

Gets What It Needs

rather than again the oppressed. The oppressor is at Stanford, and he is training some of us to defend his overseas interests. The need for education and action is clear. number of freshmen and sophomores in the program skidded from 5,412 to 1,139.

But there is a more significant reason why ROTC has fallen on hard times. Student struggles being conducted against the program on campuses throughout the country have been effective.

Beginning in 1967 and continuing up until the present, there have been campaigns mounted against ROTC at Stanford, Pratt Institute, Puerto Rico University, Rutgers, Delaware University, Alfred University, San Francisco State, City College of New York, Notre Dame, Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, St. Peter's College, Brown, Washington University, Bowdoin, Princeton, University of Washington, University of Mississippi, Columbia, Buffalo, Boston University, Fordham, George Washington University, St. John's University, Cornell, University of Michigan, Hofstra, MIT, Lincoln University, UCLA, New York University, Massachusetts University, and Tufts University. The Harvard struggle of last spring has been the most noteworthy. Three hundred students occupying the main administration building had to be driven out by 400 club-wielding police.

These struggles serve to hurt ROTC in several ways. First, student protest may lead to actual elimination of the program—as has happened at Harvard, Dartmouth, Columbia, and Brown. (The first three schools witnessed the most militant of the anti-ROTC struggles.) Other schools have denied academic credit to ROTC in response to the growing student pressure. This is usually a serious blow to ROTC, because few students will invest four years in the program unless it will count towards graduation.

Second, identification of ROTC as the agency that actively serves U.S. imperialism has discouraged students from joining the program. More and more students are seeing ROTC as the oppressive institution that it is, and consequently, fewer are joining up. When asked to account for the precipitous decline in ROTC enrollment at Stanford, Colonel S.M. Ramey told the Daily that "anti-war sentiment on campus" was a major reason.

Early in 1969, the Pentagon and various business publications tried to shrug off the growing challenge to ROTC. Said one Pentagon official: "We look for no cutback in the number of ROTC programs, despite all the efforts of the SDS."

U.S. News & World Report noted on May 19, 1969, that ROTC was "under fire but doing fine," adding that "Widespread assaults on ROTC cause little official concern. Officer programs are so popular they are graduating record numbers—and are sought by several hundred more colleges."

The Wall Street Journal observed on July 2 that "Though total enrollment dropped about 35,000 last year to 213,000, the decline looks like a one-shot phenomenon reflecting the abandonment of compulsory training at some schools. The total is expected to climb again in September."

This enrollment decline was not a one-shot phenomenon, and the total did not climb again in September. And now, the establishment is singing a different tune.

The November 3 issue of U.S. News & World Report noted that "ROTC enrollment is down sharply all across the country, partly as a result of militant student demonstrations..."

Stanford's vice provost, E. Howard Brooks, pointed out in Campus Report that as school after school denies credit to ROTC, "the DoD is facing the reality of the 'domino theory.'" Brooks emphasized the special importance of ROTC programs at elite schools like Stanford, noting that

the "officers that are turned out by these prestige universities are of very fine quality."

"Already there are stirrings of opposition to ROTC at state institutions," Brooks explained, "and if the prestige schools drop the programs, other schools could well follow suit."

At the height of the anti-ROTC protest last June, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird commissioned a special study of ROTC to be headed by Dr. George C. S. Benson, director of the Defense Department's ROTC office. Sitting on the study committee with Benson, four educators, two generals, and an admiral was Stanford's Brooks.

In a 61-page report released in October, the committee recommended a variety of measures to make ROTC more attractive, including yet another pay increase for cadets and more scholarships, as well as subsidies to participating schools. The committee also recommended that universities in the program make a greater effort to develop "a viable partnership" with the military in improving the corps.

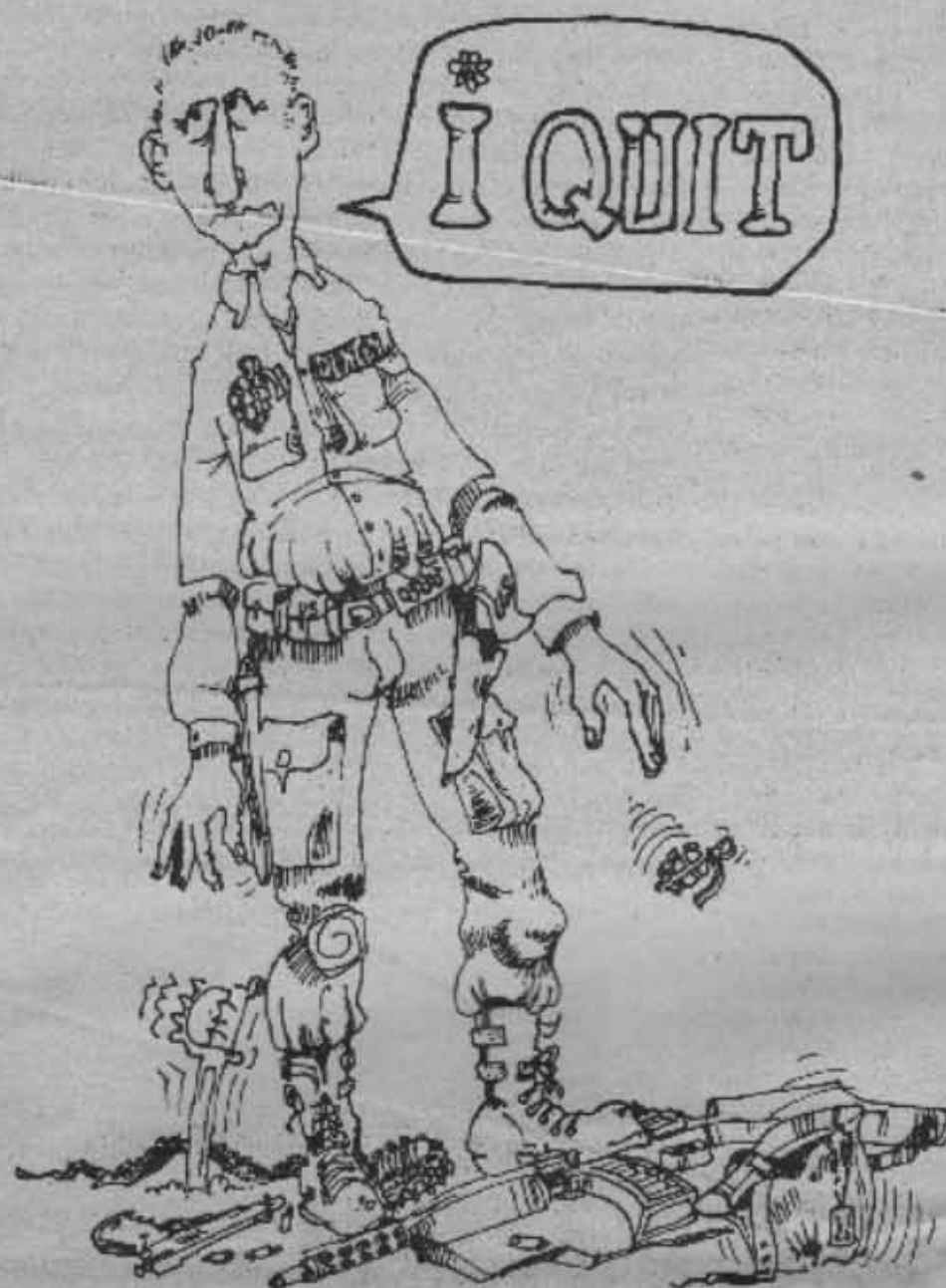
Along with these measures designed to "sweeten" ROTC, the Pentagon is threatening universities that deny credit to the program with complete removal of ROTC units and cutbacks in federal grants.

Clearly the nation-wide attack on ROTC is seen by government and corporate planners as a serious threat to the military's ability to recruit a quality officer corps with the proper-class background.

Sociologist Joseph W. Scott writes in the September issue of Trans-Action that "A break between the universities and the military would seriously impair the conduct of the war in Vietnam, and, for that matter, of any major war. By attacking the armed forces' major source of leadership potential, anti-war activists have discovered the most effective method to date for curbing the military establishment's ability to wage war."



LNS



People go to college for different reasons. I went because it was a necessary step between high school and Law School, which was a prerequisite for successful politicians. I chose Stanford because it was the key to breaking into West Coast politics and society. Once there, I joined ROTC because you had to have a service record if you wanted to run for public office.

Also, the ROTC propaganda, the Colonel who rapped at Pre-Reg and the common wisdom all held that the officer route was better than working your way through boot camp. ROTC also made it possible for you to finish college and Law School without ever worrying about the draft—and that was a real advantage for someone with clear career plans and ambitions. Since I was a scholarship student who really couldn't afford Stanford even with scholarships, loans and my part-time jobs, the fact that ROTC paid \$50 a month support was a strong attraction. Of course I'd also heard that the courses were really easy—the best "guts" outside the P.E. department. Twenty-seven units of "A" and "B" on a transcript couldn't hurt, and I felt as insecure about my mind as most freshmen.

So, for the young, not-so-well-off freshman who had seen his less studious high school friends drafted into the Army, ROTC was a natural. The choice of branches was pretty simple. Army was short and simple; the Navy and Air Force took ROTC seriously. I was no more convinced of the sense of going to war than most, so I took Army as the easy compromise.

Signing up was simple. Enduring the classes and all the abuse and worthless drivel was something else. No one at Stanford really thought they were

Recollections

by

Paul Rupert

Shrinking ROTC

Enrollment in Stanford ROTC has declined steadily since the beginning of the Vietnam War, even though the military has stiffened the threat of the draft, fattened the scholarships, and introduced a quickie two-year program aimed at graduate students.

Enrollment figures released by the University show:

	1969	1968
TOTAL	249	346
Army	99	160
Navy	113	141
Air Force	37	45

Last fall, the Army was able to enroll only six Stanford freshmen. To keep the program viable, Army imports 51 junior college students to study and drill with Stanford students.



training for war. We just thought we were doing what you had to do to get through ROTC. The classes were simple, boring, useless. The instructors wanted to treat us like they treat soldiers, but they knew they couldn't really and that we wouldn't probably respond well anyhow. The upperclassmen who led us in drill were even more convinced of our incompetence. For our part, we were convinced that they were pompous, arrogant, silly and a big pain-in-the-ass. We also knew that if we stuck with the program we got to do to other guys what they did to us. A strong incentive, it turns out.

Teaching To Obey

When all is said and done, ROTC existed to teach you to obey, not to fight. In its own limping way, the program tried to break you down and mold you into a good American soldier: one who would follow orders, whatever they may be. To this end we polished buttons, boots and rifles, drilled every week, faced inspections and sat up straight in class. Since they only had us a few hours a week, we failed most litmus tests of perfect obedience—although many of my fellow cadets undoubtedly went on to wage obedient war in Asia.

The Army didn't seem to understand that people fight because they believe in something, not because they are well-trained. Many of us didn't believe the Army's rhetoric enough, and we were sloppy. We studied for finals during breakfast of the exam day. We did as little drilling as possible, praying for rain on drill days. We hoped there wouldn't be time for inspection of our occasionally shined boots and hats.

I might have dropped out of ROTC the first year if it hadn't been for fear, the paratroopers and target practice. The fear—and the promise of financial relief—were the strongest reasons for continuing. I didn't want to screw up my career plans or face the Army from the bottom up. But at times I figured that would be preferable to continuing to waste my time with ROTC.

Then we formed our squad into junior paratroopers and started to do target practice. Our squad leader decided it would be a good thing for our morale to shed the dull greens and get an outfit with a little more appeal. So we got combat boots, ascots, military police belts and holsters, and combat helmets. It appealed to our sense of the heroic, our desire for "machismo." It was a kick to walk around campus on drill day looking like you were just back from the foreign wars. Girls seemed to like our outfits, and that helped morale a lot.

The beginning of target practice and learning to field-strip and clean our rifles added to our rising spirits. It was a little more like the comic books and movies and TV shows made the military out to be. I had always liked target shooting, and even though the instructors were not particularly good, I enjoyed the rifle range. I had never been much on hunting animals, and wasn't all that turned on to the idea of hunting humans, but the distance between the targets and people was easy to maintain on the Stanford range.

My Boots Hurt

But this surge in morale was short-lived. Nothing could really cover the fact that ROTC was a waste of time and humiliating. Besides my new

combat boots hurt. If I stood still for more than a minute my feet killed me. This proved to be my undoing. My attitude had been getting more and more "unhealthy" as the spring went on. On our last day of drill we had a major inspection. Some stiff-assed general from the Presidio came down to look at us. It was unbearably hot, and we were expected to stand at attention for almost an hour while he made his rounds, staring at buttons, belts and what-not.

After the first minute my aching feet began to tell me something. The message was loud and clear, and required a direct violation of orders. We were at parade rest, and were expected to stay there, no matter what. I suppose we were under orders to stay there even if there were an earthquake. At any rate, you always obeyed your commanding officer before your feet.

I did for about twenty minutes. I thought I would hold out until the General got to us, and then split. But the pain was too much. Tears started to form, then engulf my eyes. I wasn't supposed to move my arms, either. I didn't know what the General would think of a perfectly straight-faced cadet with his teeth clenched and tears streaming down his cheek. So after much internal chaos, I walked away and turned my rifle into Lincoln Hall. I realized that this was only a drill, and that I could still come back to ROTC in the Fall. But I also realized that it felt good to walk away from it. The draft and the loss of the money were real problems, but I figured I could learn to live with them somehow.

I can't say I'm sorry about the decision.

"MY BOOTS HURT"



It is said that ROTC must be maintained in order to preserve the "right" of Stanford students to train as officers for the U.S. military. Ironically, ROTC deprives cadets of the freedom to change their minds and quit the program.

By a combination of carrot and stick—generous financial grants and the fear of the draft—students are recruited into ROTC. Once enrolled, they are compelled by the "punitive clause" in their contract to stay in the program and even to follow every military rule and regulation under penalty of immediate induction as enlisted men.

The majority report of last year's Senate ROTC committee said, "To our knowledge, the ROTC contracts are the only University-sponsored and sanctioned contracts on the undergraduate level that bind a student to service."

The coercive nature of ROTC can best be understood in human terms. On page 9, we tell the story of a Stanford student who will be inducted into the Navy because he quit NROTC. The military tries to keep such unpleasant occurrences to a minimum. There are other, quieter ways to maintain satisfactory enrollments even under the stress of the Vietnam War.

The big recruitment drive for all three services—Army, Navy and Air Force—is directed at high school seniors who are going on to college. These 17 and 18-year-olds are at one of the most insecure moments in their lives, filled with worries about proving their worth, being accepted into a new environment, and paying the exorbitant cost of college. The military gives them a plethora of beautiful, four-color brochures that promise to fill all of these needs. "Take Command of Your Future," an Army brochure, tells the high school senior that in ROTC

you will receive training in self-discipline; the techniques of organizing, motivating and managing others; in organizing your own time and activities; and you will develop additional attributes of a leader not generally acquired through other college courses. And you will receive a

tax-free subsistence allowance of \$50 per month during your junior and senior years.

The decisive factor for many students is the offer of a full-tuition scholarship. Along with the fear of the draft, these monetary incentives exert a strong influence.

Hank Liso, a Stanford junior in Army ROTC, signed up for the program as a freshman after spending four years in Junior ROTC at prep school. "I considered leaving the program at the end of two years," says Liso, "when changes in the draft seemed likely. But then I ran into financial difficulties. One of the main things that kept me in the program was the monthly checks."

Scholarship students sign a binding contract with the military at the beginning of freshman year. Recently, however, they were granted the right to quit the program without penalty up to the end of sophomore year. Non-scholarship students sign the contract and become subject to the punitive clause at the start of junior year, and cadets in the new two-year ROTC aimed at draft-threatened graduate students, can still quit after one year. It is this brief grace period that is critical for the military, because the cadet still has the legal freedom to escape ROTC if he is determined to do so. And the thought of quitting occurs to almost every cadet.

"Some time when you're in it you say, I want to get out, this is a crock of shit," says one Navy midshipman. (We would use his name except that NROTC regulations state that "Use of obscenity or profanity" is a class A offense, constituting grounds for involuntary disenrollment.)

When cadets go to their commanding officer to tell him they want to disenroll, it is standard military practice to tell them to go think about it for a while. All kinds of delaying tactics are used, and they often work, because the first two years of the program are fairly lax and non-military. "You are painted the picture of some kind of ideal military system where everybody is following certain rules and everybody has all this respect and

patriotic love of their country and everybody was just so happy about the whole thing," recalls Dan Spivey, a drop-out from NROTC.

Shanghai Mission Accomplished

At the start of the third year, the cadets are sworn into the service and it is too late for any second thoughts. The punitive clause is in effect. The training becomes the "Advanced Course" and is much more serious, including summer tours of basic training at Army camps or aboard ship. Any cadet who talks about dropping out is immediately told that he risks being called up for two to four years as an enlisted man.

"Often it's by going to summer camp for the first time that guys decide they want to quit," says Mark Edwards, a drop-out from Air Force ROTC and military co-counselor for the Special Services office of the University. "They see what the military is really like."

Besides obligating the cadet to stay in the program and accept a commission, the punitive clause requires that he receive passing grades in all his academic and non-academic military training, and follow the personal regulations set down by the military. For instance, all Navy midshipmen are prohibited from marrying.

"A marriage while enrolled in the NROTC program is a breach of contract," says page 30 of the regulations, "and it will be the cause for immediate disenrollment for disciplinary reasons."

The Navy also prohibits a midshipman from majoring in certain disciplines, including art, drama, music and religion. The Air Force ROTC cadet is also restricted to particular majors under the terms of his contract.

After studying the situation, the majority of the Senate ROTC committee wrote:

The punitive clauses operate in relation to academic standards requirements, course of study requirements, conduct requirements, and service requirements... It is this interlocking of contractual requirements, restrictions and obligations that makes the whole much more objectionable than each of its parts might suggest.

How to Shanghai a ROTC Cadet

