

The military's careful balance of incentives and coercion has enabled ROTC to survive on campuses like Stanford, even under the stress of four years of demonstrations and general revulsion against the Vietnam War. Many cadets have quit the program in defiance of the punitive clause. Some escaped induction, but recently the Defense Department has tightened up and used the punitive clause more consistently.

Dozens of ROTC cadets have applied for conscientious objector status. Since they are officially in the military, cadets must apply through the military channels, rather than the regular draft boards. The military has earned a notorious reputation nationwide for its unjust treatment of CO's, and the same behavior has shown up at Stanford. Co-counselor Mark Edwards decided to seek his own CO discharge from Air Force ROTC while he was serving on the ROTC study committee last year. His religious background clearly qualified him under law. But his first application was summarily turned down by Air Force headquarters in Washington. Edwards' only chance for appeal was to appear before a board of Air Force officers in Washington. He hired a civilian lawyer and flew to the hearing, and finally got his CO. Now he is counselling a dozen men in the service who want a CO.

Kid-Gloves for Stanford

"Guys here in ROTC are treated with kid-gloves compared to enlisted men already in the service," says Edwards. "Stanford people have a much better chance of getting out... they're articulate, they have counselors, and generally they have the money to hire an attorney. If you're an enlisted man, the Army will sometimes shanghai you to Vietnam if you try to apply for CO. That happens a lot."

It isn't surprising that the Senate Committee on ROTC, after witnessing Edwards' plight first-hand, recommended last year that "punitive clauses (Continued on next page)

The Cost of Changing Your Mind

The Navy is making an example of Doug Mackay.

As punishment for quitting Navy ROTC, the Stanford senior will be ordered up for two years enlisted service in the Navy immediately after he graduates in June. Doug's plight, which is shared by several other Navy drop-outs at Stanford, is well known to every midshipman still enrolled in the program. They know that the same "punitive clause" of their contract applies to them if they resign or "willfully evade" any of the strict ROTC regulations.

Doug signed the contract for NROTC as a 17-year-old fresh out of high school in Woodland Hills. The Navy offered him a full tuition scholarship, and \$50 a month pay. It had the appeal of being a sure draft deferment at a time when student deferments were uncertain. Doug entered Stanford NROTC with enthusiasm, and proved to be a model midshipman.

His doubts about the Navy started "during summer cruise after sophomore year," says Doug. "The summer cruise was



Doug Mackay

bad: it made you feel like a moron half the time or it made you feel like that's what they thought you were, basically." Doug had been placed in command of a platoon of midshipmen. "We were handed these rules, things we had to do. On occasion, we would question a few of them because they seemed kind of ridiculous, and we would obtain no answer other

than 'Well, there are some things you just don't ask any questions about.' Wow! That really bothered me," he says.

"Then there were these lectures that lasted six hours a day, most of which was spent trying to justify the Vietnam War, in a rather unsuccessful fashion. It did just the opposite... The Marine instructor would say sneeringly, 'Communism—now you've heard about that. That's where everybody does their share and they all get back enough to keep them going. Why that sounds pretty good. Well, let me tell you,' he would point out to his sleeping audience, blah, blah. Really ridiculous."

The Vietnam War influenced Doug's disenchantment with the military. "It brought the whole issue of military to mind. I can't relate it to my disenrolling, however."

Doubts or not, Doug won the award for outstanding midshipman after his summer cruise. But he had decided to tell the commander of the Stanford detachment, Marine Colonel Robert Thomas, that he wanted to quit the program, even though he was subject to the punitive clause. He went to speak to Col. Thomas with a friend in NROTC, Dave Easton, who had also decided to resign. "I knew that going into the Navy right after school for any length of time would just destroy me as an individual," says Dave.

Colonel Thomas told both midshipmen to think about it and come back later. Finally, Doug wrote his letter of resignation on May 23, 1968. "They sent my records and everything back to Washington. I waited around for the decision which came to me about the middle of the summer. I was going to be enlisted for two years immediately upon graduation, or sooner if I dropped out of college." Doug had intended to take five years to complete his engineering studies, but the Navy gave him a June, 1970 deadline to graduate. "So I had to double up on my courses so I could get out of here," he says.

Meanwhile, his friend Dave had decided to stick out one more summer cruise before making a final decision. Dave's personal life was in turmoil. His older brother, a draftee at 25, had just been killed in Vietnam. In the middle of his summer cruise, his father died. Dave came back to Stanford in the fall and resigned from ROTC. "I was really uptight about the whole thing," recalls Dave. "Here were all these guys I had liked being around and everything and I knew that guys who dropped out ended up with four years enlistment. But no one was giving me a hard time because of my Dad and my brother."



Dave Easton

After a tense wait, Dave found out that he would escape the punitive clause because the deaths in his family allowed him a "personal hardship" discharge.

Reflecting on his NROTC experience, Dave says: "I spent about two-and-a-half years trying to figure out some way to get out. The unfortunate thing is that they can ask a kid of 17 or 18 to make a fairly steadfast commitment. You can quit at the end of one year, but it's not easy, especially if you're a weak-willed person who got into it in the first place. It takes a lot of courage to go up there and talk to this officer and tell him you want to quit. I think it's unfortunate that it's that binding a thing, so young."

We need ROTC to maintain our strong tradition of civilian influence over the military. Unless officers come from the universities, the professional officer corps may get out of control.



Sound familiar? That's the favorite argument of the apologists for the military presence on campus. The argument raises deep, dark fears in the minds of well-meaning faculty and students, who imagine a military coup that would vanquish our democratic institutions.

There is certainly plenty to fear in the American military. It is absurd, however, to pretend that ROTC, or the draft, for that matter, provide any healthy civilian counterbalance to militarism. On the contrary, the draft and ROTC provide an



Civilian control of the military.

enormously effective means for the militarization of society. They channel a huge supply of young men into uniform, and subject them to military discipline.

Inside the Army, there are no civilians. Disobeying an order results in courtmartial, imprisonment, or, in times of emergency, execution. The whole purpose of ROTC, as outlined in its own manuals, is to train cadets to follow orders and conform to military procedures.

All power within the military hierarchy—all power—rests firmly in the hands of the professional officers, most of whom come from the elite military academies. Any ROTC officer who hopes to make a career of the Army and rise past the rank of captain must become a loyal professional. ROTC graduates in the higher ranks, in fact, have a reputation for striving extra hard to be "tough" disciplinarians, to make up for their lack of a prestigious West Point background.

At the very top of the hierarchy, of course, are civilians—the President, his Cabinet, and the civilians who run the Defense Department. They set the policies that the military obeys. It is these politicians, responsive to the corporate directors of society, who continue the Vietnam War, the draft and the vicious repression of conscientious objectors within the Army. It is civilians who decide to support fascist governments all over the world; and who order the attacks on Black Panthers at home and the careful surveillance of all dissident members of society.

This is fascism. It gains strength from the ability of the government to coerce universities into providing trained manpower and research for war. That's what ROTC is about.

Civilian Control?

Ninety-five "distinguished educators" who have been friendly to ROTC on their campuses visited Fort Lewis ROTC summer camp last year to get a taste of military training. At a plush banquet and other festivities, they renewed their ties to the Sixth Army Command. Stanford engineering dean Larry Wise and history professor David M. Potter attended. ("ROTC Summer Camp 1969, Fort Lewis, Wash., p. 156.")

Punitive Clause

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involving enlisted service be removed." A week later, the Faculty Senate adopted this recommendation and the others by a 25-8 vote.

The Army and Navy then told the University that the punitive clause would remain if ROTC was to stay at Stanford. The punitive clause was a matter of law, the military pointed out, and the Southern-dominated Armed Services Committee would not allow a change in the law.

In the big rush to obey the pro-ROTC resolution of the Board of Trustees, President Ken Pitzer decided that civil liberties for ROTC cadets would have to be indefinitely postponed. "I agree with the Army's judgment that the present congressional climate is definitely not propitious for an effort to secure . . . remedy," Pitzer wrote to the faculty senate last month. "I personally find the Army proposal reasonable and acceptable . . . It is a matter of considerable University interest that a reasonable compromise between the military services and the academic community be reached."



By MACK WHITE

"The Army," said Elvis Presley upon his own discharge, "is a sobering experience."

Oh yes indeed. Many innocent sons of the bourgeoisie exit the Army after two or three years (if not an even wiser, then somewhat less innocent).

In the summer of 1958 I had completed two miserable years of college. I had made poor grades, suffered over poor bourgeois poetry (not all of it my own), and had come to my twentieth birthday utterly demoralized and confused. I didn't know where the world was going, not to say myself. I was in bad shape. My father, an Army captain in World War II, suggest I go into the Army. "That'll straighten you out," he grinned.

He did go on to tell me that the Army was really two entirely different worlds, depending on whether you were an officer or an enlisted man. Then he grinned a little wider and said I should probably try to get into OCS as soon as possible. And then he laughed—without any sound and said, oh well, I would probably live through it.

Well, the old fart was right. I did live through it, and it almost did straighten me out. Almost, but not quite. By the summer of 1960—two years later—I was no longer a confused poet but rather a steel-eyed, solid conservative, headed with iron determination toward business school and a golden career as a capitalist manager.

It's a long story, but three years later there was nothing between me and the cold, cold unemployment office but a thin B.A. in economics. Six months after that I began to truly understand some of the Marx I had read in college.

Looking back on it, I think I had one of two valid reactions to the Army. When you get a really good look at the capitalist class system you either want to 1) get to the top of that system or 2) tear it down. The Army is the sharpest view of bourgeois class society that a son of the bourgeoisie is likely ever to get, and probably the only time in his life he'll get a sustained look at it from the proletarian point of view.

Staggering Revelations

I'm not going to kid you, there are about fifty or sixty staggering revelations in wait for a son of the bourgeoisie in the Army. Probably the most unsettling is the revelation that you have lost your Constitutional rights. And it's official, right there in print: your rights and wrongs are described by an unintentionally comic document called the Universal Code of Military Justice. Article 289 of the UCMJ says something to the effect: "And if what you done wrong ain't covered by the 288 rules above, then it's covered by this one."

And believe me, the 288 go into some detail, covering such things as spitting without proper respect in the presence of an officer.

Other important revelations in store for a son of the bourgeoisie are: having to do everything you are told to do or go to jail; such brilliancies as having to do 20 push-ups if you fail to do 10 pull-ups which, I once tried to impress upon my sergeant, seemed just backwards to me; and such omniscience but, in the long run, debilitating revelations as the Army's tradition of hurry-up-and-wait: full field inspections; and the idea that everything you were doing was pointing toward that fine day when you were going to get your ass shot off.

Somewhere down in this welter is the basic revelation that Army society is strictly divided into two classes. The upper class are called gentlemen and the lower class men. Or officers and enlisted personnel. Most of the men seemed to take their situation with good humor. Some sergeants even like it, viz. Burt Lancaster in *From Here To Eternity*. "Don't call me sir," sergeants

'The Old Fart Was Right'



growl at a green recruit, "I WORK for a living."

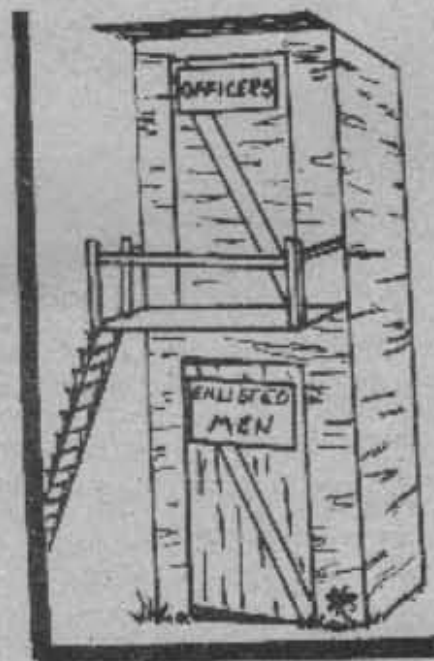
Well, you DO call the guys who don't work for a living "sir" and you salute them, or as some of the more candid officers admit, you salute their uniforms.

And of course, there are other class differentiations. Officers and enlisted men live in different quarters, eat different chow, wear different uniforms, are judged by different standards, and, of course, do different kinds of work. At first most of this saluting and sirring doesn't seem all that important. There are other things to worry about. Sometime after you leave basic, when you get to your regular outfit—the humiliation and the degradation of the Army class system begin to take effect. By the time I got out of the Army I was saying "sir" through clenched teeth. My hand trembled with rage after every salute. It was a bad feeling, living life as a second class citizen.

But when I got out of the Army, I was once again the son of the bourgeoisie. I wasn't a black man or a worker or a member of the Third World. As I said before, I had a choice and, not being too bright at the time, I decided to go with what I considered my class system, get on top, and get as much out of it as I could. That lasted for a while, longer than I would like to admit, but finally I began to see that being a better bourgeois wasn't the answer—not for me in particular and certainly not for the world in general—so I began, like a lot of other sons of the bourgeoisie before me, the long struggle toward a classless society.

Along about this time—a couple of years after I got out of the Army—I remember seeing a German movie about Hitler's last days in his command bunker in Berlin. I remember it as a good, anti-military movie with Oscar Werner as the protagonist, an idealistic German lieutenant. At the end, Oscar is disillusioned and dying and he has some last words for the German youth. I have since learned that, though this is only a beginning, it is a good beginning.

"Never say 'yes sir' again," Oscar told me, and I haven't.



Training For Vietnam

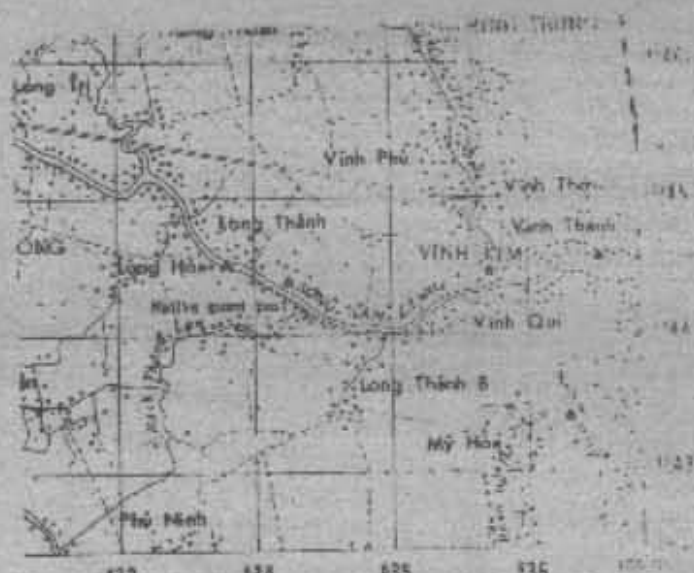
The military services, especially the Army, have adapted the ROTC course of instruction to train cadets in some of the special kinds of warfare used by the U.S. in Vietnam.

An entirely new course in counterinsurgency, Military Science 131, was given to third year Army cadets at Stanford last year: "Introduction to Internal Defense/Development Operations" (2 units academic credit). The purpose of the course, according to the syllabus prepared by Major James G. Bayer, is a study of "Host country and U.S. forces employed in a developing country faced with preventing or defeating insurgency." The principal text is Army field manual 31-16, "Counter guerrilla Operations." Along with Special Forces manuals, other readings include a sampling of the theoretical works underlying wars for national liberation, such as Vo Nguyen Giap's *People's War, People's Army*.

The key text in the course, "Counter guerrilla Operations," casually instructs the Stanford cadets how to carry out the chemical and biological warfare techniques (used regularly in Vietnam) which the United Nations has condemned as a violation of international law. In discussing CS tear gas, and DM nausea gas, the manual notes (page 102) that "The employment of the agent is limited only by



"VC Village" drill for ROTC cadets at summer camp. Forty-three Stanford cadets attended. ("ROTC Summer Camp 1969," Fort Lewis, Wash., p. 137.)



KHIEM ICH, VIETNAM

Army ROTC has recently improved the map reading classes by providing maps that will familiarize cadets with the type of terrain they are likely to fight on during the 1970's.



Summer camp includes training in the weapons of chemical and biological warfare. ("ROTC Summer Camp 1969," Fort Lewis, Washington, p. 134.)