critical to the support of civilizations. Minerals, gems, oil, and liquefied natural gas have at one time or another had a great influence on societies around the world.

Hydrosphere: Water in liquid form, including rain. Water is key to human civilization and to plant and animal life. If water is scarce, people may have to move around to find it, leading to a nomadic lifestyle. If it is plentiful, a more sedentary lifestyle may be possible. Water can provide a means of irrigation, a source of power, or routes of transportation. For example, fully 70 percent of the land under cultivation in Pakistan is irrigated; much of the electricity in the United States is provided by hydroelectric plants; the extensive interdigitation of water with the land in the United States and Europe facilitated contact among societies, while the lack of extensive interdigitation in Africa has hindered interaction and exploration there. Average rainfall can be a significant influence as can the time of rainfall or even the quality of the rain. Finally, even if water is plentiful and the rain clean, water must be safe to drink. As with the atmosphere, pollution in the hydrosphere is a serious issue. There is an on-going debate in certain parts of the world today over who owns the rain and who is responsible if the rain is contaminated.

Biosphere: Living things on the earth. This includes everything from seaweed to sunflowers to sequoias and from microbes to muskrats to men. Three important aspects of the biosphere are human population, food, and disease. They are, of course, interrelated.

For people to exist, there must at least be a subsistence level of food and water. As with the hydrosphere, if food is scarce, a society may have to search for it and so become nomadic. If food is plentiful, societies may be sedentary, which may in turn allow for greater specialization and development within the society, since fewer people have to be involved in the quest for food. But, food must not only be plentiful, the diet it provides must also be balanced. There are several examples of people having plenty to eat who still suffer from malnutrition, such as the 19th century Irish whose diet consisted largely of potatoes. Finally, what is considered food in some societies may not be acceptable in others.

Disease may override all other factors in the biosphere. It can be transmitted by microbes, insects, animals, or men. It can inhibit development or even deplete a population. Many diseases are not killers, but can incapacitate or cripple their victims. Some diseases may not infect humans, but can decimate animals or plants, depleting the food supply. Finally, curing a disease or developing an immunity to it may increase the population beyond the capacity of the environment to adequately support it.

When disease is prevalent but localized to one segment of a population or one area, it is called epidemic. When it is spread over a large area throughout a population, it is called pandemic. When a disease is always present and has established an equilibrium among a population, it is called endemic.

Naturally, these four spheres do not exert influence independently. (In fact, they do not exert influence at all--environmental influence is passive.) Mountain ranges, deserts, grasslands, or waterways may facilitate or impede migration of species. Weather patterns are affected by bodies of water or landforms. The effects of rain can be beneficial or disastrous, depending on the location of rivers, wadis, valleys, and the type of soil on which the rain falls. To understand

a region's natural environment, don't look at just one sphere or one factor within a sphere (e.g., climate or resource distribution), look at it in total.

## **Geography Defined**

It should be clear by now that political-military analysts study the natural environment to discern its interrelationship with human beings. Geologists, hydrologists, biologists, zoologists, meteorologists, and the like, study the environment as an end in itself. Political-military analysts, on the other hand, are interested in the field of study known as geography, which is the study of the relationships of various human phenomena and terrestrial space. (There is also a field known as physical geography that deals with non-human phenomena, but we have already discussed aspects of this when talking about the four environmental spheres.) Geography deals with the pattern of man's distribution over and his use of the earth, why he uses it differently in different places and times, and how this is related to man's economies, culture, political systems, etc. Geography is concerned whenever the concept of place or the question of where is involved.

When studying geography, the first thing to do is to distinguish between the concept of site or location and situation. Site/location is the actual ground on which a geographic phenomenon rests. This is important only insofar as it helps us understand the relationship between one area and the rest of the world and the effect of those relations, that is, that phenomenon's situation. It is not only important to know where things are, but also to know why they are there and how their location allows them to influence or be influenced by things elsewhere. This should not be difficult to understand. If the mission is to "take that hill," it is not because that hill is valuable in and of itself, but because controlling it is an advantage over the enemy. On a larger scale, knowing the number of miles of navigable waterways in a particular region *is less* important than knowing the patterns of distribution and interaction those waterways support. Situation, then, is relative. It is also changeable.

The growing concern among many nations over ownership of continental shelves is one example of how a geographical situation can change. Ordinarily, under international law, a continental shelf is considered to be the territory of the country from which it extends. The shelf normally does not extend for more than a few miles, but in some places it goes out considerably farther. Until relatively recently, even these longer extensions did not cause much trouble among countries. Now since technology has improved enough to allow the exploitation of the resources in the shelf, especially oil, countries are beginning to lay claim to territory they previously ignored. A similar occurrence is taking place with regard to small, often deserted atolls, such as the Spratley Islands in the South China Sea, which are claimed by no less than seven countries--all of whom hope to extract the oil believed to be in the vicinity.

## **II. Discussion of inter-relationships with selected other pol-mil factors**

Six basic principles underlie the connection between human society and the environment.

Principle 1: Humans must form a workable connection with the environment. It does not have to be the optimal relationship, but it must at least allow the society to survive.

Principle 2: A human society and its environment form a system of interrelated elements, and change in one aspect can have significant ramifications throughout the system. Environmental change can occur two ways. First, **change may occur naturally** through such events as volcanic eruptions, floods, winds, or species proliferating or dying out without man's help. Second, change may be man induced. **People** have fundamentally remade the landscape in every area of the world that he has occupied in great numbers. He has dug canals, changed the course of rivers, built harbors, tunneled through mountains, cut down forests, planted new ones, depleted the soil or made it fertile, made deserts bloom, and turned verdant lands into deserts. The changes man creates in his environment react in turn on man and influence his settlement and activities. Man-induced change is not usually as sudden as natural change, but it is no less dramatic--or in some cases, no less catastrophic--for that.

Principle 3: A given environment can support several different types of societies.

Environmental conditions may provide opportunities and possibilities, but only human activity can make them reality.

The environment influences society, but does not determine it. Different people look for different things in similar environments and produce different results. Of the many things that are possible or which environmental conditions will allow, men will choose to do certain things because of a variety of factors that help shape their civilization, such as **political pressure, tradition, or cultural values**. Environmental conditions may tend to make one or a few choices more attractive or more successful than others, but choices may differ widely among different societies and at different times. This, of course, does not mean that the environment can be ignored in analysis, but that it should not be the only influential factor.

Principle 4: No environment is either favorable or unfavorable to all types of societies. A change in any element of **culture** may alter the significance of the natural surroundings. This is particularly true with regard to the impact of technology. Consider how the advent of air conditioning has influenced population distribution in places as disparate as Houston and Hong Kong. Even natural resources are resources only if we know how to use them for our purposes. The influence of the environment may become less important as technology increases, or things once taken for granted may become clear (e.g., clean air and water).

Principle 5: Just because a society is blessed with a rich environment does not mean that the society will prosper. **History** abounds with examples of societies that languished in the midst of plenty because of cultural constraints, inability to use the wealth at hand, or incompetent leadership. Similarly, a society in an austere environment short of resources may still be prosperous, such as Japan or the Asian newly industrialized countries.

Principle 6: The environment can affect human affairs in two ways: how man sees the environment and how it actually is. The first is actual or operational influence. Mountains and rivers may be impassable, soil sterile, or water scarce. The second way is perceived influence. Men may simply believe that they cannot cross mountains, grow crops, or find ample water. These beliefs will cause them to act in certain ways, whether the beliefs are true or not. **Military**

history alone is rife with examples of armies defeated by enemies who attacked over routes believed to be impassable.

### **The Concept of “Region”**

One of the concepts used for analysis in geography is that of the “region.” An area may be distinctive as a region because it coincides with the distribution of a particular type of climate, landform, or soil, or because it is characterized by a particular type of economic activity, land use, political system, culture, religion, etc. The first problem in regional analysis is to determine what gives the region its essential distinctive quality. Only then can we draw satisfactory regional lines.

The concept of “region” is a useful intellectual device for analysis, but we must remember that regional distinctions are products of our own minds, not complete descriptions of reality. In this sense, there are no “natural regions,” only man-made or man-perceived classifications of regional differences. As such, regions can be single factor or multifactor. Regional differences are usually related in part to differences in the physical environment, but only in part. Differences are due as much to human society as to the physical environment.

Regions usually spread from a “regional core,” also known as a “culture hearth.” This is the hub or axis where our distinctive regional feature is most prominent. It may be a physical feature (e.g., a fertile plain, river, valley, or seacoast) or a cultural feature (e.g., center of political or military control, dominant trading center). Usually, this core is the first area to develop the dominant regional characteristic, which then spreads over the surrounding area as far as physical or cultural conditions will allow. The impact of a cultural characteristic may extend well beyond areas to which it is suited.

On the periphery of a region is the “transition zone” where the qualities that delineate one region significantly diminish and are replaced by another set of qualities belonging to another region.

### **Mental Maps**

When an analyst looks at the world and studies his region, he has to be conscious of the tendency to see the world through his own “mental map.” This mental map is the way he perceives the world and will rarely accurately reflect the world as it is. Part of this is due to his culture and to the use of ethnocentric maps in the education system. There are numerous examples of this type of distortion, such as placing the United States (or any other country) in the middle of a map, splitting Russia in half, or placing Alaska and Hawaii in the corner of a map off the coast of California, which belies the distances involved.

Another source of distortion in an analyst’s mental map comes from his use of classifications as analytical tools. For example, the Philippines and India are both considered part of the “region” of Asia when in actuality, they have very little in common. Similarly, he tends to think of the Muslim world as being in the Middle East (another distortion of his mental map); when in reality, the most populous Muslim country is in Asia.

A third distortion may come from limited time on the ground in the region. This can be a case of a little knowledge being more dangerous than none at all. For example, a foreign traveler in China is generally limited to going from one city to another and may well come away with an impression of China as an urbanized country, although 80 percent of the population lives in the countryside. By the same token, an American soldier along the DMZ with the 2d Infantry Division in the Republic of Korea (ROK) will likely believe that the ROK is an underdeveloped country, unless he takes the time to visit Seoul and other parts of the country. Lastly, the longer people are away from a country, the less likely they are to see it accurately, both because their memories will begin to fade and because the country will have changed since they left.

Another way an analyst's mental map is formed depends on the areas and problems he is studying. It is natural for him to think that the area on which he is concentrating is the most important in the world and that the decision-makers are not paying near enough attention to it. Additionally, as he deals with situations and crises, certain countries assume greater importance in his perception of the world. Some distortion is natural and unavoidable, but be cognizant of their existence.

### **III. Some Analytical Questions to Consider**

What are the consequences of economic development on the natural environment?

What effects has the natural environment had on the history of the country?

What effects has the natural environment had on culture?

What effects has the natural environment had on the country's economy?

What advantages and disadvantages stem from factors relating to the natural environment?

What effects has the natural environment had on foreign influence?

How has the effect of the natural environment changed over time?

How has the natural environment affected the country's military?

Can technology, science, and industry surmount all future natural resource problems?

### **IV. Conclusion**

The political-military factor of natural environment interacts with several other factors. The natural environment may or may not be a limiting factor depending on its interplay with the other factors. A favorable natural environment may contribute to country's development, but it is not a sufficient condition.

## **V. Suggested reading**

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Struhsaker, Thomas R. Ecology of the African Rain Forest: Logging in Kibale and the Conflict Between Conservation and Exploitation. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997

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### **Relevant sites on the World Wide Web**

1. <http://www.ran.org/ran>
2. [http://www.wwf.org/action/lite/frame\\_climate.htm](http://www.wwf.org/action/lite/frame_climate.htm)
3. <http://ioc.unesco.org/iyof/>
4. <http://www.earthtimes.org/>
5. <http://www.worldwatch.org/>

## Chapter 4

### Regional Perspectives

*"A day will come when all nations on our continent will form a European brotherhood... A day will come when we shall see...the United States of America and the United States of Europe, face to face, reaching out for each other across the seas." -- Victor Hugo (1848)*

#### **I. Introduction**

Regional perspectives are an important factor with which the political-military analyst must deal. Regional perspectives color the manner in which events are perceived, leading to reactions that may be quite unanticipated. The analyst must be able to identify and understand the general regional perspectives on a broad range of issues to judge their effect on future actions within the region. This is no simple task because of the complexity involved. International relations are not dyadic; every event affects secondary and tertiary actors through their individual perspectives and regional orientations. Explaining and predicting these effects is the job of the analyst.

#### **Regional Perspectives and Where They Come From**

Regional actors form their perspectives based on their perceptions of individual and collective interests on specific issues. These may be developed over a wide range of topics such as ideology, economic policy and developmental planning, military strategy, alliance relations, East-West and North-South conflicts, terrorism, and nuclear proliferation. Factors such as threat assessments, individual and collective capabilities, relative regional economic position, cultural traditions, religious orientation, political philosophy, and historical experience contribute to the forming of regional perspectives.

A region's perspective can often be determined by what its leaders say, what the states do, and by formation of organizations that reflect regional elements of unity. For example, the formation of the European Union, the Arab League, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the Organization of African Unity, and the Organization of American States were each motivated by a particular regional perception of threat (economic, political, or security). Each organization seeks to capitalize on a particular characteristic that can lead to greater regional or collective power and prestige through unity.

#### **The Gulf Cooperation Council: An Example of Regional Perspective**

The six Arabian Peninsula states (Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman) of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) share many things in common including geography, religion, monarchical political systems, oil interests, and security concerns. However, traditional rivalries among the states has prevented them from uniting for their common good, even though as individual actors they lack the power for credible deterrence. Iraqi threats on Kuwait in the late 1970's

and the fear of Iran's ultimate goals in the Persian Gulf fostered cooperation between these Persian Gulf states. In 1981, eight months after the Iran-Iraq war had begun, these states joined together in a union for partial economic and cultural integration. That union had evolved into one which now includes elementary joint defense agreements and closer coordination on foreign affairs. Through collective action, their coincident individual interests are stronger and continue to gain greater international importance. Through joint economic policies, they have reduced competitive and redundant development planning. Integrated defense planning has maximized the individual strengths of each member, producing a more credible deterrent to external aggression. The 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait gave a significant boost to concrete measures in developing a credible deterrent.

### **Determining Regional Perspectives: Tools and Methods**

How can the analyst determine what regional perspectives are? At the individual state level, trends in foreign policy, economic relations and policy positions consistently pursued by political, military and business leaders provide the basic answers. More answers can be deduced by charting actions and responses of regional actors following a crisis event. At the regional level, one source to examine is the agreements that establish regional organizations. These often contain specific statements, arrived at by group consensus, which outline those perspectives.

Of primary concern in determining regional perspectives is the regional assessment of a wide variety of threats. The United States viewed the former Soviet Union as the principal threat to American interests abroad. The USSR was considered the only nation that could credibly challenge the territorial integrity and survival of the United States. Additionally, it could challenge any of America's allies.

Most challenges to the United States were viewed as coming from issues related to the East-West conflict. For this reason, the United States shouldered the burden of maintaining a global perspective in foreign relations. Today, as the sole remaining "superpower" that far-reaching perspective has taken on new meaning yet to be defined.

Regional actors rarely enjoy such responsibility, perceiving a variety of more proximate threats to their survival ranging from internal instability to regional radicals and historical conflicts that constantly threaten to flare up and expand. For regional actors, these types of challenges appear to have a greater likelihood of causing change in the near term (1 to 2 years) or mid-term (3 to 7 years) than the broader external challenges. For obvious reasons, regional actors focus on these more immediate threats. This often leads to a virtual lack of concern for externally generated pressures.

### **The Conflict Between Global and Regional Perspectives**

While the United States is concerned with regional issues as they relate to a global picture, regional actors do not often link regional and global events--their perspective is more limited. The result is often a misunderstanding, stemming from different

perspectives, over both the importance of events and responses that are appropriate to achieve desired results.

Often, even the desired results are different. For example, the United States had previously identified the Soviet Union as the major source of instability in the Persian Gulf, which threatened Western access to oil. To counter this threat, a decidedly military strategy was adopted.

Ideally, the stationing of American troops in the area would seemingly serve to protect US interests. From a regional perspective, however, the major causes of instability are Islamic fundamentalism, Iraqi ambitions, and the nonresolution of the Palestinian problem--all of which threaten the political stability of established regimes.

The strategy to resolve these sources of conflict is diplomacy. Stationing of American troops directly in the Persian Gulf may not achieve the expected results; in fact, it would possibly only exacerbate the problem by providing an additional focus for the opposition in its attempt to undermine existing rulers. Conflicting perspectives such as these make unified actions between the Persian Gulf States and the United States difficult, requiring the utmost in diplomacy with a nearby but "over-the-horizon" military presence.

## **II. Some Questions to Consider**

What regional organizations does the host country belong to?

What regional treaties/compacts exist?

Are there obvious foreign policy trends?

What are the nation's responses to crises?

## **III. Summation**

Regional perspectives focus on those issues that more immediately threaten local security and stability. The analyst must understand the roots of those perspectives, the depth of commitment to each issue both regionally and by the individual actors, and the areas of agreement and disagreement with the global perspectives of the United States. Such an understanding can serve as a basis for explaining regional behavior and predicting probable responses to a variety of possible actions.

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## Chapter 5

### Foreign Influence

*"It can be harmful to come, without thought, under the sway of utterly new and strange doctrines."*

-- Confucius (450 BC)

#### **I. Introduction**

History is riddled with examples of countries being influenced by forces that emanate from beyond their borders. These forces can shape culture, affect policy, change economies, threaten national security, or even topple governments. Recognizing and understanding the role foreign influence plays in the political-military environment of a country will assist the analyst in accurately assessing the overall situation of a country and making predictions about its future actions.

Foreign influence can be either direct or indirect. Direct influences are actions perpetrated by a foreign government or actor with the express purpose of influencing policy or actions of a specific state. Military actions or economic sanctions directed toward a country are examples of direct foreign influence. Direct foreign influences do not necessarily have to be government to government. Organizations such as the International Monetary Fund can also exert pressure on a country to effect change. Churches and religious leaders, such as the Pope or the late Ayatollah Khomeini, have also been known to target specific countries in an attempt to effect change.

Factors of foreign influence not under the direction of a specific outside agency can also affect the actions of the host country. These indirect foreign influences can come from a variety of sources. The adaptations a political system must make in response to these influences are not the goal of a specific agency but more a by-product of the change. Immigration that results in demographic change, expatriate foreign remittance to relatives, competition on international markets, technological advances, students educated in other countries and religious fundamentalism are a few examples of indirect influences that could affect a country and may or may not result in changes to that system.

There are numerous elements that may either encourage or discourage foreign influence in any given country, and it is beyond the scope of this short introduction to address them all. Therefore, four main elements will be identified in this chapter: geography, economics, cultural/ethnic factors, and history. The elements as they pertain to analysis within a particular country are covered elsewhere within political-military analysis. However, when discussing foreign influence, or the susceptibility of a nation to foreign influence these factors take on a slightly different light. Categorization of these elements is not of the greatest concern, but the identification of their presence and their possible impact upon a country is important.

#### **Geography**

Geography, both in terms of terrain features and actual location, does much to inhibit or encourage foreign influence. Obviously, a country with clearly defined borders that inhibit

transportation and communications will be less susceptible to foreign influence. The isolation of the Japanese islands, caused in great part by rough seas and difficult coastlines, made it for the most part immune from Chinese conquest despite its relative proximity to China. Compare this to Korea or northern Vietnam where the boundaries were not well defined and where Chinese influence played a major role in the development of their cultures. In Europe, the case of Poland and its open frontiers, is perhaps best known.

However, advances in communications and transportation have overcome many of the natural obstacles that for centuries protected and isolated countries. In the 19th century, technology enabled Admiral Perry to use his black ships to open the doors of Japan to the world after 200 years of self-imposed isolation. Or consider the more recent example of the Hunza region in northern Pakistan. For centuries Hunza has been a remote area isolated by distance and difficult terrain not just from neighboring countries but also from the central government. Recent advances in communications and transportation have made Hunza more accessible from the north, and thus more susceptible to Chinese influence. However, the distance between Hunza and Islamabad continues to isolate it from the rest of Pakistan. Features that at one time protected Hunza now aid the growing Chinese influence in the area.

Although terrain features of a country, such as rivers, mountains, or coastlines may make it more or less susceptible to foreign influence, the actual location of a country can do the same thing. For example, the Chinese see Korea as "lips to teeth," protecting the approaches to several major coastal cities; the Japanese have seen it as a "dagger" pointed to the heart of Japan; while to the United States, South Korea was not only a "bastion of freedom" facing the Communist threat, but was also the only US military foothold on the continent of Asia. .

However, a note of caution is necessary; location is not necessarily decisive. The analyst must consider how human will and technological advances can impact on elements of power. Returning to the Korean example, despite what has already been said about the peninsula, North Korea has forced a path of self-reliance with little influence from the former USSR, PRC, or any other outside force. Poland is another example of a country with an independent attitude, regardless of its geography. Located on the central European plain, with no easily defined geophysical borders, it has for centuries been an historical battleground between the Slavs and the Teutons. In spite of frequent incursions, the Poles have developed a determination to resist.

### **Economic Influence**

The second element of foreign influence, economics, can, like geography, manifest itself in many ways. So long as countries are economically dependent or interdependent on others, influence will exist. There is no doubt that during the heyday of colonialism the influence of the European powers was felt heavily throughout the world. Economics was one of the driving forces behind the mercantilist expansion of the Western nations over the world. Economic activity took place at the direction and benefit of the colonial powers. The colonial relationship has left many economic legacies that exist to this day in terms of trading partners, items of trade, and economic institutions, as well as type and degree of development, legal and governmental systems, and elites.

Colonialism aside, the element of economics is a major consideration when determining the presence and extent of foreign influence. Countries that are economically dependent upon outside

sources of supply for critical items may let the source of supply influence their foreign policy. For example, Japan's heavy dependence on Middle East oil has caused Japan to refrain from taking a hard-line stand against Libya in response to terrorist activities.

Countries that depend on exports can be influenced by the policies of the countries they export to. The United States, for instance, uses the threat of increased protectionism toward foreign imports to pressure countries such as Japan, Korea, and Taiwan to drop trade barriers against US products. Also, countries with limited resources and whose economies are tied to the export of a single commodity may become dependent upon their export markets and leave themselves vulnerable for unbridled influence by foreign governments or multinational corporations. Other considerations include the existence of sanctions or trade embargoes.

It is also necessary to consider the regional organizations which may influence a country's economy. Being on the inside or the outside of organizations such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the European Union (EU), Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) or Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) can and does influence policy.

However, economic dependency on other countries doesn't always mean total subordination. Countries need not be subservient to suppliers or markets. Japan, Taiwan, and Singapore are examples of countries that were at one point totally dependent upon another country; all now more than hold their own on the international scene and, for the most part, chart their own destinies.

### **Cultural/Ethnic Influence**

The third element, cultural and ethnic influence from foreign sources, is obvious in many regions around the world. Countries with large expatriate populations may be susceptible to formation of a "fifth column," directed and controlled by an outside source. Communist insurgencies in Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand were linked to the Chinese minorities living in those countries.

Where ethnic identities cross national boundaries, the ability of one country to influence another is also increased. Consider the case of Pakistan. Resurgent Islamic fundamentalism originating in Iran has found its way into Pakistan in part through the Baluchi ethnic minority, which occupies both sides of the border between Iran and Pakistan. In addition, on Pakistan's border with Afghanistan, ethnic Pathans, whose tribal lands cross the border, were used as a conduit for influence by the Soviets occupying Afghanistan. Soviet goods, money, and propaganda were used to alienate the Pathans from the Islamabad government, thereby loosening the Pakistani control of the tribal areas near the border.

Religion has the ability to be a conduit for foreign influence both through the adaptation made in a society to accommodate the religion over time and, therefore, direct influence of individual religious leaders, or through the evolution of religious movements seeking change. Traditions and doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church have influenced the Philippines in deep and lasting ways, making it unique in Southeast Asia and tying the Philippines to the West in a way different from other Asian nations.

Consider the influence of Islam in Southeast Asia. Although located thousands of miles from the Middle East, Malaysia and Indonesia have been affected by resurgent Islamic fundamentalism from the Middle East and have had to adapt to accommodate its influence.

## **History**

The fourth and final element of foreign influence to be discussed is that of history. Countries with a history of relations with another country tend to continue to be influenced by that country. The historical animosities between China and Vietnam continue to influence the current situation in Indochina. The relationship between the United States and the Philippines, built upon since the turn of the century when the Philippines were a US possession, plays a considerable role in influencing both US and Philippine policies toward each other.

Knowing the elements of foreign influence will help the analyst understand the ways in which one country can be influenced by an outside force, but determining the nature and extent to which it affects a country is most important. Some additional indicators an analyst might examine are the types and numbers of treaty and alliance relationships a country has and the international organizations to which it belongs. The study should also include an examination of the nature and diversity of countries' interactions with the outside world. Some specific items to consider are joint military planning or joint training exercises, UN voting records, patterns of trade, foreign investment, aid relationships, technology sources, and overseas education. Consider also the influences of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and private volunteer organizations (PVOs). These organizations involved in routine work or in disaster relief/humanitarian operations, can have far-reaching influences. Likewise, the blinding advances in Internet access and satellite technology can influence the way people eat, dress and how they view the rest of the world. The analyst should also consider the less obvious indicators such as tourism or cultural exchanges.

## **II. Some Questions To Consider**

What are the direct and indirect influences?

Does geography affect foreign influence?

What economic influences are there?

Are there cultural or ethnic influences?

Do historical influences exist?

Are there NGOs and/or PVOs present?

What is the effect of technology (i.e. Internet, satellite media, cell communications)?

### **III. Summation:**

As a factor of political-military analysis, foreign influence is directly related to several other factors. In actuality, it cannot be separated from factors such as history, religion, culture, geography, and economics, which serve as conduits for influence. Recognizing the susceptibility of a country to foreign influence and determining the type and degree of that influence within a specific country, allows a more accurate analysis to be formed.

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## Chapter 6

### National Interests

*“We have no eternal allies and we have no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal and perpetual, and those interests it is our duty to follow.” -- Lord Palmerston (1848)*

#### **I. Introduction and definitions**

The world has changed a great deal since Lord Palmerston made the above statement while serving as Great Britain’s Prime Minister. What has not changed is the idea that nations will always attempt to conduct their foreign policy in a manner that best serves their own interests. This should be no surprise. While we may shake our heads and ask ourselves why France takes a particular stand on an issue or why the Palestinians make a controversial statement, once we look at the issues from *their* point of view, the actions may appear more reasonable.

The fact that actors--be they individuals, sub-state organizations, nations, or multinational corporations--seek to pursue their best interests is not in and of itself interesting or useful. In the international arena, self-interested behavior is the principal assumption upon which the policies of involved actors are based. Each actor will choose and pursue policies based on *their own* calculations of the national interests. It is critical then, to see another actor's national interests through that actors "eyes." To fail in this can lead to gross miscalculation of that actor’s policies, actions and reactions.

The concept of national interest is overshadowed in its importance only by its difficulty of definition. Nearly as many different definitions exists as there are theorists who attempt to grapple with the subject. In fact, the difficulty is so great that many academics have rejected the concept completely rather than sink in the potential morass of differing ideas. Still others prefer to use the term “foreign policy objectives” in order to reflect the fluid nature of a nation’s changing interests (Holsti p. 124).

Also, the use of any of these concepts *can be* dangerous. This danger stems primarily from the potential for the usurpation of national interests by a narrow constituency or the distortion of the selection process by the same (i.e. interest groups, mass media). If this occurs, the concept can be used to drive the governing powers to actions or policies that are not truly in the national interests, while nonetheless giving those interests as a justification for the policies.

Generally, “interests” or “objectives” are defined in the broadest of terms. This allows policy decisions to enjoy the widest appeal. It becomes much easier for policy makers to “wrap up their advocacy with the suggestion that their particular preferences are in the nation’s best interests” (Spainer p.359). Wyllie offers a succinct definition: “...national interest is the basic term deployed by foreign policy-makers to describe the long term, core, collective objectives of the state.... In descending order of priority, the collective objectives are deemed to comprise the

security and survival of the state, economic prosperity, and the sustenance of the social and political values of the society of the state.” (Wyllie p.3)

## **II. Review of the literature**

Some look to the writing of Italian statesman Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) for the beginnings of the concept of national interest. In his efforts to promote Italian unity, Machiavelli believed that while a state may have the loftiest of goals, unless that state, has the power to back those goals they are worthless. Many have attributed to Machiavelli the viewpoint: The end justifies the means – as long as the end is *moral* (Roskin p.5).

In his book, On War, Carl Von Clausewitz (1780-1831) writes of the notion that “all state behavior is motivated by its need to survive and prosper.” Safeguarding its interests is the only reason a state should go to war. “Unlimited war, however, is foolish, for it serves no national interest” (Roskin p.5).

Roskin refers to the realism of our Founding Fathers as they administered and subsequently expanded the thirteen original states. He points to Washington’s farewell address as an example of “shrewd appreciation of national interest: Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have no or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns” (Roskin p.5).

German *émigré* and noted realist Hans Morgenthau (1904-1980) is frequently credited with bringing the concept of national interest into mainstream American thought. He defined interests in terms of power. His test was simple: “was the statesman acting to preserve and improve the state’s power?” (Roskin p.7) He rallied support to oppose the Axis powers and later the Soviet Union not necessarily out of moral conviction but because he believed, “ International politics, like all politics is a struggle for power” (Roskin p.6).

Political scientist Martha Finnemore, at George Washington University, asserts that most of what happens in the international relations arena today is not about states defending their national interests but about defining them (Finnemore p.ix). As states attempt to determine their place in the “new world order,” it becomes apparent just how difficult it can be to pinpoint what their national interests are. The Cold War’s East versus West bipolar world has given way to a multipolar world with redefined (often undefined), competing, changing interests.

A state’s interests, after all, are what that state says they are today. Indeed, an excellent source to identify the interests of a nation is its local representative i.e. embassy, world headquarters, etc. Generally, the larger the state the more diverse its interests and the more opportunity there is to become involved in conflict. Smaller states with limited resources are less likely to have far-reaching goals. The formulation of specific interests is often influenced by domestic politics, perceptions, values, culture, and ideologies.

## **The National Interests of the United States - An Example**

The DOD Reorganization Act of 1986 (the Goldwater-Nichols Act) requires the President to submit an annual national security strategy to Congress. The 1998 report, *A National Security Strategy for a New Century*, places US national interests into three categories:

1. ***vital interests*** – those of broad, overriding importance to the survival, safety and vitality of our nation. Among these are the physical security of our territory and that of our allies, the safety of our citizens, our economic well-being and the protection of our critical infrastructures. We will do what we must to defend these interests, including – when necessary – using our military might unilaterally and decisively.
2. ***important national interests*** – These interests do not affect our national survival, but they do affect our national well-being and the character of the world in which we live. In such cases, we will use our resources to advance these interests insofar as the costs and risks are commensurate with the interests at stake. Our efforts to halt the flow of refugees from Haiti and restore democracy in that state, our participation in NATO operations in Bosnia and our efforts to protect the global environment are relevant examples.
3. ***humanitarian and other interests*** – In some circumstances our nation may act because our values demand it. Examples include responding to natural and manmade disasters or violations of human rights, supporting democratization and civil control of the military, assisting humanitarian demining and promoting sustainable development. (pp.5,6)

Considering these broad categories, it is difficult to think of any undertaking that couldn't be "sold" as supporting our national interests. In the case of the United States then, factors such as domestic politics, political will, lobby efforts, military commitments, our value system and many others coalesce into a national policy at any given time.

### **III. Some Questions to consider**

Where are the national interests articulated?

What are the state's professed national interests?

How does that state prioritize its interests?

How are the interests pursued? (militarily, economically, politically)

Who threatens these interests?

Can previous threats to national interests be identified; what was the response to the threat?

What role does regime preservation play in the articulation of national interests?

#### **IV. Discussion of inter-relationships with selected other pol-mil factors**

Just as with the other political-military factors outlined in this handbook, wherever appropriate, national interests must be also be analyzed as those interests relate to the other factors. The geography of a given *natural environment* can help determine interests; many claim that future wars in the Middle East will be over water, not oil. What effects do the devastation of the rainforests or over-fishing by huge factory ships have on American national interests? Should the continuing nightmare at Chernobyl concern us?

*Political systems and economy* are key factors to examine when determining how a state's interests are formulated. Domestic politics and the role of the *media* are components of this analysis. *Leadership, ideology and role of the military* are also important to the analysis of national interests. In the case of Turkey, for example, the secular legacy left by Kemal Ataturk is expected of that country's leaders today and is rigidly enforced by its military.

Your analysis of each factor and its relationship to the others is limited only by the time available. A complete analysis of national interests will include a look at how those interests relate to each of the political-military factors.

#### **V. Summary**

National interests can have an impact on the nation in question directly and indirectly. Hypothetically, if Western Europe is a vital interest of the United States, then the Persian Gulf oil fields and sea lines of communications between the Persian Gulf and Western Europe, which the Europeans consider vital to their interests, would also be a vital interest of the United States, albeit indirectly.

Understanding national interests is only the beginning in analyzing why a state acts the way it does. Examining who threatens those interests, and how, is also important. Knowing what a state's interests are can help put into context how that state views itself in the international arena (its worldview) and thus help predict how that state may respond in crises and non-crises.

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## Chapter 7

### Ideology

#### **I. Introduction and Definitions**

How nations, societies, and peoples interact with one another is strongly influenced by the values they hold dear. These values provide a sense of right and wrong that contributes to the development of commonly accepted goals and interests. An essential element in any societal value system is its ideology. An ideology can serve to integrate communities, to advance the position of a particular group, and to strengthen the resolve of the people to act to change social, economic, and political systems.

People with the same ideas about the world, our society, and its values band together. We are attracted by those with similar values and ideas, who like the same things we do, who have prejudices similar to ours, and who, in general, view the world in the same way we do. We talk of “like-minded” people, individuals who share certain beliefs and tend to congregate—in clubs, churches, political parties, movements, various associations, and so on. No matter how independent we claim to be, we all are influenced by ideas. We are sensitive to appeals made to us—to our honor, patriotism, family, religion, pocketbook, race, or class—and we can all be manipulated and aroused. We are creators and creatures of ideas, of ideologies, and through them, we manipulate others or are ourselves manipulated. (Macridis, 1996)

#### **II. Review of Literature**

Three sources were useful in the construction of this chapter. *Political Ideologies: Their Origins and Impact*, by Leon P. Baradat provides a comprehensive, chronological survey of the most important political ideologies within the context of significant social, economic, political, technological, historical, and contemporary events. It prepares readers to understand and relate the various political ideologies to the general political values of the left, the mainstream, and the right as they appear in contemporary political events and issues. The author assists the observer to see clearly how political theory applies to his own life.

*Contemporary Political Ideologies: Movements & Regimes*, Roy C. Macridis and Mark Hulliung, features lucid accounts of the political ideas that define the most important political controversies of our time. Professor Mark Hulliung has prepared a timely revision of the late Roy Macridis’s leading text. Five chapters are new to this edition. This sixth edition offers more current analysis of fascism, nationalism, Marxism, anarchism, a historically informed view of multiculturalism and its impact around the world, and a case study of the student movements in the 1960’s which shaped the politics of an entire generation now in power. Throughout the text they invite readers to enlarge their understanding of contemporary political controversies by comparing America to European countries.

*Contemporary Political Ideologies: A Comparative Analysis*, by Lyman Tower Sargent. This book introduces the dominant (and some of the minor) political ideologies of the modern world. Besides providing a comparative study of nationalism, democracy, feminism, Marxism, and Islam, Sargent also introduces readers to such ideologies as anarchism, liberation theology, environmentalism, fascism, and national socialism. The result is a thorough exploration of how political ideologies affect the way people think and governments act. Through his comparative approach, Sargent looks at each ideology from a variety of perspectives - presenting the arguments, positions, and counter-positions of each, including its roots in current political debates. The book emphasizes the link between recent world events and political ideologies by including updated coverage of the impact of nationalism, democracy, Islam, feminism, and the Green Movement.

### **Ideology Defined**

There are as many definitions of ideology as there are ideologies and students of ideologies. How the concept is defined depends in large measure on what's being accomplished.

For analytical purposes, ideology is an emotion-laden, myth-saturated, action-oriented belief system accepted largely on faith as truth or fact by a group or people. It is composed of a set of attitudes toward the various institutions and processes of a society. By emotive symbols, it economically and efficiently spells out what is valued and what is not, what must be maintained and what must be changed. It provides believers with a particular picture of the world both as it is and as it should be. Additionally, some ideologies may have established rules or behavior that believers must follow to obtain and sustain this new picture of the world. In so doing, it organizes the tremendous complexity of the world into something fairly simple and understandable. This world-view is normally skewed, thus overemphasizing one or a few aspects of society while slighting or ignoring others. In contrast to philosophy, theory, and religion--which are concerned with knowledge and understanding or with personal, private matters--ideology incites people to and provides the basic framework for social and political action. In this sense, it is a "mobilized belief system." (Sargent, 1996, pp. 2-3; Macridis, 1996, p. 8.)

Maxwell Taylor, Chair of Applied Psychology at University College in the United Kingdom, has applied a behavioral approach to his definition of ideology.

Ideology provides the linkage for people to unite under a common dimension and provides the framework for particular kinds of people to come together. Geographically or racially based ideology might be termed nationalism and uses, as its principal attribute of both membership and concern, reference to that geographical or racial grouping. Ideology might also link together, however, more conceptually defined groups; religious ideology, for example, addresses a very broad spectrum of people - class-based religious ideology would be one example of this. In this sense, therefore, ideology defines a group to which the member can belong. It might be an ill defined conceptual group, like the member of a class, or it might be a very particular physical group, like membership of a

church or club, that meets regularly and provides a focus for social activity.  
(Taylor, p. 89)

One of the most important issues to consider when it comes to analyzing an ideology is that the political-military officer must be able to distinguish between a philosophy and an ideology. Philosophies tend to be profound, personal, and encourage introspection. An ideology on the other hand is the tool from which a philosophical belief becomes realization. Five points to remember in defining and analyzing an ideology are: an ideology is a political term; it consists of a view of the present and the future; it is action-oriented; it is directed at the masses; and it is usually explained in simple terms so that it can be understood by all.

### **Major Themes Found in Ideologies**

To analyze an ideology, look at its scope, its focus, and how it addresses several critical societal issues. The scope of ideological goals may be limited (e.g., women's rights, pro-life/pro-choice) or holistic (e.g., Marxism-Leninism, Confucianism). Similarly, ideologies may be social, economic, or religious in nature. However, regardless of scope, all ideologies will have a political component, since it is generally through the political system, or by its downfall, that ideological goals will be achieved. When speaking of ideology, you should speak of it in its political sense. Therefore, make your context known.

Next, determine the ideology's focus. Identify the crucial component that must be present or developed as a prerequisite for achieving the ultimate goal that the ideology establishes. For example, a religious-based ideology will stress man's relationship with his deity and will exhort adherents to mold society to meet the deity's desires. Similarly, fascism stresses the supremacy of the State; Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, society as a whole; Confucianism, the family; and democracy, the individual.

The focus and scope of an ideology will determine how it will address five major questions or themes.

First, is the role and the nature of the individual in a society. Is there such a thing as human nature? If so, is it good or bad? Should it be developed or restrained? Do people have natural, inalienable, "human" rights? Is there such a thing as a person outside the group (tribe, state, or party), or is man strictly a social being? Is the individual supreme or is the group?

The second theme is the nature of truth and how it can be discovered. Is truth unchanging? Can it be known to all or only to an elite to whom the rest of us must submit? Has the truth already been discovered? Is there more?

The third theme is the relationship between the individual and the group. Some social scientists have no concept of individuality and see an individual as part of the group. As a member of a group an individual is helpless without the protection and cohesiveness of the group. Other scientists believe that the group is made up of individuals and must submit to individual rule when it comes to property rights and security.

The fourth theme is political authority, which is related to the role of the individual and the nature of truth. An elitist will say that authority is important and that those who are privy to the truth must be obeyed. Those who accord supremacy to the individual and feel that all can find the truth will say that political authority must be limited so as to allow for full expression and participation by the individual.

Finally, the fifth theme relates to property rights versus personal rights. Which is more important, material and economic equality or legal and political equality? How does mankind resolve the inherent conflict between liberty (which allows for aggregation of property), and equality (which says all should get their fair share)? Is "equality of opportunity" sufficient and, if so, what exactly does it mean? Does property include such things as education, health, access to transportation and communication, unemployment benefits, etc.? Are freedoms negative or positive? Which freedoms are most important; e.g., freedom from hunger vis-a-vis freedom of religion?

### **Ideological Functions**

Ideology may have several functions. First, it can legitimize or delegitimize a political regime. It can protect or restore a political system or change or destroy it. It can rationalize the status quo or challenge it. It may also justify the imposition of one political order on another deemed inferior, or can defend the right of a group to autonomy or self-determination in establishing its own order free of outside interference.

Ideology can enhance or weaken social stability. It can bind a community together or rend it apart based primarily on a model proposed by Roy Macridis.

Macridis has designed four criteria to help identify an ideology.

- ? **COHERENCE**. Look at the overall scope of the ideology, its internal logic and structure. How does it view the social, political, and economic systems in the society? Does it have clear goals and strategies? Does it have several goals or just one or two? What type of movement or party does it call for?
- ? **PERVASIVENESS**. How long has it been around? How has it changed over time? How does it differ among groups or among societies?
- ? **EXTENSIVENESS** of the ideology. How many people believe in it? Who are they? Does it cut across class, ethnic, and regional lines or is it limited?
- ? **INTENSITY** of the ideology, the degree and depth of its appeal. Does it call for rigid discipline among its adherents? What levels of commitment, loyalty, and determination are demanded? In many cases, a highly motivated, disciplined minority may be more powerful (or more threatening) than a large apathetic majority.

These criteria are fine as far as they go, but there are other considerations:

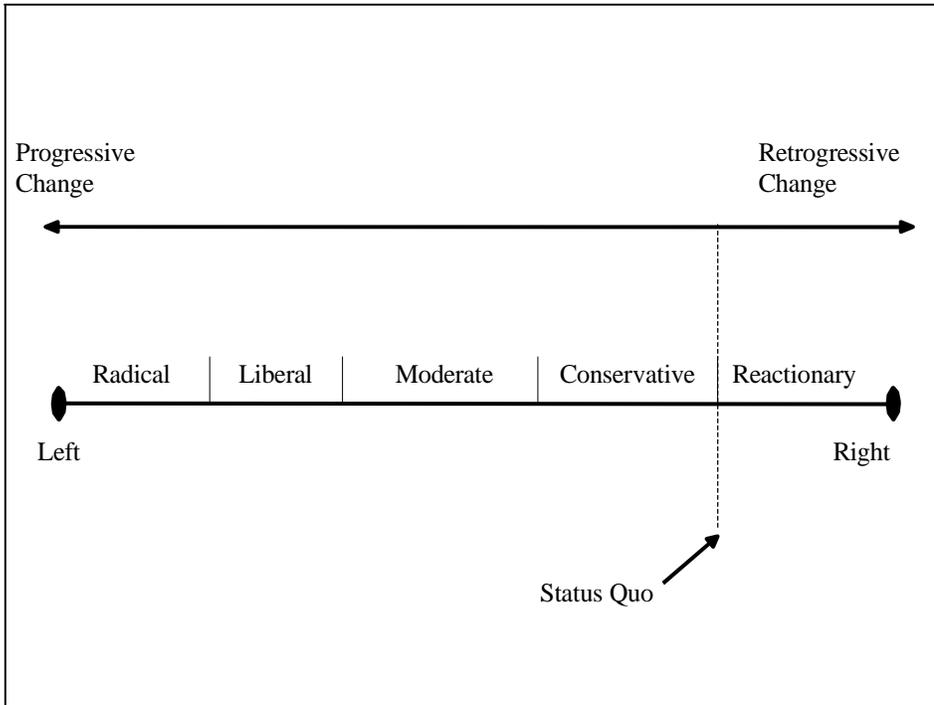
- ? First, a single ideology does not dominate an entire society. There are numerous ideological influences at work in all societies. Components of these ideologies (or within one ideology) may be inconsistent and in conflict with one another. To understand the ideological influences in a given society, be sure to look at all the ideologies at work in it.
- ? Second, because there is more than one ideology in any society, it follows that people in that society will be influenced by more than one ideology simultaneously. There are Confucian Marxists in China, Marxist Democrats in the United States, and Confucian Democrats in Japan, though none of these three ideologies seems logically compatible with the other two at first glance. As if this were not enough cause for confusion, keep in mind that people will not always act in accordance with the ideology they espouse. Ideology inclines people to act in a certain way; it does not dictate it.
- ? Finally, no single ideology is monolithic--no matter how coherent it may seem to be. There will always be factions and disagreement among believers as to the "true meaning of the word," which, if nothing else, will cause the thrust of the ideology to change over time.

### **The "Political Spectrum"**

A convenient way to categorize ideologies or factions is to determine where the ideology falls on a political spectrum (Figure 1). It is this technique that is used in classifying a group or ideology as "leftist" or "rightist." (These terms come from French royal political tradition where those members of the French court who generally supported the monarch sat to his right and those opposed sat to his left.) We can use the political spectrum technique to look at differences—

- ? Among ideologies in the abstract (e.g., Jeffersonian democracy versus communism).
- ? Within an ideology (e.g., communism in the former Soviet Union, Albania, Italy, El Salvador, etc.).
- ? Among ideologies in a single society or country.
- ? Within one ideological party or group.

The political spectrum acts as a tool to determine the attitudes of the group or ideology about the desirability, direction, depth, speed, and method of change. Those people who fall toward the ends of the spectrum tend to advocate extensive, pervasive, rapid change through whatever means necessary, including violence. Similarly, those toward the middle of the spectrum promote moderate, incremental change through generally legal and/or nonviolent means.



**Figure 1**

Moving from left to right across the spectrum, several familiar and generally misunderstood labels can be noted. Keep in mind that these labels are simply tools of analysis and are not intended either as pejorative or complimentary. Similarly, where an individual, group, or ideology falls along the spectrum will be determined by the context within which we are working. A liberal in our country may be a flaming radical in another, while a conservative in one party may be a reactionary in another. Furthermore, keep in mind that a person may hold liberal views on one issue and conservative views on another. Finally, where someone lies on the spectrum may change over time as society changes.

With these caveats, let us now define our labels.

- ③ A radical is someone who is extremely dissatisfied with the social, political, and/or economic system. He favors revolutionary change, that is, change that is profound and fundamental. This does not mean that he advocates violence, though some radicals--those on the far left of the spectrum--do. Mohandas K. Gandhi and Martin Luther King are examples of nonviolent radicals.
- ③ A liberal is someone who is generally satisfied with the basic structure of society, but sees substantial room for improvement. He tends to favor rapid, far-reaching change, usually instituted within the framework of the law.
- ③ A moderate is essentially pleased with the system, but sees that some things can and should be changed. These changes are but minor adjustments accomplished by using existing procedures.

- ③ A conservative is most content with the status quo. While his viewpoint is progressive (as opposed to retrogressive), he does not want a lot of change. He looks suspiciously on solutions that discard tried and true techniques for new and innovative procedures. A conservative values social, political, and economic order over change. This does not mean he is against change, only that he feels it should be done cautiously.
- ③ A reactionary is someone who advocates retrogressive change as opposed to progressive change. He harkens back to a bygone era and wants to revive the "good old days." As with radicals, reactionaries are not necessarily violent, though those at the far right may well be so. For example, Confucianism is a reactionary ideology that views violence with distaste. On the other hand, several white supremacist movements in the United States hold an ideology that not only condones violence but also encourages it. To reiterate, people who fall at the extremes of both ends of the spectrum will call for deep, rapid, sometimes violent change, although the types of change and its objectives may differ.
- ③ An additional term that does not appear on the political spectrum, but can fall at either end of the spectrum, is that of the fanatic. Contemporary use of this term describes an individual or group, whose behavior is excessive to the point of being considered abnormal, implying a focused and highly personalized interpretation of the world. In a political sense, it is behavior which is strongly influenced by and controlled by ideology, where the influence of ideology is such that it excludes or attenuates other social, political or personal forces that might be expected to control and influence behavior. (Taylor, 1991, p. x)

### Three Broad Categories of Ideologies

In looking at the political spectrum the analyst can place ideologies into three broad categories:

- ③ **Status quo** ideologies wish to keep and defend the current economic, social, and political order within a given society.
- ③ **Radical** or **revolutionary** ideologies suggest major changes to the existing social, economic, and political order.
- ③ **Reformist** ideologies fall between the status quo and radical or revolutionary ideologies.

It is important to understand that categorization of ideology is chronological. Communism in the Soviet Union was *revolutionary* in the beginning but once it established itself it sought to maintain the *status quo*. One generalization to remember is that any ideological movement that challenges the *status quo* will more than likely use force to promulgate change in the social, economic, or political system.

### **III. Questions to Consider**

**Does the ideology answer the five major themes that an ideology must address?**

Look for the role and nature of the individual in the society, the nature of truth, the relationship between the individual and the group, the role of political authority, and property rights versus personal rights.

**Does the ideology meet the functions and criteria that Macridis discusses?**

Determine if the ideology legitimizes or delegitimizes the political regime, does it protect or destroy the political system, does it suggest that one political regime is better than the other, will it enhance or weaken social stability. Determine if the ideology meets the four criteria of coherence, pervasiveness, extensiveness, and intensity.

**Where on the political spectrum does the ideology fall?** Determine where on the political spectrum the ideology falls and whether or not it deviates from its origination.

**Does the identified country have more than one ideology?** Complete domination by one ideology is virtually nonexistent and no ideology is monolithic.

**Does the ideology propose violent or militant behavior?** An example of this would be the Nihilist ideology, an ideology proposed in 19<sup>th</sup> century Russia advocating revolutionary reform and using terrorism and assassination. A more contemporary violent ideology would be that of the millenarian ideology of Aum Shinrikyo in Japan.

### **IV. Conclusion**

The process of identifying and analyzing an ideology can be a complex task. Only through further study and research can the political-military officer gain the knowledge needed to analyze an ideology of a given movement or nation. Ideology is a societal value and the failure to analyze its effect is on a given society is tantamount to failure. Wars have been fought, governments toppled, and great personal hardships endured all in the name of ideology. It is not only a societal value, but a significant social force as well.

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## Chapter 8

### Political Systems

#### I. Introduction and Definitions:

This chapter presents models for analyzing a country's political system. The review of the literature presents several common approaches to analyzing how a political system works. The next section describes several common governmental and electoral models, and discusses how the organization of the government affects a nation's political process. This is followed by a brief discussion of the dimensions of a nation's political climate. Finally, a model for predicting political outcomes is presented.

Many definitions of key terms will be offered throughout the chapter. However, it would be useful to start by defining some basic terms. The following definitions of key concepts are provided by Mayer, Burnett and Ogden (1996):

*Political System:* Those structures and processes that determine with accepted authority who gets how much of the things people value. The parts of the nation-state are part of the political system but so are structures and processes not part of the nation's state.

*Nation:* A large group of people sharing a common sense of belonging, a common peoplehood. This may include a sense of community (defined below).

*State:* "The legal entity that exercises sovereign power over a given territory. The state may or may not coincide with the nation."

*Community:* "A set of individuals, usually a nation as defined above, who share, in addition to a sense of common peoplehood, a set of basic values."

*Legitimacy:* "Authority which is widely accepted as rightful. This acceptance is above and beyond whether there is of the performance of the system with regard to particular issues."

*Sovereignty:* "An essential property of a state that refers to the final or ultimate legitimate power to make and enforce rules for the society."

*Political effectiveness:* "The ability of a political system to resolve important issues to the satisfaction of the dominant parts of the population so as to minimize challenges to the system itself. Political systems may be effective without necessarily being either democratic or just."

#### II. Review of the Literature:

**Traditional Approach:** The traditional approach to analyzing political systems was to dissect their formal governments. That is to say that the analysis focused on the state to exclusion of the nation. This approach was criticized for paying too much attention to legal procedures and governmental institutions and not enough attention to informal processes and non-governmental groups (Chilcote, 1994). This shortcoming was especially relevant to developing nations as they had less developed formal institutions (i.e., political parties) and more varied governmental

structures. However, as the nations of the world have developed more formal political systems that are organized along similar lines, there is renewed interest in the traditional approach.

**Structuralist Approach:** Structuralists view politics, and indeed most human activity, as a struggle between different groups in the society. They see the society as a hierarchal structure of horizontal groups (e.g., classes, gender, religious groups, ethnic groups, etc.). Structuralists view the political, economic, and cultural systems as means for the group at the top to maintain its position. The state is thus simply a tool of the dominant social group and can only be analyzed in the context of the larger social structure and politics can only be understood as part of a larger social struggle.

There are various structuralist models but the Marxian model is the most common. A careful distinction must be made between a Marxian and Marxist approach. The Marxist approach is based on the political ideology (and dogma) of people who self-identified themselves as “Marxists” or “Marxist-Leninists”. Generally this approach was based on the predictions of the future contained in *Das Kapital* and the political prescriptions offered in the *Communist Manifesto*. The Marxian approach is based on the manner in which Marx analyzed political systems as best exemplified in the less well-known *18<sup>th</sup> Brumaire*. Thus this approach is based on Marx’s methodology not his conclusions. For instance this approach will see political issues as matters of class conflict, but will not assume that revolution is the only way these conflicts will be resolved.

The Marxian approach focuses on the socio-economic class structure of a nation. It analyzes the state in terms of the role it plays in advancing or protecting the interests of the dominant class. This approach also places great emphasis on the role of the state in economics and on the role of social institutions on supporting the status quo. Chilcote (1994) provides an overview of Marxian comparative analysis.

### **Economic Base:**

*Mode of Production*- the forces and relations of production employed by a society at a given time. (e.g., feudalism, capitalism, socialism)

*Forces of Production*- the productive capacity generated by the physical capital, human capital and technology possessed by the society.

*Relations of Production*- the division of labor and property rights in the society or how production is organized in the society, particularly with regard to ownership of the means of production.

*Means of Production*- the physical capital, i.e., land, tools, buildings and machinery, that workers use to produce goods.

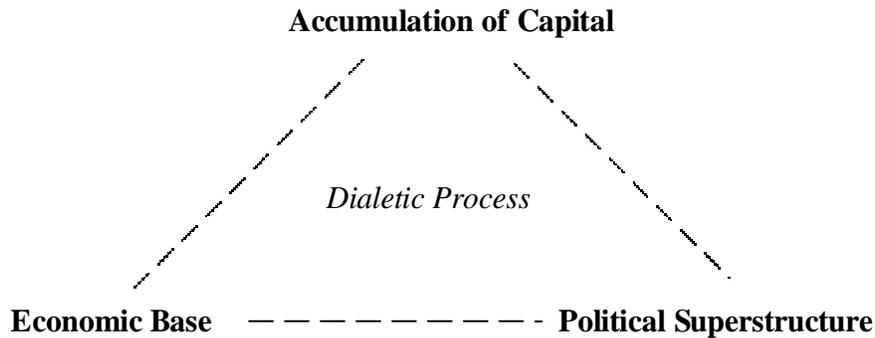
### **Political Superstructure:**

*State*- the legal forms and instruments that maintain class rule

*Class*- large groups of people who are distinguished by their relationship to the means of production, and their role in the relations of production.

*Ideology*- legal, political, religious, and philosophical symbols which support class rule.

**Figure 4-1: Chilcote's Marxian Model**



Source: Adapted from Chilcote 1994, Figure 9.1

**Class Analysis:** Classes need to be identified by their role in the mode of production and thus each society may have a unique set of classes. Any class may be dominant at one point in history and then subordinate in another. Marx identified three classes in terms of their relationship to the means of production:

*Workers (Owners of labor):* People who do not own means of production, but have only their skills with which to make money. Their bargaining position vis-a-vis other classes depends on the abundance their skills relative to the demand for them.

*Landowners (Owners of Fixed Capital):* People who own land or more generally any physical means of production which is in finite supply. Membership in this class will be limited by the supply of land. The distribution or redistribution of fixed capital will be highly conflictual since it is by definition a zero sum situation. That is, for one person to gain land, someone else must lose it.

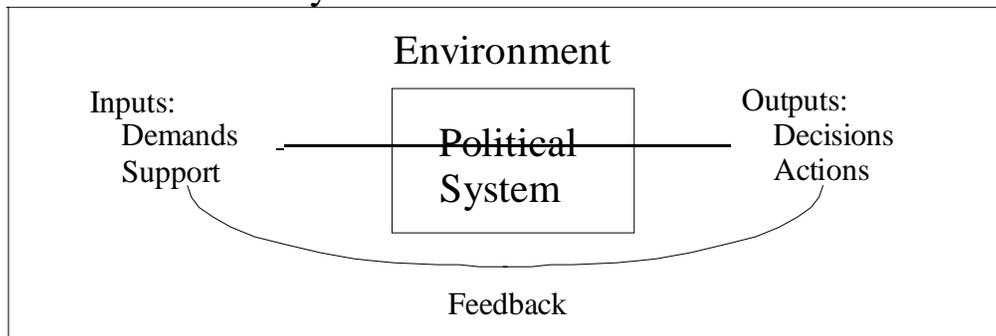
*Capitalists (Owners of Reproducible Capital):* People who own physical means of production that can reproduced such as machinery, buildings. The supply of this type of capital is not limited and the class may grow.

**Dialectics:** This is a theory of change based on conflict. The idea is that there is a state of the world (thesis) that generates opposition which is essentially support for negating the state of the world (antithesis). From this competition, some new state of the world emerges (synthesis).

**Accumulation:** The accumulation of capital or wealth is the ultimate outcome of economic activity. The size and distribution of the accumulation is highly dependent on both political and economic issues.

**Functional or Systems Approach:** Political systems can be analyzed and compared in terms of how they perform certain functions common to all systems. Easton (1953, 1965) modeled a political system in terms its inputs and outputs. He argued that a political system exists in an environment which places demands upon it and from which it draws support. From these inputs the system generates outputs in the form of decisions and actions. The environment absorbs these outputs and then generates feedback in the form of new demands and support. Figure 4-1 illustrates Easton’s model.

Figure 4-2: Easton’s System Model



Almond and Powell (1966) built on Easton’s work by focusing on the functions and capabilities of the political system. Their structural-functional approach analyzes the political system in terms of how it performs certain function involved with absorbing inputs (input functions) and generating outputs (output functions). They define politics as activities associated with authoritatively controlling the behavior of a particular set of people within a particular geographic area through means that include the use of coercion. (Almond and Powell, 1996, 28)

Politics is not restricted to the state. Rather the state is part of a larger political system which Almond and Powell define as “...a set of institutions concerned with formulating and implementing collective goals of a society or of groups within it.”(Almond and Powell, 1996, 28-29). This definition contains the following three critical concepts:

*System:* an object with moving parts that interacts with its environment

*Structures:* institutions set up to carry out specific activities

*Functions:* types of activity

To analyze a system, Almond and Powell use a structural functional approach. They define a generic political system in terms of the functions it must perform. Particular systems are analyzed by determining what structures perform each function. The functions are broken into three categories and are listed below.

**Process Functions:**

*Interest Articulation:* the expression of demands for policy to change or remain the same.

*Interest Aggregation:* the transformation of demands into policy alternatives

*Policy Making:* selecting between available policy alternatives

*Rule Application:* implementing a chosen policy

*Rule Adjudication:* resolving conflicts that arise from policy

**System Functions:**

*Socialization:* teaching values and norms to members of the society

*Recruitment:* the selection and inducement of individuals to fill specific roles in the political system.

*Communication:* the transmission of political information, issues and ideas.

**Policy Functions:**

*Extraction:* the collection of resources from the group or society.

*Distribution:* the use of resources for the benefit of members of the group or society.

*Regulation:* the enforcement of rules.

*Symbols:* the expression or affirmation of values held by the group.(not in A&P)

As defined, systems exist and interact with their environment. Since politics is a human behavior, the environment is largely understood to be the society in which the political system resides. One of the most relevant attributes of the society is its political culture which Almond and Powell define as the "... collective political attitudes, values, feelings, information and skills of the people in a society..." (Almond and Powell, 1996, 43). The following three aspects of the political culture are of primary importance in analyzing the political system:

*System Propensities:* acceptance of the system's values and organization

*Process Propensities:* attitudes towards participation (Participant, Subject, Parochial)

*Policy Propensities:* expectations of government's goals and methods.

Understanding these propensities among the people in the political system is critical to understanding the demands the society places on the political system and how it evaluates the system's performance.

### **III. Governmental Organization**

**Governmental Models:**

Increasingly, civilian governments have become organized on similar lines. Almost all have a parliament, a chief executive and cabinet in charge of the bureaucracies, and a head of state who is the symbolic leader of the country. Governments differ primarily in how people are chosen to fill these roles and whether there is a separation between the parliament and the chief executive and cabinet, and between the chief executive and the head of state.

**Pure Parliamentary (British) Model:** In this model the chief executive (usually called the Prime Minister) and cabinet are selected by the majority party or a coalition of parties with a majority of seats in the parliament. The chief executive may or may not be the head of state. If there is a separate head of state, the office is largely ceremonial. In many European, the royal family acts as head of state. Ireland elects a President who has virtually no political power. In many commonwealth nations, the Queen (King) of England is the titular head of state and the British Governor General performs many of the day to day functions of head of state.

In the pure parliamentary model, the ruling party's power is not limited by governmental check and balances but by electoral and party checks. In such systems, if the government fails to win an important vote (i.e., a "vote of confidence") in the parliament, then the government is dissolved and new elections are called. Thus, the government is restrained by the opposition party and by its own rank and file membership. Otherwise, it has complete control over the state. For this reason, this model is usually chosen by nations with a sense of community such that they don't fear giving the "other" parties or groups unfettered control of the state.

**Mixed Parliamentary (French) Model:** Here, the prime minister and cabinet are selected from parliament but a president is elected separately. Generally, the prime minister functions as the chief executive and is in charge of most of the bureaucracies. The ministers of each bureaucracy are chosen from the parliament and continue to serve as members of parliament. The president functions as head of state and has control of the foreign ministry and military. In such systems, the president very often has some influence on parliament (i.e., he or she may be able to dissolve the parliament and call for new elections). A president in such a system may have considerable power to rule directly. He or she may be able to bypass parliament by calling for a referendum on a particular issue. Some presidents have the authority to declare an "emergency" and rule by decree for limited periods of time (usually subject to parliamentary approval after the fact).

In this system, the ruling party has control of both the parliament and bureaucracy, but may or may not have control of the presidency. Thus, the government may be divided with a president from one party, and a prime minister and cabinet from another. In such a case, the division may act as a brake on rapid policy change. However, if there is no majority party in parliament and there is difficulty forming a coalition government, the president may act as a stabilizing influence and source of policy guidance. For this reason, this model has often been chosen by nations with a more divided sense of community such that political turmoil was expected.

**Pure Presidential (U.S.) Model:** Here the chief executive is directly elected and is, generally, the head of state. The bureaucracies are completely separated from the parliament. The president selects ministers (secretaries) to run the bureaucracies and, while serving, those ministers are not members of parliament (congress). Though presidents in this system have control over executing policy, they have far less formal power than prime ministers in either parliamentary system, and far less discretionary power than presidents in the mixed parliamentary system. However, presidents in the pure presidential model are far more independent of their political parties than are prime ministers. After all, prime ministers owe their office not to the voters, but to the other members of parliament from their party.

### **Electoral Models:**

There are two essential components to an electoral system. The first is the selection of candidates from which voters will choose, and the second is the selection of the officeholder from the pool of candidates. All the methods of selection can be characterized by the relative influence of masses versus elites.

**Selection of Candidates:** One of the most universal functions of political parties is the selection of candidates for office. In most systems, political parties are allowed to choose candidates by their own internal process. The mass of party members may or may not have a role

in selecting the candidate. Petitions and primary elections are the most common means of mass participation in the selection of candidates. More often, the task of selecting candidates is given to the party leadership or governing structure.

**Selection of Officeholders:** Though electoral systems vary considerably, there are three predominant models in use around the world.

*Single Member Districts:* In this system, each officeholder represents a geographic region and is selected on an individual basis. Voters in that district pick one candidate, by name, to hold office. In such cases the individual officeholders are beholden to their district's electorate for their jobs.

Single member district systems can be divided into plurality or "first past the post" systems, and majority or "run-off" systems. In plurality systems, the candidate who gets the most votes, whether or not its a majority of votes, wins. This system is used to elect member of Congress in the US and members of parliament in Britain. This system will generally favor the rise of two predominant political parties over smaller parties. Also the parties in this system will tend to converge towards the center of the political spectrum. As a result there will be less difference between policies of different parties, and more emphasis of personalities than in other systems.

In the majority system, a candidate must receive a majority of the votes cast to win. If no candidate wins a majority, then a run off election between the two lead candidates is held. This system is used in some state governments in the US and to elect the president in France. In this system, small parties can be influential by preventing a candidate from larger parties from winning a majority and then demanding concession in exchange for its support in the run off.

*Proportional Representation:* In this system, multiple are to be selected (i.e., the members of parliament) and the electorate votes for a party not for a candidate. The offices are then distributed among the parties in proportion to the votes they receive. That is, if a party receives 55% of the votes cast in the nation, it will receive 55% of the seats. The party then selects individuals to fill those seats (or offices). Thus, officeholders do not represent specific regions and they owe their job more to the party than the electorate.

This system favors the rise of more parties than the single member district system. This is because a party that party receives 10% of the nationwide vote in a single member district system (especially a plurality based one) will probably never win a seat in the parliament. However, in a proportional representation system, it will receive 10% of the seats. Because geographic distribution of this 10% is irrelevant, party lines will be drawn more along ideological, socio-economic or religious divisions, as opposed to geographic divisions of the electorate. Furthermore, since officeholders are not selected by name, party policy issues are more important to the voters than are the individual officeholder's views, character, or seniority. This also leads to greater cohesion and discipline within each the party. It also leads to a greater difference in policy position between parties.

*List Systems:* In these systems, the electorate chooses multiple officeholders by name from a list of candidates. Parties may determine what candidates are on list, but the voters choose which candidates hold office. Therefore, unlike the proportional representation system,

officeholders are beholden to both the voters and the party. Also, because voters choose officeholders by name, the individual characteristics of the candidate are more relevant in this system. However, unlike the single member district system, in this system, voters may split their vote among two or more parties. Thus third parties, especially those with charismatic candidates, are more likely to rise in this system. However, if the districts are not national, these parties need not be national in their appeal and thus there may be a scattering of “independent” candidates throughout the system. This system is commonly used to elect town or city councils in the US and in China.

#### **IV. Political Climate**

The political climate refers to the relationship between the citizens and the government, more specifically, to the degree which each influences the other. Thus, the climate is characterized by the nation’s existing level of democracy and civil liberty. Democracy may be defined as the ability of the citizens to influence government composition and behavior. Liberty may be defined as the inability of the government to interfere in the personal lives of its citizens.

##### **Legitimacy:**

*Legitimacy* is often referred to as the acceptance of a system’s, usually the state’s, right to make authoritative decisions (Mayer, Burnett, and Ogden 1996). Thus legitimacy is a matter of perception on the part of individuals and can be measured in terms of its *universality* (i.e. what percentage of the group accepts the system’s right to make decisions for them). However, an individual may accept a political system’s authority over one issue but not another. Therefore, legitimacy must also be measured in terms of its *scope* (i.e., the set of issues over which members of the group accept the system’s authority). For instance an individual may accept the government’s authority to collect taxes, conscript for the military, and to convict murders while not accepting its right to determine whom they may marry, what religion they practice or what they wear. Of course, legitimacy is not limited to the state. Individuals might accept the right of their family to make decisions over certain issues (e.g., whom they marry) and of their employer to make decisions over others (e.g., what they wear).

Strictly speaking, legitimacy is a normative concept based on the population’s judgements of what it is right and wrong for the state, or any other political system, to decide. That is to say that legitimacy is the range of issues over which the people think the state should decide, not the issues over which it actually decides. Therefore when looking to measure legitimacy, one must look at people’s attitudes towards the government (and/or actions which reflect that attitude) rather than at the government’s actions or inactions. To understand the source of a government’s legitimacy, one must consider the factors which would weigh on an individual’s judgement, i.e., ideology, religion, culture, the government’s political effectiveness, and the presence and perceived effectiveness of available alternative political systems.

##### **Liberty:**

Liberty is the individual’s actual freedom from governmental influence. Very often it is defined in terms of the issues which an individual is free to choose for himself, i.e., what religion to practice, what job to have, what clothes to wear, when to get up in the morning, what to think, whether or not to wear a seat belt, etc. At one extreme there is anarchy where individuals are free

to decide all issues for themselves. At the other extreme is totalitarianism, where individuals are not allowed to decide anything for themselves. These theoretical extremes do not exist in reality but have been examined in literature in William Golding's *Lord of the Flies* and George Orwell's *1984*. In between these extremes, nations have various ranges of issues over which the individual is free to choose and this range is the nation's liberality.

Unfortunately, liberality is not a linear function between two extremes. In the west women are free to drive cars but not to drive or ride in them without a seat belt; while in some countries women may not drive cars but are free to not wear seat belts when riding in them. Determining which of these countries is more liberal depends on which of these issues one thinks is more important. From a western point of view, the comparison is ridiculous, but from another culture's point view, it may be very apt. Thus, measuring liberty in a meaningful way depends upon the normative point of view of the person doing the measuring. This does not mean that one can't measure liberty, but that the measure will not be objective or universally accepted.

### **Democracy:**

At its roots, democracy means the involvement of the mass public in government. Given the interpretation of political systems as processes, scholars have typically defined democracy in procedural terms. Schmitter and Karl (1996) offer the following definition:

*Modern political democracy is a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of their elected representatives.* (p. 50; italics in original)

There are several key aspects of this definition. First, it places an emphasis on rulers being accountable as opposed to being selected by the citizenry. Second, it requires that the accountability be in the public realm so that the accounting is acknowledged and visible. Third, it requires that the accountability be to the citizens at large where citizens are understood to be most of the adult population. Fourth, it allows that rulers will be indirectly, and thus imperfectly, accountable through a competitive political process.

## **V. Predicting Political Outcomes: The Median Voter Model**

Most models of political systems seek to explain or describe the systems origins, structure and/or function. Few, however, seek to predict the outcome of the system's decision making apparatus. Thus, these models are good at explaining how a decision is made but not at predicting what decision will be made. However, there are models that forecast political decisions in most types of political system. The most widely used of these is the Median Voter Model. The model is based on the following proposition:

**Median Voter Theorem:** When voting by simple majority over a single issue, if the policy alternatives can be ordered from left to right and voters are placed on this spectrum according to the location of their ideal policy, then the policy of the median or middle voter will be chosen

Bueno de Mesquita (1984, 1996; Bueno de Mesquita, Newman and Rabushka, 1985) has

used this theorem to create a model for forecasting political outcomes. Though it is a “voting” model it has been applied to non-democratic as well as democratic decision making bodies. There are four steps in using the model as listed below. To use th model

**Identify all Stakeholders:** A stake holder is defined as any group with an interest in the decision. The premise here is that any group that stands to lose or gain from a decision may try to influence that decision. The model takes a broad view of the political system in that stakeholders do not need to be part of the formal political system. They just have to be effected by the outcome. Bueno de Mesquita (1984) uses this model to predict the policy of Iran after Khomeini’s death (Khomeini was still alive at the time). Bueno de Mesquita asked a group of area experts to identify the stakeholders on several issues. The experts identified the groups listed in table 4-1 (note: relative influence is explained later).

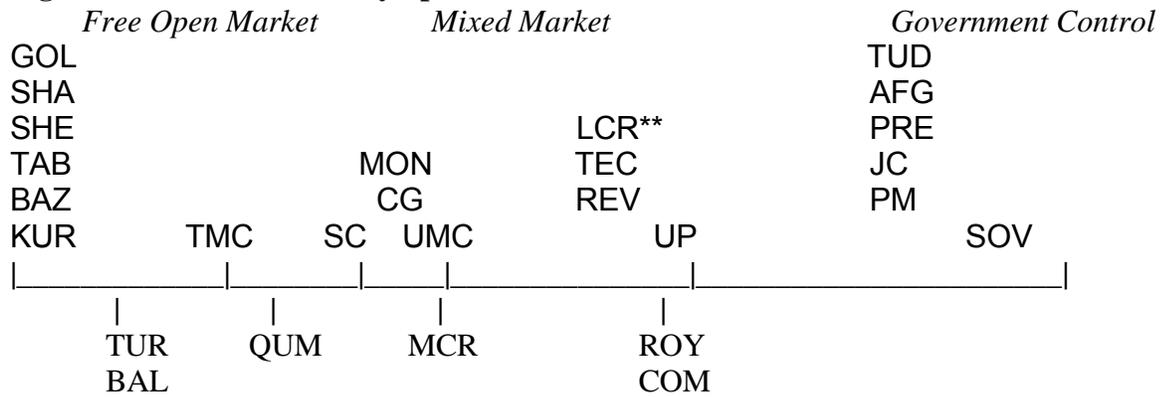
**Table 4-1: Stakeholders in 1984 Iran**

<u>Group</u> <u>Influence</u>	<u>Relative</u>	<u>Group</u> <u>Influence</u>	<u>Relative</u>
Afghan Refugees (AFG)	0.5	President Khamenei (PRE)	10.7
Tudeh Party (TUD)	0.6	Prime Minister Musavi - Khamenei (PM)	9.0
Kurds (KUR)	2.3	Tehran Militant Clerics (TMC)	3.4
Turkoman (TUR)	0.3	Qum Clerics (QUM)	4.5
Baluchis (BAL)	0.6	Supreme Court (SC)	4.5
Royalists (Roy)	0.2	Aaytollah Montezari (MON)	0.1
Bazaaris (BAZ)	5.6	Revolutionary Guards (REV)	12.4
Middle Class Rural Peasants (MCR)	0.9	Committees/Cabinet (COM)	11.8
Lower Class Rural Peasants (LCR)	4.5	Council of Guardians (CG)	9.0
Urban Middle Class (UMC)	1.1	Ayatollah Golpayegani (GOL)	0.6
Urban Poor (UP)	4.5	Ayatollah Shariat Madari (SHA)	0.6
Technocrats (TEC)	0.6	Ayatollah Sherazi (SHE)	0
Junior Clerics - Rafsanjani (JC)	11.3	Ayatollah Tabot Tabai (TAB)	0
		Soviet Union (SOV)	0.6

Source: Bueno de Mesquita 1984 231

**Identify each stakeholder's Position:** Each stakeholder's ideal policy on each issue under consideration must be identified. The stakeholders are then placed on a policy spectrum (i.e., a line) according to their position. With regard to the government's role in the economy, Iranian stakeholders were organized in the following way:

**Figure 4-3: Economic Policy Spectrum in 1984 Iran**



Cumulative Distribution of Influence:

9.1 10.0 13.4 17.9 22.4 32.6 33.5 55.5\* 67.5 100.2

Source: Bueno de Mesquita 1984 234

**Determine each stakeholder’s Influence:** The next step is to determine each stakeholder’s influence over the decision making process relative to the others. When predicting the outcome of democratic decision making process, the percentage of votes each group controls is usually a good measure. For other processes, an estimate is made about how much influence each group has relative to that of the others. Bueno de Mesquita (1984) aggregated the subjective estimates of his panel of area experts to determine the relative influence of each group as listed in table 4-1. The numbers represent the percentage of influence possessed by each group.

The information about influence is used to “weight” each group according to its influence. Starting from the one side of the policy spectrum in figure 4-3, each group’s influence is added up to produce the cumulative distribution listed below the line in figure 4-3. The group or groups whose ideal policy is at the point where the distribution is equal to 50% is the median party. In this case, the position is shared by the Lower Class Rural (LCR), Technocrats (TEC), Revolutionary Guards (REV), and Urban Poor (UP). The model predicts that their favorite policy (a mixed economy with fairly heavy state involvement) will be implemented.

**Determine each stakeholder’s Salience:** A stakeholder’s salience is the degree to which a particular policy issue is important to the group. Each group’s salience is considered to determine how much effort they will expend to achieve their ideal outcome on a particular issue. In the example of 1984 Iran, the urban poor (UP) and lower class rural (LCR) were estimated to have a much higher salience for the economic issue than the revolutionary guards (REV) and technocrats (TEC)(Bueno de Mesquita 1984). Therefore, one could predict that the urban poor and lower class rural would be more active in pursuing their economic goals (i.e., might form a coalition) with perhaps only tacit support from the technocrats and revolutionary guards.

There are several important points to take from this model. First, control over policy is as much a matter of position as power. Groups with seemingly little political power may determine the outcome by virtue of the position they hold vis a vis the other groups. Groups with a large share of the political resources may be ineffectual because their policies are too extreme. Second,

the median is a relative position based on the positions and power of all the groups. Thus the median position is not necessarily a centrist position. If a group, or set of groups, on one end of the country's political spectrum held 50% or more of the political resources, then they would be the median voter. Third, because groups hold different positions on different policies, the median group changes with each issue. However, there are usually one or two issues that dominate the political system, and the position of groups on these issues determines what coalitions are formed.

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## Chapter 9

### POLITICAL ECONOMY

#### I. Introduction and definitions

Political economy is often defined as a study of the relationship between politics and economics. J. Stuart Mill's followers describe political economy as a deductive science, drawn from assumption; while the school of David Ricardo considers it an inductive science, built upon elementary facts. A third school of political economy to which belong August Comte and Daniel Webster, argues that Political Economy is only an assemblage of truths; therefore, not a science because of its lack of law or principal. The simple premise of recognizing the reciprocity between economics and politics leads us to ask the following question: what is political economy?

“On the one hand, politics largely determines the framework of economic activity and channels it in directions intended to serve the interests of dominant groups; the exercise of power in all its form is a major determinant of the nature of an economic system. On the other hand, the economic process itself tends to redistribute power and wealth; it transforms the power relationships amongst groups. This in turn leads to a transformation of the political system, thereby giving rise to a new structure of economic relationships. Thus, the dynamics of international relations in the modern world is largely a function of the reciprocal interaction between economics and politics.” ( Gilpin, 1975, pp. 21-22).

In studying political economy, the following concepts defined by Johnson (1996) are important:

#### **Aggregate demand**

“Also more accurately referred to as *aggregate expenditure*, this is one of the key concepts introduced by John Maynard Keynes that still today is at the heart of most macroeconomic theories about the determination of the overall level of employment (and thus the level of national income produced) in a country's economy during a given year...Thus Keynes invented most of the basic ideas of what is today the macroeconomists' conventional system of national income accounting when he formulated his famous aggregate demand identity:

$$Y = C + I + G + (X - M)$$

Which simply means that a single country's aggregate demand for national product ( $Y$ ) is always equal to the total demands of its households for Consumer goods and services ( $C$ ), plus the total demands of its firms for Investment goods ( $I$ ), plus the total demands of its various Government agencies for goods and services ( $G$ ), plus the net demands of foreign consumers, firms and governments for the country's goods and services (exports minus imports).”

#### **Comparative advantage**

“The ability of one economic actor (an individual, a household, a firm, a country, etc.) To produce some particular good or service at a lower opportunity cost than other economic actors can. That is, the economic actor with a comparative advantage can produce the particular good or service by giving up less value in other goods or services that he could otherwise produce with his labor and resources than the other economic actors would have to give up in producing that same good or service. ”

## **Fiscal policy**

“That part of government policy which is concerned with raising revenue through taxation and with deciding on the amounts and purposes of government spending.”

## **Monetary policy**

“That part of the government's economic policy which tries to control the size of the total stock of money (and other highly liquid financial assets that are close substitutes for money) available in the national economy in order to achieve policy objectives...*Monetary policy is said to be "easy," "loose," or "expansionary" when the quantity of money in circulation is being rapidly increased and short-term interest rates are thus being pushed down. Monetary policy is said to be "tight" or "contractionary" when the quantity of money available is being reduced (or else allowed to grow only at a slower rate than in the recent past) and short-term interest rates are thus being pushed to higher levels.*”

## **Relative Deprivation**

Tedd R. Gurr developed this concept in his book titled: "Why Men Rebel." He uses a conceptual model to explain internal rebellion, particularly political violence in a form of insurgency. The theory is developed through two basic concepts: the perception of deprivation and the relative nature of the deprivation. Relative deprivation refers to a difference or gap between what people believe they have a right to receive (expectations) and what they actually receive (achievements). Gurr analyzes different scenarios that the divergences between expectations and achievements create (Gurr 1970).

Politicians rise and fall according to their successful management of economic matters. No clearer example of the dependency of a politician's fortune on economics exists than President Ronald Reagan's poignant question to Americans in the 1980 presidential debate: “Are you better off now than you were four years ago?” The answer to that question helped carry him into office despite the public's concern with other issues of the Republican political platform. Events elsewhere in the world have, likewise, shown how domestic economic failures have contributed, in either a negative or positive manner, to the fortunes of national leaders. Examples include the fall of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines in 1986, the success of the Solidarity movement achieving political power in Poland in 1989, the fall of Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and Erich Honecker of East Germany in 1989, and the elections to the presidency of Sam Nujoma of Namibia, Carlos Menem in Argentina, and Alberto Fujimori of Peru all in 1990. Most recently, the downfall of President Suharto of Indonesia and Prime Minister Hashimoto of Japan are excellent examples of mismanagement in economic matters. Currently, the stagnation of the economy is having significant effects upon the Russian political system.

## **II. Review of the Literature**

Several books were used for the construction of this chapter. *International Political Economy: The Struggle for Power & Wealth*, by David Skidmore and Thomas Lairson, is a general textbook on International Political Economy intended for use either as a main text or as a supplement. The authors explain the basic concepts, theory, history and policy of international

economics. They include data and significant information on topics such as globalization, hunger, population and sustainable development, and methods for measuring development. Included also are economic liberalization country studies on China, India, and Brazil. Discussions on regional economic blocks, the Uruguay Round, and the World Trade Organization are also covered. Skidmore and Lairson also conduct an analysis of investment flows to developing countries and an examination of the 1994-95 Mexican peso crisis. Lastly, they conduct a comparison of post-communist systems in Russia, China, and Vietnam.

*The Politics of International Economic Relations*, by Joan Edelman Spero describes Western, North-South, and East-West economic systems. The two basic themes of Spero's book are the influence of politics on international economic relations and the political management of international economic relations in the years since World War II.

*Economics* by Martin Bronfenbrenner, Werner Sichel, and Wayland Gardner is an excellent, detailed textbook concerning well-established and controversial topics in economics. The authors go into discussion on such topics as microeconomics, macroeconomics, comparative economic systems, and international economics.

The definition of political economy includes both domestic and international dimensions. On the national level, public policies deal with issues such as road construction, housing, hospitals, and public education, federal budget, inflation, taxes, unemployment, and the environment. Politicians rise and fall according to their successful management of economic matters. How, then does political economy evolve nationally? And what policies do states put in place to deal with the complex issues of international trade and finance?

### **III. National political economy and its inter-relationship with other pol-mil factors**

Domestically, political economy is the economic analysis of public policy issues and the making of policies for addressing these issues. Economics, the process of the authoritative allocation of society's values and its resources, pervades domestic politics since almost every political decision has an economic consequence.

A regime's political legitimacy, that is how well it is recognized by the public as the authorized bearer of national power and responsibility, is derived from various **religious, historical, cultural, ideological**, and economic sources. For example, the constitutional monarchy of King Hassan II of Morocco derives its legitimacy from the King's claim to the descent from the line of the Prophet Muhammad, his Alaouite dynasty's historical claim as the sole rulers of Morocco since 1649, and the monarchy's role in protecting Arab culture against Western influences and in negotiating independence from French colonialism. Perhaps of even greater significance is the King's ability to maintain strong military forces and his success at making the Moroccan economy one of the strongest in North Africa without the benefits of oil. Since a government's primary function is the maintenance of the national well being, its legitimacy depends heavily on its ability to provide economically for its citizens in terms of equity (income distribution), efficiency (economic regulation), and stability (economic growth and development). Thus, when a government loses the popular support of its population in these areas, it must either respond to retain its authority or eventually fall, whether it is a democratic or

authoritarian regime. The failure of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia to sustain itself in national elections in 1990 is an example of the consequences of the loss of legitimacy. Similarly, the student demonstrations and massacre in China's Tiananmen Square in June 1989 profile an example of a government's harsh response to popular dissatisfaction and disillusionment. The level of popular dissatisfaction will determine a government's ability to loosen political and economic restraints for fear of losing its power to opposition groups. In the United States, the success of the Clinton administration to win election to a second term was due in part to the American public's impression of a strong robust economy.

“Economic strength is the basis on which a nation satisfies the needs of its people for goods and services, and also on which it is able to build its organized military capabilities, manufacture arms, supply manpower, and provide the logistic and technical support needed by modern armies, navies and air forces. Through investment and trade, nations help to enrich one another, and standards of living depend not only on the efficiency of national economic activity but also on access to resources and markets through international commerce.” (Pay S. Cline, World Power Trends and US Foreign Policy for the 1980's.)

Inherent in the preservation of the national well being is the capacity of a government to defend itself and to secure its interests abroad. The price to pay for security is high; **military** forces must be paid, equipment purchased, and wars fought. No government can devote its entire resources to security. Even in wartime, it must ensure food, clothing, and shelter to its population. Thus, the issue of guns versus butter surfaces as a political dilemma for most nations. Politicians must balance military expenditures with other expenditures for the national well being. The state must address issues such as how much of the nation's budget should be allocated to social security, agricultural support, education, development or improvements in infrastructure, and strategic and conventional weapon systems. In democracies, these perennial questions mold public debate; in authoritarian regimes the same issues shape policies -- but behind closed doors with little or no public redress for unpopular decisions. Until recently, the United States, Eastern and Western Europe were willing to devote large portions of their national budgets to defense. That situation has changed and defense cuts are appearing in the budgets of most of these countries. Some states such as Vietnam, China, North and South Korea, El Salvador, Israel, and Iraq, to name a few, still devote significant portions of their budgets to the military.

The guns-versus-butter dilemma affects military strategy in two ways: capabilities and strategy formulation. For instance, the American strategies of “deterrence” and “massive retaliation” evolved in American foreign policy in response to several different factors after World War II. First, the United States was reluctant to invest in a large military force to oppose Stalin's aggressive foreign policies. In this post World War II era, the American public was also heavily investing in the reconstruction of Europe and Japan, while the American economy continued struggling to throw off the vestiges of the depression, find jobs for returning troops, and convert wartime industries to peacetime industries. Nuclear weapons were cheaper than conventional military forces and carried a more significant and, therefore, effective threat of total destruction. The decision to pursue a nuclear deterrence strategy based on massive retaliation allowed for both “guns” and “butter” in the American economy.

On the other hand, the high cost of sufficient conventional forces to meet the Soviet threat compelled the United States in the 1950's to adopt a new strategy. "Massive retaliation" depended upon nuclear weapons to counter overwhelming Soviet conventional forces. While "Flexible response" has superseded it, costs still dictate ultimate reliance on nuclear weapons for conventional deterrence.

**National interest** determination frequently relates directly to the size and capability of a nation's budget. A country can only pursue those interests for which it has sufficient resources. In 1983, President Ronald Reagan decided that it was in the national interest of the United States to develop the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI or "Star Wars."). In another example, Libya, in support of its stated national interests, has for years provided financial and other resources to various political extremist groups from the Irish Republican Army to the West German Red Army Faction to various dissident Palestinian groups based in Damascus. With the fall in the price of oil beginning in 1986, Libya has seen the bounties of high oil prices disappear. Colonel Qaddafi, Libya's leader, has been forced to cut back on his support of such international groups. Linked to Libya's national interests have been those of West European governments, especially France and Italy. Their decision to pursue diplomatic relations and ease economic restrictions imposed on Libya in 1986 after the bombing of a discotheque in West Berlin, reflect their economic interests in Libya.

Observations such as the aforementioned reinforce the intuitive recognition of the need for a solid understanding of a country's economic system to predict with any validity its actions and policies; therefore, the analyst must evaluate the political constraints and imperatives induced by economic conditions. This study commences with an assessment of the three economic functions of government: equity (income distribution), efficiency (economic regulation), and stability (economic growth). Sustained deficiencies in these areas mandate governmental actions to retain regime legitimacy.

In most Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, income distribution can be readily measured from published statistics. Median and modal incomes and poverty-level figures provide a basis of measurement. In the absence of a significant middle-class, wide variance in income or wealth may lead to popular dissatisfaction that could foster governmental change or even revolt.

In non-OECD countries, the necessary statistics are often either unavailable or unreliable. For instance, in the former Soviet Union, President Gorbachev's salary was 900 rubles a month, much less than the 2,000 rubles a month a Soviet marshal earned. Yet, special discount stores--open only to the highest party officials--readily furnished expensive goods at lower prices, which the general public could not obtain at premium prices. In these situations, the analyst must rely upon nonstatistical measurements such as rationing, black market practices, and queues to describe the differences in living standards.

Government also assumes the responsibility of managing the supply of goods and services by regulation to assure the economy meets the needs of the populace. In a free or mixed market economy, a fundamental governmental task is to guarantee competition by controlling monopolies. In command economies where competition is minimal, this function includes

provisions for adequate production inputs. But efficient management of the economy also entails control of corollary production factors: spillover effects (pollution, unsafe drugs and foods, strip mining), public goods (public health services, highways, and law and order), and taxation. For instance, Zaire's (which is now the Democratic Republic of Congo) lack of adequate transportation systems impeded the flow of agricultural products and induced a return to subsistence agriculture after decolonization.

Finally, the government seeks to stabilize the economy to eliminate the peaks and troughs of the business cycle. Sustained economic growth results from an effective macroeconomic policy that consists of high output, high employment, price level stability, and sustainable balance of payments. While the Gross National Product (GNP) is the basic measurement of an economy, macroeconomic policy is gauged respectively by productivity, the unemployment rate, the inflation rate, and net exports. Lack of improvement in these four areas may pose the greatest threat to a government. Radical change or consistent failure in these areas indicates problems that governments cannot ignore without significant adverse consequences.

#### **IV. International political economy and its inter-relationship with other pol-mil factors**

Internationally, political economy is the interplay of economic and political factors in international relations and foreign policy. It may involve trade issues, monetary policy, or debt relief and economic restructuring. It has manifested itself through calls for a New International Economic Order (NIEO), a set of demands by the Third World to alter the existing international economic system to improve its economic conditions, and Dependency Theory, a neo-Marxist explanation for the continued impoverishment of the poor countries of the world. The Bretton-Woods International Monetary Order, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the World Trade Organization (WTO), and various Development Banks and international aid agencies are all responses to international economic problems within their political context. On a more regional basis, the effects of the direct relationship between politics and economics appeared in the European Union, the Magrebi Union of North Africa, the Gulf Cooperation Council, the Latin American Free Trade Association, the Central American Common Market, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the Asian Development Bank, and the North American Free Trade Agreement.

The examination of a state's economy and international trade patterns can reveal vulnerabilities to **external influences**. Other states can use these weaknesses to achieve their own objectives. Economic sanctions offer a negative inducement. The Soviet grain and OPEC oil embargoes overtly illustrate this point, but often the tacit threat works more effectively. Although United States dependence on critical minerals from South Africa tempered American criticism of the Afrikaner regime, sanctions were imposed against South Africa.

The most difficult and perhaps the most rewarding political objective of international economics lies in the creation of economic ties of such a strong nature that countries mutually benefit from the relationships. Historical examples of this include: the European Coal and Steel Community; the context of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT); the Bretton Woods Accord; the Maghrebi Union of North Africa; the Asia Pacific Economic Caucus (APEC); and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

To determine economic dimensions of vital **national interests** and **international influence**, the analyst needs a framework to define existing relationships. Import-export balances, exchange rates, and current account deficits depict a country's general position in the international system. The peaks, troughs, and rapid changes of these economic indicators suggest external penetration and potential vulnerabilities, and indicate problems that could cause policy shifts.

As no event occurs in isolation from its predecessors, national economic systems do not operate in seclusion from the world around them. Most modern industrialized economies depend on imports to furnish raw materials and on exports to pay for them. No industrial economy can function without energy, yet few states have sufficient resources within their borders. Thus, the 1973 oil crisis offers a poignant example of the economic factor in the determination of vital national interests. The oil embargo prompted radical measures in Europe and the United States. Europe's continued dependence on foreign oil supplies led President Carter in 1979 to declare the Persian Gulf a vital national interest to dispel any delusions the Soviets might have had, following their invasion of Afghanistan, of continuing south to attain a warm water port. Similarly, Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal threatened British and French trade routes upon which their industrial development depended. His action intensified other grievances against him and precipitated the 1956 Anglo-French invasion of Egypt to recapture the Canal. The Gulf War was a result of a coalition of nations determined to repel Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait and the security of the rich oil deposits in the region.

A more accurate analysis surfaces through an examination of a country's self-sufficiency in four elements of economic power: energy, critical nonfuel minerals, industrial capacity, and food production. The need for energy permeates economies and, while oil constitutes the primary source, hydroelectric power, nuclear reactors, and old-fashioned coal enhance self-sufficiency and modernization. Scarce nonfuel minerals -- for example, iron ore, copper, bauxite, chromate, and uranium -- are critical to modern technology and, therefore, military hardware production. Three products most effectively indicate industrial capacity: steel (basic industry), aluminum (light industry), and concrete (building materials). These products, in turn, describe the country's capability to produce military equipment and necessary goods. People must eat, so food production also determines economic power. It can best be measured by net import-export of three basic foods: wheat, coarse grains, and rice.

The preceding factors depict gross vulnerabilities to external influence. They must be refined by examination of patterns of trade. If a country depends on a single country or region for any of the critical ingredients, a stranglehold could be established. If no alternative sources exist, then the source could be a vital interest. Similarly, trade routes by which products and raw materials are shipped become vital interests; e.g., the Panama Canal, and the Straits of Malacca and Gibraltar. In any case, any dependence on foreign sources for any of the economic factors of national power becomes a possibility for external influence by either denial or assistance.

While economics or any other single political-military analytical factor cannot tell the whole story, its pervasive impact on domestic politics, foreign policy, defense policy, and diplomacy dictates its prominent place in the analyst's repertoire of tools. Decisions always incur costs, and in today's intricate international system, they often have both an economic

impetus and an economic impact. As such, foreign policy can neither be understood nor predicted without consideration of the economic dimension.

## **V. Questions to consider**

There are several basic questions the analyst must address when analyzing a nation's political economy:

1. In its bilateral or multilateral relations with other states, does the country use economic rewards or punishments; how effective are these techniques?
2. How dependent is the nation's economy on the outside world?
3. What kind of economy has the government established?
4. What are the social and political consequences of the decision to either shift or not to shift the economy?
5. Where does the nation's economy fall within the International Political Economy?
6. How do international law and regulations affect the nation's political economy?
7. Is the nation adopting protectionist practices? If so, why does it set barriers to foreign trade?

## **VI. Summary**

Despite recent setbacks in Russia, Asia, and Brazil, the American economy appears vibrant thanks to its sound and effective economic policies. Faster economic growth supported by less government regulations and lower marginal tax rates on economic gains. A century ago, Karl Marx, the father of socialism, and John Maynard Keynes, the father of modern capitalistic economics, distinguished themselves by becoming two of the first economists to recognize the economic basis of political change. Although socialism and communism have since been discredited, their followers have not forgotten that relationship. Until recent times, capitalist scholars, politicians, and analysts have tended to separate economics from politics. Dramatic events of recent times have reminded them of the economic dimension to domestic and international political events. For the political-military analyst, the study of economics can not be divorced from the political context.

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### **Relevant sites on the World Wide Web:**

1. [http://www.auburn.edu/academic/liberal\\_art/pol\\_sci/U120/U120.html](http://www.auburn.edu/academic/liberal_art/pol_sci/U120/U120.html)
2. <http://g8.cuonline.edu>
3. <http://www.oecd.org/>
4. <http://www.wto.org>
5. <http://www.usitc.gov/tr/tr.htm>

## Chapter 10

### Role of the Military

#### I. Introduction

This chapter introduces the military as an aspect of national power, a political actor, an economic force, and a key national institution. It outlines factors the analyst may use to explain and predict military behavior within a country. Focusing on the regional analysis mission of the PSYOP/Civil Affairs Officer, this chapter concentrates on societal roles and the relationship of the military to the political system. It leaves aspects such as tactics, order of battle and combat readiness to the military intelligence community.

#### II. Definitions

##### **Military**

For political-military analysis, the word "military" describes those armed forces identified by a government as its military. If a country considers its police forces to be part of the military, you should so treat them.

##### **Types of Militaries**

Because foreign militaries differ, the analyst operationalizes the definition by describing, contrasting and comparing their organization, makeup, roles, missions, and practices.

- Regular forces. Look at interservice and intraservice solidarity or rivalry; cliques or factions based on class, ethnicity, language, regional ties, or socioeconomic class and patronage ties.
- Defense establishment. This includes civilian leadership and bureaucrats.
- Militia/reserves/national guard.
- Paramilitary forces. A border patrol would be an example of a paramilitary force.
- Police or other security forces.
- Private armies/warlord armies. Private armies are those outside the regular military force structure; however, they are recognized as legitimate in the society. Warlord armies are those that are extralegal or illegal. Both armies generally hold personal loyalty to their leaders above loyalty to the government.
- Regular forces, paramilitary units, security forces, and private/warlord armies may contain mercenary units as well as indigenous soldiers.

## **“Non-Political” Roles of the Military**

Militaries play a role in the society in which they exist and influence its development and function. Some of the roles that the military can play (other than defense) are --

### **Economic**

#### **Consumer**

The military consumes significant resources, including funds, material, land, technology, and manpower. Defense costs a lot and may be a nation's single greatest expenditure. Military consumption creates jobs and can have a significant economic impact, at least on a regional basis.

#### **Producer**

Some militaries, such as in Burma, China, and Brazil, produce goods and services for the general public as well as for their own consumption. Most others at least assist in the areas of transportation, communications, disaster relief, and other public works projects. A lot of military production and technology is dual-use and provides benefits and spin-off products for the rest of society; e.g., cars, trucks, jeeps, electronics, and medical advancements.

### **Social Leveler**

The military in many countries provides a path of social mobility for disadvantaged groups. In some countries, the upper classes disdain military service, so the middle and lower classes serve instead. The military also provides educational and training opportunities, ranging from basic literacy and other skills to advanced degree programs. This training often carries over into civilian life once the soldier has been discharged, providing a pool of both skilled labor and trained, experienced managers. Many countries go even farther and provide preferential treatment for former servicemen in civilian education and training programs. Whereas the military may provide an avenue of advancement for lower classes or minority groups, this can also lead to class conflict within the military or between the military and the ruling class. Similarly, in many countries participation in the military by certain groups is restricted.

### **Nation Building**

When the military is the best-organized, strongest, most capable force in a country (and normally has a number of technical and problem-solving skills), it may be the entity best able to conduct sustained collective public activity. This may involve the exploration or settlement of border regions or other frontiers, such as during the 19th Century in the American West, in China, and in the United States and former Soviet space programs. It can include civic action projects such as building schools, hospitals, sanitation facilities, or resettlement villages. It can provide infrastructure such as bridges and roads, wells, canals, and irrigation systems. It can provide medical services, education and training for the general public as well as for soldiers.

The military can also provide citizenship training and some sense of national identity among the people, both through the training and indoctrination of recruits and through programs designed to inculcate the public with national values. Finally, the military can contribute to nation building by providing security and protection for the people and infrastructure from invasion or insurgency. This allows the government to establish legitimacy and the society to develop with stability.

### **Source of Force**

The state is usually the sole legitimate source of force, and the military the primary medium to use it. The expertise of the military profession is the "management of violence," and this expertise can extend or restrict the control of a government.

### **Foreign Influence**

The military can influence foreign countries positively and negatively. As a tool of foreign policy it provides influence along a spectrum ranging from exchange visits to foreign military training to advisors to shows of force and outright belligerent action. Territorial defense, its most universally accepted role, dissuades or repels invasions.

## **Political Roles of the Military**

The non-political roles of the military have significant political implications. Moreover, since the military is a powerful, well-organized and well-disciplined institution, it is a political force just by existing. Although there may be clearly differentiated areas of responsibility between the civilian authorities and the military, the expertise and knowledge vested in the military also make it a significant political factor. The analyst determines how and to what degree. For example, what are the legal and historic parameters for military involvement in politics? What are the channels for military decision making, expression, and dissent?

In many developing countries, the armed forces have major political roles beyond what we in the United States consider appropriate for own forces.

Military involvement in politics varies from simple influence to direct military control of the political process.

### **Influence**

The military is always one of several government agencies contending for power, position, and resources. Although there may be well-defined areas of responsibility between civilian and military authorities, the military may try to expand its own numbers, acquire larger revenues, and enhance or perpetuate its own position in the system. Either individual soldiers in key positions or the military as a whole can do this.

### **Active Participation**

In some systems, the military plays a central rather than peripheral role in the political process. There are still clearly defined areas of responsibility among branches of the government, but the military may have certain veto authority and administrative duties. Soldiers may even occupy certain cabinet positions. The military may also put certain limits on the political process by delineating who it will or will not accept as a government leader.

### **Military Control with Partners**

In this case the military is clearly in charge of the political system, but it has co-opted civilian technicians and bureaucrats. This type of government typifies "military regimes."

### **Praetorianism**

In a praetorian state the military dominates politics. Perlmutter defines praetorianism as "A political process (as well as a type of government and type of civil-military relations) that favors the development of the military as the core group of the ruling class." A praetorian state is one in which "the military intervenes with and tends to dominate the executive."

### **Non-intervention**

The military's refusal to act may render a government impotent, thus bringing it down. An example of this is the withdrawal of active military support for the Marcos regime in the Philippines in February 1986, leading to the accession of power by Corazon Aquino.)

## **Military Intervention in Politics**

### **Definition**

This section describes military interventions that are not part of the current accepted or legal system. These interventions forcibly substitute the military's policies and/or leaders for those of the civilian government.

### **Sub-coups**

#### **Displacement**

The military intervenes directly by removing or otherwise neutralizing politicians, officials, bureaucrats, elites, or groups in an illegal, extralegal, or unconstitutional manner. They may also replace such parties with military members.

#### **Pressure, Blackmail, and Threat**

The military intervenes indirectly by forcing the government to act according to the military's agenda.

## **Intervention by Invitation or Default**

The military may gain influence or political power under conditions not of its own making. Civilian authorities may ask the military to step in if the civilians feel incapable of governing, as in Burma in the late 1950's. The military may also be the only institution to survive domestic social and political turmoil, gaining political power by default. An example of this is the large number of government positions held by soldiers in China at the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976 after several political leaders had been killed, imprisoned, or banished.

## **Characterization of an Intervention by the Military**

### **Reason for the Intervention**

Usually the military characterizes an overt intervention as necessary. Relying on a broad interpretation of national defense, the military moves to protect the country from the threat of weak, corrupt, and incompetent politicians, or to resolve a crisis. Even if the reasons for intervention are less noble (e.g., class, regional, ethnic, corporate, or individual self-interest), the military will cloak or justify its actions in the rhetoric of patriotism, national interests and security.

### **Planned Duration of the Intervention**

The military usually asserts that an intervention is temporary, and promises to restore normal government when the conditions prompting the interventions are gone. However, sometimes the military is reluctant to relinquish power and return to the barracks.

## **Military Coups (*coups d'etat*)**

### **Definition**

A military coup is a forcible takeover of the legal government by the military.

### **Actors**

With exceptions, field grade officers of the national army usually plan and lead intervention or *coups d'etat*. Since senior officers are normally part of the ruling elite and have a stake in the status quo, coup leaders may see them as part of the situation-giving rise to the coup. A senior officer or a junta of senior officers may end up in power, but field grade officers normally instigate interventions. Company grade officers, NCOs, or the rank and file usually do not have the expertise or the span of control necessary to plan and implement a coup. Similarly, police and militia forces normally do not have the national command structure, organization, and orientation necessary to intervene.

### **Results**

Once the military has taken power, it has four basic options. It can either return or retain power, or it can expand or restrict political participation. If the military intervenes because of specific policy grievances, it may restore civilian rule once those grievances have been corrected. Intervention prompted by a breakdown or distrust of the political system as a whole, however, usually leads to the establishment of a praetorian state. Once the military takes power, only rarely does it succeed in building more effective democratic political institutions.

Instead, military rulers are often "civilianized" and political parties and electoral systems bent to meet the desires and needs of the military regime.

Despite the military's assertions that the intervention is temporary, military rule is generally of long duration. More important, once the military has intervened, it is likely to intervene again, assuming it gives back power in the first place.

Similarly, if the military does intervene, it is usually unable to govern a complex society on its own and must, therefore, co-opt the civilian structure, if for no other reason than to establish its own legitimacy. Since it is hard to govern indefinitely by brute force, and since militaries are not usually adept at handling the subtleties and complexities of running all aspects of a country, cooperation with certain civilians is essential. Those civilians are usually willing to cooperate once they realize that their own prerogatives are not threatened by the military regime. This leads to "military control with partners."

### **Indicators for Intervention**

The only states that seem relatively safe from military intervention are well-established Communist totalitarian states and well-established liberal democracies. Even these states are not immune, as the French experience in Algeria in the early 1960's attests. The following indicators apply to most military interventions.

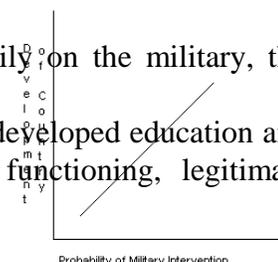
#### **Indicators in the Military**

- Heritage of Intervention. Regardless of their legal mission and role, militaries do not ignore their historical role. By far the most consistent predictor of a military coup is a previous coup. Moreover, the more coups have occurred, the more likely is a subsequent coup.
- Delineation of Responsibilities. The more clearly defined are the areas of responsibility between the military and the civilian authorities, the less likely is intervention. This clear delineation also facilitates civilian control of the military.
- Civilian supremacy as a totally accepted rule. This grossly inhibits intervention. See *Civilian Control of the Military*, below.
- Readiness. The fear that politicization will destroy the military's ability to fight reduces the probability that they will intervene.
- Fear of Failure. The military may fear that losing the intervention will bring about the end of the military. This deters intervention.
- External and Internal Mission. Risk of intervention is also reduced the more the military is oriented on defense against an external threat. Conversely, the use of the military to quell civil unrest increases the possibility of intervention. If the government uses the military against political opponents, especially against the advice of the officer corps, intervention is even more likely. Furthermore, the more involved the military is in internal issues, the more political it becomes. Finally, militaries which are active in civic action operations are less likely to intervene. It is therefore important to distinguish clearly between the international and domestic duties of the military, police and/or militia.

- Guardians of the Nation. The explicit or implicit mission of soldiers to be the saviors or guardians of nation or the constitution stimulates intervention when either is in danger. (Note that the constitution may prohibit intervention.) Note that this distinguishes between a mission to serve and protect the nation from a mission to serve and protect the government. Furthermore, when the military identifies itself as embodying national interest, it feels entitled to intervene.
- Ulterior Motives. The military may use the nobler motives of national interest and patriotism to disguise protection of a sector (the rich), a class (elites), the military itself, or for motives of pure careerism.
- Divisions in the military. Certain factions in the military may be at odds with other factions. In many coups, these factions separate themselves and pursue their agenda through intervention. On the other hand, such disagreement or factionalism may inhibit the military's ability to intervene.
- Geography. Military units scattered throughout the country or deployed overseas are less able to intervene than if they are concentrated in the national capital.
- Specialization and division of labor. The more technical the military is, the more complex and well-defined missions and responsibilities are within it, and the less chance there is of intervention. Ground forces are more likely to intervene than naval and air forces because the army is usually the largest but the least complex of the uniformed services in a country. In many cases it is deployed in large numbers in the vicinity of the capital, often as a "palace guard."
- Political awareness of the officer corps. Generally, the more politically sophisticated the military in general, and the officer corps in particular, the more likely is an intervention.
- Consciousness of kind. Militaries with extreme senses of being distinct, special, and elite, are more emotionally capable of intervening.
- Sense of power. To the extent that militaries see themselves as overwhelmingly powerful, they may be disposed to intervene.
- Grievances. A military that believes itself already the victim (or under the threat) of some societal or government wrong is more willing to seek redress against the offending system.
- Defeat in war. A defeated military, especially if it feels the government had somehow let it down, is more likely to intervene.
- Officer recruitment patterns. Officers of the same social strata of the governing elite are less likely to initiate or participate in interventions.

### Indicators in the Situation

- Domestic Circumstances. In all cases there is a plausible national "reason" for a military intervention. Overt crisis, latent crisis, or a power vacuum all provoke the military to intervention. If they are not the real cause, they may be the putative cause.
- History. Countries with one coup have a far higher probability of a coup than countries with no coups in their history. Countries with more coups are more susceptible. The more recent the coup, the more probable the next.
- Civilian dependence on the military. Where society relies heavily on the military, the military has more opportunity for successful intervention.
- Development of the Country. As a rule, a high literacy rate, well-developed education and communication systems, urbanization and a well established, functioning, legitimate



political system in the country, all tend to inhibit military intervention. On the other hand, agrarian societies with serious economic and social problems, underdeveloped education and communication networks, and a political system unwilling or unable to respond to the needs of the nation face a higher risk of intervention.

- Stability of the Country. Perceived disintegration (loss of integrity) of domestic, political, economic, and social institutions is one of the main reasons for military intervention.
- Political Culture. Where political culture is high or mature, nations are less likely to accept intervention than in nations where political culture is low or immature.
- Complexity of Society. The more complex the society and political system, the less the chance of intervention. Other foci of power, such as the monarchy, legislature, labor unions, the bureaucracy, and opposition factions can provide alternatives to military rule and, therefore, inhibit intervention.
- Popularity of the Military. The more popular the military is with the people, the more likely the chance for intervention, especially if the people see the military as a counterbalance to the government rather than as its instrument of oppression. The military may even be asked by the people, and in some cases by the government itself if it is threatened with popular revolt, to take over. The more popular the military, the greater their perception of their actions being accepted.
- Ethnic and Class Cleavage. If these conflicts attack the ruling or dominant group, likelihood of military intervention rises.

## **Civilian Control of the Military**

### **Importance**

Civilian control of the military is a characteristic that typifies nations free from military intervention. Whether it exerts a causal, inhibiting effect is academic. However, many of the factors, characteristics and circumstances that accompany or facilitate civilian control of the military relate closely to factors that do inhibit intervention.

### **Constitutional Constraints**

Nations constrain the military by placing a civilian commander in charge of the armed forces or by explicitly subordinating the military to a civilian governmental organ. They can vest power in the civilian legislature to raise and maintain armies and navies, to conduct investigations, to declare wars or states of emergency, and to pass or approve budgets. Almost all countries have constitutions or laws that specify civilian control, but constitutional restraint requires the willing acquiescence of the military.

### **Ascription**

This is where the military identifies closely with the political system and the ruling class. This can be done by integrating the military with social forces or by keeping it separate from them. The integration occurs in three ways:

- Class congruity. The military, especially the officer corps, can come from the same social class as the ruling elite. This has been true especially of West European armies. Even in

colonial armies, the officer corps has had ties to the homeland and generally did not even intermarry with the natives.

- Nation-in-arms. The country requires universal military training and service. This guarantees security by total participation of the polity. There is a small professional military core. The army comprises citizens who become soldiers in time of crisis; however, these soldiers do not permanently set aside their civilian roles. Government civic education is tied to military training and defense. The civilian militia may act as a counter to the threat of a coup by the professional army. Civilian-educated officers often serve a similar purpose. This system is used in Switzerland, Israel, and to a degree in postwar United States.
- Party control. Placing the military under control of the "party" integrates it with social forces. Communist countries use this means.

Separating the military from society. Drawing the military from certain areas or groups and stationing them in places other than their home regions or in remote borders and frontiers accomplishes this. This was common among colonial armies, who not only set large numbers of soldiers' abroad but also recruited locals from what they called the "martial races," such as the Gurkhas or the Sikhs. Many countries, including the former Soviet Union, China, and 19th Century America, have practiced stationing troops along borderlands or in frontier regions.

### **Army of the Ruling Party**

Many Communist countries use this means to enhance civilian control. Communist revolutionary armies politicize the masses as part of their overall strategy. Revolutionary guerrilla warfare is as much political as it is military. Once in power, the party continues to use its parallel apparatus of the commissariat to control the military. Many countries also give preferential treatment to soldiers applying for party membership, causing soldiers to identify with the goals and well being of the party and, therefore, the state. In a Communist political system, party hegemony is linked to military power. The military is the linchpin of the party-state relationship.

### **Geography and History**

The benefits of stationing forces in remote areas have already been mentioned. Similarly, if a country is relatively isolated or has no serious threat on its borders, it can maintain a small army, which is easier to control, such as in early America or present-day New Zealand. Additionally, if a nation has a history of civilian control, such control is likely to continue. Civilian control is self-perpetuating. The longer it exists, the more the military comes to see it as proper, and military intervention as unnatural. Similarly, the longer the civilian authorities govern, the more experience and expertise they gain; therefore, control is better established. This can even be true of armies who trace their history to colonial times, such as the systems extant in India, Malaysia, and Singapore. By the same token, as mentioned earlier, if there is a history of intervention, then intervention is likely to recur.

### **Clearly Defined Spheres of Responsibility**

This factor is perhaps the most important.

- Military. The wider the sphere considered appropriate for military involvement, the greater the chances for intervention in politics. The more well defined and restricted the military sphere of responsibility, the less the probability of intervention. However, a corollary to this is that the military should have relative autonomy within its own areas.
- Civilian. Civilian interference in military affairs is just as unpalatable, and in some cases just as risky as military interference in civilian affairs. The best protection against military intervention may be legitimate, widely supported, effective political institutions on one hand, and a voluntary restraint on behalf of the military and civilian authorities alike not to use the military for domestic security on the other.

### III. Analytical Questions

The answers to the following questions relate directly to the principles stated above.

- What is/are/constitute the military forces of this country? Who says?
- What is/are their organization(s)? Makeup? Roles? Missions? Practices?
- Are there inter/intra-service rivalries? Cliques? Factions? Why? How? Who?
- What is the nature of the defense establishment?
- How significant is the military economically? In what ways? Producer? Consumer?
- Are military responsibilities delineated clearly? Does practice follow the delineation?
- Does the military serve and protect the nation or the government?
- What internal (domestic) roles does the military have? What have they done?
- What external roles does the military have? What have they done?
- What is their capability to defend? Attack? State of training? Equipment? Maintenance?
- Who are the soldiers? Officers? Where do they come from? How are they educated?
- What is their economic and social status? Are there restrictions? Preferences?
- How is the military organized politically? By unit? By year group? By branch?
- Are any military leaders part of the elite? Do they go on to become elites?
- What are the legal limitations on the military? Are they clearly defined? Clearly obeyed?
- Is it subordinate to civilian authority? How? How much? How long?
- Is the military apolitical or political? In what ways? How much? Which part?
- Is it cohesive? Are there opposed factions?
- Is it geographically dispersed? Are there units near the capital? The border?
- Does anything threaten the military? Budget? Limitation of influence?
- Is this a military regime? Military control with partners? A praetorian society?
- Have there been coups? How? When? Why? Who did it? The surrounding circumstances? How many? How recently?
- Does the public think the coup(s) was (were) a good thing?
- How long did the military stay in power? How did they relinquish power?
- How does the military handle its weaknesses at governing?
- Is the country well developed? Is literacy high? Are the people informed? Are there social and economic problems?
- Is there a crisis? Is the government solving the problems?
- How long has the government been democratic (if at all)?

- Is there popular support for the military?

#### **IV. Inter-relationships with other Pol-Mil Factors**

- **History:** The primary predictor of military intervention in a country is prior interventions and their nearness in time. Likewise, all military behavior is as predictable (or unpredictable) as any other human endeavor, using history as the basis.
- **Natural Environment:** In many countries, nation building requires the military to tame the environment. Conversely, the environmental truths of countries often define the role and makeup of the military. Coastline determines the size of the navy. The number of boundary nations determines ground forces. The extent of the hinterlands affects the capabilities and the use of the air force. The military's success or failure in natural disasters may affect its prestige, legitimacy, acceptance, and overall influence.
- **Cultural Environment:** Culture determines the makeup and acceptance of the military, as well as its roles.
- **Political Systems:** Political systems determine the legal basis for the military and the politicization of its members. The robustness of political systems determines the probability of military intervention.
- **Political Economy:** Militaries consume and produce. They enforce customs rules, protect national waters and lands for enterprise.
- **Ideology:** Militaries constitute guarantors of ideology as it becomes policy. Military culture often reflects national ideology, especially as it relates to patriotism.
- **Religion:** In some cultures, militaries are comprised of soldiers of one religion. In some cultures, religions prohibit or discourage military service.
- **Foreign Influence:** The military might constitute a national resource to exert influence on other countries, or resist influence from other countries. Some militaries are linked to other states through shared military histories or current operations and cooperation.
- **Leadership:** Many nations recruit leaders from the military, and in praetorian societies and military regimes, the military are the national leaders.
- **Regional Perspectives:** The strength of a nation's military, especially compared to the militaries of other nations, affects its outlook in international affairs -- how it forms alliances, and how it pursues solutions to problems.
- **National Interests:** As reliable, competent and obedient bureaucracies, nations view their militaries as mechanisms to pursue their interests.
- **Ethnicity:** Many militaries draw enlisted and officers from certain ethnic segments of society.
- **Elites:** As in leadership, the military may contribute its leaders to the elites, or may form the main elite structure for the nation.

#### **V. Conclusion**

The military plays an important role in virtually every nation, serving as both cause and effect. Determining the nature of that role, and its relationship to other analytical factors, may enable you to better explain and predict important events, recommend appropriate policy, and generate sound courses of action.

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## Chapter 11

### Leadership

#### I. Introduction

Even though we personify countries when we say things like "Russia announced today that . . ." or "Egypt today took action to . . .," usually some leader caused or influenced the action. Accordingly, explaining and predicting the leader's actions help to explain and predict the country's actions.

#### II. Definitions

Leadership occurs when, in a context of competition and conflict, people with motives, purposes and resources mobilize other people in order to realize goals independently or mutually held by both leaders and followers. (Burns, passim.) Leadership may be legal, illegal, or extralegal.

Leaders exercise power and authority.

Power is the ability to mobilize or immobilize people to produce intended results for particular purposes. The exercise of power may be legal, illegal, or extralegal. It relates to the purpose or goal of the power-wielder only. National leaders obviously have power (as do robbers, rapists, priests, parents, oligarchs and Army officers). Brute force is one form of power, but not the only one.

Authority is the legitimate exercise of power. When people recognize the right of a person or group to wield power over them, even to the point of using force, then that person or group has authority. Authority may be acquired through special training, conferred by virtue or one's position, or both. Army officers, teachers, and policemen all have authority, even though many of them may not be leaders per se. Again, concern for effects is largely one-way.

**Relationship of Leadership, Power, and Authority.** Leadership transcends power and authority because it incorporates the goals and aspirations of the subordinate as well as the leader.

The expected response from the led conditions the behavior of the leader. The leader may be able to mobilize others for his own purpose, but more often he is "merely adept at identifying himself with the conditioned will of the crowd and identifying for the crowd its own purposes." (Galbraith, pp. 44-45.)

The leader articulates, defines, or creates goals and objectives for the followers. He may do this by making their goals his, his goals theirs, or both. He may arouse latent attitudes and desires or give rise to new ones. He can establish an identity for the crowd, showing its members what they have in common; e.g., Mao and the Chinese peasant. In

so doing, the leader can change an amorphous mass of people into a powerful political force.

Effective leadership tends to appeal to higher, more general and comprehensive values that will embody the more fundamental, mundane needs of the follower.

### **Types of Leadership**

James MacGregor Burns distinguishes between two types of leadership.

Transactional leadership. The leaders and followers exchange something for something; e.g., jobs or lower taxes for political support, cooperation and obedience for promotion. The exchange may be on a political, economic, or psychological level. This is the kind of leadership the vast majority of leaders exercise. It is also the kind of leadership most of us exercise as Army officers.

Transformational leadership. The transformational leader looks for potential motives and attempts to engage the full power of the follower, satisfying the follower's higher needs, and raising him to a higher level of motivation and morality.

This leader acts as a moral agent. He may be "inspirational." Again, this leadership is symbiotic, and considers the needs of the follower.

While transformational leadership is rare, it is what most military officers like to believe they are exercising. (Burns only uses "transformational leader" for those who take their followers to a higher moral plane. Other scholars feel that this is too restrictive. To them, all the leader has to do to be "transformational" is to transform his followers, for good or ill.)

Although a transformational leader must also engage in transactional leadership, someone who is adept at one may not be at the other. A good transactional leader may be better able to hold his position through good management practices than a transformational leader who rises by sheer force of personality--only to get mud on his toga once in office.

### **Culture and Leadership**

Social and cultural contexts help explain leadership. Culture plays a role in shaping the needs, values, and personalities of leaders and followers alike. What, in each culture, confers the mantle of leadership?

To accomplish his goals, the leader must direct the behavior of others. How he does this will vary greatly among societies. Cultural norms create expectations and judgments regarding the appropriate behavior of leaders and followers. These norms may be mystical or religious, practical or technical.

Since these norms differ, Pye points out that political leaders don't travel well across cultural lines. There is no such thing as the leader for all people in all societies at all times.

(Leaders in one culture can be effective or have significant influence in another society. However, he probably will not achieve leadership status outside his own culture; e.g., Gandhi. Leaders may also come to power in spite of cultural obstacles; e.g., Indira Gandhi of India, Bhutto of Pakistan, and Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka.)

The culture helps determine the centers and sources of leadership in the society. These may include interest groups, government bureaucracy, military, media, political parties, trade unions, universities, or religious organizations. Some will support the current ruling authorities and some will be in opposition. Some will be legal or nongovernmental, others will be illegal or extralegal.

Within and among these centers an analyst can discern the mode of distribution, or the formal numerical distribution of leadership roles; the mode of mobilization, or the means available to leaders for carrying out their roles; and the means of allocation, or the types of leadership opportunities that exist, the purposes and methods of training new leaders, and how individuals and groups gain access to leadership positions. (Rosen in Kellerman, pp. 39-42.)

### **How a leader becomes a leader.**

There are at least six ways that people can assume positions of leadership. They may also occur in combinations.

- Inheritance. This is common historically, especially in societies where the upper classes were specially trained for leadership as part of *noblesse oblige*. Where this phenomenon is found today, ascription and achievement usually go hand-in-hand. Someone may gain initial access to leadership positions by right of birth, but must undergo special training and prove themselves worthy of leadership. Leaders in societies as diverse as Britain, Japan, and North Korea still assume leadership positions through inheritance.
- Force or threat of force (military coup or rebellion).
- Ideological appeal (Gandhi).
- Foreign support and assistance.

Starting one's own organization. This normally occurs when the needs of the leader and those who follow him are not being met through existing organizations. People who achieve significant positions of leadership in a society via this mechanism usually do so in times of crisis.

- Institutional selection. This is the most common today. Positions and duties of leadership are formalized by one's predecessors and by regulations and codes. The leader comes up through the institution, holding lower offices in successively more responsible positions. At the upper echelons, leadership within the institution can translate into national leadership. This does not necessarily mean that the process is democratic. Communist parties and the military are two examples of organizations that have undemocratic institutional leadership selection processes.

### **Aspects of Leadership**

Leadership can be better understood if looked at as a system where the leader, in conjunction with the follower, mobilizes resources and means to accomplish goals for particular purpose within an environment of conflict. The following model reveals several aspects of leadership.

- o Leadership is purposeful. Naturally, the purpose must meet the needs of the leader and followers alike once it is achieved.
- o Leadership is goal oriented. Leaders point a direction and tell how objectives are to be accomplished.
- o Leadership is causative. Leaders affect social relations and political institutions, if only to maintain them. The leader tries to bring about change. Good leaders bring about intended rather than unintended change.
- o Leadership is dissenting.

Leaders overcome obstacles in the environment to accomplish goals. Without obstacles, his followers could accomplish their goals on their own. Obstacles include opposition groups, laws, scarce resources, and cultural constraints.

Conflict also exists between leader and follower. Followers have goals and agendas which may not fit snugly with those of the leader. Few will agree with their leaders on all issues. Leaders must reconcile divergent groups and resolve conflicts among their various constituencies. This is especially true in political parties.

Conflicts may also arise between party bureaucrats who want to serve party interests, and government officials who are party members but who feel a responsibility to serve the needs of a larger constituency.

- o Leadership is social.

In the symbiotic relationship between the follower and the leader, the leader fulfills some need for the follower, who then consents to follow. Two or more followers constitute a group. Individuals join groups to add their voice to others with similar ambitions, gaining access to a wider audience. Through the group the individual

converts personal effort into social action. Leaders, then, must not only meet individual needs but also group needs.

Leadership does not have to be governmental, but it is institutional; e.g., Lech Walesa or Desmond Tutu. However, it is not enough for a leader to meet the needs and wants of large numbers of followers. The leader must also be aware that in doing so he reorganizes the needs and goals of the followers, creating new wants and needs in the process. He must then be prepared to help formulate those new demands as well and to meet them. This is done through an organization.

### **Organization in Leadership**

Organization is the most important source of power for leaders in modern society. Usually, that person whom we call a "strong" leader not only has a dominant personality and other personal "leader" traits, but also a strong group or coalition of groups behind him. Similarly, a "weak leader" is generally one whose supporters are few or poorly united. Obviously, personality may be closely related. A leader with a strong personality will draw large numbers of people to him, which may allow him to garner more influence if he can incorporate them into his organization.

Subordinate leaders are a significant part of an organization. Each leader deals with subordinate leaders who have needs, goals, and resources of their own. Second and third echelon leaders are a significant part of the leadership system. A change in subordinate leadership may signal a change in policy. It may also be a source of unintended change because of the way the new subordinate implements policy. Moreover, the type of subordinates he has can provide some insight into the type of person the leader is. First-rate leaders surround themselves with first rate subordinates, while second-rate leaders surround themselves with third-rate subordinates.

The ostensible leader may not really be in charge of an organization. Government decisions are usually collective. One particular leader may get the credit or the blame, such as in the "Bush administration," the "Thatcher government," or the "Mubarak regime," but politics is by and large a team sport. This collective nature of governmental leadership can make it difficult to distinguish just who the most important leaders really are.

"Headship" is not necessarily leadership. There are several heads of state who are merely figureheads, while the head of government actually runs the country. Similarly, economic and social status do not necessarily equate to political leadership; e.g., Malaysian Chinese or Buddhist monks in Southeast Asia. The real leader may not be the person nominally in charge, but the one who gets things done; e.g., Deng Xiao-ping in China. Determine where the real power lies. Only some ministries and committees in government or other positions in society are most important (for example, the Senate Armed Services Committee or the House Ways and Means Committee in the U.S. Congress, the Military Affairs Commission in China, or the Catholic Church in the Philippines). The same is true for opposition groups. In most environments, the

opposition has power and can exercise leadership. Even leaders who may currently be out of favor can exert influence or play roles in the future. Deng Xiao-ping was purged twice before he last came to power in China. Ayatollah Khomeini was in exile for years before he came to power in Iran.

### Personal Characteristics of the Leader

- o Maintaining power. No matter how effective he may be, no leader is omnipotent. Accordingly, his first order of business is to maintain and/or enhance his position. Because of the friction between leaders and followers, there will always be a system of checks and balances, both formal and informal. As a result, the leader will believe that he has insufficient power to accomplish his objectives and so needs to acquire more. If the checks and balances are weak, the leader can abuse the power he obtains. This is what occurs in authoritarian leadership systems.

- o Feet of Clay. As a human being, the leader responds to human personal and psychological pressures. Some of these influences weigh more heavily on the leader. They might be sex (Gandhi), family (MacArthur), class, religion, age, money, health, or the spouse. The leader may be people oriented or structure/process oriented. He has an ideology, a world view, a background and a personal history. He has personal goals. He may be consistent or erratic. Someone may influence him, like Suharto's soothsayer. This type of information resides in biographical dossiers maintained at embassies and various intelligence organizations, biographies and autobiographies, and certain journals or newsletters like Defense and Foreign Affairs Weekly or Current Leaders. Retroactive psychoanalysis of past leaders may reveal a lot about leadership in the culture in which the subject lived.

**III. Analytical Questions** The answers to the following questions relate directly to the principles stated above.

- o Who is the true leader of this organization?
- o Does this organization exercise real power or influence? How?
- o What factions support the organization?
- o Who are its members?
- o Is it strong? Well supported? Widely supported? By whom?
- o What motivates this leader (money, sex, recognition, power, ideology)?
- o How did the leader come to power? Is he charismatic?
- o How do leaders come to power in this organization? In this culture? Does he have those traits?
- o Did he come to power via normal channels or did he circumvent them?
- o What are this leader's strengths? Weaknesses? Desires?
- o What strong lessons has he learned through success? Failure? Difficulty?
- o In which environment does he thrive?
- o Is he an "organization man" or a maverick?
- o Does he fit the traditional mold, e.g., right family, right school, or is he an upstart?
- o To whom is he beholden? What are their goals?

- o Who are his confidants?
- o Is his focus on international affairs, domestic politics, economic and social issues, or defense?
- o Are his management approach and leadership style autocratic, democratic, or laissez faire?
- o Does he share power or hoard it? With whom does he share?
- o Does he make decisions with input from others?
- o Do others actually participate in the decision-making process, or does the leader make the decision and then seek or demand support for it?
- o What type of people does he surround himself with?
- o Is he reluctant or too quick to make decisions?
- o What threatens his position? His organization? His goals? His organization's goals?
- o Who are his subordinates? Which can be leaders?
- o Is there succession? How does it work?
- o What friction is there between the leader and the led?
- o Has the organization changed personnel recently? Why? Who caused it?

#### **IV. Inter-relationships with other Pol-Mil Factors**

- o History: Patterns of the characteristics of past leaders repeat themselves within a region and a country. Charismatic leaders harken back to other successful leaders, and play on their similarities and differences.
- o Cultural Environment: Culture determines the accepted characteristics and sources of leaders.
- o Political Systems: Political systems determine the legal basis for governmental organizations, and establish the conditions for nongovernmental and opposing organizations.
- o Political Economy: Economic problems create the openings for leaders. Economic successes help them maintain power.
- o Ideology: Leaders identify themselves with ideologies, and may derive their power and followership with this identity.
- o Religion: In some cultures, the true leaders are religious leaders. In some cultures, religious leaders exert greater influence than the political structure suggests. In other cultures, leaders must recognize and comply with religious strictures to maintain legitimacy.
- o Foreign Influence: More than elites, leaders serve as the principle agents between governments, and are often the conduits or definers of international agreements and negotiations.

- o Regional Perspectives: A source of legitimacy for leaders is the quality of their adherence to regional perspectives, and how their agendas and policies reflect commonly held views.
- o National Interests: Political leaders articulate and openly pursue national interests.
- o Ethnicity: Ethnic groups may choose leaders to represent them. Leaders may be chosen or not on the basis of their own ethnicity.
- o Elites: Although a person can be an elite and a leader, elites differ from leaders in that they always represent the top of some class, while leaders need not. Furthermore, leaders must have followers, while elites need not. Finally, both leaders and elites exert real power and influence.

## **V. Conclusion**

Because they exert real power and influence, leaders are often the immediate cause of important circumstances. Accordingly, political-military analysts must understand the leaders in a region. Explaining and predicting leader behavior will help to explain and predict national behavior.

## Chapter 12

### Elites

#### 1. Introduction

Analysts study elites because they occupy the most influential positions or roles in the governing institutions of a community, or exert influence on those institutions. They are incumbents, leaders, rules and decision-makers. Watching them provides insight into the core values of a community because those core values determine what constitutes the best, what characteristics or activities are influential, and what constitutes real power. Watching them also helps establish cause and effect relationships, since power and influence define elites.

#### 11. Definitions

- **Elites.** For the purpose of political-military analysis, elites are defined as people who:
  - **Are the best of their class.** This class can be any categorization of people, activity, or sphere of social life. Those at the top are the elite. Within their category, other members look up to them, defer to them, and often follow them. The members of the class determine who is best and how "best" is measured.
  - **Exercise power and influence.** The elites that we study are only those who exercise real power or influence. This part of the definition simply relieves you from studying excellent people who do not significantly affect the situation. Some elites have more weights than others because they exert more influence.
- **Strategic Elites.** The ruling elite, top influentials, or the power elite are other terms to describe those elites who exert their influence on society as a whole, rather than on a segment. These leading individuals or groups maintain and develop the society and its culture (patterns of beliefs and values, shared means of communication, and major social institutions) are the strategic elites. No single stratum exercises all key social functions. Accordingly, the functions and the associated elites are specialized.
- **Segmental Elites.** Elites who exert their influence on a major subdomain of society.

#### Types of Elites

- **Ruling Caste.** One stratum does the most important social tasks, obtains its personnel through biological reproduction, and is set apart by religion, kinship, language, residence, economic standing, occupational activities, and prestige. Religious ritual is the main force that supports the position of this ruling stratum.
- **Aristocracy.** A single stratum monopolizes the exercise of the key social functions. The stratum consists of families bound by blood, wealth, and a special style of life and supported by income from landed property.
- **Ruling class.** A single social stratum is associated with various key social functions, and recruits its members into its various segments based on wealth and property rather than of blood or religion. Historically, ruling classes have held economic rather than political power, but their influence tends to extend to all important segments and activities of society. Although various differentiated and specialized sectors may be distinguished, they are bound together by a common culture and by interaction across segmental boundaries.

#### Functions of Strategic Elites.

Elites focus attention, coordinate activities, and keep things working. They help a country manage problems, change, growth and crisis. Elites symbolize and perpetuate the unity of a culture by emphasizing common purposes and interests. They coordinate and harmonize diversity. They minimize factions and resolve group conflicts. They try to protect their group from external danger. These functions can be grouped as:

- Goal attainment, the setting and realization of collective goals. These are the current political elite;
- Adaptation, the use and development of effective means of achieving these goals. These are economic, military, diplomatic, and scientific elites;
- Integration, the maintenance of appropriate moral consensus and social cohesion within the system. These elites exercise moral authority, such as priests, philosophers, educators, and first families;
- Pattern maintenance and tension management, the morals of the system's units individuals, groups and organizations. The elites that keep the society knit together emotionally and psychologically, are such celebrities as outstanding artists, writers, theater and film stars, and top figures in sports and recreation.

#### **Quantity and variety of elites.**

- In less complex societies elites are few in number and comprehensive in their powers. In societies at very simple levels of development, one elite may perform all four-system functions.
- More advanced industrial societies will tend toward several elites whose functional specialization accompanies a growing moral and organizational autonomy among them. As populations grow, occupations become differentiated, moralities vary, bureaucracies increase, and societal leadership moves from aristocracy or ruling class to leadership based on strategic elites. A large, industrialized country, with many occupational, regional, and ethnic differences, a society with levels of power, work, prestige, wealth, and lifestyle will probably not vest leadership in a single hereditary or traditional group, or in a single ruler. Instead, these elites will probably be specialized and varied.

#### **Elite Goals**

Elites seek to:

- Preserve the ideals and practices of their societies and sub-domains.
- Maintain their status as elites. This is the most predictive characteristic of an elite.

#### **Recruitment**

Elite replacement, or recruitment, is the process of attracting and selecting suitable candidates. Recruitment occurs in two basic ways: on the basis of biological (or social) inheritance and on the basis of personal talents and achievements. One of these tends to prevail. Understanding how and why elites are recruited suggests general social tendencies toward expansion or toward consolidation. Expanding societies or subdomains recruit more on the basis of personal achievement. Consolidating groups tend to recruit based on inheritance of status. The style of recruitment reflects profoundly on social mobility, individual incentive, and discontent among social strata. Styles of recruitment affect both the composition of the elites and their outlook.

In more modern industrial societies, recruitment and selection patterns accompany differentiation and autonomy among the elites. Recruitment based on social inheritance is giving way to recruitment based on individual achievement. Recruitment may also be based on ancestry, education, experience, and training. The public elects some elites, others are appointed by predecessors or superiors. Some are born to their positions. Some elite positions are temporary, others for life.

Sources of recruitment. Some elites can be found in training or in preparation. Military academies, prestigious prep schools or universities, key postings, cathedrals and seminaries, key fraternities or clubs, and elite branches of military service are all fishbowls to spot and study prospective elites.

Rewards. This is recruitment from the viewpoint of the elite candidate. Rewards for becoming an elite may be esteem, money, power, acceptance, or merely the ability to live up to expectations. Understanding the rewards that accompany elite recruitment reveals motivation, and accordingly, sources of leverage and manipulation.

### **Watching Elites.**

Examining the varying skills, styles, and backgrounds of elites reveals truths about the complex system they represent. The activities of these elites will in many ways reflect the desires of the heterogeneous populace they represent.

### **Finding Elites.**

The analyst identifies elites through research. Excellent sources are:

- US Intelligence agencies (CIA, DIA). Call the desk officer for the country, and ask.
- The US International Information Program formerly USIA). Call the desk officers in Washington and in country, and ask.
- FBIS. Review the names of key parties to major events.
- Embassies, attaches, and mil-groups. All of these have up-to-the-minute information on local elites.

### **III. Analytical Questions.**

- How does or will a circumstance or policy affect the elites?
- How do they exert pressure, influence, or power? What kind of influence? When and why do they do it?
- What are the rewards for this type of elite? Are the rewards threatened?
- Who are the elites in this society? What segments do they represent? What categories are there?
- What functions do they perform?
- What functions does the segment perform? Who does it represent? How are they recruited? From where? Are there limitations?
- Where do the elites come from? Is there a pattern?
- What is there about this elite that reflects societal patterns or trends? (If this elite is also a leader, see the questions in "Leadership".)

### **IV. Inter-Relationships with Other Political - Military Factors.**

- History: Elites represent the historical movement from aristocracy and oligarchy to pluralistic ideologies. Often major historical events defined what are now the traditional elites.
- Natural environment: Sources of elites may be tied to environmental realities, as in the landed agricultural elite of Argentina, or the oil sheiks of the Middle East.
- Political systems: By definition, elites hold key political positions, and the nature of the checks and balances associated with those systems limit or define the associated power and influence.
- Political economy: Traditionally, wealth is a major identifier of elites. People who control wealth, such as major industrialists, form an important segment of elites in capitalistic societies.
- Role of the military: The military presents a source of elites in most countries.
- Ideology: Some societal segments or subdomains are defined by ideology. The paragons of each ideology become elites, and are strategic elites if the holders of that ideology exert power and influence.
- Religion: Like the military, organized religion is a societal segment or subdomain that is a source of elites.
- Foreign influence: From a reverse perspective, elites may be the targets of foreign influence. The Pope influenced the religious elites of Latin America by promoting "liberation theology", which enabled political activism by the Catholic clergy.
- Leadership: (see "Leadership" chapter)
- Regional Perspectives: As the representatives of various societal segments or subdomains, elites are the repository of a culture's point of view.
- National interests: Elites manifest themselves by exerting influence and power to define national interests in their favor, or to resist national policy that is not in their favor.
- Ethnicity: Ethnicity can be both a recruitment prerequisite and disqualification. Each ethnic group will have elites, and if the group is influential enough, these elites will be strategic elites.

## **V. Conclusion**

Political-Military analysts study elites because they exert power and influence. This helps to explain and predict, and to establish cause and effect relationships. When we ask, "Who gets helped or hurt?" to find a cause or predict an effect, we look first to the elites.

## Chapter 13

### The Cultural Environment

#### I. Introduction

The analyst uses culture as an important factor to explain and predict behavior. This chapter distinguishes culture from other factors and introduces the analytical aspects of culture. The chapter does not address the use of culture in your interactions in other countries.

#### II. Culture and Society Defined

For our purposes, culture is learned and shared attitudes, values, and ways of behaving in a society. Culture includes customs, folkways, manners, mannerisms, etiquette, behaviors, body language, gestures, celebrations, milestones, dress, outlooks, perceptions, and thought patterns. It is embodied in history, art, myths, legends and heroes. It addresses appropriate responses to situations. It determines the circumstances and quality of apology, retribution, reward, punishment, equity, commiseration, disdain, shame, guilt, congratulations and pride. It selects and applies social sanction and reward. It expresses itself in superstitions, outlooks, perspectives, conventional knowledge and points of view. It encompasses the sense of time, individuality, possessions, sharing, self-worth and group-worth. It establishes the social hierarchy, defining roles by sex, age, position, religion, wealth, family and profession. In essence, culture defines what is and is not okay, accepted, and normal.

Culture also includes what you may call "Big 'C' Culture." This culture includes the fine arts, theater, famous artists, films, music, dance, and literature.

Culture relates to society. Society refers to those regularized mutual patterns of behavior among a specific group of people who share a geographical area and culture. Attitudes, values, and patterns of behavior characterize a society. These patterns of behavior demonstrate social organization; i.e., reciprocal rights, duties, and expectations between individuals in the group. Society and culture are interdependent concepts. One cannot exist apart from the other. However, they are not the same. Society refers to people and their social organization, while culture refers to their learned and shared way of life.

Because of differences in environment and historical experience, members of different human societies exhibit widely different patterns of behavior. Since social behavior is based upon commonly held ideas or notions of what is the correct response to a given stimulus, the most basic differences between peoples in different societies lie in the realm of ideas.

Culturally defined groups share a sense of common identity among members. This common identity works at different levels. It might be characteristic of a subgroup of society--a club, profession, or descent group. At its broadest level, it might include a collectivity called an "ethnic group."

## **Groups, Norms, and Values**

Groups. Since we define culture as learned and shared behavior it is clearly a group phenomenon. Accordingly, an understanding of group structure and process illuminates culture. All societies are comprised of a number of groups that may be related to each other in various ways. Political-military analysis requires that the analyst correctly identifies important groups in a society and correctly assesses patterns of behavior (culture) characteristic of each group.

Primary and Secondary Groups. Behaviorally, a primary group refers to groups that are small, intimate, and informal. The family is an excellent example of a primary group. In Africa, a lineage segment (of closely related kinfolk) in a local area would be another good example. Secondary groups, on the other hand, are utilitarian, formal, and impersonal. School classes, student bodies, labor unions, and PTAs are examples of secondary groups. In America, a religious denomination would normally be a secondary group. In Senegal, an Islamic religious brotherhood might well be a primary group. A person's primary group associations are usually more important to him, and will more likely affect his behavior than his secondary group associations.

Folkways, mores, and laws profoundly influence how one society will interact with another. They can have a significant effect on interstate relations. For example, a Judeo-Christian ethic--a Western model of appropriate behavior--results in certain expectations by Americans that others share our concern for individual human rights, whether or not the foreign cultures share the same ethic. A political-military analyst is expected to be able to assess the influence of folkways and mores on the formulation of national policies.

## **Acculturation (Acquiring Cultural Competence)**

Society's purpose is to make each member a fully responsible and functional individual within the whole. Accordingly, it does whatever is necessary to aid any one of its members to learn proper and appropriate behavior for any given social setting or situation. The individual, in becoming culturally competent, subordinates his dreams and expectations to the shared rules and requirements (norms and values), not only for the larger society but also for every specific demand within the life as a whole. The intent of society is responsible participation. Most members of the society eventually absorb the ideas and are appropriately "acculturated."

Obviously, a native-born adult member of a foreign society has a natural advantage over the analyst who is trying to acquire 30 years' cultural competence in two or three years. However, outside observers are often more insightful than insiders because of a lack of an agenda or embedded prejudices.

## **Social Controls**

Society imposes cultural competence through social controls. A society's regular and expected patterns of behavior are called norms, and society expects its members to live by them. These norms are embodied in folkways, mores, and laws. As you might expect, not everyone in a given society always follows the norms. It follows that all societies have mechanisms for

social control. These mechanisms operate at different levels.

The lowest level of mechanism for social control is "folkways," which are the manners and customs of a culture. They catalog the "normal" way to do things. Although these are taken very seriously, law does not enforce them, and failure to follow them is not considered an act of immorality. Folkways usually refer to behavior-like manners, dress, greetings, and other such activities. The observance of folkways makes for smooth interactions in society. Rewards for compliance include acceptance, inclusion, and esteem. Ridicule, avoidance, negative comments, and similar mechanisms usually enforce them negatively.

"Mores" are more powerful social controls. These might include sexual and marriage rules and other requirements of virtuous conduct. Mores are social rules and regulations of a moral nature. Their observance furthers membership, inclusion, regard and esteem. Various sanctions enforce them, although again, scorn, ridicule, isolation and exclusion are the primary mechanisms. Society permits its members to withhold from a transgressor any discretionary good thing.

The highest level of social control is that of laws. Laws are rules and regulations that are enforced by the state. The state may legitimately use force to assure compliance. Laws usually grow out of folkways and mores.

### **Culture, Change, and Predicting Behavior**

Ideas, models, norms, values, and behavior are always changing. Usually, the changes occur so slowly that most members of a society easily accept them. However, a variety of factors can accelerate change to the point that local models, ideas, and social organization cannot adequately cope. This is frequently the result of changes in the natural environment (drought, epidemic disease) or changes in economic conditions associated with national development.

Conditions of accelerated change often provoke regional tension, instability, and strife. The political-military analyst anticipates such circumstances and predicts the outcomes. This involves explaining and predicting how individuals in specific groups will act in response to social change. It requires an understanding of the key themes, models, and patterns of behavior in that cultural context. At the same time it necessitates a good historical perspective--an ability to recognize tendencies and patterns in similar circumstances in the past. Finally, it requires that the analyst clearly understand the range of viable economic and political options available to the group under study. Often, the analytical techniques provided by the disciplines of economics, political culture, and political science can apply.

Of course, to perform this role competently, the analyst must not only understand the processes of cultural adaptation to change but also the dynamics of change in specific natural environments and natural economies.

### **Language**

To the extent that thought and language are interdependent, language is key to understanding

culture. No culture can be completely understood without understanding the language. Languages will be rich in words about what is culturally important, and poor in words that have little cultural significance. However, knowing the language in no way indicates mastery of the culture.

### **Ethnocentrism and Cultural Relativism**

Ethnocentrism and cultural relativism are opposed approaches to understanding and explaining behavior in foreign-cultural contexts.

Ethnocentrism is the practice of interpreting and evaluating behavior and objects by reference to the standards of one's own culture rather than by those of the culture to which they belong. It results from the acculturation of the analyst that has internalized his own culture's norms. This internalization generates the notion that his culture's norms are superior to all others.

An ethnocentrist carries the notion to the point of defining an action as right or wrong by the standards of his own culture. Other ways of doing things make sense or do not make sense only in this light. Ethnocentrism allows a person to be satisfied and complete within the context of his own culture. However, it embodies, engenders and communicates an attitude of superiority of one's own ideas over all others. Consequently, ethnocentrism may decrease the analyst's ability to understand, explain or accurately predict behavior in other cultures. In extreme cases, it can lead to xenophobia. The Shiite fanatics of Iran provide a classic example.

Cultural relativism is the practice of interpreting and evaluating with reference to the normative and value standards of the culture to which the behavior belongs. It views the world and explains behavior in terms of the relevant culture (the culture under analysis). In this approach, behavior is appropriate or inappropriate. It makes sense and follows patterns, based upon the norms and values of that culture. The relativist carefully avoids judging others based only on his own cultural prism.

For the analyst, cultural relativism provides access to the other person's point of view and perspective. This, in turn, provides insight, competent explanation of otherwise opaque and strange happenings, and a powerful ability to predict human action and reaction.

Although a powerful analytical tool, cultural relativism should not serve as an article of faith. Extreme cultural relativism is actually derogatory of the culture being analyzed in that it assumes the absence of universal natural laws or human traits. All people bleed when cut; all cultures prohibit stealing, murder, rape, etc. Indeed, ethnocentrism provides the analyst with familiar cultural examples to compare and contrast. It tells him how different or how the same is the culture he analyzes. Finally, it provides him with a lexicon which people of his own culture can understand when he reports his findings.

Going native. This unflattering phrase describes behavior, not analysis. The person who adapts his behavior to that of a foreign culture gains a lot in his ability to accomplish missions, avoid problems and find out information. However, some people interpret these gains as signals that they can scrap their own core values in favor of the ones under analysis. At this point, they have gone native, and are of no further use to their country.

## **Categories, Stereotypes and Labels**

Political-military analysis selects those cultural factors (categories) that particularly influence political and military behavior in a given region, and determines their likely influence on the situation at hand. It considers local groups, local social organization, key cultural themes and values, and historically sanctioned modes of adaptation to social change. Finally, it expresses these relations with precise, carefully defined terms that clearly illustrate social dynamics.

Often, one must categorize groups of people, e.g., traditional, secular, Western, Islamic, etc. However, these labels are often very arbitrary and misleading -- they may or may not conform to the way the people themselves define their social universe. Terms in popular English usage, which Americans frequently apply to foreigners with little empirical justification, further complicate identification of social groupings. For instance, we often describe Islamic residents of the Middle East and North Africa as Arabs, even when they are of other than Arab ethnic origin. Ethnic distinctions among Africans are popularly ascribed to "tribalism," even though the actual African distinctions are often more analogous to European "nationalities" or even to economically defined social classes. While the competent analyst is obliged to use labels, he must use labels with great care, avoiding imprecision and stereotyping.

- The labels that are of most interest to political -military analysts are cultural distinctions; that is, they are distinctions based upon commonalties in ideas and behavior among certain populations. Within this very broad category are a number of subcategories. These, too, are labels that require careful use.
- Distinctions among language, cultural values, and sociopolitical cohesion also provide insight. For example, what analytical category does the word Jewish suggest? Is it a religious, racial, national, cultural, or linguistic term? Who is a Jew? It is such a complicated issue that the definition has never been officially defined in Israel. Obviously at times the term Jew has been used in all categories. For instance the term "anti-Semitism" generally refers to anti-Jewish prejudices. However, the word Semitic refers to a language family to which both Hebrew and Arabic belong. Therefore, technically speaking anti-Semitism refers to Arabs as Jews.
- Do not confuse patterns in human physical features with patterns in human behavior. Human distinctions based on differences in outward physical appearances (phenotype) might not correspond to differences in cultural norms and values. An example would be Americans of Asian descent who exhibit very few behavioral traits unique to the Asian society of their ancestors. Although some human populations do exhibit a higher incidence of unique physical or genetic traits within themselves, the analyst must avoid stereotyping groups by phenotype.

Analysts must be very careful in the use of labels. If a term that is primarily a linguistic category might not imply the corresponding social or political correlation. Not all-native speakers of English are ethnically English nor are they all subjects of the English sovereign. If the term (Hausa, Swahili, or Somali) designates a general ethnic group, a corresponding political cohesion does not necessarily apply. For example, neither foreign nor domestic scholars agree on the meaning of 'Arab'. Is it a linguistic group, a race, a culture, or simply a political term?

The word 'Arab' conjures up very different perceptions by different people in the Middle East. Must all Arabs be Muslims? Some Muslims would adamantly affirm that they are synonymous. Christian Arabic speakers of Jordan, Iraq, or Palestine would vociferously deny that. Are all people of an Arab nation Arabic? The Maronite Christians of Lebanon have died by the thousands to assert their distinct cultural identity. So it goes, and every Arab summit convened will be ripped asunder by the same unanswered question: "Who/what is an Arab?"

A clear distinction should be drawn between terms that primarily describe shared cultural identity, such as "society" or "ethnic group" or "nation," and terms that have primary reference to a governing political structure, such as "state." A political-military analyst must be able to discern the difference and understand the ramifications of this distinction for a specific region.

In many areas of the world, primary cultural identities do not correspond to state boundaries. The contradictions between the culturally specified identities of local populations on the one hand, and the identity of a recently created state on the other, force national decision-makers to devote considerable attention to nation building. By definition, this involves efforts to undermine peoples' loyalty to other institutions. India and Nigeria are good examples. Occasionally, these attempts threaten regional stability or great power interests.

Many states of Western European design are typically formal, secular, and territorial in nature. Other states contain societies with various systems of government that may or may not interface well with the national political structures. In times of transition and stress, societies often display tendencies to reacquire and redefine social or political behavior hallowed by tradition that supposedly characterized a better, earlier age. When this is combined with religious revitalization, the results can be revolutionary. The Mahdiya in the Sudan in the 1880's and the Ayatollah Khomeini's revolution in Iran are good examples of this. The political-military analyst should be able to anticipate such events by noting the historically sanctioned behavior exhibited by a society undergoing great stress.

The competent analyst must be able to sort factors and apply labels that assist in understanding social organization and behavior. He or she must know when certain factors and labels are important and when they are not. Good political-military analysis requires an incisive elaboration of the ideas behind collective behavior. To achieve this, great precision in the use of categorical labels is of paramount importance.

The following table, created by Dr. Gary Weaver on pages 75 and 76 of his book Culture, Communication and Conflict, lists many of the terms, factors, categories and labels that sociologists and anthropologists use to analyze cultures. Further study will illuminate what these terms measure, and how those measurements aid in analysis.

<b>CHARACTERISTIC CULTURE</b>	
Abstractive	Associative
<i>Gesellschaft</i>	<i>Gemeinschaft</i>
Society	Community
Urban	Rural

Apollonian  
Heterogeneous

Dionysian  
Homogeneous

**SOCIAL STRUCTURE**

Individualistic  
Small or nuclear family  
Overt social rules  
Loose in-group/out-group distinction  
Achieved or earned status  
Flexible roles  
Loosely integrated  
Class  
Social and physical mobility  
Low power distance

Collective  
Extended Family  
Implicit social rules  
Rigid in-group/out-group distinction  
Ascribed status  
Rigid roles  
Highly integrated  
Caste  
Little social or physical mobility  
High power distance

**PHILOSOPHIC OUTLOOK**

Mastery or control over nature  
Melodramatic/escapist  
Humane/inhuman  
Objective  
Quantitative  
Alloplastic  
Mind/body dichotomy

Harmony with or subjugation to nature  
Tragic/realistic  
Human/inhumane  
Subjective  
Qualitative  
Autoplastic  
Union of mind and body

**PSYCHOLOGICAL ORIENTATION**

Psychology of abundance  
Schizoid or fragmented  
Need for achievement  
Abstractive and logical  
Masculine  
Direct responsibility  
Great use of extensions  
Extension transference  
Steep pleasure gradient  
Weak uncertainty avoidance  
Guilt-internal

Psychology of scarcity  
Comprehensive or holistic  
Need for affiliation  
Anthropomorphic & complexive  
Feminine  
Indirect responsibility  
Little use of extensions  
No extension transference  
Flat pleasure gradient  
Strong uncertainty avoidance  
Shame-external

**THOUGHT PATTERNS**

Analytic  
Theoretical learning and knowledge  
Dichotomous/divisions  
Linear-separations  
Abstractions/prose

Relational  
Experiential or kinesthetic learning and knowledge  
Holistic/joining together  
Nonlinear-comprehensive  
Imagery/poetry

**BASIC VALUES**

Doing

Being

Change/action	Stability/harmony
What/content	How/style
Individualism	Belongingness
Independence	Interdependence/dependence
Self-reliance	Reliance upon others
<b>PERCEPTION</b>	
Mind/body dichotomy	Mind and body are one
Monochronic time/action	Polychronic time/action
Linear or segmented time	Nonlinear or comprehensive time
Future orientation	Past or present orientation
Space/objects separated	Continuity of space/objects
Subject-object	Subject-subject
Nonsensual and non-senseful	Sensual and senseful
<b>INTERACTION</b>	
Low-context	High-context
Competition	Cooperation
Verbal emphasis	Nonverbal and verbal
Written or electronic	Face-to-face
Impersonal	Personal
Schizoid/fragmented relationships	Holistic/interdependent relationships
Monological	Dialogical
Practical/alooof	Nonpurposive/involved
Easy to break action chains	Difficult to break action chains
Systematic	Spontaneous

**Imperatives for Cultural Analysis.** Use the following to direct your use of culture as an analytical factor:

- Be a cultural relativist, but not an extreme one. Adjust your point of view, understand the other person's position, and empathize. "Table" your own point of view for the purpose of explanation and prediction, but never abandon it. Do not 'go native' in thought or deed.
- When you find yourself thinking: "These people are (dirty, stupid, lazy, immoral, evil, etc.)," you are probably being ethnocentric.
- Most people in a culture behave appropriately. Inappropriate behavior happens less often in all cultures. Hence, if most everyone behaves in a certain way, it is appropriate to the culture. This provides predictability to reactions. Most people react appropriately.
- All differences between one culture and another culture are positions on a continuum, without a fixed scale. That is, you can say Germans value family more or less than Spaniards, but you must resort to examples to demonstrate how much more or less.
- Cultural generalizations, although sound and valid, suffer from the same defects as all generalizations: you particularize them at risk. You might use your knowledge of machismo to predict a Mexican election, but you may not assume any particular Mexican man is macho.
- Cultural generalizations are often snapshots in situation, time and place. You can expect that

many cultural truths change over time, that they vary between urban and rural situations, and that they may erode with the advent of global mass media, industrialization and other forms of development.

### **III. Interrelationships with Other Political-Military Factors:**

- History. History explains culture as it follows the evolution of society over time. History explains the ways in which a population has adapted to the combination of its natural environment and other forces over time. History catalogs the external and internal influences and events that condition a society, and records the reactions. History provides the examples of how culture predicted and explained past events.
- Natural environment. Societal adaptation always includes accommodations or exploitations of the natural environment.
- Culture and Religion. Religion and culture overlap, especially where religion is dominant. Religion often exerts social control, prescribes and proscribes behaviors, and embodies perspective and outlook. Religion may form societal groups or establish a social hierarchy. These and other functions of religion are also functions of culture and society.
- Ethnicity. Again, ethnicity and culture overlap. In some cases, ethnicity and culture are nearly identical.
- The role of the military. Attitudes about and within militaries are cultural. Militaries form very cohesive secondary groups with exceedingly clear social controls, norms, and behaviors. Acculturation is so thorough and universal in military organizations, that soldiers are predictable over a larger span of behaviors than almost any other secondary group.
- Mass media. Mass media serves to dilute culture. Soap operas, commercials, movies, and international news all provide examples of people acting successfully in different ways. The portrayed people may accept or receive rewards for behaviors, which are locally unacceptable. They may receive sanctions for doing things, which are locally acceptable.

### **Sources of region-specific cultural information**

- Brigham Young University publishes a Culturgram for every country in the world. These are extremely rich and concentrated sources of cultural information.
- Travel guides available in most bookstores will have introductions, capsules, or whole chapters of cultural information.
- Tourist bureaus and chambers of commerce of many countries publish cultural hints (usually flattering), often on websites.
- U.S. embassies will direct you to a culturally savvy office in the country team of most countries. Often this will be USIA, which manages a cultural interchange.
- Foreign embassies in the United States will publish or direct you to cultural information about their country.
- Language texts and dictionaries provide great insight into what is important in a culture, especially if the text distinguishes usage from country to country.
- Foreign books, magazines, newspapers, films radio and television programs provide familiarity with almost all components of the culture under study.
- Language immersion programs normally include a substantial cultural component.

#### **IV. Analytical Questions.**

- What are the modal personality traits of the people of the area you are studying?
- How does language act as a mirror of the society? Is language a cohesive or divisive element? Does language coincide with class and/or racial divisions?
- How are the roles of men and women defined in this culture? Is there a major difference between the *hoi polloi* and the elite? To what extent does this affect your study of the culture or more importantly, operating within it?
- What are the basic values of this society? How do they translate into a worldview?
- What are the major environmental determinants affecting the shaping of culture in this society?
- What is the impact of the prevalent cultural attributes on the political system and popular view of government?
- What is the prevalent view of the individual, vis-à-vis the family and state?
- What are the significant sub-cultures within the area you are studying?
- In Weaver's chart (above), where does this culture fit on each of the scales? Which of these have operational importance in explaining and predicting?

#### **Recommended Further Reading**

Edward T. Hall. *The Silent Language* (New York: Anchor Press), 1973

Edward T. Hall. *Beyond Culture*. (New York: Anchor Press), 1976.

Edward T. Hall. *The Hidden Dimension*. (New York: Anchor Press), 1969

Nicholas Dima. *Cross Cultural Communication* (Washington DC: Institute for the Study of Man). 1990.

Hans Binnendijk. *National Negotiating Styles* (Washington DC; Foreign Service Institute, US Dept. of State), 1987

Gary Weaver, ed. *Culture, Communication and Conflict: Readings in Intercultural Relations*. 2nd ed. New York: Simon and Schuster) 1998.

## Chapter 14

### Religion

#### **I. Introduction and Definitions**

Religion is one of the most important and pervasive phenomena in the human experience. Even someone who does not himself subscribe to any particular religious belief cannot help but be struck by the influence religion has had on societies and cultures around the world and over time. It has permeated the collective psyche of mankind. It has inspired much of the world's finest art, literature, dance, drama, music, and architecture. We use religious occurrences to mark time, such as A.D., B.C., A.H. Religion has influenced the types of political systems under which we are governed, the economic systems in which we trade, and the social systems in which we live. There is no example in history of a culture without religion, and all governments and states that have tried to eliminate religion have failed. People have endured the most horrible of pogroms and oppression and have made great sacrifices to cling to their religious beliefs. Even in societies normally held to be secular or "non-religious," e.g., Western democracies or Confucian China, religion has been and remains a basic and powerful social force. Across time, space, and cultures, the search for gods is a constant theme in the community of man.

Do not argue the rightness or wrongness of religion or promulgate a particular religious belief. Instead, define what religion is, the role it plays in various societies, and how it is studied. From there, try to figure out what effect a particular religious belief has on the political, social, economic, and cultural fabric of the society in which the religious order exists. Remember that political-military analysts are not theologians.

#### **Religion Defined**

Religion develops from man's feeling that because there is so much in this world that is beyond his control, he himself is not the final answer and, therefore, there must be something greater than he. Once he accepts this concept, he will try to modify his behavior to coincide with what he perceives as the edicts of that greater power. Religion, then, is both the inner experience an individual has when he senses a supernatural force and the ways in which he tries to bring his own personal and social life into harmony with that force.

Since religious practice always involves some sort of community, the term "religion" is commonly used to refer to an organization of people who subscribe to similar beliefs and practices. There is a difference in focus when referring to religion, on one hand, and a religion, on the other.

#### **Common Traits**

There are several religions in the world today that differ dramatically from one another and which among them have thousands of sects. However, all religions have at least three traits in common. These traits are a belief in a force superior to man, a code of conduct, and the

concept of transcendence.

The first trait, already alluded to, is belief in a force superior to man. This may be a god, a pantheon of gods, or an impersonal, abstract force. Most Western religions have personal gods, which are individual beings. Some Eastern religions instead believe in a creative principle or force.

The second common trait is a code of conduct, which will assist the believer in harmonizing his life with the divine will. This code is often the foundation of a society's moral and ethical systems, such as the Ten Commandments of the Judeo-Christian tradition or the Eightfold Path of Buddhism. (Morality is a way of living based on precepts believed to be true. Ethics is a way of explaining, defending, or construing moral action.)

The third trait common to religions is the concept of transcendence--that we can somehow escape this world. Every religion will have transcendence as its ultimate spiritual goal, whether by following moral rules as a path to an other-worldly paradise, by practicing forms of physical or mental discipline to escape the endless cycle of desire and suffering in the world through enlightenment, or by devoutly appeasing the gods through prayer and ritual.

### **Eleven Components of Religion**

A comparison of two or more religions can be made by looking at several different aspects. The first aspect is the numerological belief; e.g., the types of supreme power the religion reveres. Is it based on an impersonal Absolute, on personal monotheism, or on polytheism?

Second is the historical aspect. Who, if anyone, is the founder of the religion? Is he real or mythical? Where and when was he born? What was his life like? When and under what conditions did he found the religion? Did he claim to be of supernatural origin or to have a special relationship with the deity? How did he die and when? How did the religion spread and develop over time?

Third is the revelatory aspect. Is the religion based on a revelation to the worshipers from the deity (such as in Christianity, Judaism, or Islam), or is it based on self-discovery (such as in Hinduism, Buddhism, or Taoism)?

The fourth aspect is the cosmology of the religion. How and why was the world created? Is it real or illusory? Is it eternal? If not, how and when will it end? Has it ended before, only to be re-created? Are there several dimensions of it?

The fifth aspect consists of the anthropological beliefs. How does the religion view man and human nature? What is man? How did he come to be? Why? What is the value and purpose of life? Do only humans have souls or is all life valued equally? Is man immortal? Will he live again? Must he?

Views toward proselytization and excommunication comprise the sixth aspect. Is the religion a missionary religion? How does one qualify for membership in the religion? Is there anyone who can be forbidden membership? What means can be used to obtain a conversion?

Under what conditions can a member be expelled? Once expelled, can he be readmitted? If so, under what conditions?

Sociological precepts comprise the seventh aspect. What types of earthly social order does the religion call for? Are all believers equal before the Divinity? Who is not equal, on earth or in heaven, and why? What types of roles do people play in both the religious and secular communities? How is religion used to determine who plays what role? What types of interpersonal relationships are called for? What types of segregation or integration are established and on what basis? Who are the leaders? Who are the followers? Why?

The eighth aspect deals with the soteriology (the study of salvation) of the religion and addresses the concept of transcendence. Is the spiritual goal of the religion salvation or liberation? Have they already been chosen, or does everyone still have a chance to gain enough merit to achieve the goal? How is such merit gained? How is the goal achieved? Is it possible to know that one has achieved it prior to death? If we achieve it, what happens then? What happens if we do not achieve it?

The ninth aspect is the sacramental component and deals with that which the religion holds as sacred. This has several aspects.

o Sacred space and time. What are the sacred places of a religion? Why are they sacred? What is the proper conduct within them? What are the sacred times--usually celebrated as holidays--for the religion? Why are they considered holy? What is the proper form of celebration? Sacred events usually occur in sacred places and times. Sacred places are those locations where one goes to worship. They may include shrines, temples, and churches as well as rivers, mountains, and promontories. The places and dates of the founder's birth and death are normally held to be holy, as are the place and date of the founding of the religion. Even those religions that lack this type of historical grounding will often see the place where the believers dwell as the Holy Land and will have religious festivals and holidays to mark certain occasions.

o Sacred words and writings. This category can be broken down into at least three subdivisions. First are the scriptures. Is there a Holy Book or Books? Is it held to be the word of God? Is its author known? Was there only one author or many? Is there only one acceptable scriptural language or may any language be used? The second subdivision is sacred stories. These may be in the scriptures or may be secondary works. They may be based on fact or be legends, myths, or fables, but are generally allegorical. They are a profound aspect of any religion if for no other reason than to tell us how people see themselves in relation to their god. For example, Shintoism says the Japanese islands are godly creations and their inhabitants are descended from gods; the Judeo-Christian tradition holds that man was created in God's image, but fell from grace in the Garden of Eden; Hinduism says that the four social castes sprang from parts of Brahma's body--the lower the body part, the lower the caste. The third subdivision of sacred words is the moral code contained in scripture and stories. It may be laid out explicitly or merely implied.

o Sacred people. These may be historical, legendary, or contemporary. They can be divine, such as the Dalai Lama or the Japanese emperor; semidivine, such as Christian saints;

mortals with a special connection with the gods, such as a shaman or a witch doctor; or simply mortals with special training, such as priests, preachers, monks, or imams. Part of studying sacred people is to determine if the religion has a clergy. If so, who are they? How are they selected and trained for their profession? Are they venerated? Can anyone join the clergy or are certain categories of people (e.g., women) excluded? What is the clergy's relationship with the population at large?

o Sacred symbols. All religion is symbolic in that it is an outward manifestation of an inner experience. If man could not symbolize, there could be no religion. Symbols may be verbal, such as invocations like "Praise the Lord," "Amen," or "In the name of Allah, the merciful and compassionate." They may be actions, such as bowing the head and placing our palms together to pray or making the sign of the cross. Symbols may also be physical, such as the Kaaba, Buddhist and Hindu statues, or the Crucifix. Some sacred places or writings are also sacred symbols. For example, Christians swear on the Bible, while Muslims face Mecca while praying.

The tenth aspect of religion we can study is its ritual and rules of worship. Ritual is one of the most important aspects of religion. There are rituals for every aspect of life from birth to marriage to funerals. There are rituals for daily prayer; for celebrating holy times and for worshipping in holy places; for asking the gods for a good crop during the planting season and for thanking them when the crop is harvested; for choosing sites for houses, shrines, and graves and protecting those sites from evil once they are chosen. Even if we worship privately, we tend to do so with socially acceptable rituals. When studying these rituals try to determine what they mean and why. What is the tradition behind them? Who can perform the ritual? Where and when? Who can observe or participate in it? Who is expressly forbidden from observing or participating? Why? Do believers worship as congregations? Must they? How does the believer prepare himself for ritual or worship? How does the ritual for congregational worship differ from the ritual for individual worship? Is the purpose of ritual and worship to gain favors from the gods or to avoid their wrath?

The final aspect of religion is the difference between the Little Tradition and the Great Tradition. There is no religion today that is practiced purely as espoused by its founder or indeed as espoused by its current believers. In religion, as with culture in general, we must distinguish between what is said and what is done, what is preached as the ideal and what is really practiced. With religion, however, this concept becomes more complex. Robert Redfield said that there are two ways of expressing religious motifs. One is what he called the Great Tradition. This is intellectual, literate, scholarly, elitist, orthodox, and it has a long-term perspective oriented on history. The other means of religious expression Redfield called the "Little Tradition." This is illiterate or non-literate, oriented on the present or on cosmic time. It is the religion of the common man and is transmitted by family and community rather than through formal training. The Little Tradition is the religion of myths, festivals, local shrines and temples, and local gods and spirits. The Great Tradition is the religion of scholarship; debate; beautiful cathedrals and churches; and omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent deities. The Great Tradition is the religion of the priest, whose responsibility lies in maintaining the whole social and religious order for the long-term welfare of the believers. The Little Tradition is the religion of the shaman, who deals with the exigencies of daily life and the immediate and temporal

welfare of his clients. For the political-military analyst, the Little Tradition may often be more important, because it has a greater influence among the common folk. The practices of the Little Tradition and its shaman may allow for a channel of communication or manipulation.

### **Five Levels at Which Religions Operate**

The religion one espouses is usually an accident of birth. To be sure, there are normally provisions in the religion for conversion, but most people who subscribe to a particular religion today are not converts. They are members of a particular religion because their parents were. In fact, in many societies, one does not "join" a religion per se, since religion cannot be separated from the totality of life; e.g., Hindu India or Islamic Arabia. For most people, religion is an integral part of their day-to-day existence, not just something they do two hours one day a week between brunch at the officers' club and mowing the lawn.

Religion can operate on at least five levels in a society. These are individual, social, economic, military, and political. Since societies are made up of individuals, we include the individual level as our first. Religion meets man's basic psychological need to come to terms with the world around him. As one wag has said, "religion lets us explain the inexplicable, ponder the imponderable, and 'unscrew the inscrutable.'" It provides comfort and guidelines man can find nowhere else.

- o Religion gives man a sense of self. Some even define religion as that which allows man to come to terms with his real self. As such, it gives one a sense of belonging and maybe even well being. It helps answer questions like who am I? Where did I come from? Why am I here? What happens when I die? How and why was the world created? What am I to this world? Religion often helps us feel that no matter how insignificant or inconsequential we may be to our fellow men, we are important at least to our god. He/she cares for us, even if no one else does.

- o Those who come to grips with their true selves often feel that they can now see the world more clearly, that they have reached a higher state of consciousness. This can be a deeply personal religious experience, usually described as achieving a state of inward joy, or serenity and inner peace. Some may feel as if they have been enlightened or have "seen the light." Many feel as if they have actually been "born again," leaving behind their old life to begin a new one in service to their god. To many people, this is the most important aspect of religion.

- o Religion also helps people establish personal moral codes. For many, "good" and "bad" and "moral" and "immoral" are relative and arbitrary; therefore, they are meaningless, without the sanction of a divine will behind them. These codes may address behavior as mundane as proper clothing and eating habits or as serious as sexual relations and the sanctity of life. Religious codes help people make tough choices that might not otherwise be made. With a religious code, choices and options are prescribed by a Higher Authority.

- o The final facet of the psychological level is its power to encourage acceptance of one's role in life while, paradoxically, giving hope for something better at another place and/or time.

Religion helps the common man go through hell. He accepts his fate because it is ordained by karma and dharma, because of kismet or God's will, or because there is a better world waiting for the meek on the other side. Religion can also inspire hope. Men beseech their gods for protection, help, wealth, and health. Through religion, personal concerns are met with religious truths. Religion may well have risen out of man's realization that in this world we are ultimately all alone. Religion helps us prepare emotionally and intellectually to bear with those aspects of human existence that are beyond our control. There are some that posit that the purpose of religion is not so much morals as it is morale. As Will Durant has poignantly pointed out, "As long as there is poverty there will be gods." But never be misled into believing that religious fervor is a function of an economic environment. Many of the post-modernists would have you believe that a poverty-free society would discard religious beliefs. This has time and again been proven to be more of an ideological wish than reality. For instance the wealth of the Kuwaiti citizen has not diminished an increasing movement toward a more strictly interpreted Islam.

The second level at which religion operates is social. Religion always finds expression in some sort of community. In fact, for a belief system to be considered a religion, it must have at least two adherents. They may be considered heretics, but at least it is accepted that they have a religion. If only one person holds a belief system, he is merely considered mad. Religion operates on the social level in several ways.

- o One social function of religion is that it provides a definition of the community. Just as religion always is grounded in a community, so do communities define themselves at least in part by reference to religion. This may in fact be the central concept of the community's collective identity, such as in pre-World War II Japan or modern-day Israel and Pakistan. The religion may also stipulate that certain non-believers be accorded conditional membership in the community, such as Islamic perceptions of Jews and Christians as "People of the Book." Finally, religion also helps identify "them" Vs "us." Non-believers are then classified as "infidels," "pagans," "heathens," or "heretics" or as simply the uninformed.

- o Another social function is to establish a normative standard for social organization and conduct. These standards normally regulate social relationships and may address everything from sex, marriage, and male-female relations in general to filial piety, teacher-student relations, and relationships at the work place.

- o The third social function of religion is social legitimization. It can be used to justify a social system or to support its overthrow. Members of the society may be encouraged to accept their lot in life because God has willed it so. Those who are better off in the society enjoy their status and wealth because they are the chosen of God. Similarly, if the social system is at odds with a religion, the religion can be used by its believers to incite rebellion.

- o The fourth social function is social mobilization. Religion can serve as the focus or impetus for social action. Many charitable organizations are religious-based, and some religions call for believers to care for the less fortunate. For instance within Christianity the Protestant movement put emphasis on personal salvation through faith while Catholicism has

emphasized good works as being in tandem with faith. Similarly, a community's religious center may also serve as the social center. Many social activities are oriented on religious events, times, and places. Religious leaders often serve as social leaders and are in some cases more effective in this realm than political figures.

o The final social function is scholarship. Religion has historically been one of the main vehicles used to promote literacy. People learn to read in many parts of the world by studying scriptures. A basic textbook in many Islamic countries is the Qu'ran. Monks and other religious leaders often double as teachers. Universities and other institutions of higher learning have been established in the name of most major religions. Similarly, missionaries of several denominations have established schools around the world. Many of these schools have had a significant impact on the education systems of the countries in which they were established, even if efforts to proselytize were not especially successful. Religion, as interpreted by more devout clergy, however, may also retard scholastic, or more properly, scientific progress, by proscribing the study of certain subjects or by dictating how facts may be interpreted, understood, or presented. This is generally very rare and more of an ideological mantra than a reality.

The third level at which religion operates is economics. Religion generally encourages certain types of economic practices while prohibiting others. Economic topics religion can address include the distribution of wealth, welfare responsibilities, taxation, banking practices, economic development, investment, use of material resources, acceptable occupations or vocations, and economic relations with other countries. For instance within Islam usury or interest loans are forbidden. The American Catholic bishops regularly issue tracts on economic justice.

The fourth level at which religion operates is the military. Is military service compatible with religious beliefs? Under what conditions? Who serves? Who is prohibited from serving and why? Who fights and who only serves in supporting roles? With whom do we fight, why, with what, when, and under what conditions? Is special merit gained by fighting? How is the enemy to be treated if captured or defeated? What can we expect from the enemy if we are captured or conquered?

The fifth level at which religion operates is politics. There are several aspects to this.

o Religion may promote or oppose certain types of legislation, such as those regarding birth control or abortion, divorce, taxation, or child care. On the other hand, the government may be compelled to pass laws that circumscribe religious practices regarded as unhealthy or pernicious by the society as a whole, such as polygamy.

o Religion can be used to promote national integrity among a country's peoples. Countries as diverse as Israel, Pakistan, and Burma have appealed to religion as a way to overcome ethnic or other divisions among the citizenry. On the other hand, religiously pluralistic societies such as Malaysia and India have had to overcome religious differences in their struggle for national unity. Some countries, like the United States, have even stressed tolerance of religious differences as a means of encouraging national integration.

o Religious organization or principles can be used as the focus for political mobilization. Even secular leaders of parties may appeal to religious values as an attempt to gain support from the polity for their positions on issues considered secular by some.

o Religion can also be used to justify support of opposition to political regimes or political programs. This is common in Islamic countries.

o Religion can influence the political system through its influence on individual leaders. The religious belief of political leaders can have a significant impact on the efficacy of a government or on its policies. The deep religious convictions of America's President Carter or, Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini are cases in point.

o Religious influence on government need not be limited to a few leaders here and there. In some countries, especially those with political systems that are specifically religious-based, political representations may be determined by religious affiliation. A certain number of seats in the legislature or certain numbers or types of government jobs may be reserved for particular religious groups. The Iranian majlis, (parliament) for instance, has seats reserved for Christians, etc.

o The final political area upon which religion may impact is foreign policy. Nations may band together over certain issues in a display of religious solidarity or may side against another nation for religious reasons. Examples are non-Arabic Islamic nations who side against Israel on many issues to show their support for their Islamic brethren, or the U.S.-Israel relationship, which is based at least in part on the Judeo-Christian connection. The Organization of Muslim Countries (OIC) is one such example.

### **Aspects That Exhibit Political Influence**

Of the five levels of influence a religion may have in a society, the political-military analyst is, of course, most interested in the political level. Donald E. Smith has identified five aspects that can be studied to determine how much political influence a religion may exert. Naturally, none of the five dictate a given level of political involvement. They merely indicate whether or not such a proclivity exists.

The first aspect is how the religion views history. Religion will help determine how history is remembered, interpreted, and used. If history is seen as unreal, the believers will be unconcerned with political power. If history is seen as crucial, then believers will be more prone to seek political power as a means to influence the course of history. Islam is an example of a religion deeply imbedded in history to the extent that history before the advent of the Prophet Muhammed is called the era of Jahaliya- the era of ignorance.

The second aspect is tolerance of other religions. Generally, the more tolerant a religion is of other religious beliefs and practices, the less politically active it will be. On the other hand, intolerant religions encourage garnering political power as a means to suppress what are seen as heretics or apostates. More frequently demagogues use religion and its presumed uniqueness to demonize other groups out of political expediency. Islam is unfortunately used by political

demagogues as a vehicle in this context.

The third aspect is ecclesiastical organization. The better organized a religion is, the better suited it is to political action, at least in general. However Sunni Islam is an exception to this in that they have no structured clerical hierarchy but on a grassroots level exert considerable power.

The fourth aspect is the way the religion views Church-State relations. If there is a clear distinction between ecclesiastic and political roles, the less politically influential the religion will be. If no such distinction is made, the odds of political involvement increase.

The final aspect is social regulation. The more a religion stipulates regulation of social life, the greater the areas of potential conflict between religion and other aspects of the society. The believers may then seek political power to resolve such disputes in their favor. Conversely, the less regulation called for by the religion, the fewer points of conflicts there will be, and there will not be as great an incentive to seek political influence.

### **Caveats for the Study of Religions**

Shamanism and animism are still very much alive today, especially in the civil affairs/psychological operations arena in developing countries. The political-military analyst may find that this considerably complicates his attempts to study the religions of his regions.

Distinguish between communalism and religion. It can be bewildering to see adherents of religions that preach tolerance and love, killing one another in the name of their religions. This does not necessarily mean that they do not believe in their religion, just that other concerns take precedence. In this case "love thy brother" may be construed to mean "kill thy non-brother."

When studying a religion, attempt whenever possible to distinguish between major sects and denominations. Learn what it is that makes them different. In some cases, the differences may be so great as to make them all but separate religions.

Religion is an integral part of a culture, but it is only a part. There are many different aspects of life and culture that will distinguish people from one another, no matter how close their religious beliefs. A Japanese Christian is still Japanese, and a Javanese Muslim is still a Javanese. Their affiliation with Christians and Muslims in the United States or the Middle East, while important, are not nearly as significant as the differences among them.

Religions may change over time, although the irony is that in trying to maintain "relevancy" they may secularize themselves out of existence by attempting to fit within the current zeitgeist. A myriad of social, political, economic, and intellectual forces are constantly buffeting religious concepts. Religious teachings and practices must confront these but carefully as to avoid becoming a therapeutic "feel good" exercise. The constant drumbeat to modernize the belief system usually results in it becoming irrelevant as the deep rooted need for spirituality

leads people to more traditional belief systems.

Religions have a fundamental paradox in that the basic legitimating idea--the spiritual goal--is unattainable in this life. One must die to get to heaven or achieve Nirvana. This has not proven to be a handicap, as shown by the influence religion has retained even today. It may in fact be one of the reasons religion has remained a powerful force. If the goal were in this life, once it was achieved, there would no longer be any reason to continue adhering to the religion.

The worst thing political-military analysts can do is put religion in a purely secular context. Adherents believe what they do on faith. For them, their belief is true and not open to dispute. Similarly, miracles are quite real for believers. What to us may seem commonplace, coincidental, or just plain phony--such as faith healing, speaking in tongues, or water stains that look like a religious figure--can be major religious experiences for someone who believes. It is counterproductive, to try to dispel these believers or to convert them. Besides, the mission of a political-military analyst is not to gain converts or correct what he may see as misperception--it is to understand the religion and use that understanding to accomplish the mission. The political-military officer should also be aware of the danger of allowing his assessments to be influenced by an attraction to the powerful appeal of a number of traditional non-western religions.

## **II. Interrelationships With Other Political-Military Factors**

As we Americans are imbued in most cases with the idea of the separation of Church and State, we have difficulty understanding those many cultures in which separation of religion from government or any other sphere of human activity is unthinkable. Within Islam, for instance, the persuasiveness of the religion has a profound influence on every aspect of the sixteen factors. For instance there is a whole field of study on Islamic economics. The Qu'ranic and Hadith prescribes very particular ways of conducting business and the use of wealth, advocating social justice and governing other aspects of economics. Within Christianity the concept of social justice is particularly emphasized subject. The "just war" concept is a facet of Christian theology, which was widely discussed during the 1991 Gulf war. The view of Islam toward "jihad" and the interrelationship of the military and use of force in the "house of peace, house of war" concept must be understood by those assigned to the Middle East. The interrelationships between political systems, ideology, and religion must also be recognized. The interplay between ideology and religion is often so intense as to make them appear inseparable. For instance the "Islamists" have basically abducted the religion of Islam and transformed it into an ideology with a "heaven on earth" millenarianism to obtain power, and institute a political system of their own preference.

## **III. Questions To Be Considered**

1. What is communalism? Discuss in the context of the country under study.
2. Discuss how a religion exhibits political influence as structured in the Smith outline, i.e., aspects that exhibit political influence in your area of evaluation.
3. How does religion intersect with political ideology and political systems? How powerful (or weak) is it in the nation under study.
4. How does religion of the region affect the conduct of warfare - if any?

5. To what extent is the religion or religions of the country a unifying or divisive element in society?
6. Is the religion compatible with technology and modern science? Is it all encompassing or a general guide?
7. Define the national impact of history on religion and religion on history.
8. What are the general trends in the country, i.e., a move toward secularization or a revival of religious fervor?
9. What is the relationship between the leadership and secular leadership?
10. What influence do religious leaders have over the populace in matters of state?

#### **IV. Conclusion**

Religion is a complex and fascinating topic. As stated earlier, even someone who does not believe in a particular religion must respect it as a major social force. William and Ariel Durant put it eloquently when they wrote--

"Even the skeptical historian develops a humble respect for religion, since he sees it functioning, and seemingly indispensable, in every land and age. To the unhappy, the suffering, the bereaved, the old, it has brought supernatural comforts valued by millions of souls as more precious than any natural aid. It has helped parents and teachers to discipline the young. It has conferred meaning and dignity upon the lowliest existence, and through its sacraments has made for stability by transforming human covenants into solemn relationships with God. It has kept the poor (said Napoleon) from murdering the rich. For since the natural inequality of men dooms many of us to poverty or defeat, some supernatural hope may be the sole alternative to despair. Destroy that hope, and class war is intensified. Heaven and utopia are buckets in a well: when one goes down the other goes up; when religion declines communism grows".

#### **Recommended Further Readings**

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## Chapter 15

### Ethnicity

#### **I. Introduction and Definitions**

Ethnicity is an historical process that develops from society and culture. Often it is a complicated and emotional classification of people and their perspective of where they fit in the nation-state. The modern nation-state is based on citizenship; implying a degree of allegiance and exclusivity from other nations or people. However, within the nation-state there are those groups of people who may not belong to the politically dominant groups and hold distinct cultural and/or social differences. They are labeled "ethnic" groups and at times, "minorities," whose differences are often granted recognition in all aspects except political self-determination. At times these ethnic groups will aspire to become their own nation-state and then ethnicity produces the rise of conflicts or wars aimed at self-determination or liberation.

As Manning Nash writes (*The Cauldron of Ethnicity in the Modern World*), "Ethnicity... is clearly related to politics, to class, to economics, and to culture and ethos." He goes on to say that ethnicity has a deep personal component either as an embattled minority or as a member of a majority struggling to maintain control. All too often the post-modernist writers try to cram every conflict into a convenient category of race, class, or gender. While related to those factors ethnicity goes well beyond them to the core identity of individuals. While many observers of the Middle East tied the bloody civil conflict in Lebanon to class and political struggle, the crux of the conflict was the powerful catalyst of ethnic (religiously based) hatreds exacerbated by economic and political power disparity.

#### **Ethnicity Defined**

Most individuals would define ethnicity based on race, skin color, language, or nationality. This outward manifestation, however, is only a first step in defining ethnic differences. One must examine beyond the surface of an individual or group and recognize that perception defines their ethnicity. This perception is based on primordial ties--ties that initially define who a person is, what he is like, and how others are different. Thus, we can define ethnicity as "a self-perceived group of people who hold in common a set of traditions not shared by others."

These traditions may be based on language, religion, history, or other ties considered the 'building blocks' of ethnicity. These building blocks remain unchanged over time and are not subject to politics or economics:

- o Body - biological components relating to blood, genes, flesh. This relates more to racial divisions.
- o Language - communication that contains meanings and elements unique from other languages. An example here would be the division between French Canadians and the rest of Canada.
- o Shared history - struggles, fate, a common purpose. An implication that personal and group fate are one in the same. This would apply most emphatically to the Arab feeling of unity

beyond religion, or nation, buttressed by a common (more or less) language.

- o Religion - beliefs and practices that relate a group to some religious group different from the majority. There are many examples of this of which the southern Sudanese, Muslims of Mindanao, Christians of East Timor, the Copts of Egypt are but a few examples

- o Nationality - a desire for the symbolic and, at times, political means of an independent people. Traditionally this has defined Americans although some would now question this in light of the daily bombardment of divisive points of view, and the highly politicized environment of hyphenated America in which we live. It is ironic that as we urge other nations to grow beyond Tribalism, we seem to be reverting to it. John LeCarre in his book *Our Game* has a character saying “While we are pulling down economic borders these ethnic crazies are putting up national borders.”

Using these building blocks, an ethnic group develops a perception of themselves and where they fit in the nation-state. If the nation-state is a pluralistic society, pecking orders based on politics, race, region, religion, or language may develop. A combination of these pecking orders has produced some great empires--Greek, Roman, Chinese, and British, as examples. Those groups who did not assimilate and/or retained visible manifestations of their ethnicity, maintained a perception that they were distinct from the dominant group, an example being the Jews of Palestine.

Ethnic distinctions may be determined by eight referents: physical characteristics, name, nationality or national origin, language, religion, tribal affiliation, history, and cultural aspects such as clothes, eating habits, houses, and so on. Any of these components may be changed and a new ethnicity assumed. Individuals may adapt to changes quickly but group changes require more time, usually more than one generation if a different ethnicity is to take hold.

Individuals may display their ethnicity with varying degrees so that their ethnicity becomes latent, minimized or active. Different situations may require different displays of ethnicity depending on geographical location, emphasis by a political leader, or perhaps arrival of immigrants. In other words, depending on the context, individuals may choose to play down or play up their ethnic identity. They may even go so far as to challenge their national identity, regardless of the context. A Breton will probably declare himself a Breton first and a Frenchman second, whereas a Parisian will remain first and foremost, a Frenchman. Ethnic identity may not be static either. For instance an Egyptian may identify himself as an Egyptian one day and an Arab the next. It largely depends upon the context of the situation and with whom he may be speaking.

Why doesn't the Breton call himself a Frenchman or the Parisian call himself a European? Modernization appears to have pushed in the opposite direction of sociologists' predictions of a united, technologically bound universe. Instead of merging, societies search for smaller, more intimate ties against the alienation that modernization produces. Ethnicity then serves as a counterweight to that alienation. This is a particularly important concept to remember as we preach the “global village.” While the European Economic union seems to be pulling Europe together, one only need to observe the world soccer competition to understand that the

nativist pull is far more powerful-at least in a certain time frame - than any economic cooperation.

As individuals seek these smaller ties, they may lean toward stratification and segregation. Stratification deals with access to political, economic, or social privileges. Segregation deals with physical separation of people. In stratification, individuals hope to break the barriers that curtail their economic benefits (such as unemployment), their political influence (lack of legitimate representation), or their social acceptance (an unfavorable background). In segregation, individuals may be subject to microsegregation (separate facilities), mesosegregation (ghettos), or macrosegregation (confinement to reserves or homelands). In analyzing these forms of segregation and stratification, the analyst needs to determine whether they are intentional or unintentional, formal or informal, or even official policy. The currents presently (2000) moving through the American Black community are examples of this dichotomy. One group seeks the more traditional goal of integration into the overall tapestry of American life, while a more recently organized group seeks to reinstitute segregation, in terms of university living arrangements, black colleges, unions, churches etc.

Today, some form of conflict is normal in a pluralistic society. One cannot examine the politically successful groups of a country without analyzing their influence over conflict. The political elite can no longer ignore those who may have been absorbed politically since minor groups may be the next majority. Thus, we might assume that the more ethnic groups that are visible in a country, the greater the chance for conflict. This conflict may occur in various political, economic, or social spheres and at various intensities. In order to minimize the potential for ethnic conflict, political elite's may employ several methods--

- o An ideological commitment to minimize ethnicity, as we used to do in the United States, until recently when, as stated above, the renewed emphasis on ethnicity by minorities has reintroduced a new sort of segregation desired by the minority in contradistinction to the earlier segregation imposed by the majority.

- o A nonethnic basis for consensus, such as religion, meaning the same sect. Being Muslim or Christian is not enough. One must be the "right kind" of Muslim or Christian. (Shia-sunni split in Lebanon, the Catholic - Protestant conflict in Ireland, the Orthodox - secular Jewish antagonism in Israel.)

- o Creating a sense of belonging whereby the survival of the nation takes precedence over the individual or sectarian identity. The reluctance of French Canadians to go it alone must be based at least partially on the fear of being swallowed up economically and culturally by the United States.

Understanding ethnicity provides insight on the political, economic, and social structure of a foreign environment. Ethnicity will play a bigger role in the potential for conflict as countries become less homogenous. In a 1988 study by Walker Connor, of 168 surveyed countries, fewer than 25 percent were considered homogenous societies. The presence of ethnic groups vying for pieces of the political and economic pie can be a decisive element for examining the success of the political elite. The military analysts will probably find few areas of the world where ethnicity and the potential conflict it brings does not affect the power base of ruling elite's. The analyst is charged with understanding the extent of influence that a given

ethnic group may have and its potential to affect the political, economic, and social make-up of the region he studies.

The study of low intensity conflict (LIC), operations other than war (OOTW), counter insurgency (COIN), Small Wars, or whatever these political-military conflicts are called when you are reading this, must increasingly entail a greater understanding of ethnic warfare. Much of our Vietnam strategy in dealing with insurgency- what little there was- was focused on revolutionary warfare. This requires a much different strategy than ethnic warfare. For instance revolutionary warfare emphasizes the importance of wealth distribution, better government, land ownership, civic action etc. While all of these have a place in ethnic warfare, all the civic action in the world, or most efficient government, will not solve the problem of Palestine. There is little doubt that the Arabs of the West Bank are better off economically, socially, and in terms of personal freedom, than most Arabs in the surrounding Arab nations, but this has in no way diminished their ultimate desire to obtain independence from Israeli rule. So it is in Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union, Sudan, Cyprus, the Kurdish regions and a myriad of other places in the world.

## **II. Interrelationships With Other Political-Military Factors**

Since ethnicity is based upon religion, or language, or history, or culture and is often maintained or exacerbated by environmental, political, ideological, or economic factors, these must be analyzed in conjunction with ethnicity. For instance socio-economic factors are very important in assessing the volatility of an ethnic environment. When examining an ethnic group within a nation, generally analysts see socio-economic vertical stratification of a sect or ethnic group as a stabilizing factor while horizontal status as a destabilizer. For instance when an ethnic community is represented at all levels of the socio-economic ladder, there is little likelihood of violent conflict but when one socio-economic group occupies the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum, the potential for violence is high. This was the case with the Shia in Lebanon. Looked down upon by both Christian and Sunni Muslim communities, and virtually powerless at the national level, a rapidly growing Shia community swarming into the cities were ripe for rebellion. "Justice comes from the barrel of the gun." This became their slogan - borrowed from the Palestinians in their 1970's war against the Israelis (who had borrowed it from Mao).

The existence of the growing ethnic problem in every area of the world has particular interest for the political-military officer such as the SOF officer. The depth and detail of knowledge will be a much greater requirement in an ethnic conflict. For instance launching a PSYOP campaign, or a civic action project based on an assumption that the Kurds are a monolithic group with common aspirations will be a fatal mistake. And so it is throughout most of the world. Ethnicity is particularly important in the composition of the military. For instance in the United States the Army is composed of almost one-third Black or Hispanic soldiers (as of June 1998). Almost half of the total force originates from the South. Does this have an impact on our goal of an apolitical force? The Lebanese army splintered into three separate factions at the beginning of the civil war in 1976, supporting their confessional factions rather than the nation. The non-Arab or Shia soldiers of Saddam Hussein's army had little stomach for the war in the Gulf. The bottom line is this. Most nations in the world are multi-

ethnic and ethnicity as a force has put stress on the nation state as a viable concept. Can a nation survive and prosper in an environment of divided loyalties, segregated communities, and barely - concealed mutual antagonisms?

### **III. Questions To Be Considered**

1. Define ethnicity. Identify the various ethnic groups in the nation under study. How strong are their loyalties to the central government? What is the central government's attitude toward minorities?
2. Is ethnicity a danger to nation state and why? If not why? Could it be exploited?
3. What is the ethnic composition of the military? The officer corps? The soldiers? What is the distribution of ethnic groups throughout the various arms and branches?
4. Does the socio-economic structure break down along ethnic lines? How? Any potential for conflict?
5. Do the ethnic minorities have a neighboring nation of the same minority with an irredentist history?
6. How unified, in terms of culture, language, religion, etc., are the minorities? Are they concentrated in certain geographical areas? Are they dominant in certain occupations? Are these occupations critical to the functioning of the country?
7. In philosophical terms can the nation under study integrate ethnic minority issues within a majoritarian democracy? Will there be some power sharing by the minority?
8. In terms of psychological operations themes, how general can these themes be, i.e., is there one-size fits all appeal or must the appeals be pencil thin in focus? In other words does the national populace respond to the same stimulus or symbols?
9. Does your own ethnic background predispose you to an affinity to one side or the other? Is there a tendency to assign devils and saints to opposing sides in an ethnic conflict, particularly among the media?

### **Recommended Further Readings**

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## Chapter 16

### Technology and Political Military Analysis

#### **I. Introduction**

This section on technology is a new addition to the POL MIL Handbook so several parts are still in draft and some issues remain to be explored. This will happen, in part, by developing questions and observations about technology during the long seminars and in the Media Technology course. The first question to be addressed here is why this Handbook should include a "new" section on technology? In other words, what is new about technology that makes it important in political military analysis?

#### **II. The Definition of Technology**

To begin with, we need to remember that technology means the application of knowledge to create solutions. This means that we need to think of technology as a concept rather than as a specific invention like a CD player or a computer or a hammer (and sickle). How we use such tools to solve problems is what matters here and this is where Twenty First Century technologies differ significantly from the tools of the previous centuries. In the past, technology has referred generally to the devices and machines that multiply the strength and abilities of men to make and move things. Whether we consider personal automobiles and power tools or giant cranes and planes, these devices generally serve as manpower multipliers. They are also designed and operated in terms of Newtonian Mechanics characterized by linear cause and effect relationships such as the watch works described in the introduction to this Handbook. With such technology, accuracy depends on precise parts working in unison and transaction speeds are constrained by the force of gravity.

By contrast, Twenty First Century technologies achieve precision through micro-circuitry operating at light speed. Former General Perry Smith describes it in terms of his digital watch:

I wear a digital watch that tells time in various formats and has three alarms, a stopwatch, and the storage capacity for twenty telephone numbers. For a time I had a faulty watchband and I dropped the watch on the ground at least ten times while I was jogging, yet the watch has never broken. I have had to replace the battery only twice in five years. This watch is certainly much more complex than the old wind-up watch that told time but did nothing else. In comparative terms, the watch I wear today is the least expensive watch I have ever had, and yet it is the first watch I have owned that has never had to be fixed or cleaned. It is a much more sophisticated watch but it's also much, much more reliable" (Smith, p. 146 )

Precision, reliability and uncertainty are key aspects of the new technology.

## Characteristics of Twenty First Century Technology

In general, there are four distinct aspects of new technologies that we need to understand in order to use the concept of technology as a productive frame of reference for political military analysis. These include the shift from analog to digital systems, the multi user functionality of space based platforms, the speed and volume of digitized transactions, and their non-linear complex nature.

The shift from analog to digital systems can be “seen” quite literally by comparing the faces of the two watches described above. The digital watch represents the compression of data about the physical world into “bits” at the smallest atomic level which is then stored, combined and reconfigured on microchips at light speed. As, explained in user-friendly detail by Nicholas Negroponte in **Being Digital**, this process involves reconfiguring information about the physical world into digitized grids that are then encoded and decoded through digitized computations. The effect is “virtual” reproduction of physical phenomena through information processing.

A second significant aspect of this technology relates to the fact that such information processing systems, or devices, can be interlinked by transmitting light signals across space. This allows for the expansion of digitized processing through the non wired, as well as hard wired channels and facilitates information sharing and programming. The unique new aspect here is the increasingly large set of earth orbital transmission and relay satellites servicing businesses, government, militaries, and private users alike. As a result, both information products and services have become readily available to commercial users around the world so long as they have the decoding devices (i.e. cell phones, modems, computer terminals, etc.). The effect of this technology on cultures, finance markets, militaries, politics and ecological environments cannot be understated and is described as “globalization” by Thomas Friedman in his book **The Lexus and the Olive Tree**. This process has created a globally linked system in which digital computation devices constitute the infrastructure and space based platforms constitute the superstructure of the Twenty First Century.

A third aspect of new technology has already been mentioned above and will be developed during the program. This refers to the compression and transmission of data at light speeds based on the use of silicon chips. This not only allows for global “real time” communication but also for the development of technology designed to address aspects of human behavior never before understood. This includes the kind of biogenetic research that relates to cloning, human performance enhancement, disease immortality (cancer and AIDS), and artificial life. This has led not only to medical breakthroughs but also to a shift from user-based interfaces to agent-based interfaces with computers. In other words, Twentieth Century computers are built around button pushing and power point paradigms, whereas twenty-first century computers and devices will be built around the use of voice and face recognition and sensory signaling.

More important, both from a research and national security standpoint, this aspect of new technology introduces an era in which digitized information can be designed to

permutate and self replicate. This means that technology can “create” knowledge beyond computational solutions, facilitate artificial life and “invent” other technology. The related processes have important implications in all aspects of scientific research and have been shown applicable to phenomena as diverse as bee colonies and commodity prices. From a national security point of view, it ushers in the age of warfare through “smart” weapons and an array of new threats such as information viruses.

The fourth dimension of “newness” about this technology comes from the fact that research on the physics of light has generated important and paradoxical theories about how the world works. In a sense, these theories have asked: is light a particle or a wave? And the empirical answer is: yes. Traditional physics theories require that the answer be one or the other (either a wave or a particle) but “complexity” theories show that it can behave like both. In other words, we must accept paradoxical answers and uncertainties about physical relationships in order to create new technologies. This means we live in a world of multi-causality (and some times a-causality, i.e. no cause) where simple linear constructs fail to model human behavior effectively. Indeed, they may even lead to self- deception about how the world works.

Consequently, leaders in political military affairs, business, medicine, and all major professions have begun to change their views of the world according to new paradigms of action. This shows up in research on *national security* such as Thomas Czerwinski’s Coping with the Bounds, Speculations on Non linearity in Military Affairs; on *leadership*, as in Margaret Wheatley’s Leadership and the New Science; in *business*, as with Peter Senge’s The Fifth Discipline, and in many emerging studies that will reshape the way we think and act.

In short, multi agent and multi causal models represent a needed paradigm shift in the analysis of political military affairs and International Relations.

### **Requirements of the New Paradigm**

Where action on the ground is concerned, CA and PSYOP officers need to understand these concepts, because they have important doctrinal implications related to the expectations of policy makers regarding high tech solutions. This is especially important with regard to Operations Other Than War where the role of new technology in such operations emerges as a “qualitatively different problem from command and control in peace operations...” This requires new thinking in order to use the new technologies effectively. In other words, “...we are moving from a Newtonian and Cartesian paradigm of viewing the world as a clockwork universe, inherently mechanical, predictable, rational and reductionist, to viewing the world as flowing, adapting, nonlinear and holistic. (OOTW, p1) This view guides current and forthcoming military analysis such as the Strategic Assessment 2000 published by the National Defense University.

Based on this paradigm shift, “...new tools have been developed due to the increased synergy between the computer and our own minds, the ability to compute what

models, or descriptions of nature, we had conceived, but had, heretofore, only approximated.” (OOTW, p2) Some of these new tools are described below, but the essential point here is that they are useful to the extent that they interface with users and doctrine that embody new operational concepts. This includes successful management on the ground of technology based on phenomena such as neural networks, cellular automata and genetic algorithms.

While we need not know the technical scientific definitions or theoretical aspects of these phenomena, the point here is that they refer to different ways of getting things done in the operational environment. In particular, they affect our views of “control” and uncertainty regarding political military outcomes. Ironically, the prospect of pinpoint precision and total networking of operational personnel can trigger an overload of information yielding an uncertainty over priorities, protocols and traditional command and control issues.

As the 1998 Marine Corps study on Maneuver Warfare concludes:

Just a few years ago, we could not accept living with uncertainty on the battlefield. The prevailing view was that if we were able to collect and process enough information, with the right models and equations then we could prosecute war better. However, what [we know from] complexity theory ... is that we cannot overcome or “control” uncertainty through the collection and processing of information. In fact, we may be fooling ourselves in thinking that we could have any control at all. (Hoffman and Horne, 1998, p7)

Thus, the technological challenge for the CA PSYOP officer is to develop a political military interface that accurately matches outcome expectations with appropriate technologies.

### **Technology and Operations Other Than War (OOTW)**

The current technology revolution has introduced important new tools in many fields including medicine, telecommunications, microelectronics, and military operations. As a recent study by the National Defense University has noted “many technologies are being developed for many purposes, but these technical ‘solutions’ often appear out of step with operational priorities.”<sup>35</sup>. Consequently, technology effectiveness depends heavily on “educating operators about what is available and feasible...[and to do so in a way that] bridges the present gaps between technology, policy and operations”(OOTW, p. 35)

For example, several generic technologies “appear to have wide application across representative OOTW” in just this manner. The data in Figure 1 juxtaposes generic technologies with possible missions. “In the military context, most of the technologies require integral C2, or are themselves a C2 application.” (OOTW, pp. 39-41)

**Figure 1. OOTW Missions and Generic Technologies**

OOTW Technologies Missions	Information Disinformation	Information Sharing	Information Handling	Day/Night All-Weather	Signatures	Training and Simulation	Databases		Non-Lethal Weapons
Counter-Insurgency	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Counter-Terror	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Peace Enforcement	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Peace Operations	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Counter Drug	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Civil Operations	+	+	+	+		+		+	+
Non-Combat Evacuation	+	+	+	+		+		+	+
Disaster Relief	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+

Thus, C2 requirements, not just technical feasibility determine potential mission effectiveness. These same OOTW mission areas can be juxtaposed to technology applications that support each mission as shown in Figure 2 (below) to demonstrate “near-universal application across many mission areas.” (OOTW, p. 41)

**Figure 2. OOTW Missions and Technologies**

OOTW Technologies Missions	Cou n t e r I n s u r g e n c y	Cou n t e r - T e r r o r	Pea c e E n f o r c e m e n t	Pea c e O p e r a t i o n s	Cou n t e r D r u g	Civil O p e r a t i o n s	Non - C o m b a t E v a c u a t i o n	Dis a s t e r R e l i e f
Demining	+	+	+	+				
PSYOPS	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Sniffers	+	+	+	+	+			+
Computers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mechanical Disablers	+	+	+	+	+			
See Through Walls	+	+	+	+	+			
Acoustics	+	+	+	+	+			
PSYWAR	+	+			+			
Lasers	+	+	+	+	+			
Terrorist Atk Warning	+	+	+	+	+			
Radio Frequency	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Counter Sniper/Mortar	+	+	+	+				
Body Armor	+	+	+	+	+			
AP/AM	+	+	+	+	+			
Anti Sam	+	+	+	+				
Auto Translation	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Crowd Control	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
Location Recovery	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Specific OOTW technologies currently under development include demining equipment, non-lethal weapons and several specific devices listed below:

***Soldier 911, PRC-112/GPS Tracking and Warning system –***

Preprogrammed border location and situational alert transmitting.

Livermore Labs

***“Lifeguard” Anti Sniper IR System*** –Infrared sensing system to track sniper bullet trajectories and return fire automatically

***-People/Vehicle/Metal Sensors*** - For use in Border Patrol to distinguish people from metal background objects

***Hovering UAVs*** – “local area satellites” that can be fitted with sensors to provide “near real time” data

***MHD (Magneto Hydro Dynamics)*** - designed for actions such as “disabling equipment and stopping vehicles “with electromagnetic power impulses”

***High Power, Low Frequency Sound Systems*** – Acoustic NLW that can cause intestinal distress and disorientation

***High Intensity Lights/Laser Weapons*** – designed to “flash-blind” people and disrupt or disable optical and infrared targeting system

***Stink Bombs*** – A negative olfactory experience

***Micro Sensor Networks*** – Designed to create randomly scattered fields deployable from a wide range of delivery systems

Taken together, the research, development and fielding of such technologies introduces new issues in doctrine, training, and rules of engagement and new uncertainty in political military affairs.

### **Technology in Regional Theatres**

High technology has transformed the way we do business in all key areas of life and this has penetrated every major region of the world. Just log on to the Internet for an example: <http://www.arab.net/gid/welcome.html>. This is the web site of the Jordanian state intelligence service. And consider the political demand of a Chinese politician in a “dirt poor” northern Chinese village: “We need more trees, also fiber-optic cable so everyone can have a telephone.” (Friedman, p. 60) Fiber optics in rural China where schoolhouses have dirt floors? What does this tell us?

In short, any given region of the world will exhibit a mix of technologies unique to that area so we need to analyze how high tech resources interface with low-tech environments.

So, what are the operational considerations? A hallmark of the new technology paradigm is the opportunity, indeed the necessity to approach the world as a mix of dynamic systems and to adapt to diverse environments with a mix of high and low tech solutions. This means that we must adopt “non linear [models] and methods that will help better represent the real world.” We need new questions that generate field applicability of political military analysis.

As an observational exercise, for example, we can ask which technologies elites and masses in a given environment use to process and exchange information. How does this compare to the information technology we use? What can we expect counterparts to know and not know about us as a result? And, how can we exploit what the counterpart does not know about us?

From an operational standpoint, additional questions related to mixed technology environments can shed light on how to interpret various aspects of the political military environment. For example, can low tech environments characterized by manual labor and handicraft economies “modernize” rapidly to attain high payoff productivity? Why (or, why not)? What is the relationship between technology and prospects for sustained development? Along these same lines, what role does culture play in technological and economic development. Do cottage industries and traditional village cultures signify intellectual and political inferiority because of high tech poverty or, are all people essentially equal in capability given the same technology? We may find valuable results by simply asking how local people and their elites solve problems in terms of available technology.

Asking and answering these kinds of questions can help the political military officer use the sixteen factors of analysis a “heuristic” device to create a “crude picture of the whole” operational environment, with technology as a pivotal dimension. In this manner, the “inherently nonlinear nature of the military C2 system” and the dynamics of mixed technology environments can offer new tactical and strategic opportunities.

This means that observing how people communicate, conduct business and go about their daily lives can tell us not only about technology but also reveal behavioral “codes” by which people collectively confront challenges, cope with disaster, relate to authority and sustain their identities.

### **III. Conclusion**

As a new addition to the pol mil framework, this discussion of technology is still in draft so it remains for the reader to identify and research additional technology issues related to political military affairs. In particular, it is important to reckon with the multi-dimensional aspect of the technology concept because not all pol mil environments are high tech. Indeed, technology must be viewed in terms that go beyond just a simple spectrum of low to high tech assets that populate any given environment in order to arrive at an effective plan of action. We must therefore ask where each nation(s) of a target environment experiences advantages and disadvantages. And, in doing so, we will have another part of the puzzle that this book seeks to piece together. By assessing the technological dimension of the environment we can create more accurate explanations about how nations and their societies “form, function and fail.” (Pentland, 1994)

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## Chapter 17

### Media

#### **I. Introduction**

While we generally accept that the role of the mass media is a critical political-military factor, it is difficult to know precisely what the influence is. In analyzing the role of the media, one of the most pervasive questions may be the hardest to answer. What is the power, influence, and effects of various media? The short answer is: causal relationships are difficult to ascertain because of the confounding effects of multiple variables.

Dutton defines media as a "critical *cultural institution* in which ideas and meanings are created and circulated within the society (Dutton, 10)." Mass media is a relative term; it refers to media that reach a large number of people.

Analyzing media can be approached from the standpoint of the basic elements of communications theory: sender, medium, message, and receiver. In looking at the media from these elements we will also highlight the tenets of the major theoretical perspectives. Be wary of theories that try to explain the media by focusing on only one aspect of the communication process.

#### **II. Analyzing the Senders**

A common question posed is: who "controls" the media? Who determines what messages to transmit? Is it the government, commercial sources, journalists, editors, the public (by what they will tune in to), or some combination of the above?

The propaganda and Marxist models focus on the senders and their messages. These theories focus on what *media does to people*. In these models, the media is an agent of social control, subservient to the dominant forces (elite) in the economic and political environment. Media is seen as a shaper of culture. In the words of Dutton, "The interests of the ruling group (be it a ruling class, patriarchy, etc.) are maintained through the media reproducing a dominant ideology, a set of beliefs and ideas which represent those interests as natural (Dutton, 5)." Ownership of the media is regarded as a key component in the domination of one class over another. From the Marxist perspective, the concentration of ownership and high entry costs prohibit contending viewpoints from being heard.

In the economic model, the mass media is viewed as industry. The mass media caters to market segments. The owners or senders seek to maximize audiences, rather than control or change audiences. In this model, what is produced is determined by demand. Profitability is the overarching goal. From this perspective, the prevailing views espoused in the media will be those in consonance or harmony with the prevailing cultural norms and values.

In the pluralist and free press models, no single sector of senders is omnipotent. There is a distribution of power in society; many competing interests have access to the media. While mass media tend to reinforce central values, the mass media also reflect culture. Changes in culture are reflected in changes in media. Even within sectors, no group is a monolith. For example, within government, there are differences between what the various actors have to say. The evidence of the utility of this model is indicated by the degree of diversity in a country's media.

In the functionalist model, the focus is on determining the roles and functions that media serve in a society. What role does the media play in socialization? Is the function of media entertainment, informational, ritual, or some combination (for example, "infotainment")?

In analyzing senders in a country, examine who owns mass media systems. But also realize that there may be a difference between who owns media and who finances media. For example, corporations own much of the media in the West, but media is primarily financed by advertisers (and indirectly, the audience). Also look at the role of conglomerates. Is ownership highly concentrated and what are the implications of this concentration? Who has access to media production?

How does the government influence media? Is there overt control by the government? Or does the government have an impact in other ways? How important is the government as a source of information? Even when the media is not explicitly controlled by the government, what role does the media play in disseminating government viewpoints? Is the news primarily generated by government press releases and news events or does investigative reporting play the major role? What influence does the government have in determining how issues are framed?

What is public policy, law, or regulation with regard to the media? Are there license fees, accreditation procedures, or legal restrictions on what can be propagated? Is there overt censorship? What happens to those who produce "illegal" media? Imprisonment? Are there subtle or indirect forms of censorship? Is there a government ministry of information (or culture) which has an impact on what is produced? For example:

Every [Arab] government but Qatar has an information ministry whose Essential task is to mobilize the media - and through them, the public at large -in support of government policies. Information ministries monitor reporters' activities and whereabouts and help to shape (and sometimes wholly shape) the news agenda - both that which they produce for domestic consumption, and that which they allow to be broadcast overseas (Alterman, 1998, p.49).

How does the government control or influence media emanating from external sources? Are there restrictions on foreign ownership? Are there rules that favor certain producers? For example, in Saudi Arabia, in addition to overt rules, *al-Sharq al-Aswat (The Middle East)* is the only international newspaper that is printed in Saudi Arabia. This means it is the first international paper available each day. The paper is generally very supportive of the Saudi regime (Alterman, 1998).

Is the media in the country in transition from being state-dominated to a more pluralist model? And what are the implications? In states where media have been dominated by political propaganda, there are indications that people react differently to new media, particularly advertisements. This has been true in Russia, where the population is unforgiving of anything resembling propaganda or distortion (Davidson, 1992). Overall in Russia, advertisements have tended to remain heavily factual rather than persuasive (Mueller, 1996). Based on survey research of Russians after being exposed to Western TV commercials in 1990, a member of the J. Walter Thompson agency described the Russians as ambivalent about advertising:

Emotionally, commercials are capable of evoking two opposing kinds of responses. On the one hand, they give a quality catharsis - an escape from daily hardship into fantasy and dreams. On the other hand they are capable of causing deep resentment and a wish to

distance oneself because the imagery is too painful and absurdly removed from current reality. (As quoted in Davidson, 1992. p.48)

Brzezinski (1993) makes a similar point in his discussion of global communications and their effect on increasing awareness of inequalities.

What effect has technology had on the sender? Does technology make it more difficult for governments to control what people receive? Although some may predict that the Internet will reduce the ability of the state to control the flow of information; the opposite may be true. Those states with a propensity to try and control information will probably attempt to continue that propensity. Electronic searches may make it easier. It depends on encoding and routing. And the government may still have a gatekeeper function. For example, Bahrain, the UAE, and Saudi Arabia all have firewalls that control access into and out of the country (Alterman, 1998). While new mediums may hamper traditional censorship, the effect is not preordained.

### **III. Analyzing the Medium**

Examine what media are commonly used. A good reference book, such as *World Radio & TV Handbook 1999*, is a useful starting point for radio and TV. Other reference books are available for other media. Also determine the relative importance and role of the various types of media. Is society oral, print-based, electronic or some combination depending on the sector? For most of the world, oral modes of communication continue to be an important means by which societal values are transmitted and acculturation takes place. Media can be classified into three broad categories:

#### a. Visual

- |                                       |                      |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------|
| ■ Newspapers                          | ■ Magazines          |
| ■ Books                               | ■ Leaflets/pamphlets |
| ■ Posters                             | ■ Direct Mail        |
| ■ Internet (can also be audio-visual) | ■ Billboards         |

#### b. Aural

- |             |                    |
|-------------|--------------------|
| ■ Telephone | ■ Audio Recordings |
| ■ Radio     |                    |

#### c. Audio-visual

- |                                       |                           |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| ■ TV (broadcast, cable, satellite)    | ■ Audio-visual recordings |
| ■ Internet                            | ■ Film                    |
| ■ Rallies/public speeches/conventions | ■ Plays/live drama        |
| ■ Schools (esp. compulsory public ed) | ■ Church                  |
| ■ Word of Mouth                       | ■ Loud speakers           |

Also examine what effect the medium has. Marshall McLuhan answers this question in the often quoted "the medium is the message," where the focus is on technology and production.

What effect has technology had on mediums? According to Altschull the press in some countries "has been losing its character as an instrument of substantive information. One result of technology is the constant news cycle. There is a premium on having something new. Those with the hottest news can capture audience and therefore advertising dollars. Previously, the news cycle was twice a day: the morning paper and the evening news. In the twice a day cycle there was more time for reflection, analysis, and confirmation. What role does live coverage have? We

see a compelling television image and we believe. But do images mask reality? The image may not be indicative of a greater reality.

And technology may not be the decisive factor. In the Iranian revolution, cassette tapes were critical in broadcasting the revolutionary message. Although there were more sophisticated technologies present, they were not readily accessible to the revolutionary movement.

Also determine if language poses a barrier to use of new technologies? For example, only a few search engines can search Arabic text (Alterman, 1998).

#### **IV. Analyzing the Masses**

In analyzing the media in a country, look at the form and content of the media products that are produced. What is mediated? Read the news available in the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS). Analyze advertisements. What symbols and themes are used by advertisers of products that are successful in a country? Even if you don't understand the language, watch film or TV. Try to answer the following questions:

- What are the dominant styles and formats found in the media?
- How are the visual arts used?
- How is music used?
- What symbols are used?
- What are the themes?
- Who is the messenger?
- Who are the opinion makers?
- What are the patterns?
- What is the regularity and how much repetition is used?
- How much variance is there?
- Do all of the major providers basically provide similar material in similar formats?
- What is the length?
- What is the role of sports in the media?
- What is the role of the news?
- What is considered newsworthy, and what is the content of the news?
- Who judges what is important?
- In prosperous and stable times, how interested are people in political news?
- Is news primarily information or entertainment?
- Is it analysis, commentary or opinion about the news?
- How prevalent are statements by public officials in the news?
- What is conspicuously absent from the media?

When analyzing the media in a country, look at a wide cross-section of media products. Doing so can provide a window into the culture.

#### **V. Analyzing the Receivers**

While the propaganda model focuses on the sender and the message, Elihu Katz poses the question in terms of what media does to people, but *what people do with the media*. Katz's basic argument is: the media must be analyzed within the context of social, cultural, and political institutions. The focus is on the reception and consumption of the message. In his 1977 book (co-authored with Wedell), *Broadcasting in the Third World: Promise and Performance*, Katz analyzes the introduction of broadcasting institutions into developing countries. Drawing on

original research in eleven countries, he concludes that there is a significant difference between expectations and actual effects across countries. The intended message may be very different than the audience's reading.

Katz's cross-cultural study *The Export of Meaning: Cross-Cultural Readings of Dallas* further indicates that viewers interpret according to their cultural prism. In other words, media that emanate from foreign sources interact with indigenous factors. The result in one country may be very different than in another. Do not assume you know what the effect will be. There are many factors which influence acceptance of a message, including the value system of the receiver, credibility given to the source, and repetition.

When assessing the impact of mass media on audiences, examine the characteristics of media that has a wide audience. From a purely behavioral standpoint, what are the patterns of reception? What is the dispersion/concentration of media and of audiences? Are there diverse products for a diverse audience?

What is the effect of technology on the receiver? As Alterman reports, "Only about 10 to 15 percent of all Arabs have regular access to satellite television, a smaller number reads the international Arabic press, and a smaller number still is proficient with the internet (p.3)." Although technology may provide access to new sources of information, to what degree do people use those sources? And what percent of the audience can afford access?

## **VI. Inter-relationships and Some Analytical Questions**

### **Cultural Environment**

- What role does media play in transmitting culture within the society?
- What role does media play in creating/sustaining a national identity?
- To what degree does the media serve as an agent of change?
- What is the form and content of prevalent media?
- What explicit meanings are in this content?
- What implicit meanings are in this content?
- To what degree does content reinforce the status quo?
- How are subcultures reflected in the media?
- Are new products or genres easily accepted, or are products that differ too much from the mainstream rejected?
- Does transnational media contribute to distorted perceptions about other cultures?
- To the extent that Western media has significantly penetrated the culture, how has it affected the culture?

### **History**

- Do shared media experiences become history?
- Does the portrayal of history in mass media become the prevailing understanding of history?

### **Elites**

- What differences are there in media consumption patterns of elites and others?
- What is the role of opinion leaders who interpret events?

### Foreign Influence

- What is the degree of foreign media penetration?
- Is foreign ownership permitted; are there restrictions?
- What is the effect of transnational media?
- Does it highlight relative deprivation?

### Political System

- What are the parameters of political debate within the media? (While debate may be acceptable, there may be area that are out of bounds and therefore not tolerated by governments or accepted by the general populace.)
- What is the degree of press freedom?
- What topics are taboo?
- Is it permissible to criticize the head of government?
- Is there an alignment between media and political parties or particular interest groups?
- How does access affect what is produced?
- Are those journalists who present issues in a light most favorable to the regime rewarded with better access to officials?
- How dominant is the state in the shaping of the media?

### National Interests

- Has the country entered into any interstate agreements concerning the flow of media
- What effect has media had on the power and influence of non-state actors?

### Political Economy

- Who owns mass media systems?
- Who finances media?
- What is the relationship between the state, the economy, and the media?
- What is the economic impact of the media?

### Role of the Military

- How is military service portrayed in the media?  
For example, the perceptions created by the movie *Saving Private Ryan* are much different than the view of military service portrayed in *Top Gun*.

### Religion

- What impact has the media had on traditional religious values?  
For example, Sinclair (1987) argues that the advertising prevalent in Western media has the cultural effect of legitimizing consumption and de-emphasizing religious dogma. Advertising appeals to desire, pleasure, and achieving satisfaction through consumption. The effect may serve to undermine some religious conditioning which focuses on rewards in an afterlife rather than earthly rewards. In a culture that constantly and pervasively emphasizes consumption,

individual gratification is no longer taboo. Brzezinski (1993) makes a similar point in his discussion of "permissive cornucopia".

**VII. Summary**

There is no single framework for analyzing and understanding the media. The relevance of different theological perspectives change by country. The role, importance, and functions of the media also change from society to society. You must examine media in the *context* of the other political-military factors. Economics, politics, culture, and the media are inextricably intertwined. Media can be an independent variable, acting as an agent of change, and media can also be the dependent variable, changing in response to other factors.

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