

enlisted men in order to avoid the uncertainty of possibly being drafted. The extent to which the draft motivated men to volunteer was gauged from a survey administered in the fall of 1964 to men on their first tour of duty. The following percentages responded that they "definitely" or "probably" would *not* have volunteered if there had been no draft obligation:

First-term regular enlisted men.....	38.0
First-term officers.....	41.3
Enlistments to Reserves.....	70.7

If the draft were abolished, it is probable that the Armed Services would lose the draft-motivated enlistments. Put in another way, the supply curve of new recruits to enlisted ranks in Fig. 1 would fall from S to S' —a 38 per cent reduction.

There is a second way in which the pressure of a draft affects the short-run supply of recruits. The time series data shows that high draft calls are associated with larger flows of voluntary enlistments.⁵ When the likelihood of induction climbs as it does in times of strength build-ups to meet brush-fire wars or international tensions, many youths elect to discharge their draft obligations by enlisting in a Service or component of their choice. Indeed, these rightward draft-induced shifts in supply are largest for the non-combat Services, the Air Force and Navy.

According to Fig. 1, military manpower requirements A_0 could be supplied with true volunteers (the curve S') if first-term pay were raised to M_2 . The necessary pay increase ($M_2 - M_0$) will, of course be smaller, the smaller is the demand for new recruits. The demand for new accessions in an all-volunteer force is analyzed in Part V where I estimate the necessary pay increase.

THE INCIDENCE OF INVOLUNTARY MILITARY SERVICE

The draft and its attendant military service obligation have affected the lives of nearly all Americans. Some men have been involuntarily inducted into the Army while still others reluctantly volunteer for service in enlisted and officer ranks of the active-duty forces as well as for positions in Reserve and Guard units. This is not to deny that there are many men who of their own volition choose military service over civilian employment. However, through coercion and compulsion, the draft law has exacted two or more years of involuntary military service from the draftees and reluctant volunteers. The incidence of involuntary military service has not been uniform, nor is it likely to be so under virtually any draft scheme short of all-out universal military service. The question posed in this section is, "Who will be chosen for involuntary service in the years ahead when only a small fraction of all youths will be demanded by the Armed Forces?"

If the present Selective Service System is extended for four years, I have estimated the probable age and educational distribution of reluctant service participants.⁶ To avoid duplication, I shall not describe the methods used to arrive at the distribution shown in Table 1. The current deferment policies, which the Marshall Commission has shown to be so blatantly unfair and arbitrary, favor men with college education. The high school graduates who are bright enough to qualify for military service are the ones who bear the brunt of involuntary military service. They are less informed about the ways in which to beat the draft and reluctantly volunteer before they are drafted.

The Marshall Commission recommended the adoption of a lottery system for selecting draftees. The lottery will produce yet a different composition of involuntary military service. My preliminary analysis of the Marshall lottery reported in Part V indicates that the number of reluctant volunteers will decline. However, the increase in draft calls will more than offset the fall in reluctant

⁵ An analysis of the time series data can be found in an unpublished paper by Anthony Fisher, Institute for Defense Analysis, Arlington, Virginia. Fisher's study shows that voluntary enlistments in mental groups I to III are positively related to draft calls, unemployment rate, and relative military/civilian pay. He obtains a higher elasticity of supply with respect to pay than we do with the cross-sectional data.

⁶ See my paper in the Congressional Record of March 9, 1967, pp. H2442-52. The figures appearing in Table 1 assume an active-duty strength of 2.65 million men and an unemployment rate of 5.5 per cent. If the average unemployment rate in 1970-75 should fall to 4.0 per cent, draft calls are projected to climb from 55.3 to 101.7 thousand men per year.