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Militarization and Civil Rights in NATO and Russia

Summary. The presented article is devoted to a comparative analysis of the degree of militarization and civil rights protection in Russia and NATO countries. Such measures as the Global Militarization Index (Bonn International Center for Conversion), Global Peace Index (Institute for Economics and Peace), Freedom Index (Canada's Frazer Institute) and others are used to compare the countries used in the analysis. The article focuses on the question of whether there is a relationship between militarization and civil rights protection. The article also looks at the factors that shape militarization and civil rights protection in Russia and NATO countries, the most significant being the collective security system and the pace of transition to democracy of some of the analyzed countries.

Key words: civil-military relations, militarization, civil rights, comparative analysis, Russia, NATO

Introduction

The issue of militarization and its connection to civil rights has been extensively discussed by researchers of civil-military relations. That discussion is still greatly influenced by works of Samuel Huntington, who drew attention to the relationship between the needs of the military and the needs of society; he worded it the following way: "Civil-military relations as a whole are aimed at making it possible to maximize military security at the least sacrifice for other social values"¹. Mili-

¹ S. Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-military Relations*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA 1957, p. 2.

tarization can thus be understood as a state of civil-military relations characterized by favouring the needs of the military and national security over the protection of social values, where civil rights are at the core.

1. Theoretical Perspectives on Militarization and Civil Rights

There are various approaches that view militarization from different angles, which is a reflection of the complexity of the issue. Works devoted to civil-military relations fall into two categories depending on what serves as the lens through which civil-military relations are viewed. Firstly, civil-military relations can be understood as power relationships between senior military officers and senior civilian officials with a focus on the distribution of power within their relationship, establishing and maintaining civil control over the military, defense policy-making etc. Secondly, civil-military relations can be viewed from the perspective of the differences and similarities between civilian and military actors in terms of their culture and values.

Militarization can be viewed from both perspectives: first it can be understood as the military interfering with politics, violating rules and regulations of civilian control, and becoming the key tool of state policy (which can be termed political militarization). Militarization can also be understood as the domination of military culture and lifestyle in a society, i.e. the military taking center stage in social life, thus setting its norms and values (which can be termed cultural militarization). We deem it reasonable that power and cultural militarization are connected and develop together. Their connection can be traced in theoretical perspectives on the issue of militarization developed by C. Wright Mills², Harold Lasswell³, Alfred Vagts⁴ etc.

Empirical research of militarization sheds light on a different dimension of militarization, which can be termed economic militarization. Such an approach is based on measuring the degree to which the military is provided with the resources it requires to fulfill its functions effectively, and whether it infringes on the needs and rights of civilians. This can be exemplified by such research projects as the Global Militarization Index (Bonn International Center for Conversion)⁵, and the Global Peace Index (Institute for Economics and Peace)⁶. Those projects imply measuring militarization through such indicators as military spending in relation to GDP and health spending, the number of military personnel in relation to the population and

² See C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1956, www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Book_Excerpts/PowerElite.html [13.05.2014].

³ See H. Lasswell, *The Garrison State*, "The American Journal of Sociology" 1941, Vol. 46, No. 4.

⁴ See A. Vagts, *The History of Militarism*, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT 1981.

⁵ Global Militarization Index, www.bicc.de/old-site/index.php?page=gmi-new [13.05.2014].

⁶ Global Peace Index, www.visionofhumanity.org/#/page/indexes/global-peace-index [13.05.2014].

number of physicians, the number of heavy weapons in relation to population, and the volume of transfers of major conventional weapons in relation to population etc.

Militarization can be regarded as a state of civil-military relations at one of the extreme points of a continuum, i.e. a polar type, with civilianization being at the other end of that continuum. Militarization implies sacrificing social values for the needs of the military, while civilianization of civil-military relations means favouring social values over the needs of the military. Reflections on their opposition can be found in typologies developed by Herbert Spencer (militant and industrial societies)⁷, Charles Moskos (I/O thesis)⁸ and others.

A researcher willing to study militarization and its connection to civil rights empirically needs to decide a few questions crucial to developing the conceptual framework of the study. Firstly, does ensuring rights and needs of the military necessarily imply violation of the rights and needs of civilians? In other words, are civil-military relations a zero-sum game? Is it possible that the rights and needs of all actors are ensured? If we make an assumption that it is possible, then there are four ideal types of civil-military relations that can be theoretically conceived: a balanced type and three unbalanced types (militarized, civilianized, and unbalanced) (see Table 1).

Table 1. Types of civil-military relations

Are rights protected and needs met?		Civil rights	
		Yes	No
Needs of the military	Yes	Balanced type	Militarized type
	No	Civilianized type	Unbalanced type

Source: author's own research.

The second question a researcher needs to decide is which of the types is desirable. There can be two answers to that question: a normative one and a relativist one. The normative approach to answering the question implies that a certain type of civil-military relation can be described as optimum or desirable under any circumstances. This can be exemplified by the “democratic type” of civil-military relations, which is often described as desirable for any transition country. In our opinion, there is no type of civil-military relation that is functional and appropriate in any context. What is more important is not the type itself, but whether it is functional under specific circumstances. For example, a research project on the transforma-

⁷ H. Spencer, *Political Institutions*, in: idem, *Principles of Sociology*, Williams and Norgate, London 1882, oll.libertyfund.org/titles/spencer-political-institutions-being-part-v-of-the-principles-of-sociology [13.05.2014].

⁸ See C. Moskos, *Soldiers and Society*, US Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, Alexandria, VA1988.

tion of civil-military relations in post-communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe conducted by Anthony Forster, Andrew Cottey, and Tim Edmunds shows that in some countries application of democratic patterns had negative outcomes. Some of the countries developed small, elite “show case” military cadres capable of rapid deployment alongside NATO forces, while the remainder of the military starved for resources⁹. Thus, empirical research in the field of civil-military relations is to be focused on whether their type has positive outcomes for all the actors involved, as well as, security at both national and international levels under specific circumstances, which is the relativist approach to civil-military relations.

Normative approaches can also be explained through specific conditions they have been elaborated in. For example, researchers of civil-military relations in Russia and other countries see the subject matter from significantly different perspectives. Russian researchers quite often view the military as the centre of civil-military relations, which implies that the main goal of all actors is to provide the military with everything it needs. Civil-military relations are seen “through the eyes of a military man”. Researchers from other countries (especially Canada and the USA) seem to look at civil-military relations “through the eyes of a civilian” even if the researchers themselves are currently in the military. The military is primarily viewed as subordinate to the government and society, and therefore, to the needs and goals of civilians. Those approaches do not contradict each other; attention is just focused on different aspects of civil-military relations.

We suppose that three of the four types we have introduced (balanced, militarized, and civilianized types) can be optimum under different circumstances. Civil-military balance (the balanced type) can be viewed as desirable under any circumstances since it has positive outcomes for all the actors involved. Nevertheless various factors can impose restrictions on achieving that balance, such as threats to national security or harsh economic and social conditions. Such factors can precipitate a certain type since it may not be possible to secure the needs of all actors. Consequently, militarized and civilianized types can be optimum as long as they are defined by the context and help adjust to it. For example, militarization is justified in times of military conflict since violation of civilian rights caused by militarization can be less severe than that caused by threats to national security. Civilianization is justified in cases of economic crisis, social instability, and hardships alongside a low threat to national security. The unbalanced type can hardly be regarded as optimum since all of the actors are disadvantaged.

⁹ The Transformation of Civil-Military Relations in Comparative Context. Full Report of Research Activities and Results. Project: the Transformation of Civil-Military Relations in Comparative Context, ESRC Award: L213252009, www.esrcsocietytoday.ac.uk/esrcinfocentre/viewawardpage.aspx?awardnumber=L213252009 [13.05.2014].

2. Militarization and Civil Rights in Russia and NATO: The Empirical Evidence

To test the assumptions formulated at the stage of theoretical analysis and to ensure comparability of data for Russia and NATO countries, we have used the following indicators to describe the state of civil-military relations:

1. Indicators of militarization in Russia and NATO:
 - Military Expenditure Index, Military Personnel Index, and Heavy Weapons Index (constituents of Global Militarization Index developed by Bonn International Center for Conversion)¹⁰,
 - Militarization Score (constituent of Global Peace Index developed by Institute for Economics and Peace)¹¹,
 - The Global Cost of Containing Violence Score (Institute for Economics and Peace)¹².
2. Indicators of civil rights protection in Russia and NATO:
 - Societal Safety and Security Score, and the Ongoing Domestic and International Conflict Score (constituents of Global Peace Index developed by Institute for Economics and Peace)¹³,
 - Global Peace Index (Institute for Economics and Peace)¹⁴,
 - Human Development Index Score (the United Nations Development Programme)¹⁵,
 - Freedom Index Score (Canada's Frazer Institute)¹⁶,
 - Positive Peace Index (Institute for Economics and Peace)¹⁷.

There is statistically significant (at the $p < 0,05$ level) relationship between the following indicators as far as NATO countries and Russia are concerned:

1. Positive relationship between the Military Expenditure Index and Societal Safety and Security Score; between the Military Personnel Index and Societal Safety and Security Score¹⁸,

¹⁰ Global Militarization Index, www.bicc.de/old-site/index.php?page=gmi-new [13.05.2014].

¹¹ Global Peace Index, www.visionofhumanity.org/#/page/indexes/global-peace-index [13.05.2014].

¹² Ibidem.

¹³ Global Peace Index, www.visionofhumanity.org/#/page/indexes/global-peace-index [13.05.2014].

¹⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁵ Human Development Index, hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/hdi [13.05.2014].

¹⁶ Human Freedom, www.freetheworld.com/humanFreedom.php [13.05.2014].

¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ Which means the larger military expenditure is and the more military personnel a country has, the less socially safe and secure citizens of the country are, since a greater Societal Safety and Security Score indicates less societal safety and security.

2. Positive relationship between the Military Expenditure Index and Ongoing Domestic and International Conflict Score; between The Global Cost of Containing Violence Score and Ongoing Domestic and International Conflict Score,
3. Negative relationship between the Military Personnel Index and Positive Peace Index; between Military Personnel Index and Human Development Index; between the Military Personnel Index and Freedom Index,
4. Negative relationship between the Militarization Score and Human Development Index.

We can infer there is an inverse relationship between the degrees of militarization and civil rights protection. Furthermore, the more a country is involved in domestic and international conflicts, the higher the level of militarization. At the same time there is no relationship between being involved in domestic and international conflicts and the degree of civil rights protection. Still, the analyzed countries have various combinations of index values. For example, Poland and Portugal have similar values of Human Development Index and Freedom Index, while their values of the Military Expenditure Index, Military Personnel Index, and Heavy Weapons Index differ greatly. A deeper understanding of the relationship between militarization and civil rights in Russia and NATO can be gained by analyzing combinations of index values.

There are two possible ways of doing this; first, one can pigeonhole the countries on the basis of a combination of indicator values, e.g. through cluster analysis. Such analysis shows the distribution of countries but does not allow to numerically compare the countries. Second, one can make up an aggregated militarization index and an aggregated civil rights protection index. Each of the indexes integrates the indicators into a single measure that reflects some basic quality (militarization or civil rights protection) measured by those indicators. Such indexes can be used to both show the distribution of countries and range them. The latter strategy is used in this paper.

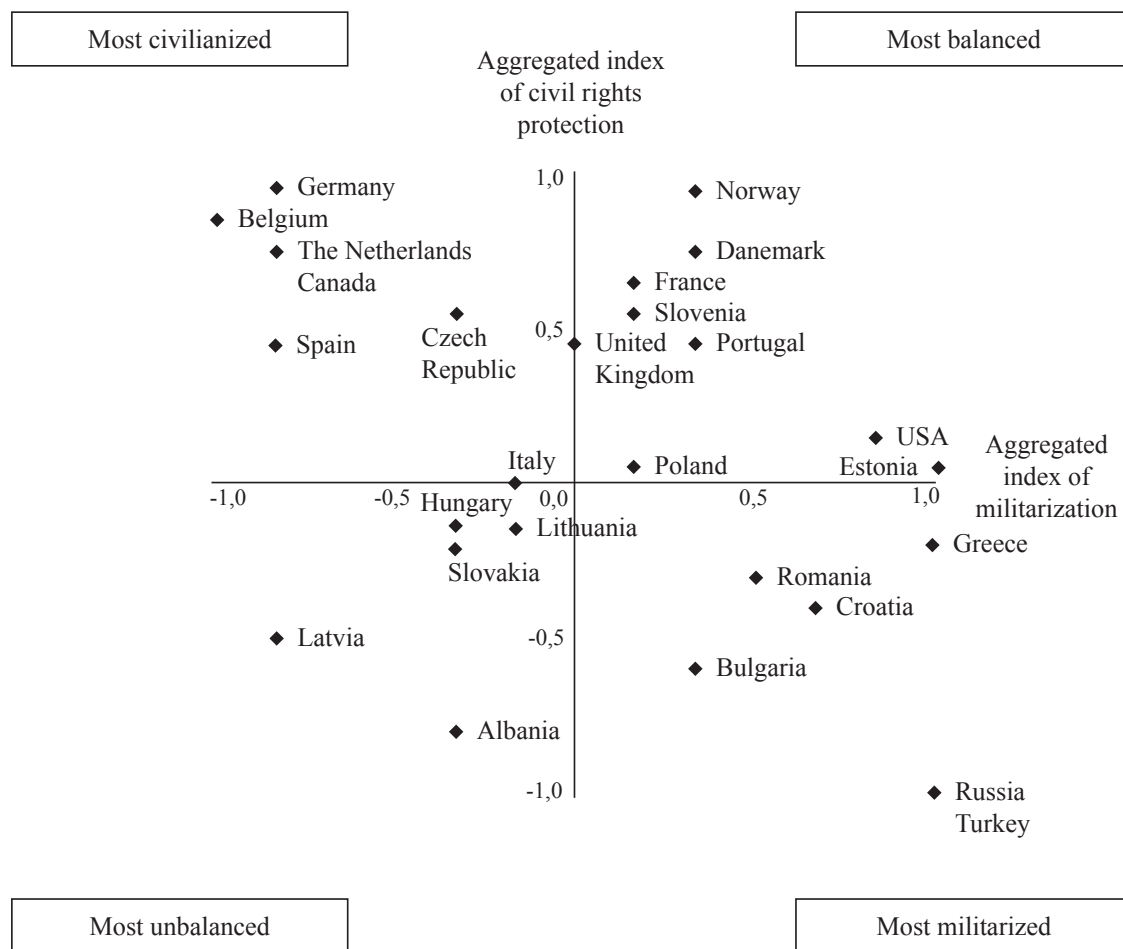
First, we checked if the indicators of militarization and civil rights protection listed above can be integrated into aggregated indexes. The value of Cronbach's alpha calculated for indicators of militarization suggests that those items did not have enough internal consistency, so some indicators were excluded. The coefficient value is 0,8 for the following indicators, which shows high internal consistency: the Military Expenditure Index Score, the Military Personnel Index Score, and the Heavy Weapons Index Score. As for indicators of civil rights protection, the coefficient value shows that the following ones can be used to calculate an aggregated index: the Human Development Index, the Positive Peace Index, the Societal Safety and Security Score, and the Ongoing Domestic and International Conflict Score (the coefficient value is 0,9).

Secondly, the selected indicators had different scales, so they were normalized to enable joining them in a single index. Linear normalization was used to do that; for each of the indicators, normalization was performed for the ranged indicator scores

of NATO countries and Russia. Given that, the aggregated indexes can only be interpreted in a comparative context; i.e. countries with highest values of aggregated militarization index are to be regarded not as highly militarized, but as the most militarized among NATO countries and Russia. It is also important to remember that the indicators that make up the aggregated militarization index reflect the amount of military funding, number of weapons, and number of military personnel in relation to GDP or population. Thus, countries with a similar number of personnel and weapons can have different indicator values due to the different sizes of their population.

Analysis of the aggregated indexes allows for the following conclusions to be made: first, there is a statistically significant (at the $p < 0,05$ level) negative relationship between the aggregated indexes, which shows that a high level of militarization indicates a low level of civil rights protection; second, countries can be assigned to different types of civil-military relations on the basis of a combination of their index values and be classified as either most balanced, most militarized, most civilianized or most imbalanced among NATO countries and Russia (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Types of civil-military relations in NATO and Russia



Source: author's own research.

Both aggregated indexes can take on values ranging from -1 to +1. The values are interpreted the following way: +1 means that a country has the highest values of all indicators of militarization or civil rights protection among the NATO countries and Russia, -1 indicates the lowest values of all indicators, 0 means that the average value of the indicators of militarization or civil rights protection for a country lies in the middle of the ranged values for NATO countries and Russia.

For Russia and Turkey all measures of militarization have their maximum value, while all measures of civil rights protection have minimum values. The other countries in the militarized type are assigned to it for different reasons. Greece has a low value of Societal Safety and Security Score; Romania and Croatia have low values of Human Development Index etc. It is important to note that the NATO countries in the militarized type do not make a significant contribution to the NATO military budget. In 2012-2013, contributions of Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Romania, and Turkey made up 6,35% of the NATO military budget¹⁹. The greatest contributions to the military budget are made by the countries characterized by high values of the civil rights protection index. Contributions made by the USA, Germany, France and the UK constitute more than half of the NATO military budget; those countries belong to civilianized and balanced types of civil-military relations²⁰.

It is important to underline that a similar degree of militarization of Russia and other NATO countries does not mean the same level of military security, which is conditioned by the nature of NATO collective security. Each of the member states makes a contribution (in terms of military spending, military personnel etc.) according to its resources and possibilities, while the collective security approach provides a high level of security for all member states. It can therefore be concluded that even countries with a low level of militarization (which can mean low military capabilities) can still be guaranteed a high level of national security. At the same time, a large volume of resources provided to the Russian military is regarded as insufficient by many Russian experts. This can be explained by the need to protect a large territory, which is worsened by the rather low quality of resources and their ineffective use.

Another conclusion that can be made is that most of the countries characterized by low levels of civil rights protection (unbalanced and militarized types) are still going through transformations associated with the fall of communism. There are former socialist states among the NATO member states: Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, and (East) Germany (formerly the German Democratic Republic). Most of them (with the exception of Germany) have not finished the transition to democracy and free market, according to the Bertelsmann Stiftung's

¹⁹ Paying for NATO, www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_67655.htm [13.05.2014].

²⁰ Germany has relatively low values of all indicators of militarization because of large population and high GDP.

Transformation Index²¹. Among all the NATO countries, Croatia, Romania and Turkey have the lowest value of the Transformation Index, which means the least progress on the path towards democracy; those countries belong to the militarized type of civil-military relations. Russia is less transformed than any of the NATO countries. Transforming countries that belong to the civilianized type have the highest Transformation Index scores of all the transforming countries in the world. The Czech Republic ranks first, while Estonia, Poland and Slovenia rank third, fifth and sixth respectively.

Moreover, there is a statistically significant (at the $p < 0,01$ level) relationship between the aggregated civil rights protection index and the Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index, while there is no relationship between the latter index and the aggregated militarization index. Therefore, we can conclude that a low degree of civil rights protection in Russia and some transforming NATO countries is connected to militarization, but not generated by the latter. Violation of human rights is rather caused by a slow pace of transition to democracy and the negative outcomes it has for society, i.e. the weakness of civil society, corruption, social inequality etc.

Conclusion

In a nutshell, there is a relationship between militarization and civil rights protection in Russia and NATO countries, yet it is a complex connection that cannot be straightforwardly described as a cause and effect relationship. Moreover, patterns of militarization and civil rights protection vary greatly within NATO, despite the unifying impact it has on civil-military relations in the member states. The pace of societal transformation is one of the key factors that condition that variance and explain similarities between Russia and the NATO countries. An unfinished transition to democracy engenders a low degree of civil rights protection, as well as, hinders development of a democratic model of civil-military relations. Consequently, it is quite likely that the completion of the transformation will create conditions that foster achieving civil-military balance. A collective security system is another important factor of civil-military relations as far as Russia and NATO countries are concerned. Collective security lowers demands for the degree of militarization necessary to ensure national security and hence provides conditions for the better protection of civil rights.

Finally, the presented attempt at a comparative analysis of militarization and civil rights protection in Russia and NATO countries shows that empirical evidence on those issues is context-dependent and it should be used with regard to the national security arrangements.

²¹ Transformationsindex BTI 2014, www.bti-project.de/bti-home/ [13.05.2014].

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Militaryzacja a prawa obywatelskie w Rosji i NATO

Streszczenie. W artykule przedstawiono analizę porównawczą stopnia militaryzacji i ochrony praw obywatelskich w Rosji i krajach należących do NATO. Do analizy zostały użyte m.in. takie wskaźniki jak: Globalny Wskaźnik Militaryzacji (Bonn International Center for Conversion), Światowy Wskaźnik Pokoju (Institute for Economics and Peace), Wskaźnik Wolności (Canada's Frazer Institute). Artykuł jest próbą odpowiedzi na pytanie, czy istnieje zależność między militaryzacją a ochroną praw obywatelskich. W artykule omówiono również czynniki, które wpływają na militaryzację i ochronę praw obywatelskich w Rosji i krajach NATO. Do najważniejszych czynników należy zaliczyć system grupowego bezpieczeństwa i tempo przechodzenia do demokracji w niektórych z analizowanych krajów.

Słowa kluczowe: relacje cywilno-wojskowe, militaryzacja, prawa obywatelskie, analiza porównawcza, Rosja, NATO