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Warriors at Work

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released and the spread of nuclear technology and fuels is irreversible."

In the concluding chapters, Lefever reviews policy options and offers three approaches to support a position of deterring nuclear arms acquisition in the Third World: increased U.S. security assistance or nuclear guarantees, promotion and strengthening of international agreements, and legislated sanctions on the export of technology, nuclear fuels and control of waste storage. These alternatives are not mutually exclusive; it is probable that the United States' stance will remain a combination of all three. However, Lefever concludes that "the provision of security assistance or support—by a nuclear guarantee, defense pact, or military assistance, and in appropriate circumstances the presence of U.S. combat troops—is the most effective way to encourage nuclear abstinence."

Well-organized and documented (although with largely dated material), *Nuclear Arms in the Third World* is a good starting place for studying the dilemmas facing the United States in its Third World nuclear policy. However, the study is narrow in scope and relies on a depressingly conventional wisdom. While I find the choice of countries and likelihood of developing nuclear arms sound, there are other places in the world to consider, e.g., Cuba, Central America, Vietnam. Additionally, the threat of nuclear terrorism makes Lefever's "militarily significant" qualification a moot point. On either side of the balance sheet, nuclear weapons can become significant domestic and international liabilities for the nations of the Third World. United States policy must delicately balance friendship and cooperation against control and technological sanctions in order to keep nuclear weapons development a dilemma, not a reality.

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Levitan, Sar A. and Alderman, Karen Cleary. *Warriors at Work*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1977. 216pp.

Warriors at Work is a description and evaluation of manpower policies and practices of the U.S. Armed Forces, with particular attention to changes in these practices that have been made or may have to be made as a result of the all volunteer force (AVF). The book is carefully researched and well written. It is the most recent of several monographs by Levitan evaluating various Federal government programs.

The authors present factual evidence and summarize issues regarding recruiting, compensation, training, unionization, and numerous other matters. Their intent, they state in the Preface, "is to provide a framework for informed decision-making." Specific judgments and recommendations of the issues are allegedly avoided, although in fact strong and controversial opinions slip in here and there throughout the book. For example, regarding unionism: "Clearly the Defense Department and some of its staunchest friends in Congress are overreacting to the presumed dangers of unionism." Regarding selection standards in recruiting: "The case for requiring high school credentials is far from clear." Regarding women's role: "Discrimination against women has been relaxed, but acceptance smacks of tokenism, rather than a serious effort to attract women to the armed forces." One should not conclude from these examples that Alderman and Levitan believe DOD policy to be consistently misguided, however. For example, contrary to the views of many economists, they are not at all convinced of the wisdom of replacing the present pay structure with a salary system.

The book has five chapters. In Chapter 1, size, grade structure, turnover of the forces, retention and promotion patterns, recruiting problems and selection standards are described. The authors note the shrinking manpower

pool and discuss studies of the relationship of national unemployment rates to enlistments. They conclude that in peacetime, concerns over possible manpower shortfalls are insufficient reason for abandoning the AVF. They argue that adjustments to the AVF to date have been in effect for too short a period for adequate testing and more policy alternatives are available in the longer term.

In Chapter 2, the complexities of military compensation are described, including RMC, supplementary benefits, retirement, survivors benefits, and even the potential for postservice second careers. The retirement system is, in the authors' opinion, the element most in need of reform. Indeed, they see the present system as threatening the long-term validity of the AVF. Otherwise, they conclude that "[T]he overview of current compensation suggests that military personnel are neither grossly underpaid, as was true in the past, nor are they overpaid."

Training and education from basic training to the National Defense University are described in Chapter 3, along with GI bill benefits, tuition assistance programs, and other voluntary education plans. The transferability of military training and experience to the civilian sector is extensively treated. The authors assert that the effect of the AVF on transferability is not yet known. However, they expect some long-run changes in training investment, as would be predicted by economic theory—specifically that the military will try to hire those already trained, will try harder to retain those in whom it has invested significantly, and that it will narrow the focus of training to reduce the spillover to the private sector.

A variety of personnel issues and practices is discussed in Chapter 4, including: military justice, particularly the "bad papers" issue; possible unionization; racial balance; the current and

potential role of women; alcoholism and drug abuse. Although they are somewhat critical of DOD policy in all of these areas, the authors praise the record on equal opportunity as "clearly superior to that of most other major American institutions."

In the final chapter, the authors attempt an overall assessment of the military as an employer. Noting that "the military remains in many essential ways different from civilian employers," they argue that it is simplistic to believe that changing personnel practices to match private sector norms necessarily represents progress. Strategic considerations remain paramount. Still, the authors do not appear to believe that adjustments made necessary by the AVF are such that the effectiveness of the force is curtailed.

The book is chock-full of facts. We learn, for example, that military hospitals had 26,000 beds (as of 1976) down by 50 percent from 1968; that universal compensation for Revolutionary War widows was not granted until 1836 when the widows were made eligible for the general service pensions their husbands would have received; that three-fifths of Army-trained teamsters who might have taken related jobs on leaving the service were unable to find jobs. Extensive references are made to the military manpower literature. Three of the chapters have in excess of 100 footnotes.

In spite of the mass of factual and statistical detail, *Warriors at Work* is an interesting volume. The authors are facile writers and a dry sense of humor pervades the book. The authors assure us, for example, that "the nineteenth century gastronomical fare offered to enlisted personnel left much to be desired." In discussing civilian counterparts to military occupations, they note that, "[A]side from very limited, highly cyclical and apparently quite risky markets for mercenaries, there are no civilian counterparts for ground combat occupations."

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Warriors at Work is a very useful book, providing an excellent overview of military manpower issues and policies plus a comprehensive introduction to the literature on the subject. It is useful even to the specialist. Professional military officers will be familiar with much that Levitan and Alderman present, and will find opinions to disagree with, but few will fail to learn something from the volume. It is recommended reading.

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Martin, John Bartlow. *Adlai Stevenson and the World: The Life of Adlai E. Stevenson*, Vol. II. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977, 863pp.

In the second volume of this mammoth biography, John Bartlow Martin, noted journalist, editor, and former U.S. Ambassador to the Dominican Republic, chronicles Stevenson's activities and utterances from the Presidential campaign of 1952 to mid-1965, when Stevenson died. As a two-time Presidential contender, and then Ambassador to the United Nations for Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, Stevenson enunciated ideas of enduring significance to national politics and international affairs. Although he was somewhat less than successful in his attempts to exert great influence on U.S. policy, several of his largest concerns, perhaps ironically, have steadily gained prominence in U.S. foreign affairs since his death.

Throughout his years as a national political figure Stevenson worried and spoke about the problem of controlling nuclear weapons. He was among the early advocates of test bans, arms control, and even disarmament. Indeed, according to several of his close friends, Stevenson suffered in his last years from nightmares, dreams of the world blowing up, of the extinction of humanity, the end of life on earth.

Stevenson's concern about nuclear weapons led him to a parallel interest in

negotiation with the Soviet leadership. In the middle 1950s he established personal relationships with Khrushchev and other top leaders and he believed, partly on the basis of his brief contacts with these individuals, that the Soviet leadership shared both a concern over the consequences of nuclear armaments and a willingness to deal constructively, through negotiation, with the United States. "The real question," Stevenson said in a 1960 campaign speech,

is not who can stand up or talk back to the Russians. That's too easy. The real question is who can sit down with them at the bargaining table and negotiate with them from a position of strength and confidence. The real question is not who is tough and who is soft. The real question is who is wise and who is foolish, who likes to play with words and who likes to get things done.

On China policy, one of the most sensitive issues of the 1950s, Stevenson took a position remarkably similar to that on which the United States finally "normalized" relations with mainland China in 1978-1979. He argued that the U.S. policy of isolating mainland China forced China to rely on the Soviet Union in international affairs. The United States, he believed, ought to seek independence for Formosa and a pledge from the mainland not to use force to determine Formosa's future. And he anticipated, though he did not actually advocate, the admission of mainland China to the United Nations.

In the United Nations from 1961 to 1965 Stevenson stressed what he considered the two transcendent world problems: nuclear proliferation and the disparity in the living standards of rich and poor nations. He did his utmost to make the United Nations significant in U.S. foreign policy, though he largely failed to impress the circle of advisors and operators closer to the Kennedy and Johnson White Houses. Late in his