

DRAFT OR VOLUNTEER ARMY: OUR NATION'S BEST INTEREST

BY

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USAWC CIVILIAN RESEARCH PAPER

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by

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Since the nation took its roots in 1776, the US military forces have, at times, been an all-volunteer force and at other times a combination of a volunteer and a draft force. Many in today's military have reviewed writings concerning the Vietnam era draft years; however, we have only served as part of the all-volunteer force that was established in 1973. This research paper reviews the historical aspects of a military draft in the United States and some foreign nations. It examines and compares today's all-volunteer force and the Vietnam era draft in the following major areas: (1) military effectiveness, (2) cost and other economic considerations, (3) socio-political force composition and equity, and (4) level of conflict. Further, this paper presents the arguments for a volunteer army versus a non-volunteer army. Finally, recommendations are provided in regard to the continuance of the all-volunteer army.

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DRAFT OR VOLUNTEER ARMY: OUR NATION'S BEST INTEREST

I. Introduction and Problem Statement

In August 2007, the senior military officer selected as President Bush's "war czar" declared in a radio interview that Washington should consider reinstating a military draft to relieve the pressure on the armed forces as a result of the ongoing conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. LTG Lute stated,

"I think it makes sense to certainly consider it, all things considered...And I can tell you, this has always been an option on the table. But ultimately, this is a policy matter between meeting the demands for a nation's security by one means or another."¹

His comments were quickly followed by White House and Pentagon spokespeople denying plans to reinstate the draft. National Security Council spokesman Gordon Johndroe stated, "The president's position is that the all-volunteer military meets the needs of the country and there is no discussion of a draft."² Pentagon spokesman Bryan Whitman reiterated, "I can tell you emphatically that there is absolutely no consideration being given to reinstituting the draft....The all-volunteer force has surpassed all expectations of its founders."³

Today, America's armed forces are heavily engaged in both Afghanistan and Iraq as part of the Global War on Terror. These campaigns, along with continued US military presence in South Korea, Kosovo, Europe, Sinai, and many other locations around the world, continue to place a serious demand on America's military forces—both active and reserve components. Many today call for the resumption of the draft to increase the size of the military and ensure that it represents the populace. While it is apparent that this is a very politically and militarily sensitive issue, logic requires that all available options be considered to ensure that the US continues to meet the manpower demands of the military and maintain the security of the nation. This paper considers whether America can continue to sustain its military with a volunteer force or be required to implement a draft to continue to prosecute this prolonged war.

II. Historical Background of the Draft

Ancient History of the Draft (558 BC to 1700)

The draft, also referred to as conscription, is a system of mandatory registration and induction of men and women into the armed forces. Webster's dictionary defines draft as "a selection or drawing of persons, by lot or otherwise, from the general body of the people for military service; levy; conscription." A draftee is distinguished from volunteers, professionals, and mercenaries, who perform service for pay or other benefits.

The draft during ancient times was commonly called conscription. Darius I (558–486 BC), the King of Persia, was the first recorded to use a form of the draft to fill the ranks of his military. During his reign as he extended his empire, he divided it into provinces called satrapies, with each being under a royally appointed governor called a satrap. He did not have a standing army, with the exception of the resident garrisons and royal bodyguard. When an army was required, the satraps were ordered to raise a quota of men and bring them armed to the designated assembly point.

In ancient Greece, (450–350 BC) military service was obligatory for citizens, and the training that followed was extremely rigorous. Athenian males upon turning 18 were enrolled on the citizen lists and then served two years in the military. After male citizens had completed military training, they could attend the assembly and participate in the debates of government. "In ancient Greece conscription and mobilization were effectively universal, citizens enjoying the benefits of freedom in exchange for their obligation to defend the state."⁴ The conscription process in ancient Greece consisted of four stages: making the drafted list, notification, allowing for exemptions (incorrect age or without adequate wealth to purchase shield and spear), and assembly. They later refined the process to develop a list of potential soldiers by age group and then call up all the men between one age and another, i.e. 20 – 30. This change was implemented to ensure the duty was performed equitably by all citizens. Wealthy Greeks who chose to avoid required military service could pay others to take their place.

The Roman Army was composed of both volunteer soldiers and draftees. Many of the volunteers were enlisted into the army for twenty-five years. Initially, the civilian militia, composed primarily of the citizen farmers, was effective in fighting campaigns on the Italian homeland. However, as the Roman Empire continued to expand to far

reaching areas, they created a conscript army with these soldiers being paid an annual salary. These conscripts were required to serve until they were discharged after completing sixteen campaigns.

“The Roman Army, in a sense, personified the State and it was the sacred duty of a Roman citizen to serve the State. The devotion of the Roman citizen to the State was what permitted the Roman Army to develop a military structure that was more complex than that of any other city state, more effective, and in greater numbers.”⁵

Conscription was first introduced in China during the Zhou Dynasty (1022 BC to 221 BC). Rulers began to raise large armies of infantryman composed primarily of conscripted peasants. During this same period, parts of the Great Wall of China were erected through a conscripted work force.

When Genghis Khan became the Mongolian Universal Ruler in 1206, he united the Mongol Tribes and organized a military force through conscription. The Mongolian Empire, geographically, was the largest empire in history. The Mongols had conquered all of Northern China by 1241 with his conscripted army.

The medieval armies of Europe were composed of knights who owed their service to a lord. The European system depended on the feudal levy, which required knights and yeomen to provide a specified number of days of military service per year to a lord. Sustained military operations were difficult to execute because the limits of service and poor training. The expenses of the feudal knights were no longer feasible with the introduction of gunpowder. After gunpowder was introduced, the door was open to equipping large armies relatively inexpensively. Many countries purchased large armies composed primarily of professional mercenaries. In the 16th century, Niccolo Machiavelli argued, “that every able-bodied man in a nation was a potential soldier and could by means of conscription be required to serve in the armed forces.”⁶ He also spoke of the need for national or standing armies of professional soldiers led by officers from the country’s aristocracy.

History of the Modern Draft in Foreign Nations (1700 to Present)

The modern draft was first introduced by France in the latter half of the 18th century. At that time, France had an army comprised of nobility-dominated officer corps

and a lower-class enlisted corps. Many of the enlisted personnel enlisted to avoid poverty, unemployment, or the law. The army had a severe desertion problem and loyalty to the nation was nearly nonexistent. Around 1792, it was widely recognized that the volunteer system was not providing the necessary numbers needed for the army. Conscription in its modern form started in France in 1793, when all French men and women were eligible for conscription into the army. Conscription was regarded as a republican duty based on the principle of equality and a necessity for French survival. “By the end of 1794, the Republic boasted 1,108,000 troops, compared to the roughly 150,000 in the pre-revolution regular army.”⁷ Table 1 extracted from the Napoleon Series depicts the number of personnel drafted into the French Army during the period 1800 to 1807:

Table 1. French Conscription

FRENCH CONSCRIPTION (1800 – 1807)				
PERIOD	NUMBER CONSCRIPTED	NUMBER EXCUSED (MARRIAGE, ILLNESS)	NUMBER EXCUSED (TOO SMALL)	NUMBER REFUSED BY NOT REPORTING
1800-1802	126,728	112,220	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
1802-1804	124,407	181,410	UNKNOWN	UNKNOWN
1804-1805	58,971	101,216	28,838	9,531
1805-1806	60,672	100,162	32,425	9,659
1806-1807	80,000	121,572	58,201	6,807

During the early 1800s, Russia implemented conscription primarily for religious purposes. Tsar Nicholas, whose reign started in 1820, published a decree for the conscription of Jewish boys between the ages of twelve and twenty-five. The boys under the age of eighteen were required to live in preparatory institutions and forced to renounce their Jewish faith and accept Christianity. Tsar Nicholas wrote in a confidential memorandum, “The chief benefit to be derived from the drafting of the Jews is the certainty that it will move those most effectively to change their religion.”⁸ During the reign of Tsar Nicholas I, seventy thousand Jews were taken by force and inducted into the Russian Army.

During Great Britain’s peacetime conscription between 1945 and 1963, more than 2.5 million men were drafted. Like all other conscription armies, many went willingly, while others saw no difference between the military draft and the press gangs of Britain’s

past. Public opinion for the draft was initially high as the British military had to maintain its strength to protect its interests around the world. However, over time, most began to find issue with the disruption to the youth's lives caused by the draft. Many of the draftees developed intense contempt for the army, which impacted morale and the image of the army. This had a negative impact on their ability to recruit British regulars.

The Israeli Defense Force is composed of a small corps of career officers, active duty conscripts, and reservists. Military service is compulsory for both men and women depending on religion. Israel adopted the draft in 1948 shortly after its founding. The conscription age in Israel is 18, with approximately 50,000 males and 50,000 females reaching draft age each year.

Iran adopted its draft in 1979, shortly after the country's revolution, and obtained a portion of its military manpower from conscription. Males are required to serve eighteen months in the military. According to 2006 information, "the regular Iranian Army was estimated to have 650,000 personnel (530,000 professionals and 120,000 conscripts)."⁹

South Korea implemented extensive reforms to its draft system in the early 1970s, which made draft-dodging extremely costly and difficult and led the public consciousness to identify the universal conscription as the only "just and equal" system. "From the early 1970s, joining the army started to be perceived as an obligatory rite of passage for all 'normal' males, and the draft objectors were subjected not only to prison sentences and harsh treatment in the hand of police authorities, but also to an enormous amount of stigmatization in the public consciousness."¹⁰

Draft registration in North Korea starts at age fourteen with the typical draft age being seventeen. Like many other countries, North Korea issues temporary deferments for college and skilled labor. "Members of special government organizations and children of the politically influential often are excluded from the draft."¹¹ Women are recruited on a limited scale for support missions, similar to the US military. The term of service for draftees varies based on the branch of service.

In the former Soviet Union, conscription was an integral component of the communist system. It was very unpopular, with many refusing to serve. Male citizens were required to register at age seventeen and were called up at eighteen to serve either

eighteen months in the army or twenty-four months in the air force or navy. Russia today continues to fill its ranks with draftees.

As stated previously, the modern draft form was instituted throughout the world in the late 1700s. As weapons became less expensive, it became possible to raise large armies through implementing a draft. This new concept dramatically changed the future of war, as depicted by Table 2, which shows the size of the military for the participants of World War I and II.

Table 2. World War I and II Militaries

Conflict	Key Participants	Total Size of Military
World War I (1914-1918)	Germany	11 million
	Austria-Hungary	7.8 million
	France	8.6 million
	Russia	12 million
	Great Britain	8.7 million
	Italy	5.6 million
	United States	3.5 million
World War II (1940-1946)	Japan	6 million
	Italy	2.5 million
	France	5 million
	Great Britain	4.7 million
	United States	16 million
	Soviet Union	12.5 million
	Germany	10 million

Table 3 lists the United Nation member countries and a description of their military.

Table 3. Military Description of United Nation Countries

COUNTRY (A – Z)	DRAFT (YES OR NO)	COUNTRY (A – Z)	DRAFT (YES OR NO)	COUNTRY (A – Z)	DRAFT (YES OR NO)
Afghanistan	No	Albania	Yes	Algeria	Yes
Angola	Yes	Antigua and Barbuda	No	Argentina	No
Armenia	Yes	Australia	No	Austria	Yes
Azerbaijan	Yes	Bahamas	No	Bahrain	No
Bangladesh	No	Barbados	No	Belarus	Yes
Belgium	No	Belize	No	Benin	Selective
Bhutan	Selective	Bolivia	Yes	Bosnia and Herzegovina	No
Botswana	No	Brazil	Yes	Brunei	No
Bulgaria	Yes	Burkina Faso	No	Burundi	No

Cambodia	Yes	Cameroon	No	Canada	No
Cape Verde	No	Central African Rep	Selective	Chad	Selective
Chile	Yes	China	Selective	Colombia	Yes
Democratic Rep of Congo	Yes	Republic of the Congo	No	Costa Rica	No
Croatia	Yes	Cuba	Yes	Cyprus	Yes
Czech Republic	Yes	Denmark	Yes	Djibouti	No
Ecuador	Yes	Egypt	Yes	El Salvador	No
Equatorial Guinea	Yes	Estonia	Yes	Ethiopia	Yes
Fiji	No	Finland	Yes	France	Yes
Gabon	No	Gambia	No	Georgia	Yes
Germany	Yes	Ghana	No	Greece	Yes
Grenada	No	Guatemala	Yes	Guinea	Yes
Guinea-Bissau	Yes	Guyana	No	Haiti	No
Honduras	No	Hungary	No	Iceland	No
India	No	Indonesia	Selective	Iran	Yes
Iraq	No	Ireland	No	Israel	Yes
Italy	Yes	Jamaica	No	Japan	No
Jordan	No	Kazakhstan	Yes	Kenya	No
Korea, North	Yes	Korea, South	Yes	Kuwait	Yes
Kyrgyzstan	No	Lebanon	Yes	Lesotho	No
Liberia	No	Libya	Yes	Liechtenstein	No
Lithuania	Yes	Luxembourg	No	Macedonia	No
Madagascar	Yes	Malawi	No	Malaysia	No
Maldives	No	Mali	Selective	Malta	No
Mauritania	No	Mauritius	No	Mexico	Yes
Moldova	Yes	Monaco	No	Mongolia	Yes
Montenegro	No	Mozambique	Yes	Myanmar	No
Namibia	Yes	Nepal	No	Netherlands	No
New Zealand	No	Nicaragua	No	Niger	Selective
Nigeria	No	Norway	Yes	Oman	No
Pakistan	No	Panama	Yes	Papua New Guinea	No
Paraguay	Yes	Poland	Yes	Qatar	No
Russia	Yes	Rwanda	No	San Marino	No
Saudi Arabia	No	Senegal	Selective	Seychelles	Yes
Sierra Leone	No	Singapore	Yes	Slovenia	No
Somalia	Yes	South Africa	No	Spain	Yes
Sri Lanka	No	Sudan	Yes	Suriname	No
Swaziland	No	Sweden	Yes	Switzerland	Yes
Syria	Yes	Thailand	Yes	Togo	Selective
Tonga	No	Trinidad and Tobago	No	Tunisia	Yes
Turkey	Yes	Turkmenistan	Yes	Uganda	No
Ukraine	Yes	United Arab Emirates	No	United Kingdom	No
United States	No	Uruguay	No	Uzbekistan	Yes
Vanuatu	No	Venezuela	Yes	Vietnam	Yes
Yemen	Yes	Zambia	No	Zimbabwe	No

US History of the Draft (1776 to 1964)

During early colonial days in America when forces were needed, each colony would call all adult males together to form the colonial militia. These militias were organized when some type of threat existed for the colony.

During the Revolutionary War era, America had an army composed of enlisted volunteers who were offered cash bonuses and promises of free land in the west when the war was over. This system failed to provide General George Washington the necessary soldiers to fight the British army, and the state militias were called on to provide forces; however, many of these units were poorly trained and equipped and/or their enlistments would run out at inopportune times. When General Washington became President of the United States, he proposed legislation that would require men to register for service and be assigned to units for training. The Congress would not pass this legislation, nor would it pass similar legislation from Presidents Adams, Jefferson, and Madison.

At the advent of the War of 1812, Congress authorized a volunteer regular army. New recruits were offered a 13 month enlistment, a 16 dollar sign-up bonus, and a promise of three months pay and 160 acres of land upon discharge. These enlistment incentives did not provide the necessary numbers of volunteers, which forced Congress to authorize President Monroe to call up one hundred thousand state militia members. Some states refused to order any of their men to serve and, like the militias from the Revolutionary War; the ones that did serve were ill equipped and poorly trained.

The Mexican War was also fought with a volunteer army. Many of the volunteers were enlisted for one year, and their enlistments expired just as General Scott was entering Mexico City. The military had to execute a holding action while replacements could be sent to Mexico.

When the Civil War erupted, the Confederate Army enlisted volunteers for a one-year period. The North, anticipating a short war, enlisted their volunteers for three or nine month periods. As the war continued, both sides were forced to turn to conscription to meet the numbers needed to fight the war. In April 1862, the South passed its conscription law. It required three years of military service for all white men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five. Like the North, exemptions and substitutions were authorized and of a very liberal nature, which created widespread recognition of

unfairness resulting in non-compliance. They later amended their draft law to include men from seventeen to fifty. Georgia's Governor, Joseph E. Brown, declared the draft to be contrary to all the South was fighting for. "No act of the Government of the United States prior to the secession of Georgia struck a blow at constitutional liberty so fell as has been stricken by this conscription act."¹² The South started drafting slaves in 1865. The southern draft produced about 120,000 soldiers, about 20 percent of all Confederate soldiers. In March 1863, the North, authorized by Congress, began requiring all able-bodied men between the ages of twenty and forty-five to register for the draft regardless of marital status or profession. The lack of equality in the system was immediately apparent when substitute soldiers could be hired for a \$300 draft exemption fee which resulted in the system being recognized as unfair and unpopular. The unpopular aspects of the draft resulted in the Governor of New York declaring the conscription act unconstitutional. Shortly thereafter, riots erupted in New York City, which resulted in approximately one thousand deaths during a four-day period. New York soldiers had to be recalled from Gettysburg to quell the rioting. In 1964, the conscription act was amended to allow only conscientious objectors to execute a draft buyout.

During the Spanish American War of 1898, Congress declared that all males between eighteen and forty-five were subject to military duty. The war was fought primarily by soldiers called into service to serve with regiments raised by their state. Approximately 250,000 US sailors, marines and soldiers participated in the war.

In May 1917, in preparation for US entry into World War I, Congress passed the Selective Service Act, which established local, district, state, and territorial civilian boards to register, classify, examine, and either induct and ship out or defer men between the ages of 21 and 30. Strong opposition to the draft was present, as evidenced by the first drawing where 50,000 men applied for exemptions and over 250,000 failed to register at all. After the war, Congress defeated efforts to set up standard military training and service. In 1920, the National Defense Act established a system of voluntary recruitment.

In 1940, on the eve of World War II for America, Congress enacted the Selective Training and Service Act which required all males between the ages of 21 and 35 to register for the draft and the first national lottery. This was the first peacetime draft in

America. Shortly thereafter, the minimum age was reduced to 18, and men were called to service based on the oldest going first, not the lottery. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, draftees were allowed to be sent anywhere in the world. In 1947, President Truman recommended to Congress that the 1940 Selective Training and Service Act expire and the military again become a volunteer force.

In March 1948, as the Cold War begins, the Selective Service Act was reinstated—allowing men between 19 and 26 to be drafted for a 12-month enlistment. The Korean War draft commenced in 1950, calling up men between the ages of 18 and 35, with the exception of World War II veterans. Shortly thereafter, in June 1951, the Universal Military Training and Service Act was passed, which required males between eighteen and thirty-six to register. In 1952, the Reserve Forces Act was enacted which required every man who was drafted or voluntarily enlisted to complete an eight-year military service obligation.

Table 4 depicts the US Conflicts since the Civil War and the composition of the military.

Table 4. US Conflicts and the Draft

US Conflicts and the Draft		
Conflict	Draftees	Armed Forces Total
Civil War – Union (1883-1865)	164,000 (8%)	2.1 million
World War I (1917-1918)	2.8 million (72%)	3.5 million
World War II (1940-1946)	10.1 million (63%)	16 million
Korean Conflict (1950-1953)	1.5 million (54%)	1.8 million in theatre 2.8 million total
Vietnam War (1964-1973)	1.9 million (56%/22%)	3.4 million in theatre 8.7 million total

America’s Vietnam Era Draft and the End of the Draft (1965 to 1973)

In the mid 1960s, the Vietnam War gained momentum in both Vietnam and in the US. The US military presence in Vietnam increased dramatically when the mission changed from providing advisors to providing forces for combat operations. “Draft calls soared from 100,000 in 1964 to 400,000 in 1966, enabling US forces in Vietnam to climb from 23,000 military advisors in 1964 to 543,000 troops in 1968.”¹³ In 1965, opposition to the Vietnam War gained momentum, and calls for draft reform and complete elimination of Selective Service began. Anti-draft demonstrations were seen on college campuses and at induction stations across the nation. As the anti-war sentiment

continued, President Johnson appointed a commission to review the Selective Service System and recommend changes. The National Advisory Commission on Selective Service recommended in its report a random draft lottery but stated, “Complete equity can never exist when only some men out of many must be involuntarily inducted for military service.”¹⁴ Throughout the late 1960s, the number of conscientious objectors recognized by the Selective Service dramatically increased (eight percent in 1967 to 43 percent in 1971), other young men destroyed their draft cards, and others left the country to avoid the draft. Many of the males that received a draft notice requested a deferment, with college attendance being the most common.

The draft played a pivotal role in the 1968 election with many of the presidential candidates pledging to abolish the draft if elected. This campaign promise was also true of the republican candidate Richard M. Nixon who was elected President. In 1968, during a radio address President Nixon stated, “Today all across our country we face a crisis of confidence. Nowhere is it more acute than among our young people. They recognize the draft as an infringement on their liberty, which it is. To them, it represents a government insensitive to their rights, a government callous to their status as free men. They ask for justice, and they deserve it.”¹⁵ Shortly after his election, President Nixon worked with Congress to initiate changes to the draft system. The major modifications were the implementation of a draft lottery and elimination of many of the deferments for occupation, agricultural, new-paternity, and new students.

President Nixon appointed the Gates Commission and charged it with developing a plan to eliminate the draft and implement an all-volunteer force. In 1970, the published report stated, “We unanimously believe that the nation’s interest will be best served by an all-volunteer force, supported by an effective stand-by draft, than by a mixed force of volunteers and conscripts.”¹⁶ The Gates Commission was a bipartisan and diverse group of individuals with members representing the military, business, economist, education – professors and students, and the NAACP. The diverse background provided the commission the expertise to recognize the challenges the draft posed for the US. It understood the cost, inequities in the system, burdens placed on many minorities and those in the lowest income brackets. The members made it clear in the report that the costs of conscription required to provide US security should be shared by the nation as

opposed to the small group of draftees. The Gates Commission further concluded, “When not all our citizens can serve, and only a small minority is needed, a voluntary decision to serve is the best answer, morally and practically, to the question of who should serve.”¹⁷

The Selective Service System held its final draft lottery identifying military inductees and on 1 July 1973, the legal authority for the military draft expired. After the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979, President Carter authorized the Selective Service to again require the registration by all males between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six. The legislation did not authorize induction.

III. Analysis and Comparison of Today’s All-Volunteer Force and the Vietnam Era Draft

Arguments for and Against the Draft and the All-Volunteer Force

Many arguments are presented in support of both the draft and the all volunteer force. These arguments are analyzed and compared in the following categories: military effectiveness; cost and other economic considerations; socio-political force composition and equity; and level of conflict.

Analysis and Comparison of Military Effectiveness (Quality and Effectiveness of the Force)

Former military leaders have expressed strong opinions and beliefs regarding the draft. These leaders include, General (Ret) Gordon Sullivan, former Army Chief of Staff, “Military commanders prefer high quality volunteers to mixed quality draftees.”¹⁸ Lieutenant General (Ret) Al Lenhardt, former Army Chief Recruiter, “warns that conscription would yield a poorer quality force.”¹⁹ Major General (Retired) Ted Stroup, former Army Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, contends that with a draft, “you wouldn’t get the quality or the staying power that you also need.”²⁰

America today has a highly professional force. Individuals entering the military today are better educated than during the Vietnam era draft, with more than 90% having a high school diploma and much higher Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT) scores. Today’s force is recognized by most as the best in the world. Many individuals that would have qualified for the draft could not meet the requirements to join the military

today. It is believed by many that the military can resolve any recruiting challenges by simply lowering the entrance standards to those of the Vietnam era draft.

“Discipline problems would inevitably increase with conscription. This problem would permeate the force: draftees have little incentive to train, accept greater responsibility, or reenlist; yet the military must retain them, almost no matter how ill-suited they are to military service.”²¹

A high school diploma and high test scores on the AFQT are strong indicators of an individual’s potential success in the military. The increasing technological sophistication of weapons and communications systems as well as the growing complexity of many military jobs requires significant training for members to master. Figure 1 represents the education level of new military recruits.

“Prior to the beginning of the all volunteer force, the precise percentages of recruits with high school diplomas reported from 1960 to 1964 at 64 percent; from 1965 to 1969 at 74 percent; and from 1970 through the first six months of 1973 at 66 percent.”²²

Figure 1 shows the percentage of non-prior service recruits and civilians with a high school diploma during the period, 1973 to 2005.

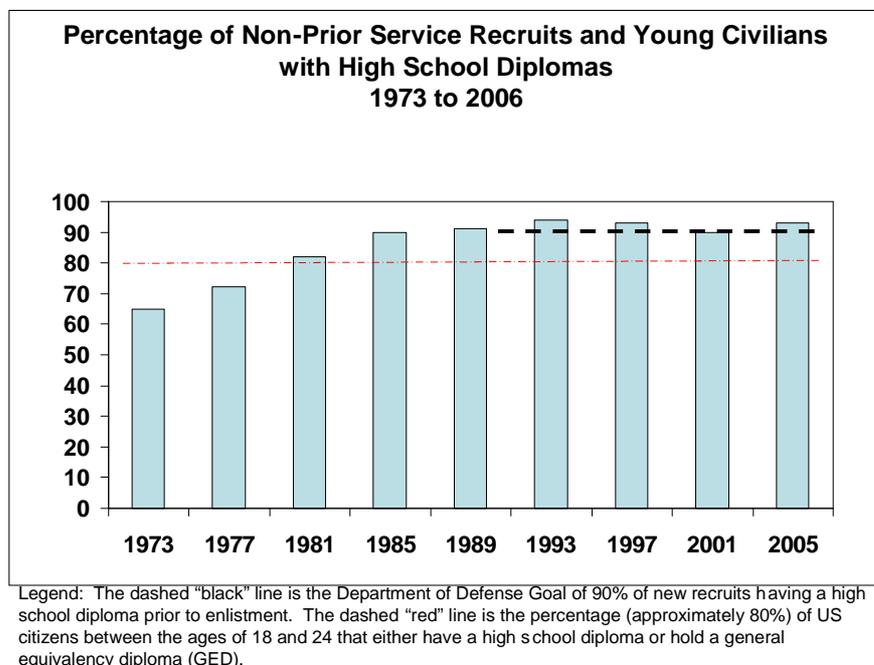


Figure 1. Percentage of Non-Prior Service Recruits and Young Civilians with High School Diplomas (1973 to 2006)

The military uses the AFQT to assess basic verbal and math ability for new recruits. An individual with a higher score is an indicator of higher cognitive ability, which is correlated with greater military success. Table 5 shows the percentage of AFQT scores in 1973 and 2006.

Table 5. Distribution of AFQT Scores for Non-Prior Service Recruits and Young Civilians under the Draft and the All Volunteer Force

Distribution of AFQT Scores for Non-Prior Service Recruits and Young Civilians Under the Draft and the All-Volunteer Force			
	Draft Era Enlisted Force (1960 – 1973)	All Volunteer Enlisted Force (2006)	18-23 Year-Old Civilians (2005)
Category I AFQT Score 93-99	7%	7%	8%
Category II AFQT Score 65-92	31%	36%	28%
Category III AFQT Score 31-64	42%	55%	34%
Category IV AFQT Score 10-30	20%	2%	21%
Category V AFQT Score 1-9	Individuals scoring in Category V have been statutorily barred from military service since 1948.		9%

The Department of Defense (DoD) defines an individual with a high school diploma and an AFQT score at or above the median as a high quality recruit. These recruits are competed for much harder because they have many options in the civilian and education sector. The percentage of high quality recruits in 1973 was 42 percent and in 2006 it was 62 percent.

Several factors play into determining the level of military experience. One is the average length of enlisted service which was about six years in 1974 and about seven years by 2005. In 1967, 66 percent of enlisted personnel were in the first term while today 46% of enlisted personnel are in the first term.

Analysis and Comparison of the Cost and other Economic Considerations of the Armed Forces

Many economists have argued that the cost of the volunteer army is less than the draft because of the hidden cost in the draft. These hidden costs include an in-kind tax

that is eliminated with a volunteer force. The volunteer expects to receive pay and allowances that are equal to expectations elsewhere in the economy. Additionally, the cost of avoiding the draft is eliminated with the volunteer force. Turnover is lower and reenlistment rates are higher in the volunteer force, which significantly reduces training cost. Resources should be more efficient in a volunteer military because spending on personnel must compete with other uses of available defense budgets.

In the transition from the draft to the all-volunteer force, pay was raised to attract more volunteers and to bring it more in-line with the median pay in the civilian sector for young men. For a new recruit in 1971 the basic pay was \$700 per month and was increased to \$1,300 per month by 1975 (both presented in 2006 dollars). The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) found in examining the real expenditures from the military personnel accounts,

“that total manpower spending increased with the return of the all volunteer force. Those expenditures averaged \$97 billion a year in 1974 and 1975, compared with \$68 billion a year in the pre-Vietnam War era of 1959 to 1963.”²³

The Government Accounting Office (GAO) contended,

“the move to the all volunteer force added about \$3 billion per year in 1974 dollars to the military’s costs (more than \$10 billion in 2006 dollars) – about 11 percent of DoD’s spending on its manpower budget accounts in 1974.”²⁴

The draft is more cost effective when volunteers must receive large wage increases and bonuses in order for the military to remain more attractive than the civilian sector. The draft is also more cost effective when the force is a higher percentage of the available pool of eligible candidates for service. Additionally, the more fair the draft is perceived to be, the less individuals will attempt to avoid military service.

Economist Fred McChesney argues,

“The more controversial the war, the higher the budgetary costs of a volunteer army compared to a war that can be staffed by conscripts, which heads of state generally like as it allows them to pursue their personal goals with cheap labor.”²⁵

An example of this is Napoleon's French Army, which conscripted the forces necessary to deploy half a million men into Russia in 1812. This same belief could also be argued for most of the wars fought in the 20th century. Many believe the cost of raising a volunteer army thus acts as a deterrent to waging wars.

The CBO estimates that 90 percent of draftees will leave military service after the initial two year obligation. Based on these projections, the report also points out that if the draft were implemented the military would need to draft 165,000 individuals for the Army a year, to achieve the projected 2012 end strength of 547,400, as opposed to enlisting 80,000 a year under the all volunteer force. The draft would result in a less experienced force, which would reduce pay and benefits expenditures for the military. The military also has other cost associated with the volunteer force. These include recruiting costs such as advertising, numbers of recruiters, enlistment bonuses, and education programs. An increase in the number of draftees would require additional resources to be placed in military entrance processing sites and at training facilities across the nation. Additionally, retirement pay and health care cost are reduced with the draft because of the increased turnover. The CBO report further addresses,

“if the basic pay table remained the same, declines in the average experience level of the force could save the active Army between \$800 million and \$1.1 billion a year from its military personnel account. CBO estimates the active Army spent \$30 billion from its personnel accounts for enlisted service members in 2006.”²⁶

Economist Walter Oi estimated, “force strength of 2.65 million men could be achieved on a purely voluntary basis by 1970-75 if the military pay budget were increased by approximately \$4 billion.”²⁷ This figure is based on the higher levels of military pay that would be required to attract sufficient volunteers.

Another approach to figuring the cost of the military is presented by economist Steven Landsburg, who argued that under the draft individuals with high opportunity cost may be drafted which is a social loss to the nation. As opposed to a volunteer force which will be filled by individuals with much lower opportunity cost. This is based on the perception that individuals with lower opportunity cost have fewer choices and

therefore select the military. Individuals with high opportunity cost—doctors, lawyers, etc.,—have better choices than the military and will not volunteer for service. Dr. Reinhardt more crudely states the central idea underlying this theory of what economists call, “social welfare economics which is that if a nation must use human bodies to stop bullets and shrapnel, it ought to use relatively ‘low cost’ bodies—that is, predominantly those who would otherwise not have produced much gross domestic product, the main component of what economists call ‘social opportunity costs.’”²⁸ Based on this theory these economists believe the volunteer force is more efficient than the draft.

Analysis and Comparison of the Socio-Political Force Composition and Equity of the Armed Forces

The CBO report stated, “all volunteer force is broadly representative of US society, although (because of the demands and history of military service) younger and less female than the population at large.”²⁹ Approximately 47 percent of the active duty force is between the ages 17 and 24 and 14% are women. The CBO further reports that the military is racially diverse as Table 6 shows.

Table 6. Racial and Ethnic Composition of Active Duty Military Personnel and US Civilians

Racial and Ethnic Composition of Active Duty Military Personnel and US Civilians			
Race	Percentage of Enlisted Personnel	Percentage of Officers	Percentage of Civilians Ages 17-49
White	68	81	80
African American	19	9	14
All Others (Asians, Native Americans, Pacific Islanders, & Multiracial)	7	5	6
Unknown	6	6	NA

The largest minority group in the military is African American service members. In 2005, African Americans accounted for 13 percent of new accessions as opposed to 14 percent of the US population. African Americans have been a larger share of recruits in the past and because they have relatively high retention rates, they account for a larger share of the active enlisted force as a whole: 19 percent, compared with 14 percent of the

civilian population of 17 to 49 year olds. Table 7 is a comparison of the racial breakdown of the military in 1972 compared to 2000.

Table 7. Active Duty Enlisted Forces by Race and Ethnicity, 1972 and 2000

Active Duty Enlisted Forces by Race and Ethnicity, 1972 and 2000		
Race/Ethnicity	1972	2000
Total Number	1,975,649	1,153,575
White	81.2%	61.8%
African American	12.6	22.4
Hispanic	4.0	9.0
Other	1.9	6.0
Unknown	0.2	0.6

One of the concerns among many critics of the volunteer force was that minorities may bear more than their share of combat and casualties. Based on data from Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) and Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) white service members make up 75 percent of the force serving in high risk combat positions. African American service members make up 13 percent of the force serving in high risk combat positions. When this information is compared to Table 7, the result is white's are overrepresented in combat positions by seven percent and black's are underrepresented in combat positions by six percent. During OEF and OIF, white service members account for 76 percent of fatalities, compared with 68 percent of the enlisted force. Black service members account for 13 percent of fatalities, compared to 19 percent of the force. Fatalities among other racial groups are proportional to the force representation.

The CBO also included in their report information concerning where our military recruits come from. Figure 2 shows this data since 1980.

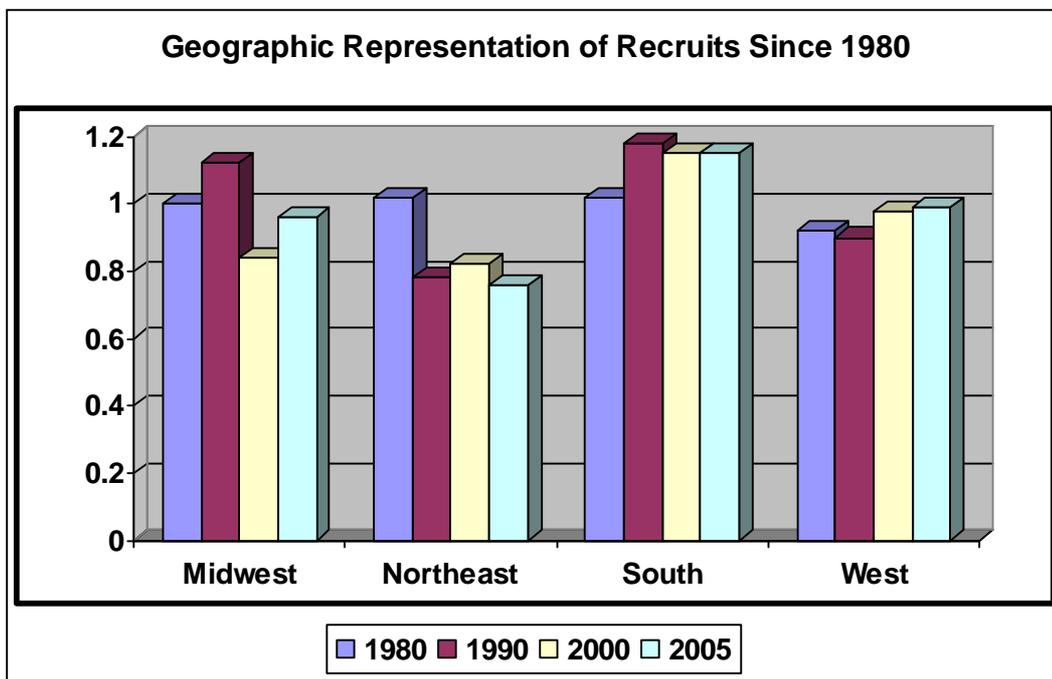


Figure 2. Geographic Representation of Recruits Since 1980.

A ratio of less than 1.0 indicates an area is underrepresented, while a ratio greater than one indicates an area overrepresented.

Region Legend: (Midwest: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, N. Dakota, S. Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas.) (Northeast: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.) (South: Delaware, Maryland, DC, Virginia, W. Virginia, N. Carolina, S. Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma and Texas.) (West: Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Washington, Oregon, California, Alaska, and Hawaii.)

Many critics of the all-volunteer force have expressed concern that recruits would come from predominantly lower income families and individuals in the middle and higher incomes would be able to avoid service. This concern is expressed because of the belief that those from the middle and higher income have better opportunities than service in the military. Figure 3 shows that all income groups are represented roughly in the enlisted ranks of the all volunteer force. However, the figure does indicate that young people from the very highest and very lowest income families may be somewhat less represented.

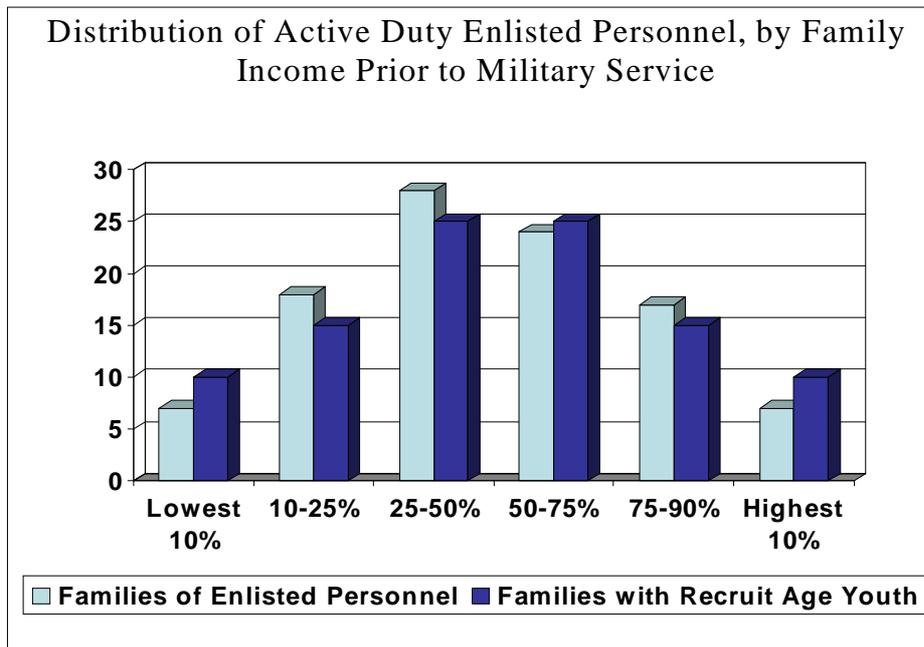


Figure 3. Distribution of Active Duty Enlisted Personnel, by Family Income Prior to Military Service.

The Center on Conscience and War argued that the military will never be equitable with a draft, nor will the draft serve as a deterrent to war. It strongly believes that conscription takes away the basic right of individual freedom and fills the military with individuals who do not want to wear the uniform.

Sociologists Charles Moskos also engaged in the debate over a draft versus the volunteer force, contending that the volunteer force has provided the national elites the opportunity to never have to serve in the military. He believes the country will not accept heavy casualties or the hardships of war because the wealthy leaders do not serve. He argued the draft must be in place and national leaders must be viewed as self-sacrificing. He provides the following example to clarify his point,

“That Agamemnon sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia to assure good winds for the deployment of his soldiers during Operation Trojan War. The ancient Greeks understood that such a sacrifice was necessary if the troops were to sacrifice themselves.”³⁰

He also argued that the draft is more equitable and served to unite the nation during World War II and for 20 years afterwards. He believed the shared experiences instilled a national culture and a sense of unity and moral seriousness.

Former Congressman Les Aspin felt that the volunteer force had produced a strong military that was racially diverse. He believed that individuals advance in the military based on merit, which may make it more attractive to minority members than job prospects in the society at large. He contends that the draft should not be reinstated to correct any ills in the society.

One of the stronger statements against the draft is from Sheldon Richman, “The draft is slavery. No patriotic euphemisms about service to one’s country and shared responsibility can hide this fact.”³¹ His bottom line is the draft is a form of slavery and individuals surrender part of life when called to serve. He points out that the US is engaged in a war in Iraq to provide freedom there; while at the same time a draft, if reinstated would take away the freedom of American youth.

Jacob Weisberg in his article “The Gross Unfairness of an All-volunteer Army” believed today’s military is unfair and puts the burden of risk of fighting and dying on a select few. He is adamant that the privileged are not serving and compared it to the Civil War, where the rich could evade duty by simply hiring a replacement for \$300. He is also very critical of the draft and the deferment and local draft board process. Like others, he believed the military ranks are filled with individuals that have no other option than military service. He argued that the current volunteer force does not require shared responsibility in the defense of the country. He pointed out, “the risk of being injured in Iraq is significantly higher than it was in Vietnam—3.1 percent of all those who have served, as opposed to 1.8 percent over a much longer period in Vietnam.”³² He believes the heavy casualty rate in Iraq is the sole reason the draft should be reinstated, to allow the burden to be shared by the nation.

Richard Flacks expressed his beliefs that the military provides excellent opportunities for individual self-improvement. He also stated that the military offers the only fully integrated educational institution in the country. In his article, he expressed

concern that society as a whole does not provide the maximum possible freedom and opportunity for self-development. Society must provide a range of choices for youth so that each has a chance to select experiences of service, of education and training, of cultural enhancement and self-realization.

Professor Bacevich, like so many others, described in his article the armed forces as a place where you go when you have no other, or limited options. He points out that the affluent do not have to serve because they have better options and the middle class is focused on attending a four year college as the key to continued upward mobility. He contends that the army and marines are facing recruiting challenges because of the large foot print each service has in Iraq and Afghanistan. He also believes the navy and the air force are achieving its recruiting goals because of the limited role these services are performing in the war. He contends the youth of America still see the navy and air force as viable and attractive options. The other services are seen as a ticket to the war zone. He goes back to the Civil War for a common theme from that period and applies it today, “this war bears at least some of the earmarks of being a rich man’s war and a poor man’s fight.”³³ He contends that the burden of fulfilling the mission should be shared by the full spectrum of US society.

Many with strong religious beliefs and knowledge are able to provide Biblical and theological resources to establish pacifism and conscientious objection as justification to oppose the draft. Conscription is seen by many as an ancient barbaric custom which has been repressed by the influence of the church. Machiavelli is attacked as the first to propose universal compulsory military service. He is targeted for his idea of the use of military force as simply an extension of diplomacy. The attacks on Machiavelli target his study of Rome during the pagan era in that country. In 1894, Pope Leo XIII, following the huge armament race after the Franco-Prussian War protested against the inexperienced youth who were removed from parental directions and control, to be thrown amid the dangers of the soldier’s life. These young men were taken from farms, universities, trades, or the arts to bear arms. He further expressed that national resources are being wasted in the move toward war.

John Hugo, described the evils of the draft as,

“Compulsory military service, as the extreme of militarism, rings such grave dangers to a nation’s youth and serious dislocation to public order that, quite apart from its evil effects on international society, it is opposed to the best interests of the countries that adopt it, and far from being the fulfillment of a patriotic duty”³⁴

He also points out that it is the norm to regard the acceptance of conscription as the fulfillment of a moral and patriotic duty, yet the Holy See attacks this practice on the grounds that it is anti-patriotic. He also points out that both war and soldiering are evil because of the great harm caused to all involved.

Analysis and Comparison of the Level of Conflict (Ability to Sustain the Force)

It is important to recognize the changes in the size of the military since World War II. During the period 1953 to 1964, end strength averaged 2.8 million. It peaked at around 4 million in 1968 at the height of the Vietnam War and continues to get smaller with the 2007 end strength at 1.4 million. Figure 4 graphically shows military strength since 1940.

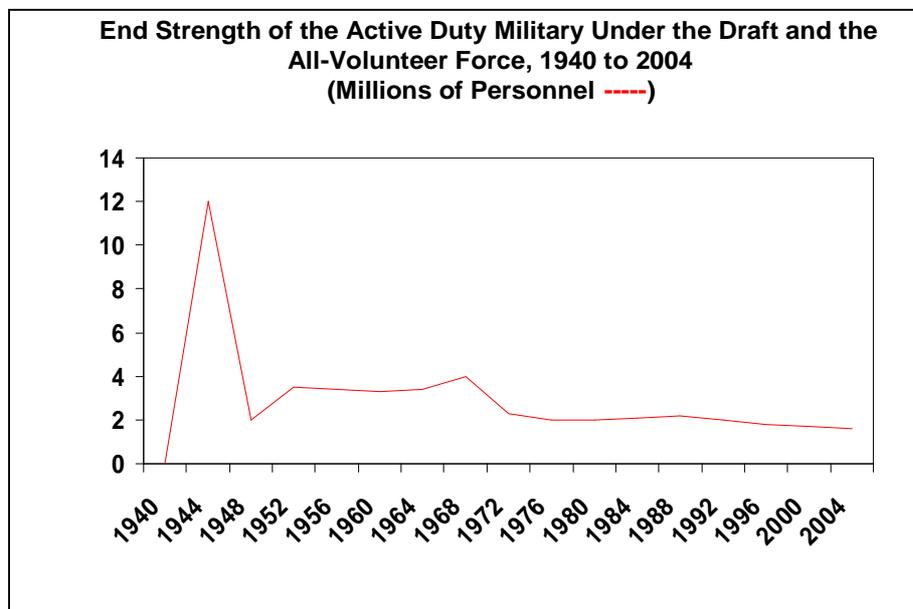


Figure 4. End Strength of the Active Duty Military, 1940 to 2004

In the *United States v. O'Brien* (1968) and *Lichter v. United States* (1948), it was ruled that the US has the right to raise armies through the draft. The Constitutional provisions that give Congress the powers to declare war, to raise and support armies, and to make laws to execute those powers formed the basis for the Court's decision on that issue in 1918. It stated, "The very conception of a just government and its duty to the citizen includes the reciprocal obligation of the citizen to render military service in case of need and the right to compel it."³⁵

Critics of the volunteer force believe the US is more likely to engage in war with a volunteer military. The reasons include the fact that America has a large fully trained standing military; leaders are more likely to use force as opposed to diplomacy because they do not have to worry about friends and relatives being drafted; and since the middle and higher income would not be impacted, the chance of protest and opposition are lessened.

Doug Bandow, in his article, "Fighting the War against Terrorism, Elite Forces, Yes; Conscripts, No." argues strongly against reinstating the draft,

"a draft would degrade the military's performance, requiring induction of less qualified personnel, who are rejected today, and raising the rate of indiscipline by filling the armed services with people who don't want to serve."³⁶

He points out, like many, that conscription goes against the individual liberty that makes the nation worth defending. He stressed the point that once the draft is implemented, it must be continued because of the very high turnover rate. He also described the impact the draftees will have on the military as a result of little incentive to train or accept greater responsibility.

In a 2001 article, Moskos and Glastris expressed the need to reinstate the draft. They pointed out that because of the new type of conflict that a revised draft is needed. "A 21st century draft would be less focused on preparing men for conventional combat--which probably won't be that extensive in this war---than on arguably more daunting task of guarding against and responding to terrorism at home and abroad."³⁷ They further described in the article a three-tiered draft system that would require draftees to serve in the military, homeland security role, or in civilian national service programs.

A 2005 Associated Press Ipsos poll found that most Americans are opposed to reinstating the draft and also demonstrate very little support in regard to the all volunteer force. 70% are opposed to the draft. Most stated that they would not encourage an individual to join the military. More than half of those polled would discourage a son from enlisting in the military, while two-thirds would discourage a daughter from joining. Dr. Mueller further clarified the feelings of many, "People simply don't want their kids to be sent off to Iraq to be shot at in a situation in which the value of the war is becoming more and more questionable."³⁸ A 2002 survey contends that 37% of college students would try to evade the draft if one were called today.

In Doug Bandow's article, "Conscription: Not Now, Not Ever", he is critical of US policy in regard to committing forces. He asks the question, why should the US consider conscription while we continue to police the Balkans? He points out the area is important to Europe which has more than one million men under arms. The US government could easily expand its available military resources by ceasing to defend its prosperous and populous industrialized allies. The US currently maintains 100,000 troops in both Europe and East Asia. He emphasized that both Japan and South Korea are capable of doing much more to defend its sovereignty. He is adamant that America needs to stop subsidizing wealthy client states around the world.

Throughout most of history, the US has had volunteer armed forces with a draft for only 35 of our 228 years. It appears that Americans are willing to accept the draft when the cause is considered just and the draft is perceived to be universal. In a RAND Research Brief, it was suggested that America's acceptance began to erode in the 1960s. They pointed out, "There were five major reasons: (1) Demographics, (2) Cost, (3) Moral and Economic Rationale, (4) Opposition to the Vietnam War, and (5) Army's Desire for Change."³⁹ By demographics, the report referred to the number of young men that reached draft age each year which was dramatically larger than the needs of the conscription military. The impact was that the draft was no longer universally applied and seen as only requiring a selected few to make the sacrifice. In regard to the cost, most believed the cost of the volunteer military was within acceptable budget levels of the country. The point he made in regard to moral and economic are the long standing belief by many that the draft is unfair and burdens the underprivileged. His final point in

regard to the Army's desire for change was that the army had serious discipline problems with the draft and these continued to mount when combined with the negative sentiment toward the Vietnam War.

At the height of the Vietnam War, the country was screaming for change. College campuses across the nation served as the voice for the youth in the fight against the draft as most had lost faith in the system. They saw it has no longer universal, unfair, targeting minorities and the underprivileged. During this same period, the entry of Joe Willie Namath into the National Football League highlighted for many all that was wrong with the military draft. As a 23 year old all star, Namath signed a contract with the New York Jets in which he received \$400,000. Many had followed his college career at Alabama and were excited to see him play at the next level. However, many with sons serving in Vietnam wanted to see him and other high profile individuals serve in the military. For years, we would all see Joe Namath wearing his green uniform, but not the one of the US Army, but the green uniform of the New York Jets. He would never serve in the military because he was classified 4-F, unfit for military duty because of an injury to his right knee, which involved a torn ligament and the surgical removal of cartilage. The Department of the Army issued an explanation to all Congressmen in December 1965 outlining why Namath would not serve, "It may seem illogical that an individual who is physically active in civilian athletics should be found unfit for military service. When playing professional football, it must be presumed that Mr. Namath does so with the counsel and preparation of doctors and trainers. He is closely watched and professional assistance is close at hand at every game and practice session."⁴⁰ The Army went on to address the availability of doctors while he is playing football as opposed to the lack of doctors available in Vietnam and the risk that would be placed upon his fellow soldiers

IV. Summary of Analysis

Both military and civilian leaders in DoD have expressed concern about the military's ability to continue to recruit and retain the individuals required to execute combat operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. While many have expressed concern, the military has stated its commitment to maintaining the all volunteer force. In the July 2007 report, the Congressional Budget Office expressed many of the same concerns of the military and the civilian leaders in the Pentagon. The report expressed concern in

regard to not only the service members, but also the families. Many in the nation believe the hardships being endured by the military are not shared by the rest of the US population. In light of the continued challenges facing the military, many questioned again the viability of a volunteer force and have called for bringing back a military draft as a way to ease the strains on the armed forces and to spread the demands of war more evenly throughout society. Significant literature has been presented, both in favor of maintaining the all volunteer force and in reinstating the draft. In conclusion, this paper presents the facts and assumptions identified in four evaluation criteria selected: Military Effectiveness (Quality and Effectiveness of the Force); Cost and Other Economic Considerations; Socio-political Force Composition and Equity; and Level of Conflict (Ability to Sustain the Force).

Military Effectiveness (Quality and Effectiveness of the Force):

This paper has shown that today's force is capable of using high-tech weapons, communications equipment, and other aspects of modern technology that are required in the 21st century military. At any time, the volunteer force can increase accessions by simply lowering standards to those of the 1960s draft era. If the draft were reinstated, most professionals believe discipline problems would increase in the military. One indicator of increased military quality is the percentage of high school graduates, which has surpassed 90 percent since 1990. The other key indicator regarding quality recruits is measured by the AFQT scores, which have increased significantly—from 80 percent in 1973 to 98 percent in 2006. Another key indicator is the percentage of high quality recruits which also increased dramatically from 42 percent in 1973 to 62% in 2006. The experience level of the enlisted force has also increased from six years in 1974 to seven years in 2005. The last measurable quality indicator is that the number of enlisted personnel serving in first term also improved from 66 percent in 1967 to 46 percent in 2006.

Cost and Other Economic Considerations:

The Gates Commission, economists, and other observers have argued that the full economic cost of the all-volunteer force is less than the draft for four reasons: (1) In-kind tax is eliminated; (2) Cost of avoiding the draft is eliminated; (3) Lower turnover rate;

and (4) Full cost of military personnel is less visible with a draft. The transition from the draft to the volunteer force included raising the basic pay more in line with the median pay in the civilian sector. GAO contended that the volunteer force added \$3 billion per year (1974 dollars). The Congressional Budget Office stated that no studies have examined the total cost of the draft. The more controversial the war, the higher the budgetary cost of a voluntary army compared to a war fought with draftees. Ninety percent of draftees leave military service after their initial two years, which increases cost in several areas. To achieve army end strength of 547,400 in 2012, it requires the US to draft 165,000 individuals a year, or enlist 80,000 a year under the volunteer force. The draft has lower retirement pay, health care, and military housing costs. As a cost-saving measure, Congress could elect to reduce military pay, which would negatively impact soldiers but would not impact accessions under a draft. The volunteer force includes expenses for advertising, recruiters, enlistment bonuses, and education incentives. The draft would require more dollars spent at entrance processing stations and at training bases. Economists believe the social opportunity costs are lower with a volunteer force. While total manpower spending increased with the volunteer force, it is well within the acceptable limits of the US budget.

Socio-political Force Composition and Equity:

Information has been presented attesting to the fact that the all-volunteer force is broadly representative of US society and more racially diverse than the Vietnam-era draft. African American service members made up 13 percent of new recruits in 2005 versus 14 percent of the US population (age 18-24). The enlisted force make-up in the highest risk military occupations (infantry, gun crews, seamanship) are whites, accounting for 75 percent versus 68 percent of the force, and African Americans accounting for 13 percent versus 19 percent of the force. Whites account for 76 percent of fatalities, versus 68 percent of force, and African Americans account for 13 percent of fatalities, versus 19 percent of the force, in the war in Afghanistan and Iraq. Since 1980, more recruits come from the South and West of the US. Individuals from all income groups are represented roughly proportionately in the enlisted ranks of the volunteer force. Young people from the very highest and very lowest income families are somewhat less likely to join the military. The draft will not make the military more

diverse or equitable, but it will eliminate the choice to serve for some individuals. The military offers excellent opportunities for self improvement.

Level of Conflict (Ability to Sustain the Force):

The US military continues to get smaller with 2007 end strength of 1.4 million. The US has had a draft for only 35 years of our history. The Supreme Court has ruled that the US has the authority to induct individuals into the military via a draft. Polls conducted in the US in 2005 indicate that 70 percent oppose reinstating the draft, 25 percent favor reinstating the draft, more than 50 percent would discourage a son from enlisting in the military, and 66 percent would discourage a daughter from enlisting in the military. The Iraq War is becoming more controversial and questionable to the US public. The all-volunteer force has been successful in meeting the military demands for over 35 years and, more importantly, during the current global war on terror since 2001.

V. Recommendation and Conclusion

Senator John Kerry, at a campaign rally at Pasadena City College stated, “You know, education, if you make the most of it, you study hard, you do your homework and you make an effort to be smart, you can do well. If you don’t, you get stuck in Iraq.”⁴¹ His comment created a media storm, even after Senator Kerry apologized and made a follow-up statement that he was referring to President Bush and not the troops. Regardless of what was meant, many in this country believe that those in the military are the individuals from the lowest elements of society and the military is the only option for a successful future. However, both the Congressional Budget Office Report and the Heritage Foundation have provided facts that counter this long held belief. Dr. Kane praises the study produced by the Congressional Budget Office, “It confirms that today’s American troops are not disadvantaged victims. They are smart, competent, and have a host of opportunities. Despite the opportunities available to intelligent young Americans, hundreds of thousands are making a free choice to join the ranks every year.”⁴²

During the early days and months of a publicly supported war, new volunteers with patriotic fervor eagerly sign up to support the conflict; however, history demonstrates that when the casualties begin to rise and the war begins to lengthen, public

support begins to diminish and so do the volunteers. In his 1971 book, Harry Marmion points out,

“It was not until the Vietnam War escalated sharply in the late spring of 1965 that public opinion against the draft began to form. All at once the war’s escalation, its unpopularity, the new mood of student militancy, and the insensitivity of General Hershey converged to bring the obsolete draft under close and critical focus.”⁴³

President Richard Nixon ended the draft by creating America’s all-volunteer force on 1 July 1973. Much of the reading indicates the decision was a result of the American public’s dissatisfaction with the draft and the root issue—the Vietnam War.

The nation will continue to struggle to meet recruiting goals as the war in Iraq continues and public support dwindles as a result of the high cost of the war in both American lives and dollars. Regardless of the sentiment in the country, it will not make future recruiting challenges any less daunting.

This research started by asking the questions: Should America reinstate the draft? Should it be an all service draft? Should a draft be implemented for only the reserve components? Should America have a National Service Policy as opposed to strictly a military draft? What can be implemented to ensure whatever program is adopted is equitable for all eligible citizens? Should females be drafted? Should there be a specialty draft for selected professionals, i.e. doctors, language speaking (Arabic, Pashto)? Should the all-volunteer force be continued and can it be sustained to meet end-strength numbers during an extended war? Under what conditions should the US implement the draft? Regardless of the decision, the challenge ahead is great, just as it was during the height of the Vietnam era draft. The challenge then, just as it is now, is best presented in the following story. Senator Robert Kennedy, during his presidential campaign, often spoke to college audiences about the draft. He would ask how many favored a volunteer military as opposed to the draft. The response was usually unanimous: volunteer force. He would then ask how many would serve in the voluntary force. And again, the response was usually unanimous: no.

Table 8 shows what is best for the nation.

Table 8. Course of Action Comparison

Course of Action Comparison			
Evaluation Criteria	*Draft	*All Volunteer Force	Remarks
Military Effectiveness (Quality and Effectiveness of the Force)	1	2	Information presented in Section III clearly indicates the quality of the AVF is higher than the Vietnam era draft.
Cost and Other Economic Considerations	1	1	Extensive research would be required to determine exactly which program is more cost effective. However, I believe the cost of the AVF is comparable to the draft, as individuals serving in the military should receive pay commensurate with the civilian market. The draft should not be used to reduce soldier pay!
Sociopolitical, Force Composition, and Equity	1	2	Section III clearly indicates the AVF is much more representative than the draft.
Level of Conflict (Ability to Sustain the Force)	1	2	Draft will be required in a World War II type scenario. However, the war must be seen as critical to defending the nation and draft must be seen as universal for all. The AVF has been successful for over 35 years and should continue to meet the challenge.
Totals:	4	7	
*Highest Score is Preferred.			

Table 8 clearly identifies what is best for the nation: continuation of the all-volunteer force. Since the establishment of the all-volunteer force in 1973, the military effectiveness and quality have dramatically improved; the cost has proven to be within the acceptable budget levels of the country; the sociopolitical, force composition, and equity status of the armed forces is representative of the nation; and the ability to sustain the force has been proven during the 35 years since its inception and more specifically by the success achieved since the global war on terror commenced in 2001. While the global war on terror goes on, the recruiting challenge will continue to be fought with increased bonus and education incentives targeted at the needs of the military. Today, America's all-volunteer force has emerged as the world's greatest fighting force through attracting highly qualified and educated recruits.

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