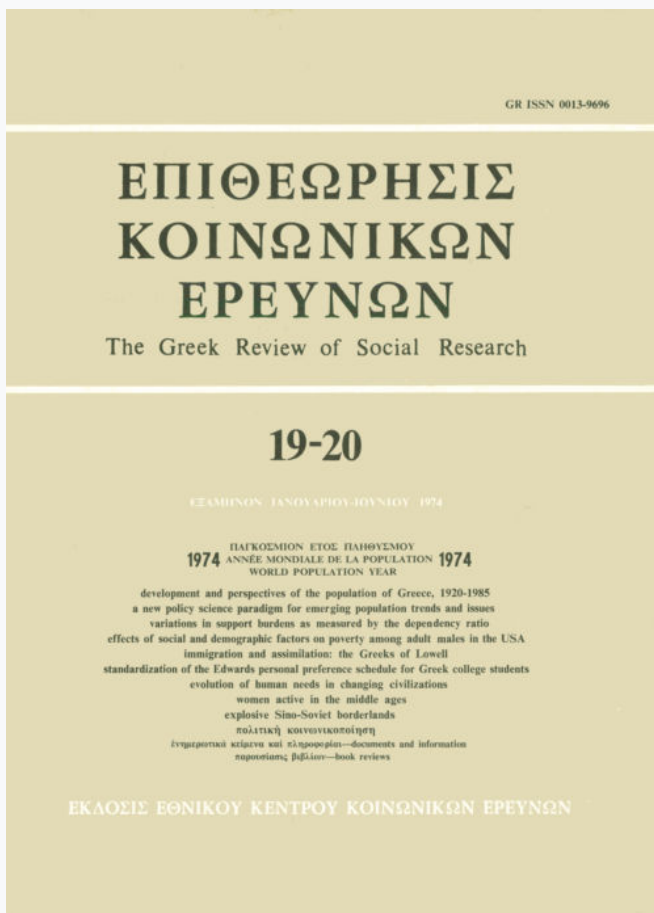


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## American's army in crisis: A study in civil-military relations, by William L. Hauser

George A. Kourvetraris

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καταστάσεως της γεωργίας και του αγροτικού πληθυσμού, εις ώρισμένας περιοχές.

Τό δεύτερον στάδιον, τό όποιον καλύπτει τό πρώτον τέταρτον του είκοστου αιώνος, έχει ως κύριον χαρακτηριστικόν τήν στροφήν της μονογραφικής έρευνής από τήν μεγάλην διοικητικην περιοχήν εις τόν χώρον του χωρίου. Βασικόν στοιχείον της περιόδου επίσης είναι ή συμπλήρωσις της κοινωνικο-οικονομικής μελέτης με τήν έθνογραφικήν εξέτασιν του χωρίου, ή όποια χαρακτηρίζεται από τήν λεπτομερή περιγραφήν του λαογραφικού ύλικου.

Η τρίτη περίοδος, ή όποια καλύπτει τό διάστημα 1925-1935, είναι γνωστή εις τήν ιστορίαν της Κοινωνιολογίας ως περίοδος της κοινωνιολογικής σχολής του Βουκουρεστίου ή της μονογραφικής σχολής. Ο κύριος εκπρόσωπος της σχολής αυτής, Dimitrie Gusti, διεπίετο υπό της ιδέας ότι ή κοινωνιολογική έρευνα έπρεπε να καλύψη τό σύνολον των ρουμανικών χωρίων. Τουτό θα ώδήγει εις τήν δημιουργίαν ρουμανικής Κοινωνιολογίας, διά της μεθόδου της συγκρίσεως των αποτελεσμάτων των επί μέρους έρευνών.

Τό τέταρτον στάδιον, 1935-1945, χαρακτηρίζεται από μία ποιητική διαφοροποίησης της μονογραφικής έρευνής της προηγούμενης περιόδου. Άντι της πλήρους και λεπτομερούς έρευνής μιάς κοινότητας έν τώ συνόλω της, έμφασιν έδωθη εις τήν πολυπλευρον εξέτασιν ενός προβλήματος. Άκόμη και ή λαογραφική έρευνα μιάς κοινότητας δεν είχε τόν χαρακτήρα της εικη και ως έτυχε συλλογής οιοδήποτε ύλικου, άλλα της μελέτης ένος συγκεκριμένου λαογραφικού προβλήματος. Ο νέος τρόπος έρευνής επέτρεψε τήν ευχερέστεραν χρησιμοποίησης τής συγκριτικής μεθόδου.

Τό πέμπτον στάδιον, τό όποιον ήρρισε μετά τό πέρασ του δεύτερου Παγκοσμίου Πολέμου, φθάνει μέχρι της σημεριν. Η άλλαγή του καθεστώτος επέδρασε και επί της ρουμανικής Κοινωνιολογίας, ή όποια έπαυσε να διδάσκει ως αυτόνομος επιστήμη εις τό Πανεπιστήμιον μέχρι του 1965. Άξίζει να σημειωθή έδώ, ότι ένθ εις τήν Ρουμανίαν τό κομμουνιστικόν καθεστώς καθήργησεν επί σειράν έτών τήν διδασκαλίαν της Κοινωνιολογίας εις τό Πανεπιστήμιον επειδή αυτή εθεωρήθη ότι έξυπηρετεί τά συμφέροντα του βιαιτικού καθεστώτος, εις τήν Ελλάδα ή Κοινωνιολογία δεν έχει κατορθώσει άκόμη να άποκτήσ η ακαδημαϊκήν αυτότελειαν επειδή έχει κακώς ταυτισθή με τάς μαρξιστικάς θεωρίας.

Έν πάση περιπτώσει ή κατάργησις της Κοινωνιολογίας από τό ρουμανικόν Πανεπιστήμιον είχε ως αποτέλεσμα και τήν μείωσιν του αριθμού των κοινωνιολογικών έρευνών. Ο δέ χώρος αυτής εκάλυφθη κυρίως από έθνογραφικάς και άνθρωπολογικάς έρευνας.

Η έφαρμογή νέων πολιτικο-οικονομικών συστημάτων εις τήν ρουμανικήν κοι-

νωνίαν έπέφερε τήν μεταβολήν της δομής του ρουμανικού χωρίου, ή όποια είχε ως συνέπεια άφ' ένος μέρη τήν άλλαγήν του χαρακτήρος των μονογραφικών μελετών, άφ' έτέρου δέ τήν άνάπτυξιν και άλλων κλάδων της Κοινωνιολογίας εκτός της άγροτικής.

Η εισαγωγή καθαρώς κοινωνιολογικών μεθόδων, όπως τά έρωτηματολόγια, surveys, κλπ., εις τήν κοινωνιολογικήν έρευναν, έβοήθησεν εις τήν διαφοροποίησιν αυτής από τήν έθνογραφικήν έρευναν με τήν όποίαν εις τήν Ρουμανίαν συνεβάδιον από τόν περασμένον αιώνα. Κοινόν όμως σημείον των νέων έθνογραφικών και κοινωνιολογικών μεθόδων και θεωριών είναι ή παραδοχή του συνθέτου χαρακτήρος των κοινωνιών, άγροτικών και αστικών. Η βασική διαφορά μεταξύ Έθνογραφίας και Κοινωνιολογίας έγκειται εις τό ότι οι μέρη έθνογράφοι εξάρουν τάς πολιτιστικάς, ένθ οι κοινωνιολόγοι τάς κοινωνικάς μεταβλητάς.

Θά ήδυνάτο τις να δεχθί ότι ό μη σαφής διαχωρισμός των κοινωνιολογικών εργασιών από τάς άνθρωπολογικάς είναι μεροκνέκτμια εις τήν κατά τά άλλα άξιόλογον εργασίαν του καθηγητού Cernea. Θά πρέπει όμως να σημειωθή ως έλαφρυντικόν ότι αυτή αυτή ή φύσις του χώρου έρευνής καθιστά τόν διαχωρισμόν δύσκολον. Έως γνωστόν αι άγροτικά περιοχά, κυρίως αι ευρωπαϊκά, έχουν αποτελέσει αντικείμενον έπιτόπου έρευνής των κοινωνικών κυρίως άνθρωπολόγων και διηγώτερον των κοινωνιολόγων, και έπομένως, αι μέθοδοι αι όποιαί έξηρηματοποίησεν και υπό τών άγροτικών κοινωνιολόγων είναι κατά βάση άνθρωπολογικά.

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\*

*America's Army in Crisis: A Study in Civil-Military Relations*, by William L. Hauser, Lieutenant Colonel, US Army. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973. 242 pp. \$8.50.

This is an insightful book about the US army's current difficulties and the actions the army is taking in adapting to a rapidly changing society. The author, a West Point graduate and Lt. Colonel of the US Army, was one of those who are periodically selected to do research and writing on a national security topic at a civilian university. The present volume is the product of that effort.

The book is divided into three parts or 12 chapters. In the first part, «Armies in Transition» the author analyses the experiences and problems of the armies of Germany since World War II, France

after Algeria, and Britain at «the end of the empire». While the author argues that each case study is unique in its socio-political and historical milieu, he finds three broad issues— isolation, recruitment, and professionalism—common to all four including the US army's present crisis.

These three issues become his major focus of analysis of the US army in his subsequent two parts. Put somewhat differently, his first part is a classic case study approach in which he tries to extrapolate certain didactic lessons from those Western European armies with similar structures and difficulties as the US army but in different sociopolitical and historical periods.

Part II «The US Army in Transition» contains the major thrust of his book. The author examines the chronology of events leading to what he refers to as America's Army in Crisis. More concretely, he analyzes the problems i. e., drugs, racial conflict, dissent, discipline, justice confronting the US army and the steps the army has taken or is in the process of taking to deal with them. The author in a dispassionate yet intellectual and honest way marshals some evidence and suggests that there is a disjuncture between the army and American society which has brought about this crisis. This crisis, however, the author argues, is not only the army's own making. In a more general way the problem lies in the discrepancy between the life styles and values of a basically hedonistic / pleasure seeking youth and the authoritarian and hierarchical structure of army life. More specifically, the author sees a «spillover effect» / an intrusion of social ills creeping into the army from society.

The army's inexperience and slowness in recognizing and dealing with these problems has also contributed, the author contends, to the present crisis. That this crisis was further aggravated by the Vietnam issue and the army's own share of internal problems and allegations of corruption, war crimes, and careerism committed by the unprofessional behavior of some of its officers and NCO is obvious. In particular the latter the author believes created in the public's mind a crisis in «confidence» and «ambivalence» about the army's effectiveness and professional integrity. Furthermore, the end of the draft and the implementation of an all-volunteer concept in the army at a time of a post-Vietnam disenchantment and the youth's rebellion against an unpopular war made the problem of recruiting more problematic. This problem according to the author threatens both the mission and effectiveness of the US army.

Up to this point the author tries to be objective and dispassionate in his analysis and discussion of the issues and

problems facing the US army. In his last part, however, the author in an unprecedented manner takes a stand on the issues he raised previously. In his last chapter, for example, «What to do and how to do it», the author shows that there is no time for panic. One must see to it that the basic mission of the US army and indeed of the nation is maintained in a world of international discord and blackmail. And the army's basic mission as spelled out by the political authority is to provide for the national security and be prepared to fight all types of war.

In view of the contradictions of American society and the army's internal cleavages, the author offers something for everybody by elaborating on what Moskows refers to as «The Emergent Military: Civil, Traditional or Plural?». In fact, the author accepts in principle Moskows' pluralistic model by suggesting the splitting of the army into two parts: a «fighting» army and a «supporting» army.

This book has some unique aspects not ordinarily found in recent books on armed forces and society. First, most books on civil-military relations are written by academic social scientists. Second, most examine the impact of military on society rather than the reverse. Third, while the author is selective in his sources, he nevertheless succeeds in blending civilian and military scholarship in his analysis. This is something that academics who write about civil-military issues rarely do.

This analysis is not an «apostasy» of the military profession nor an «apology» for anti-military critics. It is rather a sympathetic and constructive critical analysis of some of the major issues confronting the US army. Indeed these problems may be observed in other western and non-western armies in industrial and post-industrial societies. Further this book may be seen as a glowing tribute to the US army for its capacity and willingness to re-examine itself and adapt to the changing environment without losing its basic mission and role in a free and democratic society.

While the author earns his brownie points, his analysis, inferences, conclusions, and policy recommendations may be challenged by a number of military personnel and civilians alike. The book for its most part reads like «A Facts on File type publication». It is episodic and anecdotal. It has a journalistic flavor coupled with an assortment of carefully selected quotations from a few scholars of armed forces and society. It fails to offer an over-all coherent conceptual framework of armed forces and society beyond the three concepts/issues mentioned above. With the exception of «recruitment», his other two concepts of «isolation» and «professionalism» are

difficult to evaluate and operationalize. The concept of «isolation» for example to which he devotes three chapters or 1/4 of his book is somewhat vague. Using Isolation I,II,III, he discusses problems of race and dissent; discipline and justice; and drugs. One would think that these social problems generate «social conflict» rather than «isolation» between the army sub-society and the larger society.

The book is an issue oriented analysis par excellence. The author wrestles with the three major concepts of isolation, recruitment, and professionalism which he perceives to be the common issues underlying the crisis in the US army and its major counterparts in Western Europe in the 1940's and 1950's. In doing so, the author relies heavily on popular reporting, the mass media perceptions, qualitative material, and his own perceptiveness as a professional soldier. In other words, while his analysis, inferences, conclusions, and recommendations may be valid, one wonders if his «America's Army in Crisis» is indeed in crisis. We are told that there is a political crisis, a sociology crisis, a health crisis, a food crisis, an ecology crisis, a moral crisis, a family crisis, a legitimacy crisis, and more recently an energy crisis and ad infinitum. There is an incipient tendency of the author to hastily over-react to the army's present difficulties. In addition, the author tells nothing about how the other branches of the US armed forces view these problems.

Furthermore, the author concentrates on the year 1971 for his in depth analysis of the army's problems. How representative is this year for the over-all US army's performance and morale in the context of post Vietnam and its Watergate sequel?

His proposal of bifurcation of the US army along heroic/fighting vs. managerial/supporting dimensions is a rather simplistic formula for an other-wise complex social organization. Even the author himself is sceptical of its implementation. Questions are: Who is going to do the fighting? How does one evaluate a «heroic officer» or a «fighting army» in a period of detente? or conversely who is going to be accountable to whom during possible wartime? are not adequately answered. By suggesting that the «fighting/heroic» type should be an «elite» (like the air-borne paratrooper), authoritarian, isolated from society, tough and rugged, the author in fact advocates as primordial «spartan-warrior type» as opposed to the «Athenian citizen-soldier type». It may be that Athens lost the Peloponnesian War, yet she defeated the Persians at Marathon and Salamis and the Athenian model provided the foundation upon which Western civilization was built.

Perhaps the author reflects a new way of thinking among some of the younger generation of officers and his civilian contemporaries. He is concerned with status, images, attitudes, and morale of the post Vietnam US army. He writes with sensitivity and acumen and reflects a profound affection and concern for his country and his calling. Viewed in this light the book over-all is a thoughtful analysis of some of the major issues confronting the US army today. It should be read not only by the professional soldier but by the policy makers, students of civil-military relations and all those who are concerned with the future of the US army and its mission.

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