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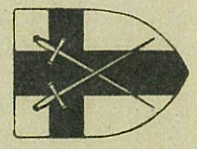
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**BRITISH ARMY OF THE RHINE**



**MORALE IN BATTLE:  
ANALYSIS**

- ① Be prepared to withdraw
- ② Confound the enemy
- ③ Have a plan B

ALL ARMS TRAINING CENTRE

**GERMANY.  
APRIL, 1946.**

BRITISH ARMY OF THE RHINE  
METHODS OF INSTRUCTION TEAM  
ALL ARMS TRAINING CENTRE

# Foreword

THIS paper is an attempt to analyse what is at the root of morale in battle and thereby to discover how it can be developed. High morale is defined as:—Endurance and courage in supporting fatigue and danger. In other words, the quality which makes men go forward in an attack and hold their ground in defence. It is the quality without which no war can be won.

2. It is necessary to have a definite plan in order to apply the analysis of morale to the realities of Army training.

I have therefore issued separately to Corps Commanders in Rhine Army a paper called 'Morale in Battle : Outline Plan'. They have been instructed to initiate training in morale : based on this outline plan.

*Montgomery of Alamein*  
*Field - Marshal.*

Commander in Chief  
British Army of the Rhine.

GERMANY  
30 April, 1946.

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# MORALE IN BATTLE: ANALYSIS

REVISED  
1918

Division of the Staff  
General Staff

## MORALE IN BATTLE: ANALYSIS

### Section 1. The Quality of Morale

1. In war the moral stature of some men increases and their characters grow stronger and more closely-knit in proportion to the discomforts and dangers which they are called upon to face. Such men will occasionally perform in battle remarkable acts of selfless courage and daring, and will endure with extraordinary fortitude and patience the burdens thrust upon them.
2. Other men, however, will under the stress of hardships or dangers surrender to fear or fatigue and will allow their characters to disintegrate. This disintegration will usually take the form of a loosening of the moral fibre which results in timidity of action and slackness in appearance. In battle, men who have kept a firm grip upon themselves will appear clean and vital in their appearance, while those who have gone to seed will be dirty and their appearance will be slovenly. Similarly, timid officers will be found during quiet periods in the line, grovelling in the filth of some cellar while their signallers and runners, separated from the light, attempt to do their jobs by the flame of a guttering candle. In these latter cases there has been a general loosening of the character due to a partial surrender to fear.
3. In extreme cases, men who have become afraid have sunk to the level of beasts. No longer in full control of themselves, they have become as sheep or rabbits, unable to act alone or think rationally. Their instincts have become those of the herd; they are either paralysed by fear or gripped by unreasoning panic. Such men are exceptions, but they are a reminder of the value of high morale. The good soldier—the man with high morale—has not surrendered to fear and has maintained his personal standards; the bad soldier—the man with

low morale—has become incapable of independent action and has to some extent shed a part of his human individuality.

4. Morale is a mental and moral quality. It is a quality peculiar to human beings because it is essentially the product of a mind with a conscience. It is that which in battle keeps men up on humanity's level. But humanity's level is not enough, because the strongest human instinct is the instinct for survival. Morale is also that which develops man's latent heroism so that he will overcome his desire to take the easy way out and surrender to fear.

The quality which maintains human dignity in battle and at the same time develops man's heroism is high morale.

5. It is necessary now to make clear what high morale is not. It is not contentment or satisfaction bred from ease or comfort of living. Both of these contain a hint of complacency, an acceptance of luxury as an end in itself. High morale is far more than any of these; for it implies essentially the ability to triumph over discomforts and dangers and carry on with the job.

6. Nor is high morale achieved through fitness or healthiness alone. It is important not to confuse the idea of physical happiness with morale. The happy faces of men after a good game of football are not necessarily the faces of men with good morale. Morale is a mental rather than a physical quality, a determination to overcome obstacles, an instinct driving a man forward against his own desires.

7. High morale is not happiness. Happiness may be a contributory factor in the maintenance of morale over a long period, but it is no more than that. A man can be unhappy but can still, regularly and without complaining, advance and defend within the terms of the definition.

8. High morale is not toughness. Some very tough men in this war have turned out to be very disappointing in action. Toughness is a physical and not a mental asset. Tough men will occasionally perform an isolated act of bravery. Morale, however, is not a quality which produces a momentary act. It influences behaviour at all times.

9. In brief, high morale is a quality which is good in itself and is latent in all men. It maintains human dignity. It enables fear and fatigue to be overcome. It is involved with the idea of conscience, but it should not be confused with fitness or happiness or toughness.

## Section 2. Basic Factors of Morale

10. It is now necessary to consider what factors constitute the morale of the soldier in the heat of battle. Certain factors may be described as essential conditions without which high morale cannot exist. These four basic factors are:

- (1) Leadership
- (2) Discipline
- (3) Comradeship
- (4) Self-respect.

A fifth factor, Devotion to a Cause, must exist but need not necessarily influence all the soldiers. Finally, there are numerous contributory factors which are of great importance but are not essential conditions.

## Section 3. The First Factor—Leadership

11. Morale is, in the first place, based on Leadership. Good morale is impossible without good leaders. This quality of leadership is one which must be studied.

12. Human beings are fundamentally alike, in that certain common characteristics apply to all men in varying degrees. In battle the most important of these characteristics is fear. All men are afraid at one time or another and to a greater or lesser extent. In moments of fear they band together and look for guidance; they seek for a person to give decisions; they look for a leader.

13. In times of war the leader has opportunities denied to him in peace. The difficulties, dangers and discomforts inseparable from the battle-field make men cry out for the leadership they can do without in peace. At such moments men are too weak to stand alone; they find the burdens too great to bear and their own selves unequal to the task. The leader himself accepts the burdens of others and, by doing so, earns their gratitude and the right to lead them.

14. Consider a platoon (i.e. thirty men) in action in the line. The men are drawn from all classes and of all types. They are there in the line because they have obeyed a long series of orders which it was easier to obey than to disobey. But now the test comes. It is easier for them not to obey orders; it is easier for them to stay where they are behind the hill and not advance over the crest into full view of the enemy who lies in wait beyond. The dominant motive force which drives them over the crest of the hill is their leader. It is his quality of leadership above all things which inspires the men to action.

15. These men recognise in their leader some quality which they themselves do not possess; that quality is decision. Fear makes men sluggish and indecisive, unable to decide or act for themselves. The leader's power over his men is based on his ability to cut through this "fear paralysis" and, in so doing, to enable others to escape from it. The rightness of the decision taken by the leader is irrelevant. What matters is that the decision should be taken and that the leader should

shoulder the responsibility for that decision. The leader must convince his men of its rightness, even though he himself may be uncertain of his own judgement. If the leader will decide, the men will follow and will fight. If there is indecision, they will hesitate and will flee. In short: "fight and survive"; "fear and be slain"; the leader decides.

16. The leader's power of decision results from his ability to remain imperturbable in the crisis. His calmness prevents panic and his resolution compels action. It follows from this that the leader must be less fearful than his men. He need not be impervious to fear, since men require a human figure to lead them. What he must do is to radiate an atmosphere of confidence which will show his men that he is less afraid than they. He must have the moral courage to stand firm when his men are wavering. In this respect they will judge him by his power of thought and action in a crisis. Fear destroys the faculty of thought and paralyses action. The leader must continue to think longer than his men, and his thoughts must lead to action. The leader's greatest asset is the ability to act normally in abnormal conditions, to continue to think rationally when his men have ceased to think, to be decisive in action when they are paralysed by fear.

17. The object of training must be, firstly, to select those who possess within them the potentialities of leadership and, secondly, to develop these potentialities. This is accomplished by giving the leader responsibility. A leader's character will develop in proportion to the responsibility with which he has been entrusted. His position as the man responsible for the lives and well-being of his men must be impressed upon him. In battle his preoccupation with his men's affairs will give him less time to think of his own fears. The mere fact of responsibility will increase the leader's powers of

decision and make him confident of his ability to handle any crisis.

18. Training must also seek to equip the leader with other qualities which will help him in his task.

A leader should be efficient ;  
 he should possess self-confidence ;  
 he should be firm and just in his dealings with his men ;  
 he should be clear-cut and definite in giving his orders ;  
 he should pay attention to administrative details ;  
 he should prepare his men in advance for any new experience they may have to meet.

All these things are important. But they can never be a substitute for

(a) decision in action, and

(b) calmness in crisis.

These are the two vital attributes of a leader, with which he will succeed and without which he will fail.

19. These two vital qualities exist in varying degree in every leader. Those men who possess them to a limited extent can nevertheless become adequate leaders by being trained in the qualities already enumerated. Such leaders must, in the first place, be efficient. This efficiency will impress itself on the men, thereby creating an atmosphere of confidence which will partially compensate for any lack of personality. By this means training can make men into competent but not outstanding leaders.

20. There is another aspect of leadership in its relation to morale. The best type of leader earns the respectful admiration of his men because he possesses certain good

qualities which they lack. A brutal leader who disregards the feelings of his men will not infuse them with the quality of self-respect; the morale of the troops he commands, regardless of his qualities as a leader, will not be of the highest. This point will be considered later in the fourth basic factor of morale. Here it only need be stated that the ability to instil this quality of self-respect in the troops he commands may be described as the third great attribute of a leader.

21. Moreover, it is important to realise that while men are dependent on the word of a leader, they are capable of much independent action on their own and are even capable of taking their own decisions. British soldiers have much native character and individuality. What is required is that the leader shall give the initial and vital decisions along which the men can work. If the leader gives the necessary orders, the men will carry them out magnificently. Any officer who has served in the line can produce many such instances. It is at these moments that the officer is amazed at the quality of the soldiers he leads.

22. Good morale can be created in a narrow sphere by a good leader. But a platoon or company is obviously influenced by the general feelings existing in a division or Army. Good morale implies confidence in the Command and in the Plan. A strong leader on the High Level can have a powerful influence on the general attitude of the men of a platoon ; he cannot, however, influence their movements over the last few vital yards of an attack. On the other hand, a strong leader on the low level can make his men carry out a single fine attack, but he cannot sustain their morale indefinitely, if there is a lack of confidence in the High Command and its Plan. In this war certain stages of the campaigns in Africa and Italy illustrate both sides of this argument to perfection.

23. A leader cannot do without discipline. His aim must be to create such a disciplined body of men that

all his orders will be obeyed instantly. This habit of obeying the leader's orders must be so instilled into his men that they will carry on and fight even though he himself falls. This aim cannot be achieved without discipline. The second factor of morale is discipline.

#### Section 4. The second Factor—Discipline

24. The object of discipline is the conquest of fear. Adequately to determine the best method of doing this, requires an analysis of fear to be made.

25. There are two aspects of fear. Fear can suddenly attack a man through his imagination. A corpse in a ditch or a grave by the side of the road will remind him of the peril of his position. He will suddenly realise that he himself is liable to be killed. It is a function of discipline to fortify the mind so that it becomes reconciled to unpleasant sights and accepts them as normal everyday occurrences. Fear can also creep upon a man during periods of monotony in the line. At such a time he will have the opportunity to appreciate the dangers which beset his life. Fear acting through his thoughts can so reduce the man's hard core of courage that he will become nervous and fearful. Discipline strengthens the mind so that it becomes impervious to the corroding influence of fear. It teaches men to confine their thoughts within certain definite limits. It instils the habit of self control.

26. The basis of fear is the awareness of danger. In itself this is healthy; for a man who is aware of danger automatically takes steps to provide against it. It is only when fear dominates the mind that it becomes unhealthy and leads to panic. Men must be urged to fight fear with courage, so that they will advance or defend, and not take refuge in flight or inaction.

27. Man becomes aware of danger when he feels himself opposed to something more powerful than himself; in other words, when he feels that his own armament is unequal to that of the enemy who oppose him. It is important for a man to lose his individual feeling and to become an integral part of the Battalion, Division and Army to which he belongs. The larger the unit of which he feels himself to be a member, the larger will be the estimation of his own armament and the less will be his fear. It is here that discipline shows its value, for it can help a man to lose his own identity and become a part of a larger and stronger unit. It is in this way that discipline will conquer fear.

28. This corporate sense which discipline creates helps men to face the unknown. At night, men in the line become afraid of the unknown which stretches out in front of them; at all times in action they are afraid of new and terrifying weapons which may be used against them. They realise that these unknown quantities may bring danger to them. Their ability to face these dangers is immensely strengthened by feeling themselves to be part of a group. The group is a known and certain quantity which they feel is strong enough to stand up to the unknown dangers which surround them.

29. The method by which the conquest of fear is achieved is the unifying of men into a group or unit under obedience to orders. Men require to be united if they are to give of their best. Discipline seeks to instil into all ranks a sense of unity by compelling them to obey orders as one man. This obedience to orders is the indispensable condition of good discipline. Men learn to gain confidence and encouragement from doing the same thing as their fellows; they derive strength and satisfaction from their company; their own identities become merged into the larger and stronger identity of their unit.



30. Men must learn to obey orders when all their instincts cry out for them not to be obeyed. They must learn to obey orders in times of stress so that they will do so in times of danger. They must learn to carry out their tasks under any conditions and despite all difficulties. In this way the mass of loose individuals, with their fears and weaknesses, can be welded into a united whole, ready to act on the word of a leader.

31. Discipline helps men to display fortitude in the face of fatigue and discomfort, while at the same time it helps them to conquer fear. It enables them uncomplainingly to triumph over difficulties which would have overcome them in times of peace. This constancy in enduring hardship and fatigue is the quality which is most frequently required of the soldier. Individual fortitude and corporate courage are the twin products of discipline.

32. Discipline implies a conception of duty. Nothing will be accomplished in the crisis by a man without a sense of duty. The sentry in an outpost holds his ground in the face of attack because he has a sense of duty to those behind him. This sense is instilled by discipline because it teaches men to obey orders as a matter of course, to know that it is wrong not to obey them and right, that is their duty, to do so. For the soldier, this conception of duty does not embrace abstractions such as Freedom or Empire or Democracy. In battle a soldier's sense of duty extends only to the friends who are around him. It is the job of the junior leader to encourage this sense of duty; abstractions are the sphere of the politician.

33. A certain type of training may induce men to go forward in an attack simply out of fear of the consequences of not doing so. This applies only to the weakest and most feeble of men who are of little value in battle. This type of training is an essential part of discipline but it must never be mistaken for the whole.

34. The type of training mentioned in the preceding paragraph, which implies a certain harshness and hardness, has its value. Material comforts are now so insidious that there is some danger that this "old-fashioned" idea of discipline will be allowed to disappear. This must not happen. Soldiers will not win battles if their training has not been hard. The softening influences of civilian life must be replaced by the exacting demands of military training. Soldiers must forget the pleasures of peace and concentrate on the realities of war.

35. In brief, discipline seeks to conquer fear by welding men into a cohesive whole, united by obedience to orders. It aims to create a body strong enough to carry each of its members through dangers and difficulties which they themselves would be unable to face alone. In this way it promotes comradeship, which is the third factor of morale.

### Section 5. The third Factor—Comradeship

36. Morale cannot be good unless men come to have affection for each other; a fellow-feeling must grow up which will result in a spirit of comradeship. An Army is made up of human beings so that however much a leader may inspire his men, however perfect the discipline, the morale will be hard and unsympathetic if the warmth of comradeship is not added to it. War, though a hard business, is not necessarily a grim one. Men must laugh and joke together, must enjoy each other's company, and must get fun out of life even in times of danger.

37. This spirit of comradeship must begin at the section or tank crew level and work its way upwards to Army level (e.g. Eighth Army). The importance of encouraging men to band together and identify themselves with

their units has already been emphasised. It will be necessary to make considerable efforts to further this spirit of comradeship. Junior commanders must plan to create this spirit in the same way as they plan to train their men to fire their weapons. Men must not be moved from unit to unit, or even from platoon to platoon, unless there are good reasons for it, and these reasons must be made clear to the men. A man who has served among friends in the same platoon for a long time will be helped by them to face the trials of battle. He will feel all around him reserves of courage and purpose upon which he can draw. There will be a feeling of solidarity, and out of this feeling there will grow up a determination to advance together and defend together and even die together. In war time, with heavy casualties and constant reinforcements, it is always found that this comradeship can be built up most quickly by ensuring that new arrivals as reinforcements belong to the part of Britain from which the unit is originally drawn and to which it belongs in peace time.

38. Comradeship is based on affection and trust which, between them, produce an atmosphere of mutual goodwill and feeling of interdependence. Men learn to have faith in each other and to depend on each other according to the abilities of each. In a tank crew, gun team or infantry section, men do not work well together merely because they are disciplined and well led; they do so because they trust each other and because they are bound together by an affection which is never expressed in words, but shows itself in deeds.

39. Comradeship is a great antidote to fear because it gives a man friends. A man must make friends in his platoon, friends whom he respects and admires. In battle these friends will prevent him from feeling lonely. A man alone is a man who will find it hard to stand up to the dangers of the line; a man alone is a man afraid. If he has friends he will derive strength from their

presence and will be anxious not to let them down in battle. He will seek to do his fair share of all tasks which come to his crew or section; he will feel ashamed if he cannot assist his friends in their duties and maintain his place with them in the line. All men have within them a streak of generosity and unselfishness—a touch of nobility—and these qualities will be brought out in the attitude to their friends. Friendship causes men to give of their best.

40. In conclusion, comradeship is vital to high morale because it surrounds a man with an atmosphere of warmth and strength at the very moment when he is feeling cold and weak. It encourages his finest instincts and the demands of friendship serve to strengthen him in battle. These demands are also a challenge to his self-respect, a quality which must now be considered.

### Section 6. The fourth Factor—Self-Respect

41. No man can be said to possess high morale if the quality of self-respect is lacking. Soldiers must be encouraged to respect themselves at all times and under all conditions. This quality is involved with those of discipline and comradeship to such an extent that it is perhaps wrong, and certainly difficult, to separate them. But no man will have high morale who does not possess a quality greater and wider than comradeship and discipline.

42. Self-respect implies a determination to maintain personal standards of behaviour. A man who respects himself will neither allow himself to become slovenly in his quarters nor dirty; even in action he will take care to see that his personal appearance suffers as little as possible. It is the job of the NCO to maintain this aspect of discipline; it is the function of the officer to encourage

and instil self-respect. The officer must ruthlessly insist on the maintenance of personal standards ; at the same time however he must let his men understand that he appreciates and respects them as human beings. Soldiers must be treated with humanity and controlled by discipline. If the officer does this, he will gain the respect of his men at the same time as he gives them self-respect.

43. Efficiency is inseparable from self-respect. The sense of a good job well done, of a hard task successfully accomplished, is indispensable to good morale. Men must take pride in their ability to carry out all jobs allotted to them. They must feel that they are good soldiers and are therefore of value to other people. Men can be persuaded of this fact by being trusted. A man who feels he is trusted will feel that he is efficient and he will at once begin to respect himself. He will have confidence in his own ability to fight. Men who are trusted gain self-confidence. It is the job of the officer to convince his men that he trusts them.

44. Self-respect is a quality which will develop inevitably if the three essential factors already considered are present. It is true to say that without self-respect good morale is impossible ; it is equally true to say that if the standards of leadership, discipline and comradeship are high, the quality of self-respect will also be high.

## Section 7. Additional Factor— Devotion to a Cause

45. It is impossible to make Devotion to a Cause either a basic or a contributory factor to good morale. It must stand by itself between these two categories.

46. It is important to clear the mind of some misconceptions connected with the influence of a Cause in

shaping morale. Men do not fight primarily for a Cause ; they do not advance over dangerous ground in pursuit of an ideal ; they do not now fight as Crusaders may have done long ago. They fight because they are ordered to do so, and they do it well or badly according to the strength of the various factors which have already been considered.

47. Soldiers are not greatly influenced by Cause. There are exceptions, but in the main they fight for reasons which have no connection with freedom or liberty or democracy. Rhetorical statements which assert that the soldier "must know what he fights for and love what he knows" must not be allowed to confuse the issue. The fact is that the soldier, instead of having "a fire in his belly", advances with a cold feeling inside him.

48. This is not so in the case of the leaders. Some fight for the same reason as the men ; the more intelligent because they at heart believe in what they fight for. Such leaders are usually the best in an army and wield the greatest influence. Thus, numerically Cause is of little importance ; but it is a powerful factor because the leaders are greatly influenced by it.

49. For example ; in Greece in 1944 certain battalions became involved in a "political war". No difficulties were found with the men, who were, in fact, more willing to fight the Greeks than the Germans, since the latter were more dangerous. But many officers felt uneasy in their minds about the political aspects ; as a result the affair dragged on for some weeks because the officers did not vigorously lead the men. This proves that men are not greatly concerned about the reasons for which they fight. Further it emphasises that today the officers must be convinced of the rightness of their Cause before they will lead the men. Men who are not properly led cannot be said to have good morale.

50. The above statements must be qualified. The underlying assumption of this paper is that the war has

been accepted by the people; a democracy cannot oppose the will of the majority of its citizens. The soldier, as a citizen, must, therefore, be convinced of the rightness of the Cause. At least his reaction to the declaration of war must be one of acquiescence, even if this is only passive; he must not be hostile to it. The way to change this passive acceptance to active enthusiasm in battle has already been given in the four basic factors.

Nevertheless, nothing which has been stated here must be interpreted as minimising the influence of Cause on those officers and men who are moved by it. For these few, Cause will be a sustaining and strengthening factor and may be of greater importance to them than any of the four factors.

51. All these remarks apply to the soldiers fighting in a War such as the last one. There are times when a few men will be gripped by a Cause and will perform astonishing deeds of heroism to further it. Such men do not require the ordinary bonds of discipline which unite and strengthen others: their devotion to the Cause is in itself all-sufficient. Nor do they require the same kind of leader as has been described: they themselves will all be leaders. Such men may properly be described as guerilla or irregular fighters, fanatically devoted to a political, religious or national ideal; they must not be confused with the conscript soldiers to whom this paper applies.

## Section 8. Contributory Factors

52. There are certain contributory factors which powerfully assist morale but do not themselves constitute essential conditions for it. It is possible to have high morale without any of these contributory factors, but it is very difficult; it requires the highest standards of leadership and discipline and the strongest feelings of

comradeship and self-respect. In the normal case, one or more of these contributory factors must be present. There are many of them, and only a few are considered here.

53. *Success.* High morale is possible in defeat but not during a long period of defeat. On such occasions confidence in the leaders will inevitably wane and the first basis will be undermined. Success will aid good morale by creating confidence in the leader and in the Command. This factor requires no enlargement.

54. *Regimental Tradition.* The regimental spirit can be a powerful factor in making for good morale. The more a soldier feels himself to be identified with his regiment, the higher will be his morale if the four essential conditions have been fulfilled. It must be realized, however, not only that there can be good morale without strong regimental feelings, but that regiments with a great tradition do not necessarily always produce good battalions.

There is a difference between comradeship and regimental spirit. Comradeship is the spirit of fellow-feeling which grows up between a small group of men who live and work and fight together. Regimental spirit is the soldier's pride in the traditions of his regiment and his determination to be worthy of them himself. Nothing but good can result from this spirit which should be constantly encouraged; it is not, however, a basic factor of morale, because in the crisis of battle the majority of the men will not derive encouragement from the glories of the past but will seek aid from their leaders and comrades of the present. In other words, most men do not fight well because their ancestors fought well at the Battle of Minden two centuries ago, but because their particular platoon or battalion has good leaders, is well-disciplined, and has developed the feelings of comradeship and self-respect among all ranks and on all levels. It

is not devotion to some ancient regimental story which steels men in the crisis; it is devotion to the comrades who are with them and the leaders who are in front of them.

It has been considered advisable to elaborate this point because the regimental tradition is often either spoken of as the only factor which counts in battle or is decried as valueless. The truth is that it is of great value if there is the time and opportunity to inculcate it. In the latter stages of this war, the reinforcement situation did not permit officers to infect their men, who came from many diverse regiments, with loyalty to anything higher than their battalion. This was regrettable; but it was not catastrophic.

In short, regimental tradition assists morale and should be used as a means of developing morale whenever time and circumstances permit. But it is not and cannot be a substitute for morale.

55. *Personal Happiness.* A man should be happy in the sense that his personal life should be in order. Nothing weakens a man more than trouble at home; it encourages him to think of home, and all that it implies, when he should be occupied with the enemy. It turns his mind to peace and his desire to live at the moment when it is necessary for him to steel himself to face the possibility of death. He must never be allowed to forget that his job is to fight. His function is to kill the enemy and in so doing he must expose himself to danger. Anything which weakens his will to fight and expose himself must be considered to lower his morale. A soldier is only a family man after he is a soldier; he must look forward at the enemy and not back towards home.

All soldiers do not have their morale affected by home troubles. Some men thrive on unhappiness and fight all the more fiercely because they hold a secret bitterness within them. Such men are the minority; but they are

a large minority. They are a reminder that happiness cannot by itself produce good morale.

56. *Administration.* A man's ordinary day-to-day life must be well organised. Thus, hard conditions imposed on him in training to inculcate discipline do not rule out the desirability of good living quarters; and in the line a soldier's morale will be much improved if the administrative arrangements are good and if he is assured of proper conditions, with a reasonable amount of leisure and comfort when he leaves the front. The thousand matters embraced in the term "welfare"—from SSAFA to NAAFI; and from good food to good films—are important, because they help to maintain a soldier's self-respect and strengthen his confidence in the Command.

But here a warning must be given. There is a danger today of "welfare" being considered as an end in itself and not as a means to an end, one of the means of maintaining morale. Welfare by itself will not produce good morale because it is essentially soft; and it has already been stated that morale cannot be good unless it contains a quality of hardness. Hardship and privation are the school of the good soldier; idleness and luxury are his enemies. Men will endure great hardships if they know why and are convinced of the necessity. "Blood, toil, tears and sweat" is not for nothing one of the great rallying calls of the English race; Goering's cry "Guns before butter" expressed the same truth. If men believe in the need, hardships are in themselves a stimulant to morale. But the opposite is also true. Let there be any suggestion that butter can come before guns and the men will at once choose the butter. If this happens, there will be no morale in the sense of this definition.

57. *Propaganda.* The uplifting effect of modern propaganda on a soldier is perhaps a new development. A man's morale is raised immensely by feeling that his

efforts are appreciated and applauded, not only by his comrades and his officers, but by the world at large. Remarkable results can be achieved by the use of modern publicity methods. These results will only be achieved if the fighting soldier is differentiated from the soldier who serves behind the fighting line. The latter often works at dull, monotonous jobs and lacks the stimulus of battle conditions; it is good for his morale that his work should be publicised in the press. But it is no good writing of the Bren Gunner and the GHQ clerk in the same terms. The sharp distinction between those who risk their lives in actual battle with the enemy and those who do not must not be blurred. A fighting soldier thus glorified will soon become convinced of his own importance. This artificially stimulated feeling of self-importance is a quality lower and less lasting than that of self-respect, but it is none the less of momentary value.

### Section 9. Conclusion.

58. In brief: High morale has been defined as the quality which makes men endure and show courage in times of fatigue and danger. The cultivation of morale depends upon the training of leaders, the inculcation of discipline, the encouragement of comradeship and the infusing of self-respect. The leaders must have a belief in their Cause, and they must pay attention to numerous contributory factors of considerable but secondary importance.

59. Man is still the first weapon of war. His training is the most important consideration in the fashioning of a fighting army. All modern science is directed towards his assistance but on his efforts depends the outcome of the battle. **THE MORALE OF THE SOLDIER IS THE MOST IMPORTANT SINGLE FACTOR IN WAR.**