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Abstract

This dissertation explains why and how some militaries are better than others at emulating the organization and doctrine of foreign armed forces. I define military emulation as the changes to a pre-existing military organization resulting from an imitation of another military's structure or doctrine. The changes stem from the diffusion of military ideas from one polity to another. I call those ideas 'theory of victory' and 'theory of corporatism'. The former explains the next mission a military needs to fight and how to win, while the latter details how intra-military institutions and their *raison d'etres* are designed, maintained, and defended in their relationship with the state and society. I am interested in explaining two ideal types of military emulation: maximalist and minimalist. In a maximalist emulation, we should see the transplantation of existing theories of victory and corporatism with foreign-based ones. The rapid, expansive, and thorough adoption of those theories is the hallmark of such an emulation. In a minimalist emulation, we should see a small number of changes to the military's pre-existing theories of victory and corporatism. The diffusion process is likely to be slow, limited, and produce few similarities with the original model.

This dissertation develops a new theory arguing the variation of military emulation depends on the interaction of: (1) the transmission pathway between the foreign model and the potential emulator supplying new theories of victory and corporatism, and (2) the quality of the emulator's personnel infrastructure (career management and education systems) shap-

ing the organizational capacity to interpret, adopt, and implement them. Some pathways have accelerative properties allowing emulators to obtain consistent and coherent theories of victory and corporatism while giving them agency to 'localize' those theories. The personnel infrastructure quality determines whether new career trajectories could emerge for officers trained in foreign theories of victory and corporatism, allowing them to become product champions, and ensure that the broader learning capacity is boosted. A higher learning capacity is necessary for senior officers to understand, adopt, and implement the new theories. A maximalist emulation is likely when there is: 1) an accelerated and coherent transmission of foreign theories of corporatism and victory, and 2) an organization capable of interpreting and adopting them. A minimalist emulation is likely when there is: 1) a decelerated and incoherent transmission of foreign theories of corporatism and victory, and 2) and an organization incapable of interpreting and adopting them.

To assess the new theory's analytical value, I present a systematic plausibility probe by comparing Cold War Indonesia (1950–1991) and Meiji Japan (1868–1912). For the former, I explain why and how the Indonesian military did not become "Americanized" by the end of the Cold War, despite employing thousands of American-trained officers. For the latter, I explain why and how Meiji Japan managed to successfully emulate Western theories of victory and corporatism within a short period of time. I employ a comparative process tracing design integrating within-case analyses and cross-case comparisons. For each case, I examine archival materials, organizational documents, and historiographical sources. I also create two original officer-level datasets on the career patterns of the military elite in Cold War Indonesia and Meiji Japan. I use the qualitative and quantitative data to evaluate how well my theory could explain the empirical puzzles of the cases.

I find that the diffusion of US theories of victory and corporatism to Indonesia was

hindered by the fact that Washington viewed military education and training aid as a political tool to combat communism rather than a method to remodel the Indonesian military over its own image. Statistical analyses of the Indonesian Army's career patterns show there was no significant correlation between 'professional' career markers, including US education and training, with successful retirements. Only around 16% of 677 Indonesian Army generals had some form of US education or training. The military's educational institutions also focused on ideological coherence and non-military duties while officers valued higher-level education for its political and patronage effects. Consequently, we see a doctrinal stagnation in the 1960s and the limited and inconsistent application of US theories of victory in major operations. These findings suggest the Indonesian military achieved a minimalist emulation.

For Meiji Japan, the diffusion of Western theories of victory and corporatism was facilitated by the commercial contracts the government signed with Western military trainers. They allowed the military to control and localize the diffusion process. The professional, merit-based career management created new career pathways for Western-trained officers. Statistical analyses of the career patterns show that, compared to other career markers, Western studies background was a significant predictor of whether officers retired as three or four-star generals and admirals. Roughly half of 684 Meiji generals and admirals had some form of Western studies background. The centrality of education as professional qualifications—the academies and war colleges emphasized military sciences, competitive examinations, and academic focus—helped senior officers understand, adopt, and implement Western theories of victory and corporatism. The organization-wide military Westernization by the Sino-Japanese War (1893-94) demonstrates Meiji Japan's maximalist emulation.

The arguments and findings have broader theoretical, empirical, and policy implications. They speak and contribute to the resurgence of diffusion studies across the social

sciences. As military organizational change is rare, understanding when and how it occurs is important for a wide range of military and political outcomes. Military emulation speaks to the generation of military power and offers insights into how states respond to different challenges and opportunities within the international system. How Asian polities in particular engage in military Westernization speaks to a range of important political outcomes associated with various state building processes. Finally, understanding how emulation occurs illuminates a wide range of contemporary security policy challenges; from the changing nature of warfare to military education and training assistance programs.

Imitation Game:

Military Institutions and Westernization in Indonesia and Japan

by

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Dissertation

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Dedicated to

Raymond Laksmana

Rock. Searchlight. Father.

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This dissertation was a long time coming. I worked on the puzzles surrounding military change and Westernization since I joined the Jakarta-based Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in 2009. Back then, I always wondered why it was so difficult to reform the Indonesian military and why innovative ideas—including those coming from dozens of Western-trained officers—never got anywhere. My research activities and policy engagements over the years with different domestic and foreign military establishments never quite gave me the answers I was looking for. I kept working on military change and diffusion on and off since I came to Syracuse in 2011. By the time I complete my dissertation in December 2019, I have worked on this topic for about a decade and amassed an enormous amount of debt and gratitude to so many individuals and institutions.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

"If, in warfare, a certain means turns out to be highly effective,
it will be used again; it will be copied by others and become fashionable."
Carl Von Clausewitz, On War (Book 2, Ch. 6)

1.1 The puzzles of military change, emulation, and Westernization

Why are some militaries better than others at emulating the organizational system and doctrinal concepts of others? In other words, why are some militaries capable of changing how they are organized and how they plan to fight by following the example of foreign armed forces? This question is puzzling for three reasons. Firstly, militaries are not designed to be adaptive. They need rigid and structured institutions so that their members — soldiers and officers — could follow orders during war and perform effectively in the face of danger. Militaries even create their own educational and training institutions and recruit young men and women to deliberately and systematically socialize them into their organizations' way of life. And yet, from time to time, despite being billed as 'total institutions', militaries do change, albeit in varying degrees. Some changed their tactics during war, while others transformed their entire organizational structures and practices. Military change happens but they are rare and puzzling.

Secondly, as if military change is not puzzling enough, some militaries change by following the example of armed forces. The deliberate imitation of another military's organizational structure or doctrine known as 'military emulation' (Resende-Santos 2007) is puzzling because militaries are generally created to fight other (foreign) militaries. Why would a military then emulate the structure or practices of its potential enemy? Why would the potential enemy, in turn, share its war-fighting ideas to a potential emulator, who might use them against it down the line? Why would a military—often the embodiment of national pride—be seen as learning how to fight from another country? Why would a military renounce its ability to formulate its own war-fighting ideas—and thus ensuring they match its own strategic situation—and chose instead to borrow from foreign forces which may have different operational demands? Emulation is therefore not a standard, easy, or straight-forward method of military change. That military emulation occurs at all is puzzling.

Finally, although military emulation should be difficult, it has remained a staple pattern in the international system since the beginning of organized warfare. Following the Peloponnesian wars, for example, the Spartan practice of hoplite warfare spread throughout the ancient Greek world and beyond. Colonialism meanwhile diffused European war-making institutions to most of Africa, Asia, and Latin America with different and enduring consequences. In pre-modern Southeast Asia, a small number of Europeans introduced important changes into regional warfare during the 16th and 17th centuries, including the greater use of firearms, the building of permanent stone fortresses, and the use of permanent armies and foreign mercenaries (Reid 1982, 7). More recently, during the Cold War, Third World militaries were created based on the 'wholesale transplantation' of Western military technology and 'organizational formats' (Janowitz 1988, 13).

But underneath these macro-patterns of the diffusion of military knowledge from the

West to the rest, some states appear better than others at getting military emulation right. Imperial Japan or Napoleonic-era Prussia, successfully adopted and employed foreign military technologies, concepts, and tactical innovations. Mamluk Egypt and Ottoman Turkey also adopted some of the best practices of the French, German, and British forces by the 20th century. But other militaries, such as those in pre-modern Southeast Asia, Latin America, or Cold War Middle East, tried but ultimately fail to model themselves over the great powers of their day (Charney 2004; Eisenstadt and Pollack 2001). At best, these militaries could only copy some of the foreign militaries' best organizational and operational practices. What explains the varied successes of military emulation?

To address this broad puzzle, this dissertation examines the historical processes of military Westernization in Asia. By military Westernization, I mean the degree to which a military organization interprets, adopts, and implements the concepts or organizational systems of Western countries.[1] As I explain below, I focus on organizational and operational concepts because significant military emulations should be observed across the organization and throughout its operational conduct, based on deeper, ideational changes, rather than a superficially material, technological change. A military can operate Western-made arms without necessarily adopting Western operational concepts.

I focus on military Westernization in Asia because Western conceptions of warfare—from organizational structures to war-fighting methods—have diffused throughout the region since the 17th century onwards. At the heart of this diffusion were the encounters and contacts—through trade, warfare, or others—between sea-faring Western powers and the regional polities. The different modes, duration, and intensity of these encounters have facilitated the diffusion of Western ideas, practices, and technology of warfare with significant

[1] I consider 'Western countries' to be the United States and Western European countries, primarily France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Great Britain. These are the Western countries that most Asian militaries have historically engaged with and borrowed from.

military and political consequences. These transmission pathways (described below) have their own distinct logics and mechanisms providing different opportunities and challenges for regional polities. Some pathways are more effective than others at diffusing Western military knowledge. And yet, despite the long and rich historical processes of military Westernization in Asia, these transmissions seldom receive a systematic assessment.

The transmissions alone, however, do not fully explain the variation of military emulation across the region. Take 19th century China and Japan, for example. Both countries sought to adopt Western military technology and war-fighting concepts by hiring Western advisers (Hacker 1977). And yet, Japan's military Westernization was more successful than China's, as we can see in the Sino-Japanese (1894-95) and the Russo-Japanese (1904-05) wars. To better explain the variation of emulation we need to understand the extent to which the emulating military is not only willing but capable of engaging in military Westernization. But organizational emulation capacity is more than just a resource problem. Most major Asian polities from the 13th to the 19th centuries have had the financial wherewithal to obtain European weaponry to some extent. Capacity is also more than just familiarity. Many Asian polities had encountered and produced rudimentary European firearms prior to colonization. Indeed, the historical military technological gap between Asian polities and European powers may not have been as wide as assumed (Lorge 2008; Charney 2004).

The different capacities of Asian militaries to emulate Western powers are better understood at the organizational level. The extent to which an emulator's personnel infrastructure in particular is 'ready to receive' Western military ideas is an important step. Specifically, the intra-military power politics that shape and shove the quality of the emulator's personnel infrastructure are central to the military Westernization efforts. Whether the military had a merit-based professional career management system, for example, is im-

portant to ensure that officers trained in foreign ways of warfare can be promoted into senior positions at the right time. The rise of these foreign-trained officers, in turn, increases the chances they could promote new, foreign ways of warfare they are trained in across the organization. In short, the quality of the emulator's personnel infrastructure determines the degree of its 'receptiveness' and 'responsiveness' to foreign military knowledge and ideas.

It should be noted, however, that the importance of personnel infrastructure is not strictly a European or Western invention. In pre-modern Southeast Asia, for example, Vietnam developed a merit-based officer corps. Under the 13th century Tran Dynasty, a regularized military examination system was instituted by emulating China's civil service examination. Over time, the military became a separate and complex bureaucracy, headed by the Board of War which decided not only troop deployments, but officer promotions, demotions, and assignments as well (Charney 2004, 238). The high-quality personnel infrastructure allowed Vietnam to be relatively proficient at adopting European military technology and practices for centuries after (Dutton 2003; Mantienne 2003).

More broadly, variations in how 'professional' Asian militaries were developed could provide important insights into the processes of military change. I focus on the historical processes of military Westernization in Cold War Indonesia (1950 – 1991) and Meiji Japan (1868 – 1912). These cases were empirically puzzling. During the Cold War, the US provided extensive military assistance to Indonesia. Thousands of Indonesian officers were trained at various US military schools. And yet, by the 1990s, there was hardly any sign of an "Americanized" Indonesian military. The organization held on to their Japanese-inspired structure and doctrine while eschewing US notions of democratic civil-military relations. The Indonesian military also only applied some elements of US tactical concepts. Why did the Indonesian military only achieved a limited emulation despite having thousands of US-

trained officers? Imperial Japan is also puzzling because within the span of two decades, its army and navy went from being antiquated, feudal-era forces into the most advanced military power Asia has seen by then. The Japanese military adopted Western military strategy, doctrine, tactical concepts, and technology to defeat China in 1893 and Russia in 1904. The Russo-Japanese war was particularly impressive considering that Russia was among the top Western powers in the early 20th century. Why and how did the Japanese military overcome its feudal institutions and limitations — not to mention its strong anti-Western domestic nationalism — and achieved an expansive emulation?

We can locate these empirical puzzles within the broader patterns of military emulation and change. As I discuss below, Cold War Indonesia and Meiji Japan were 'typical cases' of two ideal modes of transmission: cooperative and commercial, respectively. These transmissions are sub-types of direct diffusion (where the relationship between the model and emulator is well-established). Within a cooperative relationship, the transmission of military knowledge is based on bilateral agreements between the model and the emulator. The agency of both the model and emulator equally determines the manner and method of military knowledge transmission. A commercial transmission is where the Asian emulator (receiver) has more agency to determine what it needs from the Western model (donor) and acquire it through market-provided commercial means (e.g. mercenaries). The Japanese and Indonesian cases also represents the full range of values of military emulation, maximalist minimalist, respectively. I discuss the case selection and comparison rationale further below.

In summary, this dissertation seeks to explain why and how some states are better at achieving a sucessful military emulation than others. This puzzle is rooted in the broader puzzle of military change and is further examined through the empirical puzzles of military Westernization in Asia. As I elaborate below, by comparing military Westernization in Cold

War Indonesia and Meiji Japan, I hope to highlight the centrality and interaction of two conditions for emulation success: (1) the different facilitative properties between commercial and cooperative transmissions, and (2) the quality of personnel infrastructure as it pertains to career management as well as education and training. The first structures the interaction and power dynamics between the Western and Asian agents, while the second structures the interaction and power dynamics within the emulator's military organization. These conditions are therefore 'institutions': humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic, and social interactions (North 1990).

This chapter is divided into several sections. Section 2 describes why the puzzle of military emulation and Westernization in Asia matters. It highlights the theoretical, empirical, policy, and normative implications of understanding why and how some militaries are better than others at achieving emulation. Section 3 summarizes and previews the key arguments and findings. Section 4 outlines the research design. I describe my ontological, epistemological and methodological choices as well as my strategy of inquiry. I also provide a brief summary of the causal process and dataset observational data I use in the dissertation and how I collected them. Finally, section 5 provides a brief rundown of the overall structure of the dissertation.

1.2 Why the puzzles matter

Explaining the puzzles of military change, emulation, and Westernization in Asia is important for several reasons. Firstly, as military organizational change is rare, understanding when and how it occurs is important for a wide-range of military and political outcomes. There is a rich and growing research program studying why and how militaries innovate in peacetime and adapt in wartime (Grissom 2006; Farrell and Terriff 2002; Adamsky 2010; Marcus 2015).

Studies of security sector reform and post-authoritarian military transformations are also premised on seeking the best way to 'change' a military organization (Sedra 2010; Barany 2013; Cawthra and Luckham 2003). A study of why and how militaries change in the face of or to follow 'foreign' ideas — whether about war-fighting or democratic civil-military relations — could illuminate how militaries change in general.

Secondly, military emulation speaks to central questions surrounding the generation of military power. When and how states can "import" military capabilities by borrowing the doctrines, structures, or war-fighting ideas from major military powers touches on a wide-range of war-related outcomes, from combat effectiveness to conflict duration, as well as broader political ones, such as the rise and fall of states. As militaries are comparative institutions—they calibrate and focus their effectiveness in relation to other militaries (Goldman and Eliason 2003)—a study of how ways of warfare spread offers insights into how states respond to different military challenges and opportunities within the international system. In short, the success and failure of the diffusion of military ideas have implications for the frequency of war onset and how effectively armies fight when conflicts occur (Grauer 2015).

Thirdly, how Asian polities engage in military Westernization speaks to a range of important political and military outcomes associated with various state building processes. For example, whether and how post-colonial militaries were modeled over their former colonial rulers influences the quality of their civil-military relations and the effectiveness of their political institutions (Price 1971). Others show how the emulation of 'capital intensive' Western military systems helped militarize the Third World during the Cold War (Wendt and Barnett 1993). Western security assistance also affects the level of internal repression, the ability to embark on "modernization", and even the prospects for democratization (Bienen 1971; Janowitz 1988; Ruby and Gibler 2010). Altogether, these studies point to the

processes in which the importation of foreign war-making institutions affects state building processes. After all, for much of the developing world, the adoption of complex foreign military systems entails a different set of state capacity and infrastructure than internally developed war-making institutions.

Fourthly, an examination of how Asian militaries engage in military Westernization touches on a range of normative questions in the study of international security. Studies examining 'Western vs. Eastern' ways of warfare, for example, start from the premise of a 'West' at war with an 'East' conceived as a 'radically other' going back over a millennia.[2] Scholars argue this growing literature is plagued with 'Eurocentrism', the uneven analytical focus on Europe and the US. For one thing, there is an emphasis on the military history of, and involving, the West where other states appear only to be defeated (Black 2004, 67–8). The non-West is seldom given agency let alone proper analysis.[3] For another, there is a long-standing use of Western analytical concepts to describe global military history (Black 2004, 67–8). Western-derived terms like 'combat decisiveness' often hinder efforts to properly assess the peculiarities of non-West military cultures and behaviors.[4] The use of Western concepts also leads to a more general "primitivization" of the non-West.[5] These conditions are indicators of 'military orientalism' in the study of international security (Porter 2009).

Fifthly, understanding the different processes surrounding military emulation illumi-

[2] Notable examples include the Crusades, European wars with the Ottomans, imperial 'small wars' in Latin America, Asia and Africa, the Cold War and the "humanitarian wars" of the post-Cold War era (Barkawi and Stanski 2013, 2).

[3] Consider how the modern perspective on Asian history views Asian military practices and technology as primitive and backward because they were considered culturally non-military and racially inferior before the arrival of the Europeans (Lorge 2008, 2).

[4] As military historian John Lynn (2003, 19-20) argues, "We know more about ancient China, but that understanding does not rival our command of Greek and Roman military history."

[5] Consider, for example, the assumptions underpinning this claim: "Ritualized, anarchic, and transient, primitive warfare is best classed with feuding, brawling, and other forms of physically expressed hostility between individuals or small groups, more akin to the antagonistic behavior of non-human species than the civilized war of organized states" (Hacker 1997, 462). In this view, any non-western ways of warfare in the past were 'barbaric' and 'not civilized'.

nates a wide range of contemporary security policy challenges; from the changing nature of warfare to the global balance of power. In the pre–modern world, for example, the diffusion of military techniques from 'advanced' societies to 'primitive' ones was a principal factor in the rise of new powers (Gilpin 1983, 177). More recently, as China modernizes its military, understanding military emulation allows us to anticipate when it is capable of dominating its adversaries and when its threats should be taken seriously. To take another example, explaining the conditions under which societies adopt foreign military systems illuminates why military assistance during the Cold War had mixed effects, or why the US have had trouble creating effective local security forces in Iraq and Afghanistan in recent years.

Finally, the diffusion of Western war-fighting concepts to Asia is not neatly or easily located within traditional research programs in political science; it straddles the divide between Comparative Politics and International Relations at best. As I anchor the puzzle within the broader diffusion studies literature, the dissertation lends itself to build and draw from a variety of research programs across different disciplinary fields, from Military History, Strategic Studies, Organizational Sociology, Comparative Politics, International Relations (IR), Business Management, and others. The extant literature, however, remains a conceptual minefield as different scholars use 'diffusion' to describe different phenomenon. This dissertation develops a theoretical framework that considers diffusion as a process, separates the mechanisms and outcomes, and clarifies the terminologies different scholars employ. The project therefore speaks to the resurgence of diffusion studies across the social sciences (see e.g. Graham, Shipan and Volden 2013; Solingen 2012).

1.3 Summary of the argument and findings

This dissertation makes several theoretical arguments. *First*, the diffusion literature in general, and military diffusion in particular, suffers from conceptual ambiguities, from the conflation of key terms to the lack of clarity between mechanisms and outcomes. To address the problem, I provide two conceptual analyses of 'military diffusion' and 'military emulation'. The first unpacks 'military diffusion' using a multi-level structural analysis that breaks down the concept's key constitutive elements: the diffusible item, the transmission pathway, and the adoption of the item. This analysis provides a logical support to my definition of military diffusion as the process through which particular military ideas are transferred from one polity to another. The second conceptual analysis is taxonomic and locates 'military emulation' as a subset of military change. I define military emulation as the changes to a pre-existing military organization resulting from an imitation of another military's structure or doctrine. I focus on military Westernization: the extent to which non-Western militaries adopt the organization, doctrine, or operational methods of their Western counter-parts.

Second, a general theory of military diffusion must account for the 'diffusible item' and the pathway in which it travels. I conceptualize the latter as the transmission pathways ("communication medium") between the model and emulator. I further develop 'theory of victory' and 'theory of corporatism' as conceptual containers for the diffusible item. A theory of victory explains what the next mission a military needs to fight and how to win. A theory of corporatism details how intra-military institutions and their *raison d'tres* are designed, maintained, and defended in their relationship with the state and society. I propose two ideal types of emulation: maximalist and minimalist. In a 'maximalist emulation', we should see the transplantation of existing theories of victory and corporatism with foreign-based ones. The rapid, expansive, and thorough adoption of those theories is the hallmark of

such emulation. In a 'minimalist emulation', we should see only a small number of changes to the pre-existing theories of victory and corporatism. The diffusion process is likely to be slow, limited, and produce few similarities with the original model.

Finally, I develop a nested institutional framework to explain the variation of military emulation. By nested I mean the argument consists of three elements embedded within one another: (1) a power-based institutional framework, (2) an institutional theory derived from the framework, and (3) transmission models derived from the theory. The power-based framework argues the intra-organizational power dynamics over resources and control shape the interplay between formal and informal institutions. The interplay leads to a new institutional structure over time. The structure then further shapes new conflicts and compromises, which in turn leads to new institutional structures in a feedback loop. As the power dynamics reproduces institutional structures, they place the organization within a path-dependent trajectory.

The theory argues that military emulation depends on the interaction between two sets of institutions during critical junctures: (1) the transmission pathway between the donor and the emulator and (2) the quality of the emulator's personnel infrastructure. The pathway provides the 'supply' of information on the theories of victory and corporatism, and the personnel infrastructure determines an emulator's 'capacity' to interpret and adopt them. As embodiments of the donor-emulator relationship, some pathways have more accelerative properties than others. I argue that a commercial transmission has more facilitative properties than a cooperative one. Meanwhile, the quality of the emulator's personnel infrastructure focuses on career management and education systems. If a military develops a professional, merit-based career management (i.e. high-quality), officers trained in new theories of victory and corporatism are likely become effective 'product champions' as they

hold key positions. If it also develops a professional education and training system, their officers are more likely to be capable at interpreting, adopting, and implementing those new theories. But, if the emulator has a low-quality personnel infrastructure, then we should not see the rise of product champions nor would the officers be able to understand, adopt, and implement new theories of victory and corporatism.

To assess the analytical utility of these arguments, this dissertation provides a systematic plausibility probe by comparing why and how Cold War Indonesia (1950–1991) and Meiji Japan (1868–1912) engaged in military Westernization activities. I examine both qualitative (archival documents, secondary sources, and historiographical materials) and quantitative data (two original officer-level datasets). The application of the framework to the cases provides several empirical findings pertaining to Indonesia and Japan.

First, the Indonesian military achieved a minimalist emulation. By the end of the Cold War, its organizational theories of victory and corporatism did not reflect US ones. It further suffers from doctrinal stagnation as evidenced by the inability of the New Order regime under General Suharto (1966-1998) to overhaul the Territorial Warfare doctrine in the mid-1960s. The conjunction of (1) the inhibitive properties of a cooperative transmission via US military education and training assistance, and (2) the low-quality of the Indonesian military's personnel infrastructure during the critical juncture (1960s–1970s) that prevented new career pathways for US-trained officers and prevented the rise of US product champions.

On the one hand, Washington's perception of Jakarta's geopolitical Cold War importance became the predominant benchmark through which military aid was measured. Military education and training aid was thus a political tool rather than a mechanism to genuinely remodel the Indonesian military along the US model. On the other hand, the formal rules governing the behavior and action of Indonesian military officers were not stable or

predictable, while informal institutions such as patronage prevailed. Under this condition, US-trained officers did not become organizational leaders or product champions promoting US theories of victory and corporatism. The military's education system also lacked coherence and focused on ideological and political indoctrination, rather than professional military sciences. The organization did not value military education and training as important professional qualifications; officers value staff and command colleges for their political networking, rather than intellectual development, opportunities. Statistical analyses of the career patterns of Army officers further reveals no significant correlation between what we consider to be 'professional' career markers with a successful retirement (holding a command appointment or a general rank). Only around 16% of 677 Indonesian Army Generals had some form of US education and training. A logistic regression analysis reveals that a higher proportion of an officer's foreign education (from his total civilian and military education) was more likely to lead to a command appointment before retiring. This effect can be attributed to the pre-foreign education elite status and patronage (i.e. informal institutions).

Second, the Meiji military achieved a maximalist emulation by the Sino-Japanese (1893-4) and Russo-Japanese (1904-5) wars. Its theories of victory and corporatism largely reflected those found among the most powerful Western militaries at the time. This outcome is the result of the interaction between: (1) the transmission of Western theories of victory and corporatism through commercially-contracted training missions and (2) the Meiji military' high-quality personnel infrastructure that facilitated the rise of Western product champions and boosted the organization's learning capacity.

Statistical analyses reveal that Western-studies background was a positive and significant predictor of whether Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) and Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN) officers retired as three or four-star generals and admirals. There were thus new

career pathways for Western-trained officers as they became Western product champions. From the sample of the Meiji military elite I examine (almost 700 officers), roughly half of them had some form of Western studies background. Further qualitative analyses show the institutionalized career management allowed Western-trained officers to collaborate with Western trainers to drive the military Westernization process. The centrality of education and training as professional qualifications—and the fact that the Academy and War College emphasized military sciences, competitive examinations, and academic focus—boosted the Japanese military's learning capacity. When commercially-contracted foreign trainers worked with Western-trained officers, the officer corps was capable of understanding and adopting Western theories of victory and corporatism.

1.4 Research design: systematic plausibility probe

This dissertation proposes a new institutional theory to explain the variation of military emulation. I propose the theory after conducting a systematic review and concept analysis of the military emulation literature. I further examine whether the theory has analytical purchase or traction by providing a systematic plausibility probe through a comparative case study. This dissertation is therefore a blend of theory-proposing, theory-testing, and stock-taking research projects (van Evera 1997, 89–90). I should note that the theory "testing" element is preliminary, rather than exhaustive and conclusive.

A plausibility probe, however, is more than just providing an illustrative case study. As Eckstein (2000, 140) argues, a plausibility probe is a stage of inquiry preliminary to the rigorous testing of candidate-theories. In essence, a plausibility probe seeks to determine whether the theory is valid enough to warrant further testing. It is therefore an intermediary step between hypothesis generation and hypothesis testing and which may include

"illustrative" case studies (Levy 2008, 3). But many political scientists use such illustrative plausibility probes loosely without systematic and methodological grounds. Just because plausibility probes are "less than conclusive tests" does not mean we should be less systematic or rigorous in execute such a research design. Indeed, if applied in a methodologically self-conscious way, plausibility probes can serve an important function in theory development (Levy 2008, 7).

There are several ways we can consider whether a plausibility probe is useful in "validating" a new theory for future testing: it is can account for the strengths and weaknesses of the extant relevant or competing arguments; it provides a common foundation for previously validated but quite discrete and unconnected hypotheses; it extends assumptions found powerful in some research areas to another; it provides regularity statements that explain heretofore unexplained data (Eckstein 2000, 141-2). All of these create presumptions in favor of rigorously testing the new theory further. In this regard, systematic comparative and minimalist process-tracing of case studies can be considered useful plausibility probe designs (Eckstein 2000, 141-2; Beach 2017). Provided that we do not overestimate the results as if they come from a rigorous, exhaustive, and conclusive testing of the theory.

This section presents a systematic and coherent plausibility probe research design, from ontological foundations to empirical assessments. By employing a "methodologically self-conscious" plausibility probe, I hope to give more analytical weight to the preliminary results. Given the under-developed state of the research program examining military diffusion and emulation, a systematic—and analytically stronger—plausibility probe could be more useful than a weak hypothesis testing exercise. A methodologically-grounded plausibility probe design is particularly important given that the dissertation's key elements—the puzzle, theories, and empirics—are not located within a single research program or disci-

plinary field. As chapter 2 demonstrates, different bits and pieces of the research on military emulation can be found scattered across the humanities and social sciences.

My systematic plausibility probe research design makes several explicit ontological, epistemological, methodological, and theoretical choices. Any research designed to provide inferences or knowledge about the world should be rooted in a commitment (or wager, depending on one's perspective) to a particular set of ontology and corresponding epistemology.[6] I am not engaging in yet another debate within the "philosophical turn" in international relations theory, nor am I claiming one epistemology is better than the other.[7] I simply provide an explicit statement of my ontological and epistemological commitments so I could develop a coherent plausibility probe architecture — from ontological foundations to empirical analysis (see Figure 1.1 below) — to address the puzzle at hand. After all, while a perfect correspondence between ontology, epistemology, and methodology is not clearcut, each of these constructs do constrain each other (Chatterjee 2013).

1.4.1 Ontology and epistemology

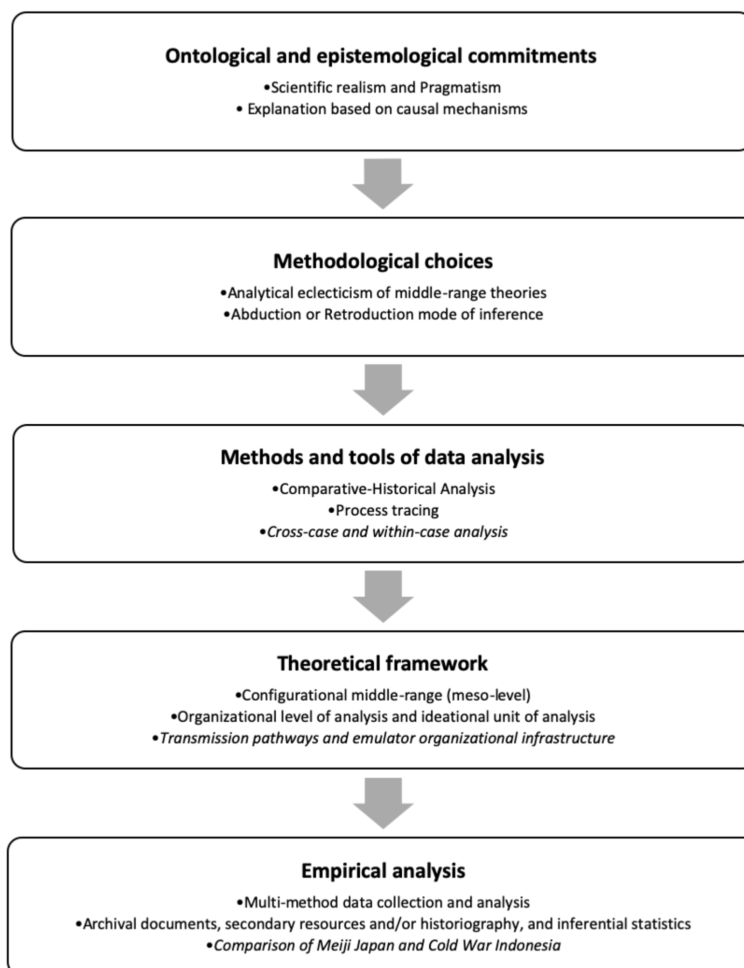
Driven by the necessity for meta-theroretical pluralism to address a real-world problem not easily located within a single research program, I embrace the 'scientific realist' as well as the 'pragmatist' traditions within the philosophy of science as my primary ontological and epistemological foundations.[8] These two traditions, in their various iterations, have been

[6] In simple terms, ontology is the nature being or 'things' and epistemology is the theory of knowledge, or 'how do we know those things are things'. More formally, epistemological questions are concerned with the nature and derivation of knowledge, the scope of knowledge and the reliability of claims to knowledge— in short, the grounds we have for accepting or rejecting beliefs (Wight 2006, 231). Hence ontology and epistemology, although analytically separable, are always linked.

[7] For the promises and pitfalls of the philosophical turn in IR theory (see e.g. Wight 2002; Owen 2002). There are also long-running debates within IR about the relationship between ontology, epistemology, and methodology deeply intertwined with the nature of 'agent vs. structure' debate or whether we should seek 'explanation' or 'understanding' (see e.g. Wendt 1999; Wight 2006; Hollis and Smith 1991; Jackson 2016). I do not seek to adjudicate or extend these debates.

[8] Some might argue that these two traditions are incompatible. Scientific realists like Wight (2006) would argue that we need to get our ontology and epistemology clear and explicit before we can go into methodology.

Figure 1.1: Research design flow from ontology to empirics



closely associated with intellectual pluralism in the social sciences.[9] The core of pragmatism is its rule for clarifying the contents of hypotheses by tracing their "practical consequences". In IR theory, pragmatism is defined by four commitments: (1) holism (the coherence of the

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But pragmatists such as Hellmann (2009) would argue that questions of ontology and epistemology can be ignored or "dissolved' because all that matters is "beliefs as rules for action" and its practical consequences (and we should therefore focus on methodology). There are also different strands and theorists of pragmatism that make mutually-exclusive claims on the tradition depending on their conception of what a 'theory' is or should be (see e.g. Franke and Weber 2012). It seems to me, however, that extreme pragmatism would lead us to do empirical research unencumbered by any epistemological or ontological awareness and considerations. This would make it difficult for others to judge the knowledge value-added of our research.

[9] For pragmatists, the construction of reality in social science cannot be proven superior to anyone else's because both the actors' and the observers' realities are socially constructed. Warrants for claims rest on internal consistency, adherence to the broader truth tests of the research program from which a piece of work emerges, and ultimately, empirical reproduction and confirmation, and possibly even acceptance by critics from other theoretical camps (Haas and Haas 2002, 587). Consequently, a notion of intellectual progress must respect the legitimacy of competing ontologies and epistemologies.

web of belief that is fallible, interconnected and vulnerable to change), (2) anti-skepticism (doubt requires justification as much as belief), (3) fallibilism (even those beliefs in which we have the utmost conviction may turn out to be false), and (4) the primacy of practice (inquiry, while abstract is called into being by and addresses particular 'problematic situations' and thus contains a practical factor) (Festenstein 2002, 551–4). The pragmatists, as we shall see below, give us "practical methods" to deal with real-world problem questions, including analytical eclecticism and abduction mode of inference.

Similar to the pragmatist commitment to intellectual pluralism, scientific realists argue that each science demarcates its own object domain, and as such, each object domain will entail its methodology apropos its study (Wight 2006, 229). In other words, there is no one, single unifying scientific method, or epistemology, that is available to be rejected or accepted in relation to the study of the social world.[10] But more importantly, scientific realists help us ground our search for causal mechanisms that exist in the real world and explain the outcomes we seek observe (Bennett 2013, 465).[11]

Mechanisms are unobservable physical, social, or psychological processes through which agents with causal capacities operate (in specific conditions) to transfer energy, information, or matter to other entities, thereby changing the latter entities' characteristics, capacities, or propensities in ways that persist until subsequent mechanisms act upon it (Bennett 2013, 466).[12] But demonstrating the effects of mechanisms requires empirical observations (Rueschemeyer 2009, 21).[13] In short, the core idea behind the mechanism approach

[10] Scientific realism entails three commitments: ontological realism (that there is a reality independent of the mind that would wish to come to know it); epistemological relativism (that all beliefs are socially produced); and judgmental rationalism (that despite epistemological relativism, it is still possible to choose between competing theories) (Wight 2006, 26).

[11] Scientific realists thus see causal mechanisms as attempts to grasp "real processes", where causality is seen in terms of the intrinsic nature of what is being studied, the interactions between that and other things, and the causal powers and liabilities involved (Wight 2006, 29, 32).

[12] Bennet follows the positions of analytical sociologists who argue that mechanisms, in the natural as well as in the social sciences, are unobserved analytical constructs (Hedström and Swedberg 1998, 13).

[13] Particularly in case studies, we need to provide mechanistic evidence: any observable manifestation of

refers to a constellation of entities and activities linked to one another in such a way that they produce the outcome we are interested in (Hedström 2005, 2). But there are two dozen definitions of causal mechanisms with at least nine possible meanings within the social sciences (Gerring 2008; Mahoney 2001*b*). This lack of consensus led some scholars to formulate what I call a 'maximalist' conception of causal mechanism: they set a very high epistemological bar for what 'counts' as mechanisms. Waldner (2012), for example, argues that causal mechanisms embody an invariant property that cannot be directly manipulated and as such, under some conditions, generate observed correlations (via transmissions of either a physical force or information that influence the behavior of agents or entities). Mahoney (2016) also uses a deterministic 'necessity and sufficiency' logic to base his view of causal mechanisms as general processes or law-like principles that generate and explain correlations.

These maximalist conceptions, however, are highly restrictive for the majority of social science research. I adopt instead a 'minimalist' conception of mechanism. By minimalist I mean a mechanism-based explanation should detail the "cogs and wheels" of the causal process through which the outcome of interest was brought about (Hedström and Ylikoski 2010, 50). These "cogs and wheels" need to be fleshed out by unpacking the causal processes linking X and Y into a series of interlocking parties composed of entities engaging in activities that transmit causal forces from cause to outcome (Beach 2016). Causal mechanisms are thus generalizing propositions stating how, by what intermediate steps, a certain outcome follows from a set of initial conditions (Mayntz 2004, 241; Demeulenaere 2011, 12).

Additionally, I adopt a focus on causal mechanisms that go beyond methodological individualism or individual-level micro-foundational theories (Kaidesoja 2013; Tilly 2001).[14]

our theorized causal mechanism(s) that has a probative value in determining whether it was present or not in the case (Beach 2016, 469).

[14] There are two core ideas to methodological individualism: (1) social life exists only by virtue of actors who live it and (2) consequently a social fact of any kind must be explained by direct reference to the actions of its constituents (Demeulenaere 2011, 4). In its structural form, it argues that all social facts are in

Instead, my theory develops middle-range causal mechanisms as I am interested in explaining an organizational-level behavior. Scholars argue that for some questions, a broader level 'above' the individual may be the easiest means of testing theories and the most powerful policy instrument (Bennett 2013, 467).[15] If there are relatively enduring collective agents with characteristic emergent capacities and activities—including organizations like the military—then there is no reason why they could not form parts of social mechanisms (Kaidesoja 2013, 314). Social scientists consider middle-range theories as those combinations of mechanisms that interact in specified and often recurrent scope conditions to produce outcomes (Bennett 2013, 470).[16] In other words, middle-range mechanisms are generalizable (i.e. portable) to other contexts within a bounded set of scope conditions where certain cause-effect links recur (Sil and Katzenstein 2010, 415).

As I describe in chapter 3, my theory develops causal mechanisms to explain the variation in military emulation. The mechanisms are built around two key elements: critical antecedent and critical juncture. The latter is simply a period of significant change which typically occurs in distinct ways in different countries and is hypothesized to produce distinct legacies (Collier and Collier 1991, 29). The former are conditions preceding a critical juncture that combine with causal forces during a critical juncture to produce long-term divergence in outcomes (Slater and Simmons 2010, 889). My critical antecedent focuses on the emulator and the degree of its intra-organizational conflict over military Westernization. My critical juncture focuses on the interaction between the transmission pathway and the quality of

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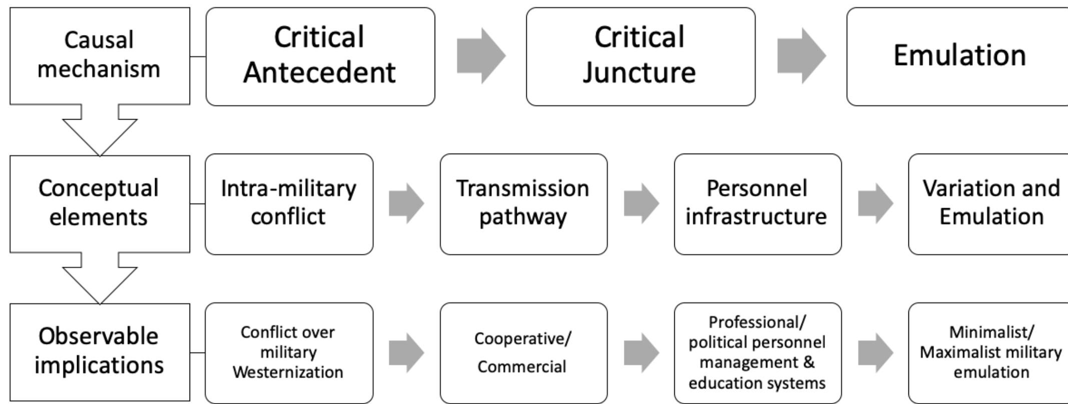
principle explicable in terms of individuals, their properties, actions, and relations to one another (Hedström and Ylikoski 2010, 60). See McGinley (2014) for the debate on holism and individualism in IR theory as it relates to social and causal mechanisms.

[15] In fact many scholars simply associate causal statements about social mechanisms with middle-range theories (Mayntz 2004, 239).

[16] Initially, sociologists saw middle-range theories as those between the minor but necessary working hypotheses and the all-inclusive unified theory explaining all the observed uniformities of social behavior, organization, and change (Merton 1968, 448).

the emulator's personnel infrastructure. The relationship between the causal mechanism, its conceptual elements, and their observable implications are depicted in Figure 1.2 below.

Figure 1.2: Causal mechanism, its conceptual elements and observable implications



1.4.2 Methodology and method

Building of my ontological and epistemological choices, my methodological choices center on: (1) developing a mechanism-based middle-range theory and providing a plausibility probe to assess its validity and analytical purchase using (2) Analytical Eclecticism (AE).[17] AE is a problem-driven approach that extracts, adapts, and integrates discrete concepts, mechanisms, or logical principles embedded in different research traditions.[18] Military emulation, after all, is a multi-disciplinary problem located within different fields of the social sciences and the humanities. AE focuses on the empirical referents used to operationalize concepts to identify connections and complementarities across substantive arguments initially developed in separate theoretical frameworks (Sil 2009, 649). AE is characterized by three features: (1)

[17] I follow John Gerring (2001, 6) in distinguishing between 'methodology' and 'methods'. Methods refer to a specific procedure for gathering and/or analyzing data, while methodology is the tasks, strategies, and criteria governing scientific inquiry, including all facets of the research enterprise. In this sense, methodology is perhaps closer to what social scientists call strategy of inquiry more broadly.

[18] This is similar to the notion of 'theoretical pluralism' as an explicit effort to utilize insights and variables from two or more theoretical approaches to make better sense of a real-world problem (i.e. capture a greater amount of the analytic/causal complexity in a given puzzle than would be the case if a single theory was used) (Checkel 2012, 224).

it proceeds at least implicitly on the basis of a pragmatist ethos, manifested in the search for middle-range theories that speak to concrete policy issues, (2) it addresses problems that incorporate the complexity and messiness of real-world situations, and (3) in constructing arguments related to these problems, it generates complex causal stories that forgo parsimony to capture the interactions among different types of mechanisms normally analyzed within separate research traditions (Sil and Katzenstein 2010, 412). The AE approach therefore suits to my ontological and epistemological choices and fits my theoretical and empirical focus that draws from different research programs and use different concepts to explain the problem-driven puzzle of military emulation.

I further adopt Comparative-Historical Analysis (CHA) as a method (Rohlfing 2013; Mahoney and Rueschemeyer 2003; Thelen and Mahoney 2015). First, CHA as a form of comparative method is closely related to the abduction or retroduction mode of inference that scientific realists and pragmatists employ.[19] In retroduction, events are explained by postulating (and identifying) mechanisms which are capable of producing them (Sayer 2010, 72; Wight 2006, 34). It means moving backwards (from an outcome) and asks "What must be true in order to make this event possible?". I structure my case studies (chapter 4 and 5) by first identifying the military emulation outcomes before explaining how they happened. In other words, I identify the outcome of interest and then develop a theory that identify the mechanism responsible for its occurence.

Second, the 'minimalist' conception of causal mechanisms fits with CHA's broader research agenda of developing and testing explanations; in part by tracing the case-based processes that link initial events to subsequent outcomes (Thelen and Mahoney 2015, 15).

[19] The abduction or retroduction mode is the solution offered by philosophers of science who wish to avoid imposing abstract theoretical templates (deduction) on messy social realities or inferring propositions from facts alone (induction); each of which also requires adopting constraining epistemological choices. In short, retroduction is the "middle ground" between nomothetic and idiographic sciences (Easton 2010, 123; Wight 2006, 34; Friedrichs and Kratochwil 2009, 719).

CHA inherently combines within–case and comparative tools of data analysis (Lange 2012, 117). This allows me to examine the different elements of the causal mechanism that require different types of data. We may need quantitative data in one step of the mechanism, but a qualitative data in another. The possibility that different types of data are necessary for different parts of the causal mechanism follows my prior commitment that mechanisms do not have to be based on individual-level micro-foundations. As my level of analysis is organizational, CHA provides an appropriate method.

Finally, CHA's focus on integrating within– and cross–case analyses fits with my goal of explaining within–case processes of military diffusion as well as cross–case comparisons of the effectiveness of the different transmission pathways.[20] This focus requires that my middle-range mechanisms should be configurational: how multiple factors combine to form coherent larger combinations, complexes, and causal packages (Thelen and Mahoney 2015, 7). I apply the configuration to compare the historical processes of military Westernization in Cold War Indonesia and Meiji Japan using a comparative sequential method: a systematic comparison of two historical sequences decomposed into sequences of events, and drawing inferences by comparing those sequences (Falleti and Mahoney 2015).[21]

Overall, CHA's combination of within– and cross–case comparison provides a stronger plausibility probe design. It also follows my ontological, epistemological, and methodological commitments and provides a logical fit with my theoretical framework and empirical goals. Unlike some CHA scholars, however, I adopt a probabilistic reasoning where explanatory

[20] In this sense, my framework is similar (but not equivalent) to existing systematic narrative–based analyses. The 'causal narrative' method, for example, combines cross-case and within-case analysis by comparing cases in terms of highly disaggregated sequences of processes and events that lead to outcomes (Mahoney 2003, 360-1). 'Strategic narrative' also focuses on how patterns of events relate to prior theoretical beliefs about social phenomena (Goldstone 2003, 50).

[21] A sequence is a temporally ordered set of events that takes place in a given context. A process is a particular type of sequence in which the temporally ordered events belong to a single coherent mode of activity. Within a process, the researcher can identify the component events that unfold over time from the start to the end of the theoretically relevant period of analysis (Falleti and Mahoney 2015, 213).

variables are treated as to *some degree* necessary or sufficient — but not always — for the occurrence of an outcome. It should be noted that I use 'probabilistic' here in an epistemological sense, not that I am providing specific probability estimates. That said, the probabilistic perspective also includes the theory's scope conditions and does not assume that the same mechanism always produces the same outcome everywhere all the time (Trampusch and Palier 2016). Mechanisms vary in their operation because they interact with the context where they operate (Falleti and Lynch 2009, 1147). Put differently, specifying the effect of X on Y in CHA must account for the 'context' in which X operates, which means specifying the other variables that interact with X and that shape the nature of its effect (Thelen and Mahoney 2015, 7). Context can be seen as the relevant aspects of a setting (analytical, temporal, spatial, or institutional) in which initial conditions lead (probabilistically) to an outcome of a defined scope and meaning (Falleti and Lynch 2009, 1152).[22]

As CHA is inherently comparative, I try to meet the principles of systematic controlled comparisons to strengthen my plausibility probe. Three criteria are salient here (Slater and Ziblatt 2013):

1. The guiding research puzzle and findings should always be expressed in terms of general variables or mechanisms, not highly context-specific (i.e. case-specific) terms. Chapters 2 and 3 will demonstrate how I draw from a variety of concepts and theories across different disciplines rather than employing empirically-bounded terms.

2. To capture representative variation, the comparison should be driven by a desire to explain puzzling variation in outcomes (than particular cases per se) where variation in the sample broadly mirrors variation in some broader population of cases. As described

[22] This understanding most resembles what Gary Goertz (1994, 3) calls 'context as cause' (as opposed to context as 'barrier' or 'changing meaning'). 'Context as cause' means the context is contributing to a globally sufficient condition for the outcome: the context is neither individually necessary nor sufficient, but in conjunction with other factors it explains the outcome or makes it more likely.

above, my puzzles of military change, emulation, and Westernization in Asia are nested within one another. I elaborate below on how the variation of military emulation are both puzzling and "typical cases" of the variation.

3. Controlled comparisons need not meet the standard of "natural experiments", but they require intense theoretical engagement to generate external validity—the theory should guide case selection. Chapter 3 will provide the theoretical framework that guides the case selection and empirical analysis in chapters 4 and 5.

For the within-case element of CHA, I examine the mechanisms associated with organizational emulation within each case over time. After all, within–case methods constitute the 'historical' in CHA (Lange 2012, 5). To assess the plausibility of the within-case mechanism, I employ theory–guided process tracing as the temporal and causal analysis of the sequences of events that constitute the process of interest (Falleti 2016). But process tracing is a 'composite method' in that it is an umbrella term encompassing a variety of approaches and variants (Beach and Pedersen 2013; Waldner 2012, 67).[23] But most scholars agree that process tracing is about causal and temporal mechanisms and opening the 'black box' of causality that connects inputs and outputs and studying what happens in between (Trampusch and Palier 2016, 438; Falleti 2016, 455).

In this broad understanding, process tracing is any research that traces processes and looks at how various social and political outcomes are produced by events that result from actors' actions and interactions and various contextual factors (Bengtsson and Ruonavaara 2017, 46). This entails that we analyze a case into a sequence (or several concatenating sequences) of events and show how those events are plausibly linked given the interests and

[23] Some focus on decision-making linking initial conditions to outcomes, the comparison between predicted and observable processes, the mechanisms linking independent and dependent variables, or how multiple types of evidence are employed for the verification of a single inference (Gerring 2006; George and Bennett 2005). There are at least 18 different definitions and types of process tracing (Trampusch and Palier 2016).

situations faced by groups or actors (Goldstone 2003, 43).[24] Process tracing, in short, is the examination of intermediate steps in a process, sequence, and conjuncture of events within a case to make inferences about hypotheses on how that process took place and whether and how it generated the outcome of interest (Bennett and Checkel 2014, 6-7).

But process tracing is most powerful when combined with the comparative method.[25] In other words, by "breaking apart" the causal mechanism into sequences of disaggregated events and inter-connected variables and compare them across cases, we might gain significant analytical leverage and perhaps validate aggregate cross-case associations (Mahoney 2003, 365). In other words, a 'comparative process tracing' provides a strong plausibility probe for a new mechanism-based middle-range theory. In essence, this approach compares and contrasts mechanisms across cases; not just on the presence or absence of particular causal factors, alternative explanations, or outcomes, but also on the processes revealed by in-depth data (Harding and Seefeldt 2013, 94). It combines elements of theory, chronology, and comparison (Bengtsson and Ruonavaara 2017). In comparative process tracing, the goal is to discern the relevance of sequences that temporally structure the causal conditions of an outcome based on the elaboration of the underlying causal mechanism (Williams and Gemperle 2017, 122). In practice, I subject the Cold War Indonesia case to within-case process tracing of mechanisms and then compare the analysis with the commercial transmission of Meiji Japan. I elaborate this strategy of inquiry below.

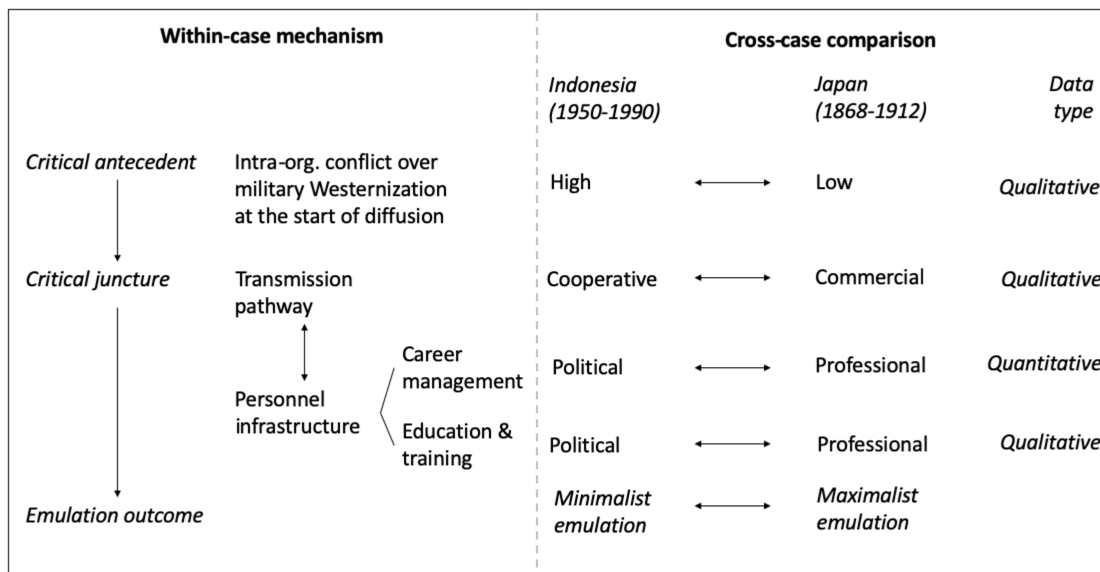
[24] Events are seen as instances of more general phenomena that can be compared across units. They are happenings that have general characteristics that allow for them to apply to multiple cases (Falleti and Mahoney 2015, 213). Concatenation is the state of being linked together, as in a chain or linked series. In process tracing, the focus is on the concatenation of causally relevant events (Waldner 2012, 68-9).

[25] Assuming the mechanisms are general enough to be portable across different contexts but may produce different results in analytically non–equivalent contexts (Falleti and Lynch 2009, 1145).

1.4.3 Strategy of inquiry

The analytical leverage of comparative process tracing comes from both within– and cross–case analyses. Figure 1.3 below depicts the strategy of inquiry and how I integrate qualitative (causal process observation) and quantitative (dataset observation) data. For the data integration, I employ what I call a 'mechanism-based' nested design. As a form of multi-method inquiry, this approach differs from two conventionally accepted forms of nested analysis.

Figure 1.3: Comparative process tracing: strategy of inquiry and cases



The first is the regression-based nested analysis. In this approach, one starts with a preliminary regression or large-N analysis (cross-case) and then proceeds to a small-N analysis (within-case) (Lieberman 2005). The second is the case study-based nested analysis. In this approach, one starts with process tracing (within-case) analysis to develop inductively a model whose explanatory power is subsequently estimated quantitatively (cross-case) (Rohlfing 2008). In both these approaches, the preferred tool drives the research design's starting point. Consequently, one is often constrained to adjust the theory to suit the method.

I propose instead that we put the theory (mechanism) as the starting point in a nested

multi-method inquiry. We can first disaggregate the mechanism into discrete conceptual elements. How each of these parts weaken or strengthen the causal chain could then be assessed using either qualitative or quantitative data. Some concepts, as elements of the causal chain, could then be empirically verified using either quantitative or qualitative data. In other words, different parts of the mechanism may employ different empirical data to verify the overall causal chain or mechanism.

I draw the logic for this form of nested analysis from the 'integrative multi-method' approach in which two or more methods are carefully combined to support a single, unified causal inference (Seawright 2016). I specifically rely on case-study methods to produce a final causal inference where quantitative analysis is used to "test especially important, sensitive, or elusive steps in the causal chain connecting the initial cause to the outcome of interest" (Seawright 2016, 8). I therefore embed (or nest) the quantitative analysis into the within-case mechanism to increase its analytical plausibility. I further compare how the quantitative element supports the mechanism in one case with the same mechanism in another case. As Figure 1.3 shows, I use quantitative data and analysis to examine the military career management system of the emulators; it is only one of four elements in the overall causal chain. I use qualitative data and analysis for the others: the emulator's intra-military conflict over Westernization, the transmission pathway between the model and the emulator, and the emulator's education and training system.

I subject the career management system to quantitative analysis because it is the "important, sensitive, and elusive" step in the causal chain. As Seawright (2016, 178) argues, we should identify causal steps for which quantitative evidence would strengthen the within-case analysis by looking at (1) whether they pose difficult challenges for purely qualitative inference, and (2) whether they are open to well-established quantitative designs. Career

management (as part of the mechanism explaining emulation) exhibits these traits. For one thing, an officer corps consists of thousands of people. It is often difficult to assess the effects of Western education by providing a qualitative assessment of the role of several or even dozens of senior officers alone. The presence of several Western-trained officers at a military high-command does not mean the organization as a whole is Westernized. A quantitative assessment of the career patterns of the members of the officers corps would therefore yield better insights than relying on qualitative analysis alone.

For another, career management is a key component of the causal mechanism by virtue of its role during the critical juncture. Whether the personnel system could facilitate the rise of Western-trained officers determines whether the organization would witness product champions promoting Western theories of warfare. The professional qualities of the career management would also determine the extent to which the organization values education and training in general. Without the right amount of appreciation of education and training as a learning benchmark, officers are unlikely to interpret and implement foreign ways of warfare during the critical juncture. As such, I attach a greater inferential weight on career career management because it is both uncertain and central to the critical juncture. Thus, I seek to improve the analytical credibility of the weakest step or element of the within-case mechanism to increase the credibility of the inference as a whole (Seawright 2016, 181).

Taken together, as Figure 1.3 shows, I integrate qualitative and quantitative analyses in support of a single causal inferential goal: what explains the variation in military emulation.[26] By breaking down the mechanism into components and examining how each conceptual elements lead to the outcome of interest, I also apply a sequential structure advocated by CHA scholars.

[26] I hope I address one of the fundamental problems plaguing multi-method inquriy: that the qualitative and quantitative tools are not in fact asking the same question (Seawright 2016, 7).

Comparative case studies and selection

As a plausibility probe, this dissertation provides a comparison of Meiji Japan (1868 – 1912) and Cold War Indonesia (1950 – 1991). At the surface, comparing these two countries seems erroneous. While both countries are located in Asia, the temporal contexts are significantly different (about a century apart) and both countries have different economic resources, ethnic diversity, and colonial histories. Not to mention differences in political system, culture, and threat environment. In fact, both countries seem incomparable. But Meiji Japan and Cold War Indonesia are not simply compared as two different countries in history. They are compared as case studies serving as a plausibility probe for a new theory explaining the variation of military emulation.[27] The comparison is therefore theoretical and methodological.

Meiji Japan and Cold War Indonesia are representative variations of the theory and outcome I am interested in explaining. I select these cases by combining typical–case and diverse–case methods (Gerring 2006, 91-98). A typical case exemplifies what is considered to be a typical set of values, given some general understanding of a phenomenon. A typical case also serves an exploratory role, especially in a plausibility probe like this dissertation. Diverse case selection meanwhile seeks to achieve maximum variance along relevant dimensions and helps underpin the typological framework. Based on the deep knowledge of the cases and the categories scholars use to array them, one can identify the relevant range of outcomes ex ante using well-accepted typologies that by definition specify mutually exclusive outcomes that also are exhaustive of all empirical variations.(Slater and Ziblatt 2013, 1312). The maximalist and minimalist represents the maximum variation of the military emulation outcome.

The Cold War Indonesia case is typical of the cooperative transmission and repre-

[27] A case is simply the broader units or research settings within which analysis is conducted (King, Keohane and Verba 1994). It further connotes a spatially delimited phenomenon observed at a single point in time, or over some period of time, and comprises the type of phenomenon that an inference attempts to explain (Gerring 2006, 19).

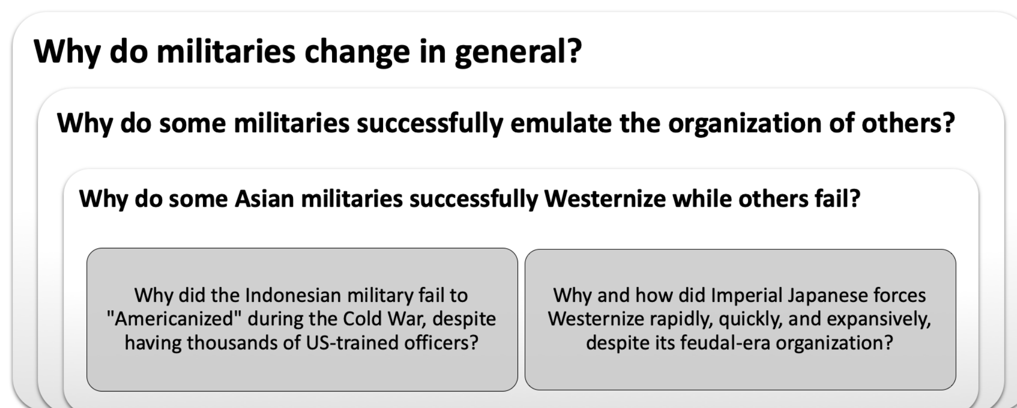
sents the minimalist emulation. Using the cooperative model derived from my theoretical framework, I examine the extent to which US professional military education and training programs may or may not shape the Indonesian Army's theories of corporatism and victory. I use a combination of archival materials, organizational documents, an original officer-level dataset, and a wide-range of secondary sources to test the plausibility of the model. The case study provides a within-case analysis of how the causal mechanism associated with the cooperative model explains the minimalist emulation outcome.

The Meiji Japan case is typical of the commercial transmission and represents the maximalist emulation. Using the commercial model derived from my theoretical framework, I examine the extent to which Western military training missions diffused Western theories of corporatism and victory to the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) and Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN). I use a combination of archival materials, an original officer-level dataset, and a wide-range of secondary sources to test the plausibility of the model. The case study provides a within-case analysis of how the causal mechanism associated with the commercial model explains the maximalist emulation outcome.

Taken together, the two comparative cases are: (1) 'typical' of each transmission pathway (i.e. cooperative and commercial) and (2) 'diverse' representations of the full range of emulation variation (i.e. maximalist and minimalist). The causal chains examined in these two cases are then compared with one another to demonstrate the conditions under which we should expect to see a successful (maximalist) or failed (minimalist) military emulation. I also select the cases for their puzzling outcomes: (1) why and how the Indonesian military did not become 'Americanized' despite having thousands of US-trained officers for much of the Cold War and (2) why and how Meiji Japan overcame its feudal military structure and institutions to fully emulate Western war-fighting ideas and systems. These puzzles are

subsets of the broader puzzles of military Westernization, emulation, and change I discuss above (see Figure 1.4 below). As the case study puzzles are not stand-alone historical questions, the comparative case studies contribute to broader theoretical development.

Figure 1.4: Puzzles of military change, emulation, and Westernization



1.4.4 Data collection

The data consists of both data-set observations (DSOs) and causal-process observations (CPOs). The former are collected as an array of scores on specific variables for a designated sample of cases, while the latter are about context, process, or mechanism that provide insight into the relationship among the explanatory variables, and between these variables and the dependent variable (Brady, Collier and Seawright 2004, 24). Both of my empirical chapters combine inferential statistics of career patterns and qualitative examinations of doctrinal and organizational documents as well as secondary sources and historiography.

I collected the primary and secondary data between 2012 and 2017 in the United States (Washington, D.C., Seattle, and Stanford), Australia (Sydney), and Indonesia (Jakarta and Magelang). Most of the on–site activities were conducted between September 2015 to December 2016. Aside from these on–site activities, I collected primary data materials from several online sources: the National Security Archives's Virtual reading room, US State

Department's Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS) series, the Freedom of Information (FOIA) reading room of the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Hathi Trust Digital Catalogue. I also collected data from the Stockholm Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) Arms Transfer Database to examine the evolution of US arms transfer to Indonesia.

In the US, I collected archival documents and materials from the Library of Congress, the National Archives and Records Administration, the National Security Archives at George Washington University, University of Washington in Seattle, and the Hoover Institution Library at Stanford University. In total, I spent approximately four months at these sites where I obtained copies of 75 document collections (totaling around ten thousand pages) on the evolution of US military assistance to Indonesia. In Australia, I spent roughly one month at the University of Sydney where I obtain a dozen primary documents pertaining to Indonesian Army organizational history.

I also spent roughly roughly twelve months in Indonesia where I gathered different types of data. First, I collect primary documents on the organizational structure and history of the Indonesian military along with their personnel and education policies from the Indonesian Military History Center (in Jakarta) and Indonesian Army Academy (in Magelang). Second, I helped create the Profile of Indonesian Military Academy Graduates (INDOMAG) database (developed by the National University of Singapore and the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta). From December 2015 to December 2016, I managed a team of Jakarta-based researchers in the collection, coding, and analysis of the educational, professional, and retirement patterns of 6,676 Indonesian army graduates of the military academy from the 1950s to 1980.[28] It tracked and coded their career, education and training, and post-retirement activities across seventy different variables spanning

[28] The Indonesian Military Academy had several iterations throughout the revolutionary war until the 1970s. The database focused on all officers belonging in the officer corps since the 1950s onwards (post-revolutionary), even if some of them were technically trained by the Dutch or the Japanese.

four decades. For the first iteration of INDOMAG, we focused on the Indonesian Army as the dominant service.[29] The Indonesian military did not have a central database for its personnel records until recently. Most of the contemporary career records, however, are classified and go back only to the 1990s. Earlier personnel data from were either scattered, non-existent, or lost in bureaucratic firewalls.[30] We decided to collect the data manually. We went through a dozen academy, staff and command colleges, and National Resilience Institute alumni yearbooks published between 1960 and 2004. We also relied on information provided by Cornell University's Modern Indonesia Project that began tracking the military elite since the 1960s.[31] Finally, we relied on dozens of secondary sources and media reports as well as internal journals and publications.

For the Japanese data, I collected English-language sources. I spent roughly four months between December 2018 and March 2019 creating an original officer-level dataset. Given my language limitations, I draw the initial list of names and basic information from various published historiographical studies of Meiji Japan in general, including Beasley (1972), Beasley (1989), Hackett (1965), Jansen (1989*b*), Sims (2001), Duus (1988), and Yuzo (2000). I further draw on published biographical studies of IJA and IJN officers, including Fuller (1992), Dupuy, Johnson and Bongard (1992), Tucker (2003), Perez (2013), Nish, Cortazzi and Hoare (1994), and Kurita (1913). Additional service-specific and war-specific studies involving Japanese officers supplemented the list, including Evans and Peattie (2015), Kowner (2017), Schencking (2005), Peattie (2013), and Ravina (2011). From these sources, I obtain a list of nearly 700 Meiji officers, from the late Tokugawa era to the end of the Meiji era.

[29] An expanded version of INDOMAG (currently in preparation) will look at the Air Force and Navy as well. In addition, we will begin collecting similar data for the Philippines and Thailand.

[30] Author conversation with an Indonesian Army major who was a staff officer in the personnel department of the Army General Headquarters, Jakarta, January 12, 2016.

[31] The project publishes the top peer-reviewed journal in Indonesian studies called *Indonesia*. The journal has published 28 'Current Data on Indonesian Military Elite' papers since 1967 to 2013. The papers tracks ethnicity, divisional affiliations, and other personal information of prominent officers.

The list also focuses on specific career markers like Western-studies background, domain origins/birth, final ranks, and education and training. To fill out the information on the list, I rely on broader studies of the Meiji military establishment and modernization process, as well as various online sources.[32] On the former, I draw bits and pieces of information from Butow (1961), Norman (1965), Shin'ichi (1989), Nussbaum and Roth (2002), Brown (1962), Ion (2010), Kublin (1949), Cobbing (2013*a*), Farrell (2011), Hoyt (2001), and Shillony (1973). On the latter, I rely on official Japanese sources and reference sites including the National Diet Library of Japan[33], Trial International's Trial Watch Database[34], The International Military Tribunal for the Far East at the University of Virginia[35], the CIA Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Collection[36], the Pacific War Online Encyclopedia[37], and the Encyclopedia Britannica[38]. I also rely on several websites managed by historians, librarians, and students of Imperial Japanese wars. These include the Meiji Portraits Project run by Bernd Lepach[39], Generals of World War II Database run by Steen Ammentorp[40], the World War II Armed Forces Database run by Dr. Leo Niehorster[41], Samurai Archives Japanese History Page run by Romulus Hillsborough[42], World War II Database run by Peter Chen[43], and the Imperial Japanese Navy Database run by Hiroshi Nishida[44]. For some of the sites in Japanese, I use Google Translate to provide an approximate translation.

[32] I access all of the online sources between February 13, 2019 and April 20, 2019.
[33] Particularly the Portraits of Modern Japanese Historical Figures site available at `https://www.ndl.go.jp/portrait/e/`
[34] The searchable database is available at `https://trialinternational.org/resources/trial-watch/`
[35] The searchable database is available at `http://imtfe.law.virginia.edu/`
[36] The searchable database is available at `https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/519cd81b993294098d5162dd`
[37] The searchable database is available at `https://pwencycl.kgbudge.com/`
[38] The site is available at `https://www.britannica.com/`
[39] The searchable database is available at `http://meiji-portraits.de/index.html`
[40] The searchable database is available at `http://www.generals.dk/`
[41] The searchable database is available at `http://www.niehorster.org/`
[42] The searchable database is available at `http://www.samurai-archives.com/index.html`
[43] The searchable database is available at `https://ww2db.com/`
[44] The searchable database is available at `http://admiral31.world.coocan.jp/e/p_xcx01.htm`

1.5 Outline and structure of the dissertation

The *first* chapter outlines the project's key puzzle and why it matters, summarizes the key arguments and findings, and describe the research design employed. The *second* chapter provides the literature review and concept analyses. It locates my proposed theory within the broader diffusion studies literature. The chapter also provides a multi-level structural and a taxonomic concept analyses of 'military diffusion' and 'military emulation'. It also describes the key outcomes of interests and the operationalization of key concepts. The *third* chapter outlines the nested argument. It discusses the key concepts of path dependence, critical antecedents, and critical juncture as part of the power-based institutional framework. It then proceeds to outline my theory of emulation based on the interaction of the transmission pathway between the donor and the emulator and the emulator's personnel infrastructure. It also outlines two models — cooperative and commercial — that provide specific hypotheses on how the interaction unfolds to produce emulation outcomes.

The *fourth* chapter explains the minimalist emulation and examines why and how the Indonesian military did not become 'Americanized' at the end of the Cold War despite having thousands of US-trained officers in its ranks. It shows Indonesia's doctrinal stagnation in the 1960s as a key indicator of a minimalist emulation. It further discusses the nature and origins of the intra-military conflicts over military Westernization as the critical antecedent condition. The evolution and challenges of US military education and training assistance are then examined. Finally, the chapter assess the personnel infrastructure quality of the Indonesian Army and provides qualitative and quantitative assessments of its career management and education systems.

The *fifth* chapter explains the maximalist emulation and examines why and how Meiji Japan could successfully transition from a feudal military structure into a world-class

military power. It establishes Japan's maximalist emulation by the Sino-Japanese (1893–94) and Russo-Japanese (1904–05) Wars. It assess the conceptual, practical, and organizational precedents in the pre-Meiji era that establishes the absence of intra-military conflicts over military Westernization as the critical antecedent. The chapter then describes the facilitative properties of the commercial transmission as exhibited by the French, German, and British military training missions. Finally, it provides qualitative and quantitative analyses of Meiji Japan's personnel infrastructure.

The *sixth* and final chapter summarizes the key findings, discuss their contributions and limitations, and draw out the broader theoretical, empirical, and policy implications. It will also provide several avenues of future research that could remedy some of the limitations of the current research.

Chapter 2

Literature review and concept analyses

This chapter provides the initial building blocks for the theoretical framework in chapter 3 and consists of two components. First, I review the broader diffusion studies literature across the social sciences as well as those explaining the puzzle of military emulation within International Relations (IR) literature. Three key weaknesses in the diffusion studies literature are salient: (1) the conflation of the different terminologies used—from emulation to isomorphism and diffusion—to describe different processes and outcomes; (2) the inherent biases within the literature; and (3) the conflation between direct and indirect diffusion processes. I subsequently review the research program examining military diffusion. This literature adopts some of the weaknesses of the broader diffusion studies literature. We can see this, for example, in the conflation between processes and outcomes, between causal mechanisms and motivational stimulus, and between different levels of military change and/or innovation. The military diffusion literature also emphasizes the emulator's activities or logic at the expense of the diffused 'content' and the diffuser's activities and thinking.

Second, to fill the lacunae in the literature, I turn to conceptual analyses of military emulation. I first unpack and reconstruct the term 'military diffusion' using the multi-level structural methods developed by Goertz (2006). The analysis points to which elements

within the concept of military diffusion that should be incorporated within a full-fledged theory. It highlights the importance of specifying the 'content' of the diffusible item, in addition to the driving logic and activities of both the diffuser (model) and the adopter (emulator) as well as the relationship between the two. Subsequently, I describe why I explain 'military emulation' as the primary outcome of interests. I further situate military emulation and Westernization as subsets of military change. Finally, I provide a way to measure the variation of military emulation and Westernization in the dissertation.

Building on these two lines of analyses, I specify the content of the diffusible item from Western states to different Asian polities. I examine why and how ideational constructs are more important than pieces of technology in the process of military change. I further develop the notion of a 'theory of corporatism' and a 'theory of victory' as the "conceptual package" we should examine when assessing military Westernization. The theory of corporatism captures the essence of how the internal institutions of the military and their *raison d'tres* are designed, maintained, and defended in their relationship with the state and society. The theory of victory focuses on what the next mission or war a military needs to fight and how to win. Overall, the literature review situates the theoretical contribution of my arguments and findings. As much as a possible, I avoid providing a discursive "he said she said" review. Instead, I highlight only those parts that could explain the military emulation puzzle. The concept analyses then provide an additional check on the literature (by pointing out which conceptual elements existing theories have neglected).

2.1 Literature review

2.1.1 The diffusion of diffusion studies

Understanding why and how Western theories of victory and corporatism spread to Asia falls into the broader diffusion studies literature. Scholars from the humanities and social sciences have studied diffusion in its various forms, from policy innovation, civil wars, to institutional designs. Anthropologists, for example, have debated how civilization (by stages) occurs through the invention and diffusion of technological artifacts, which shaped how economists initially thought of technological innovations (see e.g. Godin 2014). Historians have had long-standing debates about the spread of military technology and war-fighting practices and their implications for political transformations (see e.g. Ralston 1996). Political scientists have also been interested in the diffusion of policy innovations.[1] Similar trends can be observed in other fields as well. But the literature generally suffers from what Sartori (2009, 111) calls 'collective ambiguity' (each scholar within the discipline ascribes his/her own meanings to his/her key terms) and 'homonymy' (one word with many meanings).

The first problem stems from the conflation of diffusion as a process and an outcome. Scholars attach more than a dozen labels to each of these 'diffusion as process' and 'diffusion as outcome' premises leading to at least thirty distinct types of diffusion (Elkins and Simmons 2005, 37–8). As an outcome, some scholars consider international policy diffusion as occurring when government policy decisions in a given country are systematically conditioned by prior policy choices made in other countries (Simmons, Dobbin and Garrett 2008, 7). Put another way, a country observes what others have done and conditions its own deci-

[1] Between 1958 and 2008, political science journals published nearly 800 articles about the politics of public policies spreading from one government to another; more than half of these have been published in the last decade of that period, indicating a dramatic surge in interest in diffusion (Graham, Shipan and Volden 2013, 673).

sions on these observations (Graham, Shipan and Volden 2013, 675). Similarly, some public policy scholars define diffusion by the extent of policy 'convergence' through the voluntary transfers of policy models (Knill 2005, 767). In short, diffusion as an outcome is defined by the adoption of or convergence around a particular social or policy model.

Sociologists, meanwhile, consider diffusion as a process and simply define it as the spread of something within a social system (Strang and Soule 1998, 266). The 'spread' refers to the flow or movement from a source to an adopter. Some scholars also describe diffusion as the process of spreading policies across countries, which may or may not lead to convergence (Knill 2005, 767). Others are more specific and consider diffusion as an *interdependent* process conducive to the spread of policies (Gilardi 2012, 454). Recently, some IR scholars define diffusion as a causal process in which a diffusion mechanism transmits an item from a point of origin to a point of adoption (Klingler-Vidra and Schleifer 2014, 266). In short, diffusion as a process does not inherently emphasize convergence but focuses instead on the ways through which a social or policy model spreads from one entity to another.

These different conceptions lead to different theoretical expectations, mechanisms, and empirical focus. If we conceive of diffusion as an outcome, emulation could be one of the pathways through which diffusion happens. In this view, emulation is the process through which some ideas proliferate. Conversely, if we conceptualize diffusion as process, then (the variations of) emulation is one of its outcomes. In this construct, diffusion is the process of spreading and emulation is the end-result (of adoption). These two accounts are equally plausible. But they also lead to different ways of theorizing the phenomenon. As Sartori (2009, 75) argues, concepts as 'data containers' should be standardized with high discriminating power to ensure that information becomes cumulative. I use a structural concept analysis (described below) to clarify this conceptual confusion and take the position

that diffusion is a process and emulation is an outcome.

The second problem is whether direct contact between the model (donor) and the emulator (receiver) is necessary for a diffusion process. One review of the political science literature suggests diffusion happens when one government's decision to adopt a policy innovation is influenced by the choices made by other governments (Graham, Shipan and Volden 2013, 675). But the direct contact between the adopter and original model is not necessary in this account. Consider, for example, how China learnt about the Revolution in Military Affairs by observing the first Gulf war and the Kosovo war (Newmyer 2010), or when social media transmits images that elicit demonstration effects among actors that are otherwise unconnected (Givan, Roberts and Soule 2010, 2). Some call this 'uncoordinated interdependence' (Elkins and Simmons 2005, 35) while others call it 'observational learning' (Goldsmith 2005, 1) or 'policy bandwagon' (Ikenberry 1990, 101). I consider these activities of uncoordinated interdependence as 'indirect diffusion'.

But sociologists treat diffusion as 'relational phenomenon' (Strang and Meyer 1993, 487). By relational, they mean that 'repertoires or frames' are transmitted — borrowed or adopted — through interpersonal contacts, organizational linkages, or associational networks (Givan, Roberts and Soule 2010, 2). Economists have also traditionally highlight how "information is spread by *direct contact* between a potential user and an existing user" (emphasis mine) (Diebolt, Mishra and Parhi 2016, 18). Similarly, earlier IR scholars also consider the importance of contact when they refer to diffusion as the "process by which institutions, practices, behaviors, or norms are *transmitted between* individuals and/or between social systems" (emphasis mine) (Starr 1991, 359).[2] I call these interactions 'direct diffusion'.

[2] This perspective of relational diffusion in the IR literature may have originated from the older "linkage politics" of international politics. Linkage politics, as popularized by James Rosenau (1969), explicitly recognize the influence of interdependence and the existence of linkages between phenomena occurring in national and international systems. In fact, some claim that diffusion research is a "subfield" of linkage politics (Most and Starr 1990, 392). Other IR scholars, however, follow sociologists in defining diffusion—

Separating direct and indirect diffusion is important as they rely on different causal mechanisms, as I discuss in chapter 3. For now, let me note the lack of clarity between direct and indirect diffusion leads to a third problem: the lack of clarity in the mechanisms or processes associated with diffusion. A recent review suggests four main mechanisms of policy diffusion: learning, competition, coercion, and socialization (Graham, Shipan and Volden 2013, 690), although some IR scholars list emulation as a mechanism as well (Simmons, Dobbin and Garrett 2006). But others argue diffusion mechanisms consist of imposition, international harmonization, competition, transnational communication, and independent problem-solving (Knill and Holzinger 2005, 779). Others still conceptualize three mechanisms: emulation, learning, and competition (Maggetti and Gilardi 2016, 88). It may well be that different substantive phenomena as well as different theoretical, methodological, and epistemological foundations lead to different mechanisms (Solingen 2012, 634).

But the fact that scholars conflate causal mechanisms and communication as transmission mediums demonstrates the confusion when direct and indirect diffusion, as well as process and outcome, are all conflated. Take 'learning' and 'socialization' for example. If some adoption of foreign ideas are involved, there is bound to be some elements of both—they are "generic" micro-foundations. Learning can be simply seen as the effect of previous experiences and observations on an actor's subsequent beliefs and preferences (Goldsmith 2005, 23). If so, even when a state is coerced to adopt new war-fighting ideas, it still needs to be 'socialized' and to 'learn' those ideas. Thus, learning is present in different degrees in all situations of diffusion. When, how, and to what extent learning and socialization are "activated" or salient in a diffusion process is contingent on a whole host of other conditions.

Defining policy learning in a diffusion as one mechanism where governments in one

particularly the conception of Strang and Meyer (1993)—rather than Rosenau's linkage politics (see e.g. Solingen 2012).

country draw lessons from the experiences of others (Simmons, Dobbin and Garrett 2008, 25) therefore departs from the conventional usage of the term. Another ambiguity surrounding mechanisms is the conflation between diffusion processes and the stimulus (driver or motivation) that started them. Competition, for example, is not a diffusion mechanism as much as it is a condition motivating the diffusion: the reasons why some states borrow policy models to begin with but not how they proceed, what Solingen (2012) calls 'stimulus'. To take another example, the need to maintain legitimacy—what Maggetti and Gilardi (2016, 86–7) calls 'emulation' as a mechanism—is a motivating driver to borrow a foreign model in the first place, not the method to do so.

The fourth problem is the normative bias in the study of innovations. Scholars often assign, even if implicitly, a 'positive' value on either the diffusible item—"innovations are a good"—or the manner in which they are transmitted—"sooner or later every one innovates" (see e.g. Hall 2006). Indeed, sociologists were initially interested in diffusion processes because of the intellectual movement that included the role of social science in supporting the spread of modernizing innovations (Strang and Soule 1998, 268). The classical study on the diffusion of innovations also considers relative advantage—the degree to which an innovation is perceived as better than the idea it supersedes—as one of key traits of innovation that should influence adopters (Rogers 1983, 15). Such positive assumptions are known as the 'pro-innovation bias': that an innovation should be diffused and adopted by all members of a social system, that it should be diffused more rapidly, and that the innovation should be neither reinvented nor rejected (Karch et al. 2016, 84).

This bias has numerous implications. But for our purposes, two are salient. First, as we shall see below in the 'Western ways of warfare' debate, a pro-innovation bias skews our focus towards the emulator and away from the content of the diffused item or the

innovator's calculations. Second, in the context of military innovations[3]—of which emulation is a subset—organizational change is rarely neutral or "positively good". Often, military innovations lead to power struggles because new war-fighting ideas dislodge established power holders. A pro-innovation bias, in other words, takes the politics and contestations of power out of the discussion surrounding military change. My theoretical framework in chapter 3 brings back power politics in the analysis of military emulation.

So where do I stand in these debates? First, I consider diffusion as a process than an outcome. I follow Rogers (1983, 5) who sees diffusion as the process by which (1) an innovation is (2) communicated through certain channels (3) over time (4) among the members of a social system. These elements allow us to unfold the diffusion process as a series of steps in a causal mechanism (see chapter 1). Specifically, following Solingen (2012, 632), I distinguish between: (1) the driving motivation (stimulus or trigger) at the beginning; (2) the medium, channel, or pathway (as a form of contact and communication between innovator and emulator) allowing the transmission of ideas; (3) the actors' calculus when engaged in a diffusion process; and (4) the variation of the outcomes of the diffusion process. As we see below, most scholars focus on the first and fourth element without sufficient attention to the second and third. I thus consider military diffusion as a process: the spread of military technology, ideas, or practices across different time periods and geographical space.

Second, I define emulation as an outcome: the observable changes to one military's organization, operational methods, or doctrine resulting from the imitation of another military's organization, operational methods, or doctrine. As Bennett (1991, 220) argues, emulation is not a synonym for diffusion and should not be inferred from observable convergence alone. Emulation could involve the conscious and careful search for exemplars, a dissection

[3] As Rogers (1983, 1) argues, an innovation is an idea, practice, or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption. It is not whether an idea is 'objectively' new but it is about the perceived 'newness' of the idea for the potential adopter.

of the reasons for their success, and the application of these lessons to the maximization of some expected utility (Johnston 2007, 45–6). Or when elites in one country use formal institutions and practices from abroad to refashion their own rules or organizations (Jacoby 2006, 2). Emulation therefore can be observed by the degree of similarity to the original model. I discuss the conceptual measurement of emulation below.

Finally, I focus on direct diffusion. Unpacking direct diffusion covers more analytical ground than indirect diffusion because military Westernization in Asia have largely taken place through direct diffusion processes. A purely indigenous military innovation in Asia (where a polity observes or develop lessons after combat with a Western power) is extremely rare. Great powers after all do not proliferate in Asia. The focus on direct diffusion also stems from the premise that the most powerful mechanism to transfer knowledge to meaningfully change an organization comes from direct contacts. I particularly focus on bilateral military relations as a significant form of military knowledge transmission (Farrell and Terriff 2010, 11).[4] Within this context, three kinds of contacts are salient: (1) dispatching attaches to interact with, observe, and report on foreign militaries; (2) sending officers abroad to attend educational institutions and/or train with foreign units; (3) contracting missions of military instructors to teach and assist domestic forces (Grauer 2015, 275). As we see below, why and how some contacts emerge depends on the type of transmission pathways.

2.1.2 Military diffusion: alternative explanations

This sub-section reviews extant explanations for military emulation within the IR literature. Their explanations largely fail to account for the full-range of constitutive elements

[4] This is the dyadic basis of the direct diffusion perspective adopted in this dissertation. There are of course non-bilateral forms of direct diffusion, such as how NATO and the Warsaw Pact diffused their war-fighting concepts and doctrines to their members. But multilateral direct military diffusion is historically rare in the Asian context.

of 'military diffusion' as a concept. By which I mean they only incorporate the emulator's response, for example, at the expense of the innovator–emulator communication channel or the diffusible item. I address these challenges in the structural concept analysis below. For now, by reviewing the extant literature, I hope to clarify the empirical domain for analysis and strengthen the foundation of my theoretical framework.

The first set of arguments draws from the neo-realist literature in IR and argues that the systemic nature of anarchy compel states to emulate the best military practices of others. In other words, external threats and concerns over competitive military effectiveness motivate states to adopt foreign military innovations (Waltz 1979; Tuck 2008; Elman 1999; Goldman and Andres 1999; Resende-Santos 2007). War is, after all, a matter of Darwinian dominance or survival for states (Lynn 1996, 509). In peacetime, the fear of losing out in an arms race, for example, often drives polities to study, spy, and copy from one another, adapt desirable features of other militaries, or seek advisors to import military doctrines (Porter 2009, 32). In wartime, when an army confronts new weaponry or practices on the battlefield, it must adapt to them, which often takes the form of imitation (Lynn 1996, 509).

The premise of these arguments is that competition favors the efficient and that organizations seek to find the most efficient model to follow (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). This leads to the diffusion of the most efficient or "best performing" models because emulation is the quickest and most dependable way to increase power in response to external threats (Resende-Santos 2007). In short, the competitive security environment drives the emulation of the best military practices, and by implication, of military diffusion. It should be noted, however, that threat-based arguments are about the *why* of diffusion and less the *how* (i.e. method of emulation). Additionally, there is no consensus on how to operationalize 'threats' and whether they are perceived at the global, regional, dyadic or even domestic

levels. Threat-based arguments are also often developed using over-determined case studies (e.g. states that are engaged in hostilities) that do not account for the range of plausible variation of emulation or the scope of the diffusion process.

The second set of explanations, associated with security constructivists, focuses on trans-national or global military norms as ideational drivers of military diffusion (Farrell 2005; Katzenstein 1996; Eyre and Suchman 1996; Demchak 2003). They argue military emulation is a function of states' concerns over social legitimacy. This concern leads to either states seeking to emulate the 'most popular' model or they focus on models that 'naturally fit' or 'match' their existing values (Goldsmith 2005, 37). For Checkel (1999, 86–7), the degree of "cultural match" between global norms and domestic practices is critical in determining the pattern of diffusion. Diffusion is more rapid when a match exists or resonates with historically constructed domestic norms. Similarly, sociologists argue that practices which accord with cultural understandings of appropriate and effective action diffuse more quickly than those that do not (Strang and Soule 1998, 278). In short, new ideas that do not fit well with a military's pre-existing history, skill set, or standard operating procedures are unlikely to be adopted (Porter 2009, 32).

The norms diffusion literature also points to the role of institutional structures — from legal regimes, international organizations, to policy networks — in promoting, transmitting, and sustaining the norms in question (Farrell and Terriff 2010, 10). Social acceptance of a policy model can happen when: (1) leading countries serve as exemplars or standard-bearer, (2) specialists make contingent arguments about the model's 'appropriateness', and (3) once accepted, institutionalization allows them to spread easily (Simmons, Dobbin and Garrett 2008). Within the context of military diffusion, when leading countries like the US is seen as the standard-bearer of professionalism and effectiveness, other countries should emulate the

US organization, doctrine, or weaponry. A variation of this argument focuses on the linkage between global norms and domestic military behavior through "norms transplantation": the empowerment of transnational norms in new organizational contexts (Farrell 2005). In any case, policymakers should emulate the most socially acceptable models, even in the absence of prior evidence of their efficacy (Strang and Macy 2001; Elkins and Simmons 2005). The benefit here is reputational rather than combat prowess.

Both the threat-based and norms-based arguments help us think about why states seek to emulate. But the different diffusion processes and their corresponding variation in emulation are theoretically under-developed. Norms-based arguments are often difficult to pin down. Assigning causal weight to norms often requires specific and detailed empirical data that may not always be available when one is studying the military. Not to mention operationalizing "normative match" across different cultures is herculean at best. But perhaps more importantly, by assigning analytical weight to international structural variables, the domestic mechanisms that "filter" and shape the variation of emulation are marginalized.

This is why the third set of arguments focuses on unit-level variables. These include regime type and economic strength (Zarzecki 2002), state structure (Evangelista 1998), and resource extraction and mobilization capacity (Taliaferro 2009). Others focus on the level of financial intensity and the amount of organizational capital needed to adopt major military innovations (Horowitz 2010). Recently, scholars turn to bureaucratic politics. As Grauer (2015) argues, the nature of the emulator's bureaucratic politics conditions the selection and capacity of the communication used to transmit information about foreign military doctrines. The premise of these arguments is that differences between social, economic, and political systems as well as organizational capacity often limit a state's ability to copy another's military institutions (Lynn 1996, 511). In short, emulation is more likely when states and

their militaries have the necessary capacity and infrastructure to adopt foreign systems.

These arguments, however, provide conflicting accounts on which variables matter the most and how; they also conflate technology, practice, and ideas. These arguments also suffer from the 'pro-innovation bias' discussed above. They assume that military innovations are "good" and that our task is figuring out why the emulator could not successfully adopt them. This focus on the unit-level characteristics further sidelines the content of the innovation (i.e. diffusible item), the channels of communication transmitting it (i.e. innovator-emulator relations), and the "interaction effects" between the two. A full-fledged theory of military emulation and diffusion should account for these elements. I explain in the next section why this is the case and describe how concept analysis can help us.

2.2 Conceptual analyses

Robert Merton argues that "A good part of the work called "theorizing" is taken up with the clarification of concepts...it is in this matter of clearly defined concepts that social science research is not infrequently defective" (cited in Sartori 2009, 97). As we see above, the collective ambiguity within the literature requires us to engage in a conceptual reconstruction of the term 'military diffusion' based on the collection of definitions cited above and a multi-level structural analysis below.[5] We thus engage in concept formation: the attempt to mediate between the world of language and the world of things with the general aim to represent that phenomenal world as accurately as possible (Gerring 2001, 37). Concept formation is also considered one of the key tools and values of the Comparative-Historical Analysis method I employ in this dissertation. Concept formation stands "prior to quantification" and that the process of thinking inevitably begins with a qualitative language (Sartori 1970,

[5] The procedure of collecting definitions, extracting their characteristics, and then reorganizing them more clearly is one of the concept formation rules of Giovanni Sartori (2009, 116-122).

1038). Concept development is thus more than just defining a term, it is about "deciding what is important about an entity" (Goertz 2006, 27).

This section provides conceptual analyses of both military diffusion and military emulation. These analyses are necessary to clarify the central terms of the theoretical framework in chapter 3. The first analysis unpacks the term 'military diffusion' using multi-level structural analysis and breaks down its key constitutive elements. The second analysis locates 'military emulation' as a subset of military change. It also measures and operationalizes 'military emulation' as the primary outcome of interest. The third conceptual analysis examines the debates surrounding the term 'ways of warfare' and proposes theories of corporatism and victory as the 'diffusible item' from Western states to Asian militaries. It also justifies why I focus on military ideas and concepts rather than technology.

2.2.1 Structural concept analysis

There are different approaches to concepts analysis. One of the more common approaches is to dissect a concept's ontological and epistemological foundations as well as its intellectual history. This often relies on what I call critical discursive analysis (see e.g. Kurki 2008; Wight 2006). Another approach would be to provide classifications and typologies to guide the theoretical analysis of an empirical phenomenon. I will use this approach in the next sub-section to situate military emulation in the literature on military change. Finally, there is an approach I call 'structural analysis' that systematically and logically examines concepts by: (1) how many levels they have, (2) how many dimensions each level has, and (3) the substantive content of each of the dimensions at each level (Goertz 2006; Collier and Gerring 2009). I employ this approach in this sub-section.

Following Goertz, I adopt a three-level framework conceptual analysis.[6] This framework takes on three foundations: ontological, causal, and realist. It is ontological because it views concepts by looking at how the basic and secondary-level dimensions constitute what the phenomenon is. This entails that we focus on the concept's internal structure and its constituent parts, and how they relate to the object as a whole. Further, because the constituent parts of the concept play a role in causal hypotheses, it is a realist approach (i.e. follows scientific realist ontological commitments, see chapter 1). This ensures that our conceptualization is consistent with the theories that use the said (phenomenon) concept. By adopting this framework, we could distinguish between the causal hypotheses within the concept and the causal hypotheses at the basic level that use the concept.

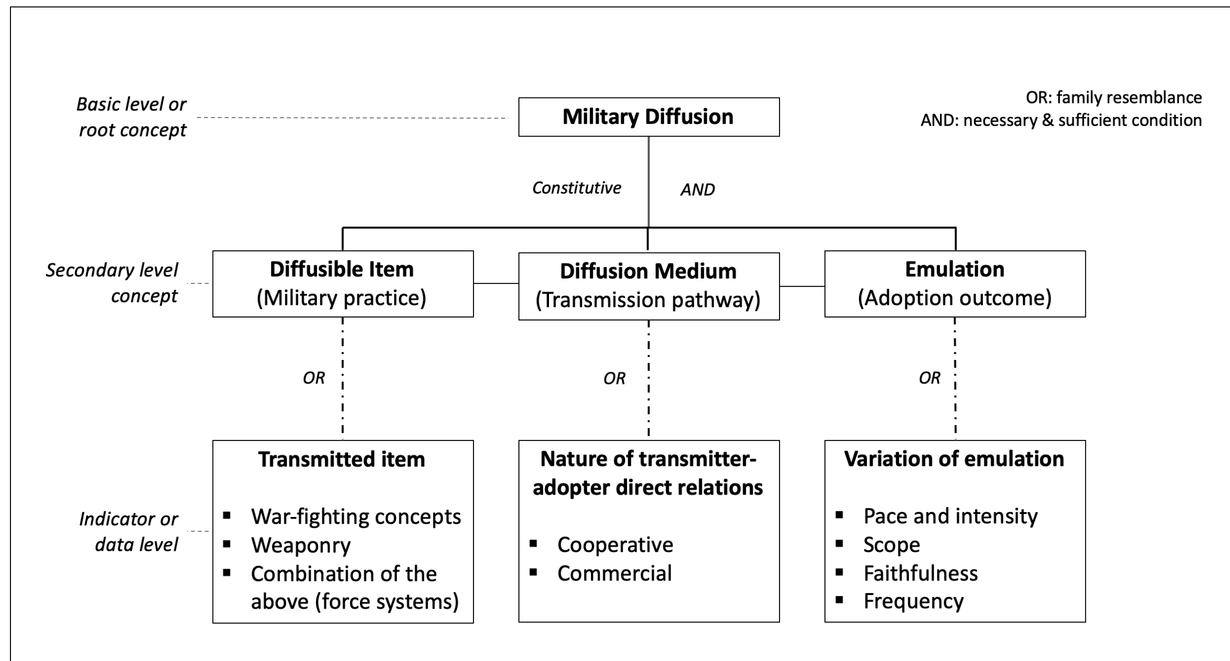
The first *basic* level is the most important because it is usually the concept we use in theoretical propositions. It is basic in that it is cognitively central and it is the noun to which we attach adjectives to (Goertz 2006, 6; Collier and Levitsky 1997). As depicted in Figure 2.1 below, our basic level concept is 'diffusion' as the process of how a social model, idea, or item spreads from one polity to another. This definition focuses specifically on direct or relational diffusion where we can identify the nature and quality of the relationship between the model (donor) and emulator (receiver).

The *secondary* level provides the theoretical linkage between the basic and the concrete data level. This level gives us the constitutive dimensions of the basic level, and forms much of the ontological analysis of the concept and plays a central role in causal mechanisms.[7] Put differently, the secondary-level dimensions constitute what the phenomenon is, and because they constitute the basic concept, they can be considered as a "theory" about

[6] Unless otherwise stated, the discussion of structural concept analysis draws exclusively from Goertz (2006, chp. 1–3).

[7] Ontological or constitutive theories account for the properties of things by reference to the structures in virtue of which they exist, although they must be judged against empirics (Wendt 1999, 85).

Figure 2.1: Three-level structural concept analysis of military diffusion



the inter-relationships of the parts of the conceptual whole. A full-fledged theory of military diffusion should thus account for all the constitutive elements of the concept.

There are two different concept structures to describe the constitutive relations between the basic and secondary level: (1) classical or (2) family resemblance.[8] While these two archetypical categories can be found in the secondary and indicator levels, the classical conditions are often found at the former, while the family resemblance are found at the latter. The classical understanding has been underpinned or defined by necessary and sufficient conditions going back to Aristotle. [9] This structure assumes equal weighting of dimensions (i.e. each of the components at the secondary–level is equally necessary and sufficient to constitute a basic–level concept). In contrast, family resemblance allows for the absences of

[8] This paragraph draws from Goertz (2006, chp. 2) and Collier and Mahon (1993, 845–55).

[9] Aristotle considered a definition as “a phrase signifying a thing’s essence”, and saw it as the set of fundamental attributes which are “the necessary and sufficient conditions for any concrete thing to be a thing of that type” (Cohen and Nagel 1934, 235). A genealogy and listing of works on concepts and its necessary and sufficient condition structure is in Gerring (2001, 66, fn. 2). This understanding of concept also underpins Sartori’s classic treatment of concept formation.

a given characteristic to be compensated by the presence of another—i.e. a family resemblance that allows one to group together many objects under one rubric. Put differently, it is a rule about sufficiency with no necessary condition requirements. If we consider the necessary and sufficient condition to be expressed as "if and only if n characteristics are present", then the family resemblance takes the sufficiency–only form of "if m of n characteristics is present". Thus, if the analysis of the concept and phenomenon suggests no substitutability of dimensions, then the necessary and sufficient condition structure is probably best, but if there seems to be significant substitutability then family resemblance is better.

Figure 2.1 above shows 'military diffusion' as a basic concept has three constitutive elements: the diffusible item, the transmission process, and the adoption of the item. The constitutive relation is based on the classical conception because when we consider 'diffusion' as a form of communication that transmits certain ideas from one actor to another, these components are jointly necessary and sufficient for us to observe it.[10] We cannot, for example, observe a diffusion without the presence of some form of adoption, nor can we fully explain emulation without accounting for the transmission pathways leading to it. So, if we provide a theoretical argument to explain military diffusion, we must examine the qualities associated with the particular idea (front), the transmissions (middle), and the adoption (end). This view not only brings us closer to the conventional usage of the term diffusion, it also allows to consider how the IR literature only provides partial theories of military diffusion.

For example, by focusing on military emulation as the adoption of major military innovations, Resende-Santos (2007), Goldman and Andres (1999), and Horowitz (2010) focus on one of the three constitutive components at the expense of the other. We can call this the 'adopter bias' in the military innovation literature. To take another example, the focus

[10] The argument that diffusion can be seen as a process involving the transmission or communication of an item from the transmitter to the adopter can be seen in Rogers (1983). As we discuss above, scholars that consider diffusion as a process generally take a similar standpoint.

on major technological innovations (Zarzecki 2002) allows us to focus on broader changes in warfare, but at the expense of our understanding of the qualities and complexities of the ideas in which the weapons could be used by the emulator. The content of the diffusible item also shapes how well it can "travel" from one actor to another, as Potter (2003) demonstrates for nuclear technology, for example. Sociologists have made it point to ensure that the 'diffusible item'—from policy goals to ideas or instruments—plays a central role in any diffusion analysis (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996, 350). But within the IR literature, the different qualities and complexities of military ideas and the transmission pathways are under-theorized.

Finally, the *indicator* level links the more theoretical analysis in the basic and secondary levels to the more practical requirements of converting these ideas into the empirical domain. As such, it should be specific enough that the corresponding data can be collected. In a cross-national comparative study however, one uses the substitutability relationship as the central organizing tool: when the occurrence of an attribute A can substitute for the occurrence of attribute B. This is based on the principle of functional equivalence—various phenomenon that satisfy the secondary-level dimension. Put differently, the researcher can formulate different indicators or data that are functionally equivalent across cases. Thus, if the secondary and basic levels stress the commonalities across diverse contexts (as they are used in basic-level general theories), it is at the indicator level that the concept structure accounts for the diversity across geographic spaces and time periods.

For our purposes, the family resemblance concept structure — and the inherent principle of substitutability — applies at this indicator level. Going back to Figure 2.1, in one diffusion process from country X to country Y, for example, it is plausible that an idea is being transmitted through a cooperative channel that leads to its adoption. But in a diffusion process between country A to country B, it is equally plausible that a war-fighting concept

is being transmitted commercially that leads to its adoption. Both of these processes are equally considered as diffusion processes, even if their indicator-level data is not identical. In other words, we can 'substitute' the indicator or data level for each of the three components at the secondary-level depending on the cases at hand or the different contexts in a comparative study. Each element in the indicator-level data in Figure 2.1 (for all three components of diffusible item, transmission, and emulation) is therefore functionally-equivalent for the purposes of empirical analysis.

To summarize, the structural concept analysis suggests that any general theory of military diffusion should consider the different constitutive elements of the process. It also provides a logical support to my definition of military diffusion: the process through which a particular military practice, ideas, or technology is transferred from one polity to another. This definition conveys the core meaning of military diffusion, while providing the necessary and sufficiency criteria needed to separate the defining properties from the accompanying properties, of which emulation as an adoption outcome is only but one element. Thus, I fulfill the classical "philosophical logic requirement" of concept formation (Sartori 2009, 126; Gerring 2001, 45). By de-linking the process from the outcome, this definition is also more in line with the ordinary and scholarly usage of the term 'diffusion'. Finally, the conceptual analysis provides an additional literature review check that highlights which element(s) scholars focused on or neglected in theorizing military diffusion and emulation.

2.2.2 Scope conditions: Level, unit, and measurement

As an adoption outcome resulting from the diffusion process, military emulation is a type or subset of military change. Military change can be simply defined as the change in the goals, strategies, and/or structure of a military organization (Farrell and Terriff 2002, 5).

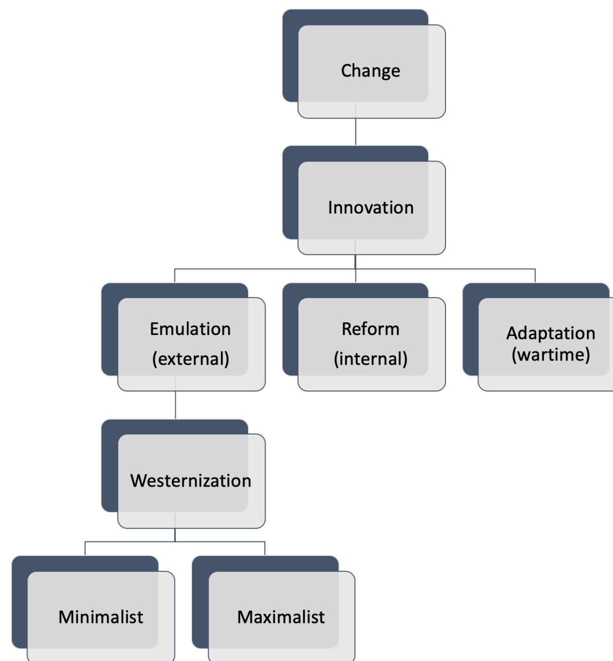
Military change thus subsumes all other terms such as innovation or adaptation. In this sense, innovation could be a process (one of the pathways to military change) or an outcome (a particular type of military change).[11] But change is not equivalent to or interchangeable with innovation. Military innovation involves some form of change, but not all military change is innovative. Some military change may be retrogressive or counter-productive. Some innovations can be developed with a foreign model in mind (i.e. emulation) or it can be purely driven by internal considerations (i.e. reform). Military emulation is thus a form of innovation. All emulation is innovation but not all innovation is emulation.

Finally, military Westernization — the extent to which non-Western militaries adopt the organization, doctrine, or operational methods of their Western counter-parts — is a subset of emulation. All military Westernization is emulation but not all military emulation is Westernization. For example, the most successful European commanders in 18th century North America were those who realized that the Indians had much to teach them about forest warfare and who adopted the Indian way of war as their own (Starkey 2002, 32, 92–103). Modern imperial warfare even pioneered the use of weapons and practices that were subsequently introduced into the metropoles: machine guns, dum dum bullets, aerial bombing, special riot policing methods, and waterboarding (Steinmetz 2014, 88). We will discuss the operationalization and measurement of military emulation and Westernization below. Suffice to note for now the conceptual linkages from military change to Westernization as depicted in Figure 2.2 below.[12]

[11] For example, Farrell and Terriff (2002, 6) argues that innovation is one of the pathways whereby military change occurs. Most scholars, however, consider military innovation as an outcome—major changes in how a military fights, whether technologically, organizationally, or doctrinally. See the debate in Grissom (2006, 906–7). In either interpretation, we consider innovation as “situationally new” to the potential adopter, and not whether these are inherently new across different organizations.

[12] Figure 2.2 is not the only way to classify military change. One could, for example, create a different typology based on different disaggregation methods; from technology to doctrine (scope), from wartime to peacetime (strategic context), or from bottom-up to top-down (source) (Laksmana 2017).

Figure 2.2: Military change and its subsets



Level and unit of analysis

The level of analysis in this dissertation is organizational. This is primarily because military emulation, to be meaningful or significant, should be widespread across the organization, rather than observed at a single combat arm or unit. Organizational-level emulation should change how the Orders of Battle are structured for deployment and employment, how the soldiers and officers are trained and educated, how technologies are used to support tactical and operational goals, and how the officer corps engage the political leaders and broader society. In any case, military emulation is an expensive, risky, and politically-charged task. Consider, for example, how the political leaders in central and eastern European states wanted their militaries to be 'reformed' along the NATO model, even though their organizational cultures and personnel were inhospitable to such Western ideas (Young 2016). Innovation in this sense is not 'inherently good' or somehow 'value neutral'. I argue that understanding the intra-organizational power dynamics surrounding military Westernization—how the process

changes or dislodges existing power holders—is a necessary part of the diffusion process.

The unit of analysis in this dissertation is ideational. I am interested in examining how Western theories of victory and corporatism travel from the West to Asian militaries. Before I describe what these theories are, let me note that I focus on military ideas as the 'diffusible item' based on the premise that successful and significant military emulation was rarely about technology alone. Indeed, the history of the revolution in military affairs suggests the diffusion of "social technologies" (e.g. discipline, training, or institutions) is more significant than the latest weaponry of the day. Think of the importance of the *levee en masse* as an ideational system, for example, that led to the diffusion of mass conscripts. Or consider the importance of the professional personnel management system in the long Austro-Ottoman wars of the late 17th and early 18th centuries as well as in the success small European colonial forces all over Asia (Zürcher 2013, 37).

Importing arms alone is meaningless unless you change how to organize, train, and employ them in battle. Military historians often emphasize the importance of 'conceptual' organizational traits—recruitment policies, motivation, command, or administration. At best, technological change, as opposed to ideational or conceptual change, presents a menu of (technical or operational) possibilities (Lynn 1996, 509). In fact, new ideas have permitted inferior forces to overcome larger ones (Dupuy 1984, 316). As one historian quips, "Machine guns may kill, but ideas decide where to place them, how to man them, and when the most effective moment is to begin firing them" (Lee 2011*b*, 1).

Clearing up the level and unit of analysis is important because the extant literature conflates the different levels of outcome of interest. Scholars examining US military education aid during the Cold War, for example, refer to different levels of 'change' we should see when assessing its effectiveness: (1) individual soldiers, (2) organization-wide, or (3)

nation-wide (Childress 1995, 13–4). Some consider such aid to be influential in shaping the trainees' positive attitude towards the US (e.g. Cope 1995), while others seriously question if US-trained officers have in fact led their respective countries towards progressive political change (e.g. Lefever 1980). In early Cold War Latin America, for example, there were conflicting claims about the 'indoctrination' effect of US military aid on the political attitudes of individual officers (Fitch 1979, 361).

This dissertation is less concerned with individual- or national-level changes than with organizational-level ones. I am interested in the degree to which the emulator's military adopts Western theories of corporatism and victory. In examining military aid, for example, I am more concerned with its organizational impact (e.g. doctrinal change), rather than if an officer holds favorable views of the trainer country. To use a different analogy, the socialization of states as corporate actors of some norms does not require personal internalization of those norms, if the beliefs and practices are sufficiently institutionalized in domestic decision-making processes (Schimmelfennig 2000, 112). In other words, one can reasonably examine the adoption of new organizational norms—as indicators of ideational change—without examining individual members' beliefs. The focus on military concepts and organizational-level changes does not negate the possibility that emulation could be stimulated by technological requirements.

Measurement and operationalization

Organizational-level military emulation varies by: (1) the degree of *faithfulness* of the observed changes (how similar the end-result is with the original model); (2) the *scope and depth* of the observed changes (how wide ranging the changes are); (3) the *speed and scale* of the transmission (how quick and how much of the model is emulated).[13] These measures

[13] I develop these measures from Jacoby (2006, 5) and Jacoby (2001, 34).

capture the degree of changes observed and convey how much, how similar, and how well a military achieves emulation outcomes. I am particularly interested in examining the variation of emulation with regards to Western theories of victory and corporatism. By which I mean how similar, how wide-ranging, and how quick a military changee its own theory of victory and theory corporatism to follow a Western model.

Let me note that scholars often implicitly subsume military theories of victory and corporatism in their discussion of 'doctrine'. Some define doctrine as an expressed set of institutionalized principles, knowledge, and "belief system" about how to fight — or rather, how, for what, and why military resources should be utilized (Posen 2016, 159; Angstrom and Widen 2016, 198; Jackson 2013, 1). It is, in other words, a frame of reference on how to fight. But others consider doctrine more broadly to include the preparations for war (i.e. education and training), the military's relationship with the political leaders and society (i.e. civil-military relations), and conception of force management (i.e. defense administration and standard operating procedures) (Snyder 1989, 27). Under this expansive definition, doctrine performs a wide-ranging task, from preparing the military to fight, convincing the society to contribute people and money, to educating its members and managing the organization (Posen 2016, 160; Posen 1986, 44; Høiback 2011).

There are limitations to the focus on formal military doctrines.[14] But as embodiments of the military's worldview, a doctrine is important to understand military change. Indeed, doctrinal change would be a good indicator of an organization-wide emulation. Doctrine is thus a site of internal contestation of power among members who seek to (re)define the

[14] First, doctrinal documents may be less useful if the organization has no doctrinal tradition. Even if there is one, a doctrine has a different meaning, function, and relative importance for different militaries. Second, observing changes in doctrinal documents alone may skew our analysis as changes in a formal doctrine may leave the essential workings of the organization unaltered. Finally, given the wide gap between doctrine and the policies actually implemented, the notion of military doctrine is not as universal as many analysts assume. See more at Farrell (1996, 125) and Vennesson (1995, 40).

organization. Dislodging a military structure constructed with a particular doctrine in mind — and sideline officers well-versed in its repertoire — to make way for a new doctrine and differently-trained officers (as would happen in a military emulation) is a contentious task.

While I look for organizational changes in doctrinal documents, I operationalize the 'diffusible item' as the theories of victory and corporatism. A theory of victory explains what the next mission or war a military needs to fight and how to win (Rosen 1988, 142). This includes both 'conventional' operations (e.g. expeditionary assaults) as well as 'non-conventional' ones (e.g. civic action). Whether the new theory leads to a genuine victory is less important than the fact that the emulator sees it as an important goal to meet.[15] In other words, what matters for the diffusion process is the perception that there is a theory to guide the emulator to 'success'. Sometimes the theory of victory is codified in field manuals or doctrinal documents. Other times, it is informally part of the military leaders' vernacular or thinking. Regardless, a successful emulation of a foreign theory of victory should be reflected in doctrine, training, structure, theoretical literature, and stated policies.

A theory of victory is closely related (but not synonymous) to the idea of 'force employment': the way in which armed forces plan to use their men and materiel in combat (Biddle 2004). Another closely related concept is the notion of 'operational art': the theory and practice of planning and conducting campaigns and operations aimed at accomplishing strategic and operational objectives in a given theatre (Olsen and Van Creveld 2010, 1). But these terms are designed to examine battlefield combat performance and not emulation outcomes. I am less interested in battlefield outcomes per se, although emulation has combat implications. It is also unlikely that all militaries all the time everywhere only have combat operations to deal with. Non-combat operations (e.g. civic action or humanitarian assistance and disaster relief) often occupy the time and energy of many armed forces (Story and

[15] I draw this distinction of a theory of victory as an outcome and an aspiration from Martel (2011, 18).

Gottlieb 1995; Bonn and Baker 2000).

Meanwhile, a theory of corporatism details how intra-military institutions, from personnel management to culture, and their *raison d'tres* are designed, maintained, and defended in their relationship with the state and society. In general, 'corporatism' is a system of self-regulation by autonomous groups (Winkler 1976, 101). Military corporatism refers to both the degree of military "corporateness" and the corporate interests its leaders seek to defend (Laksmana 2019, 810). The former is the degree to which the military's corporate character and identity are developed and institutionalized, while the latter is the extent to which the military can control key policies and interests (e.g. promotions, budget) in its relationship with the political leaders.[16] The theory of corporatism is thus about the nature of civil-military relations as well as the military's internal management.

Taken together, the theories of victory and corporatism are the "essence" of a military organization. Military emulation is what happens when a military's existing theories of victory and corporatism are remodeled or altered based on foreign (i.e. another military's) theories of victory and corporatism. As an ideational construct, these transmitted theories can change pre-existing ones in different ways; hence the variation of emulation. Chapter 3 outlines why and how we see the variation happens. For now, let me note the conceptual measurement of the outcomes I am interested in. Returning to our categories above, the faithfulness and speed & scale measurements are operationalized in an ordinal way: high and low. High faithfulness is seen when the observed changes comes closest to the original emulated model. Low faithfulness is when the end-result of emulation is far apart from the original transmitted model. High speed & scale is seen when an emulator could quickly adopt as much as possible of the original model. Low speed & scale is seen when it takes an

[16] The military's 'corporateness' stems from the joint and long period of educational and professional experiences among officers and from the formalization and application of the standards of professional competence and responsibility (Huntington 1957, 10; Abrahamsson 1971, 12).

emulator long periods of time to adopt very small numbers of the original model.

From these measurements, I conceptualize two ideal types of military emulation: maximalist and minimalist. In a 'maximalist emulation', we expect to see norms 'displacement', the removal of existing institutions and the introduction of new ones (Farrell 2001). In other words, when existing theories of victory and corporatism are fundamentally supplanted by new, foreign-based ones. The rapid, expansive, and thorough adoption of foreign theories of victory and corporatism is thus the hallmark of a maximalist emulation. What this means in practice is that the emulator plans to fight and organize itself along the lines of a foreign model. The Chilean army in the early 1900s emulated Prussian military technology, structure, doctrine, education, and even uniforms and military music so much that they were known as a "miniature edition" of the Prussian military (Sater 2008, 31).

In a 'minimalist emulation', we should see only a small number of changes to the preexisting theories of victory and corporatism. Sometimes we see bits and pieces of 'layering', the introduction of new institutions on top of or alongside existing ones (Mahoney and Thelen 2010, 15). Layering involves amendments, revisions, or additions to existing institutions.[17] In practice, this means that rather than adopting an entirely new organization-wide doctrine, the emulator changes its tactical precepts for one or a few of its combat arms. Partial and limited selection — or "selective adaptation" (Lynn 2003, 305) — of the different elements of the foreign theories of victory and corporatism is thus the hallmark of a minimalist emulation. Consider, for example, how post-Soviet militaries adopted a plethora of Western concepts and models atop their contradictory corresponding legacy concepts, which hindered their ability to function fully as Western-oriented defense institutions should (Young 2016, 9).

Adopting the theories of victory and corporatism as the conceptual containers for

[17] In many ways, layering is the grafting of new institutional elements onto an otherwise stable institutional framework (Thelen 2004, 35). Norms 'grafting' is a tactic norm entrepreneurs employ to institutionalize a new norm by associating it with a preexisting norm in the same issue area (Acharya 2004, 244).

the 'diffusible item' sidesteps the fact that different scholars of military diffusion examines different "traveling items": major innovations, technologies, or practices. As we observe the two theories at the organizational level, they allow us to maintain coherence and consistency with the unit and level of analysis. Finally, the two theories allow us to examine the broader ideational changes beyond combat and formal documents. It should be noted, however, that the theories of victory or corporatism may not always be wholly transmitted to the emulator (for reasons I will explore in the next section). I supplement this operationalization of emulation with an analysis of military Westernization below.

2.2.3 Military westernization and ways of warfare

This section anchors the debate surrounding 'military Westernization' in Asia in the larger debates surrounding 'ways of warfare'. I concede that this discussion will lean towards the theory of victory than the theory of corporatism. Nonetheless, examining these debates is important because the nature of trans-cultural emulation is fraught with conceptual pitfalls and normative contradictions. I hope to provide the context in which I define military Westernization as the extent to which non-Western militaries adopt the organization, doctrine, or operational methods of their Western counterparts.

The premise of military Westernization is about how a particular set of ideas ideas crafted in one culture (Western) is diffused (transmitted) into another (non-Western). In this regard, there is nothing inherently 'innovative' or 'superior' about the 'added value' of military Westernization. The varied reaction to the diffusion of firearms in the non-Western world, for example, is better understood not in terms of progress or superiority, but rather as a response to the different tasks and possibilities facing their armies (Black 2004, 3). The term 'trans-cultural' captures the essence of the contact between 'old' and 'new' military

ideas which poses challenges and opportunities (Morillo 2006, 30).[18]

The *first* challenge is 'cultural lag', or ideational 'mismatch' between the model and the emulator. This lag may stem from the differences in which a theory of victory is crafted in one organizational context but then transported into another.[19] The *second* challenge is defining the "West" and the "non-West" with any precision to be applicable across different periods. Do we define the term geographically, politically, economically, or culturally? After all, what it means to be a 'Westernized' military has evolved significantly over centuries. More broadly, the literature assigns normative weight to the 'contact' between Western and Eastern ways of warfare. This is based on the premise that there is a (coherently singular) 'West' at war with a (coherently singular) 'East', often conceived as a 'radically other' going back over a millennia.[20] The "primitivization" of the non-West—the epitomy of 'military orientalism'—has persisted in the literature.[21]

These biases lead us to the *third* challenge: the prevalence of Eurocentrism, the uneven analytical emphasis on Europe (and the US) over the rest of the world. For one thing, there seems to a particular line of the military history of, and involving, the West where other states appear only to be "to be defeated" (Black 2004, 67–8). Some also view Asian military practices as primitive and backward because they were considered culturally "non-military" as a society and racially inferior before the arrival of the Europeans (Lorge 2008, 2). The non-West is seldom given agency let alone proper analysis. For another, there

[18] Trans-cultural emulation is a two-way street, where the non-West could shape the West. For example, during the three centuries of Spanish expansion into the Americas, both Indians and Spanish engaged in mutual adoption of each other's way of warfare (Lee 2011*a*, 7).

[19] We can see this for example in how most Western-designed advanced weapons systems include their designers' culturally-based expectations about the behavioral norms of the user (Hinkle et al. 1999, 6–7).

[20] Notable examples include the Crusades, imperial 'small wars' in Latin America, Asia and Africa, and the idea of the Soviet Union as an "oriental despotism" (Barkawi and Stanski 2013, 2).

[21] Military orientalism—the fascination for Eastern Ways of war—involves the dynamics of cultural perception within a complex set of relationships, contain themes that are both time-bound and distinctive in their historical contexts, and reflected in abstract ideas of warfare as well policy (Porter 2009, 14).

is a long-standing use of Western analytical concepts to describe global military history (Black 2004, 67–8). Western-derived military terms like 'combat decisiveness' often hinders a better assessment of the peculiarities of non-West military cultures. As Lynn (2003, 19-20) argues, "We know more about ancient China, but that understanding does not rival our command of Greek and Roman military history."

Western-centrism assumes the primacy of the west. As Hanson (2001; 1989) argues, there is a unique and continuous military culture dependent on a societal and political culture that is equally unique and continuous; the conjunction of the two created the Western way of warfare. To this list, others add an ideological justification for war as sanctioned by Christianity and an openness to new technology (Keegan 1994, 387; Thompson 2006, 499). Finally, military discipline, drill, and the ability to suffer losses without losing cohesion may be another unique (though perhaps not exclusively) feature (Parker 2005; Lynn 1996, 508). The Western military trajectory may thus be distinctive, but it has also been open to outside influences (Thompson 2006, 474, 501). For example, Europeans began to exploit the possibilities of gunpowder technology when their armies began to resemble Chinese armies in the 16th century (Lorge 2008, 9).

These arguments may imply that military Westernization is the process by which non-Western militaries "got better" because their methods of warfare had been primitive or backwards. Some describe the "Asian way of war", for example, as de-emphasizing the holding of territory and focus instead on other forms of military, economic and cultural hegemony (Ball 1993, 46). Others see it as embodying indirect attacks. Keegan (1994, 387) calls this 'oriental war-making' characterized by evasion, delay, and indirectness. But others consider the 'Eastern way of war' of the 'Orientals'—especially those rooted in the ideal philosophies of Sun-Tzu—to be more sophisticated, all-encompassing, and full of stratagems

(Cassidy 2008). This oscillation between contempt and admiration of non-Western warfare epitomizes military orientalism. But ultimately there is no consistent and coherent monolithic 'Asian way of warfare'. Different states responded to the gunpowder revolution, for example, in their own ways.[22] In short, non-western militaries have their own unique history, culture, and capabilities to respond the West.

The *final* challenge goes beyond the battlefield. Given that Western victories are associated with Western political and social systems, Eurocentrism has built-in assumptions about whether particular regimes types have been particularly suited for war. This is known as 'democratic triumphalism', where scholars argue democracies win more wars because they produce better militaries and soldiers, choose the 'best wars to fight', and have the economic wherewithal to engage in mass mobilization (see e.g. Reiter and Stam 2002).[23] As we see in chapter 3, the inherent biases of Eurocentrism also re-appear in the assumptions underpinning American military assistance programs designed to develop 'modern and professional' armed forces across the non-West. Not only does this bias skews the analysis by assuming Western primacy, it also compounds the level of analysis problem discussed above.

2.3 Summary

This chapter establishes the following. First, the diffusion studies literature suffers from various conceptual ambiguities, from the conflation of key terms to the lack of clarity between mechanisms and outcomes. The existing explanations to the military diffusion and emulation puzzles are therefore under-developed. Using two modes of concept analysis: structural and

[22] In some cases, guns were paired effectively with cavalry, as the Mughals did, and in others, they enhanced the infantry to the point of nearly rendering the cavalry obsolete, as in pre-Meiji Japan (Lorge 2008, 6, 10). By the 19th century, numerous non-western militaries had also developed elements of close order drill and controlled volley fire (MacDonald 2014, 35).

[23] There is an extensive debate and pushback against this democratic triumphalism literature, see for example Biddle and Long (2004), Desch (2010), Brooks and Stanley (2007), Talmadge (2015).

categorical, I address some of these gaps. Second, I clarify the key terms and elements of a theory of military diffusion and I argue for the importance of the 'diffusible item' and the nature of the relationship between the model and the emulator. I conceptualize the latter as the different transmission pathways between the model and emulator with different facilitative properties. I further develop the theories of victory and corporatism as the conceptual containers for the diffusible item.

Third, I define military diffusion as the process through which military ideas are is transmitted from one polity to another. As an endpoint to the process, emulation is an adoption outcome where we see the changes to a pre-existing organization, operational method, or doctrine resulting from the imitation of another military's organization, operational method, or doctrine. This dissertation focuses on explaining two variations in military emulation as part of the diffusion process: maximalist and minimalist. In a 'maximalist emulation', we should see the removal of existing theories of victory and warfare with foreign-based ones. In a 'minimalist emulation', we should see a small number of changes to the pre-existing theories of victory and corporatism. The emulator in this regard only selectively chooses a small number elements of foreign theories of victory and corporatism.

Finally, I highlight the normative challenges associated with examining military Westernization in Asia. The analysis also establishes the importance of focusing on conceptual constructs rather than technology as drivers of change. I focus on military Westernization in Asia because Asian polities have not historically been 'first movers' of conceptual innovation and that their development have been shaped and shoved by their interaction with Western powers. And yet, the Asian cases offer puzzling trajectories that reveal the different challenges associated with diffusion and emulation.

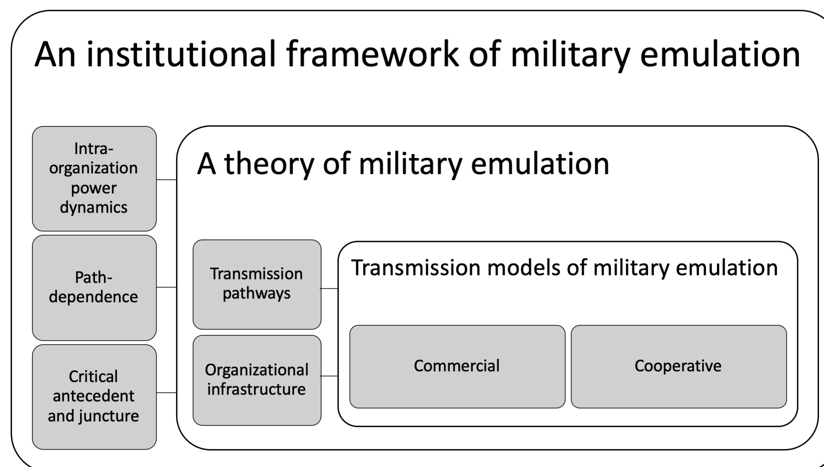
Chapter 3

An institutional theory of military emulation

This chapter explains the variation of military emulation—the changes to a pre-existing military organization resulting from an imitation of another military's technology, structure, or doctrine. I focus on explaining two variations in particular: maximalist and minimalist. These outcomes vary in how fast and how expansive the diffusion processes are and how similar the adoption outcomes are compared to the original model. In a maximalist emulation, we should see the emulators adopt fundamentally new theories of victory and corporatism that mirror the foreign model closely. In a minimalist emulation, we would hardly see any new theories of victory and corporatism built from the foreign model. I develop a nested institutional framework to explain this variation. By nested I mean that the argument consists of three elements embedded within one another: (1) a power-based institutional framework, (2) a theory built around around two conceptual grids: the donor-emulator transmission pathway and the quality of the emulator's personnel infrastructure, and (3) transmission models: cooperative and commercial. These components are integrated within and operationalized by one another, as Figure 3.1 below depicts.

This nested logic builds on the distinction Ostrom (2011) proposes between frameworks, theories, and models. Each construct is 'nested' within one another: models are

Figure 3.1: A nested institutional argument of military emulation



derived from theories which in turn are derived from frameworks. Frameworks identify the general relationships among broad theoretical elements — the relevant causal conditions and process patterns for a given range of issues — and offer broad concepts corresponding to these identifications (Rueschemeyer 2009, 1). I adopt an institutional framework that employs broad concepts (path-dependence and critical juncture) to understand why and how humanly-devised constraints channel people into certain actions. As a subset of a framework, a theory specifies salient elements and assumptions necessary to diagnose a phenomenon and explain its processes. Finally, models make precise assumptions about a limited set of variables and parameters provided by the theory and how their combination lead to empirically verifiable hypotheses.

The nested argument claims that the variation of emulation depends on the interaction between two sets of institutions during critical junctures: the transmission pathway between the donor and the emulator and the quality of the emulator's personnel infrastructure. The transmission pathway provides the 'supply' of information on the theories of victory and corporatism, and the emulator's personnel infrastructure determines its 'capacity' to interpret and adopt them. A maximalist emulation is a likely outcome when there

is a ‘matching conjunction’ between an accelerated flow of information on new theories of corporatism and victory and when there is a military organization capable of interpreting and adopting them. As embodiments of the donor-emulator relationship, some pathways have more accelerative properties than others. The more the pathway exhibits accelerative properties, the better facilitated the diffusion process will be. Conversely, the more the pathway exhibits inhibitive properties, the harder the diffusion process will be. I argue that the cooperative pathway is more inhibitive than the commercial one.

Meanwhile, the quality of the emulator’s personnel infrastructure is operationalized by its career management and education systems. A high-quality personnel infrastructure develops a professional, merit-based career management system. Under this condition, officers trained in new theories of victory and corporatism are likely become ‘product champions’ as they hold key positions. If a military further develops a professional education and training system — courses are oriented towards military sciences and military schools are valued for their learning qualifications — the organization is likely to have a higher learning capacity. Officers then are likely capable at understanding and adopting foreign theories of victory and corporatism. Conversely, if the emulator has a low-quality career management and education systems, the chances that the organization would adopt new theories of victory and corporatism are small. The operationalization of theory, however, relies on the institutional framework and the specification of models derived from the theory.

This chapter elaborates the nested argument in four sections. The first discusses the framework that draws from the institutional analysis and organizational theory literature and highlights the key tenets of a power-based framework. It also builds on recent conceptual developments in path dependence, critical juncture, and critical antecedents. The second describes the theory I built from the institutional framework. It discusses the interaction

between the transmission pathways and the quality of the emulator's military personnel infrastructure. The third derives and elaborates two transmission models from the theory: cooperative and commercial. The models specify the mid-range causal mechanisms that will guide the empirical analysis in chapters 4 and 5. Finally, I will conclude by summarizing the key arguments and describe its broader implications. Throughout the sections, I provide historical illustrations from different time periods and geographical spaces to illustrate the observable implications of the key concepts and mechanisms.

3.1 An institutional framework of military emulation

The framework draws from the distributional approach to institutions (Knight 1992; Mahoney 2000) and the natural systems perspective in organizational theory (Scott 2003). It focuses on how intra-organizational power dynamics between competing groups shape the interaction between formal and informal institutions and drive the reproduction of institutional structures. These structures, in turn, provide the parameters through which intra-organizational power dynamics evolve over time. I explain this feedback loop below.

I start with the premise that organizations are different from institutions; organizations require some degree of institutionalization to function, but not all institutions require an organization (Scott 2003; North 1990). Organizations are collective actors who might be subject to institutional constraints in how they operate or behave within their environment. But they also have internal structures, a set of rules governing the interactions of those persons who constitute the organization (Knight 1992, 3). As such, some collective actors are both an organization and an institution, depending on the unit of analysis in question. The military is an actor in the domestic and international arena and is subjected to (external) institutional constraints (e.g. international law). But the military also has a set of (inter-

nal) governing rules for its members (e.g. chain of command). Militaries are organizations because they were intentionally set up with some guarantee of personnel and resources, rules to regulate internal behavior and ensure control, and driven by functionally defined goals (Norden 2001). The degree to which these internal rules are institutionalized is better understood, I argue, as 'behavioral routinization': the process in which organizational "rules of the game" and behaviors become regularized, routinized or made predictable (Levitsky 1998).[1] The framework focuses on the inward-looking face: the institutions governing the members of the armed forces. I submit that one could not fully explain the process of organizational change—of which emulation is a subset of—without accounting for such institutions.

Many social scientists generally agree that institutions are a set of rules or humanly devised constraints that shape and structure human interactions in particular ways and are shared by the members of the relevant community (Knight 1992, 2; North 1990, 3). These institutions are likely to consist of formal or informal rules (Mahoney 2010, 15). But scholars disagree on what causes institutional change and their consequences. One way out of the debate is to disaggregate institutions and specify the unit and level of analysis.[2]

This view is congruent with the distributional or 'discriminatory effect' approach in institutional analysis. In this approach, institutions are the objects of contestation among actors differentially implicated in their resource allocations. Institutions, in other words, are distributional instruments that allocate resources unevenly and thereby help constitute

[1] This is related but not equivalent to the Huntingtonian idea of military professionalism, which is closer to institutionalization as 'value infusion' (Huntington 1957). I concede that my definition of institutionalization has an inherent normative 'good content' (i.e. meritocratic professionalism). This may not always hold across different contexts, however, as it is possible that some militaries may institutionalize 'bad' behavior (e.g. abusive practices). But for the purposes of my theoretical framework, I assume the institutionalization is about the stabilization of behavior and practices in general.

[2] Some scholars see institutions as nested with different degrees of complexity. Ostrom (1990, 52), for example, offers a three-level typology of institutional rules: operational (rules affecting daily decisions or behaviors), collective-choice (rules governing the process by which operational rules are made), and constitutional-choice (rules determining who is eligible and used in crafting collective-choice rules). Others simply see institutions as consisting of a macro and micro level (e.g. Boas 2007).

asymmetrical collective actors (Mahoney 2010, 15). The asymmetries of power and resources may or may not be endogenous to an institution; some actors are empowered by institutional rules while others build their clout from non-institutional sources (Rixen and Viola 2015, 316). Regardless, any set of rules, constraints, or expectations that patterns or shapes human action and interaction will benefit some but not other members of a group through some allocation of resources, power, or both (Mahoney and Thelen 2010, 8; Knight 1992, 8).

Under this power-based framework, the military is not a coherent organizational actor. The military is a complex political community consisting of shifting coalitions and groups vying for power, control, and resources (Rosen 1991). This view also follows the natural systems perspective in organizational theory. Group members attempt to survive by imposing their preferences—and thus compete with one another—upon the organization, which they view as a major asset and a source of power, resource, or prestige (Scott 2003, 58). Members seek allies whose interests are related and they negotiate with those whose interests are divergent but whose participation is necessary (Scott 2003, 296). The military therefore inherently contains conflictual interest groups; resources are allocated and policies produced through the building of coalitions among and between these groups (Zisk 1993, 20). In other words, intra-organizational politics produce shifting hierarchies of competing interests that shape and define organizational activities and institutions (Farrell 1996, 124).

The power-based framework also suggests we should not only focus on the stated organizational goals. There is often a disparity between the stated and 'real' goals pursued—the actual or operative goals governing activities and behaviors (Scott 2003, 57). We should instead examine the interplay and power dynamics between key groups and consider the gap between the stated and real goals. Examining the gap also helps us understand the extent to which institutional rules reflect the preferences of the powerful group and how its dominance

may be reproduced over time. As I describe below, the process of institutional change is inherently linked to whether dominant power structures are reproduced and how.

The gap between real and stated goals also underscores the distinction between formal and informal institutions. The former are designed to operate independently of the characteristics of the individual members and to constrain the actions of others through a third party (Scott 2003, 59; Knight 1992, 188). This possibility of a third party enforcement indicates whether a formal rule has legitimacy (Streeck and Thelen 2005, 11). Formal rules are therefore almost always written down and communicated to members. Informal institutions, meanwhile, are socially shared rules, usually unwritten, that are created, communicated, and enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels—they could either complement, accommodate, substitute, or compete with formal rules (Helmke and Levitsky 2004, 727). Informal institutions can nevertheless influence the distribution of resources, which in turn affect the power asymmetries in the conflict or compromise over formal institutions (Knight 1992, 172).

The power dynamics between competing groups underpin the process of institutional change and involve the interplay of formal and informal institutions. On the one hand, the rules governing members' behavior and activities can either be formal or informal—and so would the ensuing new arrangements following conflict or compromise. On the other hand, formal and informal institutions could also become tools used by different groups within an organization as they compete with one another. In the military context, one group might use the formal chain of command, for example, to sideline a competing group while another might use informal patronage to place its members in leadership positions. Formal and informal institutions thus provide the parameters within which power relationships are exercised (Vennesson 1995, 40)—and whether change is possible and to what extent. We observe these formal and informal institutions, as the next section details, in the donor-

emulator relationship as well as in the emulator's military personnel infrastructure.

In institutional analysis, to exercise power over some group is to affect by some means the alternatives available to that group in such a way as to get it to act in a way that it would not otherwise choose to do (Knight 1992, 41-2). In other words, how group A within an organization could get group B to adopt an institution that distributionally favors A (when other alternatives would be better for B). Different groups with different resources are likely to create different institutions. Institutions thus reflect the efforts by one group to dominate or gain advantage over another or the compromise between them. Some institutions are stable because they disproportionately distribute resources to already powerful actors, reinforcing their position, and enabling them to uphold previous arrangements. Shifts in power resources could weaken or strengthen these arrangements, resulting in either conflict or compromise, and thus some sort of institutional change.

How and to what extent institutions change depends on the key actors exercising their power to build and shape coalitions, to persuade other members, and the specific substance of new designs. If successful, new institutions create new power advantages and disadvantages, but over time, they are likely to reproduce patterns of power (Rueschemeyer 2009, 224).[3] Significant institutional change is thus difficult and requires transformations in the balance of power between advantaged and disadvantaged actors. Two conditions are often necessary in this regard: (1) changes in the asymmetries of power among the actors and (2) changes in the distributional consequences of the institutions (Knight 1992, 183). Military change such as emulation thus requires organizational power holders to design new institutions to accommodate detractors of change. Unless opponents were weak to begin with, radically

[3] This approach does not assume that all members have equal powers. By definition, organizations have some sort of hierarchy. Members in a position to compete with another to change existing institutions are usually located within the the upper echelons of the leadership structure. A power-based approach is thus elitist in that it focuses on how organizational leaders—not all members—compete for resources and control.

weakened subsequently, or afforded some protection in the new situation, they are likely to encourage non-compliance (Rueschemeyer 2009, 226). How and to what extent weaker groups are accommodated is thus a major source of institutional change.

The power-based framework fundamentally argues that institutional structures reflect power dynamics rather than efficiency or effectiveness. As Knight (1992, 40) argues, whether an institution is efficient depends on whether the institutional form that distributionally favors the actors capable of asserting their power is socially efficient. In some instances, institutions that might appear dysfunctional persist because elites are prepared to sacrifice efficiency when their interests are threatened (Rodan, Hewison and Robison 2006, 7; Mahoney 2000, 521). In the military, the central power and distributional conflict revolves around the question of who should rule and how the 'citizens' should live (Rosen 1991, 19). The fight over personnel infrastructure — from education and training to promotions and appointments — are often intertwined with these questions. They are at the heart of intra-organizational fights over military emulation and Westernization because new theories of victory and corporatism could upend existing power structures. As we discussed in the previous chapter, these two theories embody the military's outlook, and thus its power and resources—who defines them control the organization.

As the intra-organizational power dynamics reflect, shape, and reproduce institutional development, sequential analysis is central to the power-based framework. Making sequence explicit allows us to 'endogenize' the explanatory variables, i.e. incorporate into the model some variation of causal feedback loops from the explanandum at one point in time to the explanatory variables at a later point in time (Büthe 2002, 485). Sequence analysis also corresponds to the comparative process tracing strategy of inquiry I adopt. It further helps us unpack how power dynamics reproduce institutional structures, as the next part shows.

3.1.1 Path-dependence and change

This sub-section focuses on path dependence as a mechanism for either organizational change or persistence. Unlike most institutional analyses that equate path dependence with decay or stagnation (i.e. an outcome), I argue that path dependence is a process facilitating organizational development along a particular 'locked-in' path over time. In other words, I consider the concept of path dependence as more about the 'stickiness' of organizational development than the resulting end-point. Under this view, path dependence can lead to organizational innovation in some instances but stagnation in others.

Military studies scholars employ path dependence to explain the absence of innovation or the persistence of some detrimental behaviors (e.g. Zisk 1993; Rosen 1991). And yet, in some instances, path dependence could lead to military innovation. In Singapore, for example, the path-dependent civil-military relations, underpinned by the dominance of the People's Action Party since the 1960s, has led to a "trickle down" military innovation, where the government has continually guided the armed forces to innovate (Laksmana 2017). In other instances, a series of failures accumulated in a path-dependent trajectory could also lead to change and innovation (Palier 2005, 134). This suggests that some locked-in set of institutions could be favorable to adaptation and change while other sets are more amenable to stagnation. Path dependence is less an outcome than a process.

What matters for our analysis is the power dynamics underpinning the process of path dependence. As mentioned above, powerful groups could agree to stay in or move off an existing path if their power and interests are at stake. Their considerations have to do less with organizational efficiency than with the balance of power and the accompanying resource allocation. In a power-based framework, path dependence captures a particular dynamic of institutional reproduction over time in which the equilibrium is reinforced through the

reproduction of power. As an institution reproduces itself, it becomes increasingly locked-in and resistant to reversal. Path dependence is thus a process of power reproduction.

Path dependence is further characterized by: (1) a stochastic relationship between outcomes and initial conditions, (2) increasing returns and self-reinforcement of power, and (3) endogenous process of change. I detail the first feature as I describe critical junctures in the next sub-section. Let me note for now that path dependence is a 'system property' in which outcomes are related stochastically to initial conditions, and the particular outcome that obtains in any given 'run' of the system depends on the choices or outcomes of intermediate events between the initial conditions and the outcome (Goldstone 1998, 834). The intermediate events set into motion institutional patterns that have deterministic properties. Under the power-based framework, path dependence focuses on how these intermediate events follows a certain power dynamic: the institution initially empowers a certain group at the expense of others; the advantaged group uses its additional power to expand the institution; the expansion of the institution increases the power of the advantaged group; and the advantaged group encourages additional expansion (Mahoney 2000, 521).

Such power dynamic embodies path dependence because it creates increasing returns of power. This second feature follows—but is not identical to—the concept of self-reinforcement in economics (Arthur 1994; David 1994). Economists consider increasing returns as a production process that exhibits increasing returns to scale (a reduction in the cost per unit resulting from increased production). In institutional change, this means that the more a choice is made or an action is taken, the greater its benefit and thus its persistence. In other words, self-producing sequences are those in which a given outcome is stably reinforced over time (Mahoney and Schensul 2006, 465). In the power-based framework, self-reinforcing patterns originate from political processes among competing groups and fol-

lows the power dynamics discussed above. Under this condition, actors may use political authority to generate changes in the rules of the game (both formal and informal) designed to enhance their power (Pierson 2000, 259).

The third feature, endogeneity, underpins self-reinforcement processes: a closed 'cause and effect' circuit or feedback loop (Greif and Laitin 2004). The endogeneity is defined by the relationship to the institution in question. A variable is endogenous when its value is determined or influenced by an institution, and it in turn affects that institution's development.[4] Endogeneity is why the notion of "history matters"—where cause and effect amplify each other—is different from a time series notion of causality (Rixen and Viola 2015, 307). The idea is that institutions have effects which then become the causes of subsequent effects on the same institutions, which in turn become causes once again (Büthe 2002). The power-based framework makes endogeneity an integral part of the analysis, as the two models described in the penultimate section of this chapter show.

Taken together, the three features above embody a path-dependent organizational development as viewed by the power-based framework. That intra-organizational power dynamics shape military behavior should not be surprising. Scholars working on military cohesion have made the case for decades. Recently, some scholars argue that military bureaucratic politics shapes the likelihood of military emulation (Grauer 2015). But such argument sidelines the long term and path-dependent institutional parameters through which power dynamics are exercised. One cannot simply extricate power from any discussion of group politics to begin with. But more importantly, the argument tells us little about the antecedent condition or context underpinning the rise and fall of the salient power dynamics.

[4] An exogenous variable, in contrast, is one whose value is itself causally independent of the institution but may nevertheless affect its development. Any given variable at any given point in time can be either exogenous or endogenous. Exogenous and endogenous variables may both be at work simultaneously and may interact to produce a change, or a variable may change from being exogenous to endogenous. See details in Rixen and Viola (2015, 308-9) and Greif and Laitin (2004).

3.1.2 Critical junctures and antecedents

The power dynamics that sustain institutional reproduction do not emerge in a vacuum. They are more likely to arise during critical junctures. In general, a critical juncture is a period of significant change which produces distinct legacies (Collier and Collier 1991, 29). It has two key features: (1) relaxed institutional constraints, where the range of plausible choices open to powerful actors expands substantially, and (2) consequential choices, where the actions or arrangements key actors make channels future movement in a specific direction that becomes increasingly more difficult to reverse to the initial point when there were multiple alternatives (Capoccia and Kelemen 2007, 343; Mahoney 2000, 513). These features allow for two conditions at work (Soifer 2012, 1573). First, the permissive conditions that represent the easing of the constraints. Second, the productive conditions that, in the presence of the permissive conditions, produce the set of institutional choices that are then reproduced after the permissive conditions disappear.

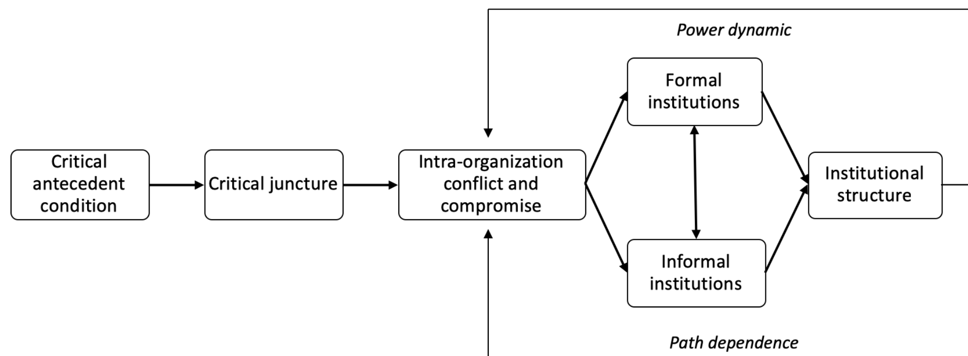
Under these conditions, critical junctures open up the possibility of contestation and compromise among competing groups, which in turn have profound consequences for resource allocation and the intra-organizational balance of power. Temporally, critical junctures could be short-lived or they could last for years. What matters is not the length of time, but the period in which the permissive conditions are present. Those conditions are also associated with the notion of contingency. Scholars argue that a critical juncture represents a random happening, an accident, a small occurrence, or an event coming "out of left field" that cannot be explained or predicted by a particular theory (Mahoney and Schensul 2006, 460; Bennett and Elman 2006, 254). This implies that the permissive condition is a function of exogenous variables. But since organizations are social systems and not markets or natural entities, triggering events and permissive conditions are unlikely to be completely random

or unpredicted (Sydow, Schreyögg and Koch 2009, 693).

Thus, the rise of permissive conditions is likely to be endogenous. Specifically, permissive conditions operating during critical junctures are likely to be shaped by 'critical antecedents: conditions preceding a critical juncture that combine with causal forces during a critical juncture to produce long-term divergence in outcomes (Slater and Simmons 2010, 889). Critical antecedents can directly or indirectly affect the causal mechanism that emerges during the critical juncture and predispose the independent variable to have different effects across cases (Slater and Simmons 2010, 891). The degree to which critical antecedents shape the choices of key actors during critical junctures varies depending on their relationship with the key mechanism. The choices could range from those characterized by a high degree of discretion to those that are more deeply embedded in earlier occurrences (Mahoney 2001*a*, 7). In the next section, I detail how the degree of intra-military conflict is the critical antecedent affecting the power dynamic during a critical juncture of a military diffusion process.

To summarize, the power-based framework argues that the power dynamics between groups within an organization competing for resources and control shape the interplay between formal and informal institutions. The interplay leads to a new institutional structure over time. The structure then further shapes new conflicts and compromises, which in turn leads to a new institutional structure in a feedback loop. As the power dynamics reproduce institutional structures, they place the organization within a path-dependent trajectory. Critical antecedents further drive the salient power dynamics that emerge during critical junctures. Taken together, Figure 3.2 below depicts the power-based institutional framework under which I operationalize the theory I present in the next section.

Figure 3.2: The power-based institutional framework



3.2 A theory of military emulation

The theory argues whether a military achieves a minimalist or maximalist emulation depends on the interaction between two sets of institutions during critical junctures. First, the nature of the transmission pathway between the model and the emulator. The pathway is a mechanism to convey information about the new theories of victory and corporatism. As embodiments of the donor-emulator relationship, some pathways have more accelerative properties than others. The more a pathway exhibits accelerative properties, the better facilitated the diffusion process will be. Conversely, the more a pathway exhibits inhibitive properties, the harder the diffusion process will be. The pathways become institutionalized as donor-recipient power dynamics evolved in a path-dependent trajectory over time.

Second, the quality of the military's personnel infrastructure: career management as well as education and training. The quality determines whether the organization would be receptive or resistant to foreign theories of corporatism and victory as they provide the parameters through which intra-organizational power dynamics unfold. The higher the quality of the personnel infrastructure, the more likely the organization would be receptive, and the lower the quality, the more likely it would be resistant. This is because the higher the quality, the more likely new career pathways could emerge for officers trained in foreign theories

of victory and corporatism, allowing them to become product champions, and ensure that broader learning capacity is boosted. A higher learning capacity is necessary for officers understand, adopt, and implement the new concepts.

Figure 3.3. depicts how the interactions between these institutions during critical junctures shape the variation of military emulation. The pathway provides the 'supply' of information on the theories of victory and corporatism and the emulator's personnel infrastructure determines its 'capacity' to interpret and adopt them. A maximalist emulation ensues when there is a 'matching conjunction' between an accelerated flow of information and when there is an organization capable of interpreting and adopting it. We are likely to see a maximalist emulation in a commercial transmission and when the emulator exhibits a high-quality personnel infrastructure. We should see a minimalist emulation in a cooperative transmission and when the emulator personnel infrastructure is of low-quality.

Figure 3.3: A theory of military emulation

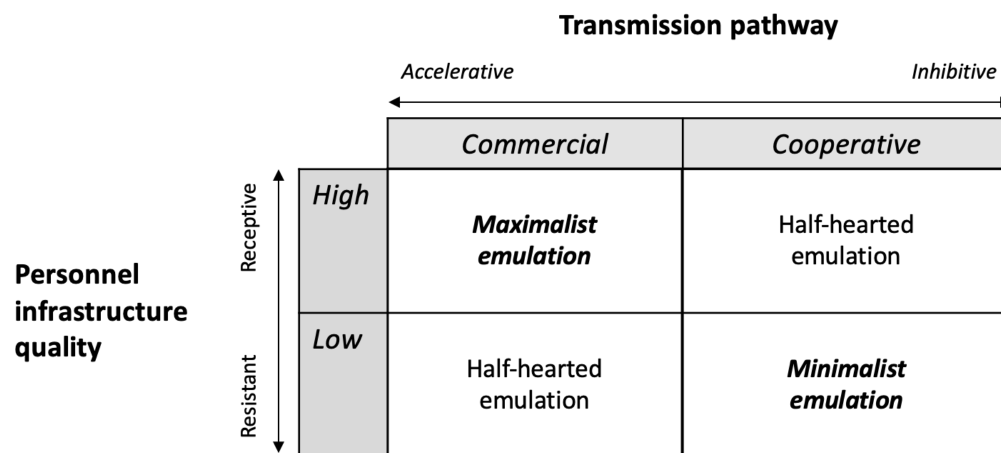


Figure 3.3 also notes the possible outcome of 'half-hearted' emulation, which we should logically see when a cooperative transmission interacts with a high-quality personnel infrastructure and when a commercial transmission interacts with a low-quality personnel infrastructure. I do not examine this outcome for two reasons. First, a half-hearted emulation

is under-specified because it merely sits between the maximalist and minimalist emulation. Contrasting two ideal types of emulation (maximalist and minimalist) therefore yields more analytical leverage. Second, as I describe below, the coercive transmission (which I do not examine in this project) where the original model imposes its theories of victory and corporatism better explains the half-hearted emulation outcome. Half-hearted emulation is more likely to emerge when the agency of the diffusion process almost exclusively lies within the donor—and thus falls outside of this project's scope.

The interaction depicted in Figure 3.3 takes place during critical junctures, where we see relaxed institutional constraints and consequential choices. The intensity of intra-military conflicts as critical antecedents (described below) provides the permissive conditions under which: (1) key groups within the military could strike a bargain, intensify their conflict, or reach a stalemate, and (2) the relationship between the model and emulator just began. These conditions allow for both the model and emulator to shape the diffusion process, albeit not equally, and for intra-military groups to 'decide' on how to handle the incoming transfer of new theories of victory and corporatism. The critical juncture then is defined by the options available to military leaders pertaining to military Westernization. Once decisions are taken, it is likely the emulator would be on a path-dependent trajectory as the power dynamics reproduce the institutions over time. I elaborate the causal mechanisms under which these dynamics unfold in the two transmission models below.

3.2.1 Transmission pathways

In general, the transmission pathway in a diffusion process is the medium of communication that transmits new information to the emulator. At the broadest level, we can identify four distinct pathways as depicted in Table 3.1 below. Due to space and time constraints, I only

focus on two transmissions — cooperative and commercial — as the two voluntary dyadic direct military diffusions. The combative transmission is not only historically rare but is also indeterminate on how the diffusion occurs without a relationship between the model and emulator.[5] The coercive transmission meanwhile robs the emulator's agency as the diffusion process often starts with a strong coercion or invasion. Focusing on the cooperative and commercial transmissions thus gives us the analytical space to examine the agency of the emulator in different diffusion processes.

[5] For example, during the patchy diffusion of the "Musket revolution" in Europe during the 16th and 17th century, states imported these weapons and the tactics by hiring their enemies' former officers. The use of freelance instructors associated with the innovators are rare during war, however, and the mechanisms in which such diffusion takes place seems better encapsulated within the commercial transmission. Furthermore, learning about an enemy's best practices can be done without direct contact.

Table 3.1: General and ideal types of transmission pathways

Pathway	Donor-emulator relations	Diffusion type	Dominant agency	Empirical mechanisms	Historical examples
Cooperative	Alliance or partnership	Direct (dyadic)	Model and emulator (equal)	*Voluntary learning from friends* Voluntarily and mutually agreed upon arrangement, including through joint-development programs, information and intelligence sharing, military assistance and training programs, joint exercises, and/or other activities	US and Soviet military assistance programs during Cold War
Commercial	Buyer and seller	Direct (dyadic)	Emulator (recipient)	*Voluntary shopping in the marketplace* Voluntarily and contractual agreement, incl. the use of advisory teams, mercenaries, "purchase" of military training, and could use state or non-state agents.	Imperial Japan (1868–1912), 20th century Chile
Coercive	Unbalanced patron-client	Direct (dyadic)	Model (donor)	*Direct imposition or involuntary adoption* External inducements by powerful actors/ patrons, ranging from overt coercion to the loose structuring of incentives and sanctions, and often preceded by an invasion.	British India, Colonial Africa, post-9/11 Iraq and Afghanistan.
Combative	Enemies and/rivals	Indirect	Emulator (recipient)	*Competitive pressure to survive* Learn enemies' best practices through: battlefield successes and defeat, intelligence gathering, or third party agents.	The "Musket revolution" in Europe during the 16th and 17th century.

In a direct dyadic diffusion, the pathways serve as the primary channel between the model and the emulator. They facilitate the transfer of information and provide different opportunities and challenges for the emulators (Grauer 2015, 275). I start from the premise that the quality and nature of the donor-emulator relationship determines the nature of communication—and by implication, the quality of the transmission. I argue that whether the pathway accelerates or decelerates the transmission of information about new theories of victory and corporatism is the most salient trait. The more a pathway exhibits accelerative rather than inhibitive properties, the more likely that the diffusion of new ideas proceed faster, more smoothly, and more expansive.[6]

Whether a transmission pathway is accelerative or inhibitive depends on the challenges to the diffusion process. I argue that while both the cooperative and commercial pathways are based on the same voluntary logic, they pose different challenges to the diffusion process. By voluntary I mean the model and emulator are assumed to have the "luxury" to choose, free from direct and immediate coercion (Dolowitz and Marsh 1996, 346). The key differences between these two pathways with regards to their facilitative properties are: (1) whether the diffusion process is determined by one side (the emulator) or by both sides (the emulator and the model), and (2) whether the interaction between the model and the emulator allows the latter to not only obtain specific military knowledge it needs, but also 'localize' and made it into its own.

In a cooperative transmission, theories of corporatism and victory should diffuse between allies or partners based on voluntary agreements. This partnership almost always involves government-to-government negotiations. As such, both the model and emulator are equally in control of the diffusion process. Meanwhile, in a commercial transmission,

[6] I should note that the facilitative properties are not absolute terms. One transmission pathway is more accelerative or inhibitive only in relation to another.

the diffusion is between two voluntary actors, but market mechanisms, rather than partnership needs, often drive the process. The diffusion process therefore does not rely on a government-to-government relationship. Emulators in fact ouse non-government actors to provide military information or knowledge. The emulator, by the time it has gone to the marketplace, should also have the necessary capacity—political, financial, or otherwise—to pick and choose specific models it wants to borrow from.

I discuss the benefits and challenges of these transmissions in the models below. I want to note here that a cooperative transmission is more likely to lead to a minimalist emulation while a commercial transmission is more likely to lead to a maximalist one. As a set of institutions, these pathways are also likely to generate path-dependent effects. For analytical purposes, I consider these pathways to be exogenous to the emulator's intra-military institutions (although over time they might become gradually endogenous to it). Further, the facilitative properties of each transmission alone do not explain the variation of emulation. I describe their interactions with the emulator's personnel infrastructure in producing emulation outcomes in the next sub-section.

3.2.2 Personnel infrastructure

A military diffusion process is costly. Militaries must anticipate wars that may or may not occur, which means that their leaders may not know ahead of time whether foreign theories of victory and corporatism would be the best 'fit'. Senior officers must also account for the intra-organizational power dynamics because new ideas are likely to change existing power structures. New missions, for example, must be redefined so that officers could know how they would be evaluated, rewarded, or punished (Rosen 1991, 20). The more new missions diverge from pre-existing ones, the more reticent officers are to accept them as they could hinder their

advancement or reduce their power (Avant and Lebovic 2002). These are the power dynamics that reflect and further shape the intra-military institutions that shape the organization's receptivity to new ideas. Two institutions are particularly salient: (1) career management and (2) education and training. The quality of these systems determines the emulator's capacity to exploit the opportunities and information provided by the transmission pathways.

Career management

The quality of the career management is essential to the military's capacity to engage in the diffusion process. By quality, I mean the extent to which the career system is professional and institutionalized.[7] A high-quality career management system should have established paths of advancement and recruitment under a common standard of authority and a stable agreement on personnel qualifications. Ideally, officers are admitted through a competitive system of examinations, given extensive training, and evaluated using an elaborate merit-based procedure to determine who may rise through the ranks and command others. Personnel are then assigned to limited domains, responsible to those directly above them in the chain of command. Discipline is maintained through the inculcation of a service ethic and a strict enforcement of a merit-based hierarchy. This system allows the military to be rule-governed, predictable, meritocratic, and its officers should develop 'Weberian' integrated patterns of behavior and attitudes.[8] Conversely, in a low-quality career management system, organizational borders are "permeable" and vulnerable to social or political influences. We see this when the system is organized arbitrarily, politically, or patrimonially and when discipline is maintained through the political intervention of extra-organizational actors. In other words,

[7] I draw the description in this paragraph on military career institutionalization from Pion-Berlin (1992, 87), Norden (2001, 111), Belkin (2005, 145), Moore and Trout (1978), and Bellin (2004, 145).

[8] By Weberian, I mean the division of labor based upon laws and regulations, a clear hierarchy, management based upon written documents, specialization based on training, the full involvement of the official, and acceptance of general rules. For details, see Norden (2001); Segal and Segal (1983).

when the career management is governed more by informal institutions (e.g. patronage) than formal ones (e.g. chain of command).

A career management system also indicates and provides the 'legitimacy' of a particular group's rule or domination within an organization. As our framework suggests, the institutional designs and contents of an organization reflects the ruling group's preferences. As such, competing groups consider career management as a "resource to be captured". Indeed, more often than not, political power in military organizations is won through the influence over who is promoted to senior or command positions. Control over the promotion of officers is a source of power (Rosen 1991, 20). The fight over leadership positions thus reflects and further shapes the power dynamics within military organizations.

The quality of career management have implications for the diffusion process in two ways. First, whether the military is prone to intense and disruptive factional conflicts *during* critical junctures. These conflicts are often carried over from critical antecedent period (discussed below). A conflict-ridden military is unlikely to have the resources or willingness to engage in a full-scale adoption of foreign theories of victory and corporatism. A new set of foreign theories could empower other groups at their expense. But if officers could rely on a set of routinized and stabilized professional rules and practices, they could manage their differences and focus on organizational tasks. Indeed, studies show that military innovation is more likely when organizational actors with different responsibilities converge on a common understanding about an innovative 'product' (Stulberg 2005, 505). In short, a divided military is unlikely to be capable or willing to fully engage in a diffusion process.

Second, whether 'product champions' are likely to emerge. These are strategically placed actors, trained in the new theories of victory and corporatism, who could use their position to promote these ideas. They are thus central to an organization-wide emulation

outcome, especially if they could get senior leaders to commit and invest in the new ideas.[9] Innovation theorists call them 'opinion leaders' or 'change agents'. Others refer to them as policy or norms 'entrepreneurs', 'subversives', or even 'insurrectionaries': key actors seeking to change particular policies, norms, or institutions and facilitate the spread of innovative practices from within the organization.[10] While these product champions often emerge informally (Howell, Shea and Higgins 2005, 644), their rise does not begin with the first contact with the foreign model. If anything, very few officers will be enthusiastic about embracing ideas that contravenes pre-existing theories of victory and corporatism.

Instead, the rise of product champions depends on who controls the mechanisms of leadership selection, which is subject to existing power dynamics and institutions.[11] Whether product champions emerge therefore depends on whether new promotion pathways to the senior ranks could be created for them (Rosen 1991, 20). Generating new theories of victory thus starts with increasing the diversity of voices "circulating the corridors of power" (Jensen 2016, 217). Such career pathways are important not only ensure that the new ideas could be institutionalized—and thus have a longer shelf life. They also signal to the rest of the officer corps that the ideas reflect a legitimate conception of what the military should care about.

New career pathways for foreign-trained officers are likely to emerge when the career management system is of high quality. When professional procedures are well-developed, officers who spent time overseas could be appreciated and thus rise through the ranks. An institutionalized promotion policy also signals to the wider organization that if the diffusion

[9] I borrow the label 'product champions' from the business management literature. A champion is "an individual who is intensely interested and involved with the overall objectives and goals of the project" and who plays a dominant role in overcoming technical and organizational obstacles and pulling the effort through its final achievement (Chakrabarti 1974, 58).

[10] For more details on these different labels, see Mintrom (1997, 739), Strang and Soule (1998, 271), Mahoney and Thelen (2010, 24–25), Finnemore and Sikkink (1998), and Farrell (2001, 83).

[11] In wartime, the urgency sharply accelerates and clarifies leadership selection in a way that reduces intra-military power dynamics. This is particularly the case as the wartime high command often includes senior civilian and military leaders hard-pressed to find officers for operational goals.

process is executed professionally, the officers promoting new ideas will be rewarded. But for these product champions to be successful, they need to be 'protected' by the most senior leaders (or they need to replace them) (Jensen 2016, 218). The closer they are to the decision-making apparatus, the better they will be to push through new ideas (Farrell 2001, 83). Innovative thinking is likely to be institutionalized only if innovative thinkers can back up their ideas with organizational power (Zisk 1993, 25).

To sum up, in a high-quality career management system, we should see transparent, clear, and well-developed formal institutions governing personnel advancement and operational duties underpinned by a professional and merit-based chain of command. Under this condition, there should be new career pathways for product champions. In a low-quality career management system, informal institutions (e.g. patronage) are more powerful career markers than merit, hierarchy, or professional qualifications. We should then see the powerful force of informal institutions, the prevalence of intra-military contestations as career patterns become political and haphazard, and the absence of product champions pushing for new theories of victory and corporatism.

Education and training

Education and training policies tell us whether the emulator has the learning capacity to interpret, adopt, and implement new theories of victory and corporatism. By learning capacity I mean the capacity to maintain and improve performance based on new experience, knowledge, or information and to subsequently adjust existing doctrines or procedures to minimize previous gaps in performance and maximize future success (Davidson 2010, 19; Bijlsma, Bogenrieder and van Baalen 2010, 228–9). In other words, learning capacity is about the ability to learn as much as the ability to implement new insights. A higher learn-

ing capacity increases the chance that product champions could push for the adoption of new theories of victory and corporatism. The organization could, for example, correctly recognize the ideas advocated by product champions as particularly useful. A military with a high learning capacity would also be in a better position to facilitate the adoption and implementation of the new knowledge. A military with a low learning capacity, conversely, would have difficulties in identifying a new theory of victory as a suitable response to its strategic challenges. It is also unlikely that the organization could adopt and implement the new ideas as quickly and as effectively as possible.

How do we know a military with a high learning capacity when we see one? It should have an institutionalized learning system that maintains and accumulates the lessons of experience, combat or otherwise, within formal routines that serves as 'vehicles' for the learning process, despite the turnover of personnel and the passage of time (Levitt and March 1988, 326; Bijlsma, Bogenrieder and van Baalen 2010, 231; Davidson 2010, 20–1). I assume learning processes should be structured and institutionalized as much as possible. One could not allow the military that needs to deal with pressing daily challenges to figure out learning activities on their own. But formal structures alone do not predict or indicate learning capacity in a linear manner. Intra-organizational power plays, and the persistent effects of informal institutions, often interacts in different ways with formal routines.

Nonetheless, a high organizational learning capacity means that the emulator should have a well-developed formal structures sufficiently institutionalized to correctly recognize the challenges it faces and the possible changes it needs to address them. Additionally, the education and training system should be geared towards building intellectual capital. Education and training assignments should be valued as professional qualifications and required for advancement, not for their political or economic benefits. If such assignments are under-

valued or politicized, the system either becomes devoid of intellectual capital or they become career impediments—further reducing the military's learning capacity. Consequently, the military would have trouble interpreting, adopting, and implementing foreign theories of victory and corporatism. Overall, a military's learning capacity should be measured by: (1) formalized and institutionalized learning system and (2) the valuation of education and training as professional qualifications. If the military relies on ad-hoc, informal learning mechanisms and if the high command under-rates the education and training qualifications, the military is likely to experience more challenges in the diffusion process.

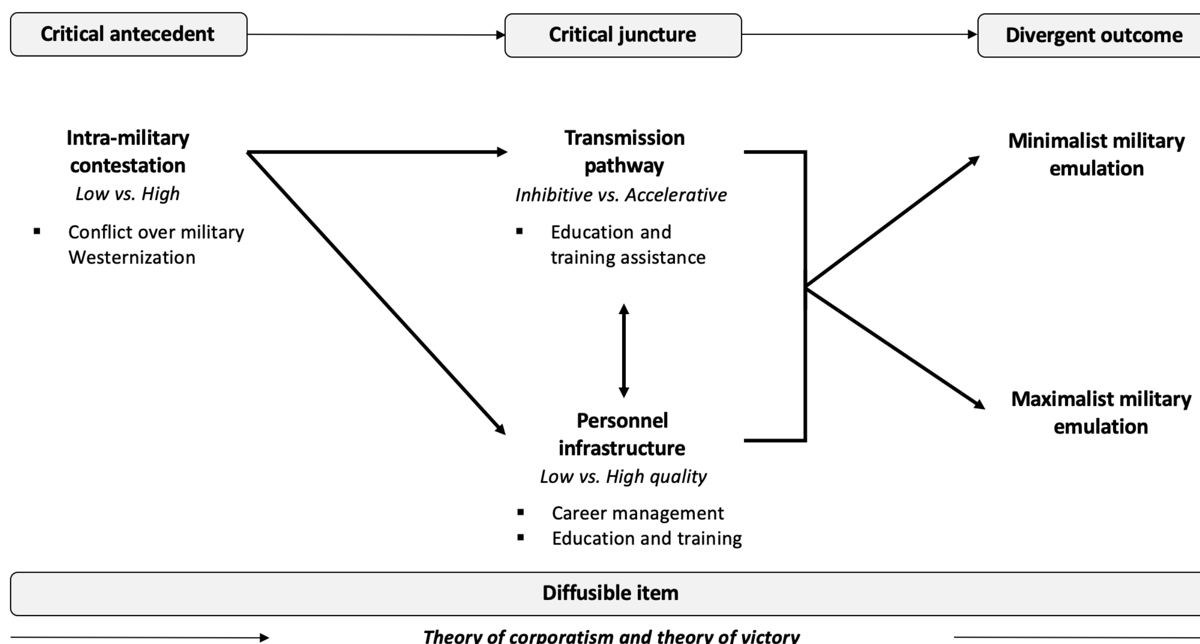
3.2.3 How the theory works under the framework

The theory argues the interaction between the transmission pathways and the quality of the emulator's personnel infrastructure during critical junctures determines the variation of military emulation. How the theory operates is further is dependent on the key concepts of the institutional framework presented above. Intra-military conflicts as critical antecedents also affect the interacting mechanisms present during the critical juncture. In essence, the interaction of transmission pathways and personnel infrastructure during a critical juncture, as shaped by the critical antecedent, leads to different emulation outcomes. Figure 3.4 below depicts the causal chain of how the institutional framework operationalizes the theory.

The level and intensity of intra-military conflicts *prior* to the critical juncture is an important critical antecedent. Whether and how the military is divided over key elements of pre-existing theories of victory and corporatism and the likely effects of incoming foreign ones affect the causal mechanism during critical junctures in two ways.

First, the conflicts affect the contestation between powerful competing groups within the military and the choices they make during critical junctures on how to respond to the

Figure 3.4: An institutional theory of military emulation



incoming transmission of knowledge. A new doctrine, for example, could favor one group over another. If the military was bitterly divided, then it is likely that incoming new theories of corporatism or victory could be politicized as part of the internal rivalries. Senior leaders could intensify their competition with one another, which would prevent the organization from learning about and implementing new ideas. Conversely, if there is no bitter internal conflict within the military before the critical juncture, senior leaders could focus and decide on how to best interpret, adopt, and implement new ideas. In short, factional conflicts as critical antecedents shape the power dynamics within the military during critical junctures.

Second, the intra-military conflicts prior to critical junctures also determine how the military deals with the foreign model. If there is an intense internal conflict over theories of victory or corporatism, it is unlikely the emulator could engage the donor in a coherent and thoughtful manner. Without a well-developed position and plan on how to engage the foreign model, the military could not take advantage of the incoming transmission of knowledge during critical junctures. Conversely, if the military experienced less factional

conflicts over theories of victory and corporatism prior to critical junctures, it is more likely they can better engage the foreign model during the diffusion process. In short, factional conflicts as critical antecedents shape the power dynamics between the donor and recipient during critical junctures. Taken together, intra-military conflicts as critical antecedents shape critical junctures that in turn shape the outcome of military emulation.

When and how the interaction between the transmission pathways and the emulator's personnel infrastructure leads to certain trajectories depends on the power dynamics. This is because both the pathway and personnel infrastructure are institutions. The former consist of the institutionalized relationship between the model and the emulator that gets reproduced over time over knowledge transmissions. In a cooperative transmission, the complexities and challenges surrounding the donor-recipient relationship are likely to be path-dependent so long as the legitimate agency of both sides remain on the status quo. In a commercial transmission, the diffusion process is path-dependent so long as the ability and willingness of the emulator to pick and choose voluntarily from the marketplace of ideas do not change. If these traits do not change during the critical juncture, the institutionalized transmission pathway will (continue to) be path-dependent.

Meanwhile, the career management and education systems are institutionalized within the military as the leadership issues, implements, and enforces formal rules and policies over those areas. During the critical juncture, the extent to which these internal features are of high-quality determines whether the organization could interpret, adopt, and implement new theories of victory and corporatism. If the quality does not change during the critical juncture, the interaction with the transmission pathway will lead to either a minimalist or maximalist emulation. The specific mechanisms underpinning these arguments are elaborated in the transmission models below.

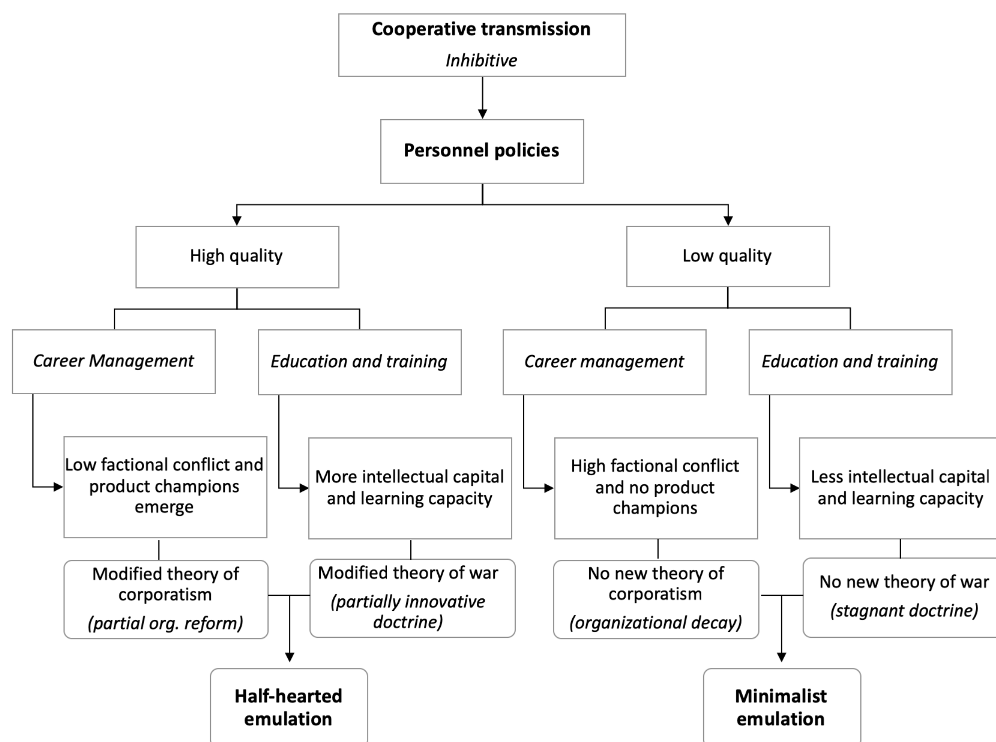
3.3 Models of military emulation

This section outlines two models derived from the theory: cooperative and commercial. The preference for using the pathways as the starting point is deliberate. The model prioritizes identifying the transmission pathway first before examining the emulator's personnel infrastructure. The models assume that the transmission is path-dependent and therefore not easily changed within a case over a short-period time. The models below unpack the interaction between transmission pathways and personnel infrastructure and how they produce the variation of military emulation. I also provide illustrations drawn from different historical periods and geographical spaces.

3.3.1 Cooperative model

The cooperative model relies on the inhibitive properties of the transmission pathway and the variation in the quality of the emulator's personnel infrastructure. Figure 3.5 depicts the causal mechanism the model proposes. The inhibitive properties suggest the 'best' outcome would not be a maximalist emulation. Under the best case scenario, a cooperative transmission leads to a half-hearted emulation (which I do not examine in this project). A half-hearted emulation is likely to emerge in a cooperative transmission where the emulator has a high-quality personnel infrastructure *before* the transfer of knowledge. Conversely, a minimalist emulation is likely to emerge in a cooperative transmission when the emulator has a low-quality personnel infrastructure. The model assumes the inhibitive nature of the transmission will be constant while the quality of the personnel infrastructure varies. The interaction between the transmission pathway and the personnel infrastructure during critical juncture will nonetheless put the military on a path-dependent trajectory. It is likely that a minimalist or half-hearted emulation outcome will persist over time.

Figure 3.5: A cooperative model of military emulation



Historically, armies learn from their friends: when fighting alongside one another, when they exchange officers, or when one ally is recognized as being clearly superior in ability (Lynn 1996, 510). Today, there are many forms of cooperative transmission, from bilateral partnerships to multilateral institutions. These transmissions also vary from highly-institutionalized relationships such as formal alliances to ad-hoc military-to-military engagements. Alliances like NATO or Warsaw Pact, for example, ensure a steady stream of transmitted war-fighting concepts from the key 'paradigmatic militaries' (Lynn 1996) to the rest.

I focus on one type of cooperative transmission: military education and training assistance.[12] Such assistance programs come with a few potential military benefits but plenty of challenges. The potential benefits come from the fact that education and training assistance

[12] By now, there are different types of security cooperation as a form of friendly military-to-military engagements, including contacts, educational and training assistance, training and exercises, and arms transfer as well as treaty monitoring activities (Reveron 2016, 105). The cooperative military socialization often takes place more intensely in education and training programs rather than arms sales.

relies on positive inducement and persuasive socialization through direct officer-to-officer contact and mutual learning (Ikenberry and Kupchan 1990, 289-90).[13] The socialization begins with the familiarization of the donor's tactics, techniques, and procedures, which provides opportunities for the recipient to rethink the way it organizes, trains, and equips for war (Frazier and Hutto 2017, 382). Over time, the repeated interactions can socialize the recipients as "epistemic communities" of like-minded military professionals grow.[14] If the process is successful, recipient officers should internalize newly transmitted ideas and perhaps redefine their collective identity (Mendee 2013, 307).

These are generally peaceful methods to 'socialize and change' another military. The model and emulator could simply negotiate how much cost they are willing to spend—political, financial, or otherwise—on the transfer of knowledge and to what extent. There is no need for costly wars or to depend on the unreliable marketplace of ideas and services. Another benefit is the possibility of professional learning that cuts across cultural differences (Harkavy and Neuman 2001, 237). Officers enrolled in foreign military schools, for example, are subject to systematic instruction in the host's way of war; from general theories of war to specific instructions such as complex operations to the minutiae of staff service (Grauer 2015, 276–7). Such programs could, in theory, provide foreign officers with the knowledge necessary to initiate and implement new ideas upon their return.[15]

But cooperative transmissions remain inhibitive. First, it is more likely the broader bilateral relationship overshadows the narrow military-to-military relationship; political lead-

[13] At its broadest, socialization is simply a process in which people are exposed to new information and then incorporate this knowledge into how they see themselves, their world, and their place within that world (Atkinson 2014, 19). This process should lead novices to endorse new or expected ways of thinking, feeling, and acting (Johnston 2007, 20).

[14] An epistemic community is a network of professionals with recognized expertise and and an authoritative claim to policy relevant knowledge within a domain or issue-area (Haas 1992, 3).

[15] These programs also provide inducements such as monetary assistance used to promote structural changes in personnel systems, for example, or equipment choices and upgrades (Atkinson 2006, 516).

ers may not prioritize defense-related outcomes over bilateral goals. Consequently, both sides may not necessarily define 'transmission success' in the same way — especially as military and political leaders are likely to diverge as well. Donors may be more interested in gaining access and influence over key members of the emulator. In the early post-Cold War era, for example, practitioners of US military education and training programs focused on building access, rapport, and ease of communication—'subjective ties'—with trainees they consider to be with future military leaders (Cope 1995, 25-6).

Donor interests are also rarely consistent long enough for any meaningful organizational changes to take place for the recipient. In the 20th century, US policymakers' views of the the local armed forces they supported and tasked with fighting local wars vary significantly.[16] On the other hand, recipients may need a token military assistance to solidify their international reputation or to solidify their ties with the donors. For example, in the mid-1920s, the Finns employed a British military mission, not for their military advice but to strengthen their political relationship with London (Stoker 2008, 1). The presence of such missions is more important than the content of the assistance.

Second, as the donor and emulator may have different interests at different times, the negotiations are complex and subject to change from both sides. Consequently, the transmitted knowledge maybe limited, inconsistent, and incoherent. With two actors driving the process, there are more veto players and points. Under this condition, organization-wide institutionalization of new ideas would be difficult. Furthermore, a persuasive socialization of new ideas does not happen in a vacuum. The sociological legacies of previous socialization processes often dilute potential new socialization effects. For example, Eastern European countries seemed like a fertile ground for professional cooperative socialization; given their

[16] The locals were sometimes 'racial inferiors' and 'partisans' during an era of scientific racism and progressivism (e.g. Philippines insurgency), 'underdeveloped nationalists' during decolonization (e.g. Cold War anti-communist insurgencies), or 'human rights abusers' (e.g. post-Cold War) (Rittinger 2017).

European culture and the allure of NATO and EU membership (Porch and Muller 2008, 169). But the Soviets left strong legacies of command and control philosophies and concepts which hinders the westernization process while ensuring that old thinking and ways of doing business remains (Young 2017; 2016).

Third, as the complexity and uncertainty surrounding the diffusion process grows, so does the cost of emulation-driven reforms. Not only is the cost of such reforms high in general, but the price emulators pay seldom corresponds to the rewards they obtain. The reforms were necessary in the first place because donor-recipient mismatches (organizational, cultural, or operational) are likely to exert significant effects. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, for example, Latin American officers sent to the US Command and General Staff College were taught the principles of AirLand Battle, a doctrine suitable for large armies engaged in combined-arms-maneuver warfare but had little applicability to the Latin American context (Childress 1995, 70). If mismatches are severe, a cooperative transmission might lead to regressive unintended consequences, such as intra-military conflicts and even coups.[17]

Finally, as both donor and emulator have legitimate 'agency' in the diffusion process, both sides may not always get what they want. As cooperative transmissions rely on persuasive socialization, the donor could not 'insist' that the emulator adopt its theories of victory and corporatism. Donors also want to avoid being painted as 'violating the sovereignty' of the emulator. They could also selectively offer parts of its theories of victory and corporatism, an 'export version' if you will. The US' military aid programs, for example, rarely touched on higher-order questions of mission, organizational structure, and personnel—issues that profoundly affect military capacity but are often considered too sensitive by recipients (Karlin 2017, 112). And yet, studies show that donors need larger military footprints in the

[17] During the Cold War, the propensity of Third World military officers to politically intervene was significantly increased by their time studying in US military schools (Wolpin 1973, 6–8).

recipient's homeland along with intrusive policies designed to radically change and monitor the recipient's policies and behavior (Biddle 2017).[18]

Emulators on the other hand are prone to selective adaptation. After all, many militaries consider internal policies like doctrine to be 'sensitive'. Under this condition, the length of the socialization process—and thus organizational uncertainty—increases over time. The emulator would also find it hard to fulfill its specific needs; it may be seeking some theory of victory (e.g. expeditionary operation) but the donor is offering another (e.g. counter-insurgency). As such, the emulator is unlikely to 'localize' foreign theories of victory and corporatism. A recent study shows that for defense capacity building, education and training programs should "find the right ladder, find the right rung": when the capacity being built meets the interests of both the provider and recipient ("right ladder") and when the activities or transmitted concepts are a good match for the recipient's baseline capability and its capacity to absorb new materiel, training, and so on ("right rung") (Paul et al. 2013). Finding this perfect balance is an extremely difficult task under the best of circumstance, especially in the trans-cultural emulation context between Western and Asian armed forces.

To summarize, cooperative transmissions have inhibitive properties or 'brake effects': (1) broader bilateral relations overshadowing the narrow military-to-military relations or defense-related goals; (2) both the model and emulator have to rely on complex and prolonged negotiations, resulting in incoherent and inconsistent transmission; (3) the emulator has to pay a higher cost to engage in emulation-related reforms, which are likely to increase the longer uncertainty remains; and (4) even though both the donor and recipient have legitimate 'agency' in the diffusion process, they may not always get what they want. These inhibitive traits mean that a cooperative transmission will often lead to either a half-hearted or a

[18] For example, during the early Cold War, US advisers trained the Greek forces, provided tactical and strategic advice, planned operations, and made organizational and personnel changes. They oversaw a complete overhaul of military personnel and appointed a new military leadership (Karlin 2017, 118).

minimalist emulation. This is where the emulator's personnel infrastructure comes in.

When the emulator has a high-quality personnel infrastructure, it is in a better position to take advantage of the transfer of knowledge during the critical juncture. But given the inhibitive properties of the cooperative transmission, the emulator is unlikely to fully adopt the donor's theories of victory and corporatism. A few product champions may arise under new career pathways and can still advocate selective adaptations of those ideas. A higher learning capacity might also allow the emulator to appreciate and interpret selective parts of those new ideas. But an organization-wide emulation is unlikely. The information transmitted would be inconsistent and incoherent and the emulator would avoid paying a higher organizational and political cost to engage in an all-out diffusion. Any successful emulation would be limited to some combat arm while the process might take a long time and the final changes less similar to the original model. In short, a half-hearted emulation is the likely outcome when an emulator with a high-quality personnel infrastructure engages in a cooperative transmission. Again, I am not examining this particular outcome.

When the emulator has a low-quality personnel infrastructure, it is unlikely to take advantage of the transfer of knowledge during the critical juncture. Instead, the emulator is likely to be embroiled in intra-military conflicts over the best way to 'respond' to the new theories of victory and corporatism. For example, despite the historically deep US-Colombia military ties, Colombians cling to a culture that works against many US-sponsored reforms, which were seen as introducing concepts alien to that culture and touched off intra-military conflicts (Porch and Muller 2008, 182). Such a scenario is particularly likely when the critical antecedent demonstrates a high-level intra-military conflict over the pre-existing theories of victory and corporatism. Under these conditions, new career pathways for officers trained in the donor's way of warfare are unlikely to emerge, which hinders the rise of product

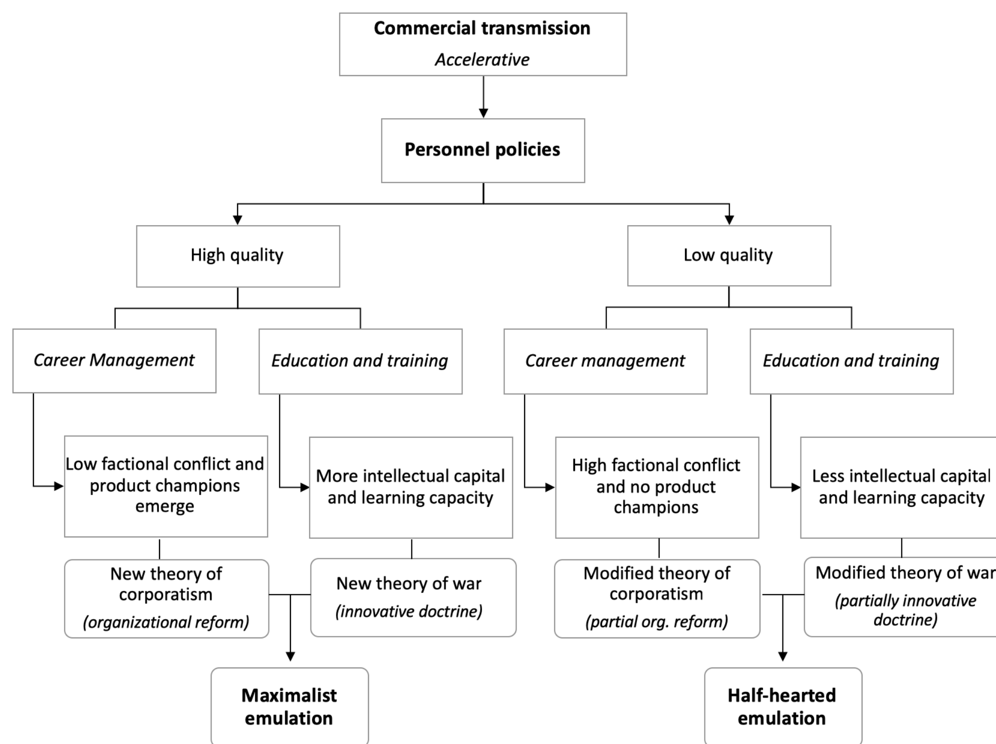
champions. The lack of appreciation of education and training is likely to exacerbate the inability to interpret the significance of the donor's theories of victory and corporatism. Consequently, a minimalist emulation is the likely outcome.

3.3.2 Commercial model

The commercial model relies on the accelerative properties of the transmission and the variation in the quality of the emulator's personnel infrastructure. Figure 3.6 below depicts the causal mechanisms leading to two outcomes: a maximalist or a half-hearted emulation. A maximalist emulation is likely during a commercial transmission when the emulator has a high-quality personnel infrastructure. A half-hearted emulation is likely when the emulator has a low-quality set of personnel infrastructure. The model assumes that given the accelerative nature of the transmission, a minimalist emulation is unlikely. The commercial model also relies on the the marketplace mechanisms for arms and labor. The benefits of relying on the market outweighs the drawbacks and give commercial transmissions their accelerative properties. The interaction between the transmission pathway and the quality of the emulator's personnel infrastructure will put the military organization on a path-dependent trajectory. This means that it is likely that the emulation outcomes will persist over time.

By and large, a commercial transmission provides more opportunities than its cooperative counterparts. The accelerative properties come from the fact that emulators are concerned with improving their military power to begin with and are endowed the will and resources to do so. The emulator's leaders act as 'rational shoppers' who carefully search the globe for institutions 'appropriate' to their character and needs (Jacoby 2001, 24). While emulators have to rely on the marketplace, they are likely to drive the diffusion process and should be more concerned with achieving military-related goals over political ones (unlike

Figure 3.6: A cooperative model of military emulation



cooperative transmissions). The marketplace of military ideas is not historically limited to governmental actors; non-state actors like mercenaries have been around for centuries. Once the emulator finds the best foreign model, the ensuing relationship is likely to be transactional where the former 'commissions' its requirements to the latter. The emulator's military needs are thus more analytically salient.

Let me first note the nature of the marketplace for theories of corporatism and victory. Historically, the market for force began with the commercialization of war going back to the period between the 15$^{\text{th}}$ and the 17$^{\text{th}}$ centuries. This period also saw the rise the global arms transfer and production systems which made mercenaries and weapons available to any ruler with sufficient resources (Krause 1995, 35–6). Two markets are salient for our purposes: arms and labor. These two markets have been historically tied to trans-cultural military emulation. In some cases, arms came first and labors second, in others the reverse would be

true.[19] Regardless, the rapid diffusion of weapons was not always accompanied by a rapid diffusion of personnel needed to innovate (Krause 1995, 64).

The arms market is generally characterized by the privatization of the production of inputs used in producing defense services whereby private firms were under contract to the government (Fredland and Kendry 1999, 150). But the line between private companies and governments selling arms has not always been clear cut. In the 18th century Indian Ocean arms market, for example, private interlopers from Europe worked alongside a conglomeration of large European intermediaries, the imperial powers, whether acting as government representatives or through the use of chartered companies such as East India Company (Chew 2012, 138). Meanwhile, the military labor market—from 'mercenary troops' to advisory teams—has historically been more diverse. I focus in particular on the foreign advisory labor market as one of the prominent mechanisms in Asia at facilitating the commercial transmission of Western theories of victory and corporatism.

Before the rise of the state, market allocation of forces prevailed and virtually all force was contracted.[20] It was simpler back then to hire armed men (as commodified labor) to fight or build an armed force; personnel contracts were easier to draw than arms deals (Fredland and Kendry 1999, 160; Zürcher 2013, 18).[21] Nationality mattered less than combat prowess, the economic desperation of the soldiers, and the economic interests of rulers (Thomson 1996, 31). Severe manpower shortages also drove potential emulators to the trans-national military labor market.[22] But after the rise of the modern state, force privatization meant

[19] For example, Indian mercenaries who served Burmese rulers in the 16th century brought their own cannon and muskets (Charney 2004, 56).

[20] From the 12th century through Westphalia, 'military enterprisers' would put together forces to meet diverse security needs, from war-fighting to taxation and administration. See details in Avant (2005, 27).

[21] Remuneration or compensation for the troops could be wages or prize-money, booty, or non-material gains such as secular or religious honor (Lucassen and Zürcher 1998, 409–410).

[22] Ancient Egypt, for example, outsourced its war-making to mercenaries from North Africa and tribes in the Aegean Islands and along the Anatolian Coast because Egyptian citizens avoided the battlefield while and large numbers of poor and displaced tribes were available (Dunigan 2011, 3).

receiving a foreign mission to instruct or advise in the development of local forces (Stoker 2008, 1). Over time, privately-contracted officers became one of the pervasive means to adopt new military ideas. Commercial transmissions therefore have been closely tied to the idea of 'mercenarism': the enlisting in and recruiting for a foreign army or buying an army from the international system (Thomson 1996, 27, 54).[23]

Different relationships between the emulator (contracting party) and the foreign model (contractor), provide different degrees of 'privateness' in the contracted missions (Brauer 1999, 134). Foreign military advisors can be a single or a few officers or they can be large missions sent to revamp the broader military structures.[24] These officers were often placed in key positions to ensure that the knowledge and information of the new theories of victory and corporatism could be dispersed widely (Grauer 2015, 277). For example, in 1885 the Chilean government appointed Captain Emil Korner of the Imperial German Army to train its officers and "Prussianized" the Army through the reorganization of the officer corps, the rewriting of salary and promotion regulations, and the restructuring of educational programs, among others (Nunn 1970; Sater 2008).[25] But potential emulators were also often interested in the advanced weaponry that foreign advisors bring from their home countries. This was the case when the Marathas in India incorporated commercially-obtained Western technologies and skills to wage destructive battles against British forces in the Second Maratha War (1803-05) (Strachan 2006, 92).

Relying on the marketplace for military needs has its drawbacks. The first potential

[23] 'Mercenarism' is broader than the original use of the term mercenary. A mercenary was a soldier in the service of a foreign power whose primary motivation is some sort of material gain (Latzko 1997). Traditional conceptions of mercenaries have had a profit motivation and/or a foreign component and exist to differing degrees within a historical spectrum of private violence (Dunigan 2011, 19).

[24] The variation in the expected roles of these teams depends on the specific needs potential emulators requested. They could be asked to become broader tools of modernization and nation building, counter-insurgency, or simply for profit (Stoker 2008, 1-2).

[25] The motivation appeared to have been largely financial, at least initially. Korner agreed to 12,000 marks payable in Chilean gold in return for his services as instructor (Nunn 1983, 101).

downside is the reliability of the supplier of arms and labor, especially if they have monopoly over the market. Many polities in pre-modern Southeast Asia, for example, were dependent on European suppliers for their firearms by the 18th century. This allowed the Europeans to control the technology and even expressly prohibited the transfer of gun manufacturing techniques (Lorge 2008, 89–90; Andaya 1993, 394; Charney 2004, 244).

The *second* downside is quality and reliability. In some cases, contractors or mercenaries were plagued with the "loyalty to the size of the paycheck" problem (Brauer and Van Tuyll 2008, 316). Foreign mercenaries and trainers in Southeast Asia during the 16th and 17th centuries, like the Portuguese and Muslim officers in Myanmar, were politically fickle and expensive (Lieberman 1993, 228). But in others, foreign officers were reliable and loyal because they were in a foreign land amidst a hostile population (Latzko 1997). *Finally*, the marketplace can be unstable and may not produce the best 'product'. In 19th century Egypt, for example, Mehmed Ali had turned to the Ottomans for help to reform their military. Although they were available, many were poorly prepared to direct a modern army, as most only had a superficial knowledge of modern strategy (Dunn 2008, 12).

Despite these potential drawbacks, the commercial transmission is largely facilitative for the diffusion of ntheories of victory and corporatism. *First*, as the emulator is the ultimate agency and driver of the diffusion process, it is more likely to be committed to the best possible approximation—and as fast and expansive as possible—of the foreign model. The emulator's leaders are also likely to have convergent views on the need to obtain specific theories of victory and corporatism they need. *Second*, as the emulator could pick and choose, it is likely to obtain the best possible model to follow and ensure that the transmission process would be consistent and coherent. Consequently, the emulator is more likely able to localize and legitimize new theories of victory and corporatism. These traits are the reason why,

despite the inherent risks, many polities hire foreign military advisory teams anyway.

The *third* benefit is simply economics. Established great powers could afford the cost of major military innovations (Krause 1995). But many could not afford either the monetary or the time cost of waiting for decades. Hiring foreign advisory teams to transmit the best contemporary innovation should speed things up. The *fourth* benefit is the fact that the market allows an emulator to 'buy the latest model' while avoiding being overly dependent on one supplier. Military advisors could be contracted for a single campaign and an be disbanded after, thus creating additional savings.[26] Bottom line, the potential emulator could purchase the best and latest war-fighting concepts without the necessary burden of transforming their societies. *Finally*, the market gives the emulator the luxury to choose the theories of victory and corporatism most suitable to their needs. This is the 'custom made' benefits of the commercial transmission.

These benefits outweigh the drawbacks and give commercial transmissions their accelerative properties. If a match is successfully found and a mission contract is successfully negotiated, the transfer of knowledge should be smoother, quicker, and better than cooperative transmissions. It is also more likely that emulators would want a 'full package' from the foreign model. When and how we should observe fundamentally new or partially developed theories of victory and corporatism depends on the quality of emulator's personnel infrastructure. When the emulator has a high-quality personnel infrastructure, it could take advantage of the transfer of knowledge. As emulators are motivated to adopt new war-fighting concepts, senior leaders will create new career pathways and support product champions. The organization should also have a higher learning capacity and therefore be in a better position to adopt and implement the new ideas. As these changes are further institutionalized, the

[26] This seems to have been the practice in India and Europe as early as the 14th century but also in the Middle East from the 17th century until the 20th (Zürcher 2013, 30).

emulator should develop fundamentally new theories of victory and corporatism that closely mirrors the original foreign model. In short, we are likely to see a maximalist emulation.

But when the emulator has a low-quality personnel infrastructure, it is unlikely to take advantage of the transfer of knowledge. The organization will slowly interpret, adopt, and implement the new theories of victory and corporatism. While senior leaders might support the creation of new pathways for officers trained in those theories, product champions are likely to only emerge slowly or in smaller numbers. As organizational resistance is likely to be larger, we should only see some modified version of the new theories of victory and corporatism. The organization, in other words, would engage in military diffusion but the process is unlikely to be smooth, quick, or better than if the organization had a high-quality infrastructure. In short, we are likely to see a half-hearted emulation.

3.4 Summary

This chapter presents a nested argument to explain the variation in military emulation. It consist of: (1) a power-based institutional framework, (2) a theory of emulation based on the interaction between the transmission pathway between donors and recipients and the quality of the emulator's personnel infrastructure, and (3) two models of transmissions: cooperative and commercial. Each of these components are nested in and operationalized with one another. The institutional framework explains how the power dynamics between groups competing for resources and control shapes the interplay between formal and informal institutions. As the power dynamics reproduces institutions, they place the organization on a path-dependent trajectory. The salient power dynamics initially emerges during critical junctures and are driven by critical antecedents. I argue that the level of intra-military conflict over theories of victory and corporatism is an important critical antecedent condition.

Meanwhile, the theory argues that whether a military achieves a minimalist or a maximalist emulation depends on the interaction between two sets of institutions during critical junctures: the transmission pathway between the donor and the emulator and the quality of the emulator's personnel infrastructure. The former provides the 'supply' of information on the new theories of victory and corporatism and the latter determines the 'capacity' to interpret and adopt these new ideas. As embodiments of the donor-emulator relationship, some pathways have more accelerative properties than others. The cooperative transmission is more inhibitive than the commercial. The higher the quality of the personnel infrastructure, the more likely the organization would be receptive to foreign theories of victory and corporatism. Thus, we are more likely to see a maximalist emulation in a commercial transmission and when the emulator possess a high-quality personnel infrastructure. A minimalist emulation is likely to emerge in a cooperative transmission and when the emulator possesses a low-quality personnel infrastructure.

Finally, the two models operationalize the theory. The cooperative model relies on the inhibitive properties of the transmission and the variation in the quality of the emulator's personnel infrastructure. The inhibitive properties suggest that we are likely to see either a half-hearted or a minimalist emulation. A half-hearted emulation is likely to emerge in a cooperative transmission where the emulator has a high-quality personnel infrastructure *before* the transfer of knowledge or information. A minimalist emulation is likely to emerge in a cooperative transmission when the emulator has a low-quality personnel infrastructure. I apply this mechanism to examine the Cold War Indonesia case in chapter 4.

The commercial model relies on the accelerative properties of the transmission and the variation in the quality of the emulator's personnel infrastructure. The commercial model also relies on the marketplace mechanisms for arms and labor. The benefits of relying on the

market outweighs the drawbacks and give commercial transmissions their accelerative properties. These properties suggest that there are two possible emulation outcomes: maximalist or half-hearted. A half-hearted emulation is likely when the emulator has a low-quality personnel infrastructure. A maximalist emulation is likely during a commercial transmission when the emulator has a high-quality personnel infrastructure. I apply this mechanism to examine the Meiji Japan case in chapter 5.

Chapter 4

Minimalist emulation: Cold War Indonesia

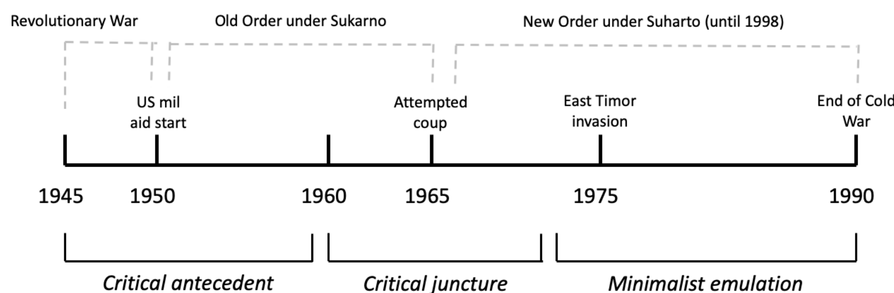
This chapter explains why and how the Indonesian Army did not become 'Americanized' by the end of the Cold War, despite employing thousands of US-trained officers. I argue that the conjunction between the inhibitive properties of the cooperative transmission and the army's low-quality personnel infrastructure during the critical juncture led a minimalist emulation. Specifically, US Cold War considerations de-prioritized diffusion-related goals and created a limited, incoherent, and inconsistent transmission of US theories of victory and corporatism. Military aid was geared to assist with internal security and civic actions, which ran counter to the conventional military Westernization plans Indonesian army leaders had in mind. But the Indonesian army also did not have the personnel infrastructure to interpret, adopt, and implement US theories of victory and corporatism. Its career management was politicized and under-developed — which blocked new career pathways for US-trained officers and hindered US product champions. Furthermore, its education and training system was skewed towards ideological indoctrination and socio-political duties. Finally, the intra-military conflicts in the 1950s shaped how US military assistance programs interacted with the army's low-quality personnel infrastructure during the critical juncture.

I examine causal-process (qualitative) and dataset observational (quantitative) data.

I draw on archival materials, organizational documents, and secondary sources for the former. For the latter, I develop an original dataset of Indonesian Army officers as part of a larger Profile of Indonesian Military Academy Graduates (INDOMAG) database (see chapter 1). Statistical analyses of the data shows that US military education and training had no significant effect on the successful career trajectory of Indonesian Army officers during the Cold War. More broadly, there was no strong correlation between what we consider to be 'professional' career markers with successful retirements. Descriptive statistics show that around 16% of 677 Indonesian Army generals had some form of US education and training. I also provide evidence for doctrinal stagnation during the critical juncture that indicates a low-level organizational learning capacity.

This chapter is divided into five sections. The first examines the minimalist emulation of the Indonesian military. It describes the organization's doctrinal stagnation during the critical juncture as well as the inconsistent and limited application of US theories of victory. The second discusses the contours of intra-military conflicts between the 1940s and 1950s as the critical antecedent condition. The third examines the cooperative transmission between the US and the Indonesian military. It assesses the evolution of US military aid programs and the extent to which Jakarta bargained and hedged its security relationship with Washington. The fourth examines the personnel infrastructure of the Indonesian military. It provides a statistical analysis of the career patterns of the Army elite and the extent to which US training mattered. It also describes the evolution and under-development of the military's personnel infrastructure and how it hindered the adoption of US theories of victory and corporatism. The final section summarizes the findings and examines how well the cooperative model holds up against alternative explanations.

Figure 4.1: Timeline of key events and conceptual markers for Indonesia case



4.1 Minimalist emulation

As chapter 2 notes, in a 'minimalist emulation', we should see a small number of changes to the pre-existing theories of victory and corporatism. Sometimes we see bits and pieces of ideational layering, where the emulator changes the tactical precepts of one or a few of its combat arms rather than adopting a new organization-wide doctrine. This section demonstrates that during the critical juncture, the military failed to overhaul its doctrine along the US model. This failure subsequently created path-dependent minimalist emulation effects by the end of the Cold War. In other words, once the momentum during the critical juncture to develop and implement a new organization-wide US-inspired doctrine had passed, the Indonesian army's outdated, Japanese-inspired theories of victory and corporatism persisted. Figure 4.1 above presents the timeline of the key events and conceptual markers.

I define the critical juncture as the period between the late 1950s and the early 1970s based on three permissive conditions. First, the Indonesian military by then had brought back dozens of officers from US military schools. Under the staunchly anti-communist New Order regime (1966–1998) led by President Suharto (an Army General), these US-trained officers should have led the organization. They were unlikely to be seen as "communists" and would have been among the best trained officers in the organization. In theory, they should have been capable of drafting a new doctrine based on US concepts. Second, US military

aid — from arms transfer to education and training — to Indonesia reached its peak in the same period. The New Order regime could have relied on those programs to develop a new US-based doctrine. Finally, the New Order had unprecedented power as all intra-military factions rallied around the government. Suharto could have ordered the fundamental revision of existing doctrines to reflect US concepts without serious resistance.

Within a year since the attempted coup of 1965 that brought Suharto to power, the military convened a series of seminars to revise its doctrinal precepts. But no organization-wide US-inspired doctrines emerged. Instead, the 'revised' doctrine kept many of the old theories of victory and corporatism that could be traced back to the Japanese occupation in the 1940s. This doctrinal stagnation is one conceptual indicator of a minimalist emulation. Another indicator was the limited and inconsistent application of US theories of victory in major Indonesian military operations. Taken together, the analyses suggest the Indonesian military only achieved a minimalist emulation. The US influence was limited while the organizational legacy of the Japanese occupation casted a longer shadow.

4.1.1 Indonesian theories of victory and corporatism

The Indonesian theories of victory and corporatism were hybrid products of: (1) the colonial rule under the Dutch and the Japanese in the early 20th century, (2) the Revolutionary War (1945-49), and (3) the informal legacies of Javanese culture and local politics. Table 4.1 below summarizes the key features of those theories for much of the Cold War, drawn from secondary and primary doctrinal sources (cited and discussed below). The Japanese occupation and the Revolutionary War in particular (when the military fought the Dutch and internal rebellions) were formative periods. Japanese authorities created militias and para-military groups to prepare for the Allied invasion. The most prominent of these was

the Defenders of the Homeland (*Pembela Tanah Air* or PETA). Thousands of PETA-trained men became the nucleus of the new Indonesian officer corps after the country's independence in 1945.[1] Japanese theories of victory and corporatism thus shaped Indonesian theories as well. In many ways, the Indonesian military was the "intellectual captives of the training they received from the Japanese" (Pauker 1961, 21).

Several concepts were enduring. First, the Army relied on and was highly influenced by the Japanese doctrine of the 'fighting spirit' (*seishin*) or '*semangat juang*' in Indonesian. The Japanese imparted the idea through their training of PETA recruits, including translated Japanese training manuals (Lee 2013, 26–7). In this approach, the warrior's elan was more important than any other aspect of warfare including technology or 'technical' training.[2] As the Japanese PETA trainers told their recruits, they could "destroy enemies' tanks and aircrafts with bamboo spears if they had virtue" (Mrázek 1978*a*, 24). PETA's training structure varied from class to class, but they consistently focused on fighting spirit, basic skills, and physical training, rather than administration or professionalism.[3]

Second, the IJA laid the foundation for the military's theory of corporatism: the claim to a 'special' position in civil-military relations. This role rested on the claim that the Indonesian military "created itself" prior to any working government and that it fought for independence while politicians were ready to surrender (Said 1991). This claim was partially

[1] The Japanese set up at least one PETA battalion in each residency through out Java, Madura, and Bali. At the end of the occupation, PETA consisted of 69 battalions with 37,812 men plus some guerrilla units with 922 officers. Some 70 Indonesians may have been trained as battalion commanders, some 200 as company commanders, some 620 as platoon commanders and perhaps 2,000 as section commanders. The Japanese also created other non-PETA militias, including *Heiho, Suishintai, Jibakutai*, and others that placed the overall number of Japanese-trained Indonesians to be roughly around two million men. Details are from Kilcullen (2000, 38), Pauker (1961, 8–9), and Sato (2010, 201).

[2] The PETA's Japanese trainers conveyed an romantic and mystical martial image, emphasizing that victory was to be had not by calculation but by the iron exercise of will, and that the essential soldierly ingredient was the possession of a "flaming spirit" (McVey 1971, 140).

[3] The curriculum included general subjects (e.g. tactics, communication), special subjects (e.g. stratagem, counter-intelligence, propaganda), practical courses (e.g. drill, gymnastics), technical courses (e.g. shooting, reconnaissance), field study, and extracurricular activities like martial singing (Lee 2013, 27).

Table 4.1: Elements of Indonesian theories of victory and corporatism during the Cold War

Level	**Concepts and characteristics**
Strategic	• Total People's Warfare (Perang Rakyat Semesta or PERATA) and Territorial Warfare (*Perang Wilayah*) • Against external enemies: defensive in nature through 'layered defense' (i.e. as an insurgent) • Against internal enemies: offensive in nature through territorial operations (i.e. as a counter-insurgent) • Warfare happens most likely within Indonesian territory, whether against internal or external threats • Assume that invading enemies technologically superior while internal threats require better counter-insurgency approaches rather than advanced weaponry
Organizational	• Territorial Command (*Komando Teritorial* or KOTER) • Country divided into multiple independent 'Strategic Compartments' following the Revolutionary War era (1945-49) • Requires close relationship and engagement with local population • Military administration more about centralized command and control and intra-organizational political management, rather than operational support
Operational	• Defense Operations: defensive strategic and offensive strategic (air, sea, linear, amphibious, mobile, airborne, and covert/special warfare) • Internal Security Operations: intelligence, combat, and territorial operations • *Karya* Operations (non-military): secondment of military officers to non-military posts and civic action programs
Tactical	• Use of militias, armed civilians, or other para-military groups in counter-insurgency, territorial operations, and civil-military conflicts • Use of civilians as a protective boundary behind which army troops could safely move into rebel territory in counter-insurgency operations (dubbed 'fence of legs' or *pagar betis*)
Civil-military relations	• 'Dual Function' (*Dwi Fungsi*): the military plays both a defense-security and a socio-economic-political role • 'Middle Way' (*Jalan Tengah*): the military will not be a 'dead tool' of the government nor will it be a dictatorial ruler • Tentative civil-military coordination and understanding, rather than humanitarian norms or liberalism, provide operational constraints

boosted by what the Japanese PETA trainers taught the Indonesians: the Emperor's 'prerogative of supreme command' (*Tosui Taiken*) where the military's absolute loyalty was to the Emperor and not to the political government (Tomoko 1991).[4] Thus, the nucleus of the Indonesian officer corps, by virtue of their Japanese training and revolutionary experience, believed the military had a special role in governing the country.

Third, Japanese concepts became the leading principles of military structure and strategy. The Japanese scattered PETA in small units to function in the 'ideological and social' fields, rather than as a professional force.[5] PETA recruits were basically trained to be foot soldiers—drilled in tactics rather than strategy—manning a 'territorial army': smaller battalions and companies permanently stationed in and supported by their locales.[6] Their effectiveness was measured by their ability to penetrate society as they have to be administratively independent from one another. This was why most PETA commanders were influential local figures, which created a highly-personalized (i.e. patronage-based) organization. That these groups had no loyalty to a single, central command exacerbated the prominence of informal institutions rather than formal chains of command.[7]

Taken together, the Japanese laid the foundations for a highly decentralized command structure with hundreds of thousands of young men contained in small units, trained to mobilize the people, and were indoctrinated with "fighting spirit". These legacies underpinned Indonesian theories of victory and corporatism. But they also created the intra-military

[4] Chapter 5 discusses this concept further as I examine the conceptual 'match' between Japanese and Prussian monarchical civil-military relations.

[5] The logic was that any operations against the Allies were to be led by the Japanese, while Indonesian militias were to mobilize the masses. This was also why, as we see above, the educational focus was on basic training, rather than staff and administration above the battalion level. For more details on Japanese strategy in Indonesia, see Lebra (2010).

[6] PETA units were stationed in the rural areas as close to the hamlets as possible and had strictly limited geographical areas of activity (Mrázek 1975, 4–5). The division of the battalions into territorial and mobile battalions was influenced by Japanese army policy. PETA battalions were given territorial duty, whereas regular Japanese army units had mobile duty (Gregory 1976, 246, fn. 51).

[7] The PETA had no general staff or even formal liaison among the various units (Gregory 1976, 233).

conflicts over those same theories in the 1950s that acted as a critical antecedent (discussed below). That said, these foundations — and many of the elements listed in Table 4.1 — were codified in Indonesia's doctrine of Territorial Warfare.

4.1.2 The path-dependence of Total's People's Warfare

'Territorial Warfare' was codified as the military's first doctrinal document following an Army Staff and Command College seminar in 1962. The concept was supposed to be "modern warfare in its operations, logistical system, and the use of total national power" (TNI 2000*c*, 64). Indonesia's Territorial Warfare was a variation of the 'people's war' doctrine common during the Cold War. Indonesia's concept was designed with external and internal enemies in mind, rather than an all-out resistance against an invasion. This "duality of threats" outlook was born out of the Revolutionary era which provided the experience of being an insurgent (against the Dutch) and a counter-insurgent (against internal rebellions). Two rebellions were noteworthy: the *Darul Islam* (DI/TII) rebellion (1949–1962) and regional rebellions known as *Perjuangan Rakyat Semesta* or PERMESTA (1957–1961). The former was Indonesia's first major counter-insurgency campaign while the latter was its first major 'conventional' campaign.[8] These campaigns shaped the Territorial Warfare's precepts.

The doctrinal formulation process started in the mid 1950s and had included foreign-trained officers as well as a study visit to Hanoi to examine the Vietnamese total warfare concept (TNI 2000*c*, 64). Some also argue that Indonesia's doctrinal articulation had Chinese and Yugoslavian influences.[9] But it was important that military leaders did not publicly

[8] As an archipelago of more than 13,000 islands, non-Java internal rebellions required the Java-based government to launch "conventional" airborne or amphibious operations.

[9] Indonesian military leaders referred to the Yugoslav experience in World War II in resisting the Germans when they discussed the role of moral and ideological factors in national defense. When the Army established economic mobilization plans in Central Java during the Revolutionary War, it was apparently inspired by the Chinese concept of 'industrial cooperatives' to sustain the war effort. See details in Pauker (1963, 34).

acknowledge such foreign influences. Given the tense intra-military conflicts over foreign models (discussed below), such an admission would have rendered a new doctrine inoperable as it would polarize the organization. Military leaders then chose to highlight the country's unique history as the roots of the doctrine. According General Ahmad Yani, then Army Commander, the Territorial Warfare document was,

> "our own doctrine found in our own history of warfare. It is not just a conventional warfare according to Western soldiers and not partisan or guerrilla warfare in a narrow sense. It is a combination of all that."[10]

As we see above, there is some truth to these claims. But by highlighting the unique revolutionary roots, the Army made it 'sacred' and harder to change; lest one would be accused of 'betraying the country's founding history' and denying the military's role in it. This underscores how the military's theory of victory and corporatism was path-dependent as shaped by intra-military power dynamics.

The high command nonetheless formulated Territorial Warfare based on assumptions the Japanese made during World War 2. For starters, the invading enemy was assumed to be highly superior. But Indonesia's geography and "fighting spirit" should allow the military to wage an all-out guerrilla war until it can push back. As General A. H. Nasution, one of the chief architects of Indonesia's revolutionary war strategy, then argued,

> "any enemy who attacks us will have an organization more modern than ours, that in our geographic position as an island nation we are very weak, and that we will be unable to develop completely modern armed forces within the next ten years. Then, with spirit as our main asset we will tire out any aggressor in a long and widespread guerrilla war, a war which will finally reach a stage at which we will be stronger than they. Then we will be able to assume the offensive and expel them." (cited in Pauker 1963, 13)

[10] Tjeramah Umum Menteri/PANGAD MAJDJEN A. Jani pada Dies Natalis AKMIL 1962 [General Lecture of Major General Ahmad Yani, Minister/Commander of the Army at the anniversary of the Military Academy in 1962], Pusat Penerangan Angkatan Darat, 6–7

Such a theory of victory required a corresponding theory of corporatism, particularly about the relationship between the military and the people. As the success of both counter-insurgency and external defense depends on 'popular support', the military believed it must be involved in civilian affairs to the extent necessary for mobilization (Pauker 1963, 21). Territorial Warfare, in other words, inherently blurred the civil-military distinction. The "close ties with the people" acted as a sort of fulcrum between an inward-looking (i.e. towards internal threats) and an outward-looking defense posture (i.e. towards external threats).[11]

First, against an external enemy, the doctrine demanded an all-out mobilization. According to Yani, this was based on the principle of "no surrender whatsoever" and called for the "total mobilization of all available military and non-military potential in a given area/territory to absorb the shock of an enemy attack, to tie and wear down his forces in a protracted war, while creating the conditions to defeat them in a final counter-offensive."[12] This would be implemented in a three-phased approach: frontal warfare, containment, challenge, and consolidation, and counter-offensive.[13] This approach assumes a geographic layering where, for example, an invasion could be blocked as far back as 200nm from the coast lines.[14] In other words, Indonesia sought a war of attrition.

[11] Unless otherwise stated, the next two paragraphs on Territorial Warfare draw from a speech given by then Defense Minister General Poniman at the National Resilience Institute (LEMHANNAS). See *Pokok-pokok Pikiran tentang Kebijaksanaan dan Strategi Pertahanan Keamanan Negara*, 1989–1993 (Jakarta: Departemen Pertahanan dan Keamanan, 1988), 29-30 as well as Pauker (1963) who translated the 1962 manual on Territorial Warfare produced by the Army's Staff and Command College. The original document is *Doktrin Perang Wilajah*, (Departemen Angkatan Darat, Sekolah Staf dan Komando, March 1962). To ensure accuracy, I checked Pauker's translation with the original document.

[12] Cited from *The Indonesian Army's Doctrine of War*, Speech by Minister/Commander of the Indonesian Army, Lieutenant General Ahmad Yani, at the Command and Staff College, Quetta, Pakistan, 9. Indonesian Army Information Service Papers, Indonesian Military History Center.

[13] The first focuses on the destruction of and/or defense against attacks launched from the sea and air by means of interception and interdiction, opposition to naval landings, and delaying actions. The second contains and challenges the enemy and to consolidate existing forces (strategically defensive but tactically offensive). Finally, depending on the balance of forces, the counter-offensive commences.

[14] Indonesia did not expect to launch an expeditionary war beyond its borders without being attacked first. Officially, Indonesia adhered to a policy of 'active defense'. Extract from Appendix A of the Provisional People's Consultative Congress Edict No. II of 1960, "Basis for the Development of the Armed Forces and State Police", cited from Pauker (1963, 203–4).

This strategy, and the corresponding decentralized command structure, was rooted in the Japanese strategy for the defense of Java.[15] The influence is hardly surprising since many PETA-trained officers became the architects of Indonesia's doctrine. The Japanese strategy for defending Java was based on their costly experience of fighting superior allied forces on the beachheads. The strategy called for local units to sustain a three-tiered coastal defense. The outer ring, nearest the coast, and including the major cities, was to consist largely of auxiliary forces who would bear the brunt of the opening onslaught. A secondary line of Japanese troops would be located behind those forces, placed to control the units in front of them and prevent defection. Finally, high up in the hills, there would be a group of Japanese and Indonesians trained in sabotage and prolonged guerrilla warfare. As we see above, this three-phased plan, in combination with the "territoriality" of the battalions, became the essence of Territorial Warfare.

Second, for internal threats, the doctrine focused on 'active prevention' to tackle domestic threats through early detection and 'territorial management' (discussed below). As Indonesia's geography was fractured by seas and straits dividing thousands of islands, and given its under-developed infrastructure, economy, and communications, the military adhered to a 'compartment system'. During the Revolutionary War, the military initially relied on a linear defense strategy (like the Maginot line) based on the assumption of an 'enemy area' and 'our area'. But as Dutch capabilities increased, the military relied on the compartment system to allow independent units to survive if others were defeated.[16] Under this system, the boundaries and bases of the civilian administrative regions and the military's

[15] The Japanese concepts in this paragraph are from Lee (2013, 31) and Anderson (1961, 38).

[16] The military developed the *Wehrkreis* ('military district') system used by Germany in World War II. This system essentially divided the war zone into 'encirclements' that allowed independent units to defend their 'compartments'. The 1st Division/Siliwangi in West Java, led by A. H. Nasution, and the 2nd Division/Sunan Gunung Jati in Central Java, led by Gatot Subroto, first used this system. Armed Forces Commander General Sudirman then adopted the concept for the entire war. See Widjajanto (2013).

regional divisions ideally overlap to allow close cooperation.[17] As Territorial Warfare would be decentralized, and the Military Regional Commands would be the lowest-level region, they should be as self-sufficient as possible. This structure underpinned one of the key tenets Indonesia's theory of corporatism: a close relationship with the local population and involvement in local social, economic, and political affairs.

Territorial Warfare shaped Indonesian military outlook and policies for decades to come. The doctrine allowed the military to oscillate between a counter-insurgent (against internal enemies) or an insurgent force (against external enemies). But as the number and severity of rebellions increased during the Cold War, the military tilted towards the former. The stagnation of the Indonesian Army's doctrine further demonstrates the path dependence of antiquated theories of victory and corporatism. As the Army dominated the military under the New Order, its outdated and Japanese-inspired doctrinal precepts in turn permeated throughout the organization.

Stagnation of Army doctrine

The Army developed its first foundational *Tri Ubaya Cakti* ("three sacred vows") service doctrine in April 1965, which were translated into operational and organizational doctrines (see Figure 4.3).[18] Significantly, the ideological zeal of President Sukarno and the Indonesian Communist Party's influence within the military shaped this document (TNI 2000*c*, 65–71). Following the attempted coup of 1965 and the subsequent purge of the military (discussed

[17] Local cooperative engagements would facilitate the implementation of martial law (particularly with regards to manpower and materiel mobilization) and the integration of planning and building the war potential of the region. See more details in Pauker (1963, 109–110).

[18] The "three sacred vows" is a liberal translation of the sanskrit *Tri Ubaya Cakti* (literally, three sacred clarities). The "three" (Tri) refers to the three operational doctrine (see Figure 4.3 below) as well as the dedication to the Motherland, Nation, and Unitary State. The "vows" (Ubaya) refers to the promise to fight despite dangers under the guidance of The Almighty. The "sacred" (Cakti) refers to "clear, powerful, and sacred weapon" of the Revolution. For more details, see TNI (2000*c*, 71).

below), the Army revised this doctrine between August and November 1966.[19] Figure 4.3 compares the 1965 and 1966 versions of the doctrine. In the 1965 version, the doctrine contains: (1) the consolidation, development, and security of the Indonesian 'State and Nation' as part of the New Emerging Forces (NEFO) to create a new World Order, and (2) an offensive–revolutionary element to destroy, alongside other NEFO elements, the domination of the Old Established Forces (OLDEFO). These two elements formed the 'Indonesian Revolutionary War' concept.[20] The 1965 version also maintains that the military has been and will be a socio-political force as much as a defense force.

In both doctrines, we can see the elements of the Japanese-inspired theories of victory and corporatism. But the key distinguishing feature of the 1965 version was its 'offensive–revolutionary' elements.[21] On the one hand, it considered the placement of offensive weaponry and the creation of bases surrounding Indonesia as an 'act of aggression'.[22] But on the other hand, Indonesian military leaders interpreted the doctrine as Indonesia's bid to facilitate the departure of Western powers so that Indonesia could fill the ensuing vacuum.[23] The doctrine, in other words, was concerned with both external security as well as a

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[19] The Staff and Command College conducted a series of seminars to this effect. See TNI (2000*c*, 1–3).

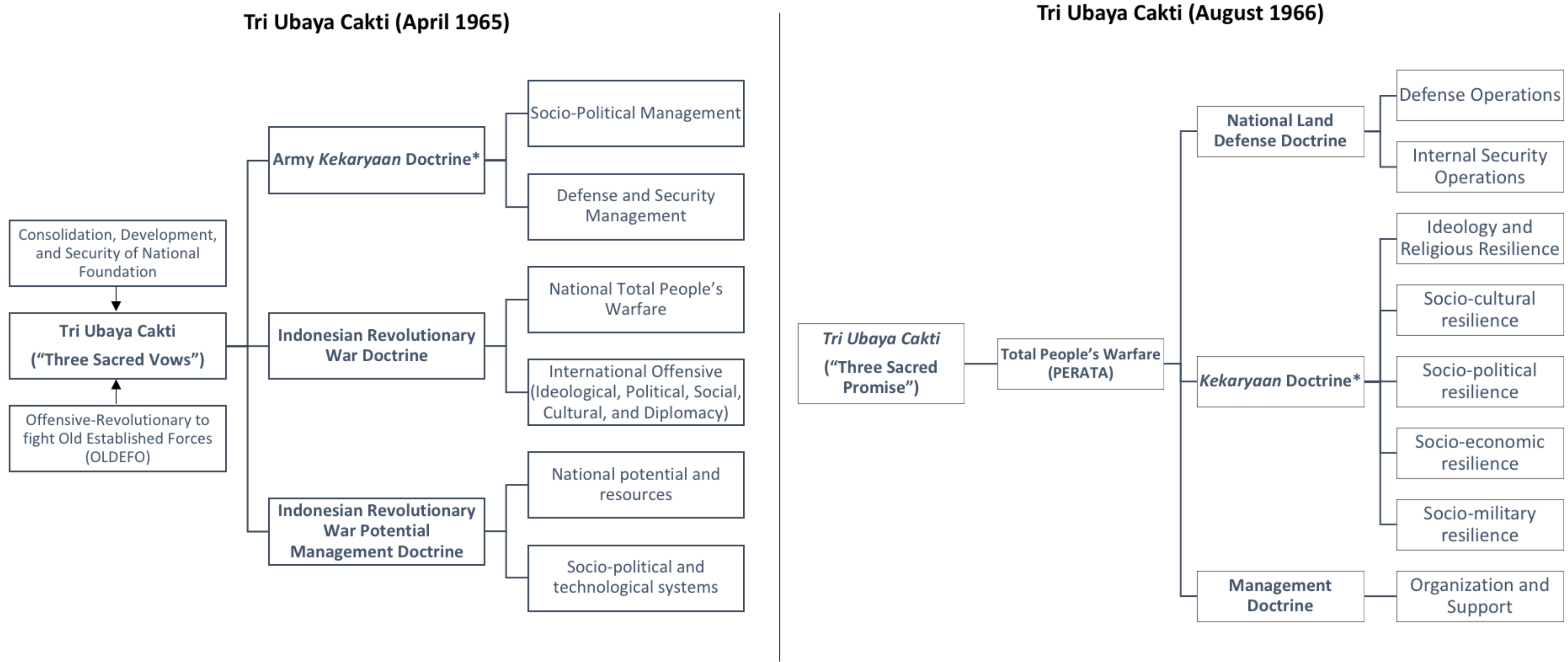
[20] Cited from Buku Induk Doktrin Perdjuangan TNI Tri Ubaya Cakti, Departemen Angkatan Darat, April 1965, 12. Sukarno propagated the NEFO/OLDEFO rhetoric following the likely independence of Malaysia in the late 1950s. See details in Angel (1970).

[21] Sukarno's ideological foothold within the military was so powerful before the September 1965 attempted coup that the so-called 'Sukarno–Macapagal' doctrine (along with his other pet slogans like NEFO/OLDEFO) formed the official principles of the Revolutionary War concept. Sukarno's speech at the SESKOAD seminar that formulated the doctrine in 1965 was also officially included in its Principal Book. See Buku Induk Doktrin Perdjuangan TNI Tri Ubaya Cakti [Principal Book of TNI Fighting Doctrine Tri Ubaya Cakti], Departemen Angkatan Darat, April 1965, 23, 30–36.

[22] Speech by General Ahmad Yani, Commander of the Army, given at the opening of the SESKOAD seminar, Bandung, April 3, 1965. Appendix II of Buku Induk Doktrin Perdjuangan TNI Tri Ubaya Cakti [Principal Book of TNI Fighting Doctrine Tri Ubaya Cakti], Departemen Angkatan Darat, April 1965, 41.

[23] The perception that Indonesia could fill the regional vacuum persisted into the 1970s. In conversations with US officials, Indonesian generals considered it as the country's 'defense philosophy' that if US forces were reduced, "Indonesia as the largest country in Southeast Asia would want to play a bigger role as its forces were modernized". The White House Conversation Memorandum between Sumitro, Latif, Henry Kissinger, Laurence Lynn, and John Holdridge, Washington, July 10, 1970. Library of Congress Collection. Available at CIA Freedom of Information Act electronic reading room `https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/loc-hak-448-7-13-3` (accessed on March 3, 2018).

Figure 4.2: Comparison between the 1965 and 1966 versions of the Indonesian Army's Foundational Doctrine



Source: Buku Induk Doktrin Perdjuangan TNI Tri Ubaya Cakti, Departemen Angkatan Darat, April 1965; Buku Induk Doktrin Perdjuangan TNI–AD Tri Ubaya Cakti, Sekolah Staf dan Komando Angkatan Darat, December 1966, Second Printing.

bid for regional hegemony. The 1965 version also encouraged independent service doctrines with their own unique "history, tradition, and personality".[24]

The 1966 version removed Sukarno's pet slogans; the Revolutionary War doctrine was erased, for example. Instead, the document emphasized 'good friendship' based on 'mutual respect and cooperation'.[25] It also placed 'active–defense' as Indonesia's 'defense outlook', which disavowed 'aggression' and 'territorial expansion'. This seemingly peaceful external outlook allowed the military to solidify its internal security and domestic roles and tone down its hegemonic rhetoric, which was necessary to restore the crumbling economy.[26] The turn towards internal security was institutionalized by the document's focus on the National Land Defense and *Kekaryaan* Doctrines. These concepts sought to distinguish, for example, Military Defense from Domestic Security operations, as Figure 4.3 depicts.

But as the 1966 doctrine revived the 1962 Territorial Warfare as the implementing 'framework'[27], the *Kekaryaan* doctrine (the first broad foundation for the military's broader socio-political-economic role) dominated the day-to-day duties of the Army. Even the Land Defense Doctrine emphasized internal security operations more than it prepares the organization for conventional land battles. The 1966 doctrine also explicitly theorized future contingencies and possible responses based on the Revolutionary War and the PERMESTA rebellion (discussed below).[28] By November 1966 — the middle of the critical juncture — the

[24] Paper presented by Air Chief Marshall Omar Dhani at the SESKOAD Seminar, April 1965, cited in TNI (2000*c*, 66). The Navy developed the *Eka Sasana Jaya* ('One Victorious Path') doctrine, and the Air Force developed the *Swa Bhuwana Paksa* ('Wings of the Homeland') doctrine. As discussed below, Sukarno encouraged inter-service rivalries to prevent the military from becoming an independent political force.

[25] Buku Induk Doktrin Perdjuangan TNI–AD Tri Ubaya Cakti [Principal Book of Army Fighting Doctrine Tri Ubaya Cakti], Sekolah Staf dan Komando Angkatan Darat, December 1966, Second Printing, 28.

[26] The doctrine identified the primary threat to be internal in nature (i.e. subversion, infiltration, and rebellions); 'external threats' were viewed less for their invasion potential but for their potential 'ideological dominance', 'economic exploitation', 'cultural penetration'. See Ibid., 34, 38.

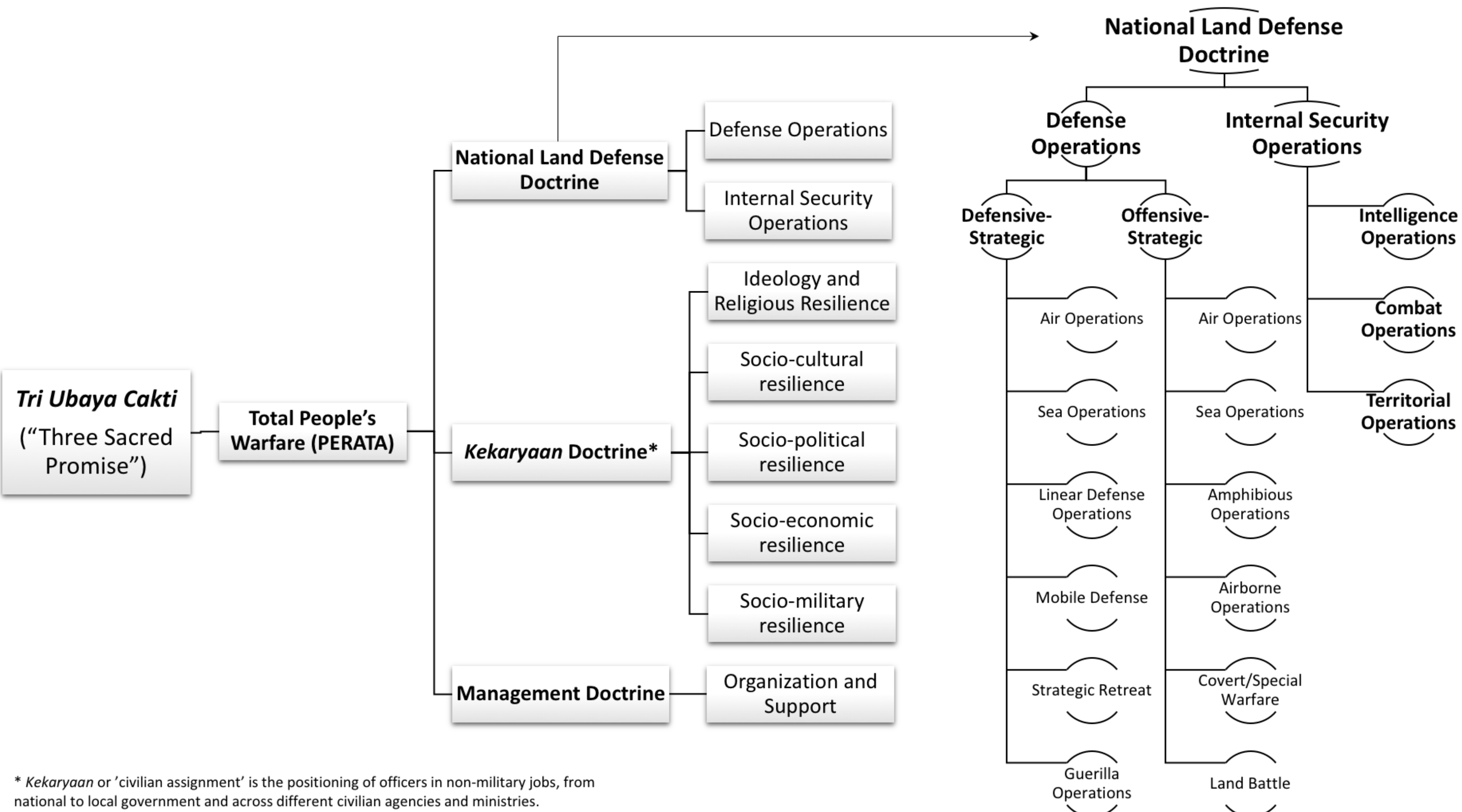
[27] It also codified the logistical system built around the 1962 Territorial Warfare.

[28] The doctrine did not explicitly name these conflicts but the detailed operational planning built on the situation observed there. See Buku Induk Doktrin Perdjuangan TNI–AD Tri Ubaya Cakti [Principal Book of Army Fighting Doctrine Tri Ubaya Cakti], Sekolah Staf dan Komando Angkatan Darat, December 1966, Second Printing, particularly 79–82.

New Order formulated a new joint National Defense and Security Doctrine *Catur Dharma Eka Karma* ("Four Mission One Purpose") or CADEK that bridged the different outlooks of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Police into a single Total People's Defense framework.[29] CADEK was essentially a re-iteration and combination of the 1962 Territorial Warfare doctrine (for the broad framework) and the 1966 *Tri Ubaya Cakti* (for the operational concepts). Under this organization-wide doctrine, independent service doctrines were kept but heavily de-emphasized, save for the Army's.

[29] Doktrin Hankamnas dan Doktrin Perdjuangan ABRI "Catur Dharma Eka Karma", Hasil Seminar Hankam ke 1, 12–21 November 1966, Djakarta.

Figure 4.3: Indonesian Army's Foundational Doctrine (1966)



Source: Buku Induk Doktrin Perdjuangan TNI–AD Tri Ubaya Cakti, Sekolah Staf dan Komando Angkatan Darat, December 1966, Second Printing.

The military-backed regime could have revised the 1965 doctrine to reflect US theories of victory and corporatism. But instead, it went back to the 1962 Territorial Warfare. In fact, sans its ideological slogans, the 1965 doctrine was perhaps more amenable to US theories of victory. An externally-oriented doctrine geared towards a regional security role would have required conventional modernization and offensive war-fighting concepts (e.g. joint operations, strike mobility, or naval projection). Instead, the New Order kept most of the Territorial Warfare's conservative, domestically-oriented precepts. The post-1966 doctrines further institutionalized the Japanese inspired precepts and placed them on a path-dependent trajectory.[30] The absence of an alternative doctrine proposed by the military also indicated the lack of learning capacity to better assess the broader strategic challenges and consider new concepts suited to address them. Taken together, we see an organization-wide doctrinal stagnation that sustained Japanese legacies rather than innovative US concepts.

American influence?

American influence on Indonesian doctrinal concepts is often asserted or assumed but rarely specified or proven. In the 1950s, analysts note that the Indonesian Army used translated training manuals from Fort Leavenworth, among others, and that their officers were "Western oriented in military tactics" (Kalb 1957, 2; Mrázek 1978*a*, 121). According to one CIA report, US military manuals and texts were widely used and the various courses in the Indonesian Army branch schools were nearly identical with their US counterparts.[31] Even the Army acknowledged the influence, as one Indonesian Army journal noted in 1961:

> "We [learned] the doctrine of the United States Army, because we have no doctrine of our own. And also the staff system we [learned] in our educational

[30] The doctrinal ideas above were repeated almost verbatim in the teaching manuals of the SESKOAD until the 1980s. See *Vademecum Pengetahuan Pertahanan dan Keamanan* [Vademecum of Defense and Security Knowledge], Sekolah Staf dan Komando Tentara Nasional Indonesia Angkatan Darat, 1982, 331.

[31] CIA Report 'Communist Military Assistance to Indonesia', October 1966, cited in Evans (1989, 40).

> institutions [was] the staff system of the U.S. Army".[32]

Others also conflate US influence on Indonesian doctrinal concepts with influence over national or political strategy. That the US influenced Indonesia's modernization ideology under the New Order (Simpson 2009), for example, does not mean that the US influenced the military's organization-wide doctrine.

Official records, however, indicate that the US influence may be more localized and limited. The 1962 Territorial Warfare, for example, acknowledged the influence of US military documents in its views on logistics.[33] The US education and training assistance at best enhanced the technical skills of some Indonesian military units or branch (Evans 1989, 44). That doctrinal records show Indonesian officers borrowed from other countries other than the US suggests that the US influence was not exclusive. Given that the Indonesian army's learning capacity was under-developed, the organization also could not innovate beyond cherry-picking concepts from different countries. Such cherry-picking produced incoherent and inconsistent views of Western theories of victory and corporatism and contributed to the doctrinal stagnation we see above.

As the stagnation took place during the critical juncture, the under-development of the military's learning capacity had a path-dependent effect. Most notably, the 1966 doctrine became a staple of all subsequent New Order iterations of its war-fighting concepts. Joint operations doctrine and operational guidelines, for example, were not codified until 1985. American influence was only explicit in some parts of these documents. The joint staff planning document, for example, referenced the US' Joint and Combined Staff Officers'

[32] *Sari Attensia*, Vol. 5 (1961): 436, cited in Mrázek (1978*a*, 125).

[33] The doctrine borrowed the terms used by the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff. *Doktrin Perang Wilajah*, Departemen Angkatan Darat, Sekolah Staf dan Komando, March 1962, book 1, part 3, 25. This was the footnote to the explanation of the Army's basic territorial logistical concept. But the document also provided an appendix that examined the lessons from Yugoslavia's territorial war concept and borrowed Liddel Hart's argument about fire power and mobility (Pauker 1963, 99).

Manual, the Armed Forces Staff College's Joint Staff Official Guide, and the Naval War College's naval planning document.[34] But the same document also referred to Malaysia's Joint Services Publication on joint staff planning. In another example, the US influence was recognized in the manual for inter-service fire support coordination which used five US field manuals.[35] But the document listed more Indonesian-published manuals than US ones in their references (31 out 40) and used three other British manuals.

Even within the Army, the largest recipient of US military aid, US military influence was limited. In the operational reference handbook of the Indonesian Army Staff and Command College—dubbed 'Vademecum'—the discussion of US theories of victory in some parts was juxtaposed or compared to those of the Soviets, the British, the Canadians, and the Germans.[36] The comparison highlights how Indonesian theories of victory were either more 'comprehensive' than those foreign ideas or that they had 'mixed and matched' them into the country's own strategic thought. Bottom line, US theories of victory only had a limited effect on the Indonesian military doctrinal precepts. We can further see this in the various Indonesian military operations in that era.

[34] See the reference section (page 117) of *Petunjuk Operasi Gabungan ABRI tentang Staf Gabungan* [ABRI Joint Operations Guidelines on Joint Staff], Surat Keputusan Panglima Angkatan Bersenjata No. SKEP/265/V/1985, Mei 15, 1985, Markas Besar, Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia.

[35] These are: fire support in combined arms operations (FM 6-20), US Army/Air Force doctrine for airborne operations (FM 57-1), fire support coordination (FM 7-1), naval gunfire support (FM 7-2), and communications (FM 10-1). See the reference section (page 214) of *Petunjuk Operasi Gabungan ABRI tentang Koordinasi Bantuan Tembakan antar Angkatan*[ABRI Joint Operations Guidelines for Inter-Service Fire Support Coordination], Surat Keputusan Panglima Angkatan Bersenjata No. SKEP/265/V/1985, 15 Mei 1985, Markas Besar, Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia.

[36] The discussion revolved around US conceptions of operations, military history, principles of warfare, and geopolitics. American management and public administration textbooks were also explicitly referenced as the foundation of some of the military's administrative frameworks. See *Vademecum Pengetahuan Pertahanan dan Keamanan* [Vademecum of Defense and Security Knowledge], Sekolah Staf dan Komando Tentara Nasional Indonesia Angkatan Darat, 1982, 167, 429–431, 538, 546, 550.

4.1.3 Operationalizing Total People's Warfare

The Territorial Warfare precepts above were applied and re-adjusted during the first two decades of Indonesia's independence. Abdul Haris Nasution, commander of the Siliwangi division in West Java and later Army Chief of Staff, was particularly influential in shaping Indonesia's theory of victory in that period. He helped formulate Territorial Warfare as well as concepts like the Middle Way and Dual Function (see Table 4.1) (Cribb 2001).[37] He also helped create local militia units mobilized to crush the DI/TII rebellion. In 1959, officers from the Siliwangi division devised a pacification plan called the 'Planning Guidance for Perfecting Peace and Security' (P4K). The idea was to disrupt and defeat the rebels' maneuverability until they were restricted into certain areas, which would be 'cleared' one by one.[38] Army-controlled militias provided local forces, security patrols, intelligence, and asset protection.[39] Along with a code of conduct based on the observance of Islamic principles designed to sway the population, the P4K deployed a cordon and search technique known 'fence of legs' (*pagar betis*), where civilians and militias were made to form a protective boundary behind which army troops could safely move into rebel territory (Robinson 2001, 290). These concepts became mainstays of the Army's theory of victory since then.

[37] In 1958, Nasution set up the Committee on Army Doctrine, headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Suwarto and Colonel Mokoginta, which would result in the conceptualization of Territorial Warfare (Fakih 2014, 93). Nasution's ideas drew partly from global counter-insurgency practices. His ideas also showed an understanding of World War partisan and resistance movements and embodied several tactical innovations later applied in suppressing post-independence insurgencies (Kilcullen 2006, 48).

[38] The rebel's stronghold of West Java was classified into zones: A (government controlled), B (contested), and C (rebel strongholds or 'destruction areas'). The P4K strategy consolidated control in A areas through a combination of civic action and psychological activities. A series of large-scale cordon and search operations then cleared the C areas. The 'B' areas were to be cleared in follow-up operations. The rebellion collapsed on June 1962. This system seems superficially similar to the 'black' and 'white' areas applied in the Malayan Emergency, but it was more likely based on Dutch methods during the Revolutionary War (Kilcullen 2006, 49). For more details, see van Dijk (1981) and Soebardi (1983).

[39] The use of militias was also part of the army's relationship with the civilian political leaders and in various civil-military conflicts for much of the 1950s and 1960s. Dissident military groups usually called on 'the people' through these militias. The tactic was popular because civilian groups provided psychological legitimacy and they could be risked in ways which military personnel could not. If things go south, the military could argue that it was the civilians who breached the public order. Militias were, in short, a kind of insurance in a possible coup or crisis situation (McVey 1971, 166–7).

The military also developed the practice of *kekaryaan* (the use of military units or officers for non-military roles). It came in two forms: (1) the secondment or posting of officers and NCOs to political, economic, and social organizations and bureaucracies, and (2) the use of military units in 'development' projects across the country known as civic action.[40] In the 1960s, civic action focused on the development of farming techniques and small infrastructure projects (Evans 1989, 37). As part of Territorial Warfare, these efforts were designed to challenge the rural stronghold of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) (Pauker 1963, 38). The Army then codified civic action through a Presidential Decision in 1962. New structures and career patterns were subsequently created.[41] Civic action programs were thus central to career management. They also helped the army employ excess manpower as the conflicts over West New Guinea and Malaysia were winding down in the 1960s and the Army was facing budgetary cuts and demobilization problems.[42] Put differently, civic action programs helped the Army justify keeping a large number of men who would other wise be uprooted and unemployed.[43] By the late 1960s, civic action programs were absorbing around 40 percent of the Indonesia Army's manpower (Fakih 2014, 108).

These domestic-oriented theories corporatism fundamentally differs from US precepts. Indonesia's broader ideas of civil-military relations were also far from their American coun-

[40] *Karya* literally means "product" or "opus" (*kekaryaan* is the noun form). As the use of military assets and units for non-military purposes fell outside of the organization's fighting mission, *kekaryaan* activities were deemed military "products" dedicated to the people. See TNI (2000*c*, 83).

[41] These included, for example, new civic action training schools and courses for the expanded Army Engineer Corps (*Korps Zeni Angkatan Darat*). A new Civic Action Command under the Air Force Second Deputy and the Civic Action Command under the Navy Commander for the Navy were also created. See details in TNI (2000*c*, 85–6).

[42] The anticipated number of personnel to be demobilized by 1970 was approximately 150,000 men; servicemen to be demobilized and trained for civilian life numbered around 20 to 25 thousand per year. See Plan of Action for Indonesia: Response to NSAM 179, Secret, Department of State, dated October 8, 1962 p, 12, Enclosure No. 10. Digital National Security Archives collection; Presidential Directives.

[43] Nasution deemed it necessary that disbanded officers be employed so that they did not "fall prey to exploitation by the communists". See Memorandum for Record, Major General Russell Vittrup, Visit with General Nasution, Top Secret, August 25, 1958. Office of the Chief of Military Technical Advisory Group, Indonesia, RG 334 Records of Interservice Agencies, Security Classified, General Correspondence, 1958-65, Box No. 2, Entry 115, National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA).

terparts. General Benny Moerdani (Indonesian Armed Forces Commander, 1983–1988) declared by the end of the Cold War that Indonesia "does not recognize the concept of either civilian supremacy or military supremacy [because] all we know is that all components of the Indonesian society are actors in *Pancasila* democracy" (Bersenjata 1992).[44]

Meanwhile, the Indonesian military's application of US theories of victory was limited, sporadic, and inconsistent. Consider how the Indonesian military dealt with the PERMESTA rebellion of the 1950s. Several US-trained officers led the government forces in the campaign.[45] The rebels were local military commanders from Indonesia's Outer Islands (particularly from Sulawesi and Sumatera) and had covert US assistance (Kahin and Kahin 1997). The US-trained central government commanders used contemporary doctrines of combined air-land-naval task forces they learned in the US to successfully plan and execute a modern campaign.[46] But in the military's next operations—Operation Trikora to 'recover' West New Guinea from the Dutch (1961–1962) and the 'confrontation' campaign against Malaysia and the UK (1963–1966)—US war-fighting concepts were largely absent from military planning.[47] In fact, during the fight over Papua, Soviet assistance and ideas were more influential.[48] In the confrontation against Malaysia, the core of the campaign consisted of

[44] *Pancasila* or the Five Principles is Indonesia's official state ideology. The principles are: belief in the One and Only God, a just and civilized humanity, a unified Indonesia, democracy, led by the wisdom of the representatives of the People, and social justice for all Indonesians.

[45] US-trained officers were in charge of the amphibious landing of 20,000 government troops on Sumatra. The operation in West Sumatra was planned and commanded by Ahmad Yani, a Command and General Staff College graduate. Meanwhile, Rukminto Hendraningrat, who had just returned from Fort Benning, led the campaign in Sulawesi and another US-trained officer, Huhnholz, led the Marine Corps units. See the details in Mrázek (1978*a*, 174).

[46] The central government's expeditionary amphibious forces along with the Air Force's air-borne units, the Army's Special Forces and the Marine's seaborne commandos as well as the police's Mobile Brigade were the principal executors of that strategy (Mrázek 1978*a*, 173).

[47] Both of these operations never got off the ground as diplomatic solutions prevailed in both instances. The military nevertheless seriously planned for large-scale assaults, and eventual invasions, of these areas and managed to execute some of the early phases of their plan (e.g. infiltration) and various skirmishes.

[48] By 1962, the Soviets secretly provided Indonesia with submarines and Tu-16 bombers manned by Soviet crews and assigned them to take part in a large scale Indonesian attack on West New Guinea and helped the Indonesians prepare operational plans (Easter 2015).

an extended series of Indonesian cross-border raids from Kalimantan into East Malaysia and were augmented by subversion, terrorism, and military posturing (Tuck 2018, 876–7). By most accounts, the Indonesian military's operational performance was lackluster.[49]

Consider also the invasion of East Timor in 1975, which was a complex joint operation involving some 15,000 troops. Much like the campaign against PERMESTA, the high command planned airborne assaults, coordinated with marine amphibious landings, and joined by several ground units supported by the navy and air force. But by most accounts, the invasion was a disaster.[50] The invasion plan was also based on political rather than military intelligence like terrain, weather, and enemy strengths—which would have been covered by US manuals the officers should have been familiar with. During the occupation, the military also tried to implement "resettlement camps" designed to separate the guerrilla from his support with little success (Kilcullen 2000).[51]

Bottom line, the Indonesian military from the 1960s onwards exhibited a minimalist emulation. Given the almost diametrical theories of victory and corporatism between the US and Indonesia, the challenges to a successful diffusion were considerable. But so was the effort by the US to socialize the Indonesian military. At a conceptual level, the doctrinal stagnation during the critical juncture helped create the path-dependence of the domination of internal security and domestic political operations. At a practical level, Indonesia's day-to-day practices of *kekaryaan*, internal security, and inconsistent campaign planning underscores the minimalist emulation by the end of the Cold War.

[49] Both the concentration of troops on the borders and the infiltration into Malaysian territory "proved largely unsuccessful" (Mrázek 1978*b*, 145). By the end of confrontation in 1966, Indonesia lost 1,600 troops (killed, wounded, or captured), while the Commonwealth only had 300 casualties (Tuck 2018, 877).

[50] The invasion plan disintegrated almost from the start, resulting in *ad hoc* execution the ground, and soldiers without command and control (Lee 2013, 76). According Moerdani, "These troops had no discipline at all. They shot one another. Ah, over all it was totally embarrassing" (cited in Lee 2013, 75).

[51] The military likely learned the program from the British Malayan Emergency and perhaps from the strategic hamlets in Vietnam. Moerdani, one of the chief architects of the invasion, made several discreet visits to South Vietnam in 1968 to review US counter-insurgency operations (Conboy 2003, 194).

4.2 Critical antecedent

As chapter 3 notes, critical antecedents are conditions preceding a critical juncture that combine with causal forces during a critical juncture to produce long-term divergence in outcomes. I argue that the level and intensity of intra-military conflicts is a critical antecedent. For one thing, the conflicts affected the contestation between powerful competing groups within the military and the choices they make during the critical juncture on how to respond to the incoming transmission of military knowledge. For another, the intra-military conflicts determined how the military deals with the foreign model. I argue that there was intense intra-organizational conflicts over the army's theories of victory and corporatism from the Revolutionary War up to the late-1950s.

4.2.1 Foundation of intra-military conflicts

By the Revolutionary War, the military was stacked by two distinct groups.[52] On one side, there was a small number but professionally-trained and politically-connected Dutch-trained officers. Most of them went through the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army (*Koninklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger* or KNIL).[53] KNIL-trained officers claimed leadership in the new military because of their higher education and training.[54] But many saw them as colonial proxies—'the brown lackeys of the Dutch'—and 'cosmopolitan-intellectuals' who resided in

[52] Unless cited otherwise, the details in the next two paragraphs are from Gregory (1976, 230-48), Fakih (2014, 72), Pauker (1961, 4–5), and Mrázek (1978*a*, 3–16). See also the longer analyses of the post-revolutionary divides within the army in McVey (1971) and Said (1991).

[53] When it was established in 1830, the KNIL had 600 Europeans, 37 Indonesian officers, and 12,905 non-commissioned officers and soldiers. Indonesians consisted only less than six percent of its officer corps; most of them were 'minorities' from the Christian parts of East Indonesia and hardly achieved field rank. This composition did not change much by World War II, when it became a force of 1,345 officers and 37,583 troops. By then, the highest ranked Indonesian officers were majors.

[54] Most of the Dutch education included both military and civilian institutions, such as the Meester Cornelis Military School, Royal Military Academy (*Koninklijke Militaire Academie* or KMA), Reserve Officers Training Corp (*Corps Opleiding Voor Reserve Officieren* or CORO), and the Advanced Teacher's School (*Hogere Kweekschool* or HKS). Some of these schools were located in the Netherlands and some of them were established in Indonesia, or what was then known as the Netherlands East Indies.

big cities and came from middle-class backgrounds. Finally, many of their key leaders and officers coalesced around the Nasution-led Siliwangi Division in West Java.

On another side, there was a large number of men who received Japanese training and were influential local figures. These men were indoctrinated in the revolutionary zeal and nurtured in the Japanese 'fighting spirit' tradition. The PETA-trained men—mostly Javanese—were affiliated with the Diponegoro Division in Central Java. Much like the KNIL-trained group, the group's highest-ranked members were Majors trained as battalion commanders (*daidancho*). They were trained in tactics and deployed as militias, while the KNIL recruits went through formal education at the KMA, for example.[55] But the relatively 'equal' rank and age meant that each group believed one should not be subordinated to the other. Also, by the nature of their 'territorial-ness', PETA-trained officers were 'closer to the masses'. Finally, while the PETA group's key leaders were from aristocratic or professional background, most of the rank and file were from the lower strata of society.[56]

These two groups had cross-cutting cleavages which re-emerged after the Revolutionary War. As the following shows, the Japanese-trained group dominated the organization and its theories of victory and corporatism, even though the Dutch-trained group led the central command. The intensity of intra-military contestations shaped and shoved how the military defined its membership, how it viewed its relationship to the political leaders, and how it prepared to fight. The efforts to determine who was to lead the military and how power should be divided consumed much of the high command's energy up until the 1960s. Con-

[55] Both groups were trained to command small units, making them equally versed in tactics than strategy and administration (Mrázek 1975, 12). While their operational experience was tactical, the KNIL group had more understanding of professional military management.

[56] There were differences, however, in the social background of Japanese or PETA-trained recruits based on their expected roles as battalion commander (*daidancho*), company commander (*chudancho*, and platoon commander (*shodancho*). The *daidancho* were influential social figures and civil servants, the *chudancho* were chosen from among lesser-ranking government officials or school teachers, while the *shodancho* were high-school students (Notosusanto 1971, 39).

sequently, by the time that US education and training assistance reached its peak from the mid-1960s to the 1970s, the military's personnel infrastructure was under-developed.[57] Bottom line, the intra-military dynamics between the KNIL-trained and PETA-trained groups became the critical antecedent shaping the critical juncture.

4.2.2 Contestation over theories of victory and corporatism

There were numerous intra-military contestations between the KNIL-trained and the PETA-trained groups up until the 1960s. As the institutional framework tells us, I focus only on the salient power dynamics that touched on the military's theories of victory and corporatism. These include fights related to the military's professional and organizational outlook, command and control, foreign war-fighting models, the role of informal institutions, and personnel appointments.

Organizational outlook

The KNIL-trained and the PETA-trained groups fought over organizational outlook. The former' preferred a rational, technical, and Weberian administration and the latter insisted on 'close ties to the people', revolutionary zeal, and 'fighting spirit'. These two world-views clashed in particular over the government's demobilization and re-organization plans (initiated in 1948). The plan was all-encompassing, from the creation of slimmer and more effective structures to the disbandment of local militias and the creation of modern educational infrastructures. These plans would have demobilized around 300,000 men.[58]

[57] For a brief period from 1963 to 1965, there was a precipitous drop in US education and training programs over the increasingly hostile Sukarno regime, especially against the UK and Malaysia. But, as I discuss further in the next section, there was still over a thousand Indonesian officers trained in the US right before the drop and the education and training programs were immediately restored in 1966.

[58] By the end of the Revolution, the military only had arms and equipment for 69 battalions, even though there were about 400 of them. The plan was to gradually reduce the number of personnel: from 400,000 to 150,000 and eventually somewhere between 52,000 and 57,000 men. Part of the plan was to place veterans

The KNIL-trained officers supported and assisted the government's plans. If professional training and qualifications were to be promotional benchmarks, they would be in a better position than their PETA-trained brethren.[59] But the PETA-trained men resented the idea that fighting spirit, close ties with the people, and morale were being questioned by the 'Westernizing' orientation of their (Dutch-trained) leaders. Unsurprisingly, the PETA group opposed the remodeling of the military based on international standards, resented the demands for professional and scholastic qualifications, and condemned the KNIL group's attempted emulation of Western practices (Feith 1958, 111–2). As the power dynamic touched on organizational policies, various high profile intra-military conflicts were often intertwined with the debate over the reorganization plans.[60]

The fight over organizational outlook also spilled into the fight over the best foreign 'role model' to emulate, as seen in the debate over the Netherlands Military Mission (NMM).[61] The mission highlights the mismatch between the 'rational technical' training and education and the dominant 'fighting spirit' outlook. To be fair, not all KNIL-trained officers backed the NMM.[62] Initially, however, the Army relied on the NMM to provide technical

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into local and national government institutions. See details in Pauker (1961, 29), Mrázek (1978*a*, 45), Djamhari (1995, 40–55), TNI (2014, 54) and TNI (2000*a*, 62–3).

[59] The plan was in the interests of both the KNIL-trained group and the government. The former was keen to improve operational efficiency and the latter wanted to reduce the heavy economic and fiscal burdens of the wartime military establishment and to eliminate sections of the military suspected of supporting the opposition. See Anderson (1976, 1–2).

[60] One of the first intra-army crises in the 1950s was sparked when Bambang Supeno, a senior officer and the formulator of the military code of principles, criticized the high command's plan to create a small, highly-equipped, and mobile 'cadre army'. After heated public exchanges, he was suspended but still engineered a series intra-military crises, which spilled to civil-military conflicts. According to Supeno, the military should have concentrated on its people rather than technology and remained a 'mass force' oriented toward local defense. After all, manpower was cheap while heavy equipment was expansive and require skills the society could not provide. This increased Indonesia's debt and dependence. See details of this affair in McVey (1971, 145) and Feith (1958, 111-2).

[61] By the terms of the Round Table Conference agreement which ended the war with the Dutch, Indonesia accepted a 600-man mission and received into their army all Indonesian KNIL members who wanted to enlist. The mission was the main source for technical and tactical training but only provided several pieces of artillery, cavalry and engineering equipment. The NMM was repatriated early in 1953. See Fakih (2014, 80), McVey (1972, 170), and Mrázek (1978*a*, 86).

[62] Early in 1951, KNIL–trained Chief of Staff T.B. Simatupang thought the NMM was a bad fit because there were psychological barriers plaguing Indonesian-Dutch relations and that Indonesia's Total People's

training, including many of the teachers of its Staff and Command College.[63] The PETA-trained officers were naturally suspicious. "Education based on technology, such as those the NMM brought to Indonesia", the military's official history recalls, "was showing our soldiers problems only from the point of view of rationalism and technology, ignoring...moral and spirit" (cited in Mrázek 1978*a*, 88). They also feared that the NMM was a pretext to oust them. The PETA group's attacks were eventually successful as they aligned themselves with opposition groups to bring down the mission and tagged the KNIL-group alongside.[64]

This episode highlights the precarious nature of the Western-educated group. Because of the social connotations of advanced education, and because of its scarcity and value, the position of KNIL-trained officers was both powerful and delicate. Their ability to manage the military elevated their positions. But since they were 'minorities'—ethnically, socially, and professionally—compared to their Japanese-trained counterparts, they formed a small, well-knit faction as they tried to consolidate their leadership by placing more members into key positions.[65] Such moves made them vulnerable to political attacks. 'Professional modernization' then became synonymous with the politically contentious 'Westernization'. Under this condition, it was extremely difficult for the high command to resolve the basic problems of organizational development—from personnel, education, to administration—because it invited intra-military and civil-military conflicts. Intra-military conflicts over organizational outlook then became one of the defining critical antecedents.

Warfare did not match the Dutch's conventional warfare doctrine (Fakih 2014, 80, fn. 73). Also, the NMM provided inadequate and obsolete equipment. See the details in Mrázek (1978*a*, 86).

[63] Before 1953, the NMM supplied the largest number of teachers for the College. Of 24 teachers, six Dutchmen were permanent employees and 12 were NMM temporary employees, with only three teachers from the Indonesian army and three civilian lecturers (Fakih 2014, 80).

[64] The politics surrounding the termination of the NMM illustrated the entanglement between intra-military and civil-military relations. See Penders (2002, 224) and Turner (2017, 128-130).

[65] One way in which the Dutch-educated army leaders sought to increase the expertise of their forces and to reduce their own isolation was to allow the judicious promotion of elements from the large body of KNIL members that the Republic was obliged to employ under the Round Table treaty (about 33,000 soldiers and 30 army officers). Details are in TNI (2014).

Command and control

The KNIL-trained and PETA-trained groups also fought over command and control. The former represented the Java-based high-command while the latter embodied the local commanders dispersed throughout the country. One of the major difficulties during and after the Revolutionary War was the relative weakness of the central command in comparison to the regional units.[66] The latter—where many PETA-trained commanders resided—viewed centralization, hierarchy, and discipline as formalistic and ineffective. As we see above, they opposed professional modernization. They argued that a centralized command would undermine their ties to the rural communities (Anderson 1976, 1–2). In other words, they would be cut off from their local power source.

The Western-oriented central command was thus at odds with the decentralized, 'revolutionary spirit' of the PETA territorial group. By the early 1950s neither had unquestioned legitimacy—and full command—over the military. And yet, central authority was required to function as a modern military. As there were no easily acceptable solutions, the high command relied on the promise of massive promotions for mid-rank officers accompanied by large scale purchases of arms and equipment as well as cushy positions in various SOEs and national and local bureaucracies to centralize command and control (McVey 1971, 175). The high command thus tried to use personnel policies to sideline the PETA group and professionalize the officer corps. After all, given the absence of a formal career management system (discussed below), promotion promises were easier to make, in that only a central fiat from the high command was required, and they were relatively 'cheap', to satisfy the officers' demands (McVey 1972, 154).

[66] One of the first attempts to create a 'national' military before the war failed as the local commands and units in Java refused the general staff's appointed commanders (Gregory 1976, 243). Throughout the war, there were times when even the personal leadership of Sudirman as the Supreme War Commander could not peacefully persuade the local units to accept the high command's appointments (TNI 2000*a*, 64).

But the KNIL-trained Nasution as Army Chief of Staff in 1955 saw the need to bring order and 'regularity' (i.e. institutionalization) into the career pattern. It was thus necessary to introduce impersonal (i.e. professional) qualifications and merit into the career ladder; if promotion was nothing more than a function of patronage or power plays, officers will cling to personalistic approaches in their duties (McVey 1972, 154). The following year, Nasution created a special commission (headed by Gatot Subroto) to standardize and 'elevate' the ranking system; compared to other militaries, Indonesian officers held one or two ranks lower than their counterparts (Waspada 1956, 1). The commission's deliberations were accompanied by assurances that the military would expand. But in return, the high command wanted to eliminate informal veteran groups and soldier unions.[67] It also wanted to centralize the education and training system and abolish efforts to establish local training units or interfere with central command prerogatives (McVey 1972, 154–5). The intra-military power dynamics therefore shaped the interplay between formal and informal institutions.

The high command managed to obtain some concessions (e.g. the reduced role of extra-military groups) but not others (e.g. educational centralization). Sukarno's personal intervention into intra-military politics, however, halted any progress on centralizing command and control. He 'coup–proofed' his rule by encouraging inter-service rivalries.[68] In the early 1960s, he also divided the command and control by creating a separate Principal Command (*Komando Tertinggi* or KOTI) under his authority.[69] These interventions hindered

[67] In the early 1950s, the high command had to account for the Indonesian Officers' Union (IPRI) in making major decisions. IPRI was outside of the military structure but served as a union and a representative assembly. As IPRI had arisen from the revolutionary practices of electing commanders and making collective decisions as peers, it included veterans and made no distinction between active and non-active duty officers. Consequently, mid-rank officers and veterans had too much influence in intra-military decisions. See details in McVey (1971, 155–7).

[68] Each service was elevated to a ministerial level answering directly to him. The service Chiefs of Staff became Ministers/Service Commanders with direct command and control. In essence, the service headquarters became ministerial posts. See details in TNI (2000*c*, 3–5).

[69] The KOTI consisted of five joint staff and four sections effectively housed in the presidential palace; each of which controlled different functions of the armed forces. See TNI (2000*c*, 32). Overall, under Sukarno, there were six defense and security command and control institutions with overlapping functions: (1) KOTI,

the high command's efforts to follow through on the Subroto commission's recommendations. Sukarno's foreign adventurism further led to a massive mobilization of another 150,000 men (Mrázek 1978*b*, 142), which effectively threw the reorganization plans out the window. In any case, the intra-military conflicts over command and control prevented the formalization of stable rules governing career management.

Competing informal institutions

There was a deeper "fight" between formal and informal institutions. One could argue that had the KNIL group won, it seemed likely that a high-quality personnel infrastructure (governed by discipline, hierarchy, and professional merit-based) would emerge. But the PETA group instead entrenched competing informal institutions as the governing rule. Competing informal institutions occur when the existing formal rules are ineffective while following the informal institutions would produce a different outcome expected by the formal ones.[70] These informal institutions include the 'father-son' patron-client relationship, the importance of ideological zeal, and blurred civil-military boundaries.

The prevalence of informal institutions was partially a Japanese legacy, particularly its creation independent units that relied on the individual commander's personal authority.[71] An Indonesian commander then had a much broader role than his Western counterparts. As a 'father figure', he was the apex of a small world or family consisting of 'subordinate children' (*anak buah*), rather than a representative of a higher impersonal and formal hierarchy. He was not only the soldiers' superior, but their adviser and leader in all matters of life (Mrázek

(2) Department of Defense and Security, (3) Department of the Army, (4) Department of the Navy, (5) Department of the Air Force, (6) Department of the Police.

[70] In other words, competing informal institutions structure incentives in ways that are incompatible with formal ones: to follow one rule, actors must violate another (Helmke and Levitsky 2004, 729).

[71] A PETA battalion was located in the area of the commander's local influence. Recruits were taken from 'his area', assuming that his prestige would attract young men to enlist. See details in Notosusanto (1971).

1978*a*, 35). This patronage meant that throughout their careers, officers cultivate personal loyalty and support by mentoring 'juniors', whose personal obligation to the 'father' (*bapak*) was deep and long lasting (Lowry 1996, 125), and often subvert the chain of command. Under some conditions, this patronage provided social capital and private goods that the military could not provide. In the 1950s, such informal institutions resonated with the rank-and-file because it was a reflection of the broader society.[72]

As patronage cut across hierarchy and induced favoritism, informal institutions undermined formal ones.[73] The power of informal institutions then became another point of contention between the KNIL–trained and the PETA–trained groups; the latter relying and supporting them and the former attempting to abolish them. Patronage was nonetheless required to allow competing factions to stabilize their relationship for much of the 1950s. The high command also had to deal with a range of influential extra-military groups such as the officer's union discussed above.[74] Over time, an extremely complex system of factional alliances criss-crossing intra-military and civil-military boundaries was developed on the basis of patronage and informal institutions (McVey 1971, 153).

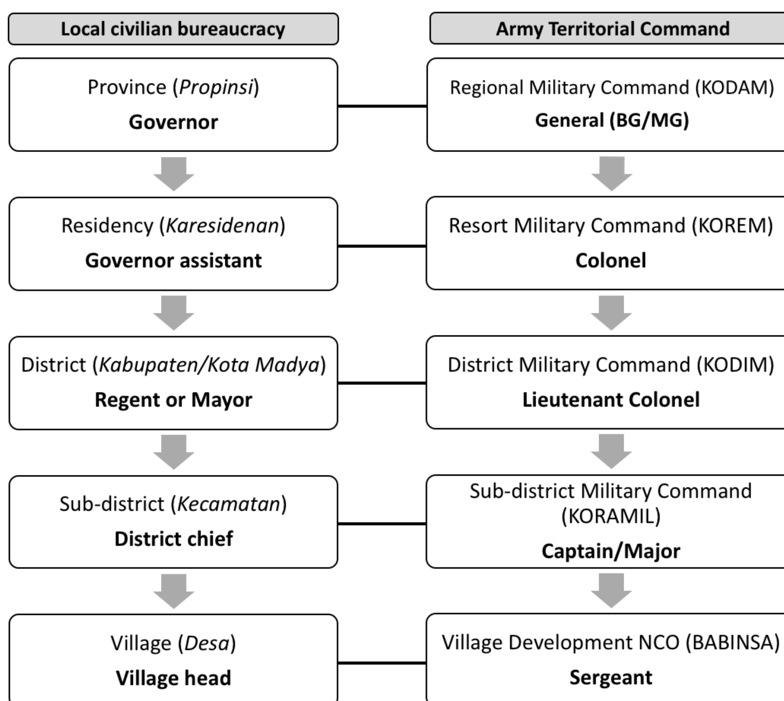
The powerful effects of informal institutions were compounded by the local commands' engagement of their respective locales. The success of the compartment system depended on good, mutually trustworthy relations between soldiers and local civilians (Kanahele 1967, 126). Once created, a battalion would remain almost permanently in its area to ensure its integration with the locale. This pushed local units to deal with surrounding socio,

[72] It was a typical feature of patron-client relations in patriarchal rural communities as well as of the autocratic rule of the nobility and colonial officials (Mrázek 1978*a*, 26).

[73] Over time, this '*bapak*-ism' would be established in official documents. As recent as six years ago, the Army Staff and Command College sought to train officers to be military leaders in the broadest sense of the word: as a "commander, teacher, trainer, and father" (SESKOAD 2012, 7).

[74] Aside from IPRI, there were also informal "reunion groups" where active and non-active duty officers from different local units voiced their concerns (Waspada 1957, 1-2). These groups included large and powerful veterans associations, including those with close affiliations with major political parties. By the 1960s, there were between 500,000 and one million veterans (Pauker 1961, 16).

Figure 4.4: The Army Territorial Command and its civilian counterpart



Source: adapted and modified from Rinakit (2013, 79).

economic, and political affairs—further blurring civil-military boundaries. Over time, local units played larger roles in society beyond their prescribed duties. This was particularly conducted through the Territorial Command structure which paralleled the civilian bureaucracy (see Figure 4.4 below).[75] In the 1950s, some of the local commanders became 'local warlords' and contributed to the rebellions discussed above.

The blurring civil-military boundaries further strengthened the patrimonial foundation of civil-military relations (Crouch 1979). The KNIL vs. PETA conflicts thus hindered the institutionalization of personnel infrastructure. The Subroto Commission mentioned above stalled and was replaced by a Central Advisory Council on Offices and Ranks. But as the intra-military conflicts persisted, the council was split into the Council on Assignments and Ranks (for senior officers) and the Advisory Council on Assignments and Ranks (for

[75] The size and number of the local units and their geographic coverage ebbed and flowed but the logic of creating local units to 'shadow' their civilian counterparts has been relatively constant since the 1950s.

mid-ranks). By the early 1960s, on the eve of the critical juncture, these councils became secretive and powerful (McVey 1972, 156). But in an effort to keep their proceedings 'impartial', their secret deliberations morphed into a sort of 'perverse incentive' where officers could 'lobby' the council for key positions.[76] The contest over informal institutions was thus another defining element of the critical antecedent.

Leadership appointments

The final intra-military contention was over promotions. The conflict was rooted in the different understandings of "appointment" between the political and military leaders during the Revolutionary War. Civilian leaders believed they had the right to command the military and appoint officers. According to Sukarno, "I looked for young men whom I could control and who could eventually become the heroes of our Revolution. I singlehandedly proposed the future colonels and generals of our Republican Army back in the fall of 1943" (cited in Mrázek 1978*a*, 30). But senior officers believed they created the military before there was a government. Nasution claims, "We elected our Commander-in-Chief from below and from among ourselves...our commanders [were] products of [our own] election...[Indeed], our Army was born before the political parties...the battalions, regiments and divisions...and its general staff existed before there was a Minister of Defense. Our army headquarters were operating before there was a Ministry of Defense" (cited in Mrázek 1978*a*, 48).[77]

These divergent civil-military premises spilled over into intra-military politics. Civilian leaders during and after the revolution spent considerable energy cultivating supporters within the military to control its appointments and 'ideological orientation'.[78] The high

[76] Such practices continued until today. Personal conversations with a mid-rank Army officer in Jakarta, March 12, 2016 and a mid-rank Army officer, in Magelang, February 18, 2016.

[77] This method of self-selecting the military's own leaders was also a Japanese legacy.

[78] This was instituted, for example, through the Political Education Staff created in 1946 to indoctrinate and control the Army. The government also created 'Struggle Bureau' inside the Ministry of Defense as a

command, in return, defined its corporate interests in terms of its ability to appoint its own leaders. But as we see above, the prevalence of informal institutions and the contestation over organizational outlook as well as command & control meant that any formal rule to select leaders would be bitterly contested. Intra-military political compromises between competing groups became the *ad hoc* solution, which would then be reflected in the force structure discussed below.

Over time, the intra-military power dynamics gave way to a politicized career pattern underpinned by patronage and avoidance of professional competence. In a culture where personal relations were highly valued, patronage was considered of equal importance (if not more) with professional qualifications.[79] Taken together, the above analyses show the contestations between competing groups over the theories of victory and corporatism. The contests over organizational outlook, command & control, informal institutions, and senior appointments also demonstrate how the power dynamics reflect the conflicts and compromises between these groups. They also show the interplay between formal and informal institutions—and how the latter won over the former.

4.3 Cooperative transmission

This section focuses on the efforts to transmit US theories of victory and corporatism through military education and training assistance programs. These programs were part of the cooperative security relationship between the US and Indonesia crafted since the early 1950s. As chapter 2 notes, a cooperative transmission has few benefits but many challenges. As we shall see, the US' limited and patchy military aid was a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it

center of civilian influence. Government leaders apparently modeled this intervention over the Soviet Red Army. See the discussion in McVey (1971, 136) and Djamhari (1995, 48).

[79] Indeed, during and after the revolution, an officer's standing rested on his ability to attract and maintain a following of soldiers (McVey 1971, 142).

allowed Washington to keep a good relationship with the Indonesian military without raising domestic political tensions in Jakarta. On the other hand, a successful diffusion requires a heavy footprint and pervasive interference into the recipient's organizational policies. But the US only provided limited and incoherent assistance to help with internal security and civic actions, even though the Indonesian army was seeking an externally-oriented military Westernization. Furthermore, the US was the predominant but not the exclusive provider of military education and training for the Indonesian military. Taken together, there was a lack of coherence and consistency in US military aid to Indonesia as well as a lack of clarity on the programs' goals and measurement.

4.3.1 Evolution US military aid policy

The policy of providing military assistance to Indonesia stemmed from Washington's perception of Jakarta's geopolitical, geo-strategic, and geo-economic importance: a bulwark against communism in Asia, a source strategic resources and materials, and gateway between the Pacific and Indian Oceans. These interests were the predominant benchmarks through which Washington measured its military aid, even if policymakers implied they had a successful emulation in mind. According to US officials, the Military Assistance Program (MAP), for example, was in fact "political and economic in nature, rather than strictly military...[They were] primarily an instrument of American foreign policy and only secondarily of defense policy."[80] Political considerations were thus more pronounced sans a coherent and consistent policy on the military-related goals of military aid.

That different US bureaucracies had different ideas on how to provide military aid exacerbated the problem. The State and Defense Departments took the 'political' viewpoint,

[80] Committee on Foreign Affairs, Reports of the Special Study Mission to Latin America on Military Assistance Training and Developmental Television, Sub-committee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments, 91st Congress, May 7, 1970, 31, cited in Wolpin (1972, 16).

arguing for the importance of such programs for the bilateral relationship and the fight against Communist forces. However, the Pacific Command, and to some extent, the US Army and Air Force and the Navy-Marine Corps, took the 'military' viewpoint, where they judged the MAP for Indonesia through criteria such as "military necessity".[81] As a consequence, the delivery of military assistance was patchy and inconsistent.

Detailing the evolution of US military aid policy helps us demonstrate its inconsistencies and incoherence over time, although the US-Indonesia military relations were relatively stable in the post-1965 era. But as the New Order's legitimacy was grounded in economic performance, Jakarta was more interested in Washington's economic rather than military assistance. Indeed, the value of US military aid to Indonesia up until the critical juncture period was relatively small (see Table 4.2 below). As such, the level of military assistance was never as high as the 1950s or sufficiently large to make the US the only supplier. By the 1970s, the permissive conditions that defined the critical juncture were eroding.

Table 4.2: Total U.S. Military Assistance to Indonesia, 1946-1976 ($ Millions)

MAP grants	FMS credits	Excess items	IMET grants	SS assistance	Total
(1950–1976)	(1950–1976)	(1950–1976)	(1950–1976)	(1946–1976)	
165.7	31.6	35.9	21.1	63.0	317.3

Notes: MAP: Military Assistance Programs FMS: Foreign Military Sales IMET: International Military Education and Training SS Assistance: Security Supplementary Assistance
Source: figures are calculated from Klare (1977, 31).

[81] Historical Report, United States Military Technical Advisory Group, Indonesia 1958 - 1963, Secret, 7. Military Technical Advisory Group, RG 334 Records of Interservice Agencies, Security Classified Historical Reports, 1963-65, Box 1, Entry 114, NARA. If we dig deeper, different US services also saw Indonesia's military value in differently. The Navy valued Indonesia's importance for its movements across the Indo-Pacific. The Army was more interested in maintaining warm ties with the Indonesian army leadership.

Truman administration

Under Truman, military assistance was initially a means to dispose surplus weaponry after World War 2. But as the Philippines were becoming independent, as Europe needed a quick economic recovery, and as Britain was beginning to lose its grip on Greece and Turkey, military assistance became tools for reconstruction, recovery, and relief. It was also a way to boost Western alliance credibility. The Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949 established the MAP. The program was the lynchpin of the US global military aid during the early decades of the Cold War.[82] Indonesia was a critical part of the program.

By 1948, a senior US official describes Indonesia as "the world's richest island empire...a region of political, economic, and strategic importance to the whole world" (Hornbeck 1948, 124-5). A National Security Council report adds, "Indonesia commands the routes between the Pacific and Indian Oceans and between Asia and Australia...and [an important] world supplier of rubber, tin, copra, and petroleum."[83] But soon, Indonesia's potential as an anti-communist bulwark increased its strategic value. According to George Kennan, Indonesia was "the most crucial issue...in our struggle with the Kremlin" and that it was the "anchor in that chain of islands...we should develop as a politico-economic counterforce to communism in the Asian land mass" (cited in Roadnight 2002, 42). As Secretary Acheson argues in a memo for Truman:

> "This vast archipelago...lies athwart the principal lines of communication between the Pacific and Indian Oceans...Because of the dynamic character of Indonesia's nationalist movement, because of its great wealth and because it is the second largest Muslim country in the world, its political orientation has profound effect upon the political orientation of the rest of Asia. As the Communist gains on

[82] Although it was a series of country and regional programs created from piecemeal planning and reflected a variety of purposes. See details in Pach (1991) and Trachtenberg (1999).

[83] U.S. Policy on Indonesia, National Security Council Report, May 3, 1955, 20, from Digital National Security Archives Collection, Presidential directives on national security. Part I. From Truman to Clinton, PD00457. By 1950, Indonesia supplied 35% of US tin imports and 30% of its natural rubber and was critical to US efforts to stockpile these raw materials (Roadnight 2002, 90).

> the Asiatic mainland increase, the importance of keeping Indonesia the anti-communist camp is of greater and greater importance."[84]

American principal objective in Indonesia was thus set as early as 1950. According to the NSC, the key objectives of US policy should be:

> "To prevent Indonesia from passing into the Communist orbit; to persuade Indonesia that its best interests lie in greater cooperation and stronger affiliations with the rest of the free world; and to assist Indonesia to develop toward a stable, free government with the will and ability to resist Communism from within and without and to contribute to the strengthening of the free world."[85]

One of the methods to achieve these objectives was military assistance. Under Truman, the MAP provided for the loan or grant of equipment, materials, and services to: promote stability within and among participating states and enhance their capacity to defend themselves, and strengthen the bonds of mutual understanding through person-to-person programs (Lefever 1976, 88). US officials further believed that providing education and training to Indonesian officers could enhance their effectiveness and reinforce their hostility towards the PKI (Bunnell 1969, 144). What 'effectiveness' meant was never consistently clear. Nevertheless, the military aid developed in this period institutionalized military-to-military relationship between the US (as a donor) and Indonesia (as a potential emulator).

The Pentagon established links with the Indonesian military as early as 1948. Truman authorized the first grant (around $5 million) on January 1950 to strengthen the Indonesian constabulary.[86] By August, the US was training the fledgling police force (Simpson 2008, 32). Soon Indonesia was sending "as many officers as it can spare" for training in Western

[84] Memorandum by the Secretary of State to President Truman, Washington, January 9, 1950, in FRUS, Vol. VI: East Asia and the Pacific (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1976), 965

[85] United States Objectives and Courses of Action with Respect to Indonesia, Top Secret, Executive Secretary National Security Council Report, November 20, 1953, 3. Digital National Security Archives Collection; Presidential Directives.

[86] The US believed "the mobile civil police constabulary would benefit greatly from projected receipt of US equipment and through the training of intelligence officers in the US." Telegram from the Ambassador in Indonesia to the Secretary of State, Jakarta, April 3, 1950, in FRUS 1950, Vol. VI: East Asia and the Pacific (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976), 1004.

Europe and the US.[87] This was not accompanied, however, by the stationing of US advisory teams common among other states receiving military grants.[88] As the State Department acknowledges, Indonesian domestic politics was a major hurdle.[89] Administration officials realized there was not much that Washington could do to overturn Indonesian domestic perceptions.[90] Nevertheless, Truman laid the groundwork of US military assistance to Indonesia based on the country's significance to the anti-communist front.

Eisenhower administration

Eisenhower expanded US containment policy: militarily by embracing internal security and counter-insurgency missions, economically by including civic action and nation building, and politically by providing protection to various areas throughout the world.[91] Washington expected its military aid to create recipient forces that could fend off or check a communist aggression. Countering internal security threats became more pronounced in US military aid outlook.[92] Eisenhower issued the NSC 1290-D initiative (and its successor, the Overseas Internal Security Program) as the first systematic program to support foreign police and paramilitary forces (Rempe 1999, 34). He also ensured that the support became an

[87] United States Objectives and Courses of Action with respect to Indonesia, A Report to the National Security Council by the NSC Planning Board, November 10, 1953, 19, Digital National Security Archives Collection.

[88] After the MDAA was issued, the Mutual Security Act of 1951 consolidated major security assistance programs and authorities.

[89] US officials listed several possible negative domestic reactions and concerns, from 'hypersensitivity' to foreign interventions to decolonization efforts. See details in Policy Statement on Indonesia, Department of State, July 27, 1950, in FRUS 1950, Vol. VI: East Asia and the Pacific (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1976), 1042.

[90] As one NSC report admits, "The capacity of the United States to influence Indonesian leaders for the attainment of its objectives has been limited by the lack of effective US response on issues which the Indonesians consider most important in their relations with the United States." See United States Objectives and Courses of Action with respect to Indonesia, A Report to the National Security Council by the NSC Planning Board, November 10, 1953, 20, Digital National Security Archives Collection; Presidential Directives.

[91] The internal security assistance was part and parcel of Eisenhower's foreign aid policy to: contribute to the stability of non-communist regimes, strengthen their domestic economic and political conditions, and convince them of the utility and superiority of the US model (Statler and Johns 2006).

[92] By the late 1950s, the US had trained more than 12,000 foreign internal security personnel and U.S. arms transfers were close to $1 billion annually (Mott 2002, 20).

established staple of US national security policy (Rosenau 2001).

But Washington's views of Third World states became increasingly narrow and contradictory. The administration, on the one hand, used one yardstick to measure the effectiveness of its assistance: has the Indonesian military been willing and capable to act against communism? But US officials also held negative views of the rhetoric of Indonesian nationalism.[93] So, as Sukarno's rhetoric against the Netherlands, a key NATO ally, grew belligerent over West New Guinea, the US reduced its military aid to Indonesia (Mrázek 1978*a*, 117–9). As Dulles notes, "The big stake in the area is Indonesia itself rather than the problem of West New Guinea...if West New Guinea and all of Indonesia goes under Communist control, the situation will be very bad."[94] The dilemma was how to calibrate military aid in a way that would maintain good relations with the military but not too significant that the weapons could be used against the Dutch.[95] In other words, Washington wanted to 'minimize' its military aid and hinder the Indonesian military's conventional modernization.[96]

The solution was to provide sufficient aid to take on the PKI. The State Department thought the promise of a future sizable aid might also act as an incentive for Jakarta to finally eliminate the Communist threat.[97] The focus on education and training was particu-

[93] The distrust of Sukarno reached the point where Secretary Dulles was willing to see Indonesia break apart to ensure the US would still have a 'fulcrum' to eliminate communism (Roadnight 2002, 106).

[94] Cited in Minutes of ANZUS Council Meeting, ANZ MC-1, Washington, October 1, 1958, Document No. 156, FRUS, 1958-1960, Volume XVII, edited by Robert J. McMahon and Glenn W. LaFantasie (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1994), 284-5.

[95] According to the Pacific Command, a "limited U.S. military aid to Indonesia has been based on the premise that it does not generate Indonesian military threat to Dutch position in the West New Guinea." Cited in Telegram from the Commander-in-Chief, Pacific (Felt) to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Honolulu, February 24, 1959, Document No. 183, FRUS, 1958-1960, 351.

[96] Washington even refused Indonesian requests for parachutes for fear that they "could be used offensively". Historical Report, United States Military Technical Advisory Group, Indonesia 1958 - 1963, Secret, December 1963, 2. Office of the Chief, Military Technical Advisory Group, Indonesia, RG 334 Records of Interservice Agencies, Security Classified Historical Reports, 1963-65, Box 1, Entry 114, NARA.

[97] Telegram from the Department of State to the Embassy in Indonesia, Washington, June 27, 1958. Document No. 128, FRUS, 1958-1960, Volume XVII, edited by Robert J. McMahon and Glenn W. LaFantasie (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1994), 23. A National Intelligence Estimate concurred. Special National Intelligence Estimate, "The Outlook of Indonesia", Washington, August 12, 1958, SNIE 65-58, Document No. 141, FRUS, 1958-1960, Volume XVII, edited by Robert J. McMahon and

larly crucial. As the CIA notes, "the training of Indonesian...officers in US military schools appears to be the best available means of favorably influencing and strengthening the Indonesian armed forces."[98] The Defense Department concurred that military aid to Indonesia should be geared towards strengthening ties with the Army, increase its capability to maintain internal security and combat communist activities, and eventually curtail Sino-Soviet training programs.[99] In short, the Eisenhower administration thought it should reduce aid in general to signal its displeasure with Sukarno, but keep training the military and remodel it along US lines. An NSC report captures this logic:

> "The Indonesian Army...[is] the principal obstacle to the continued growth of Communist strength in Indonesia. This situation derives to a considerable degree from the favorable impressions made on the several hundred Indonesian officers trained in U.S. service schools...*These officers have accepted U.S. organization, equipment, and training methods* and, upon return to their homeland, have exerted a strong influence in orienting the Army toward the West and toward the United States in particular."[100] (emphasis mine)

These goals, however, contradicted what Jakarta wanted: a conventional military modernization. But according to the US Ambassador to Jakarta, Washington's main military aid was based on whatever it decided was the "best for Indonesia to have."[101] These conflicting goals came to a head in the PERMESTA rebellion. Increasingly intolerant of Sukarno's promotion of links with the Sino-Soviet bloc and his failure to curb the PKI, the Eisenhower administration sanctioned covert support for the rebellion (Kahin and Kahin

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Glenn W. LaFantasie (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1994), 259.

[98] Operations Coordinating Board, Progress Report on NSC 171/1, United States Objectives and Courses of Action with Respect to Indonesia, July 1, 1954, Central Intelligence Agency, 3, Digital National Security Archives Collection.

[99] These guidelines are from Letter from the Assistance Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (Irwin) to the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (Robertson), Washington, March 28, 1959, Document No. 190, FRUS,1958-1960, 363

[100] National Security Council Report NSC 6023, Draft Statement of U.S. Policy on Indonesia, December 19, 1960, *Foreign Relations of the United States* (FRUS hereafter), 1958-1960, Indonesia, Vol. 17. Available from `https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v17/d293` (last accessed on June 1, 2017).

[101] Telegram from the Embassy in Indonesia to the Department of State, Jakarta, December 4, 1958, Document No. 167, FRUS, 1958-1960, 311.

1997). When the rebellion collapsed, US policy switched back to Jakarta. The US ambassador further recommended that certain items of defense and training equipment should be made available and the educational quotas be increased for Indonesian officers.[102] He argues, "There is no question...that the Army is determined to obtain the arms it requires. Pro-US Army leaders want equipment to come from the US but if we will not supply it others will. Thus, our decision will not determine whether the Indonesian Army gets the equipment or not, but simply whether the source of supply is US or Soviet bloc".[103]

A token of military assistance was then authorized.[104] But the Joint Chiefs made it clear that any aid should not "enhance to a significant extent the mobility [of the Indonesian armed] forces under the control of the central government with respect to their possible employment in the outlying islands."[105] The US also settled on a token program because officials reviewed the list of arms and equipment Jakarta requested and found it was "neither feasible nor desirable to supply the quantity of equipment listed, as it [was] considerably in excess of the ability of Indonesia to pay for and [appear] to be in excess of the actual requirements of the country."[106] The "token aid" however masked the true size of

[102] Historical Report, United States Military Technical Advisory Group, Indonesia 1958 - 1963, 2 from Military Technical Advisory Group, RG 334 Records of Interservice Agencies, Security Classified Historical Reports, 1963-65, Box 1, Entry 114, NARA.

[103] Telegram from the Embassy in Indonesia to the Department of State, Jakarta, July 24, 1958, Document No. 137 in FRUS, 1958-1960, 250

[104] See Memorandum of Conversation, Washington, August 1, 1958, Document No. 139, and Memorandum from the Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs (Robertson) to Secretary of State Dulles, Washington, July 30, 1958, Document No. 138, in FRUS, 1958-1960, 252-56.

The aid was delivered in two increments: (1) 'Token Aid Program' included approximately $7 million worth of military vehicles, machine guns, rifles, ammunition and tactical radios sufficient to equip 6 Infantry Battalions and (2) 'Augmentation Program', tailored to equip 20 austere Infantry Battalions. See Military Assistance Plan for Indonesia, Secret, 7. Office of the Chief of Military Technical Advisory Group, Indonesia, RG 334 Records of Interservice Agencies, Security Classified, General Correspondence, 1958-65, Box No. 2, Entry 115, NARA.

[105] Draft Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, Enclosure A, Joint Military Assistance Affairs Committee Report on 'Indonesian Request for Military Assistance under the Provisions of Section 106 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, As Amended', Top Secret, 6034. Records of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, RG 218, Central Decimal File, 1957, Box No. 5. NARA.

[106] The submitted arms and equipment listings were estimated to cost in the general order of $500 million for the Army, $140 million on for the Navy, and $40 million for the Air Force. Ibid., 6033 and Enclosure C., 6036. The 69-page full list of equipment Indonesia requested can be viewed in Records of the U.S. Joint

Washington's efforts to assist the Indonesian military.[107] Ambassador Jones underlined the political primacy of challenging the PKI in this regard:

> "Our military aid has been predicated on the proposition of first things first. The immediate threat is not Sukarno's leftist bent, third force ambitions or flirtations with both sides at once, but the PKI, which may even now be strong enough to capture Indonesia with or without the President. There is today only one effective force in opposition—the Indonesian Army."[108]

Administration officials also thought that providing advanced weaponry could decrease Indonesia's dependence on the Soviet Union. As Dulles argues,

> "Of course, in fact, the nation which supplies military equipment does get a certain control over the country that receives it, because of the dependence upon replacements and spare parts and the like. And it is far better, we think, that Indonesia should be dependent upon us in that respect than dependent upon the Soviet Union or the Soviet Bloc."[109]

The US Ambassador to Jakarta concurred that the provision of "modern, complex" equipment would "lock Indonesia into long-term training and maintenance relationships" (cited in Simpson 2008, 70). This line of thinking contradicted the warning from the Joint Chiefs mentioned above that supporting the military's conventional modernization could be counterproductive. Nevertheless, the Eisenhower period saw hundreds of officers going to the US by the late 1950s. But the administration's flip-flop during the PERMESTA rebellion instilled a deep sense of distrust.

Chiefs of Staff, RG 218, Central Decimal File 1957, Box No. 7, NARA.

[107] In absolute terms, US military assistance to Indonesia tripled between 1958 and 1959, from $5.4 million to $16.9 million. In addition, using all possible accounting tricks to essentially "cook the books", the real value of US military assistance was closer to the nearly $300 million the Soviets gave in the same period, although the on-the-book value was only $42 million (Simpson 2008, 47).

[108] Telegram from the Embassy in Indonesia to the Department of State, Jakarta, August 20, 1958, Document No. 147, FRUS, 1958-1960, 268

[109] Minutes of ANZUS Council Meeting, ANZ MC-1, Washington, October 1, 1958, Document No. 156, FRUS, 1958-1960, 285

Kennedy administration

Kennedy built on and extended Eisenhower's focus on internal security assistance. The difference was the urgency with which the US pursued its objectives, the truly global nature of US efforts, and the new role for the US Special Forces in training local forces (Rosenau 2003; Kuzmarov 2009). Two additional features characterized Kennedy's approach: the various bureaucratic restructuring and the rise of 'modernization theory' as the administration's conceptual lens (Mcmahon 2010). Kennedy's 'flexible response' strategy that sought to develop various means to respond to all levels of aggression, from guerrilla war to nuclear attack, drove these changes. Security assistance was, in essence, a way to provide greater strategic maneuverability vis-a-vis the Soviets (Michaels 2012; McClintock 1992).

The administration, for example, pushed for the creation of the Office of Public Safety (OPS) in 1962 under USAID, which trained more than a million foreign police over its 13-year tenure.[110] The rise of OPS coincided with the decline in MAP funding as Congress increasingly emphasized economic aid. The Vietnam war, however, reversed this trend.[111] The administration's modernization theory further framed these developments.[112] According to Walt Rostow, one of the theory's chief architects, developing nations were vulnerable to subversive communist elements. Foreign aid could thus hasten the transition to modernity and reduce that vulnerability. This 'high modernism' theory had a military variety: boosting Third World militaries to 'modernize' their societies.[113]

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[110] The OPS also helped local security and police to modernize their communications, administration, and command and control centers. See details in Rosenau (2003) and Kuzmarov (2009).

[111] From 1963 to 1973, East Asia and the Pacific ranked first in regular MAP at over $ 3.8 billion. This was in addition to the $15 billion provided to Vietnam, Laos, South Korea and Thailand through a special Military Assistance Service Funds. See details in Grimmett (1985, 23).

[112] In its broad outlines, modernization theory dominated American social scientific thought regarding economic, political, and social change from the late 1950s through the 1960s. See detailed analyses of the theory in Packenham (1975), Gilman (2003) and Latham (2011).

[113] See the discussion on 'high modernism' in Scott (1998). For the military variation of modernization theory, see Lerner and Robinson (1960) and Johnson (2015).

The argument was the military could be a modernizing force championing middle-class aspirations (where they came from) and provide administrative and technological skills to the civilian sector. Western military technology and education, in particular, could strengthen their 'rational' outlook and 'professional' responsibility. After all, military-to-military ties were 'easier' to establish due to a common trans-national 'bond' across the armed services (Pye 1962, 166-7). Military modernization through education and training assistance thus became a staple of Kennedy's approach, particularly through his Overseas Internal Defense Policy (although its success record was mixed).[114]

The administration believed the theory could work in Indonesia but officials kept the Eisenhower-era 'minimum effort' military assistance.[115] Officials thought a 'maximum' program would have required a fundamental re-channeling of Sukarno's energies into domestic economic reforms. The minimum effort had a modest goal instead: "strengthening those Indonesian elements, institutions and conditions which will resist Communism internally" (Bunnell 1969, 113). The Indonesian military was the centerpiece here. According to the US Ambassador, the minimum effort was, "an application of [a] carrot technique. If [the Indonesian] armed forces [were] effectively anti-Communist, we would reward this by a limited amount of assistance, then stand back to observe results. A little more anti-Communism, a little more aid, etc., holding out promise of full cooperation in the distant future."[116]

[114] The policy called for an 'activist' role for the State Department, USAID, the US Information Agency, the CIA and the Pentagon under a coordinated program of economic aid, military assistance, internal security training, and covert intelligence operations (Rosenau 2003, 75). But Third World elites were rarely passive recipients of modernizing models. While they were attracted to the promise of accelerated development, post-colonial leaders were fond of selecting and blending diverse elements of military or economic aid to serve their interests (Latham 2010, 268-9).

[115] The minimum effort essentially entailed economic grants for technical assistance, agricultural commodities under the Food for Peace Program, and modest military assistance. These programs provided sufficient material and political support to strengthen those likely to oppose the left, although the MAP probably had a bigger political return of investment. See the discussion in Bunnell (1969, 113–136).

[116] Telegram from the Embassy in Indonesia to the Department of State by Howard Jones, March 7, 1961, FRUS, 1961-1963, Vol. 23, Southeast Asia, 320. Available at `https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v23/d152` (last accessed on May 13, 2017).

Kennedy essentially provided military assistance to Indonesia through installments. This did not bode well for the diffusion of US theories of corporatism and victory, although his administration sought "the injection of Western orientation into Indonesian thinking".[117] A maximalist military emulation was therefore a key goal of US military aid to Indonesia, even if it was not publicly expressed as such.[118] And yet, the US ramped up its internal security aid which would have taken the Indonesian military further away from US theories of victory and corporatism. The US assisted Indonesia's civic action programs to boost military activities in rural areas (Simpson 2009, 473). The Pentagon in particular pushed for such programs as part of the OPS and Special Group for Counter-Insurgency policies.[119] The State Department recommended supplementing military training for Indonesian officers with special instructions in civil administration, including public safety, welfare, education, economics, property control, and public communications.[120]

The Indonesia Army under Nasution embraced this development as he had developed a warm relationship with General Taylor (Bunnell 1969, 147). This internal focus also coincided with the Army's counter-insurgency requirements and Territorial Warfare (discussed above).[121] A closer Army-to-Army relationship thus drove the civic action assistance. For one thing, Nasution did not trust Indonesian and American politicians and diplomats to handle the Army's aid programs.[122] For another, the US Army and the US Embassy in

[117] Plan of Action for Indonesia: Response to NSAM 179, Secret, Department of State, October 8, 1962, Enclosure No. 11, 1. Digital National Security Archives collection; Presidential Directives.

[118] Indonesia was not unique, of course, as the broader MAP was geared towards "Americanizing doctrine, organization, language, tactics, and equipment in other countries" (Wolpin 1972, 16).

[119] The administration's chief counter-insurgency guru Edward Landsdale proposed a Civic Action Program for Indonesia to bring the Army closer to the people through rural reconstruction and development projects. Details of US assistance to Indonesia's civic action program are in Evans (1989, 34-7).

[120] Telegram 3439 from State to Jakarta, July 14, 1961, RG 285, Records of the AID, Office of Public Safety, Operations Division, East Asia Branch, Indonesia, cited in Simpson (2008, 70).

[121] By 1958, the Indonesian Army had already concluded that it needed to develop greater grassroots support and involvement to defend the country from internal subversion (Sebastian 2006, 67-86).

[122] Nasution harbored distrust of the US government after his experience during the PERMESTA Rebellion and was concerned that Sukarno or the PKI might intervene (Evans 1989, 35, fn. 64).

Jakarta benefited immensely from the role of Lieutenant Colonel George Benson.[123] By July 1963, fifty US military-engineering personnel arrived to train Indonesian soldiers to use US equipment.[124] At around the same time, the first group of Indonesian officers came to the US Army Engineer Training Centers at Fort Belvoir and Fort Leonardwood. By September, the Indonesian Army officially opened the first US-led civic action course in Indonesia.[125]

The US civic action assistance should not be over-estimated, however. The Indonesian army, after all, had already developed its own civic action doctrine, tactics, and experience and did not want a large contingent of US advisers (Evans 1989, 34–5). That said, both Washington and Jakarta wanted to prevent the further domination by the PKI of the villages.[126] As Ambassador Jones remarks,

> "The next important initiative in keeping close to the Indonesian Army was in the field of civic action. The Indonesian Army recognized it had a political role to play and that assistance in rural reconstruction and development was one way to endear itself to the people. We ought to do all possible to assist the Army in this task."[127]

Similarly, Nasution thought it was important to keep training Indonesian officers in US-backed civic action programs, even though he was concerned with the broader conventional

[123] Benson first came to Indonesia from 1956 to 1959 as an assistant military attache. He eventually became the only US Army officer in Indonesia from 1957 until late 1958. He developed close ties with the Indonesian military leadership. Prior to his posting, he attended the CGSC in 1954-1955, where he met and knew key Indonesian officers, including Ahmad Yani. At the request of Nasution and Yani, Benson returned to Indonesia from 1962 to 1965 as Special Assistant to the Ambassador for Civic Action. On Benson's career, see Evans (1989, 28) and Bunnell (1969, 92).

[124] The US supplied light tools to equip 35 to 50 infantry battalions and heavy engineering construction equipment for around 10 engineering battalions and 13 construction battalions (Bunnell 1969, 148).

[125] Its graduates became instructors in the civic action Army Centers all over the country, assigned to the newly established units of the Army, or departed for further study in the US (Mrázek 1978*b*, 78).

[126] In fact, during difficult moments in US-Indonesia ties under the Johnson administration, civic action programs were one of the key engagements that both sides kept. See Memorandum from James C. Thomson, Jr. of the National Security Council Staff to the President's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs (Bundy), Washington, August 25, 1964, FRUS, 1964–1968, Vol. 26, Indonesia; Malaysia-Singapore; Philippines. Available at `https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v26/d64` (last accessed on March 1, 2017).

[127] Memorandum of Conversation, The President, Howard P. Jones, and Michael V. Forrestal, Washington, October 11, 1962, FRUS, 1961–1963, Vol 23, Southeast Asia. Available at `https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v23/d293` (last accessed September 13, 2017)

military modernization at the time.[128]

Altogether, Kennedy's civic action as well as education and training aid allowed the Indonesian Army to undertake new missions and activities in the villages. While there was a temporary 'match' between what the US was prepared to give and what Indonesia wanted, the transmission of US theories of victory and corporatism was partial. Civic action, as we see in the previous section, only constituted a small part of the overall organization-wide doctrine. Cold War political interests also continued to shape US military engagements, rather than the need to 'remodel' the Indonesian military along US lines. In short, the inhibitive properties of the cooperative transmission remained under Kennedy.

Johnson, Nixon, and beyond

The US–Indonesia military relations reached a low point during Johnson's early days. His administration was more sympathetic to Britain's predicament in the Indonesia-Malaysia confrontation and had largely accepted that the minimum aid program could not moderate Sukarno's behavior. Washington offered unequivocal support for Malaysia (McMahon 1981, 325), while Congress sought to suspend all aid to Indonesia (Rakove 2008, 383-7). Johnson was also personally less engaged with Indonesian affairs amidst deteriorating conditions in the US and the Vietnam War.[129] Administration officials were generally recommending reductions in Indonesia's aid programs and that a presidential determination should be made before civic action and military assistance could proceed (Jones 2002, 263).

Officials from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Defense Department, and the CIA, how-

[128] Telegram from the Embassy in Indonesia to the Department of State (Embtel 1854), Jakarta, March 19, 1964, FRUS, 1964–968, Vol. 26, Indonesia; Malaysia-Singapore; Philippines. Available at `https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v26/d40` (last accessed on October 1, 2017).

[129] According to U.S. officials, while Kennedy had cared for and was willing to spend political capital on Indonesia, Johnson personally decided early on that "he was not going to bear any political burdens on behalf of Indonesia" (Simpson 2008, 126).

ever, argued against a total end of military aid.[130] They saw those programs as a way to build 'social capital' to be used during crisis situations. During the height of the Malaysian 'confrontation', the State Department believed it should,

> "...try to build up pressures on Sukarno from Indonesian military sources in favor of rational settlement with Malaysia and decent relations with free world....this would seem to require "educational" program aimed at military leaders...who have some ability [to] effect course of events...[Thus, the] time has come to *draw on relationship we have built up with Indonesian military* in [an] effort [to] head off [the Government of Indonesia] before it's too late. This should be done to maximum extent possible in [the] context [of] this "educational" campaign, since our capital with them will be completely expended in any event should Indo actions force us side openly against them." (emphasis mine)[131]

The deteriorating trend was reversed following the September 1965 attempted coup.[132] The US secretly helped the Indonesian Army by providing intelligence, arms, medicines, and radios and by giving assurances that Britain would not attack while it was suppressing the PKI (Easter 2005). The Army's subsequent rise as the dominant force profoundly altered Indonesian political and economic life. The "new political order" in Indonesia, Ambassador Green commented as he argues for the resumption of military aid, "will be army planned, army built and army sponsored...it is the army which will remain the dominant political force in Indonesia for a long time to come" (Simpson 2009, 475). As if Kennedy's modernization theory lived on, a National Intelligence Estimate after the birth of the New Order argues,

> "The army is the most cohesive and nationally-oriented institution within Indonesia; hence, it is the best available instrument for the gigantic task of modernization. After more than 20 years of active involvement in civil affairs, the army leadership has a sense of national mission which generally transcends the

[130] Having spent years cultivating close personal and intelligence ties, they were reluctant to sever ties that could be meaningful in terms of "continuing contact and future influence" (Simpson 2008, 126).

[131] Telegram from the Department of State to the Embassy in Indonesia, Washington, March 3, 1964, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1964–1968, Vol. 26, Indonesia; Malaysia-Singapore; Philippines, 66. Available at `https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v26/d33` (last accessed January 3, 2018)

[132] The best historical accounts the attempted coup and its aftermath are Roosa (2006), Robinson (2018), and Melvin (2018).

> ethnic, religious, and geographic divisions that have made it so difficult to mold together the Indonesian nation. The officer corps is relatively well-educated and, under strong direction, could become an effective force for modernization and reform. The army would perhaps be more favorably disposed to a US-supported regional security arrangement than would various civilian elements."[133]

Once again, the US threw its weight behind the Army. After 1965, approximately 100 Indonesian personnel were sent to the US for training in courses that support civic action, including supply, civil engineering, maintenance, logistics, and salvage.[134] The US also financed the training of Indonesian officers at US civilian academic institutions in programs related to the management of civilian enterprises.[135] RAND's Guy Pauker also promoted the modernizing role of the Indonesian military and helped boost Southeast Asian and Indonesian studies centers in the US (Budiawan 2006). The US even helped create smaller versions of its defense policy think tanks and their methods.[136] The military-to-military relationship was then stable from the mid-1960s onwards.

Nixon boosted military assistance to selected Indonesian combat units.[137] After Vietnam, the administration also considered encouraging a broader regional role for Indonesia.[138] Indonesia's centrality in Southeast Asia was reiterated up until the 1990s. President Ford's

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[133] National Intelligence Estimate, December 31, 1968,NIE 55-68. FRUS, 1964–1968, Vol. XXVI, Indonesia; Malaysia-Singapore, Philippines, 569Available from `https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1964-68v26/d262` (last accessed June 12, 2017)

[134] See CINCPAC FY70 Evaluation of the MAP, Indonesia, Secret, February 10, 1970, 43. Records of the United States Army, Pacific RG 550, Classified Organizational History Files, Box No. 175, NARA.

[135] For example, hundreds of visiting Indonesian officers at Harvard and Syracuse from the early 1960s to the mid-1970s gained various skills—from business administration and personnel management to air photography and shipping (Ransom 1975, 102–3). See also the discussion in Evans (1989, 37).

[136] Guy Pauker brought Col. Suwarto, then deputy commander of the Army Staff and Command College and a Fort Leavenworth graduate, to RAND in 1962. Upon returning, Suwarto tried to emulate the RAND model by bringing economists and social scientists to lecture about and do research on Indonesia's future problems. According to the US defense attache at the time, Suwarto's 'mini RAND' also ran courses on major contingency planning (Ransom 1975, 102).

[137] The aid included equipment for two elite air transportable brigades, jet trainers, combat jets, communication equipment, one additional destroyer-type vessel, and the upgrading of maintenance facilities. See National Security Decision Memorandum 107, May 5, 1971, 1, from Digital National Security Archive Collection, U.S. policy in the Vietnam War. Part II. 1969-1975.

[138] National Security Decision Memorandum 205, July 20, 1974, 1, Digital National Security Archive Collection, Presidential directives on national security. Part II. From Truman to George W. Bush.

"approval" of Indonesia's invasion of East Timor, for example, was grounded in such a logic.[139] In fact, five months before the invasion, his administration wanted to increase military aid.[140] The Reagan Administration also strongly signaled Indonesia's value to its East Asian and global military strategy in the early 1980s.[141]

Overall, while military assistance remained a key component of US-Indonesia military ties after 1965, its value — and the number of students Indonesia sent — declined over time (discussed below). Jakarta was also more interested in economic assistance to restore its badly damaged economy under Sukarno's rule. The inconsistencies of US military aid policies since Truman further left a patchy and incoherent transmission of US theories of victory and corporatism for much of the Cold War. The analyses above also show the occasional 'mismatches' between what the US was prepared to give and what Indonesia wanted. These obstacles underline the inhibitive nature of the cooperative transmission between the US (as a donor) and Indonesia (as a receiver).

4.3.2 Education and training

The centerpiece of US military assistance to Indonesia was its education and training programs. Officials and scholars often note the large numbers of US-trained officers during the Cold War, even though different studies cite different sources covering different programs.[142] One US official boasted in the mid-1960s that "one-third of the [Indonesian] army

[139] See the archival documents provided in Burr and Evans (2001).

[140] Memorandum of Conversation between Presidents Ford and Suharto, The White House, Secret, July 5, 1975, 2. Gerald R. Ford Library, National Security Adviser Memoranda of Conversations, Box 13, July 5, 1965 - Ford, Kissinger, Indonesian President Suharto. Available at the National Security Archives at `https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB62/` (last accessed September 15, 2015).

[141] In 1983, Under-Secretary of State James L. Buckley noted Indonesia's strategic location on important trade routes, and its possession of resources, although the focus of the professional education and training aid was more narrow and geared towards technical 'professionalism', including skills to maintain US-made aircrafts. See details in Kifer (2008, 264–5).

[142] Official US military aid figures for Indonesia were classified until 1963. Up until then, Indonesia did not meet the statutory requirements for participation in the official Military Assistance Program; it was a

general staff" and "almost half of the officer corps" had some sort of US training.[143] My own calculation (see Figure 4.5 below) shows that 7,012 Indonesian military officers were officially trained in the US between 1950 and 1989 in various US schools. In the mid-1960s, US-trained officers were the principal teaching staff at over a hundred Indonesian training centers teaching US training doctrine and methods.[144] These activities may have given the impression that the US 'remodeled' the Indonesian military over its own image. But as we see above, Washington viewed education and training assistance for the military as a political tool rather than a mechanism to professionally modernize the organization and improve its (external) combat effectiveness. The US was nonetheless the dominant, though by no means the only, provider of military education and training.

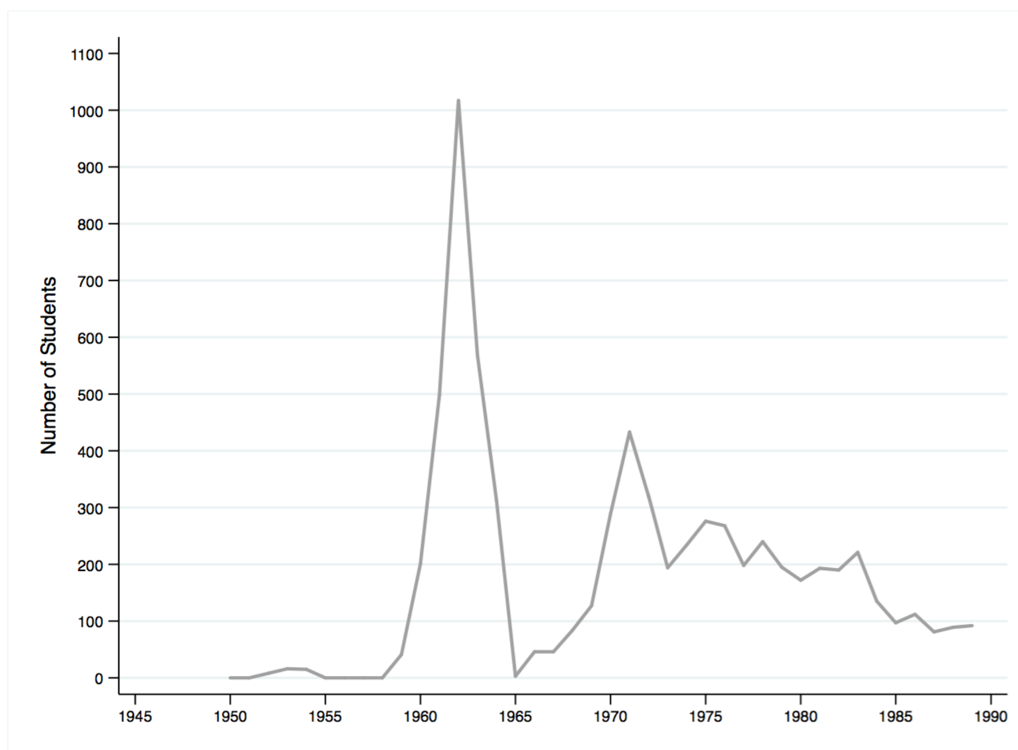
Figure 4.5 also shows that the critical juncture period saw the highest peak of the number of US-trained officers. These officers were potential US product champions that could have led the formulation of new US-inspired theories of victory and corporatism. But as I discuss below, when these US-trained officers returned to Indonesia, the military's personnel infrastructure was of low-quality. In fact, it was not until the 1980s, after the critical juncture has passed, that the military under the New Order started to institutionalize its personnel policies. But by then, as Figure 4.5 shows, the US military education and training programs were already in decline. Furthermore, the sheer diversity of the US courses as well as the absence of an academy-level education allocated for Indonesian cadets (the foundational building block to any officer corps) suggests coherence and consistency would

'presidential determination' country. For more details, see Mrázek (1978*a*, 120) and Mrázek (1978*b*, 75).

[143] Testimony of Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East, William Bundy to Congress in House Foreign Affairs Committee, Hearings on the Foreign Assistance Act of 1964, 174, cited in Bunnell (1969, 161). He did not provide any substantial data to back this claim however.

[144] Military Assistance Plan FY 1964–68, Explanatory Sheet for Format MAP E-1, Project A6 Internal Security, Secret, May 10, 1962. Office of the Chief of Military Technical Advisory Group, Indonesia, RG 334 Records of Interservice Agencies, Security Classified, General Correspondence, 1958-65, Box No. 2, Entry 115, NARA.

Figure 4.5: US-funded Indonesian military students and trainees (1950–1990)



Note: N = 7,012
Source: Author calculation based on various issues of *Foreign Military Sales and Military Assistance Facts* published by the Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA)

be challenging. The absence of a systematic and appropriate measurement framework to analyze the organizational effects of US education and training did not help as well.

Course and supplier diversity

Initially, the US was not the Indonesian military's first choice as a provider of education and training. The Netherlands Military Mission's demise in 1953 (discussed above) was followed by overtures to Australia, Switzerland, West Germany, Sweden and Norway to provide training and education (Fakih 2014, 80). When they declined, Indonesia approached 'less neutral' countries such as the UK, Australia, and the US.[145] While the US eventually became the

[145] See United States Objectives and Courses of Action with Respect to Indonesia, Top Secret, Executive Secretary National Security Council Report, November 20, 1953, 3. Digital National Security Archives Collection; Presidential Directives.

dominant supplier, the training mission sent to Indonesia faced various difficulties, including flawed aid measurement frameworks. That the Indonesian military insisted on 'course diversity' (different US-based programs) as well as 'supplier diversity' (other countries providing education and training) exacerbated the problems. The deliberate "diversification" preference was designed less with learning potential in mind than organizational autonomy. The more diverse the courses and suppliers, the less likely the military would be dependent on just one country for its education and training.

Indonesian officers were enrolled in dozens of specialized training courses and educational programs, as Table 4.3 below depicts. It also shows the domination of Army-related courses compared to the other services. It is noteworthy that academy-level education was never afforded to the military; the focus was either technical training or mid- or senior-rank education. Sending mid-level or senior officers made sense from a network or influence standpoint but these men would have been harder to socialize into new theories of victory or corporatism. The courses would also be more narrow and limited than would be required for an organization-wide emulation. The numerous training in civic action and economic development in civilian schools exacerbated the problem.

The diversity of courses thus hindered a coherent, consistent, and organization-wide socialization of US theories of victory and corporatism. Immersive socialization would have been difficult in the first place given that most officers by then had built their outlook under Japanese training or during the Revolution. The period spent in the US, however intensive, was too short to fully 'supplant' those experiences. At best, Indonesian trainees were impressed by US military techniques and the highly sophisticated equipment they were taught to handle (Mrázek 1978*a*, 128). There was also a lack consistency in the course offerings. Prior to 1965, for example, the US provided combat training courses (e.g. Pathfinder,

Table 4.3: US military education and training courses provided to Indonesia

Time	Service	Level	Courses/Schools
1940 – 1950s	Army	Staff and Command College	Command and General Staff College (CGSC), Fort Leavenworth
1940 – 1950s	Army	Civilian education	Clark University Graduate School of Geography
1940 – 1950s	Army	Advanced/specialized courses	Signal Officer and Signal Company Officer Schools, US Army Financial Management School, Medical Advanced Course (Fort Sam), Adjutant General Regular Advanced Course and Adjutant General Manpower Officers Course (Fort Benjamin), Associate Infantry Officers Advanced Course and Airborne Course (Fort Benning), Rifle Marksmanship Infantry Officers Advanced Course, Air-Ground Operation School (Biloxi), Artillery Advanced Course, Ordnance Officers Advanced Course, Modem Weapon Familiarization Course (Fort Bliss), Preventive Maintenance Course, Industrial College of the Armed Forces, Regular Officers Advanced Course, Counter Political Intelligence Course (Honolulu)
1940 – 1950s	Navy	Staff and Command College	Naval War College, Newport
1940 – 1950s	Navy	Advanced/specialized courses	Junior Naval Amphibious Course, Torpedo Anti Submarine School (Plymouth), USMC Junior School and Senior School (Quantico), Engineer Equipment Maintenance Course, US Navy General Line School, Senior Officer Amphibious Warfare Course, Naval Civil Engineering School, Naval Post-Graduate School, US Naval Shipyard Management.
1940 – 1950s	Air Force	Pilot training school	Taloa Academy of Aeronautics (Oakland, CA

Source: Author summary of information from Djamhari (1995), TNI (2000*a*), TNI (2000*b*), TNI (2000*c*).

Ranger, Airborne, "On-the-Job Training" Combat Operations). But due to the confrontation with Malaysia, the US curtailed some of the amphibious and counterinsurgency training.[146]

The programs were also designed too closely for US tactical, logistical and material needs or too focused on anti-communist indoctrination. US-based training courses especially modified for Third World needs were uncommon because of fears they might prompt 'resentment' by foreign officers (Wolpin 1972, 72-3). Consider the example of the Pentomic division. In the 1950s, the US Army briefly experimented with a divisional design grouped around nominally self-contained independent battle groups—the 'Pentomic' division—which included many elements found in a regimental combat team.[147] Indonesian officers studying at Fort Leavenworth at the time found the idea of a ground force broken into small self-contained units, widely dispersed, fast moving, yet capable of coordinated action, appealing.[148] After all, its own Territorial Command envisioned the creation of independent 'compartments' across the country (discussed above). But the Pentomic concepts were never intended for Indonesia. If anything, US officials believed that militaries in the developing world should focus on internal-security.[149]

'Political indoctrination' further diluted US theories of victory and corporatism. The US-based 'orientation tours'—foreign officers visiting military installations, governmental centers, and tourist attractions—were designed to affect the political attitude of foreign officers.[150] The Command and General Staff College (CGSC) also provided foreign students with reading materials and instructions in American government, judicial system, economic

[146] CINCPAC FY70 Evaluation of the MAP, Indonesia, Secret, February 10, 1970, 51. Records of the United States Army, Pacific RG 550, Classified Organizational History Files, Box No. 175, NARA

[147] The US Army then needed a 'dual-capable' force which could fight both tactical nuclear engagements and conventional war. See details in Doughty (1979) and Davis (2010).

[148] Fifty-three Indonesian officers attended the CGSC in 1953-1965 (Evans 1989, 44).

[149] The operational unit of those forces was supposed to be numerous, light, constabulary forces, not large infantry divisions with expeditionary combat capabilities (Mrázek 1978*b*, 53).

[150] In 1967, 4,254 foreign participants (including 39 Indonesians) came to the US under this program (Wolpin 1972, 36).

policies, and a variety of anti-communist materials (Wolpin 1972, 60-1).[151] These examples are not unique. At the US Army Infantry School at Fort Benning and the US Army Psychological Warfare School at Fort Bragg, foreigns students were exposed to a mix of skill development and political indoctrination. This was particularly salient in the counter-insurgency training programs the US provided to Third World militaries like Indonesia.[152] There were also exceptions to some courses that may contain classified materials. According to a senior US military official in 1963, classified materials were denied to foreign officers from countries with “questionable ideologies”.[153]

This was perhaps one of the reasons why the Indonesian military wanted to diversify its education and training supplier, as Table 4.4 below lists. Taken together, Table 4.3 and Table 4.4 suggest another reason why US theories of victory and corporatism could take hold in some combat arms but not others. Aside from the tactical concepts related to civic action and mobil strike divisions mentioned above, the US model was also influential within the Indonesian Marines.[154] In other words, the diffusion of US theories of victory and corporatism was limited and incoherent.

[151] The CGSC’s 10-month regular course included various subjects on geopolitics, although two-thirds were devoted to intelligence and operations. Between 1954 and 1966 (when most Indonesian officers went there), the CGSC curriculum was roughly divided into: operations (44.39%), intelligence (14.07%), logistics (22.96%), personnel (9.3%), and others (8.28%). I calculate these figures from Evans (1989, 40).

[152] The defense department directed the integration of anti-communism and US foreign policies into counter-insurgency courses inaugurated in 1962 (Wolpin 1972, 87).

[153] Statement by BG. Stephen Fuqua, Director, Near East, South Asia, and Africa, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, at Hearings on H.R. 5490, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 88th Congress, 1st Session, Foreign Assistance Act of 1963, May 13, 1963 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1963), 728

[154] By the mid-1960s, US officials were convinced that the Marines were strongly-oriented toward the West and that by the end of the decade it would be the only combat unit to be “completely supported by US arms and equipment”. FY 63–67 Military Assistance Plan for Indonesia, Secret, February 20, 1961, Explanatory remarks format E-1. Office of the Chief of Military Technical Advisory Group, Indonesia, RG 334 Records of Interservice Agencies, Security Classified, General Correspondence, 1958-65, Box No. 2, Entry 115, NARA. By the 1970s, US training curricula was the basis of the Marine Corps Education and Training Center. See CINCPAC FY70 Evaluation of the MAP, Indonesia, Secret, February 10, 1970, 68. Records of the United States Army, Pacific RG 550, Classified Organizational History Files, Box No. 175, NARA.

Table 4.4: Indonesia's foreign suppliers of military education and training

Time	Service	Country	Courses/Schools
1940 – 1950s	Army	The Netherlands, America, Australia, India, Germany, Pakistan, France, Yugoslavia	Academy and reserve schools (Netherlands), Command and Staff Colleges for other countries
1940 – 1950s	Navy	America, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, The Netherlands, India	Royal Naval College (KIM), Naval War College, Command and Staff School (Leningrad), Defence Service Staff College, Royal Naval Staff College, Torpedo Anti-Submarine Course, School of Land-Air Warfare
1940 – 1950s	Air Force	America, India, United Kingdom, Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia	Taloa Academy of Aeronautics (Oakland, CA), Royal Air Force Staff College (Andover), Staff College (Kiev), Flying School of United Province, Royal Air Force Technician College, Jet Flight Training School, RAF Swinderby, RAF Instructor School
1960s	Navy	America, Australia, West Germany, Sweden, Japan, United Kingdom, India	Advanced and specialized training and courses, Royal Naval Staff College, Defence Service Staff College, Naval War College

Note: The information largely draws from the Indonesian military's official history textbooks but they provide inconsistent figures on the number of trainees and students. As such, I leave them out as the table is meant to illustrate the diversity of foreign military training suppliers.
Source: Author summary of information from Djamhari (1995), TNI (2000*a*), TNI (2000*b*), TNI (2000*c*)

Mission and assessment clarity

In 1953, Indonesia requested that the US provide about 200 officers to train Indonesian soldiers at Indonesian expense.[155] The Joint Chiefs, however, thought that a 200-men mission would be too large but agreed in principle such as mission was,

> "feasible and desirable...[as it would] contribute materially to the organization and development of the Indonesian military, strengthen and enhance the prestige of the non-communist Indonesian government and facilitate the establishment of a more comprehensive military liaison than had existed."[156]

Some Indonesian military leaders also saw the US training program could be "modern with-

[155] Report by the Joint Strategic Plans Committee to the Joint Chiefs of Staff on Mission to Indonesia, JCS 1975/11, Top Secret, July 31, 1953, 62. Records of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, RG 218, Geographic File 1948–50, Box No. 28, NARA.

[156] Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense by F. F. Everest, Director, Joint Staff, on 'Mission to Indonesia', Top Secret, August 6, 1953. Records of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, RG 218, Geographic File 1948–50, Box No. 28, NARA.

out being Dutch" (Mrázek 1978*a*, 121). But a foreign mission would be politically problematic if it looked like the NMM.[157]

The solution was to establish a semi-formal mission small enough to avoid political backlash. The Military Technical Assistance Group, Indonesia (or MILTAG Indonesia) was set up by the end of 1958. It was created as "an *ad hoc* organization with purely political objectives...[It was] a non-entity...[and] has no official status and no formal basis of existence in Indonesia."[158] The MILTAG sought to "strengthen military and political influence and motivation of non-communist elements of the Indonesian armed forces...to the point where they can take positive action to reduce Communist influences within the government and within Indonesia at large".[159] It also wanted to "promote US influence through encouragement and support of pro-Western attitudes within the Indonesian military."[160] Finally, it was expected to plan and deliver military assistance to move Indonesia to "terminate its procurement from the Soviet bloc and rely solely on US and Allied equipment."[161]

Overall, the mission was less about improving Indonesian capabilities than about strengthening US influence within the officer corps. To that effect, MILTAG and subsequent

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[157] Even Nasution was opposed to a formal in-country US mission as it would invite political attacks. Indonesian Army leaders then wanted more space for Indonesian officers at US schools. See Message from U.S. Army Attache in Jakarta to Chief of Staff of U.S. Army, Top Secret, April 28, 1954. Records of the United States Army, Pacific RG 550, Classified Organizational History Files, Box No. 308, NARA.

[158] The only basis was a verbal concurrence between Generals Nasution and Vitrupp on October 23, 1958. By September 1959, the foreign and defense ministries buck-passed each other on MILTAG's protocol arrangements. To maintain the status quo, the protocol bureau claimed the arrangements but kept the process slowly. Historical Report, United States Military Technical Advisory Group, Indonesia 1958 - 1963, 7, Military Technical Advisory Group, RG 334 Records of Interservice Agencies, Security Classified Historical Reports, 1963-65, Box 1, Entry 114, NARA

[159] Memorandum from Commander in Chief, Pacific to Major General Russell L. Vittrup, August 6, 1958, 1, RG 334 Records of Interservice Agencies, Military Technical Advisory Group, Indonesia, Security Classified, General Correspondence, 1958-65, Box 2, Entry 115, NARA.

[160] Approved Terms of Reference for the Military Technical Advisory Group, Indonesia, enclosed in Memorandum from Commander in Chief, Pacific to Chief, Military Technical Advisory Group, Indonesia, November 13, 1959, 1, RG 334 Records of Interservice Agencies, Military Technical Advisory Group, Indonesia, Security Classified, General Correspondence, 1958-65, Box 2, Entry 115, NARA

[161] Historical Report, United States Military Technical Advisory Group, Indonesia 1958 - 1963, 5 from 'Military Technical Advisory Group, RG 334 Records of Interservice Agencies, Security Classified Historical Reports, 1963-65, Box 1, Entry 114, NARA

US defense missions[162] worked to: (1) increase the number of qualified instructors in the military school system, (2) provide training in skills in which deficiencies cannot be overcome through local training, (3) provide training in leadership, command, and staff operations of US military doctrines, and (4) provide field manuals, films, books, and periodicals to continue the "indoctrination and maintenance of pro-western support" of key officers.[163] These goals suggest that in the early part of the critical juncture, the US did not seek an Indonesian organization-wide emulation. At best, we see a mix of emulation-related goals ("train commanders in US military doctrine") as well as political ones ("indoctrination"). Even Indonesia-based US military advisers believed the US military has ''wisely not attempted to pattern the Indonesian Armed Forces along US Army lines."[164]

However, the US defense establishment did not or could not properly assess the value of its military education assistance to Indonesia. Table 4.5 below describes the Defense Department's annual Military Assistance Appraisal Checklist in the 1950s. As we can see, the framework to measure the impact of US education and training is unsuited for Indonesia. It focuses, for example, on 'jointness' and 'industrial mobilization'. Most post–colonial militaries like Indonesia struggled with basic organizational challenges like establishing centralized command and control (discussed above). Jointness and industrialization were unlikely to be salient goals for the Indonesian military back then.

Consider also the assessment for the Army in Table 4.6 below. The checklist looks more like an intelligence assessment than specific organizational elements the education or

[162] MILTAG lasted for a few years as the deterioration of US-Indonesia ties led to its closure by 1964. The 'Defense Liaison Group, Indonesia' was created in its stead.

[163] Military Assistance Plan FY 1964–68 prepared by U.S. MILTAG Indonesia, Explanatory Sheet for Format MAP E-1, Project A6 Internal Security, Secret, May 10, 1962. Office of the Chief of Military Technical Advisory Group, Indonesia, RG 334 Records of Interservice Agencies, Security Classified, General Correspondence, 1958-65, Box No. 2, Entry 115, NARA.

[164] Draft repot on Indonesia for the Anderson-Southeast Asia Subcommittee, The Presidents Committee to Study the United States Military Assistance Program (Draper Committee), Privileged Information, February 27, 1959, 2. Edward G. Lansdale Papers, Box No. 42, Hoover Institution Archives.

Table 4.5: Military Assistance Program (MAP) appraisal checklist (general)

Key criteria/category	Notes/components
Summary evaluation of effectiveness	Where possible, the comments should be on a joint basis, rather than from a single-service viewpoint.
Major equipment deficiencies	Summarize applicable paragraphs of Service sections.
Effect of MAP deliveries	Summarize applicable paragraphs of Service sections
Country military performance and progress from MAP start	Indicate improvements in military posture, increases in number of units and personnel.
Estimated effectiveness of forces 6 months prior to reporting data	Overall estimate of all units and may be made on a joint basis if possible
Industrial mobilization	What the Army, Navy, and Air Force industrial mobilization planning is conducted to prepare the country to assume the industrial burden of supporting forces in peace and war.

Source: Summarized from Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, Reporting Media for Data Required to Appraise Foreign Military Forces, JCS 2099/747, Confidential, November 8, 1957, Appendix. Records of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, RG 218, Central Decimal File 1957, Box No. 5, NARA.

training programs could improve. The one section on training and education measures the effects of the programs by how much US-trained trainers shape jointness. Counting the number of trainers does not account for the potential changes in the recipient's doctrinal documents or training manuals. It is also unclear if US assistance could improve the operational performance of the recipient beyond the number of equipments provided. Again, for a post-colonial army like Indonesia, operational performance could not always be measured by combat against an external enemy. Bottom line, the US did not have an appropriate framework to assess its education and training assistance to the Indonesian military.

4.4 Personnel infrastructure

The low-quality personnel infrastructure of the Indonesian military — its career management and education systems — during the critical juncture hindered the organization's capacity to understand, adopt, and implement US theories of victory and corporatism. The under-developed career management system de-valued professional qualifications and made

Table 4.6: Military Assistance Program (MAP) appraisal checklist (Army)

Key criteria/category	Notes/components
Strength, composition, and organization	Include structure, staff, components, arms, services, and units.
Distribution of active duty personnel by branch	Indicate balance or imbalance and corrective action needed
Mobilization procedures	The system and procedure to mobilize personnel in an emergency
Logistical support system	• Organization and operation for logistical support, including stock control system and tables of equipment • end-item utilization from units and installations observations.
Training and school system	• Training system and MAP current and projected training program (inc. training and schools for regular, reserve, and para-military). • Extent to which MAP training programs were utilized to form an effective nucleus of qualified instructor-type personnel • Extent and effectiveness of country utilization of MAP-funded mobile training teams, technical representatives, training aids and publication • Effectiveness and critical deficiencies of overall unit and individual training programs, especially combined arms and joint training • What joint training has been undertaken and the effectiveness in joint operations
Signal communication	Signal communication systems for command and administrative control (internal organizational operations).
Morale	Moral, general attitude, susceptibility to subversion and the communist trend (that can detract from force effectiveness)
Effectiveness of forces	Effectiveness to carry out military objectives. Estimate the number of days MAP–supported units can conduct sustained combat operations.
Major equipment deficiencies	Assessment and forecast of equipment deficiencies that could affect: unit activation, minimum essential training in schools and training centers, and combat effectiveness.
Effect of MAP deliveries	• Whether MAP delivery in the previous 6 months have been in phase with the country's programs and schedules (activation, organization, and training) • Whether equipment furnished under the grant assistance program is properly utilized
Country military performance and progress from MAP start	What has MAP done in general, military posture improvement, unit number increases, personnel, etc.
Ability of country to absorb MAP equipment	Summarize overall ability to absorb MAP equipments

Source: Summarized from Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense, Reporting Media for Data Required to Appraise Foreign Military Forces, JCS 2099/747, Confidential, November 8, 1957, Appendix. Records of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, RG 218, Central Decimal File 1957, Box No. 5, NARA.

it unlikely that US-trained officers would rise to the top and become product champions. I provide a statistical analysis of the career patterns of the Indonesian Army elite to support this claim. I also provide additional qualitative analyses of the evolution of the career management policies showing informal institutions were more important for officer's career trajectory. Finally, I demonstrate how the military's low-quality education and training system reduced the army's learning capacity.

4.4.1 Career management: statistical and organizational analyses

Analysts of Indonesian politics claim that the US was influential in shaping the Indonesian military. Some believe that Indonesian officers with "American diplomas" were placed in "extremely influential positions" in the educational and command structure of the Army (Mrázek 1978*a*, 122). An officer returning from the US training would be assigned as an instructor in Indonesian educational or training units for at least one year.[165] Others claim that Indonesian officers deemed US training and education to be prestigious, particularly schools like Fort Leavenworth (Evans 1989, 40).[166] But these claims are based on anecdotes without any consistent measurement of what military aid 'effectiveness' or 'success' meant.[167] Organization-wide emulation was either partly acknowledged or implicitly assumed. As our theory argues, a successful emulation requires new career pathways for the officers trained in the theories of victory and corporatism.

[165] This information was provided in a correspondence between George Benson and Bryan Evans on January 11, 1988 (cited in Evans 1989, 38, fn. 88). But there was no documentary evidence provided.

[166] After Fort Leavenworth, Fort Benning was second in popularity among 1960s-era officers, followed by Fort Harrison, Fort Sill, Fort Gordon, Fort Bliss, and the National War College. The ranking is from Mrázek (1978*a*, 122), which did not provide further empirical support.

[167] The previous section demonstrates that Washington viewed 'success' based on its close ties to key Army officers and their willingness to challenge the PKI. But how did the Indonesian military view the effectiveness of sending its officers to partake in US education and training?

Statistical analysis

I use an original dataset to statistically test the effects of US education or training for the career trajectory of Indonesian Army officers. More broadly, I seek to understand which features of an officer's education and career were more likely to lead to a successful career: whether he retired a general or held a command appointment. The tests suggest two key findings. First, there is no strong correlation between what we consider as a professional career trajectory and a successful retirement. Second, the effects of US education and training programs were indirect; by themselves, they were poor career predictors. Instead, a higher proportion of an officer's foreign education (from his total civilian and military education) likely led to a command appointment before retiring. As I discuss below, this effect could be attributed to the importance of pre-foreign training elite status and patronage (i.e. informal institutions). Only those who were groomed or part of an elite faction before their departure could afford to spend more time overseas. If US education and training could not directly boost an officer's career, then new career pathways for US-trained officers were unlikely to emerge and they were unlikely to be product champions.

I would like note that the data was originally designed to understand why retired officers had entered politics. The data thus suffers from two limitations. First, there is an inherent selection bias. As we had to rely on published information, we could only code publicly prominent officers. In other words, we only have detailed information on public 'elite' officers but may not be representative of the officer corps as a whole. We estimate that we have relatively complete information on roughly 10 to 15 % of each Army academy cohort until the 1980s (around 20–30 % of each class became generals). By complete information, I mean we were fairly confident that we recorded the majority of an officer's education, career, and post-retirement activities. So, while we have a roster list of 6,676 officers, we only have

good information on about 1,000 of them. The selection bias is unfortunate but unavoidable given the nature of the data and the purpose of its creation. It is also acceptable given that I am interested in the Western product champions within the military elite.

Second, the baseline data was spotty and suffers from multi-collinearity problems across seventy different variables. For example, there were more data points on one officer's career than his education while another might have the opposite. Some of the information were also under-specified; an officer could claim to have attended a 'training course' without detailing the duration. Thus, as the summary statistics below suggests, I had to recode the key variables into dummy and count variables for an officer's education or career. To address some of the multi-collinearity problems, I ran a dozen different tests for different models (accounting for the empirical requirements of the hypothesis testing). I settled on the dozen variables presented below. This is also why I chose 'command appointment' as the better dependent variable to test, rather than 'flag-rank' (which was almost perfectly linearly correlated with too many of the possible independent variables). As a test of a 'successful career', a last command appointment should also be harder to achieve than a general rank. I will describe the variable measurements below.

To understand the possible effects of US education and training programs, I seek to answer: what explains an Indonesian Army officer's successful career? I measure a successful career by: (1) whether an officer retired with a flag-rank (general) and (2) whether he held a command post before retiring. These two outcomes are commonly accepted markers of a successful military career; assuming a successful professional career is the ultimate goal of any officer.[168] There are several possible hypotheses to explain the outcomes. I focus

[168] This assumption may not always hold for many officers under authoritarian rule. They may be interested, for example, in developing business or political ties. But it is a useful assumption to make as we seek to understand whether professional 'markers' predict career patterns. Arguably, if professional markers define an officer's successful career, then it is safe to argue that the military's career management is of high quality.

on arguments salient to the Indonesian Army context, such as assignments to Territorial Command structure. I also focus on the different ways foreign education and training may affect career patterns.

1. *Foreign education*: participation in foreign education and training courses in general. The premise is that a modern officer requires international education and training to improve his professionalism and stay abreast of the latest concepts or technology. A foreign education also provides a wider-range of network and experience necessary to function in a globalized strategic environment (Scoppio 2003; Atkinson 2014). The more 'internationalized' an officer becomes, the more his career should improve. But there are different ways to measure foreign education and training, from the number of years spent abroad to types of courses taken.

   - Hypothesis 1A: The more an Indonesian officer spent time overseas to study or train, the more likely he retired as a general or holding a command appointment.
   - Hypothesis 1B: The more an Indonesian officer spent time overseas to study or train, in proportion to his overall education and training, the more likely he retired as a general or holding a command appointment.[169]
   - Hypothesis 1C: The more an Indonesian officer spent time at civilian educational institutions overseas, in proportion to its overall foreign education and training, the more likely he retired as a general or holding a command appointment.
   - Hypothesis 1D: If an Indonesian officer obtained a foreign graduate degree, he was more likely to retire as a general or holding a command appointment.
   - Hypothesis 1E: If an Indonesian officer attended a foreign Staff and Command College, he was more likely to retire as a general or holding a command appointment.

2. *US education and training*: participation in US-based military and/or civilian education and/or training courses. As mentioned above, scholars of Indonesian politics claim that the US influenced the Indonesian military because US-trained officers were

[169] The proportion of foreign education would be 'foreign education and training' divided by civilian and post-academy military education and training (total years).

placed in 'influential positions'. By implication, we should observe US training and education programs to be positively contributing to or correlated with the successful career trajectory of their recipients.

- Hypothesis 2: If an Indonesian officer participated in US military and/or civilian education or training programs, he was more likely to retire as a general or holding a command appointment.

3. *Power proximity*: whether an officer was close to the political center of power. This could be proxied by a tour with the different Jakarta-based military headquarters (both the Army HQ and General Staff HQ) and the Ministry of Defense and Security. Given the prevalence of informal institutions in personnel policies, a close proximity to the New Order power center should improve an officer's career.

- Hypothesis 3: If an Indonesian officer was assigned to the military headquarters or defense ministry, then he was more likely to retire as a general or holding a command appointment.

4. *Local power*: whether an officer has a 'territorial' career, by which I mean he has been assigned to or had tours with (at least five times, regardless of rank or positions) the Army's Territorial Command (KOTER).[170] Under the New Order, the high command gradually tolerated a local commander's ability to harness and maintain local political, social, and economic stability—which solidified the regime's legitimacy. As long as the KOTER remained the source of political power and legitimacy (Rinakit 2013), a territorial officer should have a brighter career than his non-territorial counterparts.

[170] All positions within the KOTER except for intelligence and combat. The use of 5 as a frequency marker is based on the calculation that an officer's post-academy career before he reaches a flag-rank (i.e. from 2nd Lieutenant to Colonel) should include between 8 to 10 assignments or tours. This calculation is further based on the following assumptions: (1) total length of military career: 36-38 years; (2) flag-rank duration: 5-6 years; (3) total education & training length: 4-5 years; (4) each command/staff post length: 2-3 years. Thus, 5 tours should qualify an officer as possessing a particular 'career type'.

- Hypothesis 4: If an Indonesian officer had a territorial career, then he was more likely to retire as a general or holding a command appointment.

5. *Combat campaign*: whether an officer was officially part of a military campaign. Generally, combat experience should be a marker of both professionalism and regime loyalty. For example, officers who have had tours in East Timor and Aceh tended to be promoted faster than those who never served there (Kammen 2012). In the 1980s, majors and lieutenant colonels with tours in East Timor were 'automatically' selected into the Army Staff and Command College.[171] In short, an officer with combat experience should have a brighter career.

- Hypothesis 5: If an Indonesian officer had participated in a military campaign, then he was more likely to retire as a general or holding a command appointment.

6. *Personal traits*: whether an officer was Javanese or Muslim. The argument comes from the numerous editions of Cornell University's 'Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite' published in the *Indonesia* journal, where ethnicity and religion were cited as important indicators of career advancement. As most members of the military under the New Order were Javanese, non-Javanese officers who aspired to senior positions had to 're-socialize' themselves as Javanese to survive intra-military politics (Gregory 1980, 267). In short, being a Javanese or a Muslim should improve an Indonesian Army officer's career.

- Hypothesis 6: If an Indonesian officer was either a Javanese or a Muslim, then he was more likely to retire as a general or holding a command appointment.

These hypotheses should help us understand what personal and professional traits

[171] This policy assumed officers serving there did not have the opportunity for self-study and preparation that other officers had (McFetridge 1983, 89).

would be correlated with a successful career in the Indonesian Army. The hypothesis of interest is Hypothesis 2, whether having a US education or training improves an officer's career. If the hypothesis is supported, then it is likely that there were new career pathways for US-trained officers. Conversely, if the hypothesis is not supported, then it is unlikely that there were new career pathways for US-trained officers. The presence or absence of new career pathways anticipates the likely organizational resistance or acceptance of US theories of victory and corporatism.

Statistical tests I examine the hypotheses in two steps. First, I examine whether an officer retired with a general-rank. Given the aforementioned problems of multi-collinearity and spotty data, I could not present a reliable logistic regression with this dependent variable. After running different tests that gave unreliable results, I decided to provide a descriptive statistic instead. It simply looks at the portion of Army generals who received some form of US education and training.[172] From the INDOMAG database, I draw a sample of 677 generals with relatively complete career and education information.

Table 4.7 below presents a cross-tabulation of the data. It shows less than 16% of Army generals had prior US education or training. The results independently confirms the earlier findings of Evans (1989, 37) who estimated that between 17 and 25% of Indonesian Army generals received training in the US.[173] That only a small number of Army generals were US-trained suggests that US training programs may not be as coveted as many claims. If the majority of officers could become generals without a US education or training, it seemed unlikely that those programs were significant career boosters. It was also unlikely

[172] These US programs ranged from short courses or training stints to year-long staff and command college programs. See Table 4.3 above for the different programs and courses.

[173] He never provided the data or the method for his claims. He only noted he calculated them from the Cornell Modern Indonesia Project's 'Current Military Data' files and *The Indonesian Military Leaders: Biographical and Other Background Data*. See Evans (1989, 37, fn. 77).

that new career pathways were created for US-trained officers. If there were such pathways, we should have seen at least more US-trained officers promoted to generals. The descriptive statistic, however, could not tell us which of the six hypotheses above is more probable than the other. It only shows that Hypothesis 2 is unlikely to be supported when it comes to one of the dependent variables (flag-rank).

Table 4.7: Cross-tabulation of US-trained Indonesian Army generals

US-trained	**Flag Rank**		**Total**
	No	Yes	
No	0 (0.00%)	565 (84.08%)	565 (83.46)%)
Yes	5 (100.00%)	107 (15.92%)	112 (16.54%)
Total	5 (100.00%)	672 (100.00%)	677 (100.00%)

Second, I focus on the other dependent variable: whether an officer retired holding a command appointment. I draw a smaller sample of 100 foreign-trained officers (from the 677 noted above). This smaller sample represents a higher confidence in the data coverage. Unfortunately, this sample also reflects the selection bias and problems discussed above. These generals however were among the most publicly known and elite members of the officer corps. As the arguments regarding the value of US military education hinge on the recipients' 'brighter' careers, it is reasonable to examine these prominent officers. I will discuss the sample and the officers' characteristics below. I translate the hypotheses and outcome into Table 4.8 while Table 4.9 provides the summary statistics.

Table 4.8: Variable measurement and coding

Variable	Measurement	Type
Command appointment	Command over a branch/unit/combat arm at last rank (pre-retirement)	Dummy
Flag-rank	General rank as last rank (pre-retirement)	Dummy
US edu. & train.	Participated in a US education and/or training courses or programs (at least once)	Dummy
Military Headquarters	Assigned to Service HQ, General HQ, or Ministry of Defense and Security (at least once)	Dummy
Territorial career	Staff and/or command positions within the Territorial Command (KOTER) structure (min. 5 tours)	Dummy
Combat campaigns	Number of military campaigns	Count
Muslim	Whether an officer is Muslim or not	Dummy
Javanese	Whether an officer is Javanese or not	Dummy
Foreign edu. & train.	Total number of years (both civilian and military)	Continuous
Proportion of foreign edu.	Foreign edu. & train divided by civilian and post-academy military education (total years)	Continuous
Proportion of civilian foreign edu.	Foreign civilian education (total years) divided by foreign edu & train	Continuous
Master's degree (foreign)	Obtained a foreign graduate degree (MA/MSC)	Dummy
Staff & Command College (foreign)	Attended a foreign Staff & Command College	Dummy

As the dependent variable is categorical, I use a logistic regression model:

$$\begin{aligned} CommandAppointment &= \alpha + \beta_1 USEdu + \beta_2 MilitaryHQ + \beta_3 Territorial \\ &+ \beta_4 Combat + \beta_5 Muslim + \beta_6 Java + \beta_7 ForeignEdu + \varepsilon \end{aligned} \tag{4.1}$$

I test seven models in the regression presented in Table 4.10 below. The variation in the models reflect the different conceptualization of 'foreign education & training' (Hypotheses 1A, 1B, 1C, 1D, and 1E above). These variables help us understand whether there was a different effect between 'US education and training' and 'foreign education and training'; the presence or absence of a significant correlation between one or the other with the likelihood of holding a pre-retirement command appointment. This also helps us infer whether there was an organizational resistance or acceptance of foreign theories of victory and corporatism in general or just specific to the US.

Table 4.9: Summary statistics

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Command appointment	90	.267	.447	0	1
Flag-rank	90	.967	.180	0	1
US edu. & train.	90	.656	.478	0	1
Military Headquarters	90	.378	.488	0	1
Territorial career	90	.578	.497	0	1
Combat campaigns	90	.944	1.539	0	7
Muslim	90	.822	.385	0	1
Javanese	90	.589	.495	0	1
Foreign edu. & train.	90	1.514	1.427	0	8
Proportion of foreign edu.	90	.440	.325	0	1
Proportion of civ. foreign edu	89	.172	.355	0	1
Master's degree (foreign)	88	.171	.379	0	1
Staff & Command College (foreign)	90	.456	.501	0	1

Table 4.10: Logistic regression of Indonesian Army officer career trajectory

	DV = Command appointment at retirement						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
US education & training	0.0915	0.101	0.0923	-0.141	0.0723	0.256	-0.139
	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(-0.25)	(0.13)	(0.46)	(-0.21)
Military Headquarters	-1.010	-1.001	**-1.192***	-0.983	-1.014	-1.065	-1.169
	(-1.75)	(-1.72)	(-1.96)	(-1.69)	(-1.75)	(-1.81)	(-1.81)
Territorial career	0.572	0.561	0.447	0.230	0.444	0.450	0.000586
	(1.07)	(1.04)	(0.80)	(0.41)	(0.81)	(0.82)	(0.00)
Combat campaigns	0.242	0.240	0.327	0.195	0.226	0.308	0.269
	(1.45)	(1.42)	(1.80)	(1.11)	(1.32)	(1.74)	(1.26)
Muslim	0.0441	0.0411	0.0697	-0.0814	-0.173	-0.161	0.0259
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.10)	(-0.11)	(-0.24)	(-0.23)	(0.03)
Javanese	-0.126	-0.142	-0.296	-0.393	-0.206	0.0000781	-0.755
	(-0.23)	(-0.25)	(-0.51)	(-0.68)	(-0.36)	(0.00)	(-1.12)
Foreign education & training		-0.0290					0.00141
		(-0.15)					(0.00)
Proportion of foreign education & mil edu			**1.904***				**2.503***
			(2.23)				(2.10)
Proportion of civilian foreign education				-2.193			-2.212
				(-1.83)			(-1.02)
Foreign Master's degree					-1.040		-0.179
					(-1.26)		(-0.11)
Foreign Staff and Command College						0.836	-0.430
						(1.54)	(-0.54)
Cons.	-1.294	-1.240	-2.083*	-0.430	-0.789	-1.699*	-1.168
	(-1.59)	(-1.40)	(-2.30)	(-0.49)	(-0.92)	(-1.96)	(-1.10)
N	90	90	90	89	88	90	87

$^{*}p < .1$; $^{**}p < .05$; $^{***}p < .01$

Analysis and implications First and foremost, there is no support for Hypothesis 2: that participating in a US education and training program would be correlated with holding a command appointment before retiring. In other words, participating in a US education and training program did not have any significant effect for or correlation with an Indonesian officer's successful career. When accounting for other variables, participation inUS education or training programs was not significant across all models. This finding tracks with our descriptive statistics on the low percentage of US-trained Army generals. As Hypothesis 2 does not appear to hold across two different measurements of a successful career, it is safe to argue that US education did not have a significantly positive effect.

The lack of significant effects could be reflected in or driven by the absence of new career pathways for US-trained officers. For one thing, if officers were assigned an educational or training post upon returning from the US, then those posts did not guarantee a subsequent senior or command post. As I discuss below, educational postings were often used as 'exiles' under the New Order. For another, being out of the country for extended periods of time may harm an officer's career prospects as his domestically-located fellow officers advanced. This was more likely when an officer was part of a large academy cohort size, or when promotional logjams were prevalent. Another possibility is that graduates of US programs were rarely assigned command positions, which signaled their lack of readiness for higher responsibilities. Finally, "home-grown" officers might suspiciously view returnees as 'socialized' in foreign ways. In any case, there is little evidence to support the claim that US education had a positive effect for the careers of Indonesian Army officers.

Second, there is no support for Hypothesis 4: that having a territorial career was correlated with holding a command appointment before retiring. Across all models, the territorial career had no significant effects. This finding is counter-intuitive to what we

know about Indonesian military politics, where KOTER commanders tended to be successful generals (Jenkins 1984). The lack of significant territorial effects can be explained in several ways. For one thing, most KOTER officers who became successful commanders or generals had multiple tours of duty outside of KOTER. Becoming 'too localized' undermined an officer's chances to navigate broader intra-military politics. For another, territorial officers could become too comfortable in managing local affairs. As such, they tend to "set up their retirement" to take advantage of their local knowledge and network. Officers with multiple KOTER tours likely realized that they would be better off in local politics. Put differently, having the occasional KOTER tour helped an officer's career, but having a territorial career (more than half of pre-general rank postings in KOTER) did not boost the chances to hold command appointments before retiring.

Third, there is no support for Hypothesis 5: that participating in a combat campaign was correlated with holding a command appointment before retiring. Across all models, combat campaigns had no significant effects. This is another counter-intuitive finding. In a professional military, combat-tested officers should have brighter careers. But as I describe below, informal institutions governed officers' behaviors and expectations. In the Army, a combat campaign was neither necessary nor sufficient for a successful career. For one thing, given the nature of KOTER and *kekaryaan* duties, many officers made their marks without combat. For another, the prevalence of patronage means that career trajectories depended on personal ties. Some leaders like Moerdani valued combat operations and expected his officers to do the same. But others focused on regime support (e.g. 'securing' elections), where combat was less valuable. Put it differently, when competing informal institutions rule, combat campaigns were not be clear career boosters.

Fourth, there is no support for Hypothesis 6—that being Javanese or Muslim was

correlated with holding a command appointment before retiring. Across all the models, both the Javanese and Muslim variables had no significant effects.[174] For the high command, it may be that ethnicity and religion played no significant factor in promotions. This does not mean the military's personnel policies were institutionalized or that appointments were made based on merit. Informal institutions such as patronage still prevailed. It is also likely the Javanese or Muslim variables simply mirror the societal demographic structure. As Javanese and Muslims were the dominant groups in society, it is reasonable to assume that they would become the dominant groups (by size) within the military. Lastly, under the New Order, Suharto preferred non-Javanese generals as key leaders in the 1970s and 1980s to prevent the rise of potential challengers from the military.[175]

Fifth, there is limited support for Hypothesis 3: that assignments to the military headquarters or defense ministry were correlated with holding a command appointment before retiring. The support comes from the significance of the military headquarters variable in model 3 (where the foreign education measure is the proportion of foreign education and training) but not in others. Model 3 also suggests the significant correlation was negative: appointments to military headquarters made an officer less likely to finish his career holding a command appointment. Controlling for other variables, the odds ratio between the group appointed to the military headquarters and the group not appointed to have command appointments at retirement is 0.305 (log odds -1.192 exponentiated). This means that the odds of holding a command appointment before retiring were lower for officers appointed to

[174] Initially, I ran a test with the same model using a Javanese-Muslim combination as a single variable. While the population was smaller, the result was the same, i.e. no significant effects. I decided to separate the Javanese and Muslim components into two separate variables with the expectation that individually one might have an effect the other does not.

[175] After Suharto relinquished the post of ABRI Commander in 1973, his next three successors were 'minorities' (non-Javanese and/or non-Muslims): General Maraden Panggabean (1973–78), General M. Yusuf (1978–1983), and General Benny Moerdani (1983–1988). Panggabean (Christian) and Yusuf (Muslim) were from Sumatra and Sulawesi, respectively, while Moerdani was a Javanese Catholic.

the military headquarters than those who were not.

This is another counter-intuitive finding as many assume Jakarta appointments boosted careers. One interpretation is that Jakarta appointments at the staff level signaled the lack of leadership qualities, the lack of local ties and experience, or the lack of critical patronage. In this interpretation, Army HQ, General Staff HQ, and Ministry of Defense and Security were not ‘prestigious’ posts, but quasi ‘exiles’. This was likely given the promotional logjams—too many officers for too few positions—discussed below. In other words, these Jakarta posts were ‘placeholders’ for officers who needed or wanted to be promoted but there were no positions available. Another interpretation is that assignments to the Jakarta-based headquarters increased the likelihood of involvement in national political, social, or business activities. This in turn decreased the likelihood of developing the organizational qualifications necessary to hold command appointments. Put differently, Jakarta appointments turned officers into domestic political players not organizational ones.

Finally, there is some support for Hypothesis 1: foreign education and training in general (not just US specific) was correlated with holding a command appointment before retiring. As discussed above, I use different measurements of ‘foreign education and training’. Out of the five measures, only the proportion of foreign education and training (Hypothesis 1B) shows significant correlation with holding a command appointment. Specifically, the higher the proportion of an officer’s time spent overseas for education and training (compared to his total post-academy education and training), the more likely he held a command appointment before retiring. Specifically, for one unit increase in an officer’s proportion of his foreign education, the expected change in log odds for reaching a command appointment before retiring is 2.503 (or change in odds ratio of 12.23). This means that officers who had a higher proportion of foreign education had a higher probability of retiring holding a

command appointment than those who had a lower proportion.

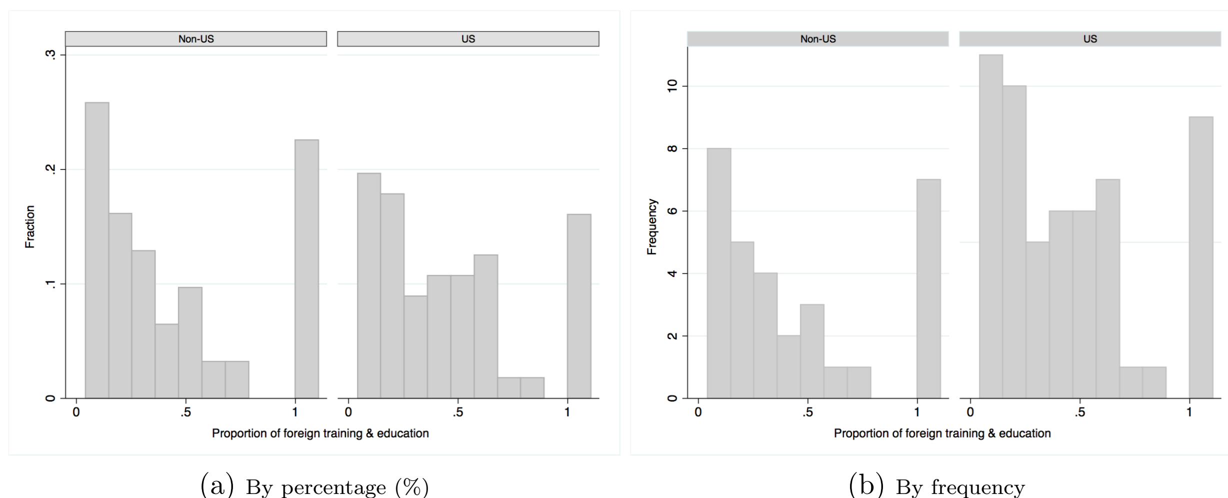
What explains the paradox that 'US education and training' did not have a significant effect but 'foreign education and training' did? If foreign education and training includes the US, why would the US have no significant effect? There are two inter-related explanations. First, extended overseas assignments (or studies) were a function of patronage. Foreign education was not a 'mandatory' requirement; they were 'opportunities' granted to officers. As an 'assigned duty', foreign education and training could also act as an 'exile' or 'off-ramp' for officers deemed politically or professionally unreliable, or they simply could not be posted within the structure.[176] But overseas education and training could also provide specific capability development for the military.[177]

Overseas study tours as off-ramps tended to be short-lived; officers could 'repent', leave the military, or fill a domestic opening. But overseas assignments as capability development tended to be longer as officers could be sent multiple times to different countries to study some skills the military required. Officers with extended overseas tours could not have done so without powerful patrons who selected and supported them. As such, it was likely upon their return that these officers were promoted to key positions (Gregory 1976, 225). But the overseas tours in themselves did not 'cause' or gave these officers brighter careers. It was the powerful patronage network that allowed them to depart for longer periods in the first place—and provided 'selection effects' to elite status. Thus, an officer who had a successful career despite extended overseas assignments signifies the powerful effect of informal institutions (discussed below). In short, those who could 'afford' to spend more time

[176] Suharto was known to send officers to study overseas or take embassy posts if he deemed them politically unreliable (see e.g. Jenkins 1984). Over time, overseas assignments became a way to temporarily 'park' officers outside the current structure if they could not find a domestic opening commensurable to their rank, qualification, or service length. See more details in Gregory (1976, 310).

[177] Powerful patrons sent their men to study overseas for long durations to learn a required skill, as General Yani did in the 1950s when he needed to build the Army's mobile striking capability (Mrázek 1978*a*).

Figure 4.6: Distribution of the time spent on foreign training & education (US and Non-US)



(a) By percentage (%)

(b) By frequency

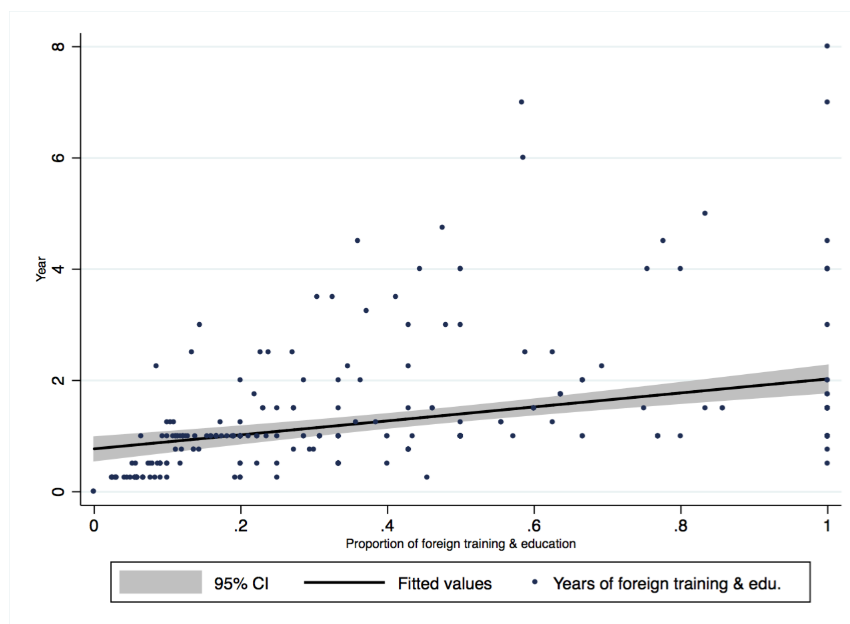
overseas were more likely to be part of a powerful patronage network before they departed.

Second, the location of foreign education and training mattered less than the proportion of the duration. As Figure 4.8 below shows, the distribution of time spent on foreign education and training between the US and non-US countries was similar. Only a few officers who studied overseas had a high proportion of foreign education and training. Among those who have studied overseas (both in the US and non-US countries), between 15 and 25% of them spent more than 80% of their education and training outside of Indonesia. Thus, one of the reasons why foreign education and training was significantly correlated to command appointments, but US education and training did not, was because many of those who went to the US only went for shorter durations. A smaller number of US-trained officers who went for multiple tours outside of the US—and had a higher proportion of foreign education and training—went on to hold command appointments. In short, the location mattered less than the proportion of duration relative to an officer's education and training.

One might question, however, if the high 'proportion of foreign education' was filled by officers who only had one overseas education in their whole career. The value of 'proportion of foreign education' might be high for these officers, but their foreign experience

was not extensive, which is what the measurement is trying to capture. If so, interpreting the significance of the 'proportion of foreign education' variable will be problematic. To check whether the high 'proportion of foreign education' is filled by officers with little foreign education or training, I plotted the variable 'proportion of foreign education' against the variable 'years of foreign education' in Figure 4.9 below. The high 'proportion of foreign education' group (0.6 to 1 in proportion) is made up of officers who spent plenty of time for foreign education (between 2 and 8 years)—and not just officers whose 'proportion of foreign education' is high because their short-lived education and training program happened to be overseas. Most officers had roughly between 1 to 4 years of foreign education and training (roughly between 10 to 30% of their total education and training).

Figure 4.7: Time spent overseas plotted against proportion of education overseas



These findings suggest that most of the usual predictors of a professional military career did not have significant effects in shaping the career pattern of Indonesian Army officers. Overall, attendance at a US education or training program in itself did not have a strong correlation with a command appointment before retiring and only around 15 percent of

the Army's top 677 generals from the 1950s were US-trained. The next sub-section examines the career management policies to explain these findings further.

Career management

This sub-section demonstrates how the Indonesian Army's career management system prevented new career pathways for US-trained officers. The number of such officers, presumably socialized to US theories of victory and corporatism to varying degrees, reached its peak during the critical juncture (discussed above). But upon their return, very few of them were promoted to key positions. The US-trained officers thus could not became product champions pushing for an organization-wide emulation. The military under the New Order only institutionalize its career management system by the 1980s, after the critical juncture has passed.[178] But during the critical juncture, the Indonesian military had an "antiquated personnel management system", according to US officials administering military aid.[179] The Department of Defense and Security overseeing the military had a similar problem:

> "The personnel system for all services was a manual operation and extremely decentralized. Smaller units maintained their own personnel records and had full control over personnel within the unit. A personnel skills identifier system did not exist, nor was there a requirements table."[180]

As noted above, the intra-military conflicts acted as critical antecedents shaping the under-development of the career management system.

[178] The Indonesian military did not likely produce a coherent, detailed, and centralized personnel management regulation until 1991. See *Buku Petunjuk Dasar tentang Pembinaan Prajurit ABRI* [Basic Guidebook on ABRI Soldier Management], Markas Besar Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia, Surat Keputusan Panglima ABRI (PANGAB) No. Kep/06/X/1991 (dated October 5, 1991).
[179] CINCPAC FY70 Evaluation of the MAP, Indonesia, Secret, February 10, 1970, 3. Records of the United States Army, Pacific RG 550, Classified Organizational History Files, Box No. 175, National Archives and Record Administration.
[180] Ibid., 54

Evolving formal structures One of the consequences of intra-military conflicts was an ever-changing organizational structure; often coming out of compromises among competing groups. Senior military leaders understood they could not easily develop an organizational structure that excluded one faction over the other, as the Subroto commission's problems discussed above shows. Military leaders then crafted broad, formal structures that were then tinkered with at the margins as intra-organizational power balances evolved. In essence, they kept the basic foundational posture of the Territorial Command but tinkered with its size and area coverage as well as the command and control structure, personnel appointment, and specific posts. Initially, the need to 'unify and integrate' the military drove these fluid organizational boundaries. But by constantly shifting formal structures, competing informal institutions like patronage became entrenched. The prevalence of informal institutions, in turn, led to new factional conflicts and compromises which were reflected in another round of tinkering of the formal structures. Thus, as our framework argues, the interplay between formal and informal institutions created a feedback loop and reflected the intra-military power dynamics. As Table 4.11 below shows, the formal structures changed almost once every two or three years; they changed at least three times during the critical juncture.

The tinkering suggests formal institutions were not stable. If officers were not confident in how they could be promoted, why shouldn't they fear that Western theories of victory and corporatism would make things worse? For much of the Cold War therefore, including during the critical juncture, senior Indonesian officers relied on informal institutions to govern their men. The structural tinkering meanwhile reflected the 'compromises' between competing groups especially over integration plans. Up until the 1980s, 'integration' meant the reduction of intra-military conflicts as well as a centralized 'command and control'. This was why the high command could only implement integrative policies after they defeated the

Table 4.11: Formal Indonesian military organizational and personnel rules

Year	Official document	No.	Subject/focus
1954	Law (*Undang-Undang* or UU)	29	State defense structure, authority, organization, and procedure
1962	Presidential Decision (Keppres)	225	Armed Forces leadership, structure, and organization
1967	Presidential Decision	132	Changes to national defense and security organization and procedures
1969	Presidential Decision	79	Refinements to previous defense reorganization decision (Keppres No. 132/1969)
1970	Minister of Defense/Armed Forces Commander Decision	157	Organization and procedure of the Army
1974	Presidential Decision	7	Refinements to previous defense reorganization decision (Keppres No. 79/1969)
1982	Law	20	Structure and organization of state defense and security
1983	Presidential Decision	46	Department of Defense & Security organization and structure
1983	Presidential Decision	60	Organization and structure of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ABRI)
1988	Law	2	Soldiery of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ABRI)
1990	Government Regulation (PP)	6	ABRI soldier administration
1991	ABRI Commander Regulation	6	Basic guidebook on ABRI soldier management
1992	ABRI Commander Decision	8	Refinements to Army organization and procedure
1992	ABRI Commander Decision	9	Refinements to Navy organization and procedure
1998	Minister of Defense/Armed Forces Commander Decision	9	Refinements to ABRI general staff, social-political offices
1999	ABRI Commander Decision	16	Organization and structure of the military command and control center
1999	Presidential Instruction (Inpres)	2	Separation of National Police from ABRI and the formation of Indonesian Defense Forces (TNI)
2000	TNI Commander Decision	2	Organization and structure of TNI general staff
2002	Law	3	State Defense
2004	Law	34	Indonesian National Defense Forces
2009	Presidential Regulation	10	TNI organizational structure
2010	Governmental Regulation (PP)	39	TNI soldier administration
2016	Presidential Regulation	62	Refinements to previous document on TNI organizational structure (PP No. 39 of 2010)

Note: The number refers to the formally assigned number of the regulations (e.g. Law No. 29), not how many documents were produced. These are the documents I have collected. There might be other internal documents that regulate personnel policies I am unaware of.

PERMESTA rebellion, and by implication, the powerful local commanders. By 1962, the first integration of the armed services happened when the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ABRI) was formed. This took place just as the critical juncture period started.

But before the consequences of a new structure could kick-in, civil-military dynamics interfered. Sukarno sought to centralize the military under his personal authority while encouraging inter-service rivalries. The civil-military tensions eventually led to one of the most devastating intra-military conflicts in Indonesian history, the aforementioned attempted coup of 1965.[181] Thus, the New Order's first decade focused on consolidating the military organization, including through military purges.[182] The New Order also re-engineered the military structure, education & training, and doctrinal concepts as well as operational functions to 'unify' the military (McGregor 2007; Rinakit 2005). During the critical juncture therefore, the Indonesian military's career management, and the organization in general, was in flux.

But the New Order paid careful attention to the intra-military power dynamics. This was why the tinkering of formal rules persisted. The changes were spread for over a decade; they lasted for much of the critical juncture (until the 1970s) and was roughly completed by the mid-1980s (after the critical juncture). Initially, Suharto centralized all national security decision-making and command and control under the Department of Defense and Security headed by a Minister (MENHANKAM). The most senior officer was designated as both MENHANKAM as well as Armed Forces Commander (PANGAB). He was the chief assistant to the President. Service commanders were 'downgraded' from their Sukarno-

[181] The surviving army leadership insisted that the movement had been masterminded by the PKI, and began a campaign aimed at destroying the party. But see Anderson, Bunnell and McVey (1971) for one of the first arguments claiming that the affair was more of an intra-military coup.

[182] Army leaders knew, for example, that up to "one-third of the battalions in Central Java were of dubious loyalty" before 1965. But the post-coup investigation found that the PKI infiltration may have been worse. See The Indonesian Army: Objectives and Problems, Intelligence Memorandum, Office of Current Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, Secret, OCI No. 3041/65, November 12, 1965, 6, Kathy Kadane Indonesia Collection, Box No. 2, National Security Archives.

era authority and made Chief of Staff without operational command and responsible to MENHANKAM/PANGAB.[183] Suharto also created several Primary Operational Commands (*Komando Utama Operasionil*) as the direct arm of the MENHANKAM/PANGAB outside of the three services. These commands were designed as suppliers of rapid reaction forces.[184] Unsurprisingly, Suharto was the first MENHANKAM/PANGAB in the post-1965 era.

These changes took place during the critical juncture. So, after hundreds of US-trained officers were returning to Indonesia, Suharto was changing the military structure. And yet, he did not promote them; partially because he preferred a small number of personally-groomed confidantes and partially because he did not want to be seen favoring a group of officers who might be associated with some of the coup-plotters.[185] But more importantly, Suharto needed to unify the military and keep the high command in check. Aside from the changes above, he also created the Operational Command for Security and Order (KOPKAMTIB), a separate unit much like a secret police, that answered directly to him. Even as he downgraded the service commanders' authority, he expanded the territorial structure by ensuring that all four services would have relatively similar local units and offices across the country.[186] Consequently, the more technologically-driven Navy and Air Force—and theoretically the most capable to adopt US theories of victory—had to conform

[183] Details of these powers can be seen in Keputusan Presiden Republik Indonesia No. 132 tahun 1967 tentang Perubahan Pokok-Pokok Organisasi dan Prosedur bidang Pertahanan-Keamanan. Department of Information Papers, Indonesian Military History Center.

[184] The commands include: (1) Inter-area Defense Command, overseeing more than 2 services and forms a separate strategic compartment, (2) National Air Defense Command, overseeing more than 2 services with strategic-defense purposes over the air space, (3) National Maritime Defense Command, overseeing more than 2 services with strategic-defense purposes over Indonesian waters and coasts, (4) Special Forces Command drawn from all the special force units, (5) Strategic Reserve Command, a mobile striking force. Two more commands could be established if necessary: Outer Area Command and Joint Task Force

[185] Several high ranking members of the alleged plotters were apparently US-trained (Mrázek 1978*b*, 170–2).

[186] Wherever there was an Army Regional Command, there would also be an Air Force Regional Command, Naval Regional Command, and Police Regional Command (Tempo 1983, 13). High-ranking posts were also 'replicated' across the services to reduce inter-service rivalry. See Staff Study by the Deputy Army Chief of Staff I, "Basic Thoughts on the Development of the Armed Services", cited in Pauker (1963, 229).

to the Army's expansive vision of national security.[187]

These changes—especially the 'domestication' of the Navy and Air Force—made it harder for the military to be technically-proficient to adopt US theories of victory. They also sustained the under-development of the personnel infrastructure as Suharto kept tinkering with the organizational structure. As such, there was no stable career management system during the critical juncture. Furthermore, as competing informal institutions such as Suharto's patronage exerted significant influence in officer appointments, the absence of a stable and consistent career management system blocked new career pathways for US-trained officers. In fact, the persistent organizational tinkering and the prevalence of informal institutions politicized the career patterns that we see above.

Politicized career pattern and promotional logjams As the career patterns depended on and reflected the intra-military power dynamics, the 'value' of a given post often followed the informal logics of patronage rather than professional merits. During and immediately after the Revolutionary War, command positions were more 'valuable' than staff positions as they controlled local troops and resources. But from the late 1950s until the late 1970s (during the critical juncture), staff positions became valuable as the military expanded its role in SOEs as well as local and national bureaucracies (Gregory 1976, 255). The New Order patronage logic, however, determined who would distribute those lucrative positions. After 1965, officers basically needed the good graces of and personal affiliations with Suharto and his closest circle to be promoted into and survive in key positions.[188]

Senior officers did not even consider the selection of Army Chief of Staff and PANGAB—

[187] For the Air Force, as their offices and units were replicated to follow the Army, more people were recruited and promoted at a time when their preexisting human capital was not yet capable of maintaining and operating sophisticated weaponry (Tempo 1983, 14).

[188] Many of the military elite members, for example, served under Suharto when he was commander of the Mandala campaign to 'liberate' West New Guinea or when he was commander of of the Strategic Reserve Command (or both). See details in Gregory (1976, 220-1).

the two most powerful posts then—to be institutionalized under the New Order. As General Edi Sudrajat (Army Chief of Staff, 1988-1993) admits, "the past and existing patterns of promotion for the Army Chief of Staff were more of an informal guidance with no fixed [career] progressions" (Hidayat 1991, 23). After all, as General Rudini (Army Chief of Staff, 1983-1986) acknowledges, "The Army chief has been a political position and a presidential prerogative" (Nasution 1991, 29). Each service also seemed to have its own 'tradition' in selecting its senior leaders. For example, Army chiefs should have held a KODAM post, Air Force chiefs should have piloted a fighter jet, and Navy chiefs should have commanded a battle ship.[189] Finally, rather than allowing an institutionalized career system to 'generate' the next group of leaders, incumbent command holders 'groomed' their own replacements—often their academy classmates (Hidayat 1991, 24). In short, informal rather than formal institutions governed career patterns at the highest level.

Consequently, the military experienced promotional logjams—too few positions for too many officers—since the 1950s onwards and during the critical juncture. Given the relative young age of the post-revolutionary officers, they quickly 'filled and clogged' the lieutenant colonel and colonel ranks. With few prospects for an equally lucrative career outside of the military, most of them remained in the service as the retirement age was high.[190] These were also officers who could not benefit from foreign education. They were too senior when the opportunities opened in the 1950s and most did not have the linguistic or educational skills necessary (Lee 2013, 45). Promotional logjams of domestically-educated officers resulted in a further stagnation of new blood and ideas.[191] As we discussed above,

[189] But a presidential intervention could break this pattern, as Suharto did when he appointed Benny Moerdani as PANGAB without ever holding a KODAM Commander post.

[190] By 1968, the official retirement ages were: 42 for NCOs, 45 for junior officers (lieutenants and captains), 48 for mid-rank officers, and 55 for senior (general) officers (McVey 1972, 148, fn. 2).

[191] The promotional logjams persisted all the way through the New Order until today. See Chandra and Kammen (2002) and Laksmana (2019) for details.

the demobilization plans that would have addressed the problem were stalled by the intra-military conflicts. The logjams in turn, sustained informal institutions like patronage, and led to more tinkering of the formal structure. As tinkering required new compromises, the cycle of low-quality and under-institutionalized career management continued.

It was only in 1986 that for the first time, all of ABRI's senior leaders were not from the revolutionary generation.[192] The promotional logjams and politicized career management thus lasted for much of the critical juncture (when the revolutionary generation was in power). The lack of personnel welfare and budgetary support exacerbated the problem. In the 1950s, the high command could not give enough arms, uniform, and money to the local commands.[193] The defense budget under the New Order declined from the late 1960s onwards.[194] By the 1970s, the high command was alarmed by the lack of personnel welfare and the over-bearing cost of unnecessary duties.[195] The regime's solution was to allow each unit, service, or local commands to be 'creative' in providing for themselves through business enterprises. This further sustained the prevalence of informal institutions, from local patronage, blurred civil-military boundaries to excessive engagement in business activities. In fact, many New Order officers became "middle-aged militarists, enjoying the perquisites of office and benefits of power" (Pauker 1961, 222-3). It was only in the late 1970s, after the critical juncture has passed, that the military tried to regulate its business activities.[196]

[192] These were Lieutenants General Try Sutrisno as Army Chief of Staff and Mohammad Sanoesi as Police Chief as well Vice Admiral Rudolf Kasena and Vice Air Marshall Oetomo as the Chiefs of Staff of the Navy and Air Force, respectively. But it was not until 1991 that the entire ABRI senior leadership came from the post-revolutionary generation and it was not until 1993 that the first graduate of the 1960 National Military Academy became ABRI Commander (General Edi Sudrajat).

[193] At the time, a soldier's pay was as small as half of the amount the KNIL soldiers had gotten from the Dutch. Financial constraints were so bad that in 1953 and 1954, the purchase of new uniforms had to be stopped (Mrázek 1978*a*, 106).

[194] The defense budget share of the GDP went from 3.47% in 1969 to 1.9 % in 1991 while its share of the national budget went from 24.5% to 7.02%. Out of a IDR 2.8 trillion (around 1.2 billion in 1995 USD) budget in 1990, around 72.5% went to personnel expenditure. See the details in Hadad (1991).

[195] By then, an Army Brigadier General's official salary was roughly $10 a month while a soldier's salary was about $1 a month (Mrázek 1978*b*, 183).

[196] Senior military leaders thought that deep involvement in non-essential military matters led to the

US-trained career pathways? This part discusses the examples of a few senior officers who were influential before and during the critical juncture and had some US education and training. These generals illustrate the lack of decisive effect or influence of US education and training for the career trajectory of senior Army officers. Instead, they show the key roles of patronage and other informal institutions.

Analysts cite General Ahmad Yani, the Army Chief of Staff (1963-65) as the case *par excellence* for US influence within the Indonesian military (Bunnell 1969, 142; Mrázek 1978*a*, 122; Evans 1989, 38). Upon his return from Fort Leavenworth in 1956, he not only mentored the next generation of US-trained officers but also modernized the military. He used his influential positions to promote US military tactical concepts and training into the Army (Bunnell 1969, 143).[197] He also relied on US-trained officers to revamp the military's educational system (Evans 1989, 38). But Yani's private and public statements hardly suggested an explicit attempt to fully model the military along the US lines. At best, he wanted a selected adaptation of some US concepts as well as its arms and equipment. For example, Yani told the officers preparing to attend CGSC to pay attention to the courses on Operations and Intelligence, but ignore those dealing with Logistics and Administration (Evans 1989, 39, fn. 88). In his speech as Army Chief in 1962, Yani remarks:

> "Our nation has determined its personality and so has our armed forces. Our officer corps should also adjust to that personality...[which] we will not find in the officers' guide and manuals of foreign armed forces...*not in West Point not in Sandhurst or any other foreign academies*. We must seek first in the history and development of our own Armed Forces. We must keep all factors that won our wars and are suited to our personality, even if they are absent from or contradict the officers' guide from other armed forces" (emphasis added).[198]

"neglect of the soldier skills, readiness, and equipment provision". Professional re-development was urgent if Indonesia wanted to maintain its "immediate offensive response" posture where it could address internal challenges anywhere in the country within 24 hours. Quotes are from Tempo (1979, 9-10)

[197] After his return, he was assigned to the Army's General Staff. He subsequently became Second Assistant to the Army Chief of Staff and Second Deputy of the Army Chief of Staff.

[198] Tjeramah Umum Menteri/PANGAD MAJDJEN A. Jani pada Dies Natalis AKMIL 1962 [General

Yani thus advocated for selective adaptation of some US theories of victory but not its theory of corporatism. More importantly, Yani's US training did not "cause" his rise to the top. He had the rarity of being both a decorated soldier, officer, and commander and a member of an elite group of Javanese officers that dominated national politics in the 1950s and 1960s. Amidst the PETA vs. KNIL group rivalries, he was uniquely positioned as having been Dutch-educated as a teenager and Japanese-trained as a young adult. In many ways, Yani had already distinguished himself before he went to the US.[199] When the Japanese invaded, he was studying military topography with the Dutch administration. He joined PETA and graduated the top of his class in the elite *Renseitai* officer training center in Malang. During the War, he commanded a battalion in Central Java where he successfully disarmed Japanese and British troops and further fought various rebellions in the 1940s and 1950s. He also created Indonesia's first ranger companies as part of the Diponegoro Division and led its first raider battalion. By the time he went to the US, he had commanded troops and distinguished himself in combat.

The US courses were also not his only foreign training; he took a two-month Land and Air Warfare course at Old Sarum, England. Yani was therefore one of Indonesia's most well-educated officers with a distinguished list of accomplishments. But his ability to navigate Jakarta politics further boosted his career.[200] He was part of the elite Diponegoro division which dominated the Army leadership. While Yani was in Jakarta, he mentored other US-trained Diponegoro men at the General Staff. His detractors portrayed him as corrupt (he had palatial homes, several cars, and two wives). But his intelligence and deft political

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Lecture of Major General Ahmad Jani, Minister/Commander of the Army at the anniversary of the Military Academy in 1962], Pusat Penerangan Angkatan Darat, 4.

[199] The details of Yani's career in the next two paragraphs are from Yani (1988), Mrázek (1978*a*, 122), Evans (1989, 38), Fakih (2014, 98), and Bunnell (1969, 143).

[200] The details of Yani's network are from Anderson, Bunnell and McVey (1971, 20) and McVey (1972, 152-160).

wheeling and dealing allowed him to become Army Commander ahead of his seniors.[201]

That said, Yani was highly impressed by his time in the US and that he was influential upon his return. He also wanted to borrow parts of US theories of victory and arms to modernize the military. But this does not mean that: (1) his US education and training *caused* his rise upon his return, (2) the US concepts were the *only* considerations that shaped his policies or world-views, (3) or he wanted the military to follow the US model *exclusively*. Instead, his standing and influence before and after his time in the US was a function of his professional combat experience and his elite political network. He also continued to express the need for the officer corps to pick and choose from different foreign models to help with the military's modernization plans.

Other senior officers had their careers decided by Suharto and his inner circle.[202] Consider Major General Sunggoro, the Army's chief logistician during the New Order, who went to Fort Benning (1956) and Fort Leavenworth (1958). His rise was attributed to the fact he was Suharto's instructor at the Army Staff and Command College in 1959 and his logistics officer at the Strategic Reserve Command and during the campaign in West New Guinea. To take another example, General Sudjono Humardhani, a Fort Harrison (1963) alumni, became one of the key generals under the New Order. He rose to the top, not because of his US training, but because he was Suharto's "spiritual adviser". In a somewhat different network, consider General Suherdiman, a Fort Benning (1954) alumni who formed various military foundations and business activities and was the principal secretary of the national stabilization agency. His US training mattered less than the fact that he was a protege of Yani who encouraged and supported his activities in Jakarta.

These anecdotes illustrate one of the key findings from the statistical tests above,

[201] In fact, Yani was known as Sukarno's 'golden boy' and was the first Army Commander Sukarno personally selected and appointed.

[202] The following details on the generals are from Gregory (1976, 262–7) and Fakih (2014, 85).

that informal institutions shape career patterns than formal ones. They also suggest why the dozens of influential US-trained officers never became US product champions. In fact, both the 'Yani model' and 'New Order model' illustrate the consequences of an under-institutionalized career management system. The gravitational pull of powerful patrons like Suharto increased the scope of intra-military politics (Jenkins 1984), which in turn, created a feedback loop that further undermined efforts to institutionalize personnel policies. Again, the institutions reflect the intra-military power dynamics during the critical juncture.

Other career pathways Aside from the absence of US product champions, that the Army had other career pathways to the top undermined the diffusion of US theories of victory and corporatism. After all, a structure modeled over the US military—highly educated officers managing a complex organization equipped with sophisticated weaponry—would not have solved Indonesia's pressing challenges, particularly promotional logjams. A US-modeled career pathway would have required a massive financial investment to acquire arms, which Jakarta could not provide. It would have also required the re-education and re-training of thousands of under-qualified officers during the critical juncture, sideline those who could not pass, and settled on only one foreign model. But the critical antecedent discussed above suggests such an outcome would have required violent intra-military conflicts. Instead, the high command opted to develop and institutionalize career pathways rooted in civic action and *kekaryaan*. Under the New Order, the dual function doctrine absorbed these activities. As the Army was the source of personnel problems, such 'low-tech' and 'land-based' activities were the path of least resistance.

The *kekaryaan* activities began in the 1950s when the Army 'nationalized' Dutch businesses and filled positions in civil administration and mass organizations. While these activities were conducted with different goals in mind, the high command found that they

provided a peaceful way to demobilize thousands of under-qualified officers (McVey 1971, 141). That *kekaryaan* could be presented as yet another public service for revolutionary officers helped ease the pain. In the early New Order, ambassadorships were also filled with Sukarno-era generals—and then later with out-of-favor Suharto-era generals (Gregory 1976, 325). But the New Order also tried to regulate these non-military assignments. By the early 1970s, as the critical juncture was winding down, there were structures, career patterns, and promotional guidelines for those officers assigned to civilian agencies, ministries, businesses, and social organizations.[203] This expansion allowed politically-connected officers to benefit from what was essentially 'staff positions' in their *kekaryaan* roles (Gregory 1976, 226). *Kekaryaan* positions also gave the high command access to the political and economic power at all societal levels (McVey 1972, 159).

Under the New Order, civic action was pertinent to transition-off older, revolutionary-era officers with academy-trained ones. The high command found it difficult to replace Japanese-trained battalion commanders, for example, who felt threatened by better educated subordinates but refused to leave. The solution was to shift them to Bandung (where most of the Army's educational centers were) and retrain them for *kekaryaan* and civic action.[204] But civic action was more problematic and less regulated than *kekaryaan.* For one thing, many units engaged in civic action did not have enough qualified personnel in logistics, supply and maintenance.[205] For another, as these units were spread throughout the country,

[203] An ABRI Functional Agency (*Badan Pembina Kekaryaan* or BABINKAR) was created in 1971. The policies were codified in two guidebooks issued by the Department of Defense and Security's Employee Management Staff (*Staf Pembinaan Karyawan Hankam*): *Pedoman Pembinaan Karyawan ABRI* (issued February 15, 1972) and *Kumpulan Bahan-bahan Pelaksanaan Tugas Kekaryaan dan Pembinaan Karyawan ABRI Tingkat Pusat, Wilajah, dan Daerah* (issued July 5, 1970).

[204] The Army high-command would even pay for their civilian degrees so they would do "less damage and have greater backing" when they enter civilian life. This was why many *kekaryaan* and civic-action officers considered personnel policies 'sensitive' because they felt they were 'outcasts'. The quotes and discussion are from an interview with Col. Hamzah by Col. Willis Ethel, then commander of the US military group in Indonesia, October 20, 1966, 3. Kathy Kadane Indonesia Collection, Box No. 2, Civic Action folder, National Security Archives, George Washington University.

[205] These units were engaged in civic action only around 50 percent of the time. See details in CINCPAC

the day-to-day activities depended on the discretion of the local commands.

As civic action and *kekaryaan* duties were more suited to the military's requirements, creating new career pathways for US-trained officers would have been counter-productive. After all, previous attempts by the US to boost parts of the Army were inconsistent and came at the expense of the Navy and Air Force. In the 1950s, when the territorial commands were still dominant, the US focused on building the Army's mobile strike units, for example, to help launch offensives against communist groups.[206] Western military assistance also helped laid the foundation for the Army Special Forces.[207] But by the early 1960s, the US shifted resources to civic action (discussed above).[208] Civic action encouraged the vested interests of the territorial units, boosted the military's local role, and paradoxically strengthened the territorial commands at the expense of the US-trained mobile strike units (Mrázek 1978*b*, 143). The Navy and Air Force also felt the US favored the Army and that aid programs were "decided unilaterally by CINCPAC rather than mutual consultation."[209] Such resentments were unfortunate as the Indonesian Navy was interested in emulating the personnel organization and procedures of the US Navy.[210] The Air Force resented the fact that US military

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FY70 Evaluation of the MAP, Indonesia, Secret, February 10, 1970, 6, 41. Records of the United States Army, Pacific RG 550, Classified Organizational History Files, Box No. 175, NARA.

[206] With US help, the Mobile Brigade of the National Police rose to 32 battalions of 28,000 men, while the initially small Indonesian Marines grew from 400 to almost 10,000 by the 1960s. New raider battalions were also established across the Javanese divisions and a new Strategic Reserve Command with airborne capabilities was created. See details in Mrázek (1978*b*, 37–8).

[207] The UK and US helped train the Army Special Forces (*Resimen Pasukan Komando Angkatan Darat* or RPKAD). A single RPKAD lieutenant was accepted in late 1958 into a 3-month jungle warfare course at the British Far East Land Forces Training Center in Malaya. Other RPKAD officers went to Fort Benning. In April 1961, Captain Benny Moerdani, the future ABRI Commander, became the first Indonesian to graduate from the 12-week special warfare course at Fort Bragg. Details are from Conboy (2003, 55–59).

[208] Aside from the Cold War political reasons discussed in Section 4 above, Washington also thought that the Air Force and the Navy were "quite useless for restoring law and order" and their "expansionist" tendencies could threaten Anglo-American positions in the Southwest Pacific area (Mrázek 1975, 25).

[209] Historical Report, United States Military Technical Advisory Group, Indonesia 1958 - 1963, Secret, IV-1. Military Technical Advisory Group, RG 334 Records of Interservice Agencies, Security Classified Historical Reports, 1963-65, Box 1, Entry 114, NARA.

[210] The Navy was interested in the US Navy's Chief of Naval Material and the line-officer/staff officers/EDP arrangements as well as its supply system. The Navy was also interested in creating a post-graduate school modeled over the Naval Postgraduate School after the return of an officer who obtained his PhD there. See Senior Navy Representative Report, Historical Report, United States Military Technical Advisory Group,

aid created a doctrine for the Army's Flying Cavalry unit in the late 1950s.[211]

Taken together, the US civic action aid contributed to the reservoir of intra-military tensions. Before the critical juncture, the rank-and-file rarely saw prominent supporters of US military aid like Yani in a favorable manner.[212] By then, some even called US-trained officers "brown-skinned Pentagon Generals" (Mrázek 1978*b*, 132). Some believe the intra-military resentment against US-trained officers played a part in the 1965 attempted coup.[213] Many US-trained officers even preferred to 'wash away' their US connection in front of their colleagues during the critical juncture. In short, US military assistance was inconsistent, sowed factionalism, and was perceived as having corruptive influence.

To summarize, the low-quality career management hindered new career pathways for US-trained officers and prevented the rise of US product champions. Instead, the military institutionalized civic action and *kekaryaan* as the preferred solution to its personnel challenges. US assistance for civic action further fed into the intra-military conflicts which in turn undermine the institutionalization of career management. Finally, informal institutions were critical in shaping the career trajectory of Army officers. Without product champions, organizational "resistance" to US theories of victory and corporatism increased.

Indonesia 1964, Secret, V-B-1. Military Technical Advisory Group, RG 334 Records of Interservice Agencies, Security Classified Historical Reports, 1963-65, Box 1, Entry 114, NARA.

[211] One of the unit's leaders was Lieutenant Colonel Herrawan, a Fort Knox graduate, who thought that it was necessary to reduce the Army's logistical dependence on the Air Force (Mrázek 1978*b*, 139–40).

[212] Many saw Yani's seemingly 'corrupt behavior' as a byproduct of his US training. To those officers, Yani became a "golf-playing, whiskey-drinking General" after Fort Leavenworth (Mrázek 1978*b*, 159).

[213] One US congressional report claimed that, "All the generals killed during the coup attempt...had been trained in the United States or had friendly relations with Westerners in Djakarta." See *Military Assistance and Training in East and Southeast Asia*, Staff Report for the Sub-Committee on National Security Policy and Scientific Development of the Commitee on Foreign Affairs, 91st Congress, Second Session, February 16, 1971 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1971), 18.

4.4.2 Education and training

During the critical juncture, the Indonesian military's education and training system was under-developed and of low-quality. First, there was a lack of coherence, unity, and integration across the different education and training units. Second, there was a prolonged emphasis on practical military training and ideological indoctrination at the academy level. The academy's military subjects were also reduced to make way for socio-political skills development. Finally, the staff and command colleges were valued politically as their curriculum reflected. In other words, officers valued higher military education for its social and political benefits, rather than for its intellectual and professional benefits.

The critical antecedent of intra-military conflicts also shaped these trends. Nasution as Army Chief of Staff explicitly sought to transform the education and training system into a means of enhancing ideological unity and hierarchical discipline and to prevent officers from being drawn into civilian politics (McVey 1972, 162–3). But educational reforms would have sidelined the PETA group and strengthened the high command at the expense of local territorial units. Those with a "higher" education (mostly the KNIL group) would emphasize educational qualifications in determining promotions, while those with a "lower" education (mostly the PETA group) resented the idea. The military's education and training system then became politically contested.[214] Consequently, like the situation with career management, the high command opted to tinker with the educational structure and curriculum. Thus, power dynamics and contestations, rather than professional learning, drove the changes—and under-institutionalization—surrounding the education and training system.

In general, the balance between military and non-military subjects was inconsistent but favored the latter. The curriculum essentially directed officers inward (from domestic

[214] Many KNIL-trained officers of the West Java-based Siliwangi Division also had close ties with the Indonesian Socialist Party, a party filled with 'intellectuals' (Gregory 1976, 466).

politics to organizational procedures) rather than outward (external environment). Indeed, a systematic engagement with the international environment rarely happened until an officer becomes a colonel. The military then was less likely to be incentivized to keep abreast with current developments in technology or strategic analysis. In turn, the military's conservative outlook was strengthened and the ability to learn new theories of victory and corporatism weakened. As long as this cycle persisted, the Indonesian military was unlikely to have the organizational learning capacity to achieve a maximalist emulation.

Coherence and integrated education and training The critical antecedent affected the education and training outlook in two ways. First, the decentralized territorial command structure. Jakarta had to unify the various education or training units associated with those local commands, while the various intra-military and civil-military conflicts hindered ideological cohesion. Second, the multiple foreign role models those different education units sought to emulate suggests a lack of conceptual coherence. The intra-military contestation before the critical juncture led to the uneasy mix of having Japanese-trained and Dutch-trained officers as instructors and administrators, respectively, at the different education and training units. The influx of foreign-trained officers returning from the US and more than a dozen other countries exacerbated the problem.

For much of the 1940s, the military had almost a dozen decentralized education and training units.[215] Around the same time, the high command created the National Military Academy (AMN) in Jogjakarta. These units were not centrally supervised up until the 1960s, as the critical juncture was starting. Despite the fact that in mid-1956, Jakarta decided all local training centers should be under a single authority except for the staff and command

[215] Towards the end of 1945, there were several military schools established in Malang (East Java), Tangerang (West Java), Mojoagung (East Java), and about another half dozen across the country. These schools mostly trained 'young students' rather than officer cadets.

colleges and the AMN (McVey 1972, 167).[216] The contested intra-military politics slowed the centralizing efforts. The KNIL-dominated leadership hoped that periodic instructions at central training institutions would orient ambitious officers away from local power bases towards professional expertise under a firm hierarchical control (McVey 1972, 168). As many PETA-trained officers resisted the idea, the decentralized training units persisted during the critical juncture. The high command's focus was, after all, on integrating the academy and staff and command colleges (Gregory 1976, 304–5).

The intra-military power dynamic also shaped the debate over which foreign model to emulate. The 1945 AMN was initially modeled on the basic training of the Japanese platoon commander (*shodancho*) because former PETA officers were the first instructors (Gregory 1976, 299). They focused on producing deployable soldiers with 'fighting spirit and revolutionary zeal', not modern, professional officers. But the academy's key leaders were trained at the Dutch Military Academy. They envisioned the AMN to be more 'conventional' as prescribed by their own training.[217] As the focus during the revolutionary era was to produce deployable soldiers, both the KNIL-trained and PETA-trained officers agreed on temporary training structures. But once the war was over, the contest between the Japanese outlook of 'fighting spirit' and the Dutch outlook of professional education resurfaced.

In 1957, as the critical juncture was starting, the AMN was revived. The impetus for an integrated academy was inspired by the visit of the Deputy Army Chief of Staff Gatot Subroto to India where he witnessed its tri-service education system (Bersenjata 1978).[218] But the high command instead relied on an ambivalent arrangement between

[216] The local commanders provided their own instruction and each of the services operated dozens of specialized branch schools. The Army graduated about 10,000 students per year across its 21 branch and unit schools in the 1970s. See CINCPAC FY70 Evaluation of the MAP, Indonesia, Secret, February 10, 1970, 58. Records of the United States Army, Pacific RG 550, Classified Organizational History Files, Box No. 175, NARA.

[217] These were Samijo, Suwardi, and Wardiman. Details are in Moehkardi (1977, 3–5).

[218] This contradicted others who believe that the education reform was driven by the return of Ahmad

Japanese and Dutch-trained officers. The former provided harsh routines that emphasized basic combat drills, physical strength, discipline, and mental toughness. The latter wanted to "internationalize" the academy and, as administrators, they tried to design the curriculum to be as academic, technical, and professional as possible.[219]

Thus, the academy system was not coherent or well-developed by the start of the critical juncture. Without such a system, US-trained officers came home to an "inhospitable environment" as the younger officers they had to work with were suspicious of foreign military ideas. This was more likely as the compromise between the KNIL and PETA-trained groups led to the integration of physical training, intellectual development, and mental strength into a "single source" curriculum underpinned by an "ideologically nationalist" indoctrination (Britton 1996, 85). Consequently, during the critical juncture, senior officers underlined the "native" rather than the foreign roots of military ideology. According to the AMN's first governor, Suryosularso, "We don't need to look far and wide to emulate foreign academies to build the ethical code for our cadets. Our own ethical codes are guaranteed in the warrior (*ksatria*) figures of our shadow puppet stories (*pewayangan*), especially Arjuna, a kind and noble soul but always prepared to fight hard" (cited in AKABRI 1993, 136).[220]

The high command nonetheless opted for a hybrid, multi-national education system. An attempt was made in 1958 to standardize the levels of training with the comparable institutions and opportunities abroad. The AMN was to conform to the standard of the Dutch Military Academy, the advanced officer course was to be equal to the US company

Yani from Fort Leavenworth (McVey 1972, 166). Others claim the AMN's doctrinal instruction was based on US Army doctrine and West Point (Lee 2013, 43, fn. 12; Evans 1989, 39).

[219] As instructors, they also taught military tactics and techniques but left the drills to their Japanese-trained counterparts.

[220] This Javanese outlook was reflected in the appropriation of the concept of *jago* or 'champion' (a youngster to whom struggle and fighting was a constant passion, causing a strange mixture of unrest, benevolence, fear, and pride) and the *ksatria* or 'warrior', a wandering fighter of the educated class. How these concepts influenced the revolutionary officers are in Britton (1996, 11–36) and Mrázek (1978*a*, 14–16).

grade and basic officer training (and with the junior officer course in India), and the Army Staff and Command College was to follow Fort Leavenworth, the Higher War College in the Netherlands, and the Defense Services Staff College in Pakistan (McVey 1972, 170, fn. 46). It is not clear if this plan was followed through. But while this hybrid policy kept the peace — factions could claim their preferred model was 'accommodated' — the education system produced officers with an incoherent mix of world views. Even after the service academies were integrated into the Academy of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (AKABRI), the high command still sent missions to Australia, Japan, and Canada to examine their education systems (AKABRI 1993, 363).

Thus, the education policies reflected intra-military power dynamics, rather than the need to develop an intellectual capital or learning capacity. At the Army Staff and Command College (established in 1951), the NMM experience contributed to the problem. The College was supposed to give former guerrilla leaders knowledge of military science (i.e. for field grade officers to become battalion commanders). It was originally oriented towards the European system because of the influence of the KNIL-trained group and the NMM as the sole supplier of instructors.[221] But the bitter NMM experience taught the high command to avoid being dependent on one country. Even with the growth in US education and training assistance, the College sent its future instructors to multiple countries, including the Philippines, India, Great Britain, Yugoslavia, USSR, Pakistan, and China (Fakih 2014, 79; Gregory 1976, 303).

This diversity 'crowded out' US influence, even though the College used translated field manuals, lessons plans, and other materials from Fort Leavenworth (Mrázek 1978*a*,

[221] See *Karya Juang SESKOAD*, 1990 - 2015 [SESKOAD Fighting Products], Markas Besar Angkatan Darat (Bandung: Sekolah Staf and Komando, 2015), 9. The NMM provided instructors and Indonesian officers were sent to the Netherlands to become instructors themselves. By 1953,129 officers underwent education in the Netherlands. Nota Menteri Pertahanan A.L. tanggal 26 Djanuari 1953, ANRI, Jakarta, Kabinet Presiden Republik Indonesia, Inv. Nr. 1855, cited in Fakih (2014, 79, fn. 67).

124).[222] Even the Army's Training and Education Command admitted by 1968 that they use and teach materials from the US Army, even if their own principles, organization, and curriculum were Javanese in articulation.[223] And yet, US-educated trainers were only visible in some schools but not others during the critical juncture. They were a minority in the faculty composition of some (e.g. engineering) but a majority in others (e.g. naval aviation).[224] During the critical juncture, the high command was still looking for useful concepts from other nations. Translated Chinese and Yugoslavian training materials, for example, were used at the College alongside those from Fort Leavenworth.[225]

After the critical juncture, General M. Jusuf (ABRI Commander 1978–1983) acknowledges, "The Indonesian military education system has been a hodgepodge of mixed vegetables (*gado gado*) as it has mixed American, Dutch, and Japanese systems...[some of which were] increasingly irrelevant like studying Napoleonic battles" (cited in Harapan 1983).[226] This mix reduced the coherence and consistency of the learning process during the critical juncture. While diversifying foreign models was necessary to 'keep the internal peace', the education and training system was muddied. The expansion into non-military activities during the critical juncture exacerbated the problem. As the military needed officers capable of running businesses, civil administration, SOEs, and others, the high command 'de-militarized' the education system and increased the training in economics and socio-

[222] Dozens of officers who went to the US returned with training materials as 'presents' (Britton 1996, 85).

[223] See *Kepemimpinan ABRI* [ABRI Leadership], Pamphlet No. B-001 (Bandung: Komando Pendidikan dan Latihan, 1968), 4–5. The booklet goes on to argue, however, that the US Army principles were incomplete and that Indonesians should synthesize those that were appropriate to its national 'personalities'. In other words, the US Army concepts were temporary supplements to the Army's training needs.

[224] CINCPAC FY70 Evaluation of the MAP, Indonesia, Secret, February 10, 1970, 56–85. Records of the United States Army, Pacific RG 550, Classified Organizational History Files, Box No. 175, NARA.

[225] Indonesian officers claim that Territorial Warfare was inspired in part by Mao's interview with Edgar Snow in *Red Star Over China* and translated Yugoslavian texts, including 'Territorial War: the new concept of resistance' written by General Dushan Kveder (published in *Foreign Affairs*), and Vladimir Dedijer's 'Tito speaks'. Some claim that the College thought of assigning officers who graduated from the Soviet Frunze academy to doctrinal research. See details in Fakih (2014, 94, fn. 128) and Pauker (1963, 8–9, 34–7).

[226] To some extent, this mix–and–match habit in appropriating foreign military concepts was rooted within the broader Indonesian political culture See the discussion in Mrázek (1978*a*, 13–15).

political affairs (Britton 1996, 99). Combat-related war-fighting concepts soon gave way to socio-political education, as we see below.

Practical training and ideological indoctrination As noted above, the intra-military conflicts over education led to some compromises, including that the KNIL-trained officers ran the administration while the PETA-trained officers ran the courses and training. The AMN consequently focused on physical training and guerrilla tactics (Moehkardi 1977, 19). While this made sense during the revolutionary era, it was not favorable to the development of the intellectual and learning capacity of the organization. During the critical juncture, even after the creation of an integrated academy, the high command still focused on basic skills training rather than a comprehensive professional education as Table 4.12 below shows. It also shows that the academy outlook was ideological and political (only half of its curriculum consist of military sciences and courses).

The academic component of the AKABRI curriculum by the 1970s included many classes on socio-political affairs and ideological conditioning as well as the New Order's 'dual function' doctrine (Antara 1978).[227] Some of those classified as military courses were in fact drills and tactical training. The academy's mandate, before and during the critical juncture, after all, was to produce deployable platoon commanders (see Table 4.12). The need to facilitate a speedy generational transition from the revolutionary-forged to the academy-trained officers drove the emphasis on practical training. Senior leaders expected that if the academy could produce hundreds of 'ready-made' officers each year, the military could accelerate the transition by "moving" revolutionary-era officers into non-military posts and make way for the new generation (Harapan 1978).

[227] One senior officer claims that in practice, more than half of the academy curriculum consisted of non-military subjects since 1960 (cited in Rinakit 2005, 123, fn. 65).

Table 4.12: Indonesian military academy outlook

Time	Name	Mandate	Outlook	Military courses	Non-military courses	Duration
1945 to 1957	Military Academy of the Republic of Indonesia	Generate immediately deployable soldiers and officers to fight the revolution and address pressing threats	Emergency	80%	20%	6 mth (exp. 3 yrs.)
1957 to 1965	National Military Academy (AMN)	Generate platoon commanders entrusted to defend the state ideology with loyalty and dedication	Ideological	70%	30%	3 yrs.
1965 to 1984	Academy of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (AKABRI)	Generate platoon commanders with 'patriotic warrior' spirit, professional skills and capabilities to address multiple challenges	Integration and political	49.7%	50.3%	4 yrs.
1984 to 1991	Military Academy (AKMIL)	Generate platoon commanders dedicated to soldiers' oath, boost professionalism, and other necessary skills	Professional	72%	28%	4 yrs.

Note: I exclude revolutionary-era local academies or training units. The Army shared the name and location of the integrated academy (from AMN, AKABRI to AKMIL), while the Navy, Air Force, and Police had their own separately located academies. The table refers to the general academy structure. Under the AKMIL era, I only focus until the end of the Cold War (per this chapter's scope).
Source: Basic information drawn from Kuntarti (2014, 41) and AKABRI (1994, 38)

But the military also wanted 'ideological cohesion' in their effort to revamp the Academy by mid-1965 (TNI 2000*d*, 40). The Academy claims its goal was to mold a "revolutionary Indonesian soldier with qualities as a political actor" first and then an ABRI soldier (TNI 2000*d*, 42). By "political", Army leaders officially meant a dedication to the state ideology, constitution, and soldiers' oath.[228] But in practice, it meant officers would not be separated from political, social, and economic activities. Intellectual development and learning capacity was not prioritized. Retired officers claim the curriculum did not "contribute much in broadening the perspective of cadets" (Rinakit 2005, 123, fn. 65).

As the Academy focused on basic training and non-military courses (and remained a

[228] The curriculum then was based on creating a 'Godly Man, Revolutionary Man, Political Man, Social Man, and Military Man' (AKABRI 1993, 315). Notice that the 'military' element came last.

vocational school), it could not compete with civilian universities to attract the best students. Public interest in the academy more than tripled under the New Order.[229] But many of the applicants were 'average students' (Rinakit 2013, 88). Indeed, academy officials complained of the decline in the 'academic quality' of applicants by the 1970s (Times 1978).[230] The inability to attract the best students during the critical juncture had long term implications for the intellectual base of the future officer corps. As far as the diffusion process was concerned, the military was less capable at adopting a foreign theory of victory.

Taken together, academy education focused on integration, ideology, and practical training. Table 4.12 above shows the military studies portion of the curriculum fluctuated and significantly declined under the New Order. The focus on producing officers capable to execute the dual function doctrine drove such changes. Finally, the curriculum and organization was not institutionalized until the 1980s. The decline in the Indonesian military's learning capacity thus coincided with the decline in US military aid discussed above.

The non-military value of higher military education The higher military education system—the staff and command colleges—were valued for their ability to provide elite networking and cohort bonding. Education and training was undervalued as professional qualifications to propel one to top positions. An analysis of dozens of the Indonesian military elite during the critical juncture shows that, in general, academic achievement did not appear to influence future assignments (Gregory 1976, 225). Instead, officers valued higher education for its networking opportunities and patronage. Occasionally, assignments to the

[229] From around 7,500 applicants on average between 1972 and 1980 to around 23,000 between 1981 and 1992. I calculate these figures from AKABRI (1993) and AKABRI (1994).

[230] Academy officials acknowledge they were having trouble meeting the required number of students demanded by the Ministry of Defense and Security. In some years, they only produced roughly 40% of the required soldiers. See the interview of Major General Susilo Sudarman, Commander General of AKABRI in Margana and Djalinus (1978). Based on the data in AKABRI (1993) and AKABRI (1994), I calculate that the gap between the allocated slot and admittance was on average around 136 people between 1972 and 1979, although it subsequently declined by 1992 to around 2 people.

staff colleges were seen as "exiles" for "troublesome" officers (Gregory 1976, 309). In any case, promotion policies seriously accounting for the professional value of education and training were not institutionalized by the critical juncture.

The Army Staff and Command College (renamed SESKOAD in 1961) functioned more as a network-building hub and less an innovative learning center. For many officers during the critical juncture, SESKOAD was their first chance to meet colleagues outside their home territories (McVey 1972, 165). The courses deliberately organized many 'teamwork' activities and facilitated opportunities to create networks and patronage, which went a long way in boosting their careers (McFetridge 1983, 95). The network was strengthened by annual reunions. Even instructor positions were viewed an entry points to elite membership. Thus, for much of its history, SESKOAD produced Indonesia's military elite by virtue of patronage not intellectual development.[231]

Indeed, its curriculum, particularly the balance between military and non-military subjects, fluctuated with the intra-military power dynamics of the day. Prior to the critical juncture, the curriculum focused on military subjects (e.g. military administration, tactics, military history and technology), with less than 10% devoted to 'general knowledge' in political science, sociology, anthropology, and economics (Fakih 2014, 81). The proportion of non-military subjects increased as the Army expanded its non-military role during the critical juncture. By the mid-1960s, there was relative parity between military and non-military subjects. But under the New Order, the military subjects went down to 25% (Gregory 1976, 302). The non-military subjects were re-oriented towards ideological integration at the ex-

[231] By the 1980s, SESKOAD alumni included President Soeharto, Vice-President Umar Wirahadikusumah, Minister of Defense and Security Poniman, Head of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) Amir Machmud, Minister of Political and Security Affairs Surono, Coordinating Minister for Social Welfare Alamsyah Prawiranegara, and dozens of other key members of the government. Over thirty SESKOAD alumni by then had been promoted to at least a junior minister status or higher. Another 160 occupied posts of major importance in the military. Over 85 were named secretary general, governor, or heads of national institutes and boards. See the details in McFetridge (1983, 87).

pense of intellectual development. As the Commander of the Joint Staff and Command College acknowledges in the mid-1970s, "The goal of the unification of the staff and command colleges of all the services was to ensure [organizational] integration, prevent political ideological infiltration, and unify the political strategic outlook of the officers under a single language and value system" (cited in Antara 1976). Academic studies in military sciences or critical courses designed to boost intellectual capacity was not high on the agenda.

Towards the end of the critical juncture, the balance between military and non-military courses changed again, with the former pegged at around 45% (see Table 4.13). The inconsistent balance of military and non-military subjects and the injection of political indoctrination hindered learning capacity. The courses were also oriented to fulfill non-military positions within the New Order, although SESKOAD brought academics, technocrats, and policymakers to formulate development policies.[232] Even the 'military theory' courses were spent on routine staff procedures, rather than critical evaluations of military thought or history. The practical military subjects focused on civic action and territorial operations. Further, there was a disinterest in individual analysis and original professional writing during the courses.[233] The courses also did not critically assess Indonesia's own past operations for 'lessons learned' and only briefly touched on other countries' combat missions (McFetridge 1983, 97). Taken together, SESKOAD was valued for its elite network development and its curriculum focused on socio-political skills and ideological cohesion.

These problems were also present at the higher levels of the military education system, as Table 4.14 below shows.[234] After attending the staff and command colleges, senior officers

[232] This broader focus was formalized when SESKOAD's 'Course C' was added to the curriculum. This course focused on social-political matters. See details in Gregory (1976, 302).

[233] Formal written requirements were few and the scope generally limited. Professional journals were often publishing translations of general articles appearing in Western journals (McFetridge 1983, 96).

[234] A unified curriculum across the educational institutions, from the academy to the staff colleges and LEMHANNAS, was not discussed internally and coherently until 1969 (Djamhari 1995, 129).

Table 4.13: Army Staff and Command College curriculum under the New Order

Category	Credit	Share	Topics/activities	Notes
Administration	137	6.3%	Tests, major examinations, and administrative briefings	–
Social Science	376	17.4%	Value Theory, Philosophy, Personal Communications, Ethics, Japanese or Chinese language, Social Survey, etc.	Civilian guest lecturers often involved. Subjects tied–in to Nation Building category
Military Theory	397	18.4%	Military Theory, Staff Procedures, and orientations on the other services (Air Force, Navy, and Police).	The bulk of the time was allocated to routine staff processes and formats, rather than studies, estimates, and analyses.
Practical Military Subjects	706	26.8%	Tactics and simulation exercises, particularly civic action and territorial operations.	Mainly based on map exercises based on historical operations but focused on staff procedures rather than critical analyses.
Nation Building	798	32%	State Ideology *Pancasila*, 1945 Constitution, Government Five Year Development Plan, Territorial Development, and Operations.	Preparing Army officers for a broader role in the state beyond their military duties and strengthening ideological zeal.

Note: Credits were 'instruction periods' (each was equal to 40 minutes). SESKOAD did not officially use the categories—they were inferred by Charles McFetridge participated in the course.
Source: Information drawn from McFetridge (1983, 93–4)

Table 4.14: Outlook of military educational institutions under New Order

Name	Level	Focus	Duration
Academy of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (AKABRI)	Basic officer development (2nd lieutenant upon graduation)	Foundational knowledge development (military, natural, and social sciences)	Approx. 4 years
Advanced Officer Education (DIKLAPA)	Secondary (mid-level) officer development (captain and/or major	Additional training (usually twice after the academy) to help officers better apply technical, tactical, and operational duties	Varies per branch/rank (3 to 6 months)
Service Staff and Command College (SESKO)	Service-specific advanced officer education (major/or and lieutenant colonel)	Basis: military strategy & service management. Focus: national security strategy & defense resource management	Approx. 10–11 months
Staff and Command College of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (SESKO ABRI)	Joint/combined tri-service senior officer course (colonel)	Basis: military strategy & service management. Focus: grand strategy & national resource management	Approx. 6–8 months
National Resilience Institute (LEMHANNASl)	Highest non-military officer education (colonel or one-star minimum rank)	Basis: grand strategy & national resource management. Focus: international strategic environment & defense resource management. Participants: officers, civilian officials, public leaders.	Approx. 6–8 months

Note: A unified and integrated joint Staff and Command College was only established in 1974. LEMHANNAS was established in 1965 as the National Defense Institute until it became the National Resilience Institute in 1983. Both kept the same acronym.

Source: *Pokok-Pokok Pikiran Tentang Stratifikasi Kurikulum Pendidikan Perwira ABRI* (Jakarta: Lembaga Ketahanan Nasional, 1983), 11–12

could be selected for the Joint Staff and Command College as majors or lieutenants colonel and then to the National Resilience Institute as colonels or brigadiers general. At the joint staff level, the courses and exercises revolved around six ‘core subjects’: ‘struggle philosophy’, science & technology, environmental assessment, strategy, administration & management, and operations. But the overall outlook was on ensuring the sustainability and application of the dual function doctrine as well as the ability to plan and execute joint operations to address broadly-defined problems, from security to political (TNI 2000*d*, 71).[235]

[235] See details of the curriculum and focus in Sewindu SESKOGAB 1974–1982 [Eight Years of SESKOGAB, 1974–1982], Sekolah Staf dan Komando Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia Bagian Gabungan, 69-75, Military Education Papers, Indonesian Military History Center Library.

Table 4.14 also tells us that officers were generally expected to have ideological cohesion and socio-political skills above mastery of military subjects. It also tells us that learned or informed awareness of the international environment did not come until very late into an officer's career. The majority of an officer's exposure for the first 20 to 25 years was broadly domestic—from political stability, internal security, to ideological cleavages—and centered on organizational procedures. An insular and inward-looking officer corps would have trouble learning about the utility of new theories of victory or corporatism from abroad. Finally, the table tells us that the institutionalization of the military's educational institutions took place after the decline in US military aid in the 1970s and 1980s (after the critical juncture).

4.5 Conclusion

4.5.1 Summary of findings

There are several key findings. *First*, the Indonesian military achieved a minimalist emulation. Its theory of victory remained defensive and was heavily skewed towards insurgency (vis-a-vis external threats) and counter-insurgency (vis-a-vis domestic threats), rather than 'offensive expeditionary' in the US mould. Only a few dozen of the thousands of US-trained officers ever led the organization and fewer still became product champions. At best, traces of US theories of victory were seen in some parts of the military's doctrinal precepts and in a few combat arms. But there was no organization-wide emulation. Consequently, the application of US theories of victory was limited, sporadic, and inconsistent. The military's theory of corporatism also did not exhibit signs of Americanization. The military remained deeply involved in non-military realms as the Territorial Command persisted and the organizational outlook remain contested past the critical juncture.

Second, as the cooperative model argues, the conjunction of the inhibitive properties of a cooperative transmission and the low quality of the recipient's personnel infrastructure during a critical juncture produced a minimalist emulation. I define the critical juncture by: (1) the peak transmission of US theories of victory and corporatism as seen by the highest number of Indonesians receiving US education and training, and (2) the organizational autonomy of the Indonesian military to interpret and adopt US war-fighting concepts. The former allows both the US and Indonesia to shape the diffusion process while the latter accounts for the range of options Indonesia had.

Washington's perception of Jakarta's geopolitical Cold War importance became the predominant benchmark through which military aid was measured. Despite the official rhetoric claiming and expecting the Indonesian military to follow the US model, military-related goals and organization-wide diffusion of US theories of victory and corporatism were not a priority. The US funded 7,012 Indonesian military students from 1950 to 1989. Even though the US became the prime destination, it was not the only supplier of education and training. The sheer diversity of the courses as well as the absence of academy-level training added to the incoherence and dilution of the transmitted US theories of victory and corporatism. That the US had no systematic and appropriate framework to measure the effects of its programs exacerbated the problem. The diffusion of US theories of victory and corporatism never reached the critical mass necessary to create organization-wide effects.

Meanwhile, the Indonesian military's personnel infrastructure was under-institutionalized; the formal structure changed at least three times during the critical juncture. The formal rules were not stable or predictable while informal institutions such as patronage prevailed. The under-institutionalization of career management prevented new career pathways for US-trained officers. Upon their return, very few of them became leaders and fewer still became

product champions. The institutionalization of career management only began in the 1980s (after the critical juncture). We can see the military's under-developed education and training system in: (1) the lack of coherence and an integrated outlook across the educational institutions, (2) the emphasis on practical training and ideological indoctrination at the academy level, and (3) the non-military value of and curriculum at the staff and command colleges. The system overall was focused on providing ideological cohesion and socio-political skills, rather than a professional grasp of military subjects and strategy. Consequently, the officers corps had a harder time interpreting, adopting, and implementing a new, foreign ways of warfare. Taken together, the conjunction of the inhibitive properties of US military aid and the low-quality personnel infrastructure produced a minimalist emulation.

Third, the critical antecedent shaped the interaction between the transmission pathway and the personnel infrastructure during critical juncture. The intra-military conflicts of the 1940s and 1950s over theories of victory and corporatism was fought between a small number but professionally-trained Dutch-trained officers and the more numerous Japanese-trained officers. Their rivalries hindered the development and institutionalization of personnel and education policies. They led to, for example, compromised institutional solutions to organizational structure and curriculum. Bottom line, the intra-military power dynamics shaped the inter-play between formal and informal institutions which in turn further shape the power dynamics in an endogenous feedback loop.

Fourth, an examination of the career patterns of elite Indonesian Army officers found no strong correlation between what we consider to be 'professional' career markers and a successful retirement. Only around 16% of 677 Indonesian Army generals had some form of US education and training. A logistic regression analysis reveals a higher proportion of an officer's foreign education (from his total civilian and military education) was more likely

to lead to a command appointment before retiring. This effect can be attributed to the pre-foreign education elite status and patronage. Only those already groomed or part of an elite faction could afford to spend more time overseas than their fellow officers. New career pathway for US-trained officers was unlikely to emerge under that condition. Product champions, in turn, did not emerge, especially since the military created other influential pathways: civic action and *kekaryaan* duties. There is little evidence to support the claim that US training had a positive effect for the careers of Indonesian Army officers.

Fifth, the Indonesian military up suffered from doctrinal stagnation as evidenced by the inability of the New Order to overhaul the Territorial Warfare doctrine. There were other indicators of the stagnation, including the persistence of outdated strategic assumptions and the focus on non-military roles. The New Order could have ordered a doctrinal revision along the US model if it wanted to. Instead, it revived the 1962 Territorial Warfare doctrine and most of its conservative, domestically-oriented precepts. The stagnation also indicated the low-level learning capacity of the organization during the critical juncture. The US conceptual influence on Indonesian military doctrine was thus localized and limited. In short, there was no new theory of victory based on the US model.

4.5.2 Alternative explanations

Chapter 2 provides several alternative arguments. The first set of arguments draws from the neo-realist literature and claims that the systemic nature of international anarchy drives states to emulate the best military practices of others. This threat based-argument can explain Indonesia's motivation to import arms and war-fighting concepts in two occasions in the 1960s: during the attempt to integrate West New Guinea and during the confrontation with Malaysia. But these two episodes were a small portion of Indonesia's more numerous inter-

nal challenges during the Cold War. And yet Indonesia sought to import its military power before and after those two potential wars. The neo-realist argument is unable to explain why internal security threats drove Indonesia to seek external sources of arms, equipment, and doctrinal concepts. Nor can the argument easily reconcile the requirement to emulate the best model with Indonesia's deliberate diversification of its supplier of arms and training. Supplier diversification could dilute the coherence and operational utility of such imported military power. The neo-realist argument also does not explain the decision-making of the donor in providing military education and training assistance. More importantly, the threat-based argument cannot explain the variation in military emulation since 'convergence around the best model' is the predicted outcome. Compared to the cooperative model I propose, the neo-realist argument is not better at explaining Indonesia's minimalist military emulation.

The second set of arguments, associated with security constructivists, focuses on trans-national military norms and claims that emulation is a function of concerns over social legitimacy. This could either lead to the emulation of the 'most popular' or the 'best suited' model that fits pre-existing norms. By that logic, if we see a cultural match then we should see a maximalist emulation. To some degree, the professionally-trained KNIL group of officers in the 1950s did prefer to go to the US for military education and training assistance. But if there was a cultural match—both the Dutch-trained officers and the US emphasized professional military administration—why did the Indonesian military end up with a minimalist emulation? If we assume the cultural match facilitated the socialization of Indonesian officers to the US theories of victory and corporatism, why did we not see an accelerated diffusion of those theories after these officers returned to Indonesia?

The constructivists cannot easily answer these questions. Their arguments also cannot explain why the strongly anti-communist Indonesian Army turned to the Soviet Bloc for their

education and arms in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Constructivists might argue that the minimalist emulation is a result of a cultural mismatch. But this claim cannot account for the fact that over 7,000 Indonesian officers were still sent to the US, nor can it explain th popularity of US theories of victory in some sections of the military. The problem with the constructivists then is the under-specification of their argument pertaining to military emulation. As it stands, their argument is better at explaining the absence or presence of emulation rather than its variation. In any case, the constructivist argument does not provide a better explanation of Indonesia's minimalist emulation than my cooperative model.

The third set of arguments focuses on unit-level variables, from regime type to state extraction capacity and bureaucratic politics. Taken together, these variables argue emulation is more likely when militaries have the necessary capacity and infrastructure to adopt foreign systems. This argument is less of an alternative explanation to my argument. In fact, a key component of my theory—organizational capacity—falls under these unit-level arguments. In this sense, my argument complements or is a part of, rather than contradict, the unit-level arguments. The problem with unit-level arguments, however, is that they take the transmission pathway for granted. Arguments focusing on state capacity or regime type, for example, would see Indonesia's minimalist emulation as a function of its weak infrastructure in adopting a sophisticated and costly theory of victory. This argument, however, ignores the fact that in some diffusion processes, the donors provide the arms and education, thereby relieving the recipient of the burden—as the Indonesian case illustrates.

Chapter 5

Maximalist emulation: Imperial Japan

This chapter explains why and how Meiji Japan managed to successfully emulate Western theories of victory and corporatism within a short period of time. I argue that Japan could do so because of the interaction between: (1) the facilitative nature of the commercial transmission, which diffused Western theories of victory and corporatism through commercially-contracted Western trainers and advisers; and (2) the high-quality personnel infrastructure of the Meiji armed forces, which created successful career pathways for Western-trained officers and boost organizational learning capacity. This interaction was significant for the diffusion process because it took place during the critical juncture period between 1878 (after the Satsuma Rebellion of 1877) and 1904 (the start of the Russo-Japanese War). I support these arguments using both causal-process and dataset observational data. I develop an original individual-level dataset to examine the career patterns of almost 700 Meiji-era Japanese officers and I use English-language qualitative sources to examine the organizational evolution, career management, and education and training systems of the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA). I structure my analysis using the commercial model I develop in Chapter 3.

This chapter has five sections. The first discusses the maximalist emulation outcome Japan had achieved by the early 1900s. I examine the operational evolution and practices

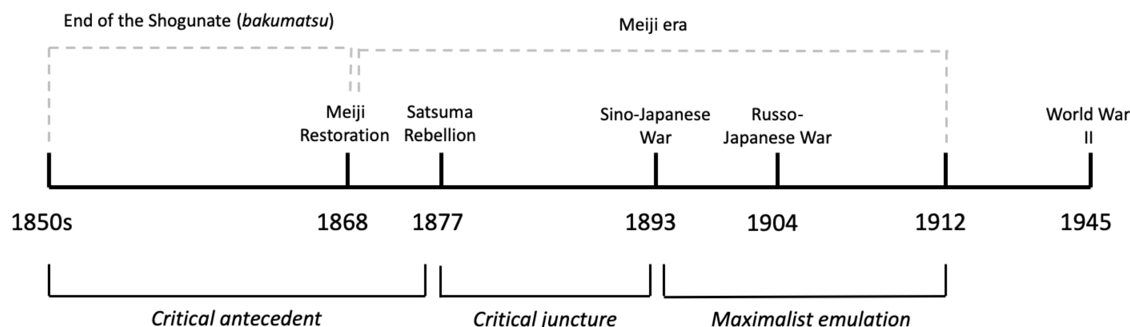
of the Meiji armed forces after the Restoration in 1868 to highlight the gradual adoption of Western theories of victory and corporatism by the IJA and IJN. The second examines the critical antecedent: the absence of serious conflict within the armed forces over military Westernization in general. It describes the conceptual, practical, and organizational precedents that led to the critical antecedent. The third assesses the commercial transmission that diffused Western theories of victory and corporatism after the Restoration. It describes the broader Meiji era commercial Westernization and examines the activities of the French, German, and British military training missions. The fourth examines the organizational capacity of the IJA and IJN to adopt Western theories of victory and corporatism. It integrates statistical analyses of the Meiji military elite career patterns with qualitative assessments of the personnel infrastructure evolution of the IJA. It also highlights the interaction between the IJA's career management and education quality and the activities and advice of foreign trainers. I conclude in the final section by summarizing the key findings and considering how well my arguments stack up against alternative explanations.

5.1 Maximalist emulation

This section demonstrates how the Meiji armed forces achieved a maximalist emulation by the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars. As chapter 2 notes, in a 'maximalist emulation', we can expect to see some form of norms 'displacement', as existing theories of victory and corporatism are replaced with new ones. The change would be relatively rapid, expansive, and thorough. New doctrines will emerge across the organization. Figure 5.1 below presents the timeline of the key events and conceptual markers I examine in this chapter.

I define the critical juncture as the period between the mid 1870s to the early 1890s because of four permissive conditions. First, the Restoration afforded military leaders the

Figure 5.1: Timeline of key events and conceptual markers for Japan case



opportunity to instill major structures and policies without any serious resistance. The enactment of conscription, the abolishment of the feudal domains, and the creation of an Imperial Guard in the early 1870s further gave the regime unprecedented central coercive power. Second, the negotiations for foreign training missions started in the 1870s, despite the government initially declaring that the IJA and IJN would follow the French and British model, respectively. In fact, the government conducted due diligence and sought the best military models in the marketplace. The domains had also adopted different foreign models while dozens of Japanese students had travelled to and studied at various Western cities. They could have chosen any foreign model they prefer.

Third, the government prioritized military Westernization to keep internal order (short-term) and take on the Western powers (long-term). Finally, the organizational changes between the mid-1870s and early 1900s were more enduring and more visibly shaped by Western ideas than the early post-Restoration reforms. Indeed, foreign trainers were present in Japan from 1873 to 1904, at which time the government thought that they were no longer needed (Hirobumi 1904, 66). We should therefore see the interaction between the commercial transmission and personnel infrastructure during this critical juncture period.

Before the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japan's armed forces were considered 'primitive' and 'backwards' by modern standards. For roughly two centuries, the central military

government (the *bakufu*) had no national, unified, and a centrally-controlled standing army or navy. The closest approximation was the large number of samurai units that performed guard duty and police functions as well as the locally-raised warrior bands across dozens of feudal domains (*han*). The Tokugawa shogunate (1600–1868) could theoretically order these domains under the control of local lords (*daimyo*) to 'contribute' troops. While firearms were already in use, the basic weapons were spears and swords, rather than Western artillery or riffles which had different organizational implications.[1] In the words of one Western military observer, Japan's pre-Restoration army "consisted of little more than hordes of imperfectly-equipped, almost barbarously-armed fighting men" (Knollys 1887, 235).

But by World War 1, the Japanese armed forces were on par with the best Western militaries of the day. The IJA and IJN were modern, professional organizations with battle-tested effectiveness. They essentially achieved a maximalist emulation within a generation. By the 1870s, Japanese soldiers were already "goose-stepping and following Prussian infantry tactics" (Edgerton 1997, 44). Roughly two decades after the Restoration, Japanese troops upon parade inspection were, "a facsimile of a European battalion...The men stand ready in the ranks as well-trained English or German troops...The clothing, which is blue and bears first cousinship to the French uniform, the arms and equipment, are all in good order, and well-turned out in every respect" (Knollys 1887, 242). Naval officers were also behaving like English gentlemen as they commanded British-made ships into battle. By World War 2, the Japanese command structure, weaponry, support services, conscription methods, and educational system were based on the best Western models (Harries and Harries 1991, 3).

But the maximalist emulation did not happen overnight. Japanese military leaders took the lessons learned from of a series of post-Restorations operations, particularly the

[1] Many Japanese warriors back then scorned the new lock-step western-style drill and disdained firearms and bayonets in favor of their swords and spears (Drea 2016, 1).

Boshin War (1868–1869), Formosa expedition (1874), and the Satsuma Rebellion (1877), and improve their adoption of Western theories of corporatism and victory. These ideas would later be tested in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905). By then, the IJA and IJN achieved a maximalist military emulation.

5.1.1 Post-Restoration military operations

The Meiji Restoration ended Tokugawa rule and restored 'practical' Imperial rule. The Tokugawa forces however did not go down without a fight, nor for that matter, did the many of the samurai-dominated population spread across Japan. The first post-Restoration decade was therefore consumed by the government's efforts to put down rebellions and internal challenges.The three post-Restoration conflicts below in particular allow us to assess the state of military Westernization. These conflicts show how the armed forces learned and gradually improved their adoption of Western military ideas.

Boshin civil war (1868–1869)

The Boshin civil war was fought between the shogunate and domain forces and was relatively short-lived. The relatively modernized Imperial faction quickly gained control of the capital after a series of battles. Forces loyal to the Tokugawa retreated to northern Honshu and later to Hokkaido. Defeat at the Battle of Hakodate broke this last holdout and completed the military phase of the Restoration. Throughout the northern campaigns lasting into 1869, the Imperial army outnumbered (ex-shogunate) rebel forces and enjoyed overwhelming material superiority. As the Imperial forces had some degree of military Westernization—pro-Imperial domains had Westernized their forces preceding the Restoration (discussed below)—cannons and rifles decided the outcome of the war (Drea 2016, 19).

But the campaigns also reveal broader problems confronting the new armed forces. They highlight, for example, major differences between field commanders and the central headquarters. Army headquarters in faraway Kyoto often proposed plans at odds with local conditions and as tensions increased, line officers ignored central direction in favor of unilateral actions. Lacking a strong central staff capable of enforcing orders, the army was at the mercy of theater commanders. Similarly, the absence of a unified tactical doctrine—let alone a fully-developed theory of victory—and disputes between line and staff officers left units fighting based on the tactics favored by their respective commanders. Resentments also flared because the nobility and Choshu and Satsuma samurais monopolized senior posts (Drea 2016, 19). In short, the Boshin war suggests that even a limited military Westernization was good enough to defeat scattered feudal forces. But the challenges also shows the extremely low level of emulation at the beginning of the Meiji era.

Formosa military expedition (1874)

The Japanese expedition to Taiwan in 1874 was in retaliation for the murder of Ryukyuan sailors by the indigenous population of Taiwan (Formosa) in 1871. This was the first overseas Meiji-era military deployment; in fact, the first overseas expedition by any Japanese forces in more than 270 years (Buck 1959, 92). While a diplomatic solution brokered by the British helped resolve the problem, the expedition shows the challenges of a limited military Westernization. From that standpoint, the expedition was a failure.

For one thing, the Japanese required hands-on Western assistance in getting the mission off the ground. By 1874, the conscription system, the Army Academy, and the second French military mission were only in place for a year or two. The IJA had not develop career management or tactical concepts, let alone a mobilization strategy or expeditionary

capabilities. In fact, the government had to hire General Charles Le Gendre (1830–1899), a French-born American officer and diplomat, as the chief adviser to the mission, even if Meiji leaders nominally headed head of the operation. The mission also employed two American officers as "foreign assistants": Lieutenant Commander Douglas Cassel and Lieutenant James R. Wasson. While many of the ships deployed belonged to the government, some of the largest and significant ones were chartered from foreigners (House 1875, 16).

For another, the initial landing of 1,300 troops was irregular and chaotic without a clear logistical support. Even when employing Western methods, Japanese troops were deficient. They were not yet accustomed to the lower details of military routines; a body of hundreds of soldiers, for example, was accompanied by nearly an equal number of "coolies" to build shelters, cook, or dig trenches. The adoption of Western systems did not go beyond the use of Western weapons (House 1875, 46). In short, by the early 1870s, the Japanese had reached a maximalist emulation. If anything, the mission's operational conduct, even if limited in scale and scope, shows that within the IJA, personal valor and individual accomplishments on the battlefield were the predominant goals.

Satsuma rebellion (1877)

The Satsuma Rebellion was a revolt of disaffected samurais from Satsuma, one of the domains that led the Restoration wars, against the new Meiji government. The resentments were multi-faceted, from the disenfranchisement of the samurai population to the domestic contestations against the other domains, particularly Choshu. The rebellion lasted about eight months with a decisive victory of the Imperial forces. From a military standpoint, it was the first significant victory of the government's newly-Westernized conscript army.

Some portray the rebellion as a dramatic conflict between the sword-wielding, tradition-

wedded samurais (Satsuma) against the modern conscript army (the IJA). But in fact, the Satsuma forces were probably superior to those of the IJA: many Satsuma officers were members of the Imperial Guard and a significant number was extensively trained in Western military techniques (Westney 1986, 183). Many of the rank-and-file also went through the Shigakko, the domain private schools teaching Western military tactics along with Confucian classics and foreign languages. They were trained in infantry and artillery combat tactics and the students carried Snider (breech-loading) and Enfield (muzzleloading) rifles, various carbines, and pistols as well as swords (Ravina 2011, 201).

The IJA, meanwhile, had to dispatch troops before a thorough organization was in place without a proper system of reserves and recruits. But their forces—drilled by European officers—were more tactically sophisticated (Mounsey 1879, 108). The IJA quickly seized the rebel area, carried out landings behind enemy lines, and made successful amphibious assaults under naval gunfire support. The full national resources of the government swayed the war in the IJA's favor.[2] The only advantage the Satsuma army had was high morale. But generally unable to recruit more men, Satsuma forces were forced to carry on the war with the ever-diminishing number of soldiers and weapons (Buck 1973). Despite the victory, IJA leaders recognized the limits of their military Westernization efforts by then. According to Yamagata Aritomo, then commander of the government forces,

> "Japan had no system of commissariat or land transport, and the systems adopted in European countries were not adaptable to the topographical conditions and customs of the country. The question arose at once as to how to supply the troops with provisions and ammunition, and after long consideration we were forced to employ inefficient coolies and pack-horses" (Yamagata 1910, 204).

[2] The government spent more than 40 million yen (about $ 38 million) on the war (almost sixty times as much as the rebels) (Drea 2016, 46). The IJA had more than a hundred artillery pieces and in excess of 63 million rounds of ammunition and was backed by the nascent Japanese arms industry producing nearly half a million rounds of ammunition per day (Ravina 2011, 201). The IJN provided warships and transports along with 38 steamships (Ono 1922, 32).

In difficult terrain, the transport system had been poor, the artillery had been ineffectual, the old muzzle-loading mountain guns and field guns failed frequently. Operational planning was in disarray without a unified a general staff (Harries and Harries 1991, 32). As we shall discuss below, this was partially because the IJA's French advisors had instructed the Japanese on how to organize, train, and command units from company to brigade, not those of the higher echelons (Drea 2013, 77). Overall, the IJA learned that it needed a better training system and a more standardized weapons system and that command flexibility is a prerequisite of effective operations (Buck 1959, 238). Senior leaders also realized that they did not have an effective theory of victory. During the Rebellion, the Army had 55 infantry battalions but they fought as "loosely-organized infantry units" without proper support or specialized troops (Buck 1959, 240). These deficiencies would soon be remedied as Japan was getting ready to fight major power wars.

5.1.2 Major power wars

First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895)

Japan fought the Qing dynasty in the First Sino-Japanese War over influence in Korea. Japan decisively won the war and extracted serious concessions from the Chinese as codified in the Treaty of Shimonoseki signed in April 1895. It compelled China to pay a huge indemnity, abandon its interests in Korea, and cede territory to Japan including Taiwan and the Liaodong Peninsula in southern Manchuria. But Russia, Germany and France intervened and made Japan give up the Liaodong Peninsula. In essence, Japan won its first 'modern war' with a centrally-conscripted army—led by professionally trained commanders—employing modern technology and organization (Lone 1994, 4). By the early 1890s, the IJA had a General Staff, served by an efficient intelligence organization and backed by a comprehensive

system of mobilization, transport, supplies, and communications. Its troops were well-trained and equipped as Japan was moving toward self-sufficiency in arms production.[3] Foreign military observers attached to various Japanese units noted their standardized doctrine, weapons, and equipment which complemented a well-educated officer corps versed in modern warfare and able to maneuver division-echelon forces (Drea 2016, 83).

More importantly, the war was the first application of the Meiji military's Western-influenced theories of victory, from strategic planning to tactical concepts. German offensive concepts influenced Japan's two-phase plan of attack (Lone 1994, 33). First, the IJN was to seize control of the major waters (i.e. the Yellow Sea between Korea's west and China's east coasts and the Gulf of Chihli). This would guarantee safe passage for IJA troops. Second, the IJA's 5th Division was to restrain Chinese forces in Korea while other units were preparing for departure. Once control of the seas had been assured, and Japan seized China's vital east-coast port of Weihaiwei, several divisions were to be landed in Chihli and the war concluded by a decisive battle. In practice, the IJN severely crippled the Chinese fleet at the mouth of the Yalu River in September, seized Port Arthur in November, and destroyed the Chinese fleet at Weihaiwei in February 1895.

The IJN's impressive victories were attributed to their British training and education (Lone 2000, 29). But the IJA's battle victories were influenced by German concepts. The troops, for example, advanced in columns, preferring a frontal assault while seeking an exposed flank to sever the enemy's line of retreat (Drea 2016, 85). Several hundred yards from the enemy positions, the columns would break into companies or battalions as the skirmish line moved forward. Infantry doctrine clustered troops together at company or battalion level to facilitate command and control and to preserve fire discipline. Troops

[3] Quick-firing field guns, smokeless powder, and Murata repeating rifles were being manufactured in large quantities. See details in Harries and Harries (1991, 57).

advanced at close intervals in dense, disciplined ranks. Soldiers moved forward in short rushes, threw themselves on the ground, and then arose to repeat the process. Officers led from the front, and correspondingly suffered high losses (Drea 2013, 80). This offensive tactic was observed in the Liaodong offensive that took Port Arthur led by General Maresuke Nogi, who had a tour of duty in Germany in 1887. He was likely to have based the offensive as a textbook Prussian operation (Harries and Harries 1991, 60).

As we shall discuss below, these theories of victory were among the legacies of Prussian Major Jacob Meckel, an instructor at the Japanese War College and adviser to the General Staff since 1885. The German influence was also observed in Japan's theory of corporatism, especially the military's powerful role in civil-military relations. Since the Meiji Constitution of 1889 had been drawn up with German advice, the position of the Japanese military in the political structure—the monarch as Supreme Commander backed by an independent General Staff—resembled the German pattern (Saaler 2006, 29).[4] The creation of the Imperial General Headquarters (IGHQ) as a joint staff to conduct operations during the war was also notable. The IGHQ was inspired by the German separation of the staff and command authority from administrative functions.

But Meiji military leaders were not satisfied. Logistics, for example, had improved since the Satsuma rebellion but remained chaotic because the IJA had to rely on 53,000 civilian contractors, laborers, and coolies to sustain its operations. Medical support was also substandard as the IJA had neglected thorough preparations for field hospitals, sanitation and epidemic control measures.[5] Furthermore, the fact that Western powers intervened and undermined Japan's war benefits suggested to Meiji leaders that the IJA and IJN needed

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[4] The constitution, particularly article 11, gave a special independence to the general staff, via the right to 'supreme command', which specified that the military was directly responsible to the emperor.

[5] About 12,000 soldiers (or almost nine times the 1,400 battlefield deaths) perished from various illnesses (Lone 1994, 182).

further expansion.[6] Nonetheless, the successful application of Western-inspired theories of victory and corporatism indicates the maximalist emulation outcome.

Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905)

The Russo-Japanese War was fought over ambitions in Manchuria and Korea. Russia sought a warm-water port on the Pacific Ocean; the Port Arthur base was operational all year. Since the end of the First Sino-Japanese War, Japan feared Russian encroachments on its plan to create a sphere of influence in Korea and Manchuria. Japan initially offered to recognize Russian dominance in Manchuria in exchange for Japanese dominance of Korea. Russia refused and war ensued. Russia suffered multiple battle defeats but Japanese losses were exceptionally high and their resources were depleting. President Theodore Roosevelt mediated the Treaty of Portsmouth signed in September 1905. Japan gained control of Russian railway lines in southern Manchuria and took over Russian leases in two Manchurian ports. They also won recognition of their rights in Korea. But Japan emerged with no outright strategic gains or financial compensations. Nonetheless, the war was the first major victory for an Asian power over a European one in the modern era.

The IJA mobilized over a million troops and slightly more than 6% were killed in action. Their theories of victory were almost duplicates of the ones employed during the Sino-Japanese War. The plan essentially asked the IJN to first neutralize the enemy fleet and secure communications with the mainland. Then one army would invade Korea and advance overland to Manchuria, while a second would take Port Arthur. The two armies, along with a third, would converge and advance up the line of the Chinese Eastern Railway to Mukden. This offensive strategy, inspired by Clausewitz and Helmut von Moltke via

[6] By April 1895, Yamagata had drawn up a plan to expand Japan's forces to where they could control the Far East. In September 1895, the navy planned a ten-year expansion to overcome either Britain or Russia in alliance with France. See details in Lone (1994, 182).

Meckel, was about bringing superiority to bear at a given point (Harries and Harries 1991, 81; Kuehn 2014, 156).[7] The IJN's performance also continued to reflect its British education and training. According to a British officer, "in the Japanese navy, we find ships, officers, and men worthy, in homogeneity of design, construction, and armament, in fighting strength, in bravery, and professional skill, to take their place in the foremost fighting line alongside the best ships of our own navy" (Longford 1903, 472).

Yet Japanese losses were high, which was attributed to the German offensive principle.[8] The IJA leaders held on to the strategy as an imperative befitting their high morale. But frontal infantry tactics failed to dislodge the Russians who simply held their positions as long as they were protected by barbwires and mines (Bailey 2006*a*, 36–7). Japan nonetheless improved its performance in the Russo-Japanese War.[9] In any case, the Russo-Japanese War represents the perfected maximalist military emulation that the IJA and IJN had accomplished by the First Sino-Japanese War.

Heading towards World War II

Japan had achieved a maximalist military emulation by the Russo-Japanese War. But the IJA and IJN continued to build on that emulation in a path-dependent way up until World War II. This trajectory underscores the organizational learning capacity and the effects of conceptual 'localization' of Western theories of victory and corporatism. By 1909, the IJA began to 'revise' the tactical principles they have drawn up from Meckel a decade earlier to include more 'unique elements' of the Japanese tradition, especially the invincibility of

[7] The German regulation of 1906 emphasized the importance of the frontal assault in developing the infantry's offensive spirit (Bailey 2006*b*, 174).

[8] In the grinding battle for Port Arthur, General Maresuke lost 58,000 men and the Russians 31,000; in the final battle for Mukden, Russia lost about 85,000 to Japan's 70,000 (Jansen 2000, 440).

[9] For example, the IJA organized and improved its auxiliary service corps to transport heavy baggage and artillery (Drea 2013, 81).

'*Yamato-damashii*', the spirit of Japan (Peattie 1972, 4). This does not mean that the high command wanted to abolish Prussian theories of victory. Instead, it was an effort to improve and double-down on the offensive concepts used during the First Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars. If anything, those wars vindicated the Moltkean strategy of annihilation. After all, as Japan will almost always lack the necessary depth and resources, a short, offensive warfare was Japan's best bet.

The IJA leaders also saw that that the heavy toll of the Russo-Japanese War was not caused by a faulty strategy but a lack of 'superior will' and 'fighting spirit'. Therefore, what appeared as a disbandment of Westernization was in fact a 'spiritual fix' to strengthen the German-inspired theories of victory. Similarly when the IJA deactivated the 14th, 15th, 17th, and 18th divisions in 1924, it was not 'disarming' but rather taking advantage of a shrinking budget space to engage in mechanization.[10] The theories of victory behind the mechanization drive centered on better, quicker, and more systematic mobilization strategies inspired the German General Staff planning.[11] In other words, what appeared to be 'disarmament' was in fact a continuing reliance on Western concepts and organizational formats.

Indeed, throughout the 1920s, Japanese military colleges taught the primacy of offensive tactics and the General Staff revived the concept of an all-out offensive and the supreme importance of surprise attacks. The revised Infantry Manual of 1928, for example, re-emphasized the spirit of the attack, morale and other intangibles as an appeal to uphold the Japanese tradition of warfare. But the tactical doctrine still stressed the German-inspired rapid annihilation of the enemy by envelopment or encirclement achieved by a combination of physical and psychological concentration of superior force (Drea 2013, 83). Bottom line,

[10] The savings incurred by this action were diverted to establish a tank regiment, an anti-aircraft regiment, two regiments in the Army Air Force, and several technical schools for the signal corps.

[11] The Army Ministry created a Mobilization Department headed by Colonel Nagata Tetsuzan to develop total mobilization plans based on his studies of the German General Staff (Crowley 1962, 313).

Japan's strategic thinking, tactical development, and organizational trajectory after the Russo-Japanese War continued to build on its maximalist emulation.[12]

5.2 Critical antecedent

As chapter 3 notes, critical antecedents are conditions preceding a critical juncture that combine with causal forces during a critical juncture to produce outcome variations. I argue that the intensity of intra-military conflicts is an important critical antecedent because they affect the contestation between competing groups within the military and determine how the military deals with the model. I argue that unlike in Indonesia (chapter 4), there was little to no conflict over military Westernization before the critical juncture in Japan. This is not to say that there were no debates over which foreign model to follow, or that there were no political conflicts over the arrival of the West. Indeed, the Bakumatsu era (1853–1868) was plagued with conflicts within the samurai class and between the Shogunate and the domains over how to deal with the Western powers. But these conflicts were largely economic, socio-cultural, and political in nature (Christopher 2009).

As far as the military was concerned, many within Japan—from the shogunate, the southwestern domains, and the Meiji elite—agreed that some form of Westernization was necessary. The need for a national military system utilizing modern weapons and techniques was thus widely accepted from the outset of the Meiji era (Hackett 1965, 250). If there were debates over the respect, rejection, or acceptance of Western 'concepts', they took place within some broad parameters of agreement that Japan was could be attacked by Western powers and that to save herself she needed to revamp her armed forces (Beasley

[12] Emulation is not equivalent to combat victory. Combat depends on numerous variables that requires a separate assessment. I posit that a maximalist military emulation improves a country's chances in a war but the emulation itself is not the only factor that matters. In other words, under some conditions, a maximalist military emulation may be necessary but insufficient to win a major power war.

1972, 87). Overall, there was a broad consensus among Meiji military leaders that they needed a modern, Westernized system and technology (Presseisen 1965, 33). The question then was not *if* Japan should engage in military Westernization, but to what extent, how quickly, and based on which foreign model. Why? This section argues that there were pre-Meiji precedents that minimized intra-military conflicts over military Westernization.

5.2.1 Conceptual precedent

The first important precedent is conceptual in nature. By which I mean the Tokugawa era had "prepared" Meiji military leaders with the conceptual foundation and infrastructure to understand what military Westernization would have entailed. This sub-section describes in particular the development of 'Western learning' (*yogaku*) and 'Dutch studies' (*rangaku*) and the consequent limited diffusion of Western military knowledge production and experiments during the bakumatsu era.

Western and Dutch learning

The roots of (*yogaku*) and (*rangaku*)—the schools of thought, research, and small groups of scholars studying, adopting, and propagating knowledge and science derived from Europe—can be traced to Japan's early encounters with Western civilization in the late 16$^{\text{th}}$ century. Japan's interaction with Western powers from 1542 to 1854 was limited to the Portuguese, Spanish, English, and the Dutch.[13] There were local efforts in the 16$^{\text{th}}$ century to obtain Western firearms, which led to its initial diffusion among local warlords.[14] European can-

[13] Firearms first came through the Portuguese in 1543, although some suggest that the Ryukyu Kingdom first introduced them some 80 years before (Conlan 2010, 146).

[14] Within six months of their arrival in 1543, the local armourers had more than 600 arquebuses (Boxer 1931, 69). With the regular opening of the Dutch factory at Hirado in 1609, the commercial import of guns and firearms grew. In 1549, Oda Nobunaga placed an order for 500 matchlocks with the gunsmiths of Kunitomo. By 1556 there were more than 300,000 guns in Japan (Brown 1948, 238). In preparation for the invasion of Korea (1592–98), Hideyoshi ordered the lords of Satsuma to arm 1,500 soldiers with muskets,

nons in particular were sought after by the 1600s (Boxer 1931, 74). This diffusion was significantly halted during the 'closed country' (*sakoku*) period (1633–1853) initiated by Tokugawa Iemitsu which severely limited Japan's interaction with the West and the production and control of firearms.[15] But the Portuguese and Dutch were also reluctant to embark on a massive diffusion of their weaponry and know-how.[16] Consequently, European military influence in Japan for roughly three centuries before Perry's arrival was confined to the introduction and partial adoption of a few technical inventions such as muskets and cannons, the short-lived attempt of Tokugawa leyasu (1543–1616) to lay the foundations of a Westernized military, and the diffusion of Western sciences and knowledge.

The introduction of Western firearms in the 16th century was part of the broader changes in the methods of warfare, including the increasing use of missile-oriented tools (from bows to firearms).[17] Such tools facilitated the familiarization of firearms. But the diffusion of firearms led to radical developments in military techniques and organization. By the end of the 16thcentury, Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), one of Japan's three unifiers along with Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598) and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), organized Japan's first rifle units and Japan was reportedly fighting battles with more firearms than any European nation (Samuels 1994, 80). These developments suggest that Japan was familiar with military Westernization during the early Tokugawa era. Indeed, in the Warring States period (1467–1568), Japanese leaders cared less about the 'foreign or native' origins of the

1,500 with bows, and 300 with spears (Stavros 2013, 246).

[15] The shogunate kept gunsmiths in 'artisanal colonies' where the government controlled production and kept prices high to discourage the mass production of firearms. It also prohibited overseas voyages and restricted arms export. Commoners were proscribed from owning weapons. Japanese shipbuilding and navigating techniques were lost and the technical skills and knowledge of arms manufacturing were tightly controlled. Details are from Rogers (1998, 191) and Numata (1956, 234).

[16] For one thing, many of the visiting Westerners were merchants. For another, the Portuguese forces were not well-trained and organized, while the Dutch only served in places where the East India Company waged wars or maintained garrisons (which did not include Japan). See Boxer (1931, 68–9).

[17] During the 14th century, projectiles caused 73% of all wounds. Contrary to common assumptions, swords were rarely used in battles after 1467. Arrows inflicted 58% of all projectile wounds through 1600. Guns did not displace bows until 1600. Details are in Conlan (2010, 130–5).

weapons they needed (Hirakawa 1989, 444). As Yamagata (1910, 197) notes of that era,

> "Japan had long been one universal field of battle, and everybody was anxious to get the best weapon he could; the new arms, therefore, at once became the object of both the greatest interest and the most careful investigation, and, within the course of ten years after their first introduction, they were imitated and came into almost general vogue...It shows that our arms men have always been very quick in the choice and adoption of new weapons."

But as firearms allowed for low-quality infantrymen to be 'effective' in battle, the number of men required to wage war expanded, which in turn, led to broader political and organizational changes needed to recruit and train them (Lorge 2008, 54–5; Conlan 2010, 140). During the final decades of the 16$^{\text{th}}$ century, three hegemonic warlords—Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu—leveraged these developments to unify Japan. By then, Japan had adopted an almost universal adoption of firearms, developed effective tactics, changed the organization of armies, and centralized political and institutional relationships (Stavros 2013, 244). Therefore, once *sakoku* came into effect, the shogunate not only controlled the firearms diffusion but also the broader organizational knowhow underpinning them. Out of this controlled knowledge management came the nucleus of Western learning and Dutch studies.

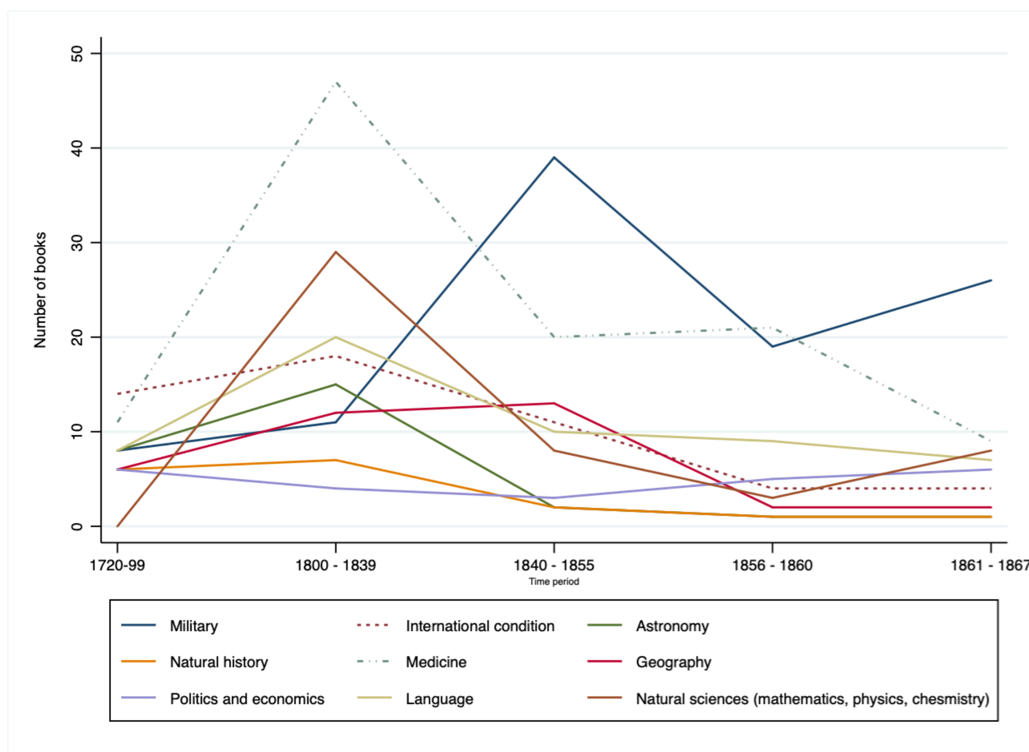
At the beginning of *sakoku* around 1640, only the Dutch had contact with Japan—hence, the term *rangaku*. The Netherlands were an appropriate bridge to the West. They were small enough to be unthreatening, squarely in the middle of European cultural exchanges, and quick in their response to European learning (Jansen 1989*a*, 91). From a conceptual standpoint, *rangaku* was perhaps a superficial phenomenon limited by the Neo-Confucian philosophical commitments on the part of educated Japanese, by the prescribed confines imposed by the shogunate, by the unsystematic method by which information from the West entered, and by the mercantile preoccupation who never saw themselves as cultural intermediaries (Goodman 2013, 2). But over time, *rangaku* laid the groundwork for military

Westernization by: (1) introducing conceptual familiarity, (2) creating a generation of teachers, students, and product champions, (3) setting the precedent to establish Western training missions while sending students overseas, and (4) developing the habit of hiring foreigners on a commercial basis. Sugita Gempaku (1733–1817), one of the founders of *rangaku*, posited three principal methods through which a foreign civilization could be assimilated: (1) experience, observation, and study abroad; (2) instruction by foreign or foreign-trained Japanese teachers; and (3) books (Hirakawa 1989, 437). As we shall see below, these methods became standard tools for military Westernization during the Meiji era.

Western military knowledge production Dutch books were central to Japan's understanding of the West by the late 18th and early 19th century. As more men could read them, a distinct tradition of *rangaku* emerged. Initially, *rangaku* grew as an adjunct to medicine and spread to other areas, such as languages, astronomy, geography, physics, and chemistry (Hirakawa 1989, 435). The introduction of practical Dutch medicine opened the way for the development of military studies as *rangaku* stimulated language training and scientific methods. For example, Dutch specialists in the 1700s wrote books promoting Western military science to defend Japan against Russian encroachments; some suggested that military reforms should include the promotion of capable men from the lower samurai class (Beasley 1972, 79). The promotion of capable—later to mean, Western-trained—men in Japan thus had its conceptual beginning among *rangaku* scholars.

Rangaku prepared the Japanese to exploit Western technology by instructing them in military studies, from gunnery to strategy (Smith 1948, 151; Lehmann 1982, 128). The shogunate then lifted the ban on the importation of Western books in 1720, in the hope that Western knowledge could improve domestic agriculture and commercial production (McClain 2002, 125). As the rules for foreign books were relaxed, the shogunate's Bureau

Figure 5.2: Translation of Western works, 1720 -1867



Source: Author calculation from Otsuki Joden, *Shinsen yogaku nenpyo* (New Almanac of Western Learning) cited in Yoshida (1985, 193)

of Astronomy began studying foreign history, institutions, and military sciences.[18] Overall, there were almost 2,000 books and journals dealing with Western subjects from the 16th century to 1872; geography, medicine, and military subjects accounted for almost half of them. As Figure 5.2 below shows, translated books on Western military sciences grew throughout the Tokugawa era compared to other subjects. They grew from roughly 12% of all translated Western books published between 1720 and 1799 to about 41% between 1861 and 1867. But overall, the diffusion of Western military knowledge was slow and confined to state-sanctioned schools or activities. Nonetheless, they introduced elementary Western military concepts to the the future teachers and leaders of the Meiji military elite.

Rangaku also provided 'practical' templates for the shogunate to experiment on mil-

[18] The shogunate subsequently opened a translation bureau in 1811 and several domain lords sponsored academies of Dutch studies (Jansen 2000, 265).

itary Westernization.[19] As Dutch military works influenced Japanese scholars and policymakers, the shogunate turned to the Dutch when they decided to engage in military Westernization. Thus, *rangaku* and the Dutch provided the earliest precedent for military Westernization through: (1) the development of an initial defense industrial base, (2) the provision of a Dutch military mission to train the Japanese, and (3) the education and training of Japanese men in the Netherlands. As we shall see below, the commercial transmission of Western theories of victory and corporatism in the Meiji era followed these broad parameters established with the Dutch.

After Perry's visit, the shogunate wanted to build a modern, Westernized navy. As the Dutch was seeking to gain a foothold in Japan, it obliged to Japanese requests for assistance. In 1855, negotiations for the Nagasaki Ironworks were completed. The *Soembing*, a ship with a 150-horsepower engine, was presented to Japan and by 1857, materials to build a naval repair yard reached Nagasaki and the foundry was completed in 1861 (Smith 1948, 143). In 1863, the shogunate hired 14 more Dutch engineers and began building a shipyard to construct steam-powered warships using commercially imported equipment (Yoshida 1985, 197). As the entire project was commercially costly for the shogunate, it was only completed under the Meiji government. Regardless, the Dutch helped set the precedent for a commercial arrangement to develop Japan's non-existent defense industrial base.

The need to develop a defense industry partially incentivized the Japanese to send students overseas. In fact, despite its own foreign travel ban, the shogunate sent students to the Netherlands to learn military and nautical arts in 1862.[20] But the Tokugawa authorities soon realized that they should not rely exclusively on the Dutch as its navy was not powerful enough to be the prime model for Japan (Kiyoshi 1988, 173). The shogunate then

[19] Back then, native schools of musketry emphasized years of training in impractical, arcane techniques like firing while treading water, for example. See details in Rogers (1998) and Rubinger (1982, 180).

[20] The Tokugawa and other domains sent 93 students abroad (1862–1867) (Yamamura 1980, 163, fn. 49).

sent missions to the US and Europe (seven times before 1868) to represent Japan diplomatically while obtaining information on military systems (McClain 2002, 170).[21] Overtime, such overseas missions became more frequent, professional, and serious (Jansen 1989*b*, 336). The Meiji government later replicated this method of information gathering. The overseas education of young samurais, meanwhile, created the nucleus of Western-product champions in the late Tokugawa period (discussed below).

But the Dutch was the first Western power to send group missions of military instructors to Japan. The first 22-men team led by Pels Rijcken served from 1854 to 1857 and helped set up a naval school in Nagasaki. The shogunate sent Katsu Kaishu and 50 other students to the school while the domains sent around 130 students.[22] The two-year intensive training course had practical and theoretical instructions (from navigation to naval architecture and gunnery) and used translated Western textbooks (Arima 1964, 367–8). Students also had on-board ship training. About 100 graduates formed the nucleus for a new academy in Edo and subsequently the IJN.[23] A second 36-men mission, led by Hujjssen Van Kattendyke, taught at the school from 1857 to 1859 (Jones 1974, 308). This mission added courses on fortification, medicine, and chemistry as well as cavalry and infantry drills (Umetani 1971, 17). In 1859 the school was closed and all but a few of the instructors left Japan.

This Tokugawa-era experience was significant. For one thing, it would later facilitate the IJN's transition into adopting British theories of victory and corporatism during the Meiji era. For another, it gave the templates commercially-arranged training missions, albeit with an informal understanding between the governments involved. In 1858, in order to remove

[21] Overall, more than 260 people have visited Western powers before the Restoration. Trip details are in Umetani (1971, 11) and Kashioka (1982, 36).

[22] They included Kawamura Sumiyoshi (future IJN admiral and Navy Minister) and Nakamuta Kuranosuke (future IJN academy commandant) (Umetani 1971, 17).

[23] The naval training school, the *Gunkan Kyoju-sho*, became the naval sailing training centre, the *Gunkan Soren-jo* in 1859 and the naval academy, the *Kaigun-sho* by 1866.

a precedent which could be used by other powers, the Dutch recommended the employment of Dutch nationals on a direct individual basis by the shogunate (Jones 1974, 310). Finally, the schools also trained future Meiji military leaders, including, Katsu Kaishu (1823–1899) and Enomoto Takeaki (1836-1906), two early founders of the IJN.[24]

5.2.2 Practical precedent

The practical experience of military Westernization familiarized the military elite of its promises and pitfalls prior to the Restoration. Three experience were salient: (1) the limited military Westernization efforts by the shogunate and a few powerful domains, (2) the experience of dealing with Western military training missions, and (3) the experience of specifying capabilities required from the Western powers and using commercial means to obtain them.

Central and local military Westernization

After Perry's arrival, the shogunate and a few powerful local domains engaged in some form of military Westernization. Initially, the Tokugawa rulers were reluctant to allow domains like Satsuma and Choshu to engage in military Westernization as they could challenge the central government. But domains located at the western tip of the main island of Japan (Choshu), the west and south coast of Kyushu (Nagasaki and Satsuma), or the southern coast of Shikoku (Tosa)—dubbed *tozama* or 'outer domains' not part of the Tokugawa inner vassals—had the upper-hand geographically as the entry points for Western ideas (Morishima 1984, 57). The shogunate also simply did not have the resources for a national military response to the West. Thereafter, military Westernization was spurred by the anticipation of internal rather than external conflicts (Westney 1986, 171).

[24] Enomoto had stayed in Europe and specialized in naval engineering. He even carried two volumes of Dutch on naval tactics home (not available in Japan then) and passed them on to the new government. See details in Kublin (1953, 410) and Falk (1936, 81). I will discuss Katsu further below.

Shogunate attempts The shogunate wanted to implement technological reforms and reconstitute the military component of its bannermen. But it was not prepared to transform its forces fully along Western lines as it would have had significant social, economic, and political consequences (Jansen 1989*b*, 352). But officials felt they needed to engage in military reform to at least to counter internal challenges from Satsuma and Choshu . Any attempt at military Westernization was thus limited at best. Nonetheless, the efforts created a foundation of policy precedents, infrastructure, relationships with Western powers, and a small but influential Western-trained officers. In other words, Tokugawa leaders paved the way for the Meiji-era military Westernization policies. Aside from the Dutch-assisted Nagasaki naval school (discussed above), the shogunate created a military academy in 1856, the Edo Martial Arts School, to train vassals in the use of firearms. The shogunate ordered its bannermen to enroll as it learned to deal with new musketry techniques (Jaundrill 2016, 31–2). But the academy was not exclusively teaching Western techniques. It still taught, *inter alia*, fencing and archery alongside Western gunnery (Arima 1964, 371).[25] After all, despite the decline in their operational value, swords were important signifiers of social standing.[26]

The shogunate was aware that an effective military Westernization required a complete overhaul of its armed forces. This was why officials in charge of the effort sought more knowledge of European military training methods more than a decade before the Restoration.[27] Officials also proposed the adoption of a Dutch-style rank hierarchy, as well as a standardized pay scale for both officers and NCOs. The new system would have converted existing shogunal positions into ranks similar to those of Western militaries (Jaundrill 2016,

[25] Training in weapons other than firearms constituted only half of all classes and accounted for two-thirds of the teaching staff (Rogers 1998, 205).

[26] The elite guards, for example, were mounted swordsmen, while the bow, pike, and firearm followed below in social significance (Totman 1967, 27–8).

[27] In 1851, they obtained a Dutch report with extensive information on the content of Dutch regular army and territorial militia training. It also suggested ways to abolish bow-and-arrow training, weed out incompetent officers, reform the promotional system, and send men abroad for training (Totman 1980, 26).

49-51). But the overall military Westernization efforts were haphazard, limited, and inconsistent. Many of their plans were not realized, and what they accomplished, they could not sustain. When deployed in combat against powerful domains like Choshu, the shogunate's Westernized units were not impressive.

A more serious attempt at military Westernization began in the early 1860s as part of the Bunkyu era administrative, military, and political reforms (1861–1864).[28] Aside from the plans mentioned above, the shogunate wanted to better train more men (between 13,000 to 20,000) and organize them along European lines — cavalry, infantry, and artillery — based on German and Dutch texts.[29] Translated manuals also helped the shogunate plan a dual-service (army and navy) structure with elaborate Western-inspired tables of organization.[30] But Tokugawa leaders also viewed internal enemies, particularly Choshu, as the more immediate threat. Army development thus took precedent over naval ones while insisting on the need to emulate Western powers. According to Hotta Masayoshi, one of the Shogun's advisers:

> "our policy should be to stake everything on the present opportunity, to conclude friendly alliances, to send ships to foreign countries everywhere and conduct trade, *to copy the foreigners where they are at their best and so repair our shortcomings*, to foster our national strength and complete our armaments" (Bailey 2006*a*, 24) (emphasis mine).

The commercial precedent of engaging in Western trainers also started in this period. As I discuss below, the French provided preliminary training to Tokugawa forces and helped build ironworks at Yokohama and a dockyard at Yokosuka. To pay for all this, arrangements were made to create a Franco-Japanese trading company (backed by French and British

[28] Details in this paragraph are from Jansen (1989*b*, 349), (Totman 1980, 24-6, 81, 185), Yamagata (1910, 201), Beasley (1972, 262), Bara (2012, 155–7), Jaundrill (2016, 53), and Porter (1911, 215).

[29] Prussian General Heinrich von Brandt wrote a book in 1833 about the organization and tactics of the three combat arms, which had been translated in 1846 and 1850. Another Prussian tactical book written in 1834 by General Karl von Decker had been translated in 1848. Japanese scholars translated these texts from their Dutch editions and were used in the 1850s.

[30] The government completed a study by the early 1860s which showed that Japan needed to expand its coastal and naval defense.

capital) with special privileges in the export of Japanese products, especially silk, and to organize in return for the import of ships and weapons (Beasley 1972, 264). But the shogunate came up short of the original plan, as Table 5.1 below shows.

Table 5.1: Westernized Tokugawa army units, 1867

Units	**Number**
First Infantry Regiment	1,000
Fourth Infantry Regiment	800
Fifth Infantry Regiment	600
Sixth Infantry Regiment	600
Guard Corps	400
Seventh Infantry Regiment	800
Eighth Infantry Regiment	800
Eleventh Infantry Regiment	900
Training regiments (2)	1,400
Total	7,300

Source: figures are from Arima (1964, 373).

The shogunate decided to deploy what little they had against internal challenges. The first test came in 1864 when a major uprising erupted in Mito, a Tokugawa collateral domain, known as the Tengu Insurrection. It took four months and thousands of reinforcements to put it down. The Westernized infantry units performed poorly. Military leaders thought that they needed more training and that they did not raise enough Western-trained troops (Jaundrill 2016, 56). They also realized that relying on translated materials and local *rangaku*-trained instructors were not sufficient and that they needed to send their own men to Europe. Senior officials then encouraged their men to study under British army soldiers stationed at Yokohama. From 1864 onwards, the shogunate also moved away from the Dutch model and texts. Before the reforms were completed, the shogunate forces were sent to the Summer War of 1866 against Choshu. After two months, the better Westernized rebel forces had beaten the government in each area of operation. Choshu and other challengers saw their

gamble in military Westernization pay off. The conflicts thus validated the effectiveness of Western-style organization and firepower (Jaundrill 2016, 75).

But the experience also suggests problems Meiji leaders had to confront later on. First, Japan could not rely on purchasing weaponry from abroad. Arms were available but "most were not the best and the best were expensive" (Totman 1980, 182). In the 19th century, the rapid development of European military technology meant that firearms quickly became obsolete.[31] Second, the shogunate did not have the resources or willingness to have dedicated foreign training missions. A full-scale military Westernization, after all, required broader social, political and economic changes.[32] This would have ended the Tokugawa military structure which relied on samurais or mandatory quotas (Drea 2016, 1).

Third, there was no sustainable and coherent training program. Some men who had studied Dutch tactics at Nagasaki or received instructions from a few foreigners were supposed to create an entire organization based on a bare minimum understanding and a few translated texts. It also appears that the shogunate had badly estimated the extent to which liege vassals were willing or capable to provide the necessary manpower. Whatever Western training they could organize was haphazard as men came as interest and desire for pay dictated (Totman 1980, 26). Overall, the shortage of trained officers, the failure to develop an effective command structure, and the continuing shortage of funds all hampered the shogunate's military Westernization (Westney 1986, 174).

Domain attempts Overall, the localized domain attempts at military Westernization provided practical experience, initial policy templates, and a small cadre of Western-trained

[31] By 1864, some 10,000 weapons had been imported at Yokohama but most of them were obsolete. The shogunate went through two generations of weaponry in five years: it settled upon Minie-style muzzleloaders in 1862 but moved on to Chassepot breechloaders in 1867. They also had to move on from a coastal artillery defense in the 1850s to a warship-based defense in less than a decade (Totman 1980, 335).

[32] Conservatives believed that military Westernization could transfer firearms to regime enemies while others thought it would undermine the country's unique traits (Totman 1980, 181).

soldiers. The powerful domains of Satsuma and Choshu were the best Westernized local forces during the bakumatsu era (Norman 1965, 34). I will discuss their broader military Westernization programs below as I examine how Meiji leaders from Satsuma and Choshu took their pre-Meiji experience into the post-Restoration era. For now, I want to note that Satsuma and Choshu were not the only domains engaging in military Westernization.

Initially, the shogunate encouraged the domains to engage in military Westernization to improve country-wide military readiness while compensating for its own strained finances.[33] These domains have traditionally relied on commercial means to obtain the latest weaponry.[34] Some domains were relatively Westernized by the 1840s when the request came and as such were more receptive. These powerful domains were, after all, always on the lookout for a military edge against either rival domains or the Tokugawa (Swope 2005, 19). While their efforts vary in scope, scale, and speed, they laid the foundation for a future national military Westernization.[35]

In the domain of Matsushiro, the birthplace of Sakuma Shozan, one of the key pre-Meiji Western product champions discussed below, the Lord Sanada Yukitsura wanted to construct a navy and thus summoned Dutch strategists, gunners, and shipwrights. He believed that Western learning was the basis for a new-style military preparations. Meanwhile, the Tosa domain organized all of its warriors into Western-style rifle companies by 1867. It also raised 10,000 commoners as coastal defense auxiliaries and outstripped others in creating "people's militias".[36] Such all-class units would later be a fixture of Westernized forces

[33] It asked the domains, for example, to construct shore batteries, cast or buy cannons, and train their warriors in updated gunnery techniques (Jaundrill 2016, 38–40).

[34] They have invested, for example, in steam ships purchased via foreign merchants in Nagasaki. While most of the vessels were small in size, the domains bought no less than 93 military ships between 1854 and 1868 (Kennedy 1928, 36).

[35] Details in the next two paragraphs are from Goodman (2013, 151–6), Burks (1985*a*, 22), Arima (1964, 373), Norman (1965, 23), Jaundrill (2016, 59).

[36] The leading elements in these groups were *ronins* (masterless samurais), village headmen, and *goshi* (rustic samurai), while the rank and file were largely composed of peasants, sailors, and hunters.

during the last years of the bakumatsu era.

The Saga domain, the birthplace of Takashima Shuhan, the founder of a powerful Western gunnery school (discussed below), was also engaging in military Westernization by the 1860s. It established organizations for the research of Western technologies and launched the first Japanese steamship. Nagasaki was after all the home of the Dutch naval school filled with Saga students. The domain also employed the *so-teppo-sei*, the all-gun units, to mobilize farmers armed with percussion-capped muskets. Their ships were among the first to deploy modern British-made cannons and their troops used modern firearms (purchased through a British merchant). Meanwhile, the domain of Fukui sought to Western military knowledge to build coastal defenses and improve local health conditions. It initiated close-order drills, began manufacturing Western-style artilleries, and sent samurais to study Western-style military science. By 1855, the domain school, the Meidokan, studied military arts, mathematics, and Western books and had a library of foreign military books.

Finally, the Kishu domain, a collateral Tokugawa branch, adopted Dutch and Prussian arms and organization since 1856.[37] *Rangaku*-trained Western product champions pushed the process and the Kishu infantry was reorganized in Dutch-model battalions and drilled with a mixture of rifle muskets, smooth-bore muskets, and modified matchlocks. By 1866, Kishu decided to equip its troops with Prussian needle-guns and adopted its organizational system. I will discuss the Prussian influence below. For now, I want to note that Kishu commercially negotiated an arms deal to obtain Prussian firearms and trainers. Kishu continued its Prussian-inspired reforms before the domains were abolished in 1871.

Aside from these major domains, minor ones were also engaged in some form of military Westernization, as Table 5.2 below shows.[38] These localized efforts along with the

[37] Details in this paragraph are from Bara (2012, 158–160).

[38] Minor domains were roughly between 15,000 and 60,000 *koku* in size. Koku was a unit adopted to determine size & wealth. One koku of rice is about 278.3 litres (73.5 gallon) or about 150 kg (330 pound),

shogunate's attempt suggest that there was a preliminary diffusion of information about Western theories of victory and corporatism before the Restoration. The military Westernization of the Meiji period was thus less 'revolutionary' than many had assumed. But more importantly, the limited experience created a pool of different foreign models to emulate.

Table 5.2: Military emulation in Nagano prefecture domains, 1850 - 1870

Domains	**Status**	**Size (*koku*)**	**Dutch model**	**English model**	**French model**
Matsumoto	Fudai	60,000	1866	—	1870*
Takato	Fudai	33,000	1856	—	1870*
Ueda	Fudai	53,000	1850	1869	1870
Suzaka	Tozama	10,000	1854	1865	1870
Iiyama	Fudai	20,000	—	1866	1870
Tanoguchi	Fudai	16,000	1861	—	1865
Iwamurata	Fudai	15,000	1866	—	1867

Notes:
* = change adopted prior to 1870 military standarization decree
Fudai = Tokugawa inner/hereditary vassals — Tozama = outer domains
Source: figures are from Westney (1986, 75).

Western military missions

The limited experience of commercially managing the foreign training missions (especially from the Dutch, British, French, and Germans) during the bakumatsu era was valuable for the Meiji leaders in two ways. First, the importance of formulating specifically what the Japanese needed as each Western model had its own strengths and weaknesses. Second, Japan needed to combine a temporary use of commercially-hired foreign trainers with the promotion of Western-trained officers to teach Western theories of victory and corporatism to ensure organizational autonomy in the long run.

enough to feed one person for one year. As a comparison, the shogunate controlled more than 2 million koku and less than 2 dozen domains had more than 200,000 koku.

French precedent The Dutch may have given Japan its first foreign training, but the French mission had a more profound and enduring effect. After the defeats against Choshu, the Tokugawa wanted to secure foreign assistance to retrain its armed forces. The idea to turn to the French originated with a pro-France group within the government (Presseisen 1965, 4). This shows the intra-regime power dynamics that facilitated the selection. A pro-French faction was particularly important given that there were other European powers willing to provide training and weaponry.[39] The British lackluster response to Tokugawa overtures further swayed Japan to France, which had the best army at the time (Lehmann 1976, 6–7). The point is that initially the Japanese sought European instructors and favored no one nation in particular (Medzini 1971, 127).

Leon Roches, the French Ambassador to Japan since 1864, was one of the key figures behind French prominence as the purveyor of trainers and arms. While Roches worked hard to sway the Tokugawa, the regime was eager if not desperate to obtain technology, training, and equipment to head off serious rebellions. Roches filled a needed role in this regard, he did not create one. Historians attribute his military aid provision to Japan as a reflection of his personal ambitions rather than a grand design by Paris (Sims 1998, 57; Lehmann 1980, 274). France, after all, did not yet regard Japan as a vital national interest.[40] In any case, Roches cultivated a close relationship with the shogunate suggesting that France was prepared to supply arms against Choshu. In return, Roches had hoped for a favorable response to France's special trade needs and that France should be the primary supplier for arms and equipment (Medzini 1971, 87). The shogunate, meanwhile, was was willing to pay for the military materials as they desperately needed to fend off internal threats.

[39] The Dutch, for example, made the case that the shogunate had always looked to Holland for instructors, machinery, and education and that the shogunate could obtain better training by sending students to the Dutch East Indies (Ericson 1979, 388).

[40] France had been involved in military action in Italy, Algeria, New Caledonia, Syria, Senegal, and China since the 1840s. France only accounted for less than 3% of Japan's foreign trade (Medzini 1971, 21).

By 1865, the shogunate wanted a specific set of products from the French: (1) military training missions, (2) machinery and equipment to build a naval yard and arsenal, and (3) assistance to develop a mint.[41] An officially sponsored trading company, the French Society for Export and Import, was created to pay for these needs. It would enter into trading relations on behalf of Japan and France (outside of official channels) and execute an exclusive French-shogunate trading arrangements.[42] A considerable amount of military equipment was purchased through the company before it had to be shuttered in the absence of French public support. But the commercial channels to acquire military capabilities was set.

The shogunate appointed Paul Fleury-Herard, Roches's personal banker, as its representative and commercial agent in Paris.[43] He handled the negotiations which led to the 1865 agreement providing a 4-year plan with a $2 million budget to build a foundry and dockyards at Yokosuka and provide some 40 French personnel to train 2,000 Japanese troops.[44] The dockyards were modeled over the Toulon Shipyards and included an engineering school as part of a 'localization' plan.[45] That the shogunate had to pay for everything in advance in cash underscores the commercial nature of the military Westernization effort. The upside was that Japan could then demand specific programs or items.

In September 1866, a group of French military advisers signed a 3-year commercial

[41] Details in the next two paragraphs are from Sims (1998, 53), Ericson (1979, 386), Honjo (1935, 36, 49), Jansen (2000, 315), Jansen (1989*b*, 351), Jones (1974, 317), Medzini (1971, 67–69), Sims (1998, 52), Umetani (1971, 22), and (Totman 1980, 211).

[42] In what was known as the "arms for silk" deal, the Japanese would provide a large-scale export of silkworm egg cards to France. But for some hardware, like ships, Paris was inclined to give obsolete or outdated ones, which the Japanese had to pay for in value.

[43] He was Japan's first diplomatic representative in a Western country. He was instructed to help any Japanese who traveled to France or were shipwrecked there as well as acquire shipyard machinery, arms, military instructors, and others.

[44] Initially, the shogunate also secretly wanted to purchase warships and arms valued at $7,000,000 from France. It could have also spent up to 35 million francs for the dockyards, importation of weaponry, and provision of trainers when the project was first discussed in 1865.

[45] That major ship repairs were not possible in Nagasaki prompted the Yokosuka project. Roches persuaded the bakufu to eventually hire Francois L. Verny, a marine engineer and French naval lieutenant, as the project director. The French saw Yokohama and Yokosuka as the most favorable spots for the rest and repair of the French Far Eastern Fleet.

contract with Flury-Herard. The terms stipulated that the shogunate was to pay the fares to Japan and back; salaries were to be paid in local currency and suitable housing was to be provided. All members of the mission retained their rights of promotion, seniority and pension, while Paris chose the equipment needed (Medzini 1971, 128–130). Japanese leaders initially asked Roches to create 12 battalions of drilled infantry and asked for a group of 51 trainers, including a senior officer as the mission chief (Totman 1980, 185).[46] The idea was to eventually produce an army of roughly 10,000 French-trained men.[47] If this pilot project was successful, it would have been applied on a larger scale.

In January 1867, a group of 21 French military instructors arrived in Edo led by Captain Chanoine, an East Asian expert with experience in China.[48] Before his departure, Chanoine was handed a detailed list of instructions: to train the Japanese army according to French administrative and military experience; the Japanese government commanded the mission, which must not meddle in politics; the mission should not copy slavishly what was done in France, but to account for and improve local military aptitudes and habits. He was also to use the same system used to train French troops, and to "transplant" to Japan the character of the French army. Chanoine's first memorandum to the shogunate focused on reforming the Japanese organizational doctrine. He thought that the shogunate had a large quantity of haphazardly bought war materiel, most of which was piled up "higgledy-piggledy in warehouses" as they did not know how to use it.[49] The mission trained a small number of officers and NCOs.[50] This small nucleus was supposed to train 800 infantry and

[46] They also wanted to create one or two 'special forces' battalions in the mould of the *Chasseurs de Vincennes*, an elite French mountain infantry unit (Ericson 1979, 390).

[47] Roches only requested to Paris some 35 advisors due to funding concerns (Honjo 1935, 38).

[48] Details in this paragraph are from Upton (1878, 1), Presseisen (1965, 9–12), Medzini (1971, 131), Lehmann (1980, 291, n. 65), Kublin (1949, 25), Jaundrill (2016, 81), Jones (1974, 319), Totman (1980, 342), and Umetani (1971, 25).

[49] He thought the officers' their lack of scientific notions and discipline were problematic. The shogunate had ordered 40,000 French Chassepot breechloaders and some thousand other pieces.

[50] These included 60 infantry officers, 20 artillery officers, and a squadron of cavalry. Chanoine decided

200 artillery soldiers. While the mission remained in Japan about 18 months, the training given covered about a 6-month period of drills. When the Boshin War erupted, the mission supervised supervised 1,500 infantrymen, 230 student officers, two squadrons of cavalry, 5 artillery batteries, and a company of sappers. The mission was discharged soon after.

The training was costly and there were problems surrounding the constant need for interpreters and the lack of trained officers (Presseisen 1965, 11). But the French school ensured that most Japanese would be more proficient in French than other European languages. There were also nearly three times as many Frenchmen working across Japan during the bakumatsu era as there were British (Jones 1974, 316; Lehmann 1980, 293). Language would be one of the key considerations Meiji military leaders thought about when deciding to keep French trainers (discussed below).

British precedent The British had more influence in the Japanese navy than the army. The influence continued from the last years of the Tokugawa until the late Meiji era. Initially, the British garrison in Yokohama pioneered the Westernization of the shogunate army.[51] While the British did not train officers, the main troops of the Restoration government, including the Totsugawa Imperial Guard and the Boshin Conscripted Force, may have adopted British formations and training (Asakawa 2003, 17–20).[52] The Satsuma and Saga domains also initially adopted the British model and imported British weapons.[53]

During the last years of the bakumatsu era, British influence on Japanese domestic

not to instruct soldiers until the officers and NCOs were sufficiently trained.

[51] Under the Kanagawa Magistrate, 60 Japanese soldiers first received British drill and training provided by the 2nd Battalion of the 20th Foot Regiment. The training was expanded by late 1864 and included drills based on British Infantry texts.

[52] British forces in Yokohama lacked qualified staff members to train officers. They were also ambivalent about propping up the shogunate over the powerful domains.

[53] These domains and others might have modeled their drills on the 'Field Exercise and Evolutions of Infantry', an 1862 British manual. At least as many as 36 domains and six corps of government soldiers had adopted the British model by the late Tokugawa era (Asakawa 2003, 32, fn. 49).

politics was growing.[54] But its influence soon waned as the shogunate decided to engage the French, although, as we shall see below, it kept a foothold on the navy through its Satsuma connections. This was particularly the case since the shogunate decided that the Dutch was no longer a suitable model. Further, Tokugawa military leaders held the Royal Navy in high regard and naval men in Satsuma and Saga had been studying them for years (Gow 2004, 36). It should be noted that they were less concerned about which foreign model to follow than the personal qualifications of the trainers (Perry 1966, 309).

Between 1865 and 1868, the Shogunate tried to build its navy and asked Britain for help. While initially reluctant, London felt threatened by French inroads into the IJA. Henry Parkes, the British Ambassador insisted the Japanese signed a written promise they would not seek naval assistance from another nation (Perry 1966, 309). In 1866, a contract was signed between the two governments, which made the arrangement less commercial than what the shogunate had with the French.[55] Meiji leaders later learned from this episode to rely more on commercial contracts as government-to-government arrangements were problematic.

Commander Richard Tracey was appointed chief of the 17-men British Naval Training Mission with all expenses paid for by the Shogunate. They were placed at the disposal of the Japanese government for two years with their salaries pegged to the market rate (i.e. what Japan was paying the French) (Jones 1974, 315). The mission arrived on October 1867. They took up duties at Tsukiji and were supposed to instruct Japanese youths in naval science, seamanship, and discipline. But British neutrality during the Restoration War made it impossible for the mission to continue (Gow 2004, 34). The mission nonetheless laid the

[54] Throughout the 1860s, British commerce constituted more than 75% of Japan's total foreign trade. British merchants sold arms and machinery clandestinely to powerful domains, smuggled their students abroad, and side-stepped shogunate restrictions (Jones 1974, 312).

[55] The British rejected a commercial agent go-between as paymaster, and Japanese officials were obliged to make direct payment to the mission chief (Jones 1974, 315).

groundwork for further British training in the Meiji era.[56]

5.2.3 Organizational precedent

The final pre–Tokugawa development that shaped the critical antecedent concerns the organizational precedents in which the policies taken by the IJA and IJN were shaped by: (1) the fact that the Satsuma and Choshu domains, the most militarily Westernized locales, led the Meiji Restoration and their leaders became Meiji leaders, (2) the Meiji-era Western product champions who can be directly linked to Western product champions during the Tokugawa era. The Choshu and Satsuma pre-Meiji military Westernization is significant because they: (1) demonstrated what a professional, meritocratic organization backed by a conscription army could do, (2) suggested the utility of commercial Westernization, and (3) gave birth to Western product champions and battle–tested commanders.

Satsuma and Choshu Westernization and domination

Satsuma and Choshu were at the forefront of military Westernization, which gave them distinct battlefield advantages against the Tokugawa. It was natural that upon assuming power, their leaders would draw lessons from their domain experience to shape and boost the national military Westernization efforts (Koyama, Moriguchi and Sng 2018, 184). After all, their views of international politics mirror their views of the intra-Japan rivalries between the shogunate and the domains. Just as military Westernization improved the domains' position against the Tokugawa, Japan needed a national military Westernization to compete in the international arena (Hackett 1965, 251).

Satsuma and Choshu could push through a national military Westernization effort

[56] The mission, among others, established a naval school for nearly 100 cadets and officers and prepared Japanese hydrographical efforts. See more in Kennedy (1928, 21, 34) and Perry (1966, 309).

because their leaders filled the ranks of government and the officer corps in the early Meiji years.[57] That these men were from the 'lesser' samurai class further facilitated the promotion of 'men of ability and not nobility' as a central element of the military Westernization effort. "Ability" was soon interpreted as having Western education and training. In other words, the rise of Satsuma and Choshu allowed the Meiji government to engage in military Westernization by relying on and promoting Western-trained officers. Why and how Satsuma and Choshu engaged in military Westernization during the Tokugawa era thus shaped the policies their leaders take as Meiji leaders.

Pre-Meiji Choshu Choshu was a relative newcomer to military Westernization.[58] Choshu samurais had studied Western gunnery associated with the Takashima school (discussed below) in the 1840s, but the domain did not adopt its methods. Choshu, after all, already had a relatively Westernized school of military studies, known as Gobu-Santo, which combined firearms, naval warfare, coastal defense and a concern with practical operations.[59] The school was also based on realistic assessments of the challenges associated with motivation, training, discipline, and command and control—central issues in any military Westernization.

Military reforms nonetheless began in Choshu in the late 1850s when a pro-Westernization faction controlled the domain government.[60] Officials soon proposed that all low-ranking warriors study Dutch drills and that local forces adopt Western military organizations. The domain schools taught civil and military courses along with Western learning. Choshu stu-

[57] From Satsuma came Okubo Toshimichi (1830–78), Saigo Takamori (1827–77), and Matsukata Masayoshi (1835–1924). From Choshu came Kido Koin (1833–77), Inoue Kaoru (1835–1915), Ito Hirobumi (1841–1909), and Yamagata Aritomo (1838–1922).

[58] Details in the next two paragraphs are from Jaundrill (2016, 41–4), Kashioka (1982, 37), Lone (2000, 6-7), Rogers (1998, 199), Smith (1948, 133), and Hackett (1971, 9).

[59] For example, in practicing musketry, the school scorned the traditional 30-yard shooting ranges, and urged leaders to train their men in the fields to shoot from five or six hundred yards away.

[60] The domain sent 30 men to study under the Dutch at the Nagasaki naval school discussed above. When the students returned in 1859, they began teaching volunteers and were promoted to key positions.

dents were also encouraged to study Western sciences outside of the domain. In 1859 Choshu introduced a Western-style rifle unit. A few years later, the domain secretly sent some of their young samurais to the UK for naval training.

As noted then by Yamagata, one of Choshu's prominent samurais, "The pressing need of the hour is to send abroad selected men of talent who will inform themselves of the world situation and master practical science relating to steamships and warship, artillery, Western institutions, and governments" (Sakata 1985, 77). In the early 1860s, with the return of Omura Masujiro from studying Western military sciences in Nagasaki and Edo, Choshu engaged in broader military Westernization efforts. His arrival coincided with the Shimonoseki campaign between Choshu and the joint naval forces of Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and the US between 1863-4. Following the embarrassing defeat by the Western powers, Omura and Choshu military leaders created auxiliary units called the *shotai* that conscripted warriors and commoners.

Omura also called for a concerted effort to secure Western weapons on a large scale and to introduce Western fighting methods. The domain invited instructors versed in Western theories of victory and by early 1865 decided to replace as rapidly as possible all old-style weapons with modern rifles *Shotai* units were reorganized into standard units of 150 men and lower samurais were organized into rifle companies — all drilled along Western methods (Hackett 1971, 39). Dozens of companies were formed; some supported by the domain, others driven by enthusiastic loyalists financed by wealthy sympathizers. The units thus varied in size (from 100 to 500 men) and were often drawn from a single locality.[61] Choshu was becoming a small-scale 'nation in arms' that Meiji leaders looked back to.

[61] In theory, their officers were chosen by ability but in practice it meant choosing those with hereditary standing. Many of the rank-and-file had samurai or quasi-samurai status (about 25 to 45%). Another 30 to 50% were 'commoners' drawn from well-to-do farmers and village officials. By 1868, there were no less than 156 *shotai* units. See details in Beasley (1972, 227) and Hackett (1971, 27)

The *Kiheitai* ('surprise troops'), a *shotai* special forces unit is worth noting.[62] Takasugi Shinsaku (1839–1867), the domain's expert on Western military science, proposed and led the *Kiheitai*, which included townsmen and peasants.[63] Neither recruitment nor promotion depended on social status. Takasugi was concerned that an all-samurai unit would be difficult to control in battle and lack the cohesion required by European tactics.[64] The only qualifications for admission were skill, daring, and obedience to the commander, who would punish and reward based on merits. Takasugi expanded and armed the riffle units with modern weapons purchased from British arms dealers. Takasugi set the new force to repair forts, study the tactics of the foreigners, and train in Western theories of victory.

In the final campaigns against the shogunate, the unit used Western theories of victory. Omura modified a European tactical flanking concept, for example, and used it as a guerilla-style tactic.[65] Choshu thus had developed a preliminary Westernized theory of victory based on from Dutch military strategy and traditional Japanese tactics. On the corporatism side, the units also crossed feudal lines—which Meiji leaders would later copy. Choshu leaders also placed the units' leaders at the top of the domain army, and reorganized the bannermen into platoons, companies, and battalions based on Western models. Choshu IJA leaders would implement these policies as in the Meiji era as well.

Pre-Meiji Satsuma Satsuma had developed its own school of military science, the Goden-ryu, which blended gunnery with a strong sense of regionalism.[66] The school stressed that

[62] Details in the next two paragraphs are from Jaundrill (2016, 61–6), Christopher (2009, 40), Hackett (1971, 25), Lone (2000, 7), Buck (1959, 65), Norman (1965, 29, 34), Drea (2016, 5), and Beasley (1972, 227).
[63] Of the 622 men who served in the Kiheitai between 1863 and 1870, 56% were not samurais.
[64] The *Kiheitai*, after all, was modeled over the armies of the early French republic.
[65] In a June 1866 battle with bakufu forces, Omura employed flanking attacks from the rear—what he called 'rabbit hunting' techniques—to drive defenders from their strongholds. Relying on mobile infantry, his units offset their inferior numbers and employed concealed skirmishers. They sniped from rooftops, tree lines, or undergrowth, and fled.
[66] Details in this paragraph are from Rogers (1998, 202), Beasley (1972, 122), Goodman (2013, 159), Westney (1986, 171).

firearms were historically not weapons for the elite and were mandatory for all ranks. By the 1840s, Satsuma had begun experimenting with broader military Westernization. By the 1840s, the domain adopted the Takashima school of Western gunnery and a Dutch-style drill. It reformed military administration and reorganized the riffle and artillery forces. The domain forces also added a cavalry forced based on a French cavalry manual.[67] Domain leaders sent samurais to Nagasaki, Edo, and other schools that taught western studies.[68]

These activities lasted into the 1850s. The Takashima school expanded and the domain forces were standardized along Western lines. The manufacturing of cannon and gunpowder also grew (Goodman 2013, 158). But these trends were abruptly halted by the Anglo-Satsuma War of August 1863. The defeat at the hands of the British enabled Satsuma leaders to introduce sweeping organizational changes to the military. Not only was Western drill and musketry further boosted, the domain army also created a larger core force of volunteers (Arima 1964, 373). Satsuma was after all packed with samurais (over one-quarter of its population) (Jansen 1989*b*, 347). More importantly, they started sending dozens of samurais overseas to study Western military techniques. As the *daimyo* put it in 1856:

> "At this time when defense against the foreign barbarians is of crucial importance it is the urgent duty of all samurai both high and low to co-operate in learning conditions in foreign lands so that we may adopt their good points to supplement our deficiencies, reinforce the military might of our nation and keep the barbarian nations under control" (Beasley 1972, 121).

But domain leaders also wanted to ensure it could adopt and 'localize' Western theories of victory and corporatism. Satsuma then created the *Kaiseijo*, a military academy to foster the development of a Western-style army and navy.[69] The school gave instruction

[67] Many leading *Rangaku* scholars were called into Satsuma to translate European military manuals, including Genpo Mitsukuri, the famed pioneer of Western tactics and translator of the Prussian three army branches book discussed above

[68] Nagasaki-based military scholars, making use of imported books and conversations with the traders of Deshima, produced a growing stream of books on Western military practices and strategy.

[69] Details in this paragraph are from Jaundrill (2016, 66–70), Ravina (2011, 131), Drea (2016, 3), Smith

in Dutch and English as well a full range of military studies and a broader education.[70] Students studied British drills, which emphasized light infantry and dispersed formations suited to Japan's topography. Satsuma leaders also quietly hired British advisers to reorganize and train their forces and took on British technology, from coastal batteries, riffles to steamships.[71] Satsuma saw the purchasing Western technology and tactics as acceptable for the 'greater good' without sacrificing the 'Japanese spirit'.[72]

Western product champions

The final but perhaps most important precedent shaping the absence of intra-military conflicts over military Westernization was the role of bakumatsu era Western product champions. Some of them taught Meiji-era Western product champions, including those senior IJA and IJN officers who led the Westernization efforts during the critical juncture. It is important therefore that we understand how pre-Meiji Western product champions emerged—particularly through teacher-student relations and local western teachings—and provided a 'network effect' that shaped the critical juncture.

Some of the early Tokugawa Western product champions were students, envoys, or self–taught enthusiasts. They nevertheless became the "core experts" on the West in the pre-Meiji era (Beasley 1972, 306). More importantly, they built private schools and taught students from all over the country. As these students reached 'critical mass', they developed into networks centered on charismatic Western-trained teachers. The fluid yet strong bonds

(1948, 148), Gow (2004, 36), Beasley (1972, 122–3), Falk (1936, 59), Buck (1959, 121), and Cobbing (2013*b*, 23–4).

[70] About 60 to 70 men were chosen from the elite domain samurai school. Officers from the domain army and *rangaku* adherents who wished to study in Europe were also admitted.

[71] State-of-the-art British military textbooks were also available to Satsuma; its ports have been the entry point and distribution hub for Western military science and firearms for decades.

[72] During the last years of the Tokugawa era, Satsuma spent about 40 % of its income to the purchase of arms and the development of its forces. The domain combined domestic economic reforms and international trade to support this spending.

of brotherhood united by common ideals—including the values of military Westernization—underpinned these networks.[73] Upon graduation from the schools, the young samurais proposed ideas to their lords and gradually shaped the debate over military Westernization.

The shogunate also approved the creation of *rangaku* learning centers across the domains by the late 18th century.[74] This 'decentralization' of *rangaku*, coupled with the private networks above, created a broader awareness of Western studies. *Rangaku* then became more focused on the military sciences (Yoshida 1985, 192). International conditions, particularly Russian advances from the north, further facilitated this shift.[75] In 1811, the shogunate created the Office of the Translation of Foreign Works to translate works on naval gunnery and other military-related materials (Numata 1956, 242). This marked the shogunate's attempt to centralize Western learning to ensure that the powerful domains do not become too military Westernized. The shogunate then created the Institute for the Study of Barbarian Books (*Bansho Shirabejo*) in 1857 to study foreign military systems and weapons production (Beasley 1972, 121).[76]

Students and leading *rangaku* scholars came from all over the country, including Nishi Amane (1829–1897).[77] Nishi would be among the first few Japanese to study in the Netherlands in 1862. He was eventually in charge of the Tokugawa military school at Numazu, which trained cadets along Western lines, from modern military arts to various liberal arts courses (Hackett 1959, 214). After the Restoration, Nishi joined the military bureaucracy, where he investigated Western military school systems and helped draft military

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[73] Many of them also became rebel groups in the late Tokugawa era. See details in Jaundrill (2016).

[74] Within a decade or two, outside of the capital, there were at least 60 domains with their own *rangaku* academies or schools (Lehmann 1982, 125).

[75] During the 18th century, Russian explorer sand officials moved eastward, settling the great reaches of Siberia, pushing onto the Kuril islands, and fanning out along the coast of North America. In 1806-07, Russian naval officers led destructive attacks on Japanese settlements in Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and Etorofu islands. See details in McClain (2002, 130) and Gordon (2003, 48).

[76] Within a few years the Institute for Western Books was borne.

[77] In 1866, it had dozens of instructors in Dutch, English, German, and French (Medzini 1971, 88).

rules and regulations based on translated Western texts, including the conscription law of 1873.[78]. Not bounded to the shogunate, Nishi and others like him earned their place in the Meiji bureaucracy because of their knowledge of the West (Yoshida 1985, 200).

Western product champions and their descendants There were dozens of influential pre-Meiji Western product champions and their students became influential Meiji leaders, as Figure 5.3 below shows. In other words, Meiji Western-trained product champions were third or fourth generation Western product champions going back to the early 1840s.

[78] Nishi also organized a staff in 1874 to compile the first dictionary of military terms giving the equivalent terms in French, German, Dutch, English, and Japanese (Hackett 1959, 217)

Figure 5.3: Western product champions and leaders, from Tokugawa to Meiji

Trained in Rangaku (Dutch studies)

Takashima Shuhan (1798–1866)

Naka Tenyu (1783-1835)

E. Johannes Niemann

Egawa Hidetatsu Tarōzaemon (1801 - 1855)

Hirose Genkyō (1821–1870)

Ogata Koan (1810-1863)

Ogawa Mataji (1848 - 1909)
- Army General
- Commander, 4th Div.

Asada Nobuoki (1851 – 1927)
- Army General
- Inspector General of Military Education

Sakuma Shōzan (1811- 1864)

Omura Masujiro (1824-1869)
- Choshu Western military instructor and chief adviser
- Vice Minister of War and "Father" of Meiji's Westernized Army

Sano Tsunetami (1822 –1902)
- Helped establish Navy
- Red Cross founder
- Minister of Finance

Itō Toshiyoshi (1840 – 1921)
- Navy Vice Admiral
- Commandant, Naval Academy
- Chief, Navy General Staff
- Navy Vice Minister

Ōtori Keisuke (1833 – 1911)
- Translator of Dutch military manuals
- 1st French-trained officer under Tokugawa
- Infantry Magistrate (equal to 4-star general)

Katsu Yasuyoshi (Kaishu) (1823 - 1899)
- Admiral of the Fleet
- Helped establish early Navy org.
- Navy Vice Minister & Minister
- Privy Council

Yoshida Shōin (1830 –1859)
- One of Japan's most distinguished intellectuals during *bakumatsu* era
- Helped educate future Meiji leaders

Shinagawa Yajirō (1843 – 1900)
- Senior Vice Agriculture and Commerce Minister
- Home Minister

Inoue Kaoru (1836 – 1915)
- Minister of: Finance, Foreign Affairs, Public Works, Agriculture & Commerce

Itō Hirobumi (1841 –1909)
- Meiji constitution drafter
- Prime Minister
- Privy Council President
- Minister of: Home Affairs, Public Works

Maebara Issei (1834 - 1876)
- Leader of the Imperial Army at the Battle of Aizu
- Army Vice Minister and Imperial Council member

Kido Takayoshi (1833 – 1877)
- As Imperial Advisor, helped draft Five Oath Charter and abolish han system
- Chairman, Prefectural Governors Assembly

Takasugi Shinsaku (1839 – 1867)
- Founder of Western-trained Choshu militia units (shotai)
- Choshu military leader in pre-restoration wars against Shogunate

Yamagata Aritomo (1838 –1922)
- Minister of: Army, Home Affairs, Justice
- Field Marshal, Chief of General Staff
- Prime Minister, Privy Council President
- Creator of conscription and general staff system

Yamada Akiyoshi (1844 – 1892)
- Army Lieutenant General
- State Councilor
- Minister of: Industry, Home, and Justice.
- Established Japanese legal code, Kokugain and Nihon Universities

Sakuma Samata (1844 – 1915)
- Army General
- Commander, Central Division of Imperial Guards, Commander, 2nd Division
- Taiwan Governor General

Saigō Takamori (1828 –1877)
- Restoration Wars hero and Army commander
- 1st Imperial Guard Commander
- Satsuma military leader

Ōyama Iwao (1842 –1916)
- Field Marshal
- Commander, 2nd Army
- Army Minister, Chief of General Staff
- Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal

Note: ↓ = teacher–student relationship
Source: Author research from various sources.

First generation Western product champion: Takashima Shuhan[79]

Takashima Shuhan (1798-1866) was one of the most influential first generation *rangaku* scholars. He founded the Takashima school of western gunnery (hereafter Takashima–*ryu*) that the shogunate adopted in the 1850s. Yamagata credited Takashima as one of the first Western military product champions. Takashima was relatively autodidactic in his immersion of Western military knowledge because his family members were Nagasaki municipal officers. As a Customs Inspector, he was able to access the comings and goings of Western military products and books through the Dutch encampment in Dejima. He was convinced of the superiority of Western military technology and devoted his energy and income to study European military sciences. At his own expense, he imported from Holland hundreds of small arms, riffles, field guns, cannons, and textbooks. He also experimented in drilling and mobilizing small units. The Dutchmen at Dejima helped his activities.[80]

Takashima gradually perfected the first Western-style infantry drill exercises in Japan, which he demonstrated to the shogunate in 1841. He led more than 100 men in a comprehensive demonstration of Western-style artillery, close order drill, and mounted marksmanship. They learned the maneuvers from Dutch books and used Dutch commands. His Western-sourced ideas were then codified under the Takashima–*ryu*. The school was thus a syncretic style of Japanese musketry that incorporated elements of Western military science, including the organizational scheme employed by most 19th century Western armies and their combat arms (platoons, battalions, infantry, cavalry, etc.), the practice of close-order drill, and the reliance on Napoleonic tactical concepts.[81]

[79] Historical details in this part are drawn from Yamagata (1910, 200), (Goodman 2013, 155), Arima (1964, 361), Tolstoguzov (2018, 255), Rogers (1998, 194), Jansen (2000, 287), Jaundrill (2016, 14–29), and Goodman (2013, 155).

[80] He studied with Reserve Colonel Jan Willem de Sturler, Deshima station chief (1823-7), who taught Takashima the techniques and weaponry used in the Napoleonic War. The colonel also had extensive knowledge about armies, weapons, the military industry, and ballistic calculations.

[81] Although little documentation exists about Takashima's teachings, apparently the 'Secret Manual of

His demonstration so impressed the shogunate that the government adopted Takashima–*ryu*. The shogunate also commissioned Takashima to train the other domains, albeit in different degrees and scale.[82] As Takashima–*ryu* grew, its instructors played a central and often contentious role in the restructuring of the Tokugawa military order. To avoid ruffling too many feathers, especially after Takashima's false imprisonment, his students modified his teachings to suit local circumstances while maintaining the core of Western drills. As Figure 5.3 above shows, Takashima's students became teachers to future Meiji leaders.

Second generation western product champion: Sakuma Shozan[83]

Sakuma Shozan (1811-1864) is part of the second generation because he studied under Egawa Tarozaemon, one of Takashima's earliest students.[84] Sakuma was at the center of the development of *rangaku* in the mid 1850s because he was from the Matsushiro domain, which the shogunate ordered to survey other domains. Matsushiro was thus concerned with mathematics, surveying techniques, and coastal defense. Sakuma also studied and mastered Dutch military textbooks. He eventually served as the chief military advisor to his domain and persuaded his lord to order and boost his collection of Western military books.

Sakuma is perhaps best known for popularizing the idea that Japan should combine Western technology with Japanese values. With his well known slogan, 'Eastern ethics, Western science', he urged the Japanese to study the West because understanding Western knowledge was the key to master them.[85] Meiji leaders later embraced such ideas in their

the Takashima School', one of the school's early texts, was a translation of an 1807 Dutch manual.

[82] Over time, Takashima taught nearly 300 local warlords and samurais.

[83] Details in this part are drawn from Samuels (1994, 36), Jansen (2000, 288), Goodman (2013, 148–150), Beasley (2001, 149–50, 81, 211), Hirakawa (1989, 442), Chang (1970, 136, 151), and Rubinger (1982, 180).

[84] Egawa opened a Takashima–*ryu* school and forged guns for the shogunate and other domains. I consider Egawa to be with the first generation because while he was Takashima's student, he carried the school banner in its formative years because Takashima was imprisoned in the early 1840s to the 1850s.

[85] By 1847 Shozan concluded that the military superiority of the West was rooted in Western science. But the 'science' referred to in the slogan was not 'technology' narrowly defined—it was the broader knowledge,

own slogan *wakon yosai*, 'Japanese spirit and Western technology'. Sakuma also focused on the development of a Western-style navy which he believed was critical to Japan's defense.[86] More importantly, Sakuma also advocated a system of selecting and employing "men of talent" in military strategy and administration. This idea contained the seeds of later proposals, developed by his pupils and picked up by Choshu samurais discussed above: new Western military sciences involve new forms of organization and recruitment.

As a second generation Western product champion, Sakuma's ideas were important because he was an adviser and consultant to many domain lords. The shogunate also followed many of his recommendations. His influence was diffused through his writings and his pupils. Sakuma opened his own school which taught Chinese classics and Western sciences as well as artillery practice and fortifications. The school attracted future Meiji military leaders, including Yoshida Shoin and Katsu Kaishu.

Third generation western product champion: Yoshida Shoin[87]

Yoshida Shoin (1830–1859) studied military science and *rangaku* in Nagasaki and Edo, including under Sakuma Shozan. On his return to Choshu, he wrote many memorials on the importance of upgrading education in the arts of war and peace. He became influential in Choshu as he ran his own school in the early 1850s. The school attracted an extraordinary group of future Meiji leaders (possibly up to 80 students during its 3-year run). One of the Yoshida's key arguments revolves around the principle that learning should not be seen as an accomplishment but instead a provider of moral guidance for practical action. His teachings combined Confucianist ideas, samurai idealism, and practical application, including

arts, and sciences underpinning them.

[86] He also thought that asking the Dutch to help in that efforts would be preferable given Great Britain's growing aggressive colonial expansion in Asia.

[87] Details in this part are drawn from Jansen (2000, 291–3), Hackett (1971, 14), Hackett (1971, 15, 24–5), and Ryusaku, de Bary and Keene (1958, 647).

the adoption of Western military techniques. He also deplored the superficiality of upper samurai life and proposed that the domain ignore rank in its appointments. As we see above, Choshu's military westernization efforts were built around these ideas.

Yoshida's students were influential Choshu—and later Meiji—leaders, including: Ito Hirobumi, Yamagata Aritomo, Takasugi Shinsaku, Kido Takayoshi (Koin), and others (see Figure 5.3 above). Kido was considered the 'genius' behind Choshu's military Westernization and laid the groundwork for Takasugi and Omura (discussed above) to build the all-class military units. Kido, also a student of Egawa, helped draft the Meiji Emperor's Five Charter Oath and was part if the 1871 Iwakura Mission to the West. In short, Choshu's military westernization—and by implication, the post-Restoration military reforms—would not have happened without Yoshida's students and ideas.

Fourth generation western product champion: Omura Masujiro and Yamagata Aritomo

Samurais who studied *rangaku* during the late Tokugawa era can be considered the fourth and transitional generation of Western product champions. They cut their teeth during the bakumatsu but became leaders under the Meiji era. Two are worth noting (see Figure 5.3 above): Omura Masujiro (1824–186) and Yamagata Aritomo.[88] As we see above, Omura was a relatively established *rangaku* scholar and official by the mid-1850s. He studied English and read widely in the sciences and economics. In 1864 he translated a Dutch work on strategy from the standpoint of German military theory (Harries and Harries 1991, 14). He was a teacher and a researcher at the shogunate's institute of western studies.[89]

As a Choshu military leader, he successfully commanded the all-class units using

[88] There were future IJA officers younger than these two who were part of the same 'transitional generation' with experience and training from the Tokugawa era but directly observed Western forces (Lone 2000, 5). These younger officers would play a crucial role during the critical juncture discussed below.

[89] In 1856, under Omura's direction, a Dutch style battalion of eight platoons was organized at the institute using Dutch muskets (Arima 1964, 372).

European methods by combining modern tactics with traditional combat precepts (Presseisen 1965, 25). In the new Meiji government, Omura was the first Army Vice Minister and was known as the 'Father of the Modern Japanese Army'. He then sought to duplicate the policies he had previously implemented in Choshu on a larger scale, including the introduction of conscription along with the abolition of the domain system. Omura was also known to have favored standardizing the IJA along French lines and the new navy along British lines.

Yamagata carried on these ideas to fruition. His accomplishments in the Meiji era were numerous and spanned the military and civilian establishments. As we shall see below, it was under his leadership that the IJA and IJN emulated European military systems. His pre-Meiji credentials certainly helped his Meiji-era omnipresence. In Choshu, Yamagata helped organize an auxiliary force, drawn from all classes. Taken together, the direct line between pre-Meiji and Meiji era Western product champions further minimized the likelihood of intra-organizational conflicts over military Westernization.

5.3 Commercial Transmission

This section describes the diffusion of European theories of victory and corporatism to the Meiji armed forces through commercially-contracted advisers and trainers. I focus in particular on the training missions during the critical juncture between the mid-1870s to early 1900s. The critical antecedent, and the underpinning historical precedents discussed in the previous sections, shaped how the commercial transmission interacted with the military's personnel infrastructure quality. We can see this, for example, in how the limited military Westernization efforts of the domains provided the template for Meiji leaders in crafting the commercial contracts. As we shall see below, the commercial transmission of military knowledge was also embedded within the broader commercial Westernization Japan was engaging

in. Overall, I aim to demonstrate the facilitative nature of the commercial transmission that facilitated the diffusion of European theories of victory and corporatism.

5.3.1 Broader commercial westernization

Within the broader Meiji-era Westernization, there was no single foreign model for all policy areas all the time. Some Western countries were more influential in some areas at one time but not in other areas in another. The broader Meiji-era Westernization provided the parameters and templates for the military knowledge transmission process, particularly: (1) the selective logic of which model to commercially emulate, (2) the hiring of foreign advisers, trainers, or educators without interfering with Japanese command and control, and (3) the exposure of Imperial Japanese officers to Western military knowledge through overseas assignments and 'fact finding' missions.

Pick–and–choose the best parts

How Japanese military leaders decided which Western power to emulate largely echoed the selective logic of the broader Meiji Westernization efforts. The arguments of Ito Hirobumi (1904, 64), one of the regime founders, is worth quoting in length:

> "From the beginning we realized fully how necessary it was that the Japanese people should not only adopt Western methods, but should also speedily become competent to do without the aid of foreign instruction and supervision. In the early days we brought many foreigners to Japan to help to introduce modern methods, but we always did it in such a way as to enable the Japanese students to take their rightful place in the nation after they had been educated. I must say that sometimes the foreigners, and even the foreign nations themselves, endeavored to take advantage of the Japanese inexperience by passing men off as experts when they really knew next to nothing of the subjects for which they were engaged. We were, however, able to secure the services of many excellent men whose names are still honored in Japan, although they themselves have long since left her shores."

This argument consists of several salient elements. First, Japan realized early on that they did not want to be dependent on foreign powers for too long. Second, while Japan waited for its overseas students-officers to return, Japan had to rely on foreign trainers. Finally, Japan was aware that it needed to choose carefully which foreign model to follow. Meiji leaders had to develop specific Westernization requirements and assess how to best meet them. This 'pick–and–choose' logic underpinned the Meiji era Westernization efforts.[90]

The selective logic was necessary because of two problems. First, as different domains adopted different Western military systems (discussed above), creating a national army based on a single Western model while integrating both central and local government forces was challenging (Yamagata 1910, 201). Military leaders had to wait until the domain system was abolished in 1871 to address this problem. Second, military leaders were concerned that even if they could centralize the armed forces, adopting a single model across the organization was prudent. A "one size fits all" approach would have increased Japan's dependence–and its vulnerability–on the experience and expertise of a single country (Fisher 1968, 351). In this regard, military leaders had some flexibility as there was no single ideological literature or an elaborate vision of the future across the entire Meiji regime (Jansen and Rozman 1986, 10). Instead, as the Military Conscription Ordinance of 1871 noted, Japan's selection should,

> "be made after a survey of the past and the present, and adapted to the time and circumstance. The Occidental countries established their military systems after several hundred years of study and experience. Thus, their regulations are exact and detailed...We should now select only what is good in them, use them to supplement our traditional military system." (Ryusaku, de Bary and Keene 1958, 705)

By the late Tokugawa era, Japanese military leaders were accustomed to ranking Western nations based their relative military 'superiority or 'inferiority' and to subsequently choose

[90] Indeed, nothing distinguishes the Meiji period more than its disciplined search for models that would be applicable for a Japan in the process of modernization (Jansen 2000, 355).

the best that each had to offer (Hirakawa 1989, 464-5).[91]

Meiji officials, for example, initially allowed the IJN to consider the best practices of the Americans, French, British, and the Dutch (Fox 1969, 258). But they soon believed the British offered the best model for naval building and organization. Similarly, the IJA adopted the French model following a study trip by its senior leaders.[92] While believing the Prussian model was best suited for Japan, Yamagata organized the Imperial Guards along the French system. He also agreed that the IJA should be standardized along French lines to centralize the domain armies.[93] While other factors such as language were arguably at play (discussed below), Meiji leaders nonetheless examined what the Western powers were offering in the first place. In other words, due diligence was necessary before a selection.

The use of hired foreigners

The process of sending Japanese students-officers overseas and bringing them home might take years. Thus, Meiji leaders resorted to 'hired foreigners' to teach at various institutions and advise key ministries.[94] These foreign employees were meant to be "transitional" until the Japanese could "modernize" their own country (Umetani 1971, 85). The use of hired foreigners particularly suggests the importance of individual commercial contracts—as well as their limited but targeted scope and goals—in driving the Westernization effort, rather than relying on government-to-government missions providing 'capacity building'.

The military was the first post-Restoration institution to hire foreign advisers (Westney 1986, 164). But the method through which the IJA and IJN hired them were conditioned

[91] When the Japanese discovered that England, France, Germany, and America were the leading Western powers after Perry's arrival, they discarded the Dutch language and studied English, French, and German.

[92] Yamagata and Saigo Tsugimichi traveled to France, the UK, Belgium, Holland, Prussia, and Russia, carefully studying the military systems of each country in 1869 (Hackett 1971, 51-2).

[93] The October 1870 order of the Council of State noted that since the army is adopting the French system, each domain forces should first adopt the French system (Hackett 1971, 58).

[94] There was also an initial reluctance to send young samurais abroad *en masse* where they would be harder to control compared to hired foreigners in Japan (Martin 2006, 22).

by the broader Meiji Westernization efforts (which in turn was shaped by the pre-Meiji precedents discussed above). The shogunate employed at least 200 foreigners from 1854 until 1868 to teach or advise on technology, medical, and language studies (Jones 1980, 1). In this period, especially given the unequal treaties, hired foreigners were under the aegis of their respective nations—not the Japanese government—and knowingly or not, their employment became a means by which they exert pressure on Japan (Jones 1980, 3). The Meiji government learned the bitter lessons of this period and wanted to hire foreigners based on individual commercial contracts on par with those found in the West.

Scholars have different estimations on the number of hired foreigners, where they worked and for how long, and the extent to which they cost private and government Japanese organizations. Some suggest that there were less than 400 foreign instructors hired by the government from 1868 to 1872 in the domestic industries, the military, and education (Yamamura 1980, 163, fn. 49). Others show that in any given year of the Meiji era, there was a fairly constant use of 8,000 hired foreigners (about half were Chinese day-laborers and about 3,000 were professionals working in government service) (Burks 1985*b*, 194). Another estimates that hired foreigners gave the Meiji government roughly 9,500 man-years of service (Jones 1980, 7). In any case, the number of hired foreigners may have peaked in 1875 (during the critical juncture) but had declined since (Hirakawa 1989, 468).

Hired foreigners came to Japan by way of diplomatic representatives, foreign merchants, or advertisements. But the quality of the early hired foreigners were not satisfactory. Some of the problems were caused by faulty contracts. But they were also caused by the ambivalent status of hired foreigners: were they Japanese government employees subject to Japanese laws or were they foreign nationals subject to the their respective nations'?[95] The

[95] Foreign representatives, after all, viewed the employment of their nationals as a vanguard to commercial privilege and tried to make any hiring process contingent on trade arrangements. Japanese officials thus saw hired foreigners as part of the unequal treaty syndrome. See details in Jones (1980, 113-125).

Meiji government started to standardize regulations governing hired foreigners in the early 1870s. By 1878, the Japanese controlled all hired foreigners and Japanese officials administered or directed all projects. Thus, during the critical juncture period, 'official delegations' were replaced with well-regulated employment contracts (Jones 1980, 38–40).

But as commercial contracts became the dominant method to employ foreigners, the cost skyrocketed; contracts and and their salary structure became more detailed and institutionalized (Jones 1985, 241). Table 5.4 below shows the Japanese government spent more than $600,000 annually for roughly 300 foreign trainers and advisers for the armed forces.[96] In 1875, the IJA spent almost ¥150,000 for foreign employees and overseas students (Ono 1922, 22). The high cost of Western military trainers was emblematic of the broader Meiji-era cost of hired foreigners in general.[97]

Table 5.3: Hired foreigners in the armed forces and their monthly salaries, 1868–1900

Service	<$50	$50	$100	$200	$300	$400	$500	$600	$800	$1,800
Navy	3	27	90	29	23	7	3	5	1	1
Army	4	3	32	26	23	7	3	5	—	—
Total (monthly)	≈$350	$1,500	$12,200	$11,000	$13,800	$5,600	$3,000	$6,000	$800	$1,800
Total (annual)	≈$672,600									

Source: figures calculated from Jones (1980, 153).

By the critical juncture then, the Japanese managed to hire foreign trainers in regular and legal fashion, including in the military sphere (Smith 1976, 16). By 1886, around 20% of all hired foreigners worked for the IJA and IJN.[98] Figure 5.4 below shows the evolving

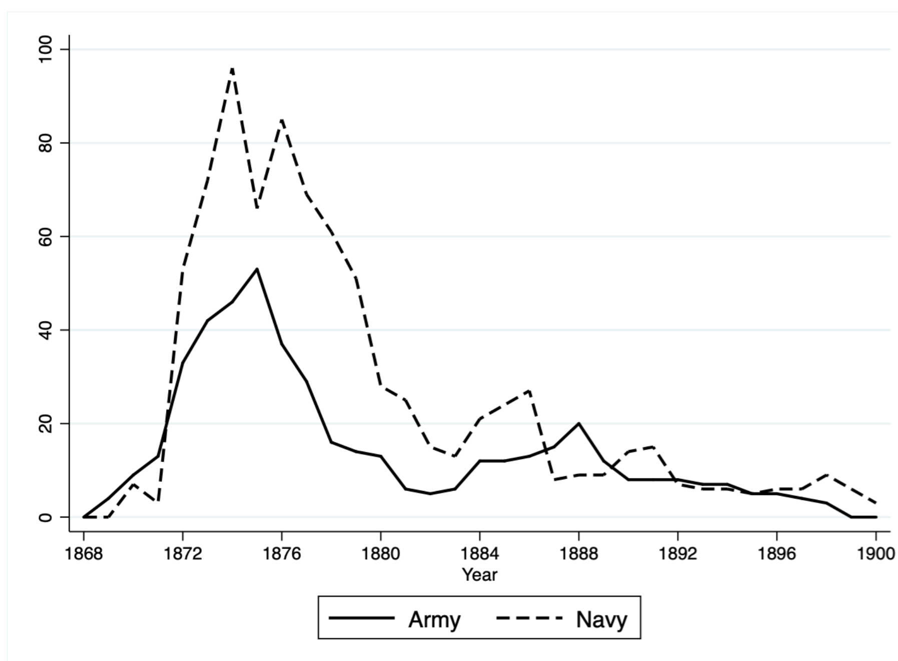
[96] The salaries of hired foreigners in Japan were often double the US average for their respective ranks and positions and more than double the European average (Jones 1980, 125).

[97] Between 1876 and 1877, the government spent more than ¥1.3 million for foreign advisers and trainers across all agencies, or about 2.3% of the annual (ordinary) national budget (Schwantes 1985, 215).

[98] Two years earlier, more foreign experts worked directly for the military than the ministries of commerce, agriculture, and communications combined (Samuels 1994, 89).

number of hired foreigners for military throughout the Meiji era. As we can see, the IJA and IJN hired most of them during the 1870s to the early 1890s. But the military did not use a single country as the sole model to emulate. The Navy Ministry, for example, had British trainers for naval subjects, while the IJA employed French instructors for cavalry, artillery, and infantry training, and German teachers and advisers for strategy development.[99]

Figure 5.4: Foreigners employed by the IJA and IJN, 1868–1900



Source: Author calculation from Jones (1980, 146-7).

But the use of foreign military trainers had a limited timeframe. The government, after all, employed foreigners to play a "subsidiary and temporary role" in Japan's development (Hirakawa 1989, 470). The French naval architects at Yokosuka, for example, were dismissed in 1876 as soon as the Japanese felt they could train their own staff. By the late 1870s, the government armories were producing artillery, ammunition and other supplies in large quantities without foreign supervisors. By then, the Japanese worked by themselves

[99] Italians were employed as canon-makers, Belgians as gunsmiths, and British as English teachers. Germans were also hired for music teaching and gunpowder manufacturing, Dutch as physicians, Swiss and Americans as language teachers. See details in Jones (1985, 231).

based on what they learned from the instructors and backed by officers who had been sent abroad (Kennedy 1924, 298). By 1882, all foreign instructors in naval training, except for language teachers, were dismissed (Mizuno 1931, 430). By World War 1, the Japanese had no more foreign advisors (Blakeney 1945, 96). These successes highlights the conscious efforts to 'localize' and take ownership of Western military knowledge in general.

Japanese officers' exposure to the West

Hiring Western trainers was a temporary solution while Japanese officers were being exposed to the West. There were two main methods to the exposure: (1) official 'fact finding' missions abroad to study foreign military systems, and (2) official assignments to Western countries, whether as attaches, students, or travelers. These methods were part of the broader effort to 'localize' Western theories of victory and corporatism by promoting those Western-exposed officers (discussed below). The methods were also carried over from the bakumatsu era (discussed above) as well as the broader Meiji-era Westernization efforts.

After the Restoration, the government sent dozens of foreign missions. But perhaps the most famous was the Iwakura mission to Europe and North America in 1871-73.[100] Its was mainly designed as goodwill visits to the heads of 15 countries that maintained diplomatic ties with Japan. But the mission was also tasked with studying their militaries and weaponry. If possible, it should also explore the possibility for treaty renegotiations.[101] Some members were assigned to study political institutions while others focused on economics, trade, or military technology. On the military side, members were taken around battlefields, ordnance factories, arsenals, shipyards, fleet depots, and port facilities. They

[100] Details on the mission in the next 2 paragraphs are from Väyrynen (1992, 39), Nish (2009, xvi–xxiii), Checkland (1989, 115), and Jansen (2000, 358).

[101] The mission consisted of 49 officials, including central Restoration figures such as Ito Hirobumi and Kido Takayoshi, and 58 students slated to stay overseas for several years.

were welcomed on board battleships and introduced to the latest technology and met arms producers. They asked to see academies and barracks and attended military parades.

The mission concluded that Japan needed broader modernization plans and that military Westernization should be a priority. As part of the process, Japan should sent officers to European powers to learn, observe, and report on their military systems (Cook 1987, 34). The dispatches were part of the attache or 'foreign resident' system where officers were attached to the Japanese diplomatic representative.[102]. Meiji leaders wanted these attaches to be qualified and well–educated. Thus, many if not most attaches since the 1890s were graduates of the Army War College (Tachikawa 2015, 177). Katsura Taro, an IJA officer who would later be instrumental in shifting the army outlook from the French to the Prussians, went to Germany as Japan's first military attache in 1875.

Japanese officers were also sent as 'resident observers' or 'language officers'. The former focused on some academic discipline or research, although they had to submit detailed reports pertaining to Japan's national defense (Yokoyama 2001, 120). The latter spent time studying the local culture, society, and politics, alongside their broader military intelligence gathering activities (Nish 1984, 18). These officers were generally not given specific assignments (Butow 1961, 15). Some used these designations to travel and 'study informally' with prominent military theorists, while others gathered intelligence and build local networks. In the 1880s, many IJA officers were sent to Germany while IJN officerss studied in the UK (Harries and Harries 1991, 49).[103] The difference between formal (e.g. Staff and Command College) and informal (e.g. attache duties) Western background might not have been strictly defined for the purposes of promotion. In the eyes of Meiji military leaders, Western exposure

[102] The origins of the Japanese military attache system could be traced to Colonel Kazukatsu Fukubara, the attache to Qing state in 1875 (Tachikawa 2015, 156). Up until World War 1, the primary countries of assignment were Britain, Germany, France, Austria, Italy, and the US. Many of these officers also collected important statistics on European armies (Hevia 2012, 408)

[103] A posting to Germany was a sign for a distinguished army career (Nish 1984, 18–9).

and 'training' was important improve an officer's career chances.

5.3.2 French military training mission

The IJA decided to adopt the French model in 1870. The decision was not strictly 'rational' in that it was not made purely out of French military prowess. In fact, the adoption was announced a month after the fall of the French army to the Prussians. There was a debate between Meiji military leaders over which foreign system to emulate.[104] Some leaders, including Omura Masujiro and Oyama Iwao, suggested that the IJA be modeled after the French and the IJN over the British. The French supporters included Saigo Tsugimichi and Yamada Akiyoshi. Others, including Yamagata, initially preferred the German model for its militaristic suitability to Japan's strategic outlook and environment.

The French was selected because: (1) the government inherited the French-modeled shogunate army, (2) only a small number of domains was familiar with the Prussian system, (3) more Japanese were proficient with the French language, which reduced the use of interpreters. There was also a small number of French-trained officers who could be the training counter-parts of a French mission. The Prussian representative in Japan, on the other hand, had no appetite to send a training mission; it was in the throes of unification at home and quarreling with France abroad.[105] Finally, it came down to timing as Japan had to quickly deal with pressing internal challenges, including dozens of uprisings. The French model thus provided a convenient and quick solution to unify and standardize the armed forces. The selection was less about whether the French model was the 'best' but that Japan had the

[104] Historical details on the intra-military politics over foreign models to emulate, and why the French was chosen, in this paragraph and the next are from Lehmann (1982, 270), Kublin (1949, 28–9), Hackett (1971, 58), Cullen (2003, 197), Jones (1980, 34), Presseisen (1965, 34), and Cook (1987, 40).

[105] There was another minority theory—most historians could not verify it: Japan wanted French and British withdrawal from Yokohama but both asked that the government to emulate the French army and British navy. See the arguments mentioned by Umetani (1971, 41) and Yamamura (1980, 169).

autonomy to choose which model it was emulating. The pro-French faction within the Meiji military also had the upper-hand at the time.

A corps of 428 students was organized after the French system in late 1870 and the government sent ten officers a year to study military science in France (Yamagata 1910, 206). But to avoid increasing Japan's dependence to France, the government preferred not to engage a training mission on a government-to-government basis. Instead, Meiji military leaders planned for a commercial engagement with individual instructors from France to give them the upper-hand to dictate terms. The Japanese knew what arrangement they wanted, which included, among others: (1) 26 instructors, (2) salaries and travel expenses were rank-adjusted, (3) the mission chief would be responsible for its members, (4) the duration should be 3 years, (5) Japan would provide housing and reimburse the furnishings (Presseisen 1965, 42–3). The contract also specified that the mission would focus on instruction and organization but have no command over Japanese troops. The mission also promised not to concern itself with political or religious affairs.

The contract was signed between members of the mission and the Japanese representative in Paris, which became the basis for the two missions headed by Lieutenants Colonel Charles-Antoine Marquerie (1872–1875) and Munier (1874–1880), respectively. The first team—five officers and 15 NCOs and trainers—arrived in 1872 (Upton 1878, 2). They established immediate rapport with Japanese officers, but their duties were limited to teaching and training (Jones 1980, 34). Yamagata made it clear he expected them to help Japanese officers "assimilate Europe's military teachings" while acting as "consultants to the Army Ministry in matters of military administration and finance" (Presseisen 1965, 45). He also expected the team to give instruction and frank opinions even though the regulations and command would be under Japanese officers.

For the next several years, French trainers instructed Japanese troops in tactics and discipline, in the care of equipment and uniforms, and taught them ceremonies and courtesy. The courses were wide-ranging, from naval architecture to gunnery. Technical classes stressed unit-level responsibilities and tactics from the battalion level down to the company under the command of Japanese officers (Upton 1878, 3). While the training was rudimentary, it brought a sense of discipline and order. The French also provided a set of rules for daily practice drawn and translated from French service regulations (Presseisen 1965, 46). In addition, the mission taught translated military texts and studies written by Albert Charles du Bousquet.[106] His writings on the French conscription shaped the Conscription Law of 1873 as well as broader debates over the state of civil-military relations (Umetani 1971, 43).

The French training mission thus transmitted new theories of victory and corporatism. To ensure that the IJA could absorb them, a few military educational and training institutions were established in the early to mid 1870s.[107] In 1873, the Toyama school was created to produce NCOs qualified to train the rank-and-file. A School for Musketry and Gymnastics, a Veterinary School, and a School for Practical Engineering followed suit. An arsenal which included workshops, arms manufacturing, and a pyrotechnical school along with the foundations of coastal defense were also set up. The Imperial Japanese Army Academy (*Rikugun Shikan Gakko*) was created based on the French military academy at St. Cyr. Despite initial delays, the Academy admitted 155 students in 1873. It taught modern education, including drawing and design, French language, physics, mathematics, chemistry, geography, tactics and artillery. French officers taught the military science courses.

By the Formosa expedition, the French had worked for about a year. Their operational

[106] He was a member of the French team that came to Japan in 1867. He then became an adviser and translator for the Army Ministry after that mission ended. More importantly, he wrote various studies on comparative military systems which were read or taught by the new French training mission.

[107] Details in this paragraph are from Harries and Harries (1991, 24) and Presseisen (1965, 50–2).

record was less than satisfactory as I note above. The Satsuma rebellion further exposed the limits of French military training that relied on detailed explanations to solve set-piece tactical problems in exercises. The order of battle rigidly divided formations into skirmishers, main force, and reserves. The battalion (about 800 men) was the unit for the purposes of instruction; little attention was given to large-unit operations. They also focused on artillery and insisted on the importance of field batteries despite topographical problems. French-trained Japanese officers admitted that,

> "their men had received little or no instruction in (brigade drill)...[instead] they devote their attention to small units and elementary details...They have by no means grasped the larger questions of brigade and divisions, outpost duties and the instruction of two opposing forces, tactics and strategy; they have left comparatively untouched institutions connected with commissariat, transport, military stores, and provision for the sick and wounded" (Knollys 1887, 245, 272).

The French on the other hand thought IJA officers were not ready for large-scale command logistics (Hevia 2012, 406). In any case, the Satsuma rebellion suggested to Meiji leaders that French instructions were irrelevant and that France was not equal to the Germany in organizational talent and general staff (Presseisen 1965, 52). Severe budget difficulties also made it difficult to keep the mission (Drea 2013, 78). But the government kept it a bit longer as the academy had lost dozens of cadets during the Satsuma rebellion. By 1879, the French mission was canceled. But the missions nonetheless established the educational foundations of the IJA, as French texts permeated basic regulations, organizational structures, rank designation, and even uniform (Kublin 1949, 33).

5.3.3 German military training mission

The diffusion of German theories of victory and corporatism did not happen until the 1880s; partially because of the French domination within the IJA and partially because German

politicians were not interested in Japan (Saaler 2006, 26). The Satsuma rebellion gave an opening to German product champions within the IJA to push through new reforms and switch to the German model. The selective logic of the switch remained: Japan had the agency to choose the best foreign model to provide advice, education, and training for its military. Scholars argue, however, that broader affinities made Germany a 'natural' foreign model for Japan. Both countries share similar historical paths toward modernization and unification, similar social structures and problems due to feudalism, autocratic government and weak democratic traditions, and similar special roles in society and politics for the military (Saaler 2006, 22). These affinities perhaps led Japan to copy Prussian constitutional monarchy with a dual line of authority between the Emperor and the legislature and predisposed the military to trump civil authority (Paine 2017, 6). Germany's state-driven militarism and modernization also appealed to the Japanese samurai elite trying to stabilize their own positions in the post-Restoration era (Martin 2006, 18). But while these affinities provide the larger backdrop for Japan's modernization plans, intra-military power politics and IJA's strategic calculus drove the creation of the German military mission.

Some argue the Prussian victory over France in 1871 led to the switch away from the French model—indicated, for example, in the role of German supporters within the IJA in shaping the 1873 conscription law (Lory 1943, 20; Mayo 1959, 49; Miyake 1996, 246). But as we see above, the Meiji military stayed with the French model until after the Satsuma rebellion. As one Japanese official noted then,

> "After deciding to adopt the French system, if we changed our mind only because France was defeated, this would give a wrong impression to other countries that the Japanese Empire has no backbone and is unreliable, and eventually it would become a laughing stock among the nations. We must guard against this" (Presseisen 1965, 39).

Thus, the widespread belief that the IJA switched to the German model because of the

Franco-Prussian War may have been a "pleasant fiction" (Westney 1986, 177). Instead, the IJA's selection of the Germans depended on the intra-military balance of power. When the group of French product champions held the organizational upper-hand, the French model came out on top, as we see above. But when the German product champions grew their power, the German model became the new model.[108]

The rise of the so-called 'German school' within the IJA also took place under Yamagata's tutelage. Many officers sent to Germany or were assigned to the Japanese legation there started to return by the late 1870s, including Katsura Taro and Nogi Maresuke.[109] Many of these officers seemed impressed with the professional (even if militaristic) attitude of German officers compared to their French counterparts, which they thought lacked "discipline and military seriousness" (Saaler 2006, 24). These German-trained officers were assigned to train troops and even took over some of the French training activities. The German product champions within the IJA grew further.

Katsura was perhaps the most influential German product champion.[110] He was one of the architects of modern Japan's military organization, governor-general of Taiwan, president of a colonial development society, founder of a major political party and the only soldier-politician to ever head three cabinets. Coming from Choshu, Katsura spent time with the Western-modeled *kiheitai*. After the Restoration, he went to Germany twice and studied military administration and theories at the Prussian military academy and war college. In

[108] The French group also lost an important proponent with Omura Masujiro's death in 1869, although several generals such as Guro Miura, Koyata Torio, and Tateki Tani continued to oppose the "Prussianization" of the IJA (Miyake 1977, 164).

[109] Other officers who would sustain Germanic influence within the IJA also served with the Japanese legation from the 1890s to the 1930s, including Oi Shigemoto, Ugaki Kazushige, and Ishiwara Kanji. Before the Satsuma rebellion, General Torio Koyata, Osaka garrison commander and a German product champion, was appointed Army Vice Minister in 1876 (Presseisen 1965, 61).

[110] Historical and biographical details of Katsura in the next two paragraphs are from Shingo (1965, 199), Drea (2016, 49), Lone (2000, 11–15), Miyake (1977, 160), Tachikawa (2015, 151), Hackett (1971, 82), and Harries and Harries (1991, 33).

his second tour, he was attached to the Prussian 3rd Army Corps and studied central and local military administrations. He also attended lectures at the University of Berlin and experienced the heyday of the German army and military science.

Katsura did not immediately become a rising star upon returning to Japan. In 1878, Yamagata offered him a captaincy, explaining to him that everyone must pass through the ranks. Katsura's first duties were to assess the IJA's performance during the Satsuma Rebellion. Gradually, he pushed the IJA to focus on its potential enemies and address its organizational problems by adopting German military models and hire German trainers. He was the German military 'product-champion-in-chief'. One of Katsura's earlier suggestions included a blueprint to create an independent General Staff, capable of assessing foreign military strength, planning an effective strategy, and ensuring its implementation. As we shall discuss below, the General Staff, under the command of the Emperor, became one of the lynchpins of the IJA's new German-inspired theory of corporatism.

By the 1880s (during the critical juncture), Katsura and other German product champions accelerated the shift to the German model. In 1882, the Army War College (*Rikugun Daigakko*) was founded along the German model and German instructors were hired to teach there. When it first started, the College had fewer students than the rules allowed, only three Japanese instructors, and a study program that covered tactics but ignored organization and logistics (Presseisen 1965, 96). Nevertheless, an institution had emerged that could justify using foreign instructors by signing private contracts rather than government-to-government mission. By 1888, German advisers had completely replaced the French (Saaler 2006, 24).

The 'Prussianization' of the IJA did not happen overnight. There was due diligence (an overseas mission to study options) and compromises forged along the way. The mission to Europe in 1884 was led by Army minister General Oyama Iwao (a French product champion

who spent time at St. Cyr).[111] It was supposed to provide suggestions to improve the IJA's efficiency and prevent political attacks on the military budget (Lone 2000, 18). Katsura was part of this 15-men mission, which spent time in Germany, attending army trials, witnessing arms production, and visiting schools. While Oyama had wanted French instructors for both the IJA Academy and War College, the balance of intra-military power shifted in Tokyo. Yamagata won the argument to hire German advisers as Japan was emulating the Germans more broadly (Presseisen 1965, 103). But Oyama had already asked the French to send a training mission while hinting to the Germans that they might want to send a similar team.

As a compromise, the French, whose teaching methods were suited to the untrained and under-educated, were allowed to instruct the Academy and the rank-and-file, while Prussian field regulations and military theories would be taught at the War College (Martin 2006, 38). The Japanese may have encouraged such dualism to benefit from the best military knowledge of both countries (Presseisen 1965, 109). In 1885, two infantry officers, Henri Berthaut and Etienne de Villaret, and two NCOs signed the Japanese contract. Berthaut would teach at the Academy and Villaret at the Toyama school. The officers were engaged for two years and had their spheres of activity carefully defined.[112] The French teachings appeared to have been too theoretical, simplistic, and elementary (Presseisen 1965, 104-7). This was in contrast to the teaching style of the Germans (discussed below). The War College had also replaced the Academy as the intellectual hub for the IJA officer corps.

It was at the War College that Prussian military theorist Klemens Wilhelm Jakob Meckel made his mark from 1885 to 1888 and shaped the IJA's theory of victory and cor-

[111] It should be noted that after seeing the Franco-Prussian War from both sides, Oyama remarked that he found Prussian frugality and discipline much more compatible with the samurai tradition than "the elegantly dressed French officers seen in public arm in arm with their ladies" (Roggendorf 1973, 120).
[112] The individual contract of Berthaut, as counselor and professor of tactics, for example, stated that he would stay away from any political question or from the administrative organization of the academy, but he can give indirect advice pertaining to the teaching of military science.

poratism.[113] Meckel, a veteran of the Austrian and Franco-Prussian Wars, came highly recommended. As a graduate of the War Academy, he had published extensively on tactics and new technologies, and had been teaching at the Staff College for years. He was also a practical teacher—even if he was steeped in infantry theories. Thus, Meckel's personal qualities suited the IJA's requirements. After some difficult negotiations over salaries, expenses, and contract terms, Meckel assumed his functions at the War College on March 1885. When he arrived, he found a deficient system unprepared to wage major campaigns as the French had taught theoretical proficiency but not practical war-fighting. But Meckel noted that IJA officers were eager to boost their knowledge and had a decent learning capacity. Meckel also served as the most important adviser to Katsura in his military reform efforts.

Among Meckel's first initiatives was introducing Prussian field-service manuals, which became standard across the IJA by the early 1890s (Hevia 2012, 406).[114] Meckel also reoriented the IJA officers towards large-unit strategy and tactics. The War College then extended its main course to three years and shifted its curriculum from a French-inspired 'technical proficiency' to a German-inspired 'broad education' in the arts of war. Except for foreign languages, Meckel refocused the new curriculum almost exclusively on military art and sciences, such as tactics, history, ordnance, gunnery, fortification, communications, and health and sanitation (Drea 2016, 59). To a large extent, such reorientation could seem 'theoretical' for Japanese officers, especially considering the broader foundation underpinning Prussian theories of victory.[115] But Meckel's unique blend of practical experience, grasp of

[113] Meckel's biographical details in this paragraph are from Drea (2016, 59), Lone (2000, 19), Jansen (2000, 397), Presseisen (1965, 105), Times (1904, 7), Times (1905, 7), and Miyake (1977, 163).
[114] These are how-to books that describe the organization and routines of an army. They help standardize military knowledge throughout an organization.
[115] The substantive content of Meckel's teachings was the product of the European obsession with Napoleonic warfare: short but involving massive amounts of troops charging ahead. Moltke and the Prussians believed, however, that Napoleon's system of personal command was obsolete. Local or subordinate commanders should now control troop movements welded into unity by a common doctrine. As we shall see below, such ideas resonated with the Japanese See details in Nickerson (1958, 350–7).

theory, and impressive pedagogical style minimized such concerns.

Meckel started with history, tactics, and the operation of the General Staff in the Franco-Prussian War.[116] He employed map exercises, terrain studies and field problems and was effective at placing a student in a supreme dilemma and then showing him a way out. He also shifted the War College orientation towards a broader conception of operational command.[117] His lectures drew senior officers from the General Staff, Army Ministry, Imperial Guard and others. Additionally, his regular staff rides dealt with possible invasion sites throughout Japan. Officers thus learned early on to deal with mobilization and troop movements.[118] He also organized a month-long large-scale maneuvers involving simulated landings and a repulsion of an invading army. Each portion of the exercise culminated in a critique by the commanding instructor followed by discussions with the results subsequently published. These practices not only ensured the place of Prussian theories in IJA strategic thinking but they also improved organizational learning. More broadly, Meckel's intellectual synthesis of operations with martial values also appealed to the samurai officer class.[119]

These social capitals that Meckel developed facilitated the diffusion of German theories of victory and corporatism. First, Meckel helped create the triangular command structure between the Army Ministry, General Staff, and the Inspectorate General of Military Education. I will discuss the changes in more detail below. For now, I want to note that Meckel believed each command should stand in equal relationship to another and work under the Emperor (Butow 1961, 5). Meckel's theory of corporatism was thus: the conduct

[116] Details in this paragraph are from Presseisen (1965, 108, 114-5), Butow (1961, 5), Hevia (2012, 407), Drea (2016, 59), and Mail (July 14, 1906, 33).

[117] He used the term 'military command' to stress lines of communication and the problem of supplies for large operation on the Asiatic continent.

[118] At each stage of the ride, Meckel would question his students, posing strategic and tactical problems as the terrain unfolded before them.

[119] Meckel preached that victory was not a function of weaponry. The decisive feature was psychological, an offensive spirit, which meshed well with the IJA's existing concept of *seishin*, or fighting spirit.

of operations should be a strictly military affair under the General Staff, while the Army Ministry focuses on administrative functions, and the Inspectorate General focuses on a comprehensive education system to produce expertise in command, staff, and service functions (Crowley 1966, 276). All of these were directly under the Emperor and not any civilian government.[120] There was a match between what the Japanese wanted—an independent general staff away from civilian control—and what Meckel was offering. Meckel also stressed a broad education for officers to perform civilian and army duties (Mayo 1959, 52).

Second, Meckel helped the IJA transitioned from a static garrison-based posture to a mobile division-based structure. Meckel described the division as a "self-sufficient organism supplying all its needs", and able to do "the work of the German Army group while requiring a smaller staff" (Mayo 1959, 51). Assigned to the defense of a specific area, the division controlled its own supply, recruiting and training. In peace-time, it consisted only of infantry and cavalry units; in war, the auxiliary branches were detached from Army Headquarters to the division (Mayo 1959, 51). Meckel also stressed that a light division was most suited for Japan's rugged mountainous and forested terrain (Drea 2013, 79). Meckel thus laid the foundation for how the IJA should incorporate topography into operational planning, weapons development and policy formulation. The division system thus paved the way for a more mobile and offensive posture and operations.[121]

Third, Meckel helped remodel the military's strategic outlook as well the IJA's operational doctrine. He reoriented the military towards Japan's broader strategic environment,

[120] These elements matched Prussian theories of corporatism, including a centralized command under the monarch, a training apparatus professionally organized through the General Staff, a large standing reserve with rapid mobilization, and new weapons manufactured by private companies. Meckel diffused these ideas to the IJA during his time in Japan. See details in Hevia (2012, 405).

[121] One could argue that while the division system was operationally offensive, in terms of quick deployment to advance an attack, the broader system was strategically defensive as it anticipated an attack coming towards Japan rather Japan seeking to occupy another country.

particularly Korea.[122] Meckel was preparing the IJA for overseas operations. As Japan lacked strategic depth, it needed the offensive capability to wage wars quickly and meet the enemy ahead before it lands in Japan. This objective required the rapid concentration of two divisions at the spot of landing to contain the invaders within their beachhead. The divisions should then move rapidly, coordinated by telegraph and railroad, and concentrate forces to repulse enemy landings (Drea 2013, 79). To accomplish this task, Meckel needed the IJA to focus on large-scale operational planning. To improve mobilization capacity, Meckel helped, for example, create an Army Service Corps in 1888 to oversee sweeping changes to the administration, purchasing, storage, and distribution of food and equipment. Meckel also suggested improvements to the railway systems (Harries and Harries 1991, 50).

Fourth, Meckel remodeled how the IJA planned to fight.[123] The French taught the infantry to use columns which dispersed when reaching the firing line. But Meckel advocated for closed ranks, advancing into fire, and deliver the maximum and demoralizing "shock" to the enemy. Such offensive logic was paradoxically facilitated by the growing use of the Minie riffles by the Germans and Japanese. The riffles were accurate up to 650 yards, which multiplied the 'beaten zone' (where assaulting troops must cross while exposed to fire) by six times than previous firearms. And yet, Prussian theorists like Meckel preached offensive movement by: (1) strengthening the fighting spirit, and (2) delegating mission command to the local units rather than relying on a single supreme commander.[124] The General Staff would not command any units, but kept contact through a rotational system which

[122] Meckel concluded that the security of Japan's home islands was contingent upon the 'independence' of Korea. No third country, he insisted, should be allowed to control Korea, the "dagger at the heart" of Japan (Crowley 1966, 277). The General Staff internalized this axiom.

[123] Historical details in this paragraph are from Peattie (1972, 18), Harries and Harries (1991, 50), Citino (2017, 5), Nickerson (1958, 352), and Presseisen (1965, 76–81).

[124] Meckel wrote the standard textbook on infantry tactics that favored offensive operations. He argues that all warfare must eventually adopt a forward course: the attack would prove easier than a retreat. Although new firepower made this approach harder, it stood a good chance with massed infantry because offensive operations provide a stabilizing element and carry the necessary energy to march forward.

assigned its officers from the battalion level to the army corps. Such delegated mission command should in theory facilitate the search for 'decisive battles'—where hard-fought offensive operations would be strategically worthwhile. In short, the Prussian theory of victory required brisk maneuver, high levels of offensive aggression, and a flexible system of command that give initiatives to the local units.[125]

The IJA codified such theories of victory. When Yamagata became prime minister in 1890, he declared Japan's security depended first on the protection of the 'line of sovereignty' and then the 'line of advantage', which was implicitly thought of as the Tsushima islands to the west and Korea as the buffer zone of protection (Hackett 1965, 248). This assumption underpinned subsequent military planning. Operationally, the infantry drill regulation of 1891 was only a slightly altered version of the 1888 German blueprint (Saaler 2006, 24). Meckel's tactics of deploying infantry units in heavy offensive assaults resulted in the horrendous number of Japanese casualties in the battle of Mukden in the Russo-Japanese War. Unfortunately, this way of 'sacrificing the infantry' fitted with the traditional fighting code of the samurai (Martin 2006, 41). Meckel's influence was further felt through the various policy memoranda he submitted as well the the translation and dissemination of his lectures and from the translations of his works that preceded his arrival in Japan.[126]

Hermann von Blankenburg and Ernst von Wildenbruch followed in Meckel's footsteps after 1888. But they never reached Meckel's popularity. Indeed, Meckel's impact on his students was considerable. There was an impressive number of War College graduates who ascribed their success in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars to his teaching (Roggendorf 1973, 120). Nevertheless, Germany was to retain its model function for the

[125] German analysts at the time called this system 'independence of the lower commander' (*Selbstandigkeit der Unterfuhrer*), although the term *Auftragstaktik* (mission tactics) has become more common today among scholars and military professionals.

[126] The subject of these memos, books, and lectures were wide-ranging, from coastline fortifications to the complexities of the divisional system (Martin 2006, 40).

IJA and Japanese officers continued to go Germany and the ‘German school’ remained the most influential group within the IJA (Saaler 2006, 28). Overall, the diffusion of German theories of victory and corporatism was facilitated by the commercial arrangement with Meckel, initiated and backed by a powerful German School within the IJA, and sustained by the placement of German-trained officers in key positions. This highlights the interaction between the commercial transmission and the personnel infrastructure quality of the Meiji armed forces during the critical juncture.

5.3.4 British military training mission

Anglo-Japanese military ties did not begin on a high-note, especially after the British bombardment of Satsuma in 1863.[127] But, as we see above, the British provision of Western trainers and weaponry helped Satsuma Westernize its forces.[128] The warming of military ties with the British continued after the Restoration. There was considerable contact between the British and Japanese naval forces, for example.[129] The British and the Japanese also cooperated in coastal surveys with Russian activities in the Kurile islands in mind (Fox 1969, 270). But as far training missions or ship provisions were concerned, the military relationship was largely commercial. As the Japanese student-officers paid their own way and the government gave large contracts to British shipyards, London did not mind becoming a reference model for the IJN to emulate. After all, there was already a precedent with the

[127] Following the unequal treaty, Britain stationed its forces in Japan in 1861 to guard its legation. In 1864, there were roughly 3,000 British and French troops. Throughout the late Tokugawa and early Meiji periods about 800 British troops were permanently stationed in Yokohama. Those numbers started to decrease after 1872 and the last were withdrawn in 1875. See details in Asakawa (2003, 17).

[128] Out of 94 Western-style vessels bought or built during the 15 years of the bakumatsu, 17 belonged to Satsuma and 15 of these were built in England. In 1865, Satsuma also sent the first mission of 17 students to England via Thomas glover, the Nagasaki merchant (Kiyoshi 1988, 174).

[129] There were royal visits, including from the Duke of Edinburgh in 1869 and later the grandsons of the Queen. These trips were important in establishing the relationship between the respective navies as larger Royal Navy ships made use of the Japanese repair facilities at Yokosuka and Nagasaki (Ion 2003, 9).

Tracey Mission in 1867 (discussed above). Some in London also thought that Japan was a potential ally against Russian expansionism in East Asia (Perry 1966, 311).

But the lynchpin was the IJN's reliance on British ships and education. The IJN initially required foreign assistance for all of its Westernization programs, from training to shipbuilding. By the 1880s, their requirements became more selective. Consequently, the IJN started to send a small but significant number of officers to the US, even if their best and brightest still went to the UK. Even after the 1870 decree specifying the UK as the model for the IJN, Dutchmen and an American still taught at the IJN academy for a time.[130] The IJN also gradually diversified its ship suppliers and ordered from various yards—French, German, American, and British—to profit from the special techniques of each (Perry 1966, 314). The British remained the dominant, but not the exclusive, supplier of ships.[131]

As far as theories of victory and corporatism were concerned, the British was the predominant influence. This stemmed from the 'market reality' that the Royal Navy was the best naval force in the 19th century as well as the post-Restoration domination of the IJN by Satsuma, a close friend of and product champion for the British. In other words, market forces and intra-military power politics, especially the role of product champions, facilitated the diffusion of British theories of corporatism and victory. We can see this, for example, in the 1872 request for a British naval training mission. The IJN academy superintendent, Nakamuta Kuranosuke, made the petition based on Japan's prior employment of Albert Hawes, a lieutenant of the Royal Marines, who briefly trained a small marine unit off Yokohama in 1870.[132] The Japanese also employed Frank Brinkley, a British Army

[130] A small number of Japanese cadets also went to the US, France, and Germany and some were placed on German and American warships for training cruises (Evans 1978, 83).

[131] In 1882, 19 out of the IJN's 28 warships were built in Britain. In 1894, 7 of the 11 IJN battleships were British-made and in 1904, 6 of the 7 battleships and 4 of the 8 armored cruisers (Marder 1981, 5).

[132] The Hizen domain employed Hawes to organize a small, but ultimately short-lived, marine corps and taught basic etiquette, discipline, and drill sufficient to present a decent ship and naval function to engage in international diplomacy.The Meiji government sent them to the Saga Rebellion (1874), the Taiwan Ex-

lieutenant, simultaneously with Hawes, to instruct in gunnery, mathematics, and foreign languages (Fox 1969, 263). These scattered hirings, however, were not satisfactory. Nakamuta's proposal was to create a broader training mission. Kawamura Sumiyoshi, a senior naval ministry official, supported and pushed for the proposal (Evans 1978, 77). Both Nakamuta and Kawamura were graduates of the Dutch-created Nagasaki naval school. Kawamura was also one of the former students and vassals of Satsuma's daimyo (Kiyoshi 1988, 174).

In 1873, the Japanese concluded a 3-year commercial contract with 34 men of the Royal Navy headed by Commander Archibald Lucius Douglas.[133] Douglas did not answer to the British legation but to the Japanese Navy Minister.[134] While receiving salaries from the Japanese, the mission members were forbidden to engage in any business or to interfere with politics in Japan. The Meiji government provided the housing as well as traveling and furnishing allowances. These arrangements were similar to the ones Japan made with the French and German trainers discussed above. Overall, the arrangements were commercial because Japan had more to say about what it needed, it paid for and controlled the knowledge transmission, and it could end the mission if it chooses to do so.

Douglas insisted on British standards. Employing Royal Navy regulations and routines, he spent two months designing the IJN Academy's prospectus, rules, and routines in consultation with the Navy Ministry (Kiyoshi 1988, 179). British-style uniforms, messing schedules, and daily ceremonies were part of the cadets' life. They imbibed the etiquette of the Royal Navy and acquired the outward forms of courtesy common to British officers (Evans 1978, 79). Douglas and his men also reoriented the Academy towards practical on-the-spot training (Umetani 1971, 43-44). Outdoor training in gunnery and seamanship was

pedition (1874), the Kanghwa Affair (1875), and other operations. See details in Asakawa (2003, 23) and Longford (1903, 482).

[133] Historical details in this paragraph are from Douglas (1939, 20) and Fox (1969, 265)

[134] He was not even permitted to inflict punishment on any subordinate for the violation of regulations without the minister's written consent.

also increased. According to a repot written by Douglas (1939, 26), when the mission arrived,

> "there were 125 cadets aged from 13 to 20 and about 50 Japanese officers and instructors. There were about another 100 cadets attached to the Junior school of the college under the supervision of some senior Japanese instructors. Although the cadets had read a number of books on seamanship and gunnery, they had not been grounded in any subject or taught to apply their knowledge."

The most enduring legacy of the mission was the extended training cruises. These began with the voyage of the Tsukuba to Hawaii and California in 1875 and became a permanent feature of cadet education (Evans 1978, 80). Soon, the gunnery school and training at Etajima was modeled over the British Gunnery School (Kennedy 1928, 35). British influence was also evident in the setting up of an engineering school at Yokosuka and improvements in the naval medical service. The mission also strengthened English-language education (Asakawa 2003, 23). British shipbuilders also influenced Japanese naval architects like Hiraga Yuzuru and Fukuda Keiji, designers of the great capital ships of the pre-World War II period (Evans 1978, 84).

But IJN leaders wanted to 'localize' the Westernization efforts. Dozens of students and apprentices were sent to England around the early 1870s.[135] Members of the Imperial Family also served in the IJN and trained on British warships. In 1872 a group of naval students landed at Southampton, including Heihachiro Togo, the future admiral and hero for the Russo-Japanese War.[136] This cohort became the first generation of IJN admirals and British product champions. More Japanese apprentices, cadets and engineers, as well as high-ranking officers increasingly attended British shipyards (Checkland 1989, 148). Naval officers tapped for key leadership roles were also sent to England and often served ten years

[135] A Lieutenant Etzaki, for example, served with the Royal Navy in 1870. Historical details in this paragraph are from Checkland (1989, 153) and Kennedy (1928, 36).

[136] The cadets were registered at the Thames Nautical Training College with further instruction carried out on HMS Worcester, permanently moored, and run according to Royal Navy service regulations. After their initial training, the young men were then assigned to sea-going training ships.

or more on English ships (Jansen 2000, 397). Meiji leaders expected that upon their return to Japan, they would shape the future direction of the IJN using the knowledge they gained of British theories of corporatism and victory.

The British influence on the IJN's theory of corporatism was less significant however. While British trainers molded IJN officers along their own example, the broader elements of civil-military relations followed in the IJA's footsteps. IJN officers, for example, were less concerned about liberalism or philosophical engagements of the navy's role in the state.[137] Further, the Japanese Navy Ministry and Naval General Staff were all headed by active duty officers, which differed from the board of admiralty in London with the First Sea Lord a civilian and cabinet minister (Evans 1978, 84). The Japanese did not sharply differentiate between the civil government and the military while the British did. The Navy Minister also enjoyed direct access to the Emperor as did a number of other senior naval officers. Above all, the IJN was a 'secondary' service to the IJA, while the British saw the fleet as its primary strategic weapon (Perry 1966, 319).

The British influence on the IJN's theory of victory was more profound. By the 1880s, the IJN Academy was transferred to Etajima and the Naval War College (*Kaigun Daigakko*) was set up at Tsukiji. The College became the foremost center for the development of tactical and strategic thought. In 1886 the IJN turned to Captain John Ingles to assist in the development of higher and technical naval education.[138] He was appointed as an instructor and adviser to the IJN—similar to Meckel's role for the IJA. While Ingles was satisfied with the IJN's good order and discipline at sea and ashore, he was concerned with

[137] Language barriers and a somewhat distant personal ties between Japanese and British officers may have prevented such development. "You can admire and do business with a Jap, but you can't like him as a friend," as one British naval officer put it (Marder 1981, 7).

[138] Historical and empirical details on Ingles and his legacies in the next two paragraphs are from Gow (2004, 36), Evans and Peattie (2015, 12-3, 36-49), Perry (1966, 315), and Asakawa (2003, 26).

the fleet's under-whelming plans and tactical proficiency.[139] To remedy the problem, he advocated for the replacement of sail-equipped vessels with steam-driven warships. He also pushed for a more grounded and advanced training of the IJN's line officers in modern science, particularly mathematics and physics. The IJN adopted these ideas. In fact, the scientific bases of steam and naval technology became an entrance requirement to the War College and the subjects of advanced training for admitted students.

During Ingles's tenure (1887 to 1893), he transmitted a wide-range of information from the Royal Navy. He lectured on a wide range of naval subjects, including the organization, formations, movements, and tactics of modern steam fleets, blockades, and counter-battery fire. The lectures were published and became one of the standard textbooks for the College. Equipment, training manuals, and copies of regulations also flowed from England as IJN officers studied at Royal Navy schools. Ingles also taught that for tactical flexibility and simplicity, he favored the line ahead (or single line) formation for the fleet.[140] He further argued that superior speed, firepower, and gunnery could compensate for weaknesses in conventional fleet tactics. The IJN adopted many of Ingle's tactical concepts and successfully applied them in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars. The bedrock of Japanese tactical naval doctrine thus stemmed from British theories of victory.

The IJN's localization efforts also produced a British-inspired theory of victory. The IJN hired Lieutenant Commander L. P. Willan to teach gunnery, navigation, and tactics at the Naval Academy in 1879. Willan wrote or edited several works on naval tactics which were translated into Japanese. Some of his students, including Shimamura Hayao, Kato Tomosaburo, and Yoshimatsu Shigetaro, became future instructors at the War College and

[139] He observed that the IJN fleet maneuvers were well-performed but the ships did not keep in close enough order. There was also a need for improvement in gunnery.

[140] When visual signals — flags, lights, or semaphore — were the only system of communication, the simplicity of the line ahead formation made it the most flexible.

shaped the evolution of the IJN's modern tactics (Evans and Peattie 2015, 12). These officers became British product champions, although there were always two British instructors at the War College from its foundation until 1938 (Lehmann 1982, 272). From time to time British officers have also been attached to the IJN for instructional purposes (Lawton 1912, 578). Taken together, the diffusion of British theories of victory and corporatism to the IJN was facilitated by the commercial nature of the contract arrangements with individual officers.The high quality personnel infrastructure of Meiji armed forces ensured those ideas could be interpreted and adopted across the organization, a subject we now turn to.

5.4 Personnel infrastructure

This section examines the personnel infrastructure quality of the military and demonstrates the promotion of Western-trained officers into key positions as well as the organization's high-level learning capacity. For the first part, I provide a statistical analysis of the career patterns of IJA and IJN officers using an original dataset I created of more than 600 officers from the late Tokugawa era to the end of the Meiji era. The analysis shows that, compared to any other career markers, having a Western studies background was a significant predictor of whether an officer will retire as a three or four-star general or admiral. In the second part, I discuss the organizational evolution of the IJA and focus on its career management and education systems. The analyses in this second part explain the statistical findings further. Taken together, this section shows how Japan's high-quality personnel infrastructure allowed the organization to understand and adopt Western theories of victory and corporatism.

5.4.1 Statistical analyses of career pattern

This sub-section examines whether and to what extent Western studies background mattered for the career trajectory of officers, relative to other factors. The presence and influence of Western-educated officers within the Meiji military elite also explains the presence of Western product champions—those advocating for and leading various military westernization efforts within the IJA and IJN. These officers were the top military elite and represented perhaps less than 20% of the entire officer corps from 1868 to 1912. There is also an inherent selection bias in the data, in that the published sources only record those prominent or historically influential officers. But such a high-level representation is important for my claim that the promotion of Western-educated officers to key positions was necessary for the successful diffusion of Western theories of victory and corporatism. In other words, as I focus on the extent to which Western product champions were present at key positions to implement military Westernization policies or changes, I need to demonstrate whether Western studies background impacted the career of the elite (upper-rank) officers.

Hypotheses

The central question I need to answer is whether, relative to other career markers, Western studies background (education, training, or assignments) had a significant effect for the career trajectory of IJA and IJN officers. If there was a significant and positive effect, then it was likely that there were new career pathways for Western-trained officers—they were also likely to be the Western product champions inside the organization. In other words, the presence of career pathways for Western-trained officers tells us whether Western product champions were in the position to facilitate the diffusion of Western theories of victory and corporatism. I focus on one central career outcome: high-ranking positions of leadership within the IJA

and IJN. Specifically, my dependent variable is whether an Imperial Japanese officer retired within the upper-elite rank, which I measure as a three or four-star general or admiral.[141] Several possible hypotheses could explain this dependent variable:

1. *Western studies background.* Having more Western–trained officers led the military corresponded to the broader Westernization of the regime. In other words, if the government engaged in Westernization, the military should promote Western-trained officers as well. Additionally, as the military faced imminent security challenges, looking to the Western nations—then considered the most militarily powerful—was a logical response. If the military needed to emulate the West to address Japan's security challenges, it was natural for the organization to promote officers who were well-trained or steeped in the ways of the West.

   It was also likely that the longer an officer underwent a Western education or training, the more likely he would have absorbed Western theories of victory and corporatism. The more an officer absorbed those theories, the more capable he would be in driving the Westernization policies in his organization. If the military leadership accepted those policies, he will be promoted to the top ranks. After all, Japan did not want to always rely on foreign trainers for long periods of time. Promoting Western-trained officers was one of the primary methods to 'localize' those theories of victory and corporatism. Finally, as Meiji Japan underwent the transition from feudalism to a modern state, the military's promotion of Western-trained officers also provided an important symbol of professionalism. Put differently, for Japan's armed forces to be recognized and accepted as part of the global community of 'civilized nations', it was important that the military promoted Western-trained officers.

[141] The IJA classified a three-star as General and a four-star as Field Marshal. The IJN classified a three-star as Admiral and a four-star as Admiral of the Fleet.

- Hypothesis 1A: If an officer had a Western studies background, he was more likely to retire within the upper general or admiral rank.
- Hypothesis 1B: The longer an officer underwent some form of Western education or training, the more likely he would have retired within the upper general or admiral rank.

2. *Pre-Meiji Western studies background.* Meiji political and military leaders were largely groomed under the late Tokugawa era. As many of them were mid-rank samurais and/or scholars educated and/or trained in Dutch or Western studies, the Meiji government privileged Western education or training. Similarly within the military, as many Restoration leaders were Western-trained or educated, the first generation of IJA and IJN leaders privileged Western education and training. The Meiji armed forces therefore should have valued any pre-Meiji Western education and training.

   - Hypothesis 2: If an officer had a Western studies background under the Tokugawa era, he was more likely to retire within the upper general or admiral rank in the Meiji era.

3. *Domain affiliation.* Meiji Japan was supposed to transition away from Tokugawa-era feudalism where power resided in the balance among competing domains. But because one group, led by Satsuma and Choshu, defeated the shogunate, many Meiji leaders came from that group. As their foundational base was relatively narrow, factionalism grew. Leaders from a few powerful domains were likely to trust people from their own domains. The legacy of pre-Meiji inter-domain competition, after all, was deeply rooted that even after seizing power, domains still competed with one another. Within the military, this manifested in the promotion of officers from a few domains by those from the same domains. Satsuma military leaders were likely to groom and promote those from Satsuma as much those from Choshu would promote those from Choshu. Having an affiliation with Satsuma or Choshu (the victors of the Restoration) was thus

a path to a successful military career in the Meiji era.

- Hypothesis 3: If an officer had an affiliation with or came from the Satsuma or Choshu domains, then he was more likely to retire within the upper general or admiral rank, regardless of his professional qualifications or performance.

4. *Professional education and training.* One of the key foundational traits of Western militaries was the institutionalization of professional education and training. For the IJA and IJN, education and training reforms centered on the respective academies and war colleges. As these institutions were affiliated with or established through the assistance of Western nations—France and Germany for the IJA and England for the IJN—attendance or graduation from these schools became an important career marker. Officers who needed to rise through the ranks must meet such educational qualifications. After all, military professionalism was important to ensure that Japan could better meet its security challenges.

- Hypothesis 4A: If an officer graduated from the IJA or IJN Academy, then he was more likely to retire within the upper general or admiral rank.
- Hypothesis 4B: If an officer graduated from the IJA or IJN Staff or War Colleges, then he was more likely to retire within the upper general or admiral rank.

These hypotheses should help us understand what personal and professional characteristics were correlated with a successful career in the IJA and IJN (i.e. retire within the upper-elite rank). The hypothesis of interest is Hypothesis 1, whether having a Western studies background improved an officer's career. If the hypothesis is supported, then it was likely that there were new career pathways for Western-trained officers who were also likely to be Western product champions. Conversely, if the hypothesis is not supported, then it was unlikely that there were new career pathways for Western-trained officers or that there were

powerful Western product champions. Examining the career pattern of Meiji elite officers thus allows us to estimate the organizational effects of Western education and training.

Statistical test and analysis

I translate the hypotheses and outcome into the variables listed in Table 5.5 below. Table 5.6 provides summary statistics of the variables. But I want to note first the important traits of the Meiji military elite and look at the broader patterns of the Meiji military elite structure in Table 5.7 below. First, despite the claims that the Satsuma and Choshu domination of the *hanbatsu* (clan cliques) system dominated Meiji military politics (Humphreys 1995; Crowley 1962), the data suggests that over time, those domains only consisted of 13% and 10%, respectively, of the military elite. The 'nationalization' of the IJA and IJN also ensured that most if not all of the significant domains across Japan were represented in the officer corps.[142] Further statistical analysis below shows domain affiliations were less significant in predicting a successful military career. The analysis separately confirms the broader conclusions made by Evans (1978) that military *hanbatsu* was only significant in the *early* Meiji era. I discuss this evolution of the Satsuma-Choshu influence in the next subsection.

Second, many of the Meiji military elite were highly educated—nearly half (42%) graduated from the War Colleges and almost all (86%) were Academy graduates. I discuss why and how they became highly educated—and their implications for organizational learning—in the next section. Suffice to note that, despite the lingering legacies of feudalism, the Meiji military elite received extensive professional education.

Third, roughly half of the Meiji military elite had some form of Western studies background (roughly three times more than the Indonesian military in chapter 4). This

[142] The IJA's youth cadet schools (founded in 1887) dispersed the geographical representation of the officers corps as they recruited and trained from all over the country (Humphreys 1995, 11).

Table 5.4: Variable measurement and coding

Variable	Measurement	Type
Upper elite rank	Last rank as either General/Admiral (3-star) or Field Marshal/Admiral of the Fleet (4-star)	Dummy
Western studies background	Had received formal or informal education, training, or assignment at a Western country at least once	Dummy
Western studies duration	Total length of education and training at or assignment with a Western country	Continuous
Pre-Meiji Western studies background	Had received formal or informal education, training, or assignment at a Western country at least once before the Meiji era	Dummy
Satsuma & Choshu origins	Had affiliations with or originated from the Satsuma or Choshu domains	Dummy
Academy graduate	Graduated from either the IJA or IJN Academy	Dummy
Staff/War College graduate	Graduated from either the IJA or IJN Staff/War Colleges	Dummy

Table 5.5: Summary statistics

Variable	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Upper elite rank	684	.211	.409	0	1
Western studies background	684	.422	.494	0	1
Western studies duration	684	1.77	2.66	0	12
Pre-Meiji Western studies background	684	.233	.151	0	1
Satsuma & Choshu origins	684	.220	.415	0	1
Academy graduate	684	.856	.350	0	1
Staff/War College graduate	684	.416	.493	0	1

suggests that there were important career pathways for Western-trained officers to climb through the upper ranks. The more we see Western-trained officers in key positions, the more likely there were sufficient Western product champions driving the military Westernization efforts. In other words, there was enough of a 'critical mass' of Western-trained officers. I show further below that a Western-studies background was more significant, compared to other career markers, in predicting the successful career trajectory of IJA and IJN officers.

Fourth, there were different types of Western studies background. Some were trained in Dutch studies and some were formally educated at Western schools. But these formally-trained officers were only about 6% of the sample. Many Western-trained officers were instead educated informally, including through assignments as attaches or language officers

and 'independent' study travels. Such informal education gave the IJA and IJN the flexibility to choose the information or intelligence they needed from Western nations at a cheaper cost. The assigned officers also had liberty to learn or find the information he needed in his own pace, time, and rhythm—without dealing with rigid class structures or the controlled environment of a formal education. This was also perhaps why the average duration of a Western education, training, or assignment for IJA/IJN officers was about two years to help them gain enough understanding of their information-gathering duties. Taken together, the formally-trained group would pass on their knowledge to younger officers and students back home while the informally-trained group could supplement whatever information the former group did not acquire while advising the broader military establishment.

Fifth, the Western countries represented in the sample as the provider of education and training fitted the broader transmission process discussed above. Germany, England, France, and the US constituted almost 60% of all Western education, training, or assignment for IJA and IJN officers. Germany and France were influential foreign models for the IJA and England for the IJN (with the US coming in second in the late Meiji era).

Finally, an eyeball test of the composition of the senior ranks indicates a well-institutionalized promotion system. The pyramid structure of the senior ranks—there should be more one-star generals than four-star ones—suggests there were no particularly problematic promotional logjams within the officers corps as we witnessed in the Indonesian military (chapter 4). Indeed, there were more Lieutenant Generals/Vice Admirals (2-stars) than Generals/Admirals (3-stars) and Field Marshals/Admirals of the Fleet (4-stars).[143] I will discuss other indicators of the institutionalized career management in the next section. For now, I want to note the rise of Western-trained officers appear correlated with the institutionaliza-

[143] By the late Meiji era, there were many Major Generals/Rear Admirals about to be promoted. The three and four-stars were largely educated in or products of the late Tokugawa and early Meiji eras. This is why we see one-stars reflected in about less than a third of the sample.

tion of career management. Taken together, the descriptive statistics in Table 5.7 tells us that: (1) there were plenty of Western-trained IJA/IJN senior officers, (2) even if many of them received their education, training, and assignment through informal means, and (3) that the institutionalization of the promotion policies may have facilitated the process of placing Western-trained officers in key positions.

Inferential statistics To know whether there were new career pathways for Western-educated officers, we should test for the significance of Western studies background for the successful career trajectory of IJA and IJN officers. As the dependent variable is categorical (upper elite rank membership), I use a logistic regression model to test the hypotheses:

$$\begin{aligned} Uppereliterank = \alpha + \beta_1 WestEdu + \beta_2 WestDuration + \beta_3 WestPreMeiji \\ + \beta_4 SatsumaChoshu + \beta_5 Academy + \beta_6 WarCollege + \varepsilon \end{aligned} \tag{5.1}$$

I run six different regressions to assess the hypotheses in two steps. First, I focus on a combined IJA and IJN sample with two separate models (see Table 5.8 below). Model 1 consists of all IJA and IJN officers including those who did not graduate from the service academies (i.e. officers mainly from the Tokugawa era). Model 2 focuses only on those IJA and IJN officers who graduated from the academies. Second, I separate the sample into IJA and IJN with four separate models (see Table 5.9 below). Model 3 and Model 5 looks at the entire IJA and IJN samples, respectively, including those who did not graduate from the academies. Model 4 and Model 6 only looks at the IJA and IJN officers, respectively, within the sample of academy graduates. These separate regressions should suggest to us the extent to which Western-studies background shaped the career trajectory of IJA and IJN officers and whether the effects were stronger in one service or another.

Table 5.6: Expanded descriptive statistics of Meiji Japan military elite

	IJA	IJN	N	%	Total N
Domain representation⋆					
Satsuma	31	55	86	13%	684
Choshu	54	11	65	10%	684
Tokyo	20	43	63	9%	684
Hizen	9	39	48	7%	684
Education					
Academy graduate (1870 – 1917)	328	258	586	86%	684
Staff/War College graduate (1884 – 1906)	203	82	285	42%	684
Western studies background⊕					
Pre-Meiji Dutch/Western studies	10	6	16	2%	684
Formal education (civilian and/or military)	9	16	25	4%	684
Informal education (study trip/travel, attache, language officer, training/attachment)	166	108	274	40%	684
Average duration of Western background (yrs)†	1.78	1.75			
Western countries providing training/education⋄					
Germany	71	20	91	31%	289
England	22	55	77	27%	289
France	38	14	52	18%	289
United States	16	30	46	16%	289
Other European countries	82	32	114	39%	289
Senior ranks					
Field Marshal/Admiral of the Fleet	16	6	22	3%	684
General/Admiral	84	39	123	18%	684
Lieutenant General/Vice Admiral	238	117	355	52%	684
Major General/Rear Admiral	31	153	184	27%	684

Notes:
⋆ = A total 73 domains were represented, including the Imperial House
⊕ = Some officers experienced more than one type of Western-studies education, training, or assignment. The figures count all of the types of Western studies background but do not account for those officers who experienced more than one type.
† = N: 170 for IJA and N: 112 for IJN. These were the only officers with specific Western studies background duration details.
⋄ = Where officers study/train at least once in their careers, but some officers went to at least two or more different Western countries throughout their career

Table 5.7: Logistic regression of IJA and IJN officers career trajectory (combined)

	DV = Upper general/admiral rank upon retiring (3 and 4 stars)⋆	
	All (academy & non-academy)	Academy graduates
	(Model 1)	(Model 2)
Western studies background (pre and post-Restoration)	1.499***	1.467***
	(4.81)	(4.22)
Duration of Western studies (yrs)	0.0177	0.0379
	(0.36)	(0.66)
Pre-Meiji Western studies background	0.523	1.793
	(0.89)	(1.42)
Satsuma & Choshu origins	0.594*	0.420
	(2.52)	(1.51)
Academy graduate	– 0.819**	
	(-2.62)	
Staff/War College graduate	0.541*	0.548*
	(2.31)	
Cons.	– 1.900***	-1.240
	(-6.20)	
N	684	586

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Notes:
⋆ = For the Army, General (3 stars) and Field Marshal (4 stars) and for the Navy, Admiral (3 stars) and Admiral of the Fleet (4 stars)

Table 5.8: Logistic regression of IJA and IJN officers career trajectory (per service)

	DV = Upper general/admiral rank upon retiring (3 and 4 stars)⋆			
	Army (all)†	Army (academy)	Navy (all)†	Navy (academy)
	(Model 3)	(Model 4)	(Model 5)	(Model 6)
Western studies background	1.222**	1.275**	1.862***	1.715**
	(3.15)	(3.10)	(3.36)	(2.62)
Duration of Western studies (yrs)	0.0391	0.0257	0.0341	0.0638
	(0.56)	(0.36)	(0.44)	(0.64)
Pre-Meiji Western studies background	0.308	1.670	0.723	
	(0.39)	(1.30)	(0.76)	
Satsuma & Choshu origins	0.528	0.418	0.567	0.347
	(1.77)	(1.24)	(1.40)	(0.69)
Academy graduate	– 1.392**		– 0.294	
	(-2.62)		(-0.61)	
Staff/War College graduate	0.506	0.564	0.152	0.152
	(1.61)	(1.76)	(0.36)	(0.35)
Cons.	0.980*	– 2.408***	– 2.871***	– 3.115***
	(-2.41)	(-7.58)	(-5.45)	(-7.77)
N	369	328	315	258

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Notes:
⋆ = For the Army, General (3 stars) and Field Marshal (4 stars) and for the Navy, Admiral (3 stars) and Admiral of the Fleet (4 stars)
† = Officers who both went through the Academy post-Restoration as well as those who came through the Tokugawa era but became senior leaders in the Meiji era without Academy training.

Model 1

In this model, having a pre-Meiji Western studies background, or spending more time at a Western military institution, did not have significant effects on whether officers retired within the upper military elite. Instead, having a Western studies background, coming from Satsuma and Choshu, and graduating from the academies and war colleges, all have significant effects on whether officers retired as three or four-star generals/admirals. But having a Western studies background was highly significant and positively correlated to retiring within the upper military elite. The log odds magnitude of having a Western studies background is 1.499 which corresponds to an odds ratio of 4.47. In other words, the odds of an officer with a Western studies background retiring either as a three- or four-star general/admiral was more than 4 times higher than if he did not have such a background.

The findings support Hypotheses 1A, 3, and 4B but not Hypotheses 1B, 2, and 4A. These results however are less than conclusive for our primary variable of interest. While having a Western studies background was highly significant, we cannot be sure whether its effect was analytically diluted by the other variables. How do we know that the career pathways for Western-trained officers were more or less important than the career pathways for those who graduated from the War College? That graduating from the academy was negatively correlated and statistically significant is also hard to explain as academy graduation was almost a necessary pre-requisite to be promoted. Model 1 therefore does not provide us with the best estimation to understand the effects of Western studies background for the career trajectory of IJA and IJN officers.

Model 2

This model focuses only on the Academy graduates. In this model, the duration of Western

studies, having a pre-Meiji Western studies background, coming from the Satsuma-Choshu domains, all did not have significant effects on whether an IJA/IJN officer retired as a three- or four-star general/admiral.[144] Instead, having a Western studies background and having graduated from the War College had a positive and significant correlation with retiring within the upper military elite. Having a Western studies background was more significant than graduating from the War College. The log odds magnitude of having a Western studies background is 1.467 which corresponds to an odds ratio of 4.334. In other words, the odds of an officer with a Western studies background retiring either as three or four-star general/admiral was more than 4 times higher than if he did not have such as a background. This result is similar to the result from Model 1 above.

Overall, the findings do not support Hypotheses 1B, 2, 3, 4A but support Hypotheses 1A and 4B. They suggest that for the combined sample of IJA and IJN officers, Model 2 provides a more specific estimation of the effects of Western studies background compared to Model 1. Western studies background was still a highly significant predictor of a successful career. The problem for our variable of interest is the fact that the War College also provided a significant positive predictor (even if smaller in magnitude and significance). It is likely that for those who graduated from the Academy, having both a Western studies background and graduating from the War College provided an officer with a better chance to retire within the upper military elite. But it is also possible that such positive effects might be different between the IJA and IJN.

Model 3

This model focuses only on the IJA but includes both Academy and non-Academy grad-

[144] For the IJA, there were some officers who had pre-Meiji Western studies background but also went through the academy training in the Meiji era. There were no such officers for the IJN.

uates. In this model, the duration of Western studies, having a pre-Meiji Western studies background, coming from the Satsuma-Choshu domains, and graduating from the War College, all did not have significant effects on whether an IJA officer retired as a three- or four-star general. Instead, graduating from the Academy had a significant but negative correlation with retiring within the upper elite. But having a Western studies background had a positive and significant correlation with retiring within the upper elite. The log odds magnitude of having a Western studies background is 1.222 which corresponds to an odds ratio of 3.339. In other words, the odds of an IJA officer with a Western studies background retiring either as three or four-star general was more than 3 times higher than if he did not have such as a background.

Thus, the findings support Hypothesis 1A but do not support Hypotheses 1B, 2, 3, 4A, and 4B. Model 3 thus provides a better estimation—compared to Model 1 and Model 2—of the effects of Western studies background, although the scope only applies to the IJA. But as Model 3 incorporated non-Academy officers, it is unclear for these officers whether Western studies background or the fact that they were military leaders under Tokugawa provided the heavy-lifting. That graduating from the academy is negatively correlated and statistically significant is hard to explain as academy graduation was almost a necessary, although not always sufficient, pre-requisite to rise through the ranks. Model 3 nonetheless shows the positive significance of having a Western studies background for IJA officers.

Model 4

This model focuses only on the IJA's academy-graduates. In this model, the duration of Western studies, having a pre-Meiji Western studies background, coming from the Satsuma-Choshu domains, and graduating from the War College, all did not have significant effects

on whether an IJA officer retired as three- or four-star general. Instead, having a Western studies background had a positive and significant correlation with retiring as a three- or four-star general. The log odds magnitude of having a Western studies background is 1.275 which corresponds to an odds ratio of 3.57. In other words, the odds of an IJA officer with a Western studies background retiring either as three or four-star general was more than 3 times higher than if he did not have such as a background.

Thus, the findings support Hypothesis 1A but do not support Hypotheses 1B, 2, 3, 4A, and 4B. Model 4 also reports similar results with Model 3 but provides a better estimation of the effects of Western studies background. Model 4 suggests that within the sample of IJA officers who graduated from the Academy, the best predictor of a successful career is only having a Western studies background. Model 4 thus shows that for the IJA, having a Western studies background is more important than other career markers.

Model 5

This model focuses on the IJN but includes both Academy and non-Academy graduates. In this model, the duration of Western studies, having a pre-Meiji Western studies background, coming from the Satsuma-Choshu domains, and graduating from the Academy and the War College, all did not have significant effects on whether an IJN officer retired as three- or four-star admiral. Instead, having a Western studies background had a positive and significant correlation with retiring as a three- or four-star admiral. The log odds magnitude of having a Western studies background is 1.862 which corresponds to an odds ratio of 6.47. In other words, the odds of an IJN officer with a Western studies background retiring either as three or four-star admiral was more than 6 times higher than if he did not have such as a background.

This figure is almost double compared to the IJA and suggests that the IJN might

have been more eager to promote Western-trained officers. The findings support Hypothesis 1A but not Hypotheses 1B, 2, 3, 4A, and 4B. Model 5 provides a good estimation of the effects of Western studies background within the IJN relative to other career markers. But as Model 5 also incorporated non-Academy officers, it is unclear for these officers whether Western studies background or the fact that they were military leaders under Tokugawa provided the heavy-lifting. Model 5 nonetheless shows the positive significance of having a Western studies background for IJN officers.

Model 6

This model focuses on the IJN's Academy-graduates. In this model, the duration of Western studies, having a pre-Meiji Western studies background, coming from the Satsuma-Choshu domains, and graduating from the academy and the war college, all did not have significant effects on whether an IJN officer retired as a three- or four-star admiral. Instead, having a Western studies background had a positive and significant correlation with retiring as a three- or four-star admiral. The log odds magnitude of having a Western studies background is 1.715 which corresponds to an odds ratio of 5.55. In other words, the odds of an IJN officer with a Western studies background retiring either as three or four-star admiral is more than 5 times higher than if he did not have such as a background. For academy graduates, the magnitude of having a Western studies background was smaller compared to the effects for the combined sample of Academy and non-Academy graduates.

The findings support Hypothesis 1A but not Hypotheses 1B, 2, 3, 4A, and 4B. Model 6 reports similar results with Model 5 but focuses on the sample of IJN Academy graduates. Model 4 suggests that within the sample of IJA officers who graduated from the Academy, the best predictor of a successful career is only having a Western studies background. Model

6 meanwhile shows that for the IJN, having a Western studies background is more important than other possible career markers.

The above analyses are summarized in Table 5.9 below. It shows that Western studies background provided the strongest predictor for a successful career. Across all models, Western-trained officers had higher a probability to retire as three- or four-star general/admiral. The odds of a Western-trained officer retiring within the upper-elite rank was roughly more than three times (for the IJA) and between five and six times (for the IJN) more than those without such a background. One can safely argue that there were bright career pathways for Western-trained officers in the Meiji era. The statistical findings however could not tell us *how* Western-trained officers were promoted or how they became product champions. We must now turn to the organizational evolution of the IJA.

Table 5.9: Summary of results of hypotheses (H) and models (M)

	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	Overall
H1A: Western studies	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Strong support
H1B: Western studies duration	No	No	No	No	No	No	No support
H2: Pre-Meiji Western studies	No	No	No	No	No	No	No support
H3: Satsuma-Choshu affiliation	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	Weak support
H4A: Academy graduate	No	No	No	No	No	No	No support
H4B: War College graduate	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No	Weak support

Notes:
Yes = Statistically significant and/or positively/negatively correlated as predicted by hypothesis
No = Not Statistically significant and/or not positively/negatively correlated as predicted by hypothesis

5.4.2 Structural evolution of IJA

The IJA did not achieve a successful emulation overnight.[145] By the time the critical juncture started in the 1870s, the military was unified and organizationally prepared to adopt and implement Western theories of victory and corporatism. Understanding the organizational evolution of the IJA is important to explain the quality of personnel infrastructure that allowed it to do so. This sub-section first discusses the structural evolution of the IJA from the early Meiji (1868-1877) to the critical juncture period (1877–1905). It highlights key policies and changes and how they were partly shaped by the diffusion of Western theories of victory and corporatism. Second, it describes the evolution and structure of the IJA's career management and education systems. It highlights the role of intra-military power politics and Western product champions in driving the military Westernization process.

Early Meiji reforms The Meiji government had decided early on to "emulate the training, armament, and organization of Western military forces" (Hackett 1964, 336). But during the first post-Restoration years, the government tasked the IJA with accelerating its military Westernization to tackle domestic security challenges, from disaffected feudal clans to restless peasantries. Between 1868 and 1872, more than 160 internal revolts or peasant uprisings erupted (Schencking 2005, 18).[146] Additionally, military leaders had to address the absence of a centralized and unified organization and that each domain and government forces had emulated different Western models during the bakumatsu era (discussed above). Consequently, many significant reforms did not start immediately after the Restoration. But some

[145] I focus on the IJA and not the IJN because of time and space constraints. But the personnel infrastructure between the two services and how they evolved were broadly similar. In other words, understanding the IJA's personnel infrastructure is sufficient to make sense of the statistical findings above.

[146] Some of the rebellions were economically-driven as leading Restoration domains, including Choshu and Satsuma, were saddled with heavy expenses driven by military Westernization in the last years of the Tokugawa rule (Beasley 1972, 188).

of them were salient to the diffusion process as they 'prepared' the personnel infrastructure that enabled the IJA to adopt Western theories of victory and corporatism.

First, the government created the Military Affairs Ministry in 1869 to manage a wide range of tasks, from consolidating the domain and shogunate assets, importing arms and equipment, to providing transport and coastal defenses (Westney 1986, 180). The ministry consisted of the Army and Navy Bureaus (which became two separate ministries in 1872). Yamagata's petition when creating these two entities cited efficiency as well as standard European practices (Presseisen 1965, 31).[147] The bureaucracy helped centralize the domain and government forces in the early Meiji years. The abolishment of the feudal domain system and their local armies further laid the groundwork for the development of the IJA's personnel infrastructure.[148] The government further tasked the IJA and IJN (as directed by the Ministry) with building the infrastructure of their organizations, including internal coordination and control, training and socialization, and information links (Westney 1986, 177). This further facilitated the institutionalization of personnel infrastructure.

Second, internal challenges forced the government to dispersed IJA units throughout the country, which was divided into 6 districts with its own garrison and headquarters at Tokyo, Sendai, Nagoya, Osaka, Hiroshima, and Kumamoto.[149] Drawing from both Imperial Guard troops and conscripts, these units could marshal roughly 15,000 to 20,000 men while serving as centers of training and administration.[150] Theoretically, the IJA could muster around 30,000 troops in peacetime up to more than 45,000 in wartime. The IJA soon ex-

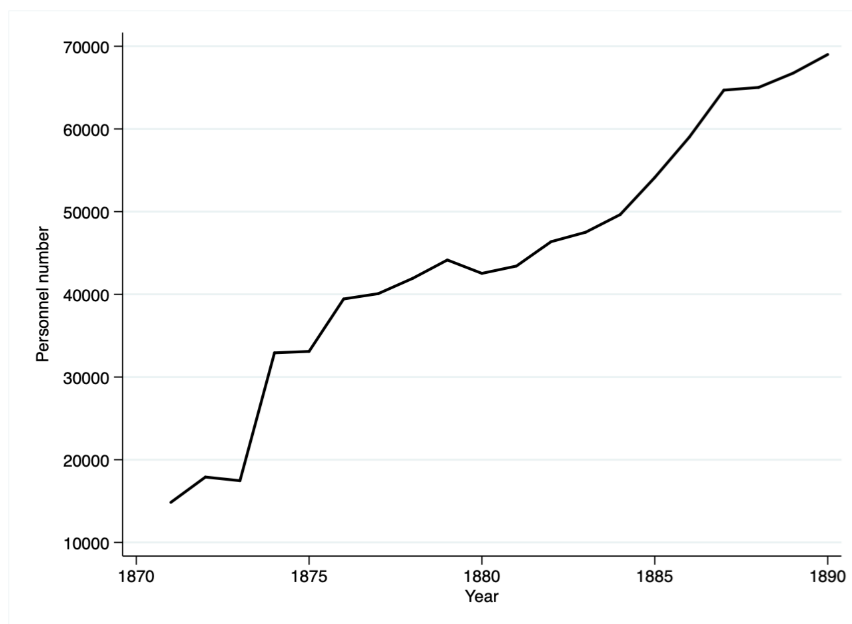
[147] The Military Affairs Ministry has since evolved in name and function and different scholars have translated the names as War Ministry or Army Ministry. I will be using the Army Ministry to distinguish it from the Navy Ministry (created in 1872) discussed in the next section.

[148] An experimental juggling of borders reduced the 300-odd domains to 50. The government appointed samurais as the new governors but they were seldom natives from their assignment area (Jansen 2000, 349).

[149] Details in this paragraph are from Hackett (1971, 58, 64-7), Drea (2013, 76), and Porter (1911, 216)

[150] An Imperial Guard (*Goshimpei*) was formed in April 1871 and complemented these districts. The roughly 10,000-men Imperial Guard was the first 'unified' armed forces (drawn from troops contributed by Choshu, Satsuma, and Tosa) under the Emperor's command.

Figure 5.5: IJA active duty personnel, 1871-1890



Source: Author calculation from Rikusen gakkai, eds., Kindai sensoshigaisetsu, Shiryoshii (Rikusen gakkai, 1984), 39 as cited in Drea (2016, 31)

panded; roughly tripling its active personnel within less than a decade, as Figure 5.5 below shows. The 'static and defensive' dispersion of IJA troops and high operational tempo coincided with the French training mission in the early 1870s that focused on tactical proficiency rather than strategic planning (discussed above). The personnel expansion nevertheless required further bureaucratic and institutional management to ensure that the government would not be saddled with ineffective and bloated units.

Third, the government instituted a conscription system in 1873.[151] The processes leading up to it reveals the importance of Western product champions and the parameters of intra-organizational balance of power. On the one hand, a faction of older, more traditional officers dominated the early IJA and they did not see a need for a professional standing army.

[151] The historical details on the intra-military political dynamics over the conscription policy in the next few paragraphs are drawn from Hiroko (2005, 83–7), Shimazu (2001, 73), Presseisen (1965, 29), Kuehn (2014, 146), Hackett (1965, 66–7, 251–5), (Drea 2013, 77), Kitaoka (1993, 71), Crowley (1966, 268–270), Ariga (1904, 165), Westney (1986, 179–80), (Ogawa 1921, 7), Kublin (1949, 28–31), Presseisen (1965, 26), Cook (1987, 31), Beasley (1972, 363), Gordon (2003, 66), and Jansen (2000, 400).

They preferred a short-term conscript force manned exclusively by samurais; both because of their traditional military expertise and as a means of providing financial support. Many Satsuma and Choshu samurais who fought in the Restoration wars tended to agree with this group because they thought peasants could not become high-quality soldiers. Among this group was Torio Koyata, a prominent Choshu General and Army Chief of Staff. He believed that samurai-led militarism was the root of Japan's real strength. Other IJA generals, including Tani Kanjo and Maebara Issei shared these views.

But another faction, largely influenced by the Prusso-German army, had a more expansive vision for the military, including fighting China and Russia. Omura and Yamagata were powerful Western product champions in this camp, as were their proteges like Katsura. Omura was a prominent long-time advocate of military Westernization and conscription based on his experience in Choshu (discussed above). His ideal army was apparently modeled after Napoleonic French and a navy modeled after the British Royal Navy. He believed that conscription, especially based on the French model, would help unify the armed forces and the nation by mixing all classes yet welded together by professional training and education. After Omura's assassination in 1869, Yamagata picked up and pushed these ideas further.

Yamagata was a prominent IJA leader because of his role in the Restoration wars and his extensive experience with military Westernization. He advocated a universal conscription because he thought controlling an army of privileged ex-samurais would be challenging and expensive. Based on his experience at Choshu of leading the all-class *kiheitai* units (discussed above), he saw firsthand the fallacy that only hereditary samurais could be capable fighters. More importantly, Yamagata saw in his 1870 European tour that powerful European militaries were built on universal conscriptions. He also envisioned the conscription system to help turn the military into a 'school for the nation'.[152] Yamagata's proteges, Katsura and

[152] The military would provide a high-quality education, from middle school to the academy and beyond,

Kawakami Soroku (deputy chief of the General Staff), further underscored the importance of conscription if the military wish to be in step with first-class European powers.

Yamagata eventually had his way, although opposition to a large and modern national army continued.[153] In 1872, Yamagata argued in a memorial submitted to the palace that Japan should create a modern army backed by a regular and reserve. Healthy young men, regardless of class, should be selected from each prefecture, trained in Western drills and tactics, and kept ready for an emergency. Yamagata then instructed a commission headed by Nishi Amane, the Dutch-trained scholar and Army Ministry official, to study the German conscription laws and system. The final conscription pronouncements called all males to serve for three years upon reaching 20 years of age and an additional four years in the reserves.[154] In addition, all males between 17 and 40 were required to register as part of a national reserve which could be mobilized in an emergency. As a sign of the importance of merit, those who proved their superiority in training would be transferred to the Imperial Guard. The pronouncements also reflected various compromises.

For one thing, while the Prussian and French models were 'combined' as the model for the conscription framework, Meiji military leaders used Japanese sociological traits to outline the categories for exemption.[155] For another, they cited the Imperial past (where all Japanese were direct subjects of the Emperor without peasant-soldier distinctions) while invoking the

while putting in place broader national educational reforms to ensure that high-quality students would serve in the military. These ideas mirrored the proposals of the French military attache, Albert Charles au Bousquet: Japan needed a professional military educational system, a literate population so that soldiers could be efficiently taught basic military skills, and a capable industrial base.

[153] For example, intra-IJA 'study groups' proliferated in the mid-1880s that challenged the leadership and advocated a defensive, samurai-like militia army. The reforms proposed by Yamagata and Katsura during the critical juncture (discussed below) were partially sparked by the need to eliminate these internal dissents.

[154] The law was preceded by an Imperial rescript and an announcement from the Council of State.

[155] From the Germans, the Japanese adopted the length of service and annual roll calls and the French provided the base logic of exemptions. The Japanese traits were the categories of exemptions: the physically unqualified; family heads and heirs of farms and family businesses; students in military schools; hardship cases; criminals; those in certain stipulated professions; officials and all teachers and students of prescribed schools; and, all who could pay 270 yen (more than the annual wage of a common laborer). These exemptions were necessary to reduce the potential socio-economic shock of conscription.

military lessons of the West. These compromises were supposed to bridge the gap between the two opposing groups above. The conscription thus highlights the relationship between intra-military power dynamics and the interplay between formal and informal institutions.

But while the conscription signified the government's commitment to military Westernization, the organizational reality was less clear-cut as the IJA and IJN continued to accept samurai volunteers.[156] Further, the conscription was not popular and the IJA had trouble meeting the required quotas for what the government labeled a 'blood tax'.[157] But before the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, the conscription system underwent four revisions in 1879, 1883, 1889 and 1895. With every new revision, the criteria for exemption were tightened. As discussed below, some of these major changes were shaped by German influence as well. Overall, the early Meiji conscription set the stage for the growth of a professionally educated officer corps during the critical juncture.

Critical juncture reforms The post-Satsuma Rebellion period witnessed various organizational reforms influenced driven by the need to secure greater autonomy, more effective coordination and control, and more secure access to needed resources (Westney 1986, 185). Such goals helped institutionalize the IJA's personnel infrastructure, which in turn and over time, allowed Western-trained officers to reach key positions and boost the IJA's capacity to learn and adopt Western theories of victory and corporatism. Meckel's ideas (discussed above) could not have been implemented without German product champions within the IJA. Generals Katsura Taro, Kawakami Soroku, and Kodama Gentaro worked closely with

[156] Their exact number is uncertain, since official records made no formal distinction between volunteers and conscripts. In these early years, moreover, the number of conscripts inducted was very small.

[157] Many commoners thought the conscription was a 'poor man's lottery' because it targeted the young labour force of the lower classes in rural communities. In 1873–74 angry crowds attacked and destroyed numerous conscription registration centers in sixteen riots, resulting in nearly 100,000 people arrested and punished. By 1879, almost 90% of those eligible were exempted.

Meckel and received quiet encouragements from Yamagata (Presseisen 1965, 117).[158] That these officers were in prominent positions facilitated further career pathways for Western-trained officers, as the statistical findings above show.

In 1866, Katsura and Kawakami established the Provisional Committee to Study Military Systems, a 19-member group headed by Kodama to asess IJA organization and strategy. Many of the subsequent reorganization activities and policies were derived from this committee's deliberations (Harries and Harries 1991, 49). Meckel advised the committee and met with Kodama on a bi-weekly basis. First, the IJA expanded in terms of manpower (see Figure 5.5 above) and in arms and budget.[159] The expansion was underpinned by changes to the conscription system noted above, some of which were shaped by Western theories of corporatism. In 1887 the IJA adopted the Prussian system of one-year volunteers to build a reserve officer pool. Major changes in 1889 also followed the Prussian model to build a large enlisted reserve to fill out the wartime divisions (Drea 2016, 67). Katsura and Kawakami were impressed by Prussian military reformers, particularly Stein and Gneisenau who used a conscript program to help unify Prussia (Crowley 1966, 276).

Second, the IJA shifted from a defensive, garrison-based posture to a potentially offensive, division-based one. The deployment of garrison troops in the Satsuma Rebellion was not satisfactory.[160] The shift happened in two stages.[161] In 1884, the garrisons were reorganized into brigades (two infantry regiments). The General Staff then altered its wartime mobilization plans to allow for the expansion of garrisons into divisions when reserves are

[158] During Meckel's time in Japan, Katsura was Army Vice Minister, Kawakami was Deputy Chief of the General Staff, and Kodama was head of the Army War College (he would become Army Vice Minister).

[159] The budget grew from 6.6 million yen in 1877 to 9.4 million yen in 1882. The 1882 budget also included a 10-year plan to field 7 modern infantry divisions with supporting troops, improved coastal defenses, and upgraded artillery (Drea 2016, 53).

[160] Given the stationary nature of the garrison system, the IJA had to assemble composite or 'mixed', ad-hoc combat brigades drawn from different garrisons to fight the rebellion.

[161] Historical details in this paragraph are from Yamagata (1910, 209), Jaundrill (2016, 161), Lone (2000, 22), Paine (2017, 9), and Drea (2016, 57).

called up. By 1888, the IJA abandoned the garrison system. They were renamed Divisional Headquarters and each was organized for independent action in war (equipped with its own infantry, cavalry, artillery, engineers, and commissariat). It would take several years before these integrated and independent Divisions could form complete Field and Reserve Divisions on a war basis. The IJA also created the Army Service Corps to provide logistical support and improved the national railway network. By the time the conversion was completed in 1891, the IJA had 7 modern divisions and could mobilize a reserve force of 240,000 troops.

These changes followed Meckel's arguments that because Japan lacks strategic depth, individual divisions need to quickly deploy to their assigned defensive sectors in wartime and conduct independent operations (Presseisen 1965, 117; Drea 2016, 62). Indeed, the dissolution of the garrison system coincided with the adoption of the German field manual in 1888 (Drea 2013, 79). In formulating Japan's division system, Katsura was influenced by Prussian strategic thinking, especially the ideas of Helmuth von Moltke and Clausewitz (Harries and Harries 1991, 39). Katsura and Meckel were thus similarly advocating for a division-based structure for the IJA. More importantly, Katsura's all-class offensive-oriented military Westernization helped his position within the IJA as he convinced the younger officers to move away from a samurai-only defensive army (Kitaoka 1993, 72). Taken together, the shift to the division system demonstrates the interaction between a commercial transmission (Meckel's arrival and ideas) and the IJA's personnel infrastructure during the critical juncture.

Third, the IJA separated command and administrative functions by creating the 'big three': War Minister, Chief of General Staff, and Inspector General for Education and Training. The creation the General Staff in 1878 independent of the Army Ministry was a byproduct of the Satsuma Rebellion. The General Staff controlled planning, command, intelligence, and reported directly to the Emperor. This theory of military corporatism—

combining the 'independence' of supreme command with the Imperial institution (Iriye 1989, 731)—was Prussian-inspired.[162] But the General Staff did not emerge in a vacuum. In 1871, an Army Staff Bureau was set up in the Ministry of Military Affairs.[163] When Katsura was in charge of the Bureau after returning from Germany, he saw the need to separate command and administrative functions. He was inspired by the Prussian general staff and had echoed the Prussian Army's concerns over the meddling of civilian bureaucrats and the ambiguous wartime command (Presseisen 1965, 61-2).[164] In Japan, the creation of an independent general staff was also facilitated by the absence of an elected national assembly to oversee the military—the Army Ministry was also already staffed with officers (Westney 1986, 186). Finally, the command and administrative separation reflected the intra-military power dynamics as Yamagata tried to consolidate his group within the IJA (Drea 2016, 49).

Meckel strengthened the big three structure further.[165] The big three collectively led the IJA, even though each was not responsible to the other. In practice, the War Minister was in charge of administration, from budgeting, personnel, to procurement. While in theory he should report to the Prime Minister, the minister answered to the Emperor.[166] The Chief of General Staff had jurisdiction over the staff sections of the various IJA commands and had responsibility over strategy and planning. This removed command and control from the

[162] Some historians maintain that the idea could not have been from Prussia because an independent general staff only materialized there in 1883. But others argue that the German influence—both within the German-trained IJA officers and from Meckel's teachings—pertaining to general-staff concepts have been around since the early 1870s. See for example Drea (2013, 78).
[163] This unit—initially dubbed the Sixth Bureau– was in charge staff functions (e.g. strategic and logistical planning) as well as associated functions like map making and military history.
[164] The Army Ministry was created along the French model with the Ministry as the center of gravity for military decision-making. Indeed, the principal difference between the French and German military systems was that in France, administrative and operational command were unified in the ministry, whereas in Germany, command resided separately in the general staff (Lone 2000, 12).
[165] Historical details on the separate duties and functions of the Big Three as well as Meckel's influence below are drawn from Jaundrill (2016, 159), Drea (2016, 49–65), Lory (1943, 119), Hackett (1964, 339–341), Porter (1911, 219), Presseisen (1965, 118–120).
[166] He was always in a tough spot: as part of the IJA hierarchy he was bound to represent IJA policy, but as a member of the cabinet he was bound by legal and constitutional principles.

cabinet. In peacetime, he would assume direct command over the Garrisons (and Divisions) and the Imperial Guard. But as an Imperial appointee, he was the emperor's top military adviser. During wartime, the Chief of General Staff could issue orders in his name.

Meckel's influence was more visible in the Inspectorate General. Initially, there were three regional superintendents who coordinated training, standardized tactics and equipment, and ensured units carried out orders and regulations.[167] But they were responsible to the Army Minister. Meckel recommended a unified and independent Inspectorate General. In his view, the Ministry represented the IJA's administrative authority and should control, for example, accounting, the medical department or weapons and ammunition. The General Staff should be responsible for national defense, military plans, communications, and transportation. Finally, the Inspectorate General should supervise education and training. Meckel also proposed inspection sections for each technical units attached to the divisions (i.e. the cavalry, the artillery, the engineers, and the logistical services). He further recommended the creation of a personnel section to consider promotions and the like.

The IJA leadership took many of these ideas that further institutionalized the IJA's personnel infrastructure. The July 1887 Imperial order standardized army-wide training by placing it under the new Inspectorate General.[168] The Inspector General reported directly to the emperor. He controlled all military schools and training institutions (except the War College), regulations and manuals, and technical and tactical training of different combat arms. The majority of personnel and promotion policies were also made part of his responsibility. The IJA leadership designed these changes to improve the IJA's autonomy from civilian control as well as to increase their operational flexibility and combat effectiveness.

[167] In peacetime each superintendent was responsible for the education and training at two garrisons and in wartime commanded a two-division corps formed by combining the garrisons' forces.

[168] The agency was the forerunner of the Inspector General of Military Education established by Imperial order in January 1893 to enforce army-wide proficiency standards.

The IJA also revised its theories of corporatism and victory based on Meckel's ideas. While the big three structure encouraged rivalries, the ability of a few dominant figures to control key positions during the critical juncture sustained organizational cohesion.[169] Overall, this structural evolution of the IJA helped institutionalize its personnel infrastructure.

5.4.3 IJA career management

Throughout the structural evolution above, the IJA institutionalized career management to reward professional merit and Western education. The process was not straight forward as IJA leaders had to balance competing internal power interests. But by the late 1880s and early 1890s (the middle and back-end of the critical juncture), many of the IJA's career management policies were institutionalized. This allowed Western-trained officers reach the highest positions.

Personnel policies and structure

Meiji leaders believed that discipline and merit should be the bedrock for the new military. But the IJA lacked competent and qualified officers in the early years. The academy system had just started and the volunteers and tributes from the domains were the IJA's key staff and leaders. Senior officers and commanders were key leaders from the powerful domains who fought the Restoration Wars. The IJA also tried to promote mid-rank officers and NCOs, but many were subsequently degraded for incompetency. In general, for all their accomplishments, these men did not go through professional education and training because there was none to speak of. The early IJA officer corps were thus a hodgepodge of samurais from the domains commanding an under-qualified rank-and-file. For much of these early

[169] Yamagata, for example, served for six years as War Minister and six as Chief of General Staff. Oyama served eight years as Chief of General Staff and almost seven years as War Minister.

years, as Yamagata (1910, 204) argues, "there could be no settled rule for promotion".

Subsequently, the combination of Western product champions like Katsura and Kodama and the influence of Meckel ushered in important reforms during the critical juncture (discussed above). These reforms then structured the career management system that facilitated the rise of Western product champions by creating career pathways for Western-trained officers. That key IJA leaders like Yamagata (1910, 203) favored well-educated middle-class commanders further facilitated the process. By 1876, IJA leaders issued wide-ranging regulations relating to promotion, inspection, and pensions (Yamagata 1910, 204). The IJA's first standardized table of organization appeared the following year. Soon, the next generation of professionally educated officers were routinely promoted based on clear benchmarks.

By the 1890s, the IJA's career management system had stabilized.[170] Major shifts and promotions, for example, occurred three times a year. A 3-year service overseas became the norm, as did the dispersed tour of duties inside Japan with officers attached to various units to improve cohesion. Special schools and training programs were made mandatory for some positions. Wartime and peacetime promotion and retirement was carefully regulated (see Table 5.11 below). In theory, an officer should take about 8 years from 2nd Lieutenant to Lieutenant General during wartime and 16 years during peacetime. The scaled corresponding retirement age reduced promotional logjams. The minimum time an officer was required to serve at a particular rank prior to his next promotion was stable and predictable since the 1880s (during critical juncture). In practice, an officer's tenure in each rank was not too far off from the established IJA regulations.[171] In any case, promotions were institutionalized and officers generally understood when they would likely move up the ranks and why.

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[170] Historical details on this paragraph are drawn from Lory (1943, 101) and Oyama (1904, 115).

[171] It was normal for promotions, especially above Captains, to take considerably longer. Colonels waiting for promotion were normally placed on the reserve list after about four years if there was little chance that they would become Major Generals.

Table 5.10: IJA officer promotion and retirement benchmarks (time)

	Promotional time (in theory and in practice) for each rank and corresponding retirement age						
	Promotion†	Promotion†	Retirement‡	Tenure (mean)∗	Tenure (mode)∗	Tenure (range)∗	N∗
	Wartime (min. yrs)	Peacetime (min. yrs)	Peacetime (max. age)	Peacetime (yrs)	Peacetime (yrs)	Peacetime (yrs)	
2nd Lieutenant	.5	1	45	3.05	3	1 to 10	733
Lieutenant	1	2	45	5.24	6	1 to 13	744
Captain	2	4	48	5.52	6	1 to 10	761
Major	1	2	50	4.6	4	1 to 14	741
Lieutenant Colonel	1	2	53	3.4	4	1 to 13	672
Colonel	1	2	55	4.33	4	1 to 13	579
Major General	1.5	3	58	4.05	3	1 to 16	466
Lieutenant General	Imperial⋆	Imperial⋆	62	6.66	6	1 to 18	119
General	Imperial⋆	Imperial⋆	65	8.47	7	6 to 11	15

Source: Author calculation and information from Lory (1943, 101) and Cook (1987, 360-3)
Notes:
† = According to IJA regulations, duration of minimum time (years) required to be promoted to the next rank (listed subsequently in the table).
‡ = According to IJA regulations, maximum age for retirement in a given rank
⋆ = Promotion to the next rank requires Imperial Approval
∗ = Actual length of stay (in practice) at a given rank based on the sample examined by Cook (1987, 360-3). The sample represented what he calls the 'Army Leaders Group', which corresponds to the upper-elite of the officer corps similar to my own sample in the sub-section above.

Another indication of an institutionalized career management was the stable pyramidical structure of the officer corps, which I briefly note above.[172] Despite the rapid expansion of personnel, the pyramid form—with the upper-elite (generals) at about 1-2% and about 80% company grade officers—was relatively intact during the critical juncture and after.[173] At the bottom of the pyramid, the balance between seniority and merit was still relatively equal.[174] But above the rank of Captain, promotion by merit, especially education and Western training, largely prevailed. As Table 5.11 above shows, mandatory retirement age also kicked in if an officer stayed in a rank too long than his peers. This was, in effect, an 'up–or–out' system the IJA had institutionalized by the 1890s.

The stable pyramid structure at least suggests the IJA was careful in its career management. This was partially because of the direct link between the Imperial House and the military. In principle, the Emperor was the ultimate authority in personnel matters. But in practice, he delegated personnel management to the collective IJA leadership of the Army Ministry, the General Staff, and the Inspectorate General of Military Education. The Inspectorate General helped formulate the basis of assessments and enforce existing regulations, while the General Staff provided the requirement lists based on operational needs. The IJA thus developed meticulous procedures to ensure that personnel decisions were carefully deliberated so as not to "embarrass' the Imperial House.

The IJA also ensured that promotion procedures were made internally transparent. The Personnel Bureau within the Army Ministry assessed promotion decisions affecting com-

[172] The pyramid is essentially a broad base of hundreds of thousands of privates and NCOs tapering to a peak represented by a few dozen generals. Details in the next two paragraphs on the officer corps' composition are drawn from Lory (1943, 103), Cook (1987, 351–366), and McGovern (1920, 217).

[173] After the Russo-Japanese war personnel expansion, the IJA made sure that the greatest increase were in the company grade. By 1907, the General and the company grade officers were about 1% and 86% of the officer corps, respectively.

[174] Seniority implies that an officer should be promoted to some positions based on how long he has held on to some previous postings and how long he has been in the structure.

pany and field grade officers (2nd lieutenants through colonels). Promotion to general-rank received additional scrutiny because they required an Imperial Seal of approval. Personnel reports and assessments started from an officer's unit commander all the way up through the chain of command.[175] The report would pass through several stages at headquarters with each reviewer leaving comments. The original reports were kept by the reporting officer and passed on to his successors—making them the official records of both the reviewer and the reviewed. Decisions concerning promotions were then published in the official gazette.

The IJA further publicly noted the importance of three career markers. First, professional merit and competitive examinations as the basis for promotions. While the Army Ministry provided 'last stop' assessments, the Inspectorate General developed and enforced the regulations and procedures that stabilized promotion based on merit. It focused, for example, on preparing the competitive examinations for entrance into educational and training institutions. By 1886, the IJA dropped the requirement for wartime command for flag-rank promotions, made selection to full general a matter of Imperial appointment, and replaced promotion by seniority with competitive examinations. These measures were designed to get rid of 'deadwood' in the officer corps and promote outstanding younger officers based on individual talent (Drea 2016, 62). Merit thus affected the intra-military power balance in favor of the professionally-trained younger officers, which further gave them a stake in keeping the system alive. The merit system thus become more institutionalized.

Second, professional education and training as important qualifications for higher command positions. In general, promotions at the upper level were determined by military school records (Lory 1943, 101). As the statistical analysis above shows, graduation from the War College was a significant predictor for a successful career in the IJA. This finding

[175] Infantry officers were reviewed directly by their commanders, but artillery, engineering, and cavalry and transport officers were reviewed by the inspectors of their branch.

confirms previous studies that noted the significant advantage War College graduates had compared to those who did not come through the institution (Butow 1961, 14). Conversely, the top five graduates of the War College were almost assured to attain a general rank (Peattie 1972, 18). Another study noted that more than three quarters of the IJA leadership during the Meiji era had attended the War college (Cook 1987, 351–366). In essence, the College was the first 'selector' of future IJA leaders.

Every year, only the most promising lieutenants were sent to the College.[176] They were selected based on their Academy record, the recommendations of commanding officers, and preliminary examinations.[177] Only half of the initial divisional applicants would take these tests. Successful applicants would be recommended to the General Staff and Army Ministry. This competitive system signaled to IJA officers that education, performance, and ability — not social or clan origin — would be the major criteria for advancement.

Finally, from those who passed the earlier merit and educational benchmarks, Western studies background gave an additional 'edge' for the upper-most leadership positions. During the early Meiji years, many IJA leaders, including former domain commanders, had a background in Western studies as we discussed above. They subsequently focused on producing and distributing a new type of officers familiar with Western military sciences to ameliorate the feudal legacies of favoring personal valor or honor over military organization and training (Sonoda 1990, 88). In other words, the promotion of Western-trained officers became an organizational necessity if the military Westernization efforts were to continue.[178] This was way the best graduates of the War College were sent to Western nations for further

[176] Details in this paragraph arr from McGovern (1920, 217), Lory (1943, 104), and Crowley (1962, 312-3)
[177] The tests covered tactics, weapons, fortifications, topography, communications, transportation, organization, mathematics, history, and one foreign language. The final examination included discipline and general military knowledge.
[178] This was apart of a broader trend within the Meiji government to promote Western-trained officials or civil servants. See details in Silberman (1964, 59).

education, training, or assignment (Kono 1931, 391). Such exposure was especially important for officers who would lead and staff the new Western-modeled IJA divisions (Drea 2016, 56). In other words, as the IJA consciously sent its best and brightest to Western nations, it was logical then that their return they would be promoted to key positions.

Appendix 1 provides a sample of some of the most prominent Western-trained IJA officers drawn from my data. Overall, the IJA's career management was institutionalized by the critical juncture and was favorable to Western-trained officers. There was an ideal path of progress and the stages of an officer's professional career were bound together and externally determined. An officer's rank became the main benchmark to measure achievements and rewards along with command and staff responsibilities. Performance in wartime also provided an important marker. Thus, the career system was predictable (officers knew what to expect), transparent (assessments published), multi-layered (not just dependent on one person or office), and selective (criteria and guidelines were set to choose the best officer). But how these policies became institutionalized depended on the intra-army balance of power between different IJA generations, as we shall see below.

Intra-military balance of power

The inter-generational power balance facilitated the institutionalization of career management because the professionally-educated younger generation (most of the officer corps during the critical juncture) had a stake in the system. The first generation of IJA officers did not enter the military through education and training.[179] They became senior officers and commanders through: (1) their roles in the Restoration wars and in the Imperial Guard, and (2) their experience with or knowledge of Western forces and concepts.[180] Many of the

[179] Historical details on the generational gap in this paragraph are drawn from Westney (1986, 178–190).
[180] The first group provided the bulk of the first generation of commanders and line officers, while the second became staff officers or instructors.

first generation also shared a 'feudal' culture of personal valor, patronage, and domain loyalty as well as a hard-drinking, anti-intellectual life style. Conversely, the second generation graduated from the Academy before the critical juncture and from the War College during the critical juncture. These men were oriented to formal training, professionalism, personal discipline, academic study, and technical expertise. There was a regional as well as a cultural gap between the two generations: the first generation was overwhelmingly from Satsuma and Choshu while the second came from all over Japan.

These generational fault lines were widespread in the 1870s. The various reforms of the 1880s discussed above were partially a consequence of and policies to address the gaps. The creation of new specialized units or structures (including the Big Three), for example, created new positions to fill. The first generation had the opportunity and space to protect their cohort interests by filling them. The first generation also used the reforms to boost organizational professionalism while getting rid of their intra-generation rival groups, as we saw with Yamagata and Katsura above. By institutionalizing career management, the early IJA leaders also sought the support of the incoming second generation of officers.

Most of the second generation came from the middle and lower-rank samurais and commoners. Table 5.12 below shows, for example, the more than 210% increase in the number of generals coming from commoner backgrounds within a decade. It also shows that both the samurais and commoners increased their representation within the officer corps while the royal and upper class either declined or stagnated during the critical juncture. Indeed, officers entering the Academy from samurai (*shizoku*) backgrounds declined while the proportion of commoners (*heimin*) rose (Cook 1987, 244). It should also be noted that the conscription discussed above was biased towards to the lower strata of society. The growth in the 'middle and lower class' within the IJA signaled the growing stake for the second

generation to institutionalize professional career management at the expense of hereditary or regional patronage. Thus, during the critical juncture, the career management policies discussed above reflected and caused the changing intra-IJA balance of demographics.

Table 5.11: Changes in IJA officer social class background, 1897–1907

Rank	**Social class**	**1897**	**1907**	**change**
General officers⋆	Imperial (*Kozoku*)	2	2	0%
	Peerage (*Kazoku*)	27	17	-37%
	Samurai (*Shizoku*)	46	84	83%
	Commoner (*Heimin*)	10	31	210%
Field grade officers†	Imperial (*Kozoku*)	1	2	100%
	Peerage (*Kazoku*)	2	21	950%
	Samurai (*Shizoku*)	644	891	38%
	Commoner (*Heimin*)	169	609	260%
Company grade officers‡	Imperial (*Kozoku*)	2	1	-50%
	Peerage (*Kazoku*)	53	80	51%
	Samurai (*Shizoku*)	3,173	4,780	51%
	Commoner (*Heimin*)	2,175	5,578	156%

Source: Author calculation from Rikugunsho tokei nempo, 1897, 44-45 cited in Cook (1987, 239).
⋆ = Combined figures for General, Lieutenant General, and Major General
† = Combined figures for Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, Major
‡ = Combined figures for Captain, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Lieutenant

But in the early Meiji years, domain and personal patronage, especially from Satsuma and Choshu, still dominated senior appointments (Shingo 1965, 200). Between 1873 and 1912, the Emperor approved the promotion of 28 non-Imperial House men to the rank of General: 11 were from Choshu and 9 from Satsuma. In the same period, the IJA promoted 153 officers to Lieutenant General, with 36 coming from Choshu and 25 from Satsuma (Humphreys 1995, 6). But many of these appointments were made in the early Meiji years.[181]

[181] From the 18 generals in the first post-Restoration decade, 8 were from Satsuma and 5 from Choshu.

Also, while some Satsuma and Choshu men were influential, their representation at the highest levels of the officer corps declined as the other domains rose.

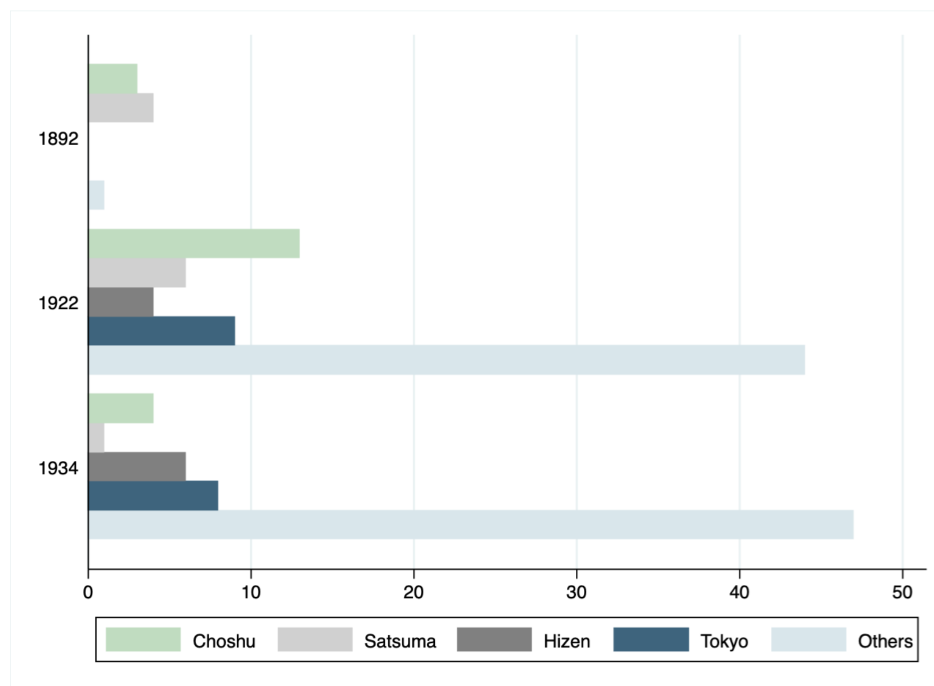
Figure 5.6 below shows the decline of the Satsuma-Choshu representation. It further confirms the findings from the statistical analysis above that domain affiliations did not significantly determine a successful career. Choshu was dominant in the IJA's early days because of key individuals like Yamagata.[182] But Yamata's followers were not all under-qualified. In fact, most of them were Western-trained and championed military Westernization efforts. After the reforms discussed above and the rise of the second generation, a Choshu affiliation was less salient. In other words, patronage may have helped select the early IJA leaders but did not prevent the institutionalization of the career management nor did it stop military Westernization. The institutionalized career management, along with education reforms, in turn further undermined the informal *hanbatsu* system (Crowley 1962, 326). By 1888, Choshu only provided around 10% of the officer corps and its share of Academy entrants dropped to about 7% between 1877 and 1932 (see Figure 5.6).

Overall, the IJA's institutionalized career structure provided a social 'equalizer' and upward mobility for the middle and lower samurais and commoners. Professional qualifications and education as well as Western studies background were more important career determinants than hereditary status or domain patronage alone. In turn, the system gave the upcoming (and more numerous) second generation of officers a critical stake in maintaining the system. This highlights how the intra-military balance of power shaped the interplay between formal and informal institutions.

By 1879, out of 22 generals, 7 were from Satsuma and 6 from Choshu (Hackett 1964, 341).

[182] Yamagata was credited with the appointments of about a third of IJA generals in the 1880s (Drea 2016, 22). His proteges like Katsura, Kawakami, and Kodama also led the IJA's second generation.

Figure 5.6: IJA generals and their domain origins†



† = Generals (3-stars) and Lieutenant Generals (2-stars) combined, excluding the Imperial House
Source: Author calculation from Cook (1987, 179)

5.4.4 IJA education and learning

In 1868, military education was neither centralized or standardized. Although there were shogunal military schools, different domains had their own schools with different Western instructors (Dingman 1998, 158). Meiji leaders realized early on that any successful military Westernization depended on professional education and training. This was why one of the earliest priorities of the new government was to train future leaders of the military, using "the newest techniques of arms and tactics imported from the West" (Cook 1987, 38). As Yamagata (1910, 207) claims,

> "The Meiji government took greatest possible care in the education of young officers, encouraged them in the study of foreign languages, and particularly trained them in skeleton drill, in staff riding, and in the practice of tactics. Many military books were translated and distributed among them. An inspection officer was specially sent out each year to overlook the military drill of every corps as

well as to examine the competence of company officers".

For the IJA, education and training was paramount and that "no effort was spared to provide the most practical and most modern methods which could be found either at home or in foreign countries" (Oyama 1904, 118). The structural reforms discussed above also helped move educational reforms forward. The various but limited military Westernization efforts of the Tokugawa era discussed in Section 3 above also provided an initial foundation for the focus on education.[183] In other words, the Meiji military leaders did not start with an entirely blank canvas as far as Western military education and training was concerned.

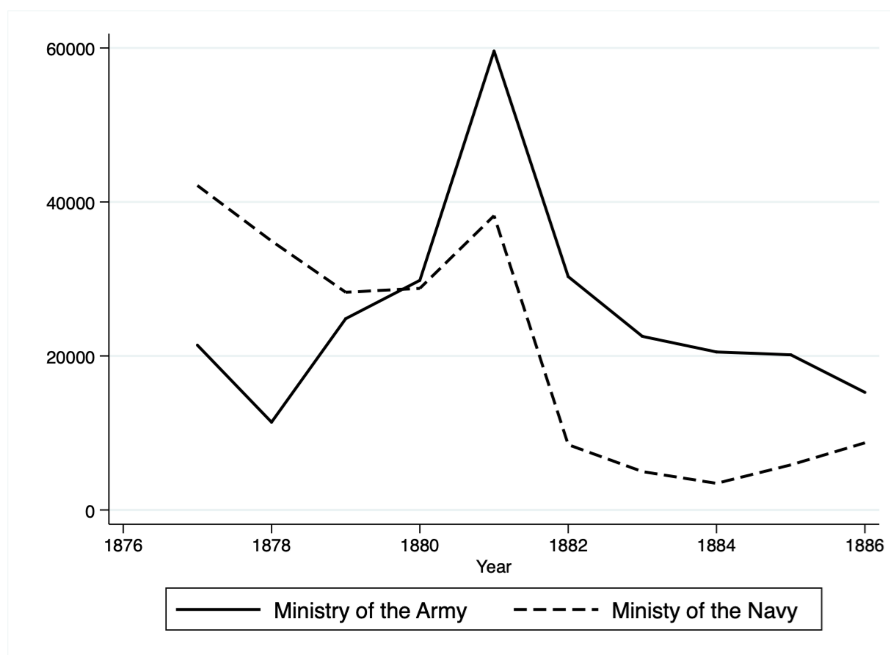
But hiring foreign trainers was insufficient. Meiji military leaders wanted the IJA to independently teach their men using 'localized' Western theories of victory and corporatism. Foreign-trained staff officers, returning one after another from 1870s onwards, were instructed to teach European tactics and discipline in cooperation with foreign teachers.[184] As the localization process appeared to be successful, the government scaled back its foreign student expenditure and invested more in sending officers as attaches or language officers in foreign embassies (discussed above). As Figure 5.7 below shows, the Army and Navy Ministries spent the most, and presumably send the most number of students to foreign countries, during the early part of the critical juncture. The figures declined gradually a decade later, as I will discuss below, coinciding with the establishment of the War College.

Finally, the Inspectorate General for Military Education and Training under the Emperor sealed the crucial role of education and training. That the career management system placed a premium on education and training provided incentives for aspiring officers to focus on their studies. In fact, the reforms discussed above ensured that "educational credentials"

[183] The bakufu schools that incorporated Western military concepts, for example, provided a group of trained men familiar with the institutional system and the language of the Western instructors (Westney 1986, 177).

[184] During the critical juncture, the Government sent 22 new students abroad in 1880 (making 44 who were studying in Europe at the time) (Yamagata 1910, 206).

Figure 5.7: Army & Navy Ministry expenditure for overseas students (thousand ¥)



Source: Author calculation from Jones (1980, 153-4)

became the sine qua non for officers and NCOs to rise through the ranks by the 1880s (Jaundrill 2016, 167).[185] As education became a centerpiece for promotions, the IJA's learning capacity increased. Officers were more likely to try and get the best Western knowledge possible and adapt them to the IJA context. IJA leaders were more likely to reward officers for such Western-inspired ideas or policies. The organization was also invested in developing educational and training structures, curriculum, and specialized units to ensure that the IJA could adopt Western theories of victory and corporatism. Taken together, we see the interaction between career management and education (i.e. personnel infrastructure) with Western theories of victory and corporatism commercially transmitted by Western advisors.

[185] Such valuation of education and training also tracked with the deeper Japanese inclination that education was the primary path to elite status, which the Westernization process further reinforced (Burks 1985*b*, 198).

Basic education

An integrated Army Academy was established more than five years after the Restoration. The early IJA leaders needed to time to unify and centralize the various schools and specialized institutions in the capital and the domains.[186] The Academy went through several iterations from the first post-Restoration training institution, the Western-oriented Kyoto Soldiers School founded by Omura Masujiro in 1868.[187] After the schools were centralized, the IJA created three schools: (1) the Cadet School (*Yonen gakko*), a preparatory middle school plus instruction in Western languages; (2) the Officer School (*Shikan Gakko*) for branch (infantry, cavalry, artillery and engineering) technical skills; (3) the Educational Leadership Group (*Kyododan*), an NCO school. The French training mission discussed above worked with students from these schools, particularly the Officer School. By October 1875, these schools became the Army Officer School, or Army Academy (*Rikugun Shikan Gakko*) and relocated to Ichigaya under the Army Ministry.[188]

Initially, the pre-Academy schools were home to a small instructional cadre, about 100-150 officer candidates, 80 NCO candidates about a 600-men training battalion (Jaundrill 2016, 98). These early schools nonetheless produced men who were knowledgeable of the latest Westernization trends and were more professionally trained compared to the feudal retainers manning the garrison forces. The French were among the core teaching staff at the first Academy class in 1875 (Drea 2016, 26). More than 150 students were enrolled in either a 2-year (for the infantry and cavalry) or a 3-year course (for the artillery and

[186] Historical details of the evolution of the early Meiji schools and academy in this paragraph are drawn from Cook (1987, 38, 40-4), (Westney 1986, 178), and Drea (2016, 21).

[187] While the Kyoto school had a Western-oriented curriculum, it was staffed by Japanese. It was replaced on September 1869 with the Osaka Military Science School. This was after the government converted the former shogunate's Yokohama Foreign Language School and the Tokugawa-created Numazu military school into a French-style academy. Osaka was strategically located to allow rapid mobilization in any direction to suppress internal challenges. The Osaka school was renamed the Army Military Science School in November 1871 and moved to Tokyo in early 1872.

[188] The cadet school would be separated in 1875 and re-integrated in 1877 under the Army Academy.

engineering).[189] The competitive examinations for entrance placed a premium on intelligence and academic proficiency (Hackett 1964, 347). Candidates for the Academy also came from the cadet preparatory schools.[190] In general, this system provided a common base for all officer candidates at the Academy other than the examination route.

The Sino-Japanese War expanded the IJA and reorganized the preparatory system.[191] A more integrated and expanded District Cadet School system started in 1897 and created a two-track path to the Academy: (1) post-elementary school students (ages 13-15) applied to one of the six District Cadet Schools, advanced to the Central Cadet School in Tokyo after a 3-year middle-school coursework and special 'Moral Training' classes, and entered the Academy after 2 years of academic study and 'spiritual and moral' training; (2) students at their fourth and fifth years of middle school took examinations for the Academy and reviewed to be assigned to IJA regiments. In either case, the Academy was a 'finishing school' for the completion of an IJA officer's basic training.[192]

These schools taught a wide range of subjects, from ethics, geography to history and mathematics. They also taught foreign languages along with military drills, rules, and regulations. Foreign language was important as students' language choice carried over to the academy and beyond. The subsequent decade-long foreign language training allowed officers to better learn and adopt Western theories of victory and corporatism they would be exposed to after earning their commissions.[193] Those who studied German was at a

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[189] The first class graduated in 1877 and were commissioned as 2nd lieutenants. Since then the Academy admitted about 150 per year and graduated about 140.

[190] Initially, these schools became regular feeders of students to the Academy, but shared this role with civilian middle schools. Graduates of the NCO academy or selected NCO volunteers under 27 years of age were also eligible but they were few and far between (Drea 2016, 25).

[191] Details in the next two paragraphs are from Cook (1987, 51–8, 67–110) and Lory (1943, 96).

[192] Indeed, Yamagata intended the schools to provide the 'main trunk' for the officer corps. The new district schools provided almost 40% of all Academy graduate classes of 1903 to 1942.

[193] At the cadet schools, foreign language was the single largest block of time (6-7 hours a week for three years) of any academic subject. This was why students tended to stick with the language they chose.

particular advantage because during the critical juncture the Prussian Army was the model to emulate.[194] Student life in general was also dominated by graded performance, from tests, exercises, to essay writing and examinations. Class rankings established measurable benchmarks preparing them for the officer corps' system of advancement and promotion.[195] Overall, the cadet schools boosted the intellectual edge of future Academy entrants.

The Academy system was reformed in 1887 (Presseisen 1965, 112). Since then, cadet candidates must serve for a year before being considered for the Academy. The study period was shortened from 3 years to 18 months by eliminating the first-year course (general subjects). After finishing, the candidates returned to the army for another 6 months before receiving his commission. This model followed the German system and relied on the IJA's regionally-based regimental and divisional districts (Cook 1987, 44–46). The system was designed to give practical experience to cadets and fitted the transition from a garrison-based to a division-based posture (discussed above). The curriculum was designed to be as close as possible with the best military schools in Europe (Upton 1878, 4). The Academy organized its core curriculum around military science, mathematics, and natural sciences.[196]

Overall, the Academy emphasized military sciences and practices. Students learned the elements of command and officership and were educated in their own specialties. His achievements were monitored and measured at each step. The IJA's 'basic level' education, both at the academy and cadet school levels, also transitioned from being modeled over the French system to the German one. Specialized schools were required to provide the

[194] At the very least, those with German language training had a better chance to go to the War College where German language was emphasized along with German military history and theory.

[195] At the preparatory schools, about one out of sixty of those taking the final examination for the Academy in peacetime was accepted.

[196] The theoretical courses included tactics, military organization, fortifications, communication, topography, engineering, and foreign language. The practical courses included drills, field service, musketry, fencing, and horsemanship along with camp exercises, tactical tours, maneuvers and topographical surveys (Lory 1943, 98).

appropriate skills to IJA officers.[197] Some of these schools shaped the organizational learning and operational planning. The Toyama Infantry School, for example, taught minor tactics, marksmanship, bayonet practice, and physical education but gradually standardized broader infantry doctrine and officer training (Drea 2016, 25). The schools' research division was also regarded as among the best in investigating and evaluating newer weapons, tactics, and methods of warfare (Lory 1943, 100). In essence, the schools boosted the IJA's learning capacity to adopt Western theories of victory.

War College

One year after the IJA discontinued foreign educators in 1882, the Army War College (*Rikugun Daigakko*) was established (Porter 1911, 217). Many IJA officers studying abroad have returned and ready to teach their fellow officers (Yamagata 1910, 207). The College provided advanced training in the management of the Army and prepared officers for vital staff tasks and higher command in strategy and operations (Cook 1987, 46). Patterned after the German model, the College overshadowed the French-developed Academy because only College graduates could advance to the IJA's upper elite (Drea 2013, 79). As discussed above, entrance into the College was highly competitive, ensuring the highest quality of the IJA's future leaders. The best graduates of the College also went overseas—mostly to Germany.[198] This provided an 'interaction effect' between War College graduation and Western training in shaping the successful careers of IJA officers discussed above.

The College lasted roughly three years. The first year was remedial and concentrated on foreign languages, mathematics, and drafting for engineering and map-making purposes.

[197] The IJA organized sixteen military schools—covering from ordnance to equestrian—attended by more than 2,600 students by 1893 (Porter 1911, 217).

[198] Up to 1914, the War College graduated 792 students of whom 81 were sent to study in Germany, 33 to France, 29 to Russia, 24 to Britain, and only 13 to China (Lone 2000, 17). The officers sent to Germany after the War College tend to be "more brilliant" compared to those going to France (Butow 1961, 15).

For their second and third years, they studied organization, mobilization, tactics, and road march formations as well as reconnaissance, strategy, and history (Drea 2016, 50). Within the College, just as in the cadet schools and Academy, European languages were preferred.[199] Before the Russo-Japanese War, the College reorganized its curriculum to prepare officers for large-unit commands (brigade and higher echelon) as Meckel had taught. Given the importance of the College for the IJA, class rankings were critical for an officer's future assignments and promotions. Battlefield valor and practical experience also increasingly became a more significant factor (Drea 2016, 60).

Overall, the College provided the 'last' classroom intellectual sharpening for IJA officers. As Meckel was teaching at the College soon after it was established, many of the foundational thinking of IJA officers who passed through the system reflected Prussian strategic theories. Many officers were in a better position to understand, learn, and adapt Meckel's teachings because: (1) the promotion system put them in the best position to move up the ranks, including going to the College in the first place, (2) the rigorous education system from the cadet schools to Academy ensured that College students were the best the IJA had to offer, and (3) the strong and prolonged strategic education at the College ensured the students could keep up with Meckel. As College graduates further went to European states and reached top IJA positions upon returning, the system also increased the value of Western education.[200] In turn, these officers in key positions were more likely to continue promoting Western theories of victory and corporatism.

[199] In 1885, out of 40 War College students, 25 studied French and 15 German(Lone 2000, 17).

[200] Those who passed through the College often received accelerated promotion (Kennedy 1924, 134). More than 70% of War College graduates from 1885 to 1911 became major generals (Cook 1987, 381). This figure separately confirms my statistical analysis in the above.

5.5 Conclusion

5.5.1 Summary of findings and arguments

The chapter explains why and how the Meiji military achieved a maximalist emulation within a short period of time. I argue that this outcome is the result of the interaction between two institutions during critical juncture: (1) the transmission pathway diffusing Western theories of victory and corporatism through commercially-contracted training missions, and (2) the military's high-quality personnel infrastructure that facilitated the rise of Western product champions and boosted the organization's learning capacity. I examine qualitative and quantitive data and offer several findings.

First, the Meiji military achieved a maximalist emulation by the Sino-Japanese (1893-4) and Russo-Japanese (1904-5) Wars. Their theories of victory and corporatism reflected those found among the most powerful Western militaries at the time. The IJA and IJN had more than one single model to emulate but of those they adopted, they came close to the original model (high faithfulness). The IJA's theories of victory and corporatism, while initially developed over the French model, resembled those of the Germans. The role of Meckel and the presence of the German school within the IJA facilitated the diffusion of German theories of victory and corporatism. The IJA adopted Prussian-inspired theories of victory (from strategic outlook, military planning to infantry doctrine) and corporatism (from a division-based structure to monarchical militarism as the basis of civil-military relations).

Second, the absence of severe intra-military conflicts over military Westernization before the critical juncture was an important critical antecedent. Most of the Meiji military elite had agreed that some form of emulation was necessary. There were pre-Meiji precedents that facilitated such elite convergence. These were: the presence of 'Western studies' or

'Dutch learning' (*rangaku*); the limited military Westernization efforts of the shogunate and the domains, particularly the use of commercially hired Western trainers; the rise of Satsuma and Choshu, the most militarily Westernized domains in the Tokugawa era, facilitated the role and influence of the Western product champions in the early Meiji era.

Third, the Meiji-era transmission of Western theories of victory and corporatism was embedded within the broader commercial Westernization that Japan was engaging in. This structured the commercial contracts and arrangements the Meiji armed forces made with trainers and advisers from France, Germany, and Britain. The selective logic, the use of hired foreigners as contractors, and the development of a 'localization' framework were important facilitative properties that diffused Western theories of victory and corporatism.

Fourth, Western studies background was a significant predictor of whether IJA and IJN officers retired as three or four-star generals or admirals. I ran six statistical models to test different hypotheses and found that compared to other career markers, having a Western studies background (education, training, or attache assignments) was a significant predictor for a successful career. The analysis further shows that there were new career pathways for Western-trained officers who became Western product champions as well. Roughly half of the Meiji military elite had some form of Western studies background (three times more than the Indonesian military in chapter 4). Germany, England, and France were the top providers (almost 60%) of professional education and training.

Fiinally, the institutionalized career management allowed Western-trained officers to collaborate with Western trainers to drive the military Westernization process. Western-trained officers were, after all, rewarded and promoted to key positions. The centrality of education and training as professional qualifications—and the fact that the Academy and War College emphasized military sciences, competitive examinations, and academic focus—

boosted the organization's learning capacity. When foreign trainers worked with Western-trained officers, the broader student body and officer corps were capable of understanding and adopting Western theories of victory and corporatism.

5.5.2 Alternative explanations

Chapter 2 provides alternative arguments. The first set of arguments draws from the neo-realist literature and claims that international anarchy drives them to emulate the best military practices of others. This argument partially explains Japan's motivation to engage in military Westernization. While the neo-realists could explain the motivation for military emulation in the 1890s, it cannot account for how domestic threats shape the early Meiji leaders' Westernization efforts. Compared to the commercial model I develop, the neo-realist argument is not better at explaining why and how Japan achieved a maximalist emulation.

The second set of arguments, associated with security constructivists, focuses on trans-national military norms and claim that emulation is a function of concerns over social legitimacy. This could either lead to the emulation of the 'most popular' or the 'best suited' model that fits pre-existing norms and values. This argument perhaps provides the strongest challenge to my commercial model. As we see above, the IJA's ability to adopt Prusso-German theories of victory appeared to have been based in part by shared cultural (e.g. militarism) and political (e.g. monarchical absolutism) affinities. French republican values may have also been a less suitable match for Japan's samurai-driven organizational values.

But the norms argument is under-specified. A cultural match in itself cannot explain the diffusion of Western theories of victory and corporatism to Japan. The intra-military power dynamics shaped the parameters under which some norms become localized or institutionalized. My commercial model further specifies how norms transplantation occurs.

My model accounts for intra-military power politics, the role of personnel infrastructure, and the facilitative diffusion properties underpinning norms localization. In this sense, the constructivist argument does not provide a better explanation than my commercial model.

The third set of arguments focuses on unit-level variables, from regime type to state extraction capacity and bureaucratic politics. In short, emulation is more likely when states and their militaries have the necessary capacity to adopt foreign systems. My argument complements these unit-level arguments; my commercial model specifically contributes to the organizational capacity literature. But my model focuses on operationalizing personnel infrastructure, rather than material resources, as way to measure 'organizational capacity'. It underscores the importance of intra-military power dynamics and institutionalized policies pertaining to career management and education. In this sense, I provide an alternative argument to the organizational capacity literature.

But unit-level arguments tend to take the method of diffusion for granted. The focus on the emulator's logic and characteristics (e.g. regime type or state capacity) ignores the manner through which potential emulators receive knowledge about new theories of victory and corporatism. My model shows the interaction between the transmission pathway with the military's personnel infrastructure in producing emulation outcomes. Extant unit-level arguments do not account for the transmission pathways and thus only provide partial explanations for military emulation—they maybe necessary but not always sufficient. The interaction of two institutions—transmission pathway and personnel infrastructure—my model outlines provides a necessary and sufficient condition to explain military emulation. Overall, my theoretical argument and empirical findings complements and enriches the extant unit-level arguments.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Overview and key findings

The dissertation seeks to explain why and how some militaries are better than others at emulating the organizational system and doctrinal concepts of others. It proposes a new institutional theory outlining middle-range causal mechanisms that lead to different military emulation outcomes. To assess the analytical utility of the theory, I provide a systematic and methodologically-conscious plausibility probe through comparative process tracing. The research design combines within-case analyses and a cross-case comparison of Cold War Indonesia (1950–1991) and Meiji Japan (1868–1912). I examine and integrate qualitative (archival material, organizational documents, and secondary sources) and quantitative (two original officer-level datasets) data. The dissertation consists of four primary chapters.

Chapter 2 provides a review of the extant literature on social diffusion in general and military diffusion in particular. It also provides a multi-level structural and a taxonomic concept analysis on the term ‘military diffusion’ and ‘military emulation’. Drawing from the literature review and concept analyses, I define military diffusion as the process through which military knowledge, concepts, or ideas are transmitted from one polity to another. Military emulation, I argue, is the outcome of the diffusion process: the observable changes

to one military's organization, operational methods, or doctrine resulting from the imitation of another military's organization, operational methods, or doctrine. I also formulate theories of victory and corporatism as the conceptual containers for the military knowledge or ideas transmitted from the model to the emulator. The theory of corporatism captures the essence of how the internal institutions of the military and their *raison d'tres* are designed, maintained, and defended in their relationship with the state and society. The theory of victory focuses on what the next mission or war a military needs to fight and how to win. Taken together, the extent to which these theories are replaced or supplanted should tell us the extent of organization-wide military emulation.

To explain military emulation, chapter 3 develops a nested argument consisting of: (1) a power-based institutional framework; (2) a theory based on the interaction between the transmission pathway diffusing new theories of victory and corporatism and the emulator's personnel infrastructure; and (3) two transmission models—cooperative and commercial—that specify how the interaction of those two institutions leads to variations in military emulation. These components are nested in and operationalized with one another. The framework explains how the power dynamics between groups competing for resources and control shapes the interplay between formal and informal institutions. As the power dynamics reproduces institutions, they place the organization on a path-dependent trajectory. The salient power dynamics initially emerges during critical junctures and are driven by critical antecedents. I argue that the level of intra-military conflict over military Westernization is an important critical antecedent condition.

The theory argues that the interaction between the transmission pathway and the emulator's personnel infrastructure explains the variation of military emulation. The former provides the 'supply' of information on new theories of victory and corporatism and the

latter determines whether officers could understand and adopt them. As embodiments of the donor-emulator relationship, some pathways have more accelerative properties than others. The cooperative transmission is more inhibitive than the commercial. Meanwhile, the higher the quality of its personnel infrastructure, the more likely a military would be receptive to new theories of victory and corporatism. Thus, a maximalist emulation is more likely in a commercial transmission and when the emulator has a high-quality personnel infrastructure. A minimalist emulation is more likely in a cooperative transmission and when the emulator has a low-quality personnel infrastructure. The two transmission models operationalize this theory and guide the empirical analysis.

Chapter 4 applies and provides a plausibility probe for the cooperative model by explaining why and how the Indonesian military did not become 'Americanized' by the end of the Cold War, despite employing thousands of US-trained officers. It shows the diffusion of US theories of victory and corporatism was hindered by: (1) the contradictory and contending interests from both the US (model) and Indonesia (emulator), (2) the paramount importance of bilateral goals at the expense of emulation-related goals, and (3) the lack of ownership from Indonesia as the emulator of the diffusion process. Washington viewed military education and training aid as a political tool to combat communism rather than a method to modernize the Indonesian military over its own image. The lack of appropriate tools to measure the organizational effects of US military education and training assistance exacerbated the problem.

Statistical analyses of the Indonesian Army's career patterns show there was no strong correlation between a 'professional' career trajectory and successful retirement. Indeed, only around 16% of 677 Indonesian Army generals had some form of US education or training. The regression analyses suggest informal institutions like patronage may have allowed

some officers to spend more time overseas, which in turn, was significantly correlated with a successful career. Meanwhile, the military's learning capacity was of low quality. Its educational institutions focused on ideological coherence and non-military duties while officers valued higher-level education like staff colleges for its political and patronage effects, rather than for their intellectual development.

Taken together, the interaction between the inhibitive properties of the US-Indonesia cooperative transmission with the Indonesian military's low-quality personnel infrastructure during the critical juncture (1960s to 1970s) led to a path-dependent minimalist emulation. The intense intra-military conflicts over military Westernization in the 1940s and 1950s became the critical antecedent that shaped and shoved this interaction. The conflicts were fought between a small-number but professionally-trained Dutch-trained officers and the more numerous Japanese-trained officers who were also influential local figures. Consequently, we see the doctrinal stagnation the 1960s and the limited and inconsistent application of some elements of US theories of victory in military's major operations. The lack of fundamental changes across the Indonesian military organization based on US theories of victory and corporatism indicate it achieved only a minimalist emulation.

Finally, chapter 5 applies and provides a plausibility probe for the commercial model by explaining why and how the Imperial Japanese armed forces could transition from a feudal-era structure to a world-class military power within a few decades. It shows the commercial contracts Meiji leaders signed with individual Western military trainers allowed the armed forces to: (1) maintain control and agency of the diffusion process, (2) obtain the best ideas offered by the market based on specific requirements, and (3) 'localize' the diffusion process as 'ownership' of the activities grew, ensuring that (4) there was coherence and consistency in the diffusible theories of victory and corporatism. Japan's contracts with

French, German, and British military trainers—based on templates partly derived from the Tokugawa-era experience and partly from the broader Meiji-era commercial Westernization—provided a targeted and rapid means to diffuse Western theories of victory and corporatism.

The process was further facilitated by Japan's well-developed and institutionalized career management as well as education and training systems. The relatively stable personnel infrastructure since the 1880s ensured that formal, professional, merit-based systems created successful career pathways for Western-trained officers, which then became Western product champions. The statistical analyses of the Meiji elite officers' career patterns show that, compared to other career markers like domain affiliation, Western studies background was a significant predictor of whether they will retire as three or four-star generals and admirals. In total, roughly half of the Meiji military elite had some form of Western studies background (roughly three times more than the Indonesian military). The centrality of education and training as professional qualifications—and the fact that the Academy and War College emphasized military sciences, competitive examinations, and academic focus—helped facilitate the organization's learning capacity. When foreign trainers worked with Western-trained officers and product champions, the broader officer corps was capable of understanding and adopting Western theories of victory and corporatism.

Taken together, the interaction between the accelerative properties of the commercial transmission with the Imperial Japanese forces' high-quality personnel infrastructure during the critical juncture (1870s to 1890s) led to a path-dependent maximalist emulation. The absence of intra-military conflicts over military Westernization became the critical antecedent that shaped and shoved this interaction. There were historical precedents — conceptual, practical, political, and organizational — that facilitated the elite consensus over military Westernization. Consequently, we see the extensive use German and British theories of vic-

tory and corporatism within the IJA and IJN, respectively, by the Sino-Japanese (1893–1894) and Russo-Japanese (1904-1905) wars. The organization-wide changes, from strategic outlook to infantry tactics, based on Western theories of victory and corporatism demonstrates Meiji Japan's maximalist emulation.

The analysis presented in these four core chapters suggests that my new institutional theory of military emulation is sufficiently plausible and valid to explain the empirical puzzles of Cold War Indonesia and Meiji Japan relatively well. My theory therefore merits further testing using different data and methods. As an added measure to the methodological plausibility probe, I consider how well my transmission model hold up against the alternative explanations—the neo-realist, security constructivist, and unit-level theories. In general, my models complement and could contribute to the better specifications of these theories. While the neo-realist argument provides a partial explanation to why states engage in military Westernization, my models provide the mechanisms through which the process may lead to different emulation outcomes. The arguments of security constructivists based on social legitimacy and cultural match were also under-specified as they ignore the power dynamics between the donor and the recipient as well as between competing groups within the emulator's military. Finally, domestic or unit-level arguments focus too much on the emulator at the expense of the relationship between the model and the emulator. My transmission pathway element rectifies this problem.

6.2 Contributions and broader implications

Aside from the successful plausibility probe of my institutional theory of military emulation, there are broader contributions and implications from this dissertation.

6.2.1 Methodological

This dissertation does not provide or propose new methodological tools to be further tested. I certainly do not pretend to propose path-breaking qualitative or quantitative techniques. But as I try to address the multitude of challenges in explaining a real-world puzzle and policy problem not easily located with the established research programs in political science, I employ a few unconventional but methodologically-conscious solutions that might be worth revisiting in the future. These solutions seem particularly useful for under-developed research programs that do not sit well within an established literature or discipline.

First, I provide a systematic concept analysis as a way to both clarify the conceptual ambiguities within the literature that examines military diffusion and emulation and provide a baseline measure to check whether we have truly general or simply partial theories of military diffusion. I apply the multi-level structural analysis Goertz (2006) develops to unpack the term 'military diffusion' and clarify the conflation between process and outcome that plagues the diffusion studies literature. Far too often, concept analysis is provided as part of our graduate training but scholars rarely apply it in their substantive work. Indeed, there are very few studies applying systematic concept analysis to examine an under-developed research program. Among the best scholarly works that engage in concept analysis, the focus has been on well-established research programs like classifying democracies (Collier and Levitsky 1997; Collier and Adcock 1999). Others focused on refining central concepts in comparative politics (Collier and Mahon 1993), rather than demonstrating how a systematic concept analysis could be "put to work" in practical research or theory development. Systematic concept analysis should be among the first tasks scholars engage in when working within an under-developed research program. One should not wait until the research program has become too large and unwieldy with different scholars proposing different theories

to explain different outcomes. In other words, we should not wait until an important research program becomes too theoretically messy before we engage in concept analysis.

Second, as I propose a new and untested theory of military emulation, I provide a systematic plausibility probe research design. As Levy (2008) notes, political scientists often employ the term 'plausibility probe' loosely for their exploratory or illustrative case studies. This practice makes it seem that plausibility probes are simply "cop-outs" when qualitative-oriented scholars examine case studies. I hope to elevate the utility of plausibility probes by grounding the design not just in well-established tool kits like process tracing or comparative-historical analysis, but also within deeper ontological and epistemological foundations. I provide a coherent sequence from ontological choices to theory and empirical examination. By "elevating" plausibility probes in this manner, I demonstrate that the verdict "the new theory deserves further testing because it is plausible and valid" is not based on some loosely-defined benchmark. A strong plausibility probe research design, in my view, is preferable to a weak hypothesis testing exercise.

Finally, as far multi-method strategy of inquiry is concerned, my empirical research design departs from the conventional nested analysis that integrates qualitative and quantitative data. Rather than following either the regression-based or case study-based nested analysis where the tools drive the research design, I employ what I call a mechanism-based nested analysis. In this design, different parts of the causal mechanism may employ different data (qualitative or quantitative) to verify the strength of each step within the overall chain. This allows us to combine two or more methods to support a single, unified causal inference. This design of course assumes that one is interested in causal mechanisms. I concede that the mechanism-based design is not fully developed and tested. But I try to ground its foundation within the recent advances of multi-method inquiry as much as possible and

demonstrate its utility by applying it to my within-case analyses. The larger point here is that more work needs to be done to develop practical templates of multi-method inquiry that do not constrain our research by letting the tools drive the research design. Instead, if we truly believe that our research puzzle should drive our research enterprise than the proposed theory or mechanism should drive the empirical research design.

6.2.2 Theoretical

This dissertation proposes a new theory of military emulation and provides a preliminary but systematic plausibility probe to assess its analytical purchase. While I do not provide a direct or exhaustive test of the theory against contending explanations, I provide a brief discussion of how well the theory holds up against the extant literature in the conclusion of each empirical chapters. The analysis suggests that the alternative explanations are less "contending" in that they are under-specified and under-developed compared to my theory. Put it simply, the extant literature only provides partial theories of military diffusion and emulation. As the concept analysis demonstrates, a full general theory of military diffusion should account for the diffusible item, diffusion medium, and diffusion outcome (emulation). The neo-realist literature provides a good explanation for the stimulus or reasons to engage in military Westernization in the first place but is largely silent or under-specified when it comes to the diffusion medium or diffusible item. The security constructivist provides a good account of one of the key diffusion mediums but largely silent on the diffusible item. The domestic unit-level theories are essentially an umbrella framework for a variety of possible "filters" of the diffusion medium and outcomes.

Taken together, my institutional theory provides a more complete explanation for military diffusion because it accounts for all the constitutive elements of what 'diffusion'

is. It does not overturn alternative explanations and instead complements them, especially the unit-level theories. My personnel infrastructure arguments, for example, contributes to the growing literature highlighting the role of organizational capacity in predicting military innovation and emulation. More broadly, my nested argument draws from a variety of research programs in social science to develop a theory of military diffusion. I also explicitly design my theory around middle-range causal mechanisms. In other words, it brings concepts and arguments to the international security field that is traditionally skewed towards military history and heavily shaped by paradigmatic grand theories of International Relations.

More specifically, my theoretical analysis contributes to broader debates over the nature and mechanisms of military change. For one thing, by highlighting the contingent nature of power dynamics and institutional development as well as the agency of the emulator, I try to address some of the 'pro-innovation' and 'Western-centric' biases in the literature. There was nothing inherently or absolutely 'superior' in Western theories of victory and corporatism that Asian militaries should adopt. When and how they chose to engage in military Westernization—and their success or failure—depends on a wide range of contingent factors and historical legacies. For another, I complement existing theoretical arguments seeking to explain military change. Military emulation and Westernization provide different scope conditions and mechanisms that could illuminate why and how militaries change in general.

My theoretical analysis also speaks to broader questions surrounding the generation of military power. While emulation may seem like the quickest and easiest way to generate military power, the processes leading up to it are highly contingent. A successful emulation also does not guarantee victory in battle. A maximalist emulation is perhaps be the best outcome to achieve if one wants to get closer to generating combat effectiveness against a more advanced or superior enemy. But the specific conditions under which a successful emulation

transpires are generally rare. The nature of transmission and the personnel infrastructure required are often more subtle and complex than what policymakers envision. Acquiring and reverse-engineering sophisticated weapons is certainly insufficient in this regard. The discussion also underscores the importance of fully understanding the nature of operational challenges that emulator's face. Adopting an externally-oriented offensive posture, for example, would be incongruent for a military faced with constant internal security challenges. Furthermore, the relationship between emulation and combat outcomes is also contingent on numerous variables that are both unique to the emulator as well as to the relationship with the 'enemy'. In short, emulation may seem simple but it is never easy.

Finally, my arguments contributes to the understanding of power dynamics behind norms transplantation and organizational change. The analyses show, for example, that any effective effort to socialize a non-Western military with Western theories of victory and corporatism—i.e. a transmission effort—ultimately depends on the agency of the emulator. The more empowered the emulator feels in managing the transmission process, and the more 'buy-in' the military could get from the officer corps as foreign-trained officers return, the more likely we will see a successful emulation outcome. The centrality of personnel infrastructure—in terms of career management and education system—also contributes to the small, but growing research on 'micro military politics' within the security and strategic studies literature. Overall, I try to bring "power back in" into the discussion of norms diffusion and organizational change.

6.2.3 Empirical

I want to first note the importance of a conceptual organization-wide change rather than the adoption of military technology in the process of military Westernization. While I do

not focus on technological diffusion, it is worth noting that the Meiji government's arms localization requirements facilitated the employment of Western trainers and the expansion of overseas students programs. These developments, in turn, facilitated the diffusion of Western theories of victory and corporatism. Among the earlier problems of capability development in the Meiji era was the lack of standardization in arms and equipment as well as the reliance on foreign suppliers amidst language and financial difficulties (Smith 1976, 14). These challenges were legacies of the Tokugawa who haphazardly acquired all kinds of firearms they could get their hands on.[1] By the early Meiji era, weapons import—alongside the foreign experts to operate them—became widespread as arms production and military ship-building grew.[2] Overall, the Meiji Japan case suggests how technological diffusion eventually facilitated conceptual diffusion. But in and of themselves, arms import from the West did not fundamentally help Japan won the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars nor did it cause the maximalist emulation outcome.

Conversely for the Indonesia case, arms transfer from the US did not facilitate the diffusion of US theories of victory and corporatism. US arms assistance in that era (1) was deliberately 'minimized' so as not to enhance external military capabilities, (2) focused instead on defensive arms and equipment to assist with domestic security threats and local development, (3) avoided giving sophisticated lethal weaponry in large scale, (4) and encouraged the diversity of suppliers. Some in Washington thought that the US should be the primary supplier to prevent Soviet domination.[3] But others argued that providing

[1] In the 19th century arms market, Western countries were eager to dispose of their old smoothbore flintlocks, for example, as they continually engage in technological innovation. By the 1850s, some in Japan were aware that they were getting obsolete goods and that newer, better weapons like the Minie riffle were available in the market. See details in Totman (1980, 25).

[2] By the 1870s, about 18% of Japanese warships were domestically produced (with 52% being British and 22% American-built) (Krause 1995, 69).

[3] This was the National Security Council's position since 1955, for example. U.S. Policy on Indonesia, National Security Council Report, May 3, 1955, 9, Digital National Security Archives, Presidential directives on national security. Part I. From Truman to Clinton.

what Jakarta wanted would have been wasteful as it did not have the capacity to absorb sophisticated weaponry.[4] In this view, supporting a full-fledged modernization would have led to either the provision of "modern equipment too soon and watch it become quickly unserviceable" or "hundreds of American trainers and advisers".[5] Both of these were deemed untenable. Many were also concerned that conventional modernization would encourage Jakarta's regional ambitions. The solution was to provide either the tools and equipment for domestic needs or the occasional 'status items'.[6] The US, for example, was willing to provide military aid for internal security, civic action, and economic development projects.[7] Even after the arrival of the New Order, the US did not prioritize large-scale transfers of sophisticated weaponry. According to one senior official,

> "It was our aim to strengthen the Indonesian government's emphasis on internal economic reform and encourage the Armed Forces to use their manpower for the rehabilitation of the country's sadly deteriorated roads, ports, and irrigation systems. We also bore in mind that Indonesia had received from Eastern European sources sufficient combat equipment to meet its internal security needs. Finally, we felt that the military's concentration on civil tasks would help allay certain fears on the part of Indonesia's smaller neighbors, who had fresh memories of the hostile confrontation of the Sukarno regime."[8]

[4] Even in the post-1965 era, US officials believed that the Indonesian military could not absorb the already limited US arms and equipment without significant improvement in logistics and management. See Embassy Telegram from Jakarta to Secretary of State, Follow-Up on President's Talks with Suharto, Top Secret, June 8, 1970. Digital National Security Archives Collection, Vietnam War II, 1969–1975.

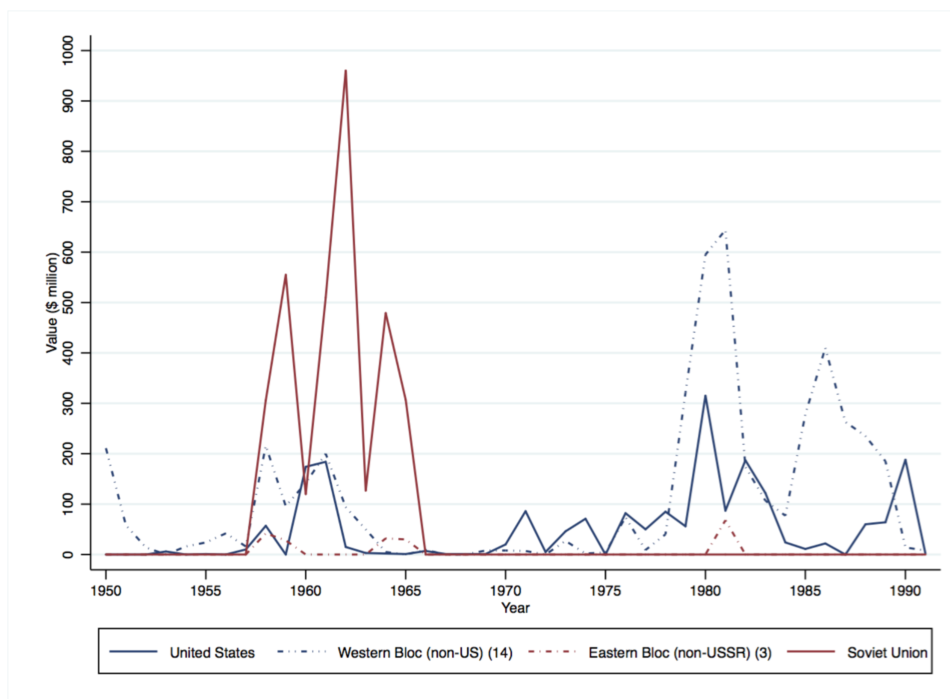
[5] See Letter from Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (Green) to the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger), Washington, August 10, 1970, FRUS, 1969–1976, Vol. 20, Southeast Asia, 1969–1972, 676. Available at `https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v20/d311` (last accessed on March 2, 2017).

[6] These status items, include, for example, several new patrol gunboats, PGMs, and amphibious crafts for the Navy and a few T-37 jet trainers for the Air Force. See Plan of Action for Indonesia: Response to NSAM 179, Secret, Department of State, dated October 8, 1962, 13, Enclosure 11. Digital National Security Archives collection; Presidential Directives.

[7] Some US officials thought this could be accomplished by providing arms and equipment for a lightly armed, mobile, and possibly smaller army, expanding the police, providing additional patrol crafts, and others. See Draft repot on Indonesia for the Anderson-Southeast Asia Subcommittee, The Presidents Committee to Study the United States Military Assistance Program (Draper Committee), Privileged Information, February 27, 1959, 2. Edward G. Lansdale Papers, Box No. 42, Hoover Institution Archives.

[8] Statement by Marshall Green, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, November 30, 1970, 17. Marshall Green Papers, Box No. 5, Hoover Institution Archives

Figure 6.1: Foreign supplier of Indonesian arms (1950–1990)



Source: Author calculation based on Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) Arms Transfer Database (generated May 1, 2016)
Note: The Non-US Western states include Australia, Canada, France, West Germany, United Kingdom, Japan, Italy, Israel, the Netherlands, New Zealand, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, and Malaysia. The non-Soviet Eastern states include Poland, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia.

Indonesia consequently diversified its arms import portfolio for much of the Cold War. As Nasution explained, "After having failed to get heavy military aid from the West, we went to the East. The Western Bloc countries won't give us destroyers and submarines, while the Eastern bloc is prepared to do so. It [was] a logical issue and [not a] cold war issue." (cited in Mrázek 1978*b*, 60). By the 1970s and 1980s, Jakarta had more than 15 different foreign arms supplier.[9] Figure 6.1 above depicts Indonesia's arms supplier diversity.

This brief analysis suggests the empirical conditions under which an arms import could have facilitatef broader organization-wide emulation were absent in Cold War Indone-

[9] See details in Indonesia: New Focus on External Security Threats, Intelligence Assessment, Central Intelligence Agency, Secret, September 1982, 4, General CIA Records. Available at CIA Freedom of Information Act Electronic Reading Room `https://www.cia.gov/library/readingroom/document/cia-rdp03t02547r000100930001-9` (last accessed January 3, 2018).

sia. The Indonesian military had a 'hodgepodge' structure of imported arms with different design features, reliability, and sustainability. But as the US never became the single dominant supplier, the military never felt the urgency to adopt an organization-wide set of reforms to emulate US theory of victory. Because there would be different groups trained to operate different arms and equipment, there was no incentive to create new career pathways for a single-country foreign-trained officers. Overall, the Cold War Indonesia and Meiji Japan cases suggest military technology alone was not critical for the diffusion of Western theories of victory and corporatism.

The findings in chapter 4 also challenge several conventional wisdoms in the study of Indonesian politics, particularly about the US influence on the military. The influence appear to be limited to a few combat arms at a particular moment and was not absolute (in that there were no other foreign models that shaped the organization). The brief analysis of US arms transfer above also suggests the US did not support Indonesia's conventional modernization drive and gave less than what was requested. This has long-term implications for the Indonesian military today. Similarly, the military's low-quality personnel infrastructure that started during the 1950s persisted. The strong role of informal institutions, the constant organizational tinkering, and the almost cyclical promotional logjams can still be observed today. Meanwhile, chapter 5 contributes to the rich literature on Japan's Meiji Restoration. Many of the existing literature focuses on Japan's modernization more broadly. But there are few studies that examine the processes under which military Westernization transpired. My focus on understanding the intra-military power dynamics and the statistical analyses of the career patterns of the officer corps enriches our understanding of the evolution of Imperial Japanese forces before World War 2.

6.2.4 Policy

My empirical findings suggest several steps potential emulators should consider. Aside from having the material resources and political will to engage in military Westernization in the first place, a potential emulator should also first prepare the military personnel infrastructure. The centrality of a well-developed and institutionalized career management and education system may seem less pressing compared to arms procurements. But without a professional officer corps to manage or operate new arms, technological modernization is rarely sufficient to generate a sustainable military power. The Meiji Japan case also suggests the importance of developing a localization framework to ensure that organizational stakeholders and power-holders could claim ownership of foreign (Western) theories of victory and corporatism. In this regard, how similar the emulation outcome is to the original model is less relevant than to the extent to which military leaders could claim the 'new' doctrines as their 'product'.

More broadly, the analysis contribute to broader policy debates over the promises and pitfalls of contemporary military assistance programs. Military emulation is, of course, not the only outcome by which we should measure the successes or failures of education and training assistance programs. Policymakers in Western countries, for example, may have broader political or strategic outcomes in mind (e.g. democracy promotion) or they may simply have short-term goals (e.g. collaboration in counter-terrorism). But ultimately, emulation-related goals are the ultimate benchmark if we are to understand the broader organizational effects of such programs. Donors like NATO and the US, should be clear in expressing their goals and consider ways to help recipients 'localize' and take 'ownership' of the diffusion processes. Without the emulator having agency and taking ownership of the process, efforts to 'remodel' partner militaries are unlikely to be sustainable. For that matter, donors should also invest tailoring its transmission methods to better suit the recipients,

rather than imposing a one-size-fits-all benchmark.

The comparison between Indonesia and Japan also suggests we should not expect a maximalist emulation in a cooperative transmission fraught with structural challenges. This helps us manage our policy expectations when providing military education and training assistance. For a successful diffusion in a cooperative transmission to transpire, we need to ensure that the challenges on both the donor (model) and recipient (emulator) sides are addressed. The donor should provide consistency and coherence in providing military education programs or activities, preferably backed by a systematic and appropriate measurement framework. The donor should also prioritize military-related goals rather than bilateral ones. Finally, the donor should better engage the recipient to understand what it needs, rather than imposing upon them what the donor thinks the recipients should have.

The recipient meanwhile should focus on long-term plans to improve its personnel infrastructure above anything else before engaging in the transmission process of a new war-fighting concept. The institutionalization of career management as well as education and training are central to the organization's capacity to emulate. As these areas require long-term policy development, the military should strive to eliminate informal institutions such as patronage if it hopes to stabilize its officers' career expectations. The high command should also focus on building formal procedures for learning and prevent the decentralization of training and education. Finally, the recipient should separate intra-military dynamics and civil-military dynamics to avoid the politicization of organizational development policies.

Finally, they contribute to the understanding of various empirical puzzles surrounding Asian military development and strategic history. Japan's case is not unique as other Asian militaries have tried to commercial import their military power as well, from China, Singapore to Thailand. Indonesia is also not unique as various Asian militaries have engaged

in bilateral cooperative military arrangements to transfer Western arms and theories of victory and corporatism, from South Korea to Australia. Some of the puzzles are historically related to the processes of colonization and decolonization. Unfortunately, the dissertation does not discuss the coercive methods of diffusion through colonialism. India, Pakistan, and others would have provided a better understanding of the challenges associated with coercive diffusion. Nonetheless, my findings seek to enrich the small but growing number of studies that examines Asian military history and development.

6.3 Limitations and future research

The dissertation suffers from several limitations that future research could address. First of all, the within-case analysis did not employ systematic process-tracing tests to examine competing explanations at the same time. I try as much as possible to focus on demonstrating the analytical utility of my nested argument and discuss the overall claims vis-a-vis existing theories. But as I focus on mid-level mechanisms, the process tracing tests were harder to apply. Furthermore, the existing theories were not on the same level of conceptual development as my nested argument. A tit-for-tat process tracing test would be difficult, for example, when the neo-realist argument only provides the motivation for Westernization but not the methods to do so. Future research should develop micro-level mechanisms to test against competing explanations.

Second, the comparison of two cases and their within-case mechanism may not have strong external validity. The empirical analyses provide a preliminary support for my nested argument because they explain Cold War Indonesia and Meiji Japan well. It is unclear how my argument would explain other cases beyond these two. Future research should consider how the nested argument and models could explain other cases, whether in Asia,

Africa, or Latin America. Military emulation and Westernization, after all, is not a unique phenomenon. It is also worthwhile to consider creating a new variable of 'military emulation variation' to test in existing datasets tracking wars across history like the Correlates of War data. Military emulation may or may not have significant effects for various battle or combat-related outcomes.

Third, aside from the testing of different theoretical explanations of military emulation, it is also worth examining contending empirical explanations to the puzzles of Cold War Indonesia and Meiji Japan. There might be other case-specific empirical explanations for the Indonesian military's minimalist emulation and Japan's maximalist emulation. My use of the cooperative and commercial models were aligned with my research goals of providing a plausibility probe. But historians of Indonesia and Japan might be able to offer more precise and nuanced, even if less theoretical, explanations to the empirical puzzles. This problem highlights the broader tension between historically-informed political science research and historical work in general.

Finally, the research relies on English-language sources (for Japan) and information on high-profile officers. There are inherent selection biases to the data in this regard. While the limitations to the officer-level dataset is inevitable and perhaps methodologically justifiable given the theoretical goals, the lack of Japanese sources is harder to defend. It is likely that Japanese-language sources on the Meiji era military Westernization provide more nuanced assessments of the process than English-language sources. In the future, it would be worthwhile considering various options to get access to Japanese-language sources. Overall, the sample for both the Indonesian and Japanese officer-level data could be improved and expanded. As they stand now, the datasets give us relatively good estimations of the career patterns but the representativeness of the samples leave quite a bit to be desired.

Appendix A

Senior IJA officers with Western-studies background (selected)

Name	Last rank	Key positions
Yamagata Aritomo	Field Marshal	Army & War Minister, Chief of General Staff, Home Minister, Prime Minister, Justice Minister, Privy Council President
Oyama Iwao	Field Marshal	2nd Army Commander, War Minister, Chief of General Staff, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal
Nozu Michitsura	Field Marshal	Inspector General of Military Education, Imperial Guard Commander, 4th Army Commander, House of Peers Member
Kan'in Kotohito	Field Marshal	1st Division Commander, Supreme War Councilor, Chief of Army General Staff
Terauchi Hisaichi	Field Marshal	Army Minister, Japanese Taiwan Army Commander, Southern Expeditionary Army Group Commander
Hata Shunroku	Field Marshal	Inspector General of Military Education, Commander, China Expeditionary Army, Army Minister
Uehara Yusaku	Field Marshal	Army Minister, Army General Staff Chief, Inspector General of Military Training
Hasegawa Yoshimichi	Field Marshal	Army General Staff Chief, Korea Governor General
Katsura Taro	General	Army Minister, Prime Minister, Taiwan Governor General, Ministers of: Education, Home Affairs, Finance, Lord Keeper of Privy Seal
Kawakami Soroku	General	Chief, Army General Staff
Kodama Gentaro	General	Head, Army War College, Chief of General Staff, Governor General of Taiwan, Ministers of: Army, Home Affairs, Education
Nogi Maresuke	General	3rd Division Commander, Governor-General of Taiwan, 3rd Army Commander

Tanaka Giichi	General	Director, Military Affairs Bureau, Army Minister, Prime Minister and Ministers of: Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, Colonial Affairs
Tatsumi, Naofumi	General	Head, Army War College, Commander, Taiwan Army
Inoue Hikaru	General	Commander, 4th Division
Akiyama Yoshifuru	General	Imperial Guard Commander, Inspector General of Military Education
Kamio Mitsuomi	General	Tsingtao Governor General, Commander, 18th Division
MatsukawaToshitane	General	Korean Army Commander, Supreme War Council
Kuroda Kiyotaka	Lt. General	Director, Hokkaido Colonization Office, Prime Minister, Minister of Agriculture & Commerce
Soga Sukenori	Lt. General	Vice Chief, General Staff, Commander, Osaka Garrison
Yukihiko Kusunose	Lt. General	Army Minister, Yura Fortress Commander
Kigoshi Yasutsuna	Lt. General	Army Minister, Commander, 6th Division, House of Peers Member
Ijichi Suekiyo	Maj. General	Yura Fortress Commander
Tsunoda Koreshige	Maj. General	11th Infantry Brigade Commander, Diet Member
Mizoguchi Naosuke	Maj. General	3rd Heavy Field Artillery Commander, Diet Member

Appendix B

Primary and archival sources

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Records of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, RG 218, Central Decimal File 1957. Box No. 5; Box No. 7.

Records of the United States Army, Pacific, RG 550, Classified Organizational History Files. Box No. 175; Box No. 308.

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B.3 Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University

Records consulted

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B.4 National Security Archives

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Zürcher, Erik-Jan. 2013. "Introduction: Understanding changes in military recruitment and employment worldwide." *Fighting for a living: A comparative history of military labour, 1500–2000* pp. 11–42.

Personal biography

Education

Syracuse University Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.), Political Science (2019)

Syracuse University Master of Arts (M.A.), Political Science (2012)

Nanyang Technological University Master of Science (M.Sc.), Strategic Studies (2009)

Parahyangan Catholic University Bachelor's Degree, Political Science (Cum Laude) (2006)

Awards and Grants

External

- International Scientific Publication Award, Republic of Indonesia (2016)
- Visiting PhD Scholar, Southeast Asia Centre, University of Sydney (2016)
- World Politics and Statecraft Fellowship, Smith Richardson Foundation (2015)
- Hoover Institute Library and Archives Scholar, Stanford University (2015)
- Fulbright Presidential PhD Scholar (2011–13)
- Southeast Asia Supplemental Grant, Fulbright - IIE (2012)
- Visiting Associate Fellow, Centre for Non-Traditional Security, RSIS (2010)
- Research Analyst Award, Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (2006-09)

Syracuse University

- Department of Political Science
  - Dissertation Writing Research Assistantship (2016–17)
  - Betsy and Alan Cohn Award (2015)
  - Stuart Thorson Award (2015)
  - Maxwell Dean's Summer Fellowship (2015)
  - Travel Grant (2011, 2012, 2015)
- Institute for National Security and Counter-terrorism
  Andrew Berlin Family National Security Research Fund (2015)
- Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs, Summer Research Grant (2015)
- Graduate Student Organization, Travel grant (2012, 2015)
- Roscoe-Martin Fund, Maxwell School (2014)
- Graduate Study Tuition Scholarship (2011–2013)
- Honor Society for International Scholars (Phi Beta Delta) (2012)

Academic and research positions

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) — Jakarta, Indonesia
Researcher, Dept. of International Relations — (2009 – Present)

The National Bureau of Asian Research (NBR) — Seattle, WA
Visiting fellow, Political and Security Affairs — (2017–18)

Syracuse University — Syracuse, NY
Graduate Teaching and Research Assistant, Dept. of Political Science — (2014–15)

Lowy Institute for International Policy — Sydney, Australia
Visiting research fellow, East Asia Program — (May 2015)

German Marshall Fund of the United States — Washington, DC
Non-resident Fellow, Asia Team — (2013–15)

Indonesian Defense University — Jakarta, Indonesia
Adjunct lecturer, School of Defense and Strategic Studies — (2010–11)

Parahyangan Catholic University — Bandung, Indonesia
Adjunct Lecturer, Department of International Relations — (2010)

Nanyang Technological University — Singapore
Research Analyst, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies — (2006–09)

Additional training

Summer Workshop on the Analysis of Military Operations and Strategy (SWAMOS) — (2015)
Arnold A. Saltzman Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University

Summer School for Quantitative Methods in Social Research — (2015)
Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR), University of Michigan

Institute for Qualitative and Multi-method Research (IQMR) — (2014)
Center for Qualitative and Multi-method Inquiry, Syracuse University

Advanced Security Cooperation (ASC) — (2010)
Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS), Department of Defense

Research publications (selected)

2019 “Reshuffling the Deck? Military Corporatism, Promotional Logjams, and Post-Authoritarian Military Reform in Indonesia,” *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 49

(5): 806–836

2019 “Civil-Military Relations under Jokowi: Between Military Corporate Interests and Presidential Handholding”, *Asia Policy*, 14 (4): 63–71

2019 “Political Violence and Counter-Terrorism in Indonesia: Disputed Boundaries of a Postcolonial State,” in *Non-Western Responses to Counter-Terrorism*, ed. M. Boyle. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 128–149 (with Michael E. Newell)

2018 *Reinforcing Indonesia–Australia Defence Relations: The Case for Maritime Recalibration*, Lowy Analysis. Sydney: Lowy Institute for International Policy.

2018 “Abandoned at Sea: The Tribunal Ruling and Indonesia’s Missing Archipelagic Foreign Policy,” *Asian Politics and Policy*, 10 (2): 300–321 (with Ristian Atriandi Supriyanto)

2018 “Indonesia”, in *Asia’s Quest for Balance: China’s Rise and Balancing in the Indo-Pacific*, ed. Jeff Smith. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 67-81.

2018 “Drifting towards Dynamic Equilibrium: Indonesia’s South China Sea Policy under Yudhoyono,” in *Aspirations with Limitations: Indonesia’s Foreign Affairs under Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono*, eds. Ulla Fionna, Siwage Dharma Negara, Deasy Simandjuntak. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 153–175.

2018 “Why is Southeast Asia Rearming? An Empirical Assessment”, in *US Policy in Asia—Perspectives for the Future,* eds. Rafiq Dossani and Scott W. Harold. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 106–137.

2017 “Pragmatic Equidistance: How Indonesia Manages Its Great Power Relations”, in *China, the United States, and the Future of Southeast Asia*, ed. David Denoon. New York: New York University Press, 113-135

2017 “Civil-military relations and threats: explaining Singapore’s “trickle down” military innovation”, *Defense and Security Analysis* , 33 (4): 347–365.

2016 “The Domestic Politics of Indonesia’s Approach to the Tribunal Ruling and the South China Sea,” *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 38 (3): 382–385.

2014 “Rebalancing Indonesia’s Naval Forces: Trends, Nature, and Drivers”, in *Naval Modernization in Southeast Asia: Nature, Causes and Consequences*, ed. Geoffrey Till and Jane Chan. London: Routledge, 175-203.

2012 “Regional Order by Other Means? Assessing the Rise of Defense Diplomacy in Southeast Asia”, *Asian Security*, 8 (3): 251–270.

2011 “Variations on a Theme: Dimensions of Ambivalence in Indonesia-China Relations”, *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, 13 (1): 24–31.

2011 “The Enduring Strategic Trinity: Explaining Indonesia’s Geopolitical Architecture”, *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region*, 7 (1): 95–116.

2011 “Indonesia’s Rising Regional and Global Profile: Does Size Really Matter?”, *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 33 (2): 157–182.

2011 “Double Jeopardy: Climate Insecurities and Their Implications for Asian Armed Forces”, *Defence Studies*, 11 (2): 271–296.

Teaching activities

University of Washington — Jackson School of International Studies
Mentor, International Strategic Crisis Negotiation Exercise — July 2019

Australian Defence College — Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies
Guest lecture: Civil-military relations in Indonesia — June 14, 2017

Australian National University — National Security College
Guest lecture: Indonesia's Defence and Foreign Policy — November 9, 2016

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- Teaching Assistant, PSC 124 International Relations (UG) — Fall 2014
- Teaching Assistant, PSC 378 Politics and the Military (UG) — Spring 2013
- Guest lecture, PSC 300 The United States and Asia (UG) — Nov. 7, 2011

Indonesia Defense University School of Defense and Strategic Studies

- Co-instructor, National Strategic Policy (G) — Fall 2010
- Primary instructor, Introduction to Defense Economics (G) — Spring 2011

Parahyangan Catholic University — Dept. of International Relations
Primary instructor, Indonesian Foreign Policy (UG) — Spring 2010

Air Force Staff and Command College — Indonesian National Defense Forces
Guest lecture, European Defense Policy and Dynamics — March 22, 2010

Conference, public engagement and service

Presented research papers

Columbia University Weatherhead East Asian Institute — 2017

RAND Corporation Center for Asia Pacific Policy — 2017

University of Melbourne Asia Research Institute — 2016

International Studies Association (ISA) — 2015, 2017

Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA) — 2012, 2013

ISA–APSA International Security Studies and Arms Control — 2012, 2014

Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society — 2011, 2017

New York State Political Science Association — 2013

Nanyang Technological University S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies — 2011

Harvard University Harvard Project for Asian and International Relations 2008

Korean National Defense University 2010

Essays and commentaries

Book reviews *International Studies Review* (2019); *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies* (2018); *Contemporary Southeast Asia* (2015, 2018); *Political Studies Review* (2014); *Journal of Strategic Studies* (2012)

Media outlets *New York Times, Washington Post, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, Asia Global Online, East Asia Forum, Global Asia, Australian Financial Review, South China Morning Post, World Politics Review, The Diplomat, Les Grands Dossiers de Diplomatie, Monde Chinois, Asia Pacific Defence Reporter, APPS Policy Forum, e-International Relations, New Mandala, The Jakarta Post, The Straits Times, Kompas, Jawa Pos.*

Research centers *Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Brookings Institution, Asia Society Policy Institute, Asia Society, German Marshall Fund of the United States, East-West Center, Royal United Services Institute, Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific, Pell Center for International Relations and Public Policy, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Lowy Institute for International Policy, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Indonesian Naval Staff and Command College*

Policy engagement (selected)

Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative Center for Strategic and International Studies
Member, Expert Working Group on the South China Sea 2018

Consortium for Indonesian Political Research (CIPR)
Co-founder, Civil-military relations working group 2015

Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP)
Indonesian member, study Group on Naval Enhancement in the Asia Pacific 2011

Pro-Patria Institute Working Group on Defense Legislation Reform
Expert member and lead researcher, Defense Reserve Component Bill 2010

Invited public and policy event (selected)

University of Wisconsin–Madison University Lectures Series 2017

Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam South China Sea International Conference 2016

Shangri-La Dialogue IISS Young Southeast Asian Leaders Program 2016

Lowy Institute for International Policy New Voices conference 2015

Australian National University Indonesia Project 2015, 2016

University of Queensland Dept. of Politics and International Studies 2016

Stanford University Southeast Asia Forum 2015, 2019

Special Operations Command Pacific Pacific Special Operations Conference 2011, 2013

Syracuse University Moynihan Institute of Global Affairs 2012

United States–Indonesia Society (USINDO) Open Forum 2012, 2017, 2019

NATO - Asia Pacific Security Dialogue 2011

Service, consultancy, and media (selected)

Syracuse University Graduate admissions committee (Spring 2013), Tenure and promotion review committee (Fall 2014), Senior Editor, Journal on Terrorism and Security Analysis (2012–2013)

Manuscript reviewer *West Point's Modern War Institute, RAND Corporation, Sea Power Centre–Australia, Lowy Institute for International Policy, Political and Military Sociology: An Annual Review, Asian Politics and Policy, Asia Policy, Foreign Policy Analysis, Indonesia, Asian Security, Journal of International Relations and Development, Asia and the Pacific Policy Studies, Contemporary Southeast Asia, Journal of Asian and African Studies, Journal of Current Southeast Asian Affairs*

Project consultancy Office of Net Assessment (2017), International Crisis Group (2015), Transparency International (2015)

Media interviews *New York Times, Financial Times, Time, Wall Street Journal, The Atlantic, The Economist, The Washington Post, Reuters, Defense News, Voice of America, Los Angeles Times, BBC World News, BBC Indonesia, Sydney Morning Herald, The Australian, ABC News Australia, CNN Indonesia, Kompas, Metro TV, Rappler Indonesia, The Jakarta Post, The Straits Times, The Monocle, Nikkei Asian Review, Tirto.id, Tempo, Kompas, Republika*