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TOWARD A THEORY OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

A Thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

by

FREDELINO S. BAUTISTA, LTC, PHILIPPINE ARMY
B.S., Philippine Military Academy, 1966
M.A. University of the Philippines, 1974

Fort Leavenworth, Kansas
1984

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20. ABSTRACT

This study examines the proposition that military institutions in underdeveloped or developing countries offer significant advantages when they are given a role in national development. The investigation focuses mainly on the non-military and non-political role of the military.

Evidence shows that in many underdeveloped countries today, the political role of the military becomes dominant and leads it to assume political power. More than fifty percent of the member states of the United Nations are run by military regimes or civil-military coalitions dominated by officers. However, evidence also shows that military institutions today have been performing non-political tasks that support civilian institutions and which produce results that enhance human welfare and national development.

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THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

Name of Candidate: LTC Fredelino S. Bautista

Title of thesis oward a Theory of Military Involvement in National Development in Underdeveloped Countries

Approved by:

Larry B. Hamby Thesis Committee Chairman
Lt Col Larry B. Hamby, M.A.

Robert C. Vasile Member, Graduate Faculty
Lt Col Robert C. Vasile, M.A.

Ernest M. Pitt, Jr. Member, Consulting Faculty
Major Ernest M. Pitt Jr., J.D.

Accepted this 30th day of May 1984 by Philip J. Brookes
Director, Graduate Degree Programs.

The opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the student author and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College or any other governmental agency. [References to this study should include the foregoing statement.]

ABSTRACT

TOWARD A THEORY OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES by LTC Fredelino S. Bautista, Philippine Army, 113 pages.

This study examines the proposition that military institutions in underdeveloped or developing countries offer significant advantages when they are given a role in national development. The investigation focuses mainly on the non-military and non-political role of the military.

Evidence shows that in many underdeveloped countries today, the political role of the military becomes dominant and leads it to assume political power. More than fifty per cent of the member states of the United Nations are run by military regimes or civil-military coalitions dominated by officers. However, evidence also shows that military institutions today have been performing non-political tasks that support civilian institutions and which produce results that enhance human welfare and national development.

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Writing a thesis is both a rewarding and difficult experience. It is rewarding because in the process of gathering evidence to support the study, the writer stumbles on new information that enriches his knowledge. He also learns new things and new techniques to make the research process more systematic and more modern. Most important of all, he feels a sense of victory for every page that he finishes. It is a difficult experience because he has to devote considerable effort in order to produce something that he can be proud of.

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The Author

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

There is now an increasing awareness by underdeveloped or developing countries of their poverty and very slow march toward progress. Modern means of travel have drastically reduced the distance between the rich and the poor nations into a matter of hours and this has made their awareness more pronounced. Jealous of the wealth and great technological advances of such rich countries as the United States, countries of Western Europe and Russia, the people of the poor nations have become impatient over their slow rate of progress. They now demand more concrete results from their leaders at no matter what cost. (1).

Their governments respond by launching grandiose national development programs. They do this with an urgency equal to the impatience of the people. They commit substantial slices of their scarce resources to support costly development projects. On top of this, they borrow money from rich countries and international lending

institutions. In the process, they also copy development models which have been successful in these countries, ignoring the fact that the conditions under which said success was attained are largely different from their own situations.

The results are catastrophic, to say the least. Problems arise, exacerbating their difficulties. One such problem is the serious drain on their economic capacities. The requirements of national development are simply tremendous and these nations do not have the kind of economy to sustain a drawn-out development program. Consequently, costly projects could not be completed. Expensive equipment and infrastructure go to waste due to lack of funds. For their huge investments, all that could be seen after they were started are half-finished or half-heartedly undertaken projects, all dismal evidences of the fact that development is a difficult process.

Richard T. Gill, noted writer of economic development aptly described this resulting situation when he wrote in one of his works "...a poor country, in trying to do more than it can afford can easily sap the strength of the forces which might make for permanent economic development."(2).

The frustrations and disappointment of the people over the failure of their government to steer the nation toward progress eventually assume political dimensions. Because it is very convenient to do so, the people blame

the government for their misery. Radical groups, military, economic and political elites clash on what alternative the country should take toward development. More dangerously, the people become more susceptible to the promises of an ideology alien to or opposed to that of their country. The results are political instability in violent forms, to include military take-over of the government and insurgency.

Why then has the development of poor countries been slow, painful and turbulent? The causes are many and interrelated. In search of other alternatives, observers and writers of development now suggest that there should be a committed sector of society which should play a leading role in development. If this is so, which segment of society should play a leading role? The civilian bureaucracy? The church? The economic elites? The military?

Background

There are strong reasons for the claim that the military possesses certain attributes to enable them to play a crucial role in development. These are superior organization, effective systems and procedures and disciplined mode of behavior, to name a few. Many noted writers of the development process argue that the military exhibited these attributes when it took active part in national affairs in many countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Lucian Pye, for instance, views the military as a modernizing agent and a vigorous champion of change and development in some countries.(3). He observes that in many underdeveloped countries and even in the industrialized West, armies played an important role in providing technical training in the development of their industries. In Germany, military personnel were designated foremen in steel mills and other industries. In the United States, the military engineers played a central role in the development of the West. In Brazil, the military also played a big role in the opening of its vast interior. In Japan, the military was credited with providing the reservoir of manpower for its industries. In India, Malaya and the Philippines, the military trained people in the operation and maintenance of vehicles and machineries.(4).

Taking a similar stand, John Johnson asserts that the military is capable of integrating diverse ethnic groups into a national community, teach skills for economic development and provide elements of a modern and democratic society.(5). George Mirsky Head of the Department of Economics and Politics of Developing Countries at the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences, also notes the crucial roles played by the military in socio-political affairs in 46 underdeveloped countries.(6).

Hypothesis

In the light of the foregoing observations, we adopt the following hypothesis: In underdeveloped countries, the military is a sector of society which offers significant advantages when it is given a role in national development. In the process of finding evidence to support our hypothesis, we shall attempt to answer the following questions:

1. Should a sector of society play a leading role in development?
2. Is the military the best prepared for this leading role?
3. What desirable attributes does the organization possess which make it effective for development work?
4. In what aspects of development will the military be most effective? Under what moral, social and legal constraints will it operate in the environment?

Significance of the Study

It should be noted that the military has a long tradition of living under an unsympathetic environment. Its intrusion into a function which civilians consider sacrosanct is looked upon with suspicion, if not fear. This attitude is not without reason. In countries where the military got involved in development in whatever form, it eventually gained political power which it refused to relinquish even after the civilian institutions have demonstrated their capacity to assume political leadership.

Even in the United States, the military experienced periods of existing under an unsympathetic political leadership, a reflection of the country's traditional fear of a regular and professional army.(7).

There is an abundance of literature on the role of the military in political development, showing how military regimes attempted to modernize their countries. However, there is very little scholarly work on the role of the military in national development or modernization. Our interest is its specific contributions and accomplishments as part of a pre-planned national program, whether they are as big as a 100-kilometer road into a backward countryside or as insignificant as an artesian well in a remote village. We contend that the military can perform non-political and non-military tasks that benefit society and which will produce results that have direct relevance to national development.

We therefore hope that this paper will serve as a humble contribution in this field of study and as a preliminary groundwork for more intensive and scientific studies in the future. It is expected that as the military becomes more highly professional and as more acceptable forms of civil-military relations evolve, society will learn to welcome the men in uniform to participate in primarily a civilian undertaking. A valid and viable theory of military involvement in national development will therefore go a long way in forging the correct

civil-military relations in underdeveloped countries.

Main Sources of Data

There is a wealth of primary and secondary sources of data which examine the role of the military in political development and which evaluate its performance as a political group in undertaking development programs. These materials were examined to find out if, aside from the political output of the military, it also had accomplishments which contributed to national development. The allied officers attending the present CGSC provided excellent primary data. They were given questionnaires so designed to elicit information on the contribution of their military to national development. Some officers were also interviewed to explain further how their military fits in into the country's development programs.

Research Methodology

The research process calls for four main tasks. The first is to provide the readers with some definitions of development and underdevelopment, and patterns of civil-military relations. The first task is necessary because various writers have diverging and sometimes contrasting views on the concept of development and civil-military relations. In particular, there is a semantic confusion in development as a field of study.

Rather than get lost in the confusion, we accept the view that development is synonymous with modernization.

The next task is to identify what countries are underdeveloped. In this exercise, care was observed because like in the definition of development, there are also various means of ranking countries according to the degree of development. Thus, from one set of criteria, Australia is considered developed, but from another set of criteria which looks at its still untapped resources, it is still underdeveloped. Several listings of underdeveloped countries are available in the literature and which are in agreement in most of the countries. For our convenience, we adopted the list found in the book *The Third World: Premises of US Policy* edited by Scott Thompson.(8).

The third task of the research calls for the identification of th specific areas where accomplishments of the military can be observed and reported by the respondents. Again, for ease of analyzing information, the field was limited to the following areas:

1. Engineering - infrastructure building like construction of roads, housing projects for the poor, etc.
2. Health services - military doctors ,dentists render service in depressed and rural areas,etc.
3. Education - soldiers are utilized as teachers in remote areas where there are no schools, etc.
4. Economic - military units set up small

industries, mainly agricultural, to create job opportunities in the community, etc.

5. Administrative - military personnel are designated as public administrators at town or village level or given jobs such as agricultural and engineering consultants, mail couriers in remote areas, etc.

Data for the third task was secured from the questionnaire and interview. (Incl 1-Questionnaire). The last task is the identification of the advantages offered by the military when it is given a role in development. This task was accomplished by analyzing the experiences of some countries where the military has specific roles in development and the different literature treating the role of the military.

Scope and Limitation

The concept of development itself is a very broad subject. The study does not intend to go to the whole spectrum of development theory. It shall present only a basic framework for understanding what development is all about and how the military contributed to development. Although military contribution to development can be seen in many forms, this research will give emphasis on its non-military and non-political role.

One significant limitation of the research is that in comparing the military and civilian sectors on certain

attributes like skills, training, equipment and commitment, only the military's views were solicited. The question of bias will therefore arise. A better approach is to get the views of civilian respondents from the same countries included in the survey. This, however, is beyond the capability of the research.

The results of the survey, however, are encouraging. The responses in general do not indicate that the respondents wanted to project a good image of their military. We are therefore convinced that the data from the questionnaire is reliable and anchored on strong foundations.

END NOTES

1. Richard T. Gill, "The Economic Problems of the Underdeveloped Countries", in Frank Tachau (Ed.), The Developing Nations: What Path to Modernization (1974): p. 16.
2. Ibid
3. Lucian Pye, Aspects of Political Development (1966): p. 181.
4. Ibid p. 282.
5. John Johnson (Ed.), The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries (1962): p. 33.
6. George Mirsky, "The Role of the Military in the Socio-Political Development of Asian and African Countries," International Political Science Review, Vol. 2, Nr. 3 (1981): p. 327.
7. See Russel Weigley, The American Way of War (1977).
8. Scott Thompson (Ed.), The Third World: Premises of US Policy (1983): p. xiii.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter presents an overview of the various books and other materials found useful in the study. As the reader goes over the pages, he will realize that he is actually confronted with two broad concepts, namely: development and the involvement of the military in development. He will also be meeting typologies of civil-military relations which characterize the interaction of the military with society as it undertakes developmental roles. These concepts have to be explained briefly to enable the reader to better appreciate why there is so much debate over the involvement of the military in development work.

The materials reviewed are conveniently grouped into three categories - those that deal with development theory in general, those that describe patterns of civil-military relations and those that pertain to the development efforts of the countries of the Third World.

Development Theory

Political Development and Social Change (1971),

edited by Jason L. Finkle and Richard W. Gable. This book is one of the comprehensive works on political development and is a compilation of the outstanding contributions in this field of study. political development is viewed as the unifying theme of the various changes that occur in society. The contributing authors illustrate the interrelationship of social change with such concepts like nationalism and ideology, social stratification, social mobilization, bureaucratic behavior, industrialization, urbanization, and elites.

Development Theory (1979), edited by David Lehmann. This book is a compilation of essays on the theory and practice of economics. One of the more useful articles is the Sociology of Underdevelopment by Henry Bernstein. He equates development with modernization. He attempts to explain why countries of the Third World are underdeveloped. He concludes that they are underdeveloped because they are part of the capitalist system. Another noteworthy article in the book is the Meaning of Development by Dudley Seers who points out that the ultimate goal of development is the realization of the potential of human personality.

Three Worlds of Development (1966) by Irving Horowitz. The author divides the world into three. The First World refers to the cluster of nations which were naturally transformed from feudalism to a form where private ownership of the means of production predominated.

The societies are highly mobile, commodity oriented and ideologically egalitarian. The countries of Western Europe and North America make up the First World and the United States is given as the best example of a highly developed society in this sphere. The Second World is composed of countries in Eastern Europe and Russia is its foremost society. The Third World consists of the countries which recently emerged as independent states, which were once colonies and which draw their technology from the First World and sometimes, their ideology from the Second World.

Leading Issues in Economic Development (1976) by Gerald Mier. As the title implies, the book treats development from economic perspectives. The author cautions however that economic development should not be equated with national development. The former is only a part of the latter

The book identifies indicators of development, such as poverty, inequality, growth and the more concrete indices like per capita GNP, power consumption rate, death rate and others. Using these indicators, the author categorizes countries as developed or underdeveloped.

Aspects of Political Development (1966) by Lucian Pye. The author is one of the more noted writers of political development. This book brings into light the general and specific issues faced by emerging countries in their quest for development. Among the vital issues he identified are the interrelationship between democracy and

development, changing values of the people, dysfunctional effects of laws, communications and the problems of insurgency and rebellion.

In operationalizing the meaning of development, the author notes that there has grown a situation of semantic confusion which impedes the formulation of a theory. He also notes that emerging nations seem to put more emphasis on economic development. He is one of the writers who view the army as a modernizing agent.

The Developing Nations (1974), edited by Frank Tachau. This book is a compilation of the contributions on the subject of modernization, or development. The authors trace the beginnings of modernization as the period toward the end of the Middle Ages in Europe. They point out the characteristics of modern and traditional societies and the agonies faced by those aspiring for development, namely, disintegration of old societies and threats to old customs and traditions.

Patterns of Civil-Military Relations

Objective African Military Control: A New Paradigm in Civil-Military Relations (1978) by Agola Auma-Osolo. This is a Paper presented at the 2nd National Conference on the Third World at the University of Nebraska, Omaha, from November 16-18, 1978. Its purpose is to test Huntington's theory of objective civilian control with respect to civil-

military relations in modern Africa. Through a case study of Nigeria, a country where the military is said to be already highly trained before it gained its independence in 1966, the author finds as spurious, Huntington's assumption that non-military intervention is a function of civilian encouragement of professionalism. He also finds Welch' proposition that the military intervenes due to a combination of factors trivial. He concludes that military intervention in Africa is normal as it is a fundamental aspect of African Warriorism.

The Military in the Political Development of New Nations (1964) by Morris Janowitz. This book is an essay in comparative analysis treating the political sociology of military institutions in developing nations. Specifically, the book presents various types of civil-military relations in both old and new nations and formulates some hypotheses about the military's capacity to rule and lead the nation to development. Using as a model his typologies of civil-military relations, the author makes a list of Third World countries showing the type of relations existing in society. The book also contains a discussion of the internal structure of the military and its role in the development of the country.

The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Practice of Civil-Military Relations (1957) by Samuel P. Huntington. Drawing principally from the experiences of the US military and partly from the development of the

military in Japan and Germany Huntington conceptualizes a theory of civil-military relations. His model proceeds from a definition of military ethic and conservative realism.

The book devotes a considerable portion to the tracing of the history of the US military and reveals the crises that it faced in fighting its 20th century wars, crises that saw the army go to war almost unprepared.

International Political Science Review, Vol. 2, Nr. 3(1981). This is a special issue on civil-military relations. Articles of interest are those which treat the subject in China, The Third World and the West. It also includes an articles on Islam and its influence on civil-military relations.

Role of the Military

Brazil Since 1964: Modernization Under a Military Regime (1975) by George-Andre Fietcher. This book is an account of eight years of existence of Brazil power in 1964. It traces the events that led to a military take-over and the actions and decisions of the military in the administration of the country's development program. It also attempts to evaluate the modernizing performance of the military as a whole. The author's conclusion is that the military regime accomplished a considerable task of enhancing the human and economic welfare of the people and

that a civilian regime would be incapable of achieving the same results in eight years.

Perspectives of Armed Politics in Brazil (1976), edited by Henry Keith and Robert Hayes. This book is a compilation of writings about the Brazilian military institution. The various essays examine how the use of arms by both the state and national governments to support their national strategies has affected the political system of the nation.

The Military and Politics: Changing Patterns in Brazil (1971) by Alfred Stepan. This book is a study of the problems and decisions made by the military regime from 1964-1968. In laying the groundwork for his study, the author examines the nature of the Brazilian military and its moderating role prior to 1964 and the breakdown of the existing pattern of civil-military relations which led to the coup in 1964.

The author believes that during the period, the military regime failed to meet the requirements of social development due to the weakness of the military organization, particularly the divisiveness of the leadership. Hence, he finds that the supposed qualities of the military - stability, unity and fixity of purpose among others, are only illusory.

The Peruvian Experiment: Continuity and Change Under Military Rule (1975), edited by Abraham Lowenthal. The book consists of essays on the so-called Peruvian

Experiment - the nation's attempt to achieve extensive reforms under a military government. It compares the current approaches of the military leaders to solve the country's problems with those used by the previous administrations. The various essays deal on such issues as policies on education, land reform, foreign investment and income distribution.

Military Government and Political Development: Lessons from Peru (1975) by Kevin Middlebrook and David Scott Palmer, a Sage Publication. This publication illustrates the military regime's deliberate efforts to gain popular support through social mobilization. Among the vehicles for mobilization are the National Mobilization Support System (SINAMOS) which aims to secure popular support for the political system; the Community Concept which organizes local participation units into economic sectors, a technique to get support for national reforms; and the National Agrarian Confederation, the regime's representative organization for the whole agricultural sector.

Venezuela: The Democratic Experiment (1977), edited by John D. Martz and David J. Myers. The book is a critical examination of the viability of the Venezuelan political institution from 1959 and its continuous growth and stability. The various contributions to the book look at the political party systems and the roles of the principal sectors of society, to include the military.

There is also an attempt to evaluate the performance of the government on six key policy areas - education, petroleum, capital city resource allocation, local government, Indian affairs and foreign relations.

The Military and Society in Latin America. (1964) by John Johnson. The book reviews the evolution of the military institutions in Latin America from the 19th century up to the 20th century. It analyzes the growth of militarism in the last century and the apparent change in its social and economic character during the past century. In general, the book is an interpretation of civil-military relations in the region.

The People's Liberation Army and China's Nation-Building (1973) by Ying Mau Kau. The book is a collection of articles and documents from China mainland sources. It focuses on the role of the PLA in nation-building, particularly in the areas of political control, manpower training, social reforms, cultural change and economic development. It also includes a discussion of the struggle between Maoist and non-Maoist proponents in building the PLA.

The Army and Politics in Indonesia (1978) by Harold Crouch. The book is an in-depth study of the Indonesian military as a socio-political force since 1945. It reviews the events leading to the fall of Sukarno and the consolidation of power by the military. The book explains why the Indonesian military is markedly different from the

other armies that took over political power. One reason is that it never regarded itself apolitical and that it believes it has a socio-conomic and political role to perform.

The Armed Forces and Martial Law (1980) by Jose Crisol. The author is a Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Defense of the Philippines. His book valuates the performance of the military during the first seven years of Martial Law in the country, with emphasis on its supportive role. He stresss that throughout its history, the military has remained apolitical and recognizes civilian supremacy.

Marcos and the Armed Forces (a971) by Jose Crisol. This is a compilation of excerpts of speechs and pronouncements of President Marcos which became the bases of the military's involvement in development.

Civil-Military Relations in Nigeria and Tanzania (1973) by James Collins. This is a masteral thesis presented to the USACGSC faculty. It examines the political, social and economic conditions of these countries to determine if there were recurring circumstances which led the military to intervene. The writer finds that in Nigeria, there were sufficient conditions which paved the way for a military take-over.

Role of the Military in the Process of National Integration in the New Societies of Tropical Africa (1972) by Sali Shabtai. This is a doctoral dissertation submitted to the faculty of Chicago University. It examines the

military' identitive and coercive powers of integration in the new states of Tropical Africa. It also analyzes the military's extra-military role in the economic sphere. It includes a case study of Ivory Coast where the military was called upon to serve as a model of productiveness to prevent people from migrating into urban areas.

Nigeria in Search of a Stable Civil-Military System (1981) by J' Bayo Adkson. The book studies the evolution and performance of the military government in the country. It analyzes the five themes of the current civil-military thought - defence, development, demilitarization, demobilization and democratization. The author notes that as a result of the civil war, the Nigerian Army has grown to 250,000 men, requiring huge defense expenditures and there is now a problem of demobilization.

Military Role and Rule (1974) by Claude Welch Jr and Arthur Smith. This is another book on the military's role in political development. It contains five case studies on the role of the military in political development. The countries examined are Thailand, Nigeria, Peru, Egypt and France.

The Role of the Military in Underdeveloped Countries (1962) edited by John Johnson. The book consists of articles which examine mainly the political role of the military in underdeveloped countries and includes case studies of several underdeveloped countries.

The Military and Modernization (1971) edited by

Henry Bienen. The book includes a discussion of civic: action, not only as a developmental tool used by the military but as a weapon to fight insurgency.

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTS OF DEVELOPMENT

Definitions of Development

The concern for development grew radically after World War II, particularly among the new nations which suddenly found themselves not only free from their colonial masters but also in a sad state of poverty. So intense was the quest for development, even up to the present that it has become a distinct field of study for socio-economic and political scientists. There is now a proliferation of literature on the subject, many of which espouse a particular development model for underdeveloped countries to follow. Sad to note however, there is no sufficient agreement as to the definition of development. Various writers, reflecting the biases of their professions or discipline offer oftentimes contrasting views on what development is all about.

Some writers see development from a political point of view. Social scientists consider it from social perspectives. The economists who are more comfortable with

measurable indices define it in terms of growth, GNP, and per capita income, among others. Terms like modernization, change and progress are interchanged with each other or in place of development, although many writers prefer to put distinctions among them. This state of affairs has led to confusion in the field, for the term "defies a precise definition which is both sufficiently specific in the identification of all the elements and can be held to have generic utility."(1).

One such definition is that development is a process that pertains to those changes in society's pattern of values, structure and action and those increments in social and physical technology which will lead to a more efficient utilization of the society's resources and contribute more to greater social welfare.(2). Somewhat similar in orientation is a definition contained in the UN Report to the Secretary General which describes development as growth plus change and change in turn is socio-economic and cultural, as well as quantitative and qualitative.(3). It is also described as a whole series of interdependent changes.(4). Other writers prefer to use the term modernization and define it as a process of change toward the condition of modernity, the elements of which were given by the experiences of the societies in Western Europe and North America which have achieved this status.(5). It is also referred to as a series of economic, social and political changes which began in Europe toward the end of

the Middle Ages and which have continued up to the present, a transition from a traditional society (6), a process which enabled historically evolved institutions to adopt rapid changes that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge permitting control of his environment. (7).

Not to be outdone, social scientists contend that development should be pursued in terms of its ultimate goal - the realization of the potential of the human personality.(8). Development using this paradigm is measured in terms of poverty (food and other basic necessities), unemployment (jobs and other gainful activities), and inequality (income, compared to others). (9).

Closely related to the social scientists' definition are the economists' views. They see development as a process whereby the real per capit income of a country increases over a period of time, subject to the condition that the number of people below an absolute poverty line does not increase and that income distribution does not become unequal.(10).

More often than not, the economic model is more attractive, if not more superior in the sense that indices of development like GNP, per capit income and mortality rate can be quantified. Thus, by using econmic parameters, economists are more accurate in identifying what countries are developed or underdeveloped.

The Underdeveloped Countries

There are also disagreements on the definition of underdeveloped countries. As echoed by Lyle Shannon:

Unfortunately, the term underdeveloped areas has been carelessly used and ill-defined. Underdeveloped has been used interchangeably with undeveloped although listings of each type would have both similarities and differences. An undeveloped area may be underdeveloped and then again, it may offer little in the way of developmental possibilities, its undeveloped condition being due to lack of natural or human resources... An area may be undeveloped...but it remains underdeveloped in the sense that its vast resources, natural and human are still comparatively untapped.(11).

Norman S. Buchanan and Howard S. Ellis provide a good definition from which a listing of underdeveloped countries can be drawn. To them, an economically underdeveloped area is one which, on the average, affords its inhabitants an end product of consumption and material well-being inferior to the economies of developed countries.(12). Similarly, Eugene Staley describes an underdeveloped country as one characterized by a chronic mass poverty not the result of some temporary misfortune and by obsolete methods of production and social disorganization. Poverty is not due to poor natural resources and can be lessened by methods already proven in other countries.(13). A third definition comes from Jacob Viner, that is, a country which has good potential for using more capital and labor and more available natural resources to support its population on a higher level of

living.(14).

With these definitions which are obviously economically- inspired, Shannon proceeds to divide the world into developed and underdeveloped. He classifies Central America, South America (except Argentina, Chile and Uruguay), Asia (except Russia and Japan), and Oceania (except Australia and New Zealand) and Africa as underdeveloped and North America and Europe as developed.(15).

Several agencies, most prominent of which are the UN, the World Bank, and USAID, have come up with their own listings of underdeveloped countries. A close scrutiny of their listings will reveal that they are in agreement in most of the countries, except in certain countries which exhibit characteristics of both developed and underdeveloped countries. For instance, Venezuela, Uruguay, Chile, Argentina and Peru, which are classified as developed by GNP standards per report of USAID (see Incl 2) are classified as underdeveloped in the OECD Development Assistance Review of December, 1981.(See Incl 3). In the UN Statistical Yearbook of 1968, Peru and Brazil are likewise classified as underdeveloped countries. (See Incl 4).

Another approach toward categorizing underdeveloped countries is the one used by Scott Thompson when he identified the countries of the Third World as underdeveloped. (See Incl 5). Richard Gill's groupings

closely approximate Thompson's list. Gill estimates that 1/3 of the world's population produces less than \$100 of output per person per year. Another 1/3 produces a per capita of between \$100-\$300. These two groups, according to him, suffer economic underdevelopment. They comprise virtually all of Africa and Asia (except Japan and Russia, as stated earlier). (16).

Certain characteristics are common among the countries listed as underdeveloped. Most of them have been under colonial rule. A majority emerged as independent states only after World War II. Finally, in most of these countries, the military gained political power through coups or presently play a dominant political role by dictating or influencing policy. From 1958 to 1973, 151 coups occurred, 56 of them in first-time states. In these states, there has evolved a pattern of civil-military relations which is the result of the active participation of the military in socio-economic and political affairs.

Patterns of Civil-Military Relations

It would lead to a better appreciation of the role of the military in development if existing patterns of civil-military relations describing the interaction of the military and civilian sectors are understood. Let us start from a model typified by Samuel Huntington. (17). To understand his typology, four ideologies must first be

explained - conservatism, marxism, fascism and liberalism. Conservatism is a pro-military ideology which Huntington defines as:

Military ethic emphasizes permanence...It stresses supremacy of society over individuals and the importance of order, hierarchy and division of function. It stresses continuity and value of history...It holds that the security of the state depends on the creation and maintenance of strong military forces. It urges limitation of action to direct interests of state, the restriction of extensive commitment and the undesirability of bellicose and adventurous policies...Civilian control is essential to military professionalism. It exalts obedience as the highest virtue of military men...The military ethic is thus pessimistic, historically inclined, power oriented, militaristic. pacifist and instrumentalist in its view of military professionalism, It is in brief realistic and conservative.(18)

Marxism, according to Huntington, is an anti-military ideology although it has similarities with military ethic. Marxism claims that man is basically good but is corrupted by evil institutions; the military ethic believes that most men are inherently evil. The Marxist's view of history is monistic; the military ethic's view is pluralistic. To a Marxist, war is caused by economic imperialism alone; the military ethic accepts all causes. To a Marxist, the basic group is class; the military ethic looks at the nation state.(19).

The third ideology, fascism, is also anti-military ideology. It has also some similarities with the military ethic in some respects. Both see the need for strong military forces. The military ethic calls for strong

forces for the maintenance of national security; the fascist fights for the sake of fighting. The military ethic accepts war and believes that struggle is inherent; the fascist glorifies and romanticizes war as the highest activity of man. The military ethic accepts the necessity of power; to the fascist, power is an end itself. Military thinking is skeptical of everybody; a fascist believes in the natural superiority of a chosen people and the genius of his leader.(20).

The fourth ideology is liberalism. Its central theme is individualism. It fights for reason and moral dignity. It is against political, economic and social restraint on individual liberty. To a liberal, peace is the natural relationship; to the military ethic, it is conflict. A liberal glorifies self-expression; to the military ethic, it is obedience. Liberalism opposes war in general. Liberalism is therefore an anti-military ideology. (21).

Huntington's concept of civilian control should also be understood. Civilian control pertains to the relative power at the hands of civilian and military groups. It has something to do with minimizing the power of the military. He identifies two broad categories of civilian control - subjective civilian control and objective civilian control.

Subjective civilian control aims to minimize the power of the military through governmental institutions

(like control of the military by Parliament), through social class (control of the military by the aristocracy as in the case of 18th century Europe) and through constitutional means. On the other hand, objective civilian control seeks to reduce the power of the military by maximizing its professionalism. In sum, subjective civilian control is attained by civilianizing the military and objective control is attained by militarizing the military. (22).

Proceeding from these concepts and ideologies, Huntington postulates the following types of civil-military relations: (23).

1. Anti-military ideology, high military political power, low military professionalism. This type occurs in countries where military professionalism is retarded and is said to exist in the Near East, Asia and South America.

2. Anti-military ideology, low military political power, low military professionalism. This type prevails in countries where ideology is intensely pursued. Totalitarian states and World War II Germany are given as examples.

3. Anti-military ideology, low military political power, high military professionalism. This happens in countries with few threats to its national security. It occurred in the United States from the rise of professionalism after the Civil War up to the start of World War II.

4. Pro-military ideology, high military political power, high military professionalism. This type exists in countries where there are continuing threats to their national security. The military however remains highly professional and subservient to civilian authorities. Prussia and Germany during the Bismarckian-Moltkean epoch experienced this type.

5. Pro-military ideology, low military political power, high military professionalism. Twentieth century Britain is said to be characterized by this typology which usually occurs in a country which is relatively safe from security threats.

Another model of civil-military relations comes from Lucian Pye and consists of the following characteristics: (24).

1. The military is the only effective entity. This situation happens when the traditional political system collapses and there is an immediate need for a representative political institution. China between the period of the fall of the Manchu dynasty and the victory of the Communists reflects this category.

2. The military in political monopoly. The military completely assumes control of the political system. However, it asks the civilian sector to continue performing certain socio-economic functions. Pye cites the Belgian brand of colonialism and Thailand as examples.

3. The military supplements an ineffective

government. The political ascendance of the military becomes inevitable because the existing civilian political machinery is no longer capable of functioning effectively. The civilian government then calls on the military to provide leadership.

Morris Janowitz, another noted writer of political development offers another model with the following features:(25).

1. Authoritarian-personal. This type is found in countries just beginning to modernize. The military is a mere symbol of sovereignty and is excluded from politics by a strong civilian authoritarian political leadership. Examples: Ghana, Mali and Guinea.

2. Authoritarian-mass party control. Paramilitary institutions and the police force act as counterweights to the military. The latter has a limited role due to the fact that it is not yet fully developed. Examples: ex-French West African states.

3. Democratic-competitive. Civilian supremacy operates to limit the role of the military. The military is limited in its functions not only because of strong civilian institutions but also because strong colonial traditions have implanted a strong sense of self-restraint in it. Examples: Malaya, India, Morocco.

4. Civil-military coalition. This is a situation where the civilian leadership remains in power because the military which has become an active political force

supports it. Indonesia, Pakistan, Turkey and Burma are cited by the author as examples.

5. Military oligarchy. This is the end result of an unstable civil-military coalition. The military takes over political power completely.

It should be noted however, that the type of civil-military relations existing in the countries cited as examples is true only at the time the authors completed their observation and may not be true during contemporary times.(26).

END NOTES

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19. Ibid pp. 92-93.
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21. Ibid pp. 90-91.
22. Ibid pp. 80-84.
23. Ibid pp. 96-97.
24. Lucian Pye, Aspects of Political Development (1966): pp. 183-184
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26. For another type of civil-military relations, see Amos Perlmutter, "The Praetorian State and the Praetorian Army: Toward a Taxonomy of Civil-Military Relations in Developing Polities," in Jason Finkle and Richard Bable (Eds.). Political Development and Social Change (1971): pp. 314-324.

CHAPTER 4

THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY

The preceding chapter provided a conceptual framework for this research by discussing some definitions of development and underdevelopment. Also presented were patterns of civil-military relations which characterize the status of the military vis-a-vis the political environment. History shows that in the Third World, the military's involvement in the development process has made it a political power.

Although it was stated earlier that this research is focused on the non-military, non-political role of the military, a discussion of its political role is included in this research. Any study on the role of the military in development cannot ignore its political role for even as it performs social and economic functions, its actions spill over to the political realm. For instance, a road project going into a village may pass along the property of a member of the elite who will exert pressure to divert the course of the road.

Political Role of the Military

Historically, military institutions have played crucial roles in the shaping of political systems, even in European states in existence prior to the 19th century. In the new states that emerged in Asia, Africa and Latin America after World War II, the political activities of the military became more pronounced. Rare is the situation where the military has not taken over power in these regions, mostly through coups.

Society's fear of the military's involvement in the development process is therefore well-founded. It may be honest and sincere in its desire of advocating change and contributing to progress, but what guarantees exist that it will not usurp power. Even in Western societies like the United States where strong civilian institutions have kept the men in uniform under control, there is no guarantee that they will always remain apolitical and subservient to civilian authority. Even Huntington's contention that militarizing the military, making it highly professional, will result in objective civilian control, has been challenged by contemporary writers. (1). The collapse of the Fourth French Republic as a result of the military's intervention on the Algerian issue has not been forgotten.(2). Yet France in 1958 was already an epitome of a strong and centralized government whose military was known to be mature and very professional.

A look at some statistics will show the extent of military intervention in the ThirdWorld.(3). S.E. Finer

reports that from 1958 to 1978, at least 151 coups occurred in 56 first time states.(Table 1). Of these states, 55 experienced more than one coup, with eight states suffering more than five coups each.(Table 2). These figures add weight to the contention that after a military establishment stages its first coup, it will no longer hesitate to launch the next one.

Whether the reason for military intervention is justified or not, coups will remain as an important feature of the political process in the underdeveloped countries. Note that in 1962, only Paraguay was under military rule in Latin America. Within the next ten years, 11 more states fell under military rule.(4). The same feature is true in the African and Asian continents. The military continues to intrude into the political system. In December 1983, Nigeria returned to military rule after experiencing a brief period of civilian rule. Two more coups happened more recently, one in Guinea on April 3, 1984 and another in Cameroon three days later. The roster of UN membership reveals that more than half of the members are run by military regimes or civil-military coalitions which military officers dominate.

What prompts the military to intervene? The reasons are many and as varied as the differences among the countries struck by coups. Mehden offers two sets of explanation for this phenomenon, one for Afro-Asian countries and another for Latin America.(5). For the

Afro-Asians, most of which gained their independence only recently, the main reason for intervention has something to do with post-war developments arising from socio-economic and political changes. The military assumes power as a result of the deterioration of the civil government. The country is in the brink of disaster and bloodshed is imminent. The new Republic has to be changed and only the military is capable of doing it. The military on the other hand becomes dissatisfied with the civilian leadership and believes that the politicians have betrayed the cause of the nationalist movements which freed the country from colonial rule.

On the other hand, military intervention in Latin America is not related to post-war developments. Most of the countries won their independence in the 1820's and 1830's and since then, the military has always been politically active. In some cases, the role of the military as a constitutional caretaker is explicitly or implicitly recognized in the constitution. For instance, Article 176 of the 1946 Brazilian constitution states that the armed forces are intended to defend the nation and to guarantee the constitutional powers and law and order. Similar passages are found in the Constitution of El Salvador (Art. 142,143), Dominican Republic (Art. 86) and Guatemala (Art. 149), Haiti (Article 153) and Peru (213). It also appears that in some situations, the military is the acknowledged interpreter of the constitution and in the

writings of officers, it is stressed that the military's most important role is to defend the constitution against infringement by civilian leaders.(6).

S.E. Finer identifies two broad factors that pave the way for a military take-over, namely, societal and military factors. He observes that while there are 56 Third World countries where the military intervened, only four states experienced intervention in Europe during the same period. He concludes that there must be certain conditions in society conducive to intervention which motivates the military to be politically active. Finer points out four basic motivations - corporate interest, regional or ethnic interest, class interest and personal interest.(7).

The list of reasons for military intervention is long. Welch and Smith put these reasons into a conceptual framework by proposing 20 hypotheses, 10 of which are as follows:(8) The likelihood of military intervention increases (1) Should the military be involved in domestic, police-type counter-insurgency operations (2) Should the military be ordered, contrary to the advice of the officer corps, to use coercion tactics against opponents of the government (3) Should changes be made on areas of decision-making of the armed forces against the advice of the officer corps (4) Should the military assume role expansion and greater economy (5) Should the content of officer education be expanded to include political issues

resolved by civilians (6) Should the country be defeated in war with the military believing that the government failed to give sufficient support to the armed forces. (7) With the intensification of conflicts arising from ethnic or class cleavages which threaten the status of power of the dominant class. (8) With a perceived deterioration of economic conditions, particularly if accompanied by a belief that the government could not solve it or that it is responsible for the deterioration. (9) In the absence of agreed upon procedures for peaceful political change. (10) As contending civil groups solicit support from the armed forces to achieve political power.

Welch and Smith attempted to test the validity of their hypotheses in case studies of military intervention in five countries, namely, Thailand, Nigeria, Peru, Egypt and France.(9). The case studies show that in the effort to bring change, reform and stability in the country, the military found itself enmeshed in the political aspects of national development.

The Philippine experience, which will be the subject of the next section, shows the military in a different role. Since it gained independence in 1946, it has never attempted a coup and has remained under civilian control, even during the period 1972-1981 when the country was placed under Martial Law, not by a powerful General, but by the civilian political leadership.(10).

The Non-Political Role: Philippine Experience

The Philippines is regarded as a mirror image of the United States in many aspects. To a great extent, this assertion is correct and can still be held with validity even up to the present. It will be recalled that the Philippines was the only colony of the United States. This group of islands was ceded by Spain to the United States after the former's defeat in the Spanish-American War in 1898. As rulers of the Filipinos up to July 4, 1946, the Americans introduced into the country many facets of their way of life, most importantly, its democratic institutions.

American systems are still apparent in many Filipino institutions, the most prominent of which are the political (less the electoral system), educational and legal systems. Language too, is an important American legacy. At present, English is more than a second language. It is the official language in government, business and education.

Though similar in many ways, the two countries are poles apart in terms of development. While the United States is the most developed country in the world today, the Philippines' is way down the list of countries struggling for progress. Like any other underdeveloped country, the Philippines ranks the development effort among the top priority programs of government. In its search for alternatives to speed up the development process, the

government adopted bold and innovative approaches. The imposition of martial law is in fact a radical scheme to attain broad reforms through the creation of a new society.(11).

A less controversial approach adopted by the leadership is the use of the military for development programs. The decision to employ the military in a traditional civilian function which society considers sacrosanct is always a controversial issue in a society anchored along democratic precepts. Nonetheless, this controversy was resolved, as early as 1958, when Congress enacted Republic Act 2080 which created the Socio-Economic Development Program authorizing the employment of the military for public works construction, food production, land resettlement and rural development.(12).

This move by Congress was influenced by two developments during the preceding years; namely, (1) the effective use of civic action and other community development activities as a strategy for counter-insurgency operations against the Huks (military arm of the Communist Party of the Philippines) from 1949-1954 and (2) the eventual defeat of the Huks as early as 1954, leaving the military with no major internal security problem. The next step in the further expansion of military participation in development came in 1966 during the first term of President Marcos. The economic planners of the country, seeing the idle or underutilized resources of the military, formalized

the military's role in nation-building and included it in the 1967-1970 National Development Program. Then in 1967, in his State of the Nation Address, President Marcos announced a policy of greater utilization of the military in national development.(13). The Defense Department, in turn, created the mechanism for a greater participation of the military. On September 16, 1969, the Secretary of Defense, in a Memorandum to the Chief of Staff, Armed Forces of the Philippines, provided the guidelines for the organization of the Home Defense Program. The Program was launched formally on February 23, 1970.(14). It became the military's vehicle for greater involvement in development.

Basically, the Program is an expansion of the concept of civic action which was effectively used by Defense Secretary, and, later President, Ramon Magsaysay against the Huks. One of its broad objectives is to assist, within limits of resources, other government agencies in the prosecution of development programs.(15) Thus, the framers of the Program made it clear that the military will only play a secondary role.

The program has seven major components or pillars, four of which have direct relevance to development. These are Civil Assistance, Civil Relations, Military Economic Development Activities and Mass Base Operations.

Civil Assistance aims to develop the people's confidence in the military. Through this mechanism, the military extends assistance to the people during

calamities, disorders and other emergencies. Under certain conditions, it calls for the performance by the military of some functions normally exercised by local governments. Among the activities undertaken under this category in an emergency are development support (transportation, infrastructure building, navigational aid, medical and dental services, etc), resettlement, relocation, and public utility operations.

The second pillar, Civil Relations, is designed to gain the hearts and minds of the people, and gain their support for the attainment of military objectives. Activities performed under this category are strategic psychological operations, public information, and the well-known civic action.

Military Economic Development Activities is the third pillar of the Program. Its purpose is to cause the use of idle military reservations and public land for food production and reforestration. To carry this out, military units conduct rain-making projects, typhoon moderation and pest control, all of which support the agricultural industry. Soldiers and unemployed civilians benefit most as they are given the opportunity to make good use of idle lands for economic purposes.

Mass Base Operations are conducted in support of tactical operations. In conjunction with local civil leaders, military units undertake community projects useful to the populace. These activities develop a sense of

partnership between the soldiers and the civilian community.

To what extent do the outputs of the different Home Defense projects enhance development?

To answer this question, the accomplishments of the military must be closely examined. For this purpose, the analysis shall cover two periods - from 1966-1972 and from 1973-1978. The year 1966 is the first year of Office of President Marcos and 1973 completes the first year of Martial Law under which the military undertook newer and bigger tasks. Table 3 at page 82 shows that the engineering projects (under the Civil Assistance and Civil Relations components) are easily the most impressive. From 1966-1978, the military engineers built 4,365.85 kilometers of roads, most of which are development and feeder roads going to the rural areas. It should be noted that during the Martial Law period, the military engineers accomplished more projects in a shorter period. It should also be pointed out that most of the road projects were projects of the Department of Public Works and Communications and the military merely provided the manpower and equipment.

Equally impressive are the military's contribution to the health and welfare program. Table 4 at page 83 shows that a little less than three million people from the rural areas received free medical and dental treatment (under the civic action program).

In the Philippines as in most underdeveloped nations, the health and welfare delivery systems are

indadequate and cannot reach out to the people in remote areas. Modern hospitals are found only in big cities. Rural hospitals may be available, but they too, are found in towns. Moreover, government doctors and nurses are sadly lacking. This is where military medical personnel can be helpful. Compared to civilian medical personnel, the military medical personnel can go deeper into the countryside. The result of their going into the countryside is far more reaching than the effect of the one-time treatment they give to the people. Where medical and dental civic action is conducted, the sympathy of the people is won; the government is made more visible and the military creates a good image.

In the food production program, the output of the military shows the potential of this undertaking. (See Table 5). In terms of absolute figures, the output may not be staggering, but take note that the goods they produced came from discontinuous plots in idle military lands using traditional tools. Based on the food production program of the military, the government launched a similar undertaking which it called Green Revolution. Today, the government has a more comprehensive program called Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran (Food and Livelihood Program) with the military providing the pilot projects and model farms.

There is yet another area where the military is making its contribution count and this is education. An Army Infantry Division in Southern Philippines initiated a

practical program known as Army Literacy Patrol System, the purpose of which is to fight illiteracy in the countryside. Called ALPS, the Program uses soldiers as teachers of out of school youth and illiterate adults who were unable to get basic education because they could not leave their farm, their only source of and because the schools are too far away. Still in its infant stage, having been implemented only four years ago, the ALPS has won nation-wide appreciation for its social orientation. Even the Ministry of Education recognizes the education given by the ALPS.

It is in the field of engineering where the military is the most active. No doubt, the accomplishments of the military engineers pale in comparison to the output of their civilian counterparts in the bureaucracy. But, this is expected since the military plays only a supportive role and only does a pioneering job in areas where the civilians can not go for security reasons. There is however one quality which the military engineers demonstrated in the tasks that they had accomplished. Compared to their civilian counterparts in the Bureau of Public Highways, the military engineers accomplished more at a lesser cost. In the construction of the Manila North Diversion Road in the early sixties, the military constructed one lane and the civilians, the other lane. The military engineers finished their portion ahead of schedule and at a cost lesser by seven percent. Table 6

compares unit outputs of the military and civilian engineers.

Perceptions on the Military's Non-Political Role

We have seen that the involvement of the military in development in the Philippines has the blessings of the civilian political leadership and is made an integral part of the deliberate national development effort. We will now see if the Philippine experience has applicability in other underdeveloped countries. Since scholarly work which focuses mainly on the none-military and non-political role of the military is sadly inadequate, if not virtually inexistent, we had to rely on another approach to gather the necessary data. We conducted a survey, the aim of which is to elicit the perceptions of military officers on the contributions of their respective military organizations to development and the attributes for development work of these organizations.

The population of the survey are the allied officers attending the current Command and General Staff Course at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. These officers come from underdeveloped countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Of the 39 officers given questionnaires, only 23 officers (58.9%) responded. They are from Botswana, Kenya, Mali Senegal, Somalia and Tunisia (7 Africans); Bangladesh, Indonesia, Korea, Lebanon, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan,

Philippines, Singapore and Thailand (10 Asians); and Brazil, Guatemala, Honduras, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela (6 Latin Americans). Some of the officers begged off from the survey on the ground that they consider some of the questions political, a subject usually avoided in the CGSC if it concerns allied officers.

The findings from the survey are very revealing and confirm some of the contentions of leading writers on military involvement in development. On the question of degree of significance of their military's contribution to development, the majority of the respondents report that their military has made significant contributions in the field of engineering (57%) and health services (52%).

The fact that the military is most active in engineering, as we saw in the Philippine experience, should not be surprising. It has been argued that in underdeveloped countries, the military is the first to modernize, first to benefit from modern technology, has the priority for foreign aid and may, for a long time remain as the most modern institution in society. This modernity is oftentimes reflected in its technical units - the signal, medical and engineer corps.

To underdeveloped countries striving for development, infrastructures are among the top priority projects for they are the most obvious indicator of progress. In addition, the military has to build roads to the interior since roads are part of the national defensive

system;. that the military has not built enough roads is due to two reasons - lack of funds and objections from the civilian sector.

Historically, military engineers have always been given civilian tasks. In many cases, they wear two hats, one as an integral part of the military establishment with a specific mission, and another as an operating arm of an appropriate civilian government agency. The US Army engineers illustrate this dual role. Janowitz notes that the United States Military Academy at West Point was founded not as a regular military academy but as a school of engineering. Even after the Civil War, it remained under the Corps of Engineers which was given a clear domestic mission - to open the West for settlement.(16).

As to the health and welfare services, the report of the respondents strenghten the finding from the Philippine experience that this is an area where the military can make significant contributions to developemnt. The delivery of these services is in conjunction with military objectives. Even without military operations, the military can conduct medical and dental civic action to gain the sympathy of the population. Civic action is an effective counter-insurgency technique (17); this was demonstrated in the Philippines.

The number of respondents who reported significant contributions in education, the economy and administration is less than 30% and therefore not impressive.

Nevertheless, we can say that these are the areas where the military can increase its contribution. Soldiers, if not engaged in combat, can act as teachers. The military, too, is known to have schools that can teach civilian basic skills which can enhance their employment. Since military units are scattered throughout the country, they can do much to upgrade the literacy of the rural population.

With respect to the economy, the military has the capacity to stimulate the productivity of the rural areas by initiating small-scale industries in agriculture. Idle military reservations can be made economically productive. One benefit that can be derived from this venture is that it makes possible the productive use of idle time of the soldiers. It also minimizes opportunities for civilian-military troubles.

Still, there is another way by which the military can participate in developing the nation. The military can set up large scale economic enterprises which will not only compete with the civilian sector but which will also provide the military' logistical requirements. This approach was followed by Burma and Thailand, as will be shown in the succeeding sections of this research.(18). This approach is not recommended as a non-political role of the military, not only because writers have cast doubt on the managerial skills of the military, but because this type of endeavor easily assumes political dimensions.

Let us now see how the respondents rate the

attributes for development work of the military as compared to their civilian counterparts.(19). The majority of the respondents (74%) believe that their military has better systems and procedures. They also believe that military personnel are more efficient.(78%), and more committed to development goals (61%). On readiness to assume the leading role in development, education, technical skills and equipment, the respondents see the two groups at about the same level with just a slight edge by the military.

The perceptions of these officers have far-reaching implications. They reveal their confidence in their capacity to undertake difficult roles for the sake of development. When an organization is convinced that it can accomplish its task, it has successfully removed a big obstacle that might lead to its failure. Of importance is how they rate their commitment to developmental goals. Military personnel are known for their intense sense of goal orientation. In the pursuit of their goals, they have often demonstrated their willingness to take great risks and make personal sacrifices. Elaborating on the virtues of military personnel, especially the younger and more ambitious, Pye asserts that officers are extremely sensitive to the needs of modernization. (20).

The third major area looked into by the survey are the perceptions of the officers on some vital issues which put constraints on the actions of the military as it participates in development. These issues ultimately

influence the military's degree of involvement. The following questions were asked: (1) Does the military enjoy a respectable status in society, not looked down upon and not regarded with suspicion and hostility? (2) Is there a legal basis (constitution, law, presidential directive, etc) for the military's involvement in development? (3) If the military undertakes vital projects, will there be objections, unexpressed or expressed from the civilian sector? (4) Should a sector of society (business and industry, church, bureaucracy, military, etc), play the leading role in development?

A very high proportion of the respondents (70% or more) gave favorable responses to these questions. It should be recalled nonetheless that there is no strong consensus that the military should play the leading role in development. The primary role could be played by any of the sectors of society as long as it has the capacity and, we may add, the authority to do so. The generally favorable responses can be interpreted as a waning of the distrust of society toward the men in uniform. It can also indicate that in recent years, the performance of the military has improved compared to those who were in the service very much earlier. Pye explains:

Cultures that looked down on the military at an early stage of technology now accord high prestige to the same profession as it has raised its technology. For example, when armies depended entirely on human energy and animal power, the Chinese placed the soldier near the bottom of the social hierarchy; with present

levels of advanced military technology, the soldier is now near the top of the social scale in both Communist and non-Communist China.(21).

The results of the survey are further analyzed by controlling the factors of region (African, Asian, Latin American), age of the military (greater than 50 years, less than 50 years), and former colonizer (British, French, and Spaniard). The findings remain generally the same, except in the area of attributes for development work. It appears that in Latin America, the military does not possess attributes superior to those of the civilians. Tables 10-18 show the results of controlling these factors.

To confirm the results from the questionnaire and gather additional information, eight officers were interviewed starting February 18, 1984. Interviewed were Colonel Raposo from Brazil, LtCol Jasir from Indonesia, Major Akono from Nigeria, Major Karki from Nepal, Major Kgokgothwane from Botswana, Major Warutere from Kenya and Captain Abdoul from Senegal and LtCol Ramos from Peru. They confirm that it is in engineering where the military is most active. The military engineers, however, merely assist the appropriate civilian agency; funds to support the construction of infrastructure come from these agencies. The developmental tasks of the engineers are integrated to the plans of a national planning agency, like the Badan Pembangunan Nasional (National Development Council) in Indonesia, the National Economic Council in Nigeria and the National Economic Development Authority in

the Philippines.

Other Evidences

What we have done so far is to identify the attitudes and beliefs of officers from underdeveloped countries regarding the performance by their respective military organizations of non-military and non-political functions. The fact that the survey is one-sided, that is, it did not take into account the perspectives of a parallel group of civilians, does not diminish the value of the results. Understanding the thinking of these officers who may someday be important actors in their respective countries is an important input in the attempt to predict the military's actions when they participate in development. According to Lowell and Kim, the attitudes and beliefs of the military are among the sets of variables which explain why the military intervenes. (22). Specifically, the results of the survey show that there are indeed areas of endeavor where the political dimensions of military involvement are less visible and acceptable to society. In the succeeding sections, we will see how the military became involved in development in a less controversial fashion.

The Ivory Coast Experience. The Ivory Coast is one of the African countries which are predominantly agricultural and which are bothered by problems of rapid

urbanization as a result of the migration of rural folk into the urban centers. The military was called upon to help solve the problem. In turn, it organized the Service Civique (SC), a program patterned after the Israeli's NAHAL (Pioneering Fighting Youth) and GALNA (Youth Corps). (23). The SC was created in 1961 with the help of the Israeli Ministry of Defense. Under the SC, the military was designed to become a productive organization and professional school which discouraged the movement to the urban areas. The strategy was for soldiers, even prior to their separation from the Service, to return to their villages as farmers with lands given by the government. These soldiers would serve as models of productiveness who would provide their skills to other members of the community. Initially, military service was for two years, the last year of which would be devoted to the SC. While in the SC, they were taught various skills, primarily agricultural skills. The first class of 132 soldiers graduated in 1962. One-half of the graduates remained at the SC school and the rest were sent to the training farms. One year later, there were already five operational farms, each with a company of 200 men (70% recruits, 30% career personnel). The SC was at first a failure due to two reasons. First, recruitment was nation-wide. Those assigned to training farms far from their village were not interested. The second reason was lack of post-service follow up. Without follow up, many of the recruits drifted

to the cities after their tour of duty. Those who returned to the village were too few in number to cause any change. In addition, they lacked equipment.

To correct the deficiencies, the SC was reorganized. It was separated from the Army but remained under the Ministry of Defense and financed by the Army budget. It is still run as a military organization by professional military personnel. Recruitment is localized such that recruits from one village stayed in training camps nearest their village. The length of the course was reduced to six months but the recruits remain in the military service for two and a half more years. Prior to their return to their village, the recruits had plots prepared for them. In turn, they were expected to observe discipline and cultivate their lands.

The revised Program was more successful since the recruits returned to their village and became farmers. They earned between 20,000 CFA to 100,000 CFA each month, higher than the 5,000 CFA which the average farmer in the country earns. In spite of its success, however, the SC still faces difficulties, the most serious of which is financial constraint. The maximum number of recruits could not be generated and training camps are not fully utilized. The problem of inadequate follow up still exists. Although discharged from the Service after two and a half years, the recruits are not absorbed by the Ministry of Agriculture as planned. Also, a number of recruits still manage to move

to the cities after graduation.

The Ivory Coast approach to military involvement in development is considered the most comprehensive in Africa today. Guinea is not far behind, since its military is also engaged in productive work. Soldiers cultivate ricefields, build schools and construct roads. Military units have sections for production, engineering and, road and bridge construction: these sections are allocated certain tasks such as picking cotton and harvesting peanuts.(24).

Other evidences of military involvement in Sub-Saharan Africa are readily apparent, although at a subdued level. In the French-speaking states, the military is known to make limited contributions, such as roads and bridges.(25). In the English-speaking African nations which inherited the British' military tradition of non-intervention, the military has also: made some contributions. Ghana, for example, has its soldier-farmers.(26). As for Nigeria, Hugh Hanning observes that although the military has built some roads and bridges, it has not engaged in developmental work.(27). This was refuted by a Nigerian CGSC student who revealed that the military has recently become more active in development. Its most recent contribution is the building of the 250 mile road from Kaduna to Jos which links two state capitals. A unique feature of the Nigerian military is its training of military personnel in many aspects of

public utilities functions in order that during emergencies, the military could take over these functions and prevent the disruption of vital services. The military personnel involved in these tasks are called the second eleven, the civilians being the first eleven.(28).

The minimal contribution of the Nigerian military in the past is largely due to preoccupation in demobilizing a large army. It will be recalled that in 1967, a civil war was fought in the country, calling for an increase of federal troops from 10,000 to 200,000. Nevertheless, the military has expressed its intention of participating more actively in the development of the country. This is evident in the five D's of Nigerian civil-military thought - Defense, Development, Demobilization, Demilitarization and Democratization.(29).

On the whole, the idea of involving the military in development in the African states has gained many adherents, as evident in the following pronouncements:

From an editorial in the Sierra Leone newspaper Unity:

The trouble with the army perhaps is that it is too idle. For the money we spend, the army could be more productively used...Above all, we have to find ways and means of keeping our army boys busy, building bridges in the less developed areas, making roads...(30).

From a Ghanaian student newspaper:

The soldiers should be sent to the state farms or if possible, build their own farms, build bridges, repair roads. They should be used as the major instrument for...Such an opportunity

will involve the soldier in the difficult process of nation-building. ...Used to rigid discipline as part of their training, they are likely to execute projects assigned to them more quickly and thus set an example of efficiency for the whole society...(31).

From a Ghanaian General:

...There should be an Armed Forces program for ~~economic and social projects~~. The military should therefore undertake their share of this task. they would be of more use in constructing feeder roads, bridges, wells, small dams, helping in harvesting crops... This will prevent idleness particularly at this stage when we are out of the war zone. It will provide the necessary intercourse with the civil population which would be beneficial to all.(32).

Colombian Experience. Colombia, like the Philippines, has a large scale civic action program designed to gain the support of the population for counter-insurgency. Large elements of the Army, Navy, and Air Force are committed to civic action activities. The engineers share the major burden of these tasks, but the other branches, the cavalry, infantry, artillery, are given geographical areas where they are responsible for civic action. In the different regions, the military conducts surveys to identify problems and needs of the population and determine how the military can help. (33).

Each element of the military receives training in civic action and is expected to undertake specific projects. Even promotion courses for officers are oriented toward civic action. An important feature of military service is that before a soldier is separated from the Service, he is given training at the Service Nacional de

Aprendiz to prepare him for civilian work. Thus, he reenters society, prepared for gainful employment instead of becoming an added burden in the community.

Civic action in the military is coordinated by Department 6, an office under the Ministry of National Defense. The head of the Office is also in charge of coordinating with other government ministries, including the USAID.

Brazilian Experience. The experience of Brazil is different from the other countries examined in this research. Since the military took power in 1964, the country has been run by the military even though there are civilians in the government.(34). Most ministries are headed by civilians but there are more than 2,000 key positions held by officers.(35). Clearly, the civil-military relation existing in Brazil is a military-dominated civil-military coalition.

When the military assumed political power, its promise to bring about much-needed reforms gave way to the concern for consolidating political control. In the process, the military used harsh techniques and abused its powers. Its popularity among the civilians waned to the extent that military personnel no longer wanted to wear the uniform in public. (36).

Despite the military's deep involvement in politics, it is nevertheless credited with worthy contributions to nation-building. Historically, the

military received credit for opening the vast interior of the country through the construction of roads, railroads, and telegraph lines. At present, its tasks include developing frontier areas, particularly those in the Northeast, West Central and Amazon regions. These tasks are carried out by nine engineer battalions which also perform other tasks like building hydraulic works, dams, and water supply systems. Upon accomplishing pioneering works, the military withdraws and allows civilian agencies to take over.

The military also uses civic action extensively and takes pride in its contributions to education. Frontier units and personnel engaged in highway construction maintain primary schools in remote areas. Teachers are either hired using military funds or come from among the personnel of the units. Military junior and senior schools are also opened to the public. Approximately 6,000 students a year graduate from these schools. (37).

The Peruvian Experience. Although it recently returned to civilian rule, Peru's polity is still influenced by the policies of the previous military regime. The case of Peru's development effort under a military regime is included here to illustrate how the military brings about change, not as a military institution but as a political institution.(38).

Peru's approach is through citizen participation in national affairs. To accomplish this, the military

government created participatory channels at national and community levels. These channels are manned by both officers and civilians. At the national level is the National Mobilization Support System, known as SINAMOS, the vehicle for participation in the national political system. At the lower level is the Community Concept, the means for organizing cooperatives. Also organized by the military regime is the National Agrarian Confederation which is designed to mobilize the whole agrarian sector.(39).

In an interview with the Peruvian officer in the CGSC, it was revealed that the success of the SINAMOS has been undermined by Communist infiltration. In this undertaking, the administrative and technical skills of military personnel were put to the test.(40).

Burmese Experience. (41). Like the Ivory Coast, Burma attempted to apply Israel's military approach to development. A Burmese military mission went to Israel in 1954 to study the NAHA. Concurrently, Israeli experts went to Burma to help and give advice to the Defense Service Industries, the economic branch of the Burmese Army. In 1959, two groups of Burmese ex-soldiers, officers and their families went to Israel and lived and work in frontier settlements. The intention was for them to gain the necessary experience which they would apply in Burmese frontiers.

Through the DFI, the Burmese military became an economic entrepreneur, utilizing the managerial skills of

its personnel. The DFI engages in industries like banking, construction, transportation and department stores. Commenting on the effectiveness of military regimes as economic managers, not only in Burma, writers of development are not impressed by their accomplishments. "41".

The Burmese military's approach to development is one that easily assumes political dimensions. By exercising control over tremendous economic resources, the military became a powerful interest group that exerted pressure on the political leadership for allocation of greater resources. Since the Burmese military was dominant in politics, it was favored, to the detriment of the civilian economic sector.

The Chinese Experience. Theoretically, or at least based on Communist Party documents, The Peoples Liberation Army (PLA)'s involvement in the development of Mainland China is massive. The PLA's role is apparent in all aspects of Chinese Communist life. Even the militia which easily numbers between twelve to fifteen million is used as production units.(42).

There is no fear among the Chinese that the military will assume political power if it becomes involved in development. The pattern of civil-military relation existing in China today is one where the civilian political leadership has complete control over the military. Even at present, when the senior officers of the PLA are also the

vanguards of the Communist Party, the Party has succeeded in retaining firm control over the armed forces.(43).

Table 19 at page 99 gives us an idea of the extensive contributions to development of the PLA. In food production alone, the PLA, based on Chinese documents, was reported to have raised, among other livestock, 29 million fowl, 1.353 million pigs 300,000 head of cattle.(44).

What strenghtens the PLA's involvement in development is that it is institutionalized in the Party's program. For example, in the PLA's role in the Agricultural Cooperativization Movement and Agricultural production, the following guidelines were given to the PLA: (45) (1). Army cadres are required to take part in the building of cooperatives. (2). Military personnel will render compulsory labor in support of socialist constructions. (3). The entire army will be mobilized during its spare time and participate in the elimination of the four pests - rats, flies, mosquitoes and sparrows. (4) Troops shall plant trees and build forests. (5). Troops shall assist in the collection of feces for use as fertilizers and garbage. (6). Units are required to raise livestock. (7). Units shall assist cooperatives and factories in setting up primary schools. (8). Signal units are required to assist in the setting up of broadcast and telephone networks in the rural areas. (9). When putting up electrical systems for use of military units, the demands of the community shall be considered.

Another well known contribution of the PLA which shows a social orientation are its barefoot doctors. the PLA's medical teams have trained over 274,000 barefoot doctors who attend to the people in the countryside.(46).

A highly disciplined army like the PLA which gives unquestioned obedience to: the political leadership can easily perform lowly manual tasks like collecting feces and garbage. In societies which have inherited traditions and standards of military professionalism from western colonizers, it is doubtful that the military will readily accept these tasks. One advantage of the PLA, including the militia, is its size and disposition. When all the small things they accomplished are added together, they will reach massive proportions and be seen throughout the country.

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18. Donald A. Wilson, "The Military in Thai Politics", and Lucian Pye, "The Army in Burmese Politics", both in John Johnson (Ed.) The Role of the Army in Underdeveloped Countries (1962): pp. 208 and 246 respectively and Janowitz, Op. cit. , pp. 76-77.
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20. Lucian Pye, Aspects of Political Development (1976): p. 177.
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CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There are very few underdeveloped countries today which do not eagerly aspire for development or modernization. Those countries which do aspire have demonstrated a willingness to explore various alternatives designed to speed up the development process. Too often, the search for the correct alternative ends with the military intervening in domestic politics.

This is the single biggest risk which an underdeveloped country faces as it pursues its development goal. This risk is inherent in military involvement in development. It should not, however constrain society from calling on the military to contribute to development. Even if the motivation for the military to assume political power is strong, it can still perform tasks that are acceptable and beneficial to the people. This is the contention that this study defends. To restate the hypothesis: it is to the best advantage of an underdeveloped country when the military is called upon to participate in development.

In Chapter 1, we laid the theoretical foundation

for the development of our hypothesis with a presentation of the various definitions of development. We noted that different: writers have varying views on the subject. We also presented several patterns of civil-military relations, the more popular of which are those formulated by Huntington, Janowitz, and Pye.

The second chapter is a review of the various books and other materials which will enable the reader to better understand the development process, the development effort of some of the underdeveloped countries and the role of the military in this undertaking.

In Chapter 3 we laid the theoretical foundation for the development of our hypothesis with a presentation of the various definitions of development. We noted that different: writers have varying views on the subject. We also presented: several patterns of civil-military relations, the more useful of which are those formulated by Huntington, Janowitz: and Pye.

Chapter 4 is the core of the research and is broken down into four sections. The first section is a discussion of the political role of military institutions. A discussion of this role has to be included because it simply cannot be ignored in any study. This chapter explains why the military intervenes and takes over political power. The second section is a case study of the Philippines. It illustrates that the military can perform a non-military role without becoming dominant in the

political arena. The philippine experience also illustrates that the role of the military can be made an integral part of the national development program. The resulting Home Defense Program, wich is nothing more than an expanded civic action program, has been accepted by society and has been an effective vehicle for civil-military cooperation. It is however emphasized that the military merely assists; the appropriate civilian agency still undertakes the major tasks.

The third section presents and analyzes the results of the survey of perceptions of military officers from underdeveloped countries. this section forms the basis of the answers to the following questions which were brought out in Chapter 1: (1). Should a sector of society play the leading role in development? (2). Is the military the best prepared sector to play the leading role? (3). In what aspcts of development will the military be most effective? (4). What desireuble attributes does the military possess which makes it effective for development work? (5). What are the social and legal .constraints against military involvement in development?

From the empirical evidence gathered, it appears that the military will be most effective in infrastructure building, with good potential for an expanded role in health, education and the economic development of the countryside. On the whole, the respondents have a favorable view of the military in development work, except,

with reference to the second question, which shows that even among the military there is no strong consensus that it should play the leading role in development.

The belief of these officers that their military now enjoys a respectable status in society, that their participation in development has a legal basis and that there will be no objection from the civilian sector is very significant for those writing on the role of the military in the 1980s. These views indicate a thawing of the coolness of society toward the men in uniform. If true, the reason is an improved performance by the military brought about by advances in technology. It also means that military accomplishments are appreciated by society, especially the visible things like roads, bridges and schoolhouses.

The last section of Chapter 4 gives additional evidence of the non-military and non-political role of the military. In the Ivory Coast, the military was used as a model of productiveness in the village. It was called upon to solve the problem of urban migration. In Columbia, like the Philippines, the military used civic action, a counter-insurgency strategy that has a dual purpose of winning the hearts and minds of the people and developing the countryside. Burma's approach was economic; it questions the assertion that the military possess administrative skills for economic managership. Brazil and Peru, both countries where the military has political

dominance, use a different approach; however their accomplishments could not easily be measured since it is difficult distinguish between the military's contributions as an institution or as a military regime.

Finally, the PLA's contribution to development is the largest and most comprehensive among the military organizations examined. The entire army is mobilized for development. Its socio-economic and political tasks are clearly defined. The civilian political leadership does not fear to involve the military in all aspects of development, including political development. The reason is that the pattern of civil-military relations existing in China today is one of subjective civilian control as defined by Huntington. But more important, it is also one where the ruling political elite has complete control over the organization.

This study is now concluded by identifying the significant advantages to society of the military's involvement in development. Foremost is that the military produces concrete results that society feels, sees and appreciates, particularly by those segments of the population which have little or no exposure to the amenities of civilization. These are the people that care less about values such as civilian supremacy over the military and are more concerned about roads along which they can take their produce to towns, schools where their children can study and hospitals where their loved ones can

be treated.

Second, the employment of the military in non-military tasks, particularly in societies not threatened by insurgency and external aggression, maximizes the use of the potential of the military organization. Its modern equipment, communication facilities and manpower not committed to primary military tasks can augment the efforts of the civilian agencies. This is very applicable to the engineers who will otherwise be idle in their camps if they are not given construction projects. It can also apply to soldiers in remote detachments. They can teach useful skills like carpentry, veterinary skills and other skills useful in the community.

Third, the military is kept busy and its idle time is put to productive use which benefits both the soldiers and the community. As illustrated in the Philippine experience, a soldier can be a farmer at the same time. He not only earns additional income for himself. He also stimulates the civilian community to engage in productive economic ventures by being a model of productiveness. This was also ably illustrated as well in the Ivory Coast experience.

The fourth advantage or benefit arises from the first three benefits. This kind of employment is an effective tool for civil-military cooperation. By working with the population on community-initiated projects, soldiers develop close friendly ties with the people. The

result is the development of a community sympathetic to the military and to the government.

Fifth, this kind of work accomplishes a desirable political objective for the government in the sense that constructive activities by the military make the government visible to the people. The civilian bureaucracy doesn't have sufficient resources to reach the farthest village. The military can and fills in the gap created by lack of resources. In turn, the people develop a feeling of being attended to by the government.

Finally, the performance of the non-military and non-political role by the military preempts it from assuming an active political role. However, this this is more an expression of an objective, rather than a contention supported by empirical evidence. It can be made, however, as a subject of a more comprehensive attitude survey.

In ending this study, it is hoped that there will be a more intensified involvement of the military in the task of nation-building. This involvement is in the form of non-military roles that have very little political color. Society has learned to accept the military's participation; that whatever objection there is will come from the upper strata based more on ideals and values rather than what is best for the country and what is needed by the people. This is not to say that civilian objections and criticisms are anti-developmental. They are needed as

part of the system of checks and balances which will restrain the military from getting out of bounds.

As for the military institutions, they have evolved differently from the military organizations that emerged after independence. The officer corps is better educated, hence it is more receptive to professionalism. The military today lives in a community of nations which has both formal and informal sanctions for violations of ideals which remain to be treasured even in a modern world.

TABLES AND APPENDICES

TABLE I

NUMBER OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES STRUCK BY
COUPS FOR THE FIRST TIME
(1958 - 1978)

	First Time States	Total Coups
1958-1962	19	27
1963-1967	17	48
1968-1972	9	35
1973-1978	<u>11</u>	<u>41</u>
	56	151

Source : Scott Thygeson (Ed.), The Third World :
Frontiers of US Policy, p. 60.

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF GULF AREA STATES

No. of Cou.	No. of States	Total Cou.
1	15	15
2	17	32
3	7	29
4	7	29
5	2	10
6	3	18
7	1	7
3	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>
	55	55

Source : Scotty Thompson (Ed.), *The Third World: Emergence of US Policy*, p. 69.

TABLE 5

PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

	<u>1961-1972</u>	<u>1972-1973</u>	<u>Total</u>
Roads	2,359.105 Km	2,006.754 Km	4,365.859 Km
Bridges	1,468.56 Km	168.432 Km	1,636.992 Km
Airports		4	4
Schools		848 units	848 units
Irrigation		6,200 Cm	6,200 Cm
Site Prep.		3,436,712 Cm	3,436,712 Cm
Elect. Poles		6,451 Units	6,451 Units
Dredging		3,146,387 Cm	3,146,387 Cm
Rain-making		1,078,950 Hect.	1,078,950 Hect.
Aer. Reforest.		3,850 Hect.	3,850 Hect.
Aer. Photo.		610,451 Hect.	610,451 Hect.
Waterways		30,561 Hect.	30,561 Hect.

Source:

(1) Florencio Magsino, "Assesment of the Employment of the AFP In National Development", a Thesis submitted to the National Defense College of the Philippines, 1974.

(2) Jose M. Crisol, The Armed Forces and Martial Law, (1980).

TABLE 4

HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES

	<u>1966-1972</u>	<u>1973-1978</u>	<u>Total</u>
Medical	2,055,162 persons	364,498*	2,419,660*
Dental	471,156		
Disaster/ Relief Op- erations	6,178	245,534	251,712
Distrib- ution of Food	5,887 sacks	3,803 sacks 663,788 boxes	9,780 663,788
Distrib- ution of Medicine	23,518 boxes	33,007 boxes	56,525
Distrib- ution of Clothing	1,413,079 pieces		1,413,079

* Includes Dental Treatment

Sources:

(1) Florencio Magrino, "An Assessment of the Employment of the AFP In National Development". A Thesis submitted to the National Defense College of the Philippines, 1974.

(2) Jose M. Oriscol, The Armed Forces and the Martial Law, (1980).

TABLE 5

FOOD PRODUCTION

	<u>1966-1967</u>	<u>1973-1978</u>	<u>Total</u>
Corn	5,979.7 cavans	No avail. data	5,979.7
Rice	17,622.8 cavans	No avail. data	17,622.8
Livestock	8,277 heads	2,472 heads	11,349
Chicken	100,940 heads	No avail. data	100,940
Fish	39,172 heads	15,270 heads	59,442
Fruits	No avail. data	1,416,331 pieces	1,416,331

Source:

(1) Florentino Magano, "An Assessment of the Employment of the AFP in the National Development," a thesis submitted to the National Defense College of the Philippines, 1974.

(2) Jose M. Utriel, *The Law of Forces and Martial Law*, (1980).

TABLE 6

UNIT OUTPUT

<u>Type of Work</u>	<u>Military Engineers</u>	<u>Civilian Engineers</u>
Concrete Road	1.25 Km per month	1 Km per month
Asphalt Road	2.5 Km per month	1.67 Km per month
Gravel Road	4.16 Km per month	2.67 Km per month

Source:

Francisco Gatmaitan "An Assesment of the Contribution of the DOD to the Infrastructure Program of the National Government ". A study submitted to the AFP CGSC, 1970.

TABLE 7

DEGREE OF SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MILITARY'S
ACCOMPLISHMENTS TO DEVELOPMENT

	<u>Significant</u>	<u>Minimal</u>	<u>None</u>
Engineering	13(57%)	5(22%)	2(9%)
Health Services	12(52%)	7(30%)	2(9%)
Education	4(17%)	13(57%)	4(17%)
Economic	6(26%)	7(30%)	8(35%)
Administrative	6(26%)	8(35%)	7(30%)
Others	0	0	0

n = 23

TABLE 8

**ATTRIBUTES OF MILITARY FOR DEVELOPMENT
AS COMPARED TO CIVILIAN COUNTERPARTS**

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Comment</u>
Military is better prepared for a leading role	9(39%)	7(31%)	7(31%)
Officers are better educated	11(48%)	9(39%)	3(15%)
Military has better technical skills	11(48%)	9(39%)	3(13%)
Military has better equipment	10(43%)	11(48%)	2(9%)
Military has better systems and procedures	17(74%)	2(9%)	4(17%)
Military personnel are more efficient in work	13(57%)	3(13%)	2(9%)
Military is more committed to development goals	14(61%)	5(22%)	4(17%)

n = 23

TABLE 9

PERCEPTIONS OF OFFICERS ON SOME VITAL
ISSUES AFFECTING MILITARY INVOLVEMENT
IN DEVELOPMENT

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Comment</u>
Respected in society	18(78%)	1(4%)	4(18%)
Legal basis	16(70%)	6(26%)	1(4%)
No civilian objection	16(70%)	5(22%)	2(8%)
Leading role in development	18(78%)	4(18%)	1(4%)

n = 23

TABLE 10

DEGREE OF SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MILITARY'S
ACCOMPLISHMENTS TO DEVELOPMENT
BY REGIONS

	<u>ASIAN</u>			<u>AFRICAN</u>			<u>LATIN AMERICAN</u>		
	S	M	N	S	M	N	S	M	N
Engineering	5	3	2	3	1	0	5	1	0
Health	5	3	2	4	1	0	3	3	0
Education	2	5	3	0	4	1	2	4	0
Economic	2	5	3	1	1	3	3	1	2
Administrative	2	3	5	3	1	1	1	4	1
others	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

n = 23

S - Significant

M - Minimal

N - None

TABLE 11

ATTRIBUTES OF MILITARY FOR DEVELOPMENT
 COMPARED TO CIVILIAN COUNTERPARTS
 BY REGIONS

	<u>ASIAN</u>			<u>AFRICAN</u>			<u>LATIN AMERICAN</u>		
	Y	N	NC	Y	N	NC	Y	N	NC
1	5	3	2	3	3	1	1	2	3
2	5	4	1	3	3	1	3	2	1
3	4	4	2	5	2	0	2	3	1
4	5	4	1	3	3	1	2	4	0
5	8	0	2	5	1	1	4	1	1
6	10	0	0	6	1	0	2	2	2
7	8	1	1	4	2	1	2	2	2

N = 23

- 1 - Military is better prepared
- 2 - Officers are better educated
- 3 - Military has better technical skills
- 4 - Military has better equipment
- 5 - Military has better systems and procedures
- 6 - Military personnel are more efficient in work
- 7 - Military is more committed to development goals

Y - Yes

N - No

NC- No Comment

TABLE 12

**PERCEPTIONS OF OFFICERS ON SOME VITAL
ISSUES AFFECTING MILITARY INVOLVEMENT
IN DEVELOPMENT
BY REGIONS**

	<u>ASIAN</u>			<u>AFRICAN</u>			<u>LATIN AMERICAN</u>		
	Y	N	NC	Y	N	NC	Y	N	NC
1	8	0	2	6	1	0	5	0	1
2	6	4	0	5	1	1	5	1	0
3	3	6	1	2	5	0	0	5	1
4	9	1	0	6	1	0	3	2	1

N = 23

1 - Respected in society

2 - Legal basis

3 - No civilian objection

4 - Leading role in development

Y - Yes

N - No

NC - No Comment

TABLE 13

DEGREE OF SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MILITARY'S
ACCOMPLISHMENTS OR DEVELOPMENT
AND FORMER COLONIAL STATUS

	<u>Ex-British Col.</u>			<u>Ex-Spanish Col.</u>			<u>Ex-French Col.</u>		
	S	M	N	S	M	N	S	M	N
Engineering	4	2	0	5	1	0	2	0	1
Health	4	2	1	4	2	0	2	0	1
Education	1	2	3	2	4	0	0	2	1
Economic	2	2	2	3	2	1	1	0	2
Administrative	2	2	2	1	5	0	2	0	1
Others	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

N = 17

S - Significant

M - Minimal

N - None

TABLE 14

**ATTRIBUTES OF MILITARY FOR DEVELOPMENT
COMPARED TO CIVILIAN COUNTERPARTS
AND FORMER COLONIAL STATUS**

	<u>Ex-British Col.</u>			<u>Ex-Spanish Col.</u>			<u>Ex-French Col.</u>		
	Y	N	NC	Y	N	NC	Y	N	NC
1	4	3	0	3	2	1	2	1	1
2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	0
3	3	3	1	1	3	2	2	2	0
4	4	3	0	3	3	0	1	3	0
5	6	1	0	4	1	1	3	1	0
6	6	1	0	3	2	1	4	0	0
7	4	2	0	3	2	1	3	1	0

N = 17

- 1 - Military is better prepared
- 2 - Officers are better educated
- 3 - Military has better technical skills
- 4 - Military has better equipment
- 5 - Military has better systems and procedures
- 6 - Military personnel are more efficient in work
- 7 - Military is more committed to development goals

Y - Yes

N - No

NC - No Comment

TABLE 15

PERCEPTIONS OF OFFICERS ON SOME VITAL
ISSUES AFFECTING MILITARY INVOLVEMENT
IN DEVELOPMENT
AND FORMER COLONIAL STATUS

	<u>Ex-British Col.</u>			<u>Ex-Spanish Col.</u>			<u>Ex-French Col.</u>		
	Y	N	NC	Y	N	NC	Y	H	NC
1	5	0	2	5	0	1	3	1	0
2	4	2	1	5	1	0	3	0	1
3	6	1	0	5	1	0	2	2	0
4	7	0	0	3	2	1	4	0	0

N = 17

- 1 - Respected in society
- 2 - Legal basis
- 3 - No civilian objection
- 4 - Leading role in development
- Y - Yes
- N - No
- NC- No Comment

TABLE 16

DEGREE OF SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MILITARY'S
ACCOMPLISHMENTS TO DEVELOPMENT
AND AGE OF MILITARY

	AGE OF MILITARY >50 Yrs.			AGE OF MILITARY <50 Yrs.		
	S	M	N	S	M	N
Engineering	7	2	1	6	4	1
Health	5	4	1	6	4	1
Education	1	9	0	3	4	4
Economic	3	5	2	3	2	6
Administrative	1	6	3	5	2	4
Others	0	0	0	0	0	0

N = 23

S - Significant

M - Minimal

N - None

TABLE 17

**ATTRIBUTES OF MILITARY FOR DEVELOPMENT
COMPARED TO CIVILIAN COUNTERPARTS
AND AGE OF MILITARY**

	<u>AGE OF MILITARY</u> <u>> 50 Yrs.</u>			<u>AGE OF MILITARY</u> <u>< 50 Yrs.</u>			Y	N	NC
	Y	N	NC	Y	N	NC			
1	3	3	4	7	4	2			
2	5	3	2	6	7	0			
3	3	4	3	8	5	0			
4	5	5	0	5	7	1			
5	7	3	0	10	1	2			
6	6	1	3	12	0	1			
7	6	2	2	10	1	2			

N = 23

- 1 - Military is better prepared
- 2 - Officers are better educated
- 3 - Military has better technical skills
- 4 - Military has better equipment
- 5 - Military has better systems and procedures
- 6 - Military personnel are more efficient in work
- 7 - Military is more committed to development goals
- Y - Yes
- N - No
- NC- No Comment

TABLE 18

PERCEPTIONS OF OFFICERS ON SOME VITAL
ISSUES AFFECTING MILITARY INVOLVEMENT
IN DEVELOPMENT
AND AGE OF MILITARY

	<u>AGE OF MILITARY</u> <u>>50 Yrs.</u>			<u>AGE OF MILITARY</u> <u><50 Yrs.</u>		
	Y	N	NC	Y	N	NC
1	8	2	0	11	2	0
2	9	1	0	8	4	1
3	7	1	2	8	4	1
4	5	4	1	13	0	0

N = 23

- 1 - Respected in society
- 2 - Legal basis
- 3 - No civilian objection
- 4 - Leading role in development

Y - Yes

N - No

NC- No comment

TABLE 19

PLA'S ECONOMIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Meat Production	1.353 million pigs
	50,000 cattle
	300,00 sheep
	29 million fowl
Farming	541 million catties, vegetable
	1.1 million mous cultivated
Factories	22,000 tons, pig iron
	70,900 tons, cement
	440,000 equipment repaired
	9,165 elec. motors, 2,461 lathes

Appendix 1

QUESTIONNAIRE ON DEVELOPMENT AND THE MILITARY

Dear Allied Officer,

In most developing or underdeveloped countries today, development is the main concern of the government, if not its primary effort. Oftentimes, the military is called upon to undertake vital development programs and projects. This questionnaire aims to elicit information on the contributions of the military to development in your country. This information will be used in connection with a thesis in the MMAS Program entitled Toward a Theory of Military Involvement in Development in Underdeveloped Nations. Your responses will be treated in confidence and will be used for CGSC purposes only.

Thank you for your cooperation. Please put your accomplished form in my box in Room 11, on or before 6 February 1984.

LTCOL FRED BAUTISTA
Philippines
Section 11

1. General Information

a. Name _____ b. Rank _____
(optional)

c. Branch _____ d. Country _____
(Infantry, Artillery, etc.)

d. Last four assignments prior to schooling in USA CGSC

<u>Assignment</u>	<u>Unit</u>	<u>Year</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

e. Country a former colony of _____ (if applicable)

f. Year country won Independence _____ "

g. Approximate age of your Army: _____ years

2. For the succeeding numbers, please check the appropriate blank which best represents the degree of significance of your military's accomplishments in selected fields of endeavor.

	<u>Significant</u>	<u>Minimal</u>	<u>None</u>
a. Engineering (Ex: building of roads, dams, schoolhouses, housing projects, etc)	_____	_____	_____
b. Health services (Ex: military doctors and nurses give free treatment to rural folks)	_____	_____	_____
c. Education (Ex: soldiers are utilized as teachers in remote areas)	_____	_____	_____
d. Economic (Ex: units set up cottage industries, other business enterprises to create jobs for both soldiers and civilians)	_____	_____	_____
e. Administrative (Ex: mil personnel are assigned additional jobs as agricultural extension workers; bring the mail to far-flung areas)	_____	_____	_____
f. Others (Please specify)			

3. Do you agree on the following (pertaining to your country):

a. A sector of society (business and industry, church, bureaucracy, military, etc) should play the leading role in development. _____ Yes _____ No _____ No comment

b. The military is the best prepared organization to play the leading role, considering its cohesiveness, superior organization, discipline, sophisticated equipment, better technical skills. _____ Yes _____ No _____ No comment

c. The officer corps is better educated and trained, compared to civilian counterparts. _____ Yes _____ No _____ No comment

d. Military personnel have better technical skills than civilian counterparts. Yes No No comment

e. The military organization has better equipment (engineering, communication, administrative, medical).
 Yes No No comment

f. The military has better systems and procedures.
 Yes No No comment

g. Military personnel are more efficient and reliable in work. Yes No No comment

h. Military personnel are more committed to the goals of national development. Yes No No comment

4. Does the military in your country enjoy a respectable status, that is, it is not looked down upon it is not regarded with suspicion and hostility? Yes No No comment

5. Is there a legal basis (constitution, law, presidential, directive, etc.) for the military's involvement? Yes
 No No comment

6. If the military undertakes or is given vital projects, will there be objection, expressed or unexpressed, from the civilian sector? Yes No No comment

7. Is the military : (Pls. check appropriate blank)

a. In power (Mil pers in key positions)

b. Not in power but dictates policy

c. Not in power but is a strong influential force

d. Not in power, plays a supportive role

Appendix 2

PER CAPITA GTP (US DOLLAR EQUIVALENT, 1972)

<u>Country</u>	<u>GTP Per Capita</u>	
	<u>1967</u>	<u>1973</u>
Switzerland	\$4806	\$5971
United States	4964	5815
Sweden	4728	5563
Canada	3929	4961
Denmark	3713	4770
Australia	3385	4084
Japan	2048	3456
New Zealand	3019	3359
United Kingdom	2459	2850
Israel	1516	2213
Spain	1148	1576
Greece	950	1513
Venezuela	1069	1206
Portugal	708	1103
Argentina	936	1102
Panama	674	867
Mexico	649	787
Chile	702	763
Costa Rica	528	653
Uruguay	576	616
Iran	365	600
Taiwan	351	560

GNP Per Capita

<u>Country</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1973</u>
Peru	\$488	\$536
Brazil	357	536
Turkey	367	476
Malaysia	394	474
Nicaragua	426	461
Tunisia	305	436
Guatemala	327	406
Zambia	382	376
Rhodesia	311	376
Colombia	292	349
So. Korea	199	336
Ecuador	260	335
Paraguay	285	327
El Salvador	303	307
Morocco	250	282
Honduras	251	273
Ghana	236	268
Philippines	183	216
Thailand	167	203
Kenya	129	163
Bolivia	125	150
Tanzania	100	115
India	95	102
Malawi	86	100
Pakistan	92	97
Indonesia	66	88
Ethiopia	81	87

Source: AID, Gross National Product, Growth Rates and Trend Data, Report RC-W-138 May 1, 1974.

Appendix 3

INCOME LEVELS AND RATES OF GROWTH
OF SELECTED DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

GDP Per Capita in 1970	<u>Under \$100</u>	<u>\$100 to under \$200</u>	<u>\$200 to under \$300</u>
<u>Growth Rate of Total Output per Annum : %</u>			
7 and more		So. Korea Thailand	
5 to under 7	Pakistan	Philippines Kenya	Bolivia Honduras Ecuador
3 to under 5	Ethiopia India	Ceylon Uganda Tanzania	UAR Paraguay Rhodesia Morocco
Under 3			Ghana

GDP Per Capita
in 1970

\$300 to
under \$500

\$500 and more

Growth
Rate of Total
Output per
Annum : %

7 and more

Taiwan
Iran

Israel
Spain
Greece
Mexico

5 to under 7

Nicaragua
Malaysia
El Salvador
Turkey
Guatemala
Colombia

Costa Rica
Venezuela

3 to under 5

Zambia
Peru
Tunisia

Chile
Argentina

Under 3

Uruguay

Source: OECD, Development Assistance, 1971 Review,
Paris, December 1971, p. 171.

Appendix 4

LIST OF COUNTRIES SHOWING PER CAPITA GNP

GROUP B (PER Capita Income Between \$101 - \$300)

<u>Latin America</u>	<u>Africa</u>	<u>Asia and Middle East</u>
Bolivia	Congo	Cambodia
Brazil	Ghana	Ceylon
Dominican Rep.	Kenya	China
Ecuador	Liberia	Iran
El Salvador	Madagascar	Iraq
Guatemala	Morocco	Jordan
Honduras	Rhodesia	So. Korea
Paraguay	Sudan	Philippines
Peru	Tunisia	Saudi Arabia
	Algeria	Vietnam
	Camerons	Thailand
		Turkey
		UAR

Source:

- (1) The UN Statistical Yearbook (1968)
- (2) The New York Times Encyclopedia Almanac as cited in Richard Gill, "The Economic Problems of the Underdeveloped Countries", in Frank Tachau, (ed.) The Developing Countries p. 15.

Appendix 5

THE THIRD WORLD

Afghanistan	Equatorial Guinea	Malawi
Algeria	Ethiopia	Malaysia
Angola	Fiji	Maldives
Argentina		Mali
	Gabon	Mauritania
Bahamas	Gambia	Mauritius
Bahrain	Ghana	Mexico
Bangladesh	Grenada	Mongolia
Barbados	Guatemala	Morocco
Benin	Guinea	Mozambique
Bhutan	Guinea-Bissau	
Bolivia	Guyana	Nepal
Botswana		Nicaragua
Brazil	Haiti	Niger
Burma	Honduras	Nigeria
Burundi		
	India	Oman
Cambodia	Indonesia	
Cameroon	Iran	Pakistan
Cape Verde	Iraq	Panama
Central African Emp.	Ivory Coast	Papua New Guinea
Chad		Paraguay
Chile	Jamaica	Peru
Colombia	Jordan	Philippines
Comoro Islands		
Congo	Kenya	Qatar
Costa Rica	Kuwait	
Cuba		Rhodesia
	Laos	Ruanda
Dominican Rep.	Lebanon	
	Lesotho	Samoa
Ecuador	Liberia	Sao Tome and Princi
Egypt	Libya	Saudi Arabia
El Salvador	Madagascar	Senegal

Seychelles	Thailand	Uruguay
Sierra Leone	Togo	Venezuela
Singapore	Trinidad and Tobago	Vietnam
Somalia	Tunisia	
Sri Lanka		
Sudan	Uganda	Western Sahara
Surinam	United Arab Emirates	
Swaziland	Upper Volta	Yemen (PDRY)
Syria		Yemen (YAR)
		Zaire
Tanzania		Zambia

Countries which have social and economic, characteristics in common with the Third World but, because of Political affiliations or regimes, are not associated with Third World organizations.

China
 Cyprus
 Israel
 Kazakshtan
 Kirghizia
 Korea
 Romania
 South Africa
 South West Africa
 Thadzhikistan
 Turkmenistan
 Uzbekistan
 Yugoslavia

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4. Interviews:

Bell Hall USACGSC, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

Col Horacio Borges Neto Raposo from Brazil

Lt Col Mansjur Jasir from Indonesia

Lt Col Jorge Ramos from Peru

Maj David Gabriel Akono from Nigeria

Maj Angel Tedesco Hernandez of Venezuela

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