

University at Albany, State University of New York

Scholars Archive

Campus Conversations in Standish

11-13-2019

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

David Rousseau

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarsarchive.library.albany.edu/campus_conversations



Part of the [Political Science Commons](#)

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

13 November 2019

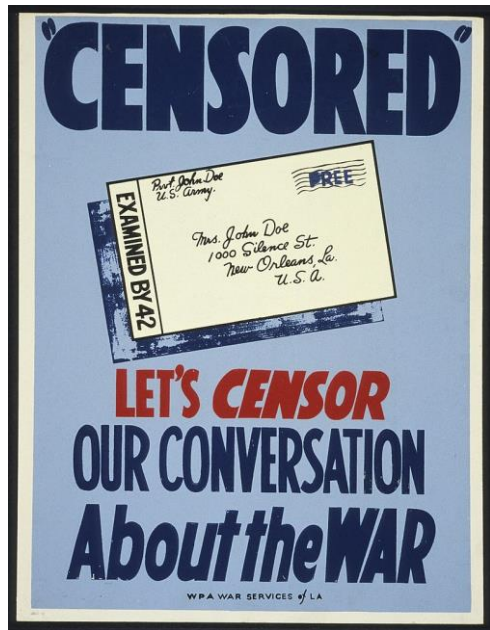
Dr. David Rousseau

Department of Political Science &
College of Emergency Preparedness, Homeland
Security, and Cybersecurity
University at Albany

Presented as part of the UAlbany Libraries’ “Campus Conversations in Standish” Program.

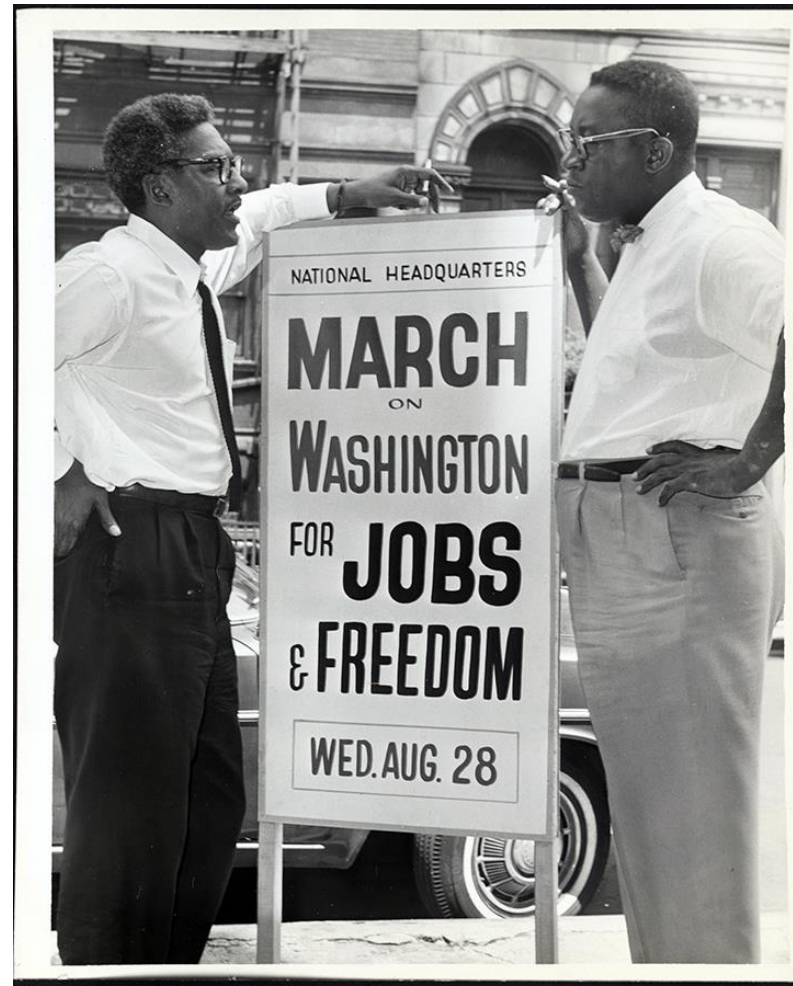
How does war impact rights?

Garrison State School of Thought



How does war impact rights?

Extraction School of Thought



How does war impact rights?

		Intensity of Threat	
		Low	High
Level of Mobilization	Low	1) Minimal Impact: Slight Garrison State and No Extraction Effect	2) Garrison State Dominate: Restrict Civil Liberties
	High		3) J-Curve: Garrison State in Short Run & Extraction in Long Run

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

Book Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction: War and Rights.

By David L. Rousseau and Bruce O. Newsome.

Chapter 2: War and Minorities in the Austria-Hungary Dual Monarchy, 1914-18.

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.

By David L. Rousseau and Bruce O. Newsome.

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.

Chapter 7: War and Women's Suffrage: A Global Analysis from 1893-2011.

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

Chapter 1: Introduction: War and Rights.

By David L. Rousseau and Bruce O. Newsome.

Chapter 2: War and Minorities in the Austria-Hungary Dual Monarchy, 1914-18.

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.

By David L. Rousseau and Bruce O. Newsome.

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.

Chapter 7: War and Women's Suffrage: A Global Analysis from 1893-2011.

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

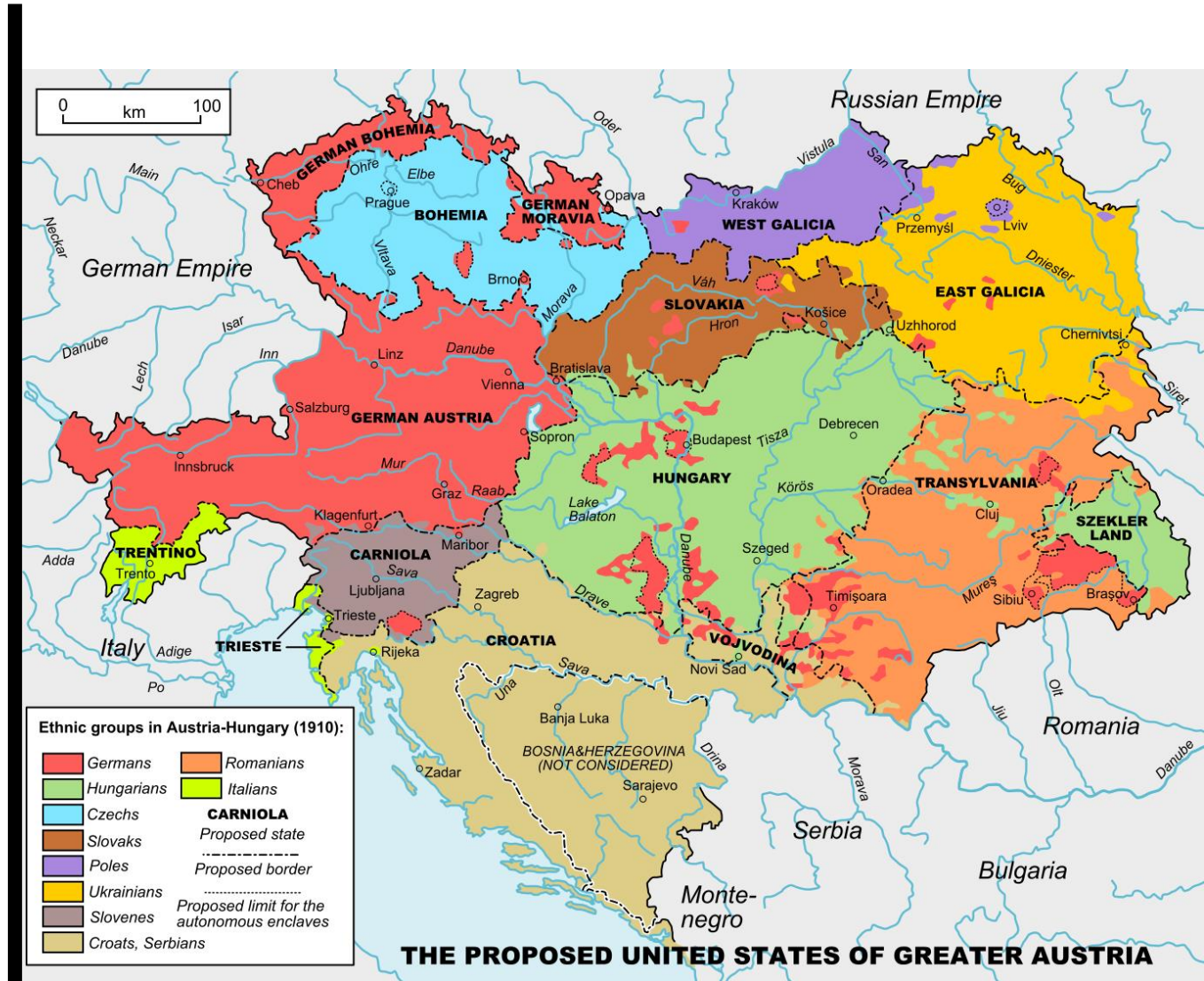
Chapter 8: War and Political Rights in Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War 1980-88.

By David L. Rousseau, Marcus Schulzke, and Steve Sin.

Chapter 9: Conclusions

By David L. Rousseau

Austria-Hungary: The Dual Monarchy



Austria-Hungary: World War I

New York Times.

THE WEATHER
 Local showers today; Tuesday, fair; fresh, shifting winds, becoming northwest.
 ☞ For full weather report see Page 17.

NEW YORK, MONDAY, JUNE 29, 1914.—EIGHTEEN PAGES.

ONE CENT In Greater New York, Jersey City and Newark. Elsewhere, TWO CENTS.

Propose Pan-American Memorial to Columbus
 A splendid tomb topped by a great light is proposed to be erected in Santo Domingo, in the Caribbean Sea, by subscriptions from peoples of all lands. See NEXT SUNDAY'S TIMES.

OUR GUNS FIRE ON SANTO DOMINGO

Few Shots from the Machias Stop Bombardment of Puerto Plata by President Bordas.

WARNED BY CAPT. RUSSELL

Told Not to Endanger Foreigners in Attack on Rebels There—Refugees Taken Off by Our Boats.

Special to The New York Times. WASHINGTON, June 28.—Following general instructions from the Navy Department to protect the lives and property of Americans and foreigners in Santo Domingo, the little American gunboat Machias on Friday afternoon entered the inner harbor of Puerto Plata, and with a few shots from her main battery silenced a battery of President Bordas's forces that was bombarding the town. The bombardment was in violation of

HEIR TO AUSTRIA'S THRONE IS SLAIN WITH HIS WIFE BY A BOSNIAN YOUTH TO AVENGE SEIZURE OF HIS COUNTRY

Francis Ferdinand Shot During State Visit to Sarajevo.

TWO ATTACKS IN A DAY

Archduke Saves His Life First Time by Knocking Aside a Bomb Hurler at Auto.

SLAIN IN SECOND ATTEMPT

Lad Dashes at Car as the Royal Couple Return from Town Hall and Kills Both of Them.

LAI D TO A SERVIAN PLOT

Heir Warned Not to Go to Bos-



Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his Consort, the Duchess of Hohenberg Slain by Assassin's Bullets.



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

Food and the politics of sacrifice

45

Table 1.2 *Declining rations of essential products in wartime Vienna*

	At time of introduction of ration cards		At end of war	
	Daily amount	Calories	Daily amount	Calories
Flour	100g	300	35.7g	107.1
Bread	140g	350	180g	450
Lard	17.1g	153.9	5.7g	51.3
Meat	28.5g	28.5	17.8g	17.8
Milk	1/8 l	82.5	–	–
Potatoes	214g	171.2	71.4g	57.1
Sugar	41.6g	166.4	25g	100
Marmalade	23.8g	47.6	23.8g	47.6
Coffee	8.9g	–	8.9g	–
Total		1300.1		830.9

Death

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

Austria-Hungary: Extraction Argument



Franz Joseph



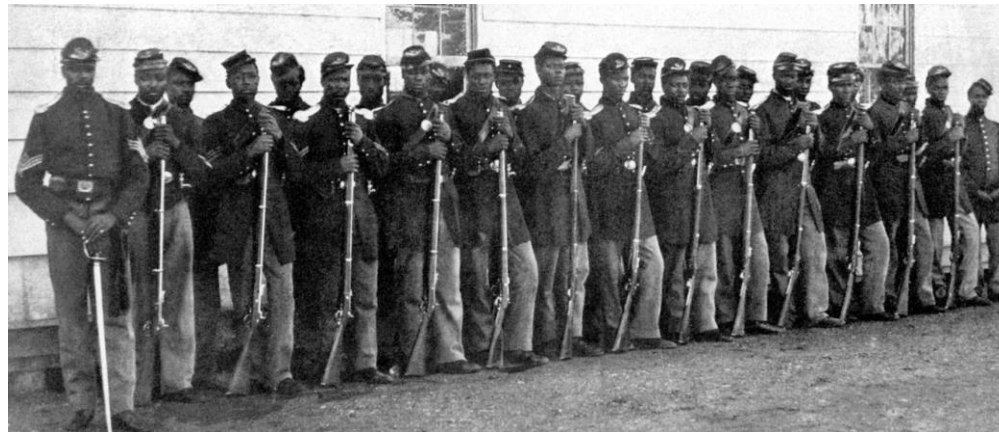
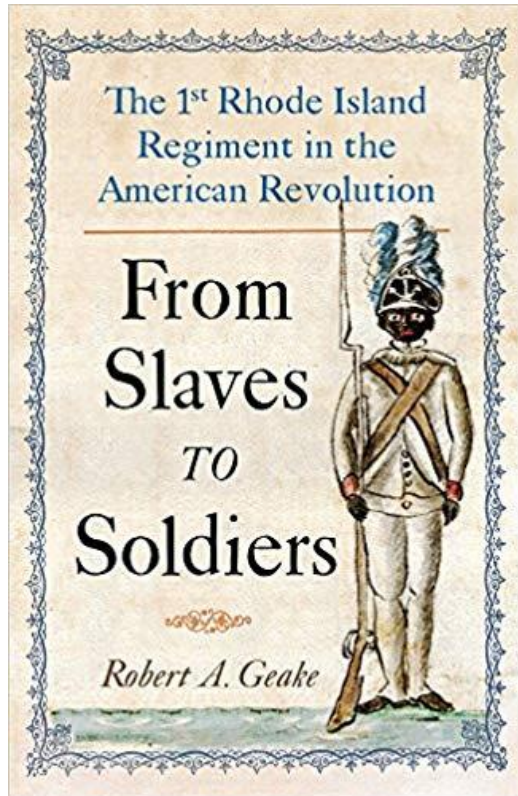
Karl I (or Charles I)

- 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

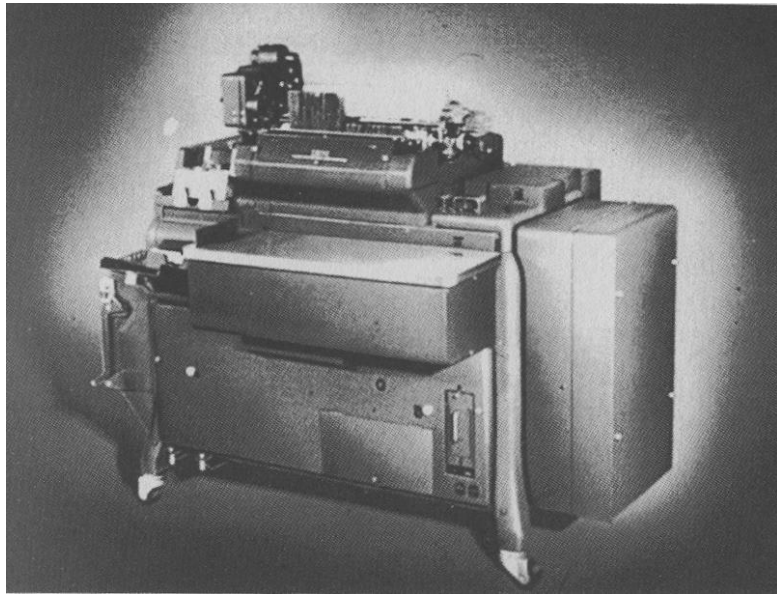


54th Massachusetts Regiment



Henry Johnson, WWI Vet

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.)

“S-32: The American Soldier in World War II: Attitudes of (and Toward) Negroes.”

- 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

Extraction Argument: 1) Best Strategy, 2) My Rights and 3) Community Rights

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?

VARIABLES	Dependent Variable: More Rights for Me After the War				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Northern Resident	0.008 (0.067)	-0.065 (0.066)	-0.006 (0.067)		0.025 (0.064)
Grade School Education Only	-0.018 (0.062)	0.076 (0.062)	0.016 (0.062)	-0.000 (0.057)	0.025 (0.059)
Combat Unit	0.206** (0.064)	0.161* (0.064)	0.195** (0.064)	0.198*** (0.060)	-0.256*** (0.063)
Officer	-0.071 (0.074)	-0.077 (0.072)	-0.093 (0.074)	-0.084 (0.070)	-0.016 (0.071)
Volunteer	0.149 (0.082)	0.157 (0.081)	0.155 (0.082)	0.114 (0.076)	-0.155 (0.084)
City Resident Before War	-0.079 (0.064)	-0.084 (0.064)	-0.067 (0.065)	-0.052 (0.057)	0.058 (0.063)
Over 30 years old	0.027 (0.067)	0.104 (0.068)	0.031 (0.068)	-0.012 (0.063)	-0.083 (0.064)
More than 1 Year of Service	-0.093 (0.073)	-0.058 (0.073)	-0.093 (0.073)	-0.114 (0.069)	0.063 (0.072)
Married	-0.007 (0.059)	-0.032 (0.060)	-0.016 (0.060)	-0.016 (0.056)	0.014 (0.058)
Good Time in Army	0.302*** (0.066)			0.302*** (0.061)	-0.312*** (0.069)
Proud of Unit	0.240** (0.085)		0.230** (0.084)	0.200* (0.080)	-0.245** (0.081)
Army Gives Me a Chance	0.210*** (0.063)		0.198** (0.062)	0.205*** (0.060)	-0.260*** (0.063)
Interested in Job in Army	0.144* (0.071)			0.182** (0.067)	-0.122 (0.068)
Not Worried		0.219** (0.068)			
Unit Cooperates		0.256** (0.086)			
Make Good In Army		0.378*** (0.065)			
Job Worthwhile		0.110 (0.065)			
Good Spirits in Army			0.373*** (0.064)		
Can Do More in Military Job			0.078 (0.067)		
/cut1					-0.608*** (0.103)
/cut2					0.980*** (0.104)
Constant	-0.681*** (0.106)	-0.794*** (0.114)	-0.639*** (0.102)	-0.672*** (0.099)	
Observations	2,048	2,064	2,046	2,317	1,817
Robust standard errors in parentheses					
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05					

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?

VARIABLES	Dependent Variable: More Rights for All Negroes After the War				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Northern Resident	0.004 (0.067)	-0.035 (0.066)	-0.007 (0.067)		-0.023 (0.067)
Grade School Education Only	-0.032 (0.062)	0.038 (0.062)	-0.006 (0.062)	-0.029 (0.057)	0.003 (0.062)
Combat Unit	0.146* (0.063)	0.108 (0.063)	0.142* (0.064)	0.133* (0.060)	-0.144* (0.065)
Officer	-0.106 (0.074)	-0.107 (0.072)	-0.136 (0.073)	-0.113 (0.070)	0.042 (0.073)
Volunteer	0.102 (0.081)	0.087 (0.081)	0.091 (0.082)	0.076 (0.076)	-0.256** (0.086)
City Resident Before War	-0.009 (0.064)	-0.028 (0.064)	-0.000 (0.065)	0.001 (0.057)	0.041 (0.065)
Over 30 years old	0.003 (0.067)	0.045 (0.068)	0.002 (0.068)	0.002 (0.063)	-0.010 (0.065)
More than 1 Year of Service	0.018 (0.073)	0.039 (0.073)	0.030 (0.073)	-0.002 (0.068)	-0.016 (0.074)
Married	-0.013 (0.059)	-0.028 (0.060)	-0.015 (0.059)	-0.031 (0.056)	0.044 (0.061)
Good Time in Army	0.213** (0.065)			0.207*** (0.061)	-0.252*** (0.071)
Proud of Unit	0.348*** (0.085)		0.311*** (0.084)	0.310*** (0.081)	-0.264** (0.081)
Army Gives Me a Chance	0.199** (0.063)		0.172** (0.062)	0.220*** (0.060)	-0.245*** (0.065)
Interested in Job in Army	0.003 (0.071)			0.025 (0.067)	-0.027 (0.069)
Not Worried		0.210** (0.067)			
Unit Cooperates		0.329*** (0.086)			
Make Good In Army		0.248*** (0.064)			
Job Worthwhile		0.074 (0.064)			
Good Spirits in Army			0.289*** (0.063)		
Can Do More in Military Job			0.060 (0.067)		
/cut1					-0.433*** (0.102)
/cut2					0.964*** (0.103)
Constant	-0.628*** (0.106)	-0.714*** (0.114)	-0.646*** (0.102)	-0.631*** (0.099)	
Observations	2,033	2,050	2,031	2,304	1,720

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

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?

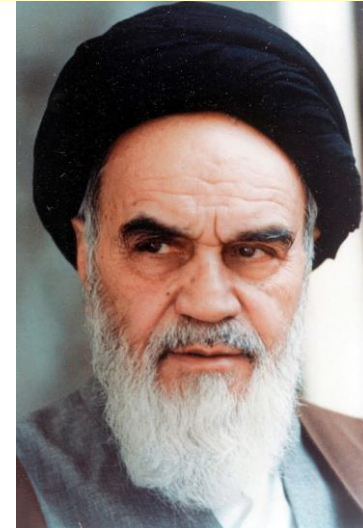
1. **It is a good idea.** 47%
2. It is a poor idea. 38%
3. Undecided. 12%
4. No answer. 3%

Q77. Do you think white and Negro soldiers should be in separate outfits or should they be together in the same outfit?

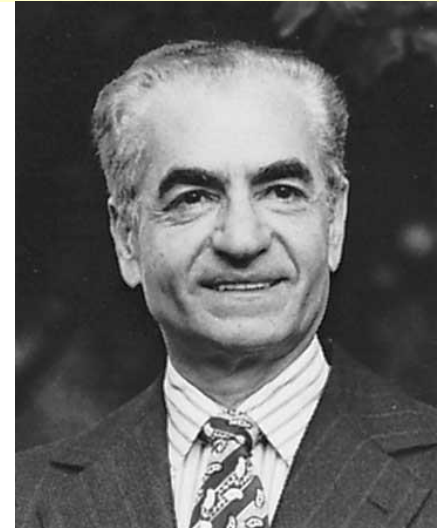
1. **They should be in separate outfits.** 37%
2. They should be together in the same outfits. 35%
3. It does not make any difference. 17%
4. Undecided. 9%
5. No answer. 2%

VARIABLES	Prefer Segregated PXs	Prefer Segregated Service Clubs	Prefer Segregated Military Units
Northern Resident	-0.414*** (0.070)	-0.381*** (0.068)	-0.290*** (0.070)
Grade School Education Only	0.172** (0.064)	0.108 (0.063)	0.304*** (0.064)
Combat Unit	0.052 (0.066)	0.165* (0.065)	0.077 (0.065)
Officer	-0.270*** (0.078)	-0.134 (0.075)	-0.070 (0.077)
Volunteer	-0.273** (0.087)	-0.259** (0.083)	-0.262** (0.085)
City Resident Before War	-0.192** (0.065)	-0.143* (0.065)	-0.175** (0.065)
Over 30 years old	0.066 (0.069)	0.031 (0.068)	-0.117 (0.070)
More than 1 Year of Service	-0.215** (0.077)	-0.152* (0.075)	-0.037 (0.075)
Married	0.026 (0.062)	0.066 (0.060)	0.118 (0.061)
Good Time in Army	0.204** (0.067)	0.231*** (0.067)	0.186** (0.067)
Proud of Unit	0.106 (0.088)	0.057 (0.086)	-0.014 (0.086)
Army Gives Me a Chance	0.139* (0.066)	0.055 (0.064)	0.131* (0.065)
Interested in Job in Army	-0.112 (0.074)	0.027 (0.072)	-0.050 (0.072)
Constant	-0.141 (0.107)	-0.016 (0.106)	-0.333** (0.107)
Observations	2,036	2,014	2,024
Robust standard errors in parentheses			
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05			

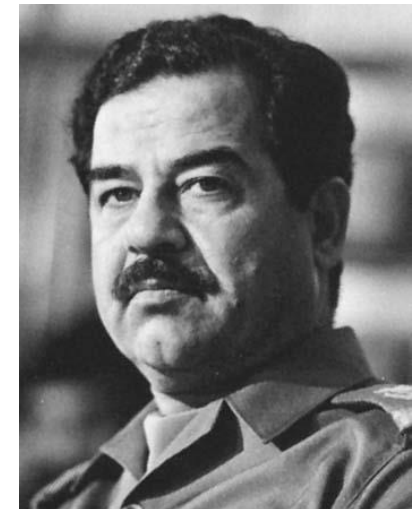
Iran-Iraq War (1980-88)



Ayatollah Khomeini

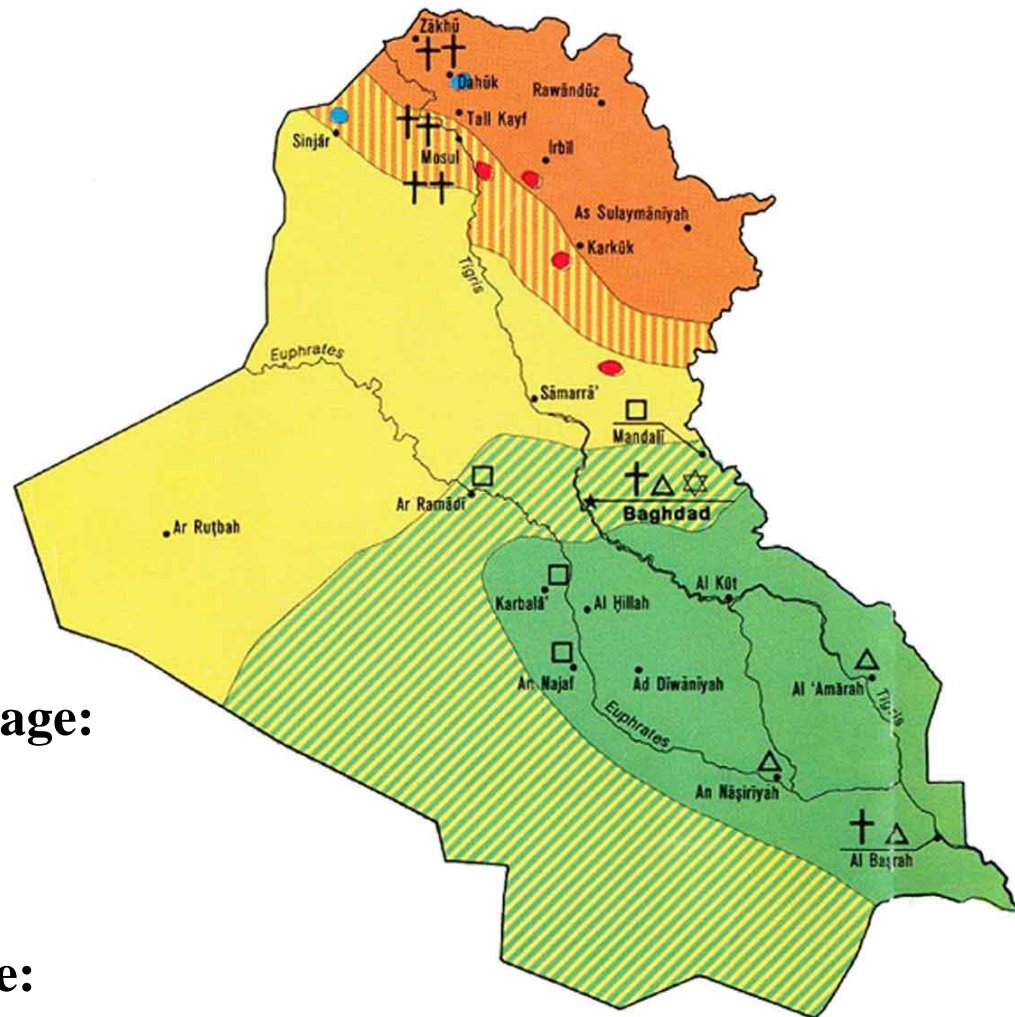


Shah of Iran








Saddam Hussein

Iran-Iraq War (1980-88)




Distribution of Religious and Ethnic Groups

MAJORITY GROUPS

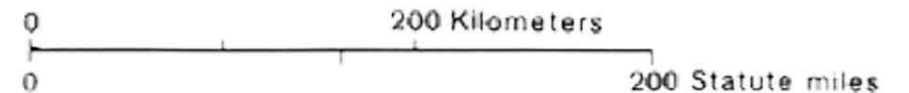
-  Sunni Arab
-  Sunni Kurd
-  Shia Arab
-  Sunni Arab and Sunni Kurd
-  Sunni Arab and Shia Arab

MINORITY GROUPS

-  Yezidi
-  Turkoman
-  Iranian
-  Christian
-  Mandaean
-  Jewish

Christians represent different sects and ethnic groups.

Yezidis, Mandaean, and Jews, although shown as religious groups, may also be considered as separate ethnic entities.



Religious Cleavage:

- 60% Shia
- 30% Sunni
- 10% Other

Ethnic Cleavage:

- 75-80% Arab
- 15% Kurd
- 5-10% Other

Iran-Iraq War (1980-88)



Iraq Population (1980): ~13 million
Mobilization at peak in 1986: ~1.5 million
Killed in War: ~180,00-500,000

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



Austria-Hungary

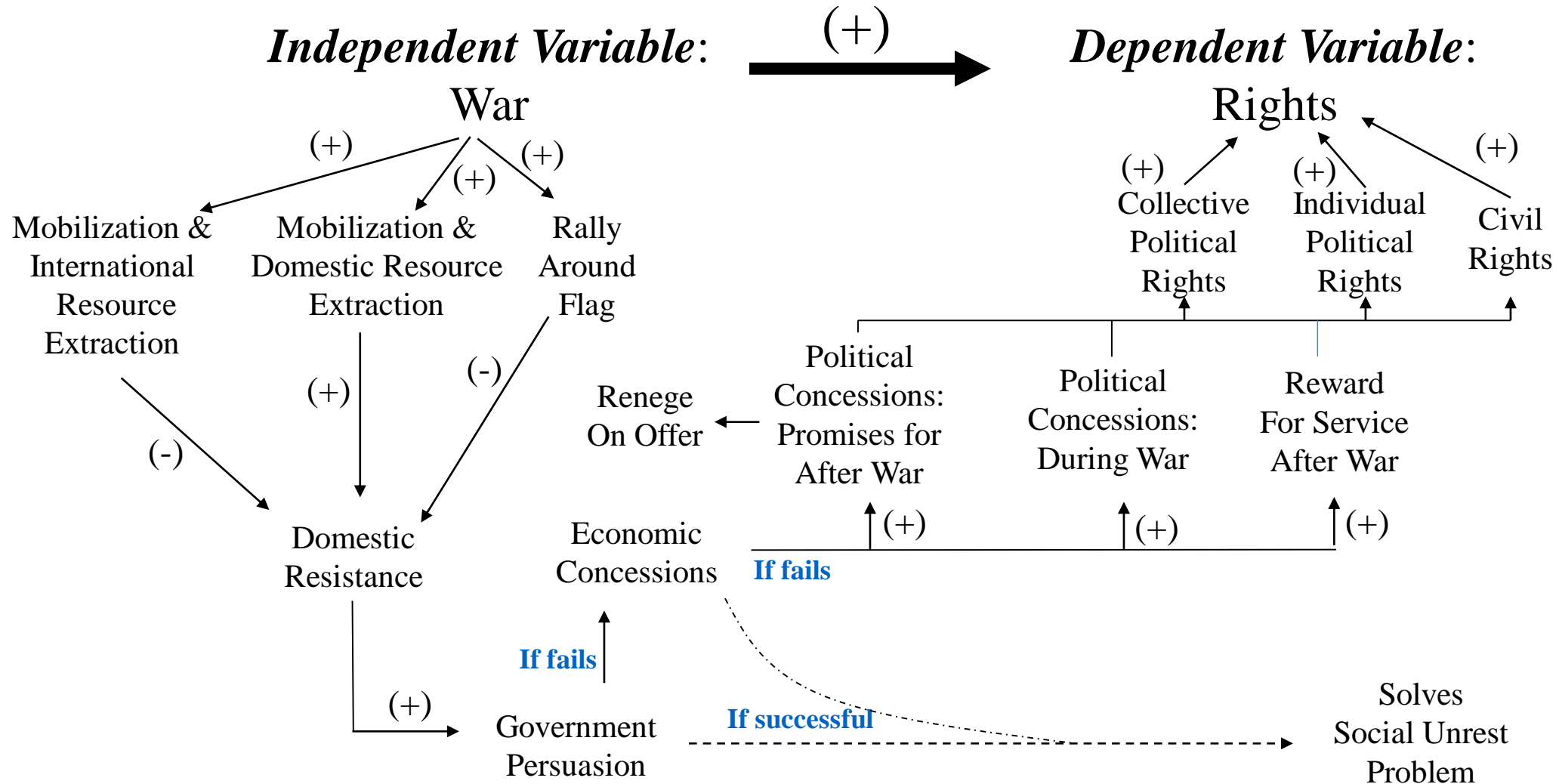


Kingdoms and countries of Austria-Hungary:

Cisleithania (Empire of Austria^[7]): 1. Bohemia, 2. Bukovina, 3. Carinthia, 4. Carniola, 5. Dalmatia, 6. Galicia, 7. Küstenland, 8. Lower Austria, 9. Moravia, 10. Salzburg, 11. Silesia, 12. Styria, 13. Tyrol, 14. Upper Austria, 15. Vorarlberg;

Transleithania (Kingdom of Hungary^[7]): 16. Hungary proper 17. Croatia-Slavonia; 18. Bosnia and Herzegovina (Austro-Hungarian condominium)

Extraction School: War increases rights



Garrison State: War decreases rights

