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War and Rights: The Impact of War on Political and Civil Rights

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“War and Rights: the Impact of War on Political and Civil Rights”

13 November 2019

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How does war impact rights?

Garrison State School of Thought
How does war impact rights?

Extraction School of Thought
# How does war impact rights?

Only 122 times has a country mobilized over 5% of its population for an interstate war (e.g., USA 1943, 1944, 1945).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Mobilization</th>
<th>Intensity of Threat</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1) Minimal Impact:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Slight Garrison State and No Extraction Effect</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
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<td>2) Garrison State Dominate: Restrict Civil Liberties</td>
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<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3) J-Curve:</td>
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<td>Garrison State in Short Run &amp; Extraction in Long Run</td>
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   By David L. Rousseau and Bruce O. Newsome.

   By David L. Rousseau and Marcus Schulzke.

Chapter 3: War and Ethnic Minorities in Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union.
   By Timothy K. Blauvelt and David L. Rousseau.

Chapter 4: Women, Minorities, and War: Statistical Analysis of Europe, 1900-1950.
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Chapter 5: African American Soldiers in the United States Military.
   By David L. Rousseau.

Chapter 6: Colonial Soldiers and Empires: Fighting for the Metropole.
   By David L. Rousseau and Richard S. Fogarty.

   By J. Michael Grieg, Victor Asal, and David L. Rousseau.

Chapter 8: War and Political Rights in Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War 1980-88.
   By David L. Rousseau, Marcus Schulzke, and Steve Sin.

Chapter 9: Conclusions
   By David L. Rousseau
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Austria-Hungary: The Dual Monarchy
Heir to Austria's throne is slain with his wife by a Bosnian youth to avenge seizure of his country.
Austria-Hungary: Garrison State Argument

- Suspension of Austrian Parliament, Crownland Parliaments
- Censorship: War Surveillance Office and Commission
- Military Administration in War Zones: Military Trials
- Mass internment of questionable minorities
- Imprisonment of ethnic minority leaders

*Military believes that any expression of nationalism by minorities is proof of treason and a 5th column.*
Austria-Hungary: Mobilization

Hunger

Population (1914): 54 million
Mobilized: 7.8 million
a) Killed or Died: 1.2 million
b) Wounded: 3.6 million
c) POWs and Missing: 2.2 million
Total (a+b+c)=7 million

Death

Mobilized: 7.8 million
a) Killed or Died: 1.2 million
b) Wounded: 3.6 million
c) POWs and Missing: 2.2 million
Total (a+b+c)=7 million
Austria-Hungary: Extraction Argument

- Opening of Austrian Parliament; Discussion of Reform
- Relaxation of Censorship Outside War Zones
- Reduction of Military Control; Return to Civilian Trials
- Closing of Many Camps; Refugee Camps Allow Movement
- Amnesty for Ethnic Minority Leaders
- Hungary Resists Liberalization
Austria Hungary: Collapse
African American Soldiers in World War II

Henry Johnson, WWI Vet

54th Massachusetts Regiment
War Department, Information and Education Division, Research Branch

- Samuel Stouffer, Director
- Purpose: increase morale and unit effectiveness
- Motivation: Extrinsic vs. Intrinsic
- New tool: survey research
- First Survey: 8 December 1941
- Scope: thousands of surveys and half a million participants by end of war
- High technology: IBM punch card tabulators
- The American Soldier Project (4 vols.)
March 1943

Random sample of black soldiers: 2,992; supplemental 4,450

Random sample of white soldiers: 4,793

Continental troops only

Army (and Army Air Corp) only

Two step sample: 1) organizational sample; 2) probability sample
Q50: Which of these things do you think Negroes back home in civilian life should try hardest to do now?
1. Try hardest to make things better for the Negro. 28%
2. Try hardest to win the war first. 33%
3. Try to do both at the same time. 36%
4. Undecided. 3%

Q44: After the war do you think that you yourself will have more rights and privileges or less rights and privileges than you had before the war?
1. More rights and privileges than before the war. 43%
2. About the same as before the war. 38%
3. Less rights and privileges than before the war. 6%
4. Undecided. 12%

Q54: Do you think that after the war Negroes in this country will have more rights and privileges or less rights and privileges than they had before the war?
1. They will have more rights and privileges than before the war. 43%
2. About the same. 34%
3. They will have less rights and privileges than before the war. 7%
4. Undecided. 16%
Q44: After the war do you think that you yourself will have more rights and privileges or less rights and privileges than you had before the war?
Q54: Do you think that after the war Negroes in this country will have more rights and privileges or less rights and privileges than they had before the war?
Q74. Do you think it is a good idea or a poor idea for white and Negro soldiers to have separate PX’s in Army camps?
1. It is a good idea. 40%
2. It is a poor idea. 47%
3. Undecided. 11%
4. No answer. 2%

Q76. Do you think it is a good idea or a poor idea for white and Negro soldiers to have separate service clubs in Army camps?
1. It is a good idea. 47%
2. It is a poor idea. 38%
3. Undecided. 12%
4. No answer. 3%

Q77. Do you think white and Negro soldiers should be in separate outfits or should they be together in the same outfit?
1. They should be in separate outfits. 37%
2. They should be together in the same outfits. 35%
3. It does not make any difference. 17%
4. Undecided. 9%
5. No answer. 2%
Iran-Iraq War (1980-88)
Iran-Iraq War (1980-88)

Religious Cleavage:
- 60% Shia
- 30% Sunni
- 10% Other

Ethnic Cleavage:
- 75-80% Arab
- 15% Kurd
- 5-10% Other
Iran-Iraq War (1980-88)

Mobilization at peak in 1986: ~1.5 million
Killed in War: ~180,000-500,000

Four Phases of War
1) Iraq on the Offensive (1980)
2) Iran Counter-Offensive (1981-82)
3) Stalemate (1982-1987)
4) Iraq on the Offensive (1987-88)
Iran-Iraq War (1980-88)

- Garrison State
  - Ruthless Repression of Shia of Iranian Origin; ~200,000 deported or in camps
  - Security services expanded
  - Shia imams become state employees; sermons censored.
- Extraction
  - Defining the In-group: Loyal Shia Arabs and Disloyal Shia of Iranian Origin
  - Celebrate Shia Arabs
  - Promote Shia Arabs in the Officers Corps
  - 40% of seats in National Assembly reserved for Shia
  - Shia given leadership positions within the Regional Command
  - Economic benefits to Shia
  - Negotiations with the Kurds: Autonomy for Service
Conclusions

• Neither the Garrison State or the Extraction Arguments Tell Whole Story

• Large-Scale Mobilization is the Key for the J-Curve

• Appears to Occur in Many Types of States and Across History

• The War on Terror: Only Garrison State Pressure
Backup Slides
Kingdoms and countries of Austria-Hungary:


Extraction School: War increases rights

**Independent Variable:**
- War
  - Mobilization & Domestic Resource Extraction
  - Rally Around Flag
  - Economic Concessions
  - Domestic Resistance

**Dependent Variable:**
- Rights
  - Collective Political Rights
  - Individual Political Rights
  - Civil Rights

If successful, government persuasion leads to:
- Rally Around Flag
- Mobilization & Domestic Resource Extraction
- Government Persuasion

If fails:
- Renege on Offer
- Reward for Service After War
- Solves Social Unrest Problem

(+): Increase
(-): Decrease
Garrison State: War decreases rights

**Independent Variable:**
- War
- Rally Around Flag
- Domestic Opposition To War
- Worry About Inefficient Mobilization
- Fear of External Enemy
- Fear of 5th Column At Home
- Scapegoat Domestic Groups

**Dependent Variable:**
- Rights
- Civil Rights
- Collective Political Rights
- Individual Political Rights

 moderators: (+) (+) (+) (-) (-) (-) (+) (+) (+)