

Conference Organizers



Retired Maj. Gen. Dennis Laich spent 35 years in the U.S. Army Reserve, most recently as commander of the 94th Regional Readiness Command in Fort Devens, Mass. He is the author of *Skin in the Game: Poor Kids and Patriots* (Universe, 2013). After doing the research and writing for his book, Laich decided to take further action with regard to the manner in which America fields its armed forces. The result is the All-Volunteer Force Forum. Laich currently serves as director of the PATRIOTS Program at Ohio Dominican University.



Richard Herrmann is Social and Behavioral Sciences Distinguished Professor and chair of the Department of Political Science at The Ohio State University. He directed the Mershon Center for International Security Studies from 2002-10. Herrmann is the author of three books and numerous articles on the role of perception and imagery in foreign policy and the importance of nationalism and identity politics in world affairs. He served on Secretary of State James Baker's policy planning staff at the U.S. Department of State and at the Council on Foreign Relations.



Trevor Brown is dean of the John Glenn College of Public Affairs at The Ohio State University. His research focuses on public-private partnerships, how governments organize to deliver goods and services to citizens, when governments elect to contract service delivery, and how they manage the relationship with the vendor. Brown also serves as executive director of the State of Ohio Leadership Institute, a training resource for state and local elected officials. He has done applied research for the U.S. Navy, IBM, Pew Center, USAID, and city of Columbus.

The Future of the All-Volunteer Force and Democracy in America

Thursday, March 29, 2018



THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
MERSHON CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL
SECURITY STUDIES



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Conference Statement

When the United States ended the draft and moved to an all-volunteer military in 1973, most political and military leaders assumed that if the United States again fought a major, long-lasting war, the nation would reactivate the draft. But that didn't happen: The United States fought the long and costly wars in Iraq and Afghanistan with an all-volunteer force (AVF), even as some service members were deployed for three and even four tours of duty.

In the wake of these wars, it is appropriate and useful to discuss the state of America's AVF. How well has it worked? Will it work in the future? Is it fair, efficient, and sustainable?

This conference is part of a series of national events examining the all-volunteer force and democracy in America. In April 2016, the Center for the Study of the U.S. Military at the University of Kansas in collaboration with the AVF Forum hosted the first symposium on the AVF. Military experts, scholars and former defense department personnel debated and discussed the key questions associated with the AVF. A second forum was held at the College of William & Mary in April 2017.

Continuing this dialogue is the third such symposium sponsored by the Mershon Center for International Security Studies and John Glenn College of Public Affairs at The Ohio State University along with the AVF Forum. This event brings together key national policymakers, former government officials, active duty military officers, and academic experts to shed light on important issues regarding the all-volunteer force.

Students will participate through a series of working groups that meet in the afternoon to discuss important issues regarding the all-volunteer force, then report their findings to the larger group.

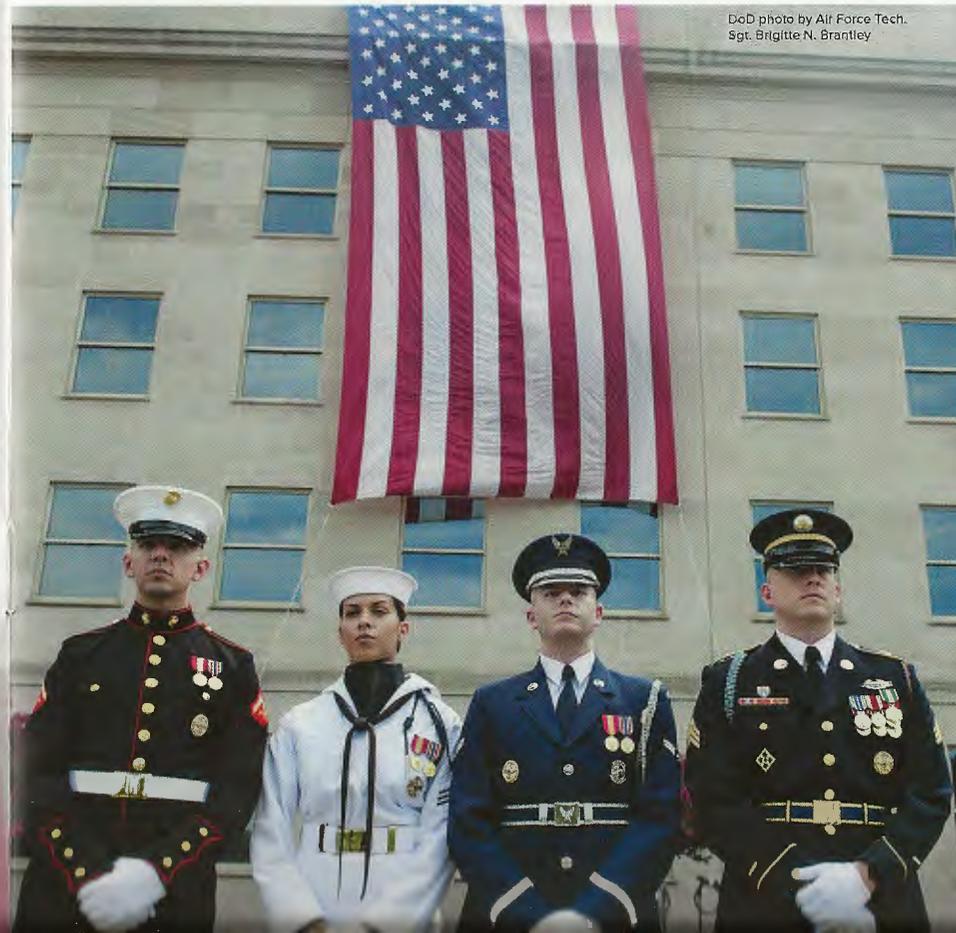
Please note that this event is being recorded. As an audience member, your willingness to participate shall serve as your consent to appear in the video.

The All-Volunteer Force Forum

The All-Volunteer Force Forum is an apolitical network of national security experts, military officers, academics, and concerned citizens established to examine the methodology for populating the U.S. armed forces. The forum seeks to encourage, facilitate, and document a fact-based national dialogue in response to its position that the All-Volunteer Force is unfair, inefficient, and unsustainable and contributes to the civil-military gap and the militarization of U.S. foreign policy. We consider this an issue that affects not only national security but also the social fabric of our democracy.

Learn more at avfforum.org

Service members stand after a ceremony at the Pentagon marking the 15th anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, Sept. 11, 2016.



DoD photo by Air Force Tech. Sgt. Brigitte N. Brantley

Conference Schedule

8:30–8:35 a.m.

Welcome

Richard Herrmann, The Ohio State University

8:35–9:10 a.m.

History of the AVF

Beth Bailey, University of Kansas

- Why did we adopt the AVF? Are those reasons still relevant today?

9:10–9:45 a.m.

The AVF: Status and Prospects

Retired Maj. Gen. Dennis Laich, AVF Forum

- How is the AVF faring across key measures? Effectiveness and Efficiency
- What problems does it face in terms of sustainability?
 - Long-term economic consequences
 - Medium to long-term ability to deploy forces

9:45–10:20 a.m.

The Casualty Gap

Francis X. Shen, University of Minnesota

- The Casualty Gap and fairness

10:20-10:30 a.m.

Break

10:30 a.m.–12 p.m.

Panel: The AVF and Civilian-Military Differences

What are common military perceptions and attitudes about civilian life, government leaders, and the state of affairs in the country (e.g. trust in institutions)?

Retired Lt. Col. Michael Young, U.S. Air Force Technical Applications Center, Patrick Air Force Base

- What are common civilian perceptions of the military, government leaders, and the state of affairs in the country (e.g. trust in institutions)?

Richard Herrmann, The Ohio State University

- How does the AVF affect the health of democracy?
- Are the differences in beliefs, experiences, and national service detrimental to democracy?

Michael Neblo, The Ohio State University

- What should the expectations of public responsibility be in a well-functioning democracy?

- What sort of obligations and shared sacrifice should be expected in the American democracy?
- What role should the military play in the training, socialization, and mobilization of young people in the country?

Moderator: **Christopher Gelpi**, The Ohio State University

12-12:30 p.m.

Lunch Break

12:30–1:45 p.m.

Keynote Address

Andrew Bacevich, Boston University

- What are the implications for both what leaders can commit the country to and what the country can achieve?
- Does it lead to alignment between presidential decisions to act and capability to act or to misalignment?



Andrew Bacevich
Professor Emeritus of
International Relations
and History
Boston University

1:45–3:15 p.m.

Student Working Groups

- How should the United States raise its military force in the future? What options are available and what would they look like?
- How could the AVF be modified or recruitment changed?
- How could we ramp up the Selective Service System?
- How might a draft work?
- How might a combination of the AVF and private contractors work?

3:30–5 p.m.

What are the military and economic implications of various options for raising the U.S. military?

Retired Col. Larry Wilkerson, College of William & Mary

Lawrence J. Korb, Center for American Progress

Paul Beck, The Ohio State University

Moderator: **Amy Taylor**, John Glenn College of Public Affairs

- What are the foreign policy implications of various options for raising the U.S. military?
- What are the moral implications and likely effects on democracy of the various options for raising the U.S. military?
- What are the domestic political prospects of the various options for raising the U.S. military?
- What steps should be taken to move the country toward a future military force that is able to effectively carry out the missions the national government assigns to it and is sustainable and fair?

Conference Participants

Andrew J. Bacevich is professor emeritus of international relations and history at Boston University. He has published numerous books including *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War* (Oxford, 2013); *Washington Rules: America's Path to Permanent War* (Henry Holt, 2010); and *America's War for the Greater Middle East: A Military History* (Random House, 2016). Bacevich is a retired colonel who served more than 20 years in the U.S. Army. He has a Ph.D. in American diplomatic history from Princeton University.

Beth Bailey is Foundation Distinguished Professor of History and founding director of the Center for Military, War, and Society Studies at University of Kansas. The center facilitates essential conversations about – and with – the U.S. military, holding national or international symposia that bring together scholars, policy makers, and members of the armed forces. It fosters research on the U.S. military, supporting scholarship that examines the military not only as an instrument of national defense but also as a central institution in American society.

Paul Beck is Distinguished Professor Emeritus of Social and Behavioral Sciences at The Ohio State University. His current research is centered on the Comparative National Elections Project, which includes 52 surveys on voting behavior conducted during elections from 1990 to 2017 in 27 countries on five continents. He was author/co-author of *Party Politics in America* (1988, 1992, 1997, 2001) and co-editor of *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies* (1984). He is a regular commentator for a variety of international, national, and local media.

Christopher F. Gelpi is director and Chair of Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution at the Mershon Center for International Security Studies at The Ohio State University. He is currently engaged in research on American public opinion and the use of military force, and on statistical models for forecasting military conflict and transnational terrorist violence. He is co-author (with Peter Feaver and Jason Reifler) of *Paying the Human Costs of War: American Public Opinion and Casualties in Military Conflicts* (Princeton, 2009), as well as other books and articles.

Lawrence J. Korb is a senior fellow at Center for American Progress and former director of national security studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, where he held the Maurice Greenberg Chair. Korb served as assistant secretary of defense (manpower, reserve affairs, installations, and logistics) from

1981 through 1985. In that position, he administered about 70 percent of the defense budget. He has authored, co-authored, edited, or contributed to more than 20 books and written more than 100 articles on national security issues.

Michael Neblo is associate professor of political science at The Ohio State University. His research focuses on deliberative democracy and political psychology. His book, *Deliberative Democracy between Theory and Practice* (Cambridge, 2015), cuts across the deadlock between supporters of deliberative theory and their empirical critics by focusing on the core goals of the deliberative political system. He is recipient of a National Science Foundation grant to design and study electronic town-hall meetings with the cooperation of the U.S. Congress.

Francis X. Shen is associate professor of law at University of Minnesota, where he directs the Shen Neurolaw Lab and explores the intersection of neuroscience and law. He is also a faculty affiliate at the Center for Law, Brain, and Behavior at Massachusetts General Hospital, and serves as executive director of education and outreach for the MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Law and Neuroscience. He has co-authored three books, including *The Casualty Gap: The Causes and Consequences of American Wartime Inequalities* (Oxford 2010).

Retired Col. Lawrence B. Wilkerson is Distinguished Visiting Professor of Government and Public Policy at the College of William & Mary. He served as chief of staff to Secretary of State Colin Powell from 2002 to 2005 and before that as associate director of the State Department's policy planning staff with responsibility for East Asia and the Pacific, political-military and legislative affairs. Wilkerson joined the Army in 1966, serving as a helicopter pilot in the Vietnam War; he retired from active duty in 1997 following 31 years of service.

Retired Lt. Col. Michael Young has more than 30 years of service primarily as an intelligence officer. He served tours of duty with the 82nd Airborne Division, 5th Special Forces Group, 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment, and as assistant professor of history at the U.S. Air Force Academy. In 1991, he deployed to Kuwait in the First Gulf War, and in 2003 served as deputy commander of the Joint Detention Operations Group in Guantanamo. He is now command historian for Air Force Technical Applications Center at Patrick Air Force Base in Melbourne, Fla.