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**EDUCATION FOR POLICY ROLES: AN ANALYSIS OF LECTURERS
AND READING MATERIALS AT SELECTED WAR COLLEGES**

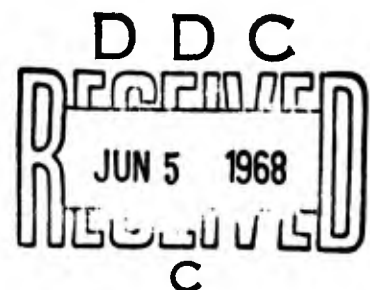
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EDUCATION FOR POLICY ROLES: AN ANALYSIS OF LECTURERS
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War colleges command attention as the major military educational institutions that prepare senior officers for high-level command, policy-making and planning duties. The objectives of their curricula, as described, are to further the students' understanding of essential elements of national and international security, to impart knowledge regarding individual service and joint staff and command functions and to illuminate questions of strategy and tactics. In their ambition to emphasize subject-matter and perspectives other than the basic information or technical know-how required to perform given tasks, the colleges follow rather closely the model of an academic institution oriented toward professional education rather than specialized training.

The locus of these institutions within the military authority structure, however, imposes important constraints on the academic model. Among these are the problem of reconciling the academic principle of free intellectual inquiry with military conceptions of propriety and responsibility, especially in the treatment of political matters; the difficulties involved in creating a libertarian climate akin to that of civilian academic institutions while

¹The preparation of this paper was supported by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research, Behavioral Sciences Division, under contract AF 49 (638) 1344. It forms part of a Bureau of Social Science Research project which inquires into the role of social science knowledge in international and military policy. I received valuable assistance from Donna Rosen and John Wegenke who prepared much of the data presented here. Albert D. Biderman offered useful suggestions for revisions.

avoiding intolerable forms of political or doctrinal deviance in the substance of the curricula, and in maintaining symbols of high-level intellectuality, for instance, by stressing research. Here, the colleges have to overcome objectively unfavorable conditions, illustrated by the problem of faculties whose prestige in the intellectual community is commensurate with the high status ascribed to the positions for which the students are being prepared. The low and heterogeneous academic preparation of a majority of the students obviously renders this more difficult.

The paper discusses characteristic responses to these problems in three selected institutions: the Air War College, as a representative of one of three service colleges; the National War College and the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, both under the jurisdiction of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Key elements in resolving conflicts between the academic model and the operating environment at these institutions are the lecturers, the majority of whom come from outside organizations and institutions. Through the use of many outside lecturers, the colleges not only make up for the limited availability of professional senior-level teachers in the military but can also exercise choice and discretion over the significant boundaries of the curricula.

Given the prevalence of the lecture-system, a very simple way of ascertaining the nature of an important portion of informal instruction at the colleges is to examine lecturers² and the names and titles of lectures. On the basis of data derived from biographical analysis of lecturers (851, in all) at these institutions in 1964-65, we will attempt to describe

² Since the term "lecturer" describes the activity of the majority of outsiders who made presentations at the colleges and since it would be cumbersome to use another term as well, we are including in this category a small group of individuals who appeared as panelists, discussants or seminar leaders.

some of the mechanisms used to resolve conflicts between academic goals and military norms, doctrines and ideologies. The ways in which these conflicts are resolved determine in large measure what particular aspects of the nation's social, political and intellectual life are held up before the students as meriting their professional attention.

The conflicts experienced in the war colleges in relation to academic goals and military norms may extend more generally to intellectual life in the military. Both the conflicts and the characteristic resolutions found to them have important implications for the use of scientific and social scientific knowledge in military policy and planning.

A Brief Description of Senior Military Educational Institutions

The five senior military colleges are sufficiently similar in missions, size, entrance requirements, length of course offered, methods of instruction and subject-matter treated to warrant their being dealt with as a group.³ All of the colleges prepare officers for high-level functions relating to individual service and joint operations and planning. While the service colleges place somewhat more emphasis on the type of warfare characteristic of that service, the National War College emphasizes problems of military policy and operations at the level of the National Security Council. The Industrial College has a somewhat more specialized mission in that it is

³ The most exhaustive description of these institutions to date is found in John W. Masland and Laurence I. Radway, Soldiers and Scholars: Military Education and National Policy (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957), pp. 319-416. In Morris Janowitz, The Professional Soldier (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960), pp. 139-148, the senior colleges are discussed with particular reference to career development. Two official groups (The "Morris" Board and the "Haines" Board) charged with examining military educational institutions have issued reports in recent years which dwell into senior military education. The reports are: Department of Defense, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower), Officer Education Study, (Washington, 1966, 3 vols.) and Department of the Army, Report of the Department of the Army Board to Review Army Officer Schools (Washington, 1966, 4 vols.).

concerned with economic and industrial production aspects of national security. The five colleges have a combined yearly input of some 850 officers. From 65 per cent to 85 per cent--the lower figure pertains to the School of Naval Warfare, the higher to the Army War College and the Air War College--of the students at the service colleges come from the parent-service of that college with the remainder made up of students from other services and a sprinkling from civilian agencies. The student bodies of the National War College and the Industrial College of the Armed Forces are evenly divided between the three main services and the foreign service, with some representation from the Marine Corps, Coast Guard and from civilian executive agencies and departments.

The standard requirement for selection to the senior colleges is a grade level of at least Lt. Colonel or equivalent thereof and from 15 to 20 years' service. A measure of the stringency of this selection process is that of all career officers no more than one-third, and in the case of some of the services only one-fifth attend schooling at the senior level.

All of the colleges have a ten-month course. With the exception of the Industrial College which offers elective courses, they use a standard curriculum and provide the same courses of instruction for all students attending a particular college. At the National War College, for instance, the syllabus is divided into eleven courses each occupying from 2 to 4 weeks. After an introductory survey of the world situation, subsequent courses deal with elements of national power, the formulation of national security policy, the implementation of national security policy in strategic areas and the problems and prospects of major geographic regions. The curricula are generally concerned with contemporary affairs. The topics are formulated as "problems" and the students are expected to contribute to their solution. The use of committees charged with drafting recommendations concerning problems of policy or operations provides for active involvement of the students.

Strictly military matters, such as questions of force levels, weapons development and military strategy, play a relatively limited role at the colleges. As Masland and Radway have pointed out in their discussion of the service colleges, these have a more narrowly military orientation than the joint service schools.⁴ At the Air War College, almost half of the lecturers were military officers in contrast to the National War College where a little over one-fourth of the lecturers came from military organizations. Titles drawn from military journals made up over one-third of the assigned reading materials at the Air War College, as opposed to one-tenth at the National War College. The service orientation of the Air War College is shown in that half of its military lecturers came from the parent service. The unusually high portion of army personnel--80 per cent of all military lecturers--at the Industrial College of the Armed Forces reflects its origin as an Army-sponsored institution.

The Lectures

Lecturing by invited speakers is the primary method of instruction at all the colleges. A lecture is given or a discussion with panelists conducted almost every day, sometimes twice a day, throughout the ten months. Of the colleges studied, the Industrial College of the Armed Forces had the largest number of lecturers and panelists (418) during the 1964-1965 course. The National War College and the Air War College had 233 and 200, respectively. This difference is partly accounted for by the more extensive use of panel discussions at the Industrial College. The lectures are followed by question periods and frequently the speakers stay on for informal conferences and seminars with smaller numbers of students. The large majority of the

⁴ Masland and Radway, op. cit., pp. 354-356.

lecturers is drawn from the military, the civilian government and academe, approximately one-third from each institution.

The second most important formal instructional method in terms of student time is the thesis that the students prepare on an approved topic. The thesis topics are selected with the hope of encouraging research and original thought, but an equally important purpose is to train the students in communication and writing skills. The students are also expected to engage in collateral reading and are provided with reading materials that deal with the topics of each day's lecture or lectures. Practical exercises, such as war gaming or simulation, play a relatively limited role at the colleges and are only now being introduced at the National War College. Among the colleges, the Industrial College of the Armed Forces has used simulation and gaming exercises (e.g., TEMPER and World Politics Simulation) most extensively.

In addition to formal instructional methods one has to consider informal educational processes which take place through associations with peers and superiors. Janowitz has pointed out how "attendance at a higher military school brings together officers who have been scattered through military installations."⁵ The college setting provides opportunities for exchange of information concerning a wide range of work experiences. This informal process of information-gathering and education relates closely to the socializing functions performed at the colleges that we shall discuss later.

All of the colleges have a resident faculty made up mostly of officers. The National War College is the only institution where as much as half of the faculty is civilian. The average student-faculty ratio is

⁵ Janowitz, op. cit., p. 140.

six to one. But faculty has a different meaning than that conventional in civilian institutions. The faculty serves primarily in an advisory and supervisory capacity and very few of the lectures--at no institution more than 2 per cent--are given by faculty.

Prominence and Stability in the Corps of Lecturers

The lecturers at the three colleges studied have several common characteristics which indicate that prominence, membership in governing elites, and prestige of parent institutions, are important criteria for selection.

The lecturers are generally mature men at the peak of their careers; the median age lies in the middle 50's. They all hold degrees from institutions of higher learning and slightly more than one-fourth have doctorate degrees. Close to one-third of the academic lecturers came from Ivy League Schools. Another indication of prominence is found in that between one-third and one-half of the lecturers were listed in Who's Who in America. The number of lecturers listed was highest at the National War College (47 per cent). The extent to which the lecturers are drawn from what John Kenneth Galbraith, among others, has called the "Foreign Policy Establishment" is shown in that one out of seven lecturers was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. At the National War College, this ratio was one in five.

Of the military lecturers slightly less than half held general or flag rank. For the civilian government officials, whose status in the bureaucratic hierarchy could be ascertained, there was an equally large portion of presidential appointees. The numerous high-level officials among the lecturers can probably be attributed to the practice of inviting

Individuals who speak "by virtue of their position." Thus, for the military and foreign policy departments and agencies, the two secretaries, members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and many of the assistant secretaries figure as speakers. The activities of domestic departments, NASA and the Atomic Energy Commission are given a "broad brush" treatment by having either the head of the department or his deputy as a lecturer. Appearing annually before the student bodies of the colleges, especially the National War College, are also important personages such as the President, the Vice-President, foreign heads of state and ambassadors of major countries.

The inclusion of a considerable number of "predetermined" lecturers is undoubtedly one of the factors making for a great deal of stability in the corps of lecturers. Information on the number of times an individual had lectured previously was available for the Air War College and Industrial College of the Armed Forces. Almost two-thirds of the lecturers at these institutions in 1964-65 had lectured there before. One-fifth had lectured at the institution three times or more. A cursory examination of the "repeat performers" reveals that they are not only high-ranking members of government but that many representatives of the academic community also come back from year to year.

External Validation of Choice of Lecturers

The emphasis on rank, prestige and prominence in the choice of lecturers reflects the problematic situation of the colleges as institutions of military professional education. The manner in which these selections are exercised reflects the fact that the colleges, unlike similar civilian institutions, have limited ability to define in terms of their own criteria

what constitutes a valuable and useful lecturer. Rather, they must seek those officials and individuals who already possess symbols of "recognition" in military or civilian life. The choice of such men not only involves minimal risk of internal criticism and adverse publicity regarding the doctrinal content of the curricula, but their appearances before the student body also lend prestige to the institution and reinforce the impression that the students are, indeed, destined for high-level positions.

The composition of the corps of lecturers reflects some of the problems the colleges have in treating controversial political matters, especially questions on which military viewpoints may differ from those of the civilian government. By inviting individuals who are seen as having a right to hold political views, including extreme ones, by virtue of their roles as "recognized spokesmen," the colleges can introduce political matter into the curricula without accepting responsibility for the opinions stated. The fact that these opinions often are those of well-known personages and that they have been stated publicly in other contexts further absolves the colleges of having propounded views going against prevailing policy and doctrine. By mixing recognized spokesmen of selected organizations and interests, civilian as well as military, the colleges can introduce controlled divergence into the curricula, while surrounding their instructional activities with an aura of neutrality and objectivity.

The mechanism of "recognized spokesmen" is not used, however, to introduce the views of groupings whose social positions and perspectives are marginal to those of governing elites, notably the foreign and military policy establishment. Although the lecture topics show some attempt to acquaint the students with the functioning of the broader civilian society,

this is not accomplished through the means of inviting representatives of major social groupings but rather through overviews by invited lecturers from academe. At both the National War College and the Air War College, only a handful of businessmen lectured in 1964-65. Members of interest groups, such as trade organizations, labor unions, associations of states and municipalities did not appear, nor was there any representation of organized minority groups or religious bodies. More importantly, elected representatives of political parties played a significant role as lecturers only at the National War College (13 in all as compared with less than five at the other colleges). When considered in connection with the large number of spokesmen for the executive branch or the military, the limited use made of political party spokesmen supports the point made by Janowitz that the colleges, and the service colleges in particular, do little by way of instructing the students in how to achieve working relationships with Congressional bodies. Rather, they are "geared to the notion that the professional soldier must be fully equipped to present vigorously to the public and to opinion leader . . . his service's point of view on budget matters and on military policy."⁶

The emphasis on prominence in the corps of lecturers may be taken to illustrate peculiar features of the colleges as compared with civilian institutions of higher professional education. While the imparting of knowledge and skills is the formal rationale for the lecture method, an equally, if not more important function is that of socializing the students to their future operating environment. While the government officials who lecture give information, often of a classified nature, about the latest

⁶Janowitz, op. cit., pp. 143-144.

developments within their areas of responsibility, their appearing at the colleges frequently gives the students a chance to meet the type of men who may become their superiors or even peers in later careers and to "put a face to a name." In the performance of this socializing function the colleges differ from civilian institutions--those of medicine or law, for instance--where socialization into the profession is more closely linked to the acquisition of specialized knowledge and skills. In the military, this occurs more frequently at such middle-level educational institutions as the command and general staff schools.

The Academic Lecturers

The lecturers from academe are of particular interest for what they tell us about the kinds of scientific and social scientific knowledge and perspectives introduced into the curricula. Altogether, there were 201 lecturers with a university affiliation. The emphasis on broad political, social and economic aspects of national security, rather than narrowly military or technical ones is shown in the unusually high portion of lecturers drawn from the social sciences. If this term is used broadly to include history, international relations and public administration, as well as the five major social science disciplines, we find that about 90 per cent of the academic lecturers at both the National War College and the Industrial College could be classified as social scientists. At the Air War College, this figure was 70 per cent.

There were but five natural and physical scientists in all lecturing at the colleges in 1964-1965; all but one of these at the Air War College. The almost complete absence of natural and physical scientists at the National War College and the Industrial College is particularly striking

in view of the increased importance of scientific considerations in national security planning, especially the mobilization of resources under conditions of nuclear warfare.

Overall, political science and international relations were the social science disciplines most prominently represented among the lecturers. Approximately one-fourth and one-fifth, respectively, came from these disciplines. They were particularly noticeable at the National War College where they were represented by a little over 60 per cent of the social scientists who lectured. As could be expected, economics received considerably more attention at the Industrial College where economists made up one-third of all social scientists lecturing. At the National War College and the Air War College, economists and historians were the third and fourth largest groups. Sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists hardly figured at all. In 1964-1965, these three disciplines combined contributed one lecturer to the Air War College, three to the Industrial College and one to the National War College.

The disciplinary affiliations of the lecturers and a cursory examination of lecture topics and titles of journals used as reading materials show that sociopolitical intelligence and personalistic interpretations of trends on the international scene play a dominant role. The scholarly journals represented in the reading lists are almost exclusively area studies journals or semipopular ones, such as Current History. Recent theoretic formulations in the field of international relations--applications of systems or conflict theory, for instance--receive practically no attention. On the whole, the curricula come very close to representing what Kenneth Boulding has called the "literary" process of creating images of the

international system; i.e. through a 'melange of narrative history, memories of past events, stories and conversations, etc., plus an enormous amount of usually ill-digested and carelessly collected current information.'⁷

The criteria used in the selection of academic lecturers seem to represent an adaptation of the ones applied to military and civilian government officials that we described earlier. Prominence of parent-institution and prestige within a particular professional community or subject-matter area, are major bases for invitation to lecture. In many instances, the lecturers are not only experts with high standing in their particular professional reference group but are also known to the larger educated public through mass media or elite opinion journals. This 'dual-validation process' by the lecturer's own group as well as by broader social elites is particularly noticeable among the few behavioral scientists used, all of whom are prominent in the mass media as well as in their professions.

The limited role played by peculiarly behavioral science esoterica in the curricula is probably due in large measure to the marginal position of those able to contribute such knowledge and perspectives. Sociologists in aspiring institutions, primarily interested in research, for instance, seem to possess few attributes which would suit the mechanisms for validating choices of lecturers developed at the colleges. Conversely, the sociologists themselves have not regarded the colleges and their students as clienteles for the products of social scientific research. When empirical social science research has been brought directly into the service of these

⁷ Kenneth Boulding, "The Learning and Reality-Testing Process in the International System," Journal of International Affairs, 21, No. 1, 1967, p. 9.

institutions, it has almost exclusively been addressed to problems of the selection of students and the measurement of instructional effectiveness, rather than to providing the forms and substance of curricula. The ambition of sociologists to "engineer" change at the direct operational level and the cautious role of the colleges in relation to marginal groupings are major factors contributing to limit the influence of analytic and theoretic social science materials in the curricula.

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13. ABSTRACT Analyses of biographical data on the 851 lecturers at three senior service (war) colleges in 1964-65 and the topics of their lectures provide the basis for a discussion of how these institutions perform the function of educating higher military officers for policy roles. The colleges studied were: the National War College, the Industrial College of the Armed Forces and the Air War College. The lecturers split into three groups, roughly equal in size: military, civilian government and university. Analysis of their positions, academic affiliations and a check on whether or not they figured in such biographical sources as 'Who's Who in America' showed that prominence of position and, in the case of academic institutions, prestige of affiliation, were major criteria in their selection. Both in lectures and reading lists, descriptive materials, often of a journalistic type, were found to dominate over theoretic discussions or those based on the results of empirical research. These and other findings suggest that the primary function of the colleges is socialization into foreign and military policy elites.		

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