

81-7-209
6021-18

THE CASE FOR ABOLISHING ROTC

"AS HARVARD GOES SO GOES THE ARMY ROTC PROGRAM"

— Col. Pell —

The Harvard Faculty faces several proposals concerning the future of ROTC at Harvard and perhaps, as Col. Pell indicates, in the nation. Only one proposal, that of Professor Hilary Putnam, responds adequately to the need to abolish ROTC. The other proposals, as will be argued below, neither intend nor will effect such abolition. To facilitate clear discussion of the political choices the faculty must make, we have tried to sketch the main arguments for abolishing ROTC—arguments addressed to the nature of American foreign and domestic policy, and arguments addressed to the nature of the university.

A B O L I S H R O T C

I THE ABOLITIONIST POSITION

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND THE RIGHT TO REVOLT

- Vietnam not an Isolated Mistake
- A war against the people
- Oppression and the Right to Revolt
- Use of the Military in a Wider Scheme

IMPORTANCE OF ROTC TO PURSUIT OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

- ROTC: The Main Source of Officers
- No Alternative to ROTC
- Civilian Elites and the Army
- Attack on ROTC an Attack on Imperialist Policy

II ROTC AND THE NATURE OF THE UNIVERSITY

SOURCES OF OPPOSITION TO THE "ANTI-ROTC" CAMPAIGN

- Defenders of Harvard's Political Commitments
- The Attack on Harvard's Political Commitments
- The Myth of Neutrality and the Resulting Alliance

EFFECTS OF THE UNIVERSITY NEUTRALITY MYTH

- Attempts to Limit Scope of ROTC Issue
- "Civil Liberties" Arguments
- How Neutral Are the "Proper Channels" ?
- Punishment and Neutrality
- No Student Power Issue

REALIGNING THE UNIVERSITY

III ANALYSIS OF THE ROTC PROPOSALS

- The Putnam Proposal
- The SFAC Proposal
- The CEP and Huntington Proposals
- The Lipset Proposal
- The Bailyn-Handlin Proposal (A Trojan Horse)
- Summary

I THE ABOLITIONIST POSITION

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND THE RIGHT TO REVOLT

The abolition of ROTC on the Harvard campus is imperative not because ROTC maintains low academic standards, but because the policies its men defend and the interests they serve are fundamentally wrong.

Some people think that American policy in Vietnam has been misguided (and perhaps even immoral in the use of napalm, etc.), but now America's leaders are slowly becoming "reasonable." We disagree. We think that the Vietnam policy has always been harmoniously integrated in the larger pattern of the American government's aims and interests around the world and here at home.

VIETNAM IS NOT AN ISOLATED MISTAKE

Prima facie evidence for the rational nature of U.S. Vietnam commitments may be found in the comments of American statesmen. As Richard Goodwin, a former aide to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson and later a McCarthy campaign assistant put it, "We made these decisions to intervene, because in the judgements of the Presidents, American power and interests demanded it." (N.Y. Times, 2/5/67). In the words of the former Ambassador to Vietnam, Henry Cabot Lodge, "Vietnam does not exist in a geographical vacuum-- from its large storehouses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined." (Globe, 2/28/65). Senator Gale McGee of Wyoming formulated American intentions even more succinctly. "That empire in Southeast Asia is the last major resource area outside the control of any of the major powers on the globe. . . I believe that the conditions of the Vietnamese people, and the direction in which their future may be going, are at this stage secondary, not primary." Senator McGee expresses very clearly the antagonism between America's interests (the interests of American "free enterprise") and those of the Vietnamese people. To believe that American policy has been merely misguided, one must focus only on the "Americanization" of the war since 1965, the huge build-up of American troops and the massive use by the U.S. Army of civilian bombing. But as Mr. Goodwin, a dove, has indicated, the policy goes back to President Kennedy and before Kennedy, to Eisenhower and Truman. Having defeated Japanese imperialism, the U.S. government footed the bill for French colonialism against the Viet Minh. When the French were defeated, the American government installed the Diem dictatorship, trained Diem's armies, and aided his attempts to undo the redistribution of land that had been carried out by the Viet Minh. Thus the

Vietnam war has been an American enterprise from its inception. What is new about the war since 1965 is not the American involvement; it is the strength and unity of the Vietnamese people fighting back against American interests.

A WAR AGAINST THE PEOPLE

In the present phase of the war, the U.S. has committed spectacular moral crimes. During the Tet offensive it almost totally destroyed major cities (Ben Tre—a city of 35,000—was 85% destroyed by U.S. bombing during the Tet offensive - Globe, 2/8/68). In January 1967, the U.S. Army razed the village of Ben Suc and transferred its inhabitants to a refugee camp where peasants could be counted as 'votes' for the Ky-Thieu 'democracy'. In findings on 'civilian casualty and refugee problems in South Vietnam' the Senate Judiciary Committee states that *before* the Tet offensive, three to four million persons in South Vietnam were refugees (one-fourth of the population). As the report puts it, "The majority of refugees interviewed claimed they were either deposited in camp by the Americans or fled to camps in fear of American airplanes and artillery." Unable to win people away from the NLF by social programs, the U.S. government has used massive and spectacular violence to drive the peasants from NLF-controlled areas.

OPPRESSION AND THE RIGHT TO REVOLT

But these overt acts of aggression should not be allowed to obscure the *quiet violence* imposed by the landlords and American domination in the early stages of the war. This domination meant abject poverty for most of the Vietnamese people. Absentee landlords through their retainers in the countryside forced the peasants to pay 50 to 60% of their crop in rent alone (i.e. not counting usury or taxes). To give an indication of concentration of land ownership, 6300 landlords—2% of the rural population—owned 45% of the land. Continued life on the edge of starvation, continued brutality and pressure from landlord bullies and local police to get in the rent and taxes—these were the conditions of peasant existence which the U.S. government attempted to shore up in Vietnam. These are not unusual conditions—they exist in other countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

It is this quiet violence—the violence of age-long oppression backed up by American aid and military force—which drives the peoples of the third world into revolt against the landlords and their allies: American Business. To maintain this violence, the U.S. has set up military dictatorships in Thailand, the Congo, Brazil, Argentina, Guatemala, Iran—to name but a handful. It is this quiet violence, quiet

because Americans do not hear the rape, the anguish, which renders popular rebellions just, and the spectacular force used by their oppressors unjust.

*A man is poor
Ever thinner, ever blacker,
Goes to borrow fifty coins,
Is asked a hundred in return,
Turns to go,
Knows he's taken for a thief;
A man is rich
Ever fatter, ever whiter,
Goes to borrow fifty pieces,
Has a hundred pressed upon him,
Turns to go,
Is urged to stay and drink.*

(Shantung chant from pre-revolutionary
China--Hinton, FANSHEN, p.46)

USE OF THE MILITARY IN A WIDER SCHEME

A large part of the U.S. armed forces is fighting in Vietnam: as of December 31, 1967, of 1,165,000 U.S. troops stationed in foreign countries, 486,600 were in Vietnam. In many other countries, however, the U.S. supports governments which keep the vast majority of the people in abject poverty while granting generous concessions to U.S. businessmen and permitting the U.S. to establish military bases on their territory. In these countries, the U.S. military either maintains a presence or trains and equips the indigenous army to put down its own people.

Consider Guatemala: 2% of the people own 80% of the land, about 72% of the population is illiterate, and over 50% of the people suffer from malnutrition. According to a N.Y. Times report, the right-wing extremist group, the Mano Blanca, whose members are commissioned by the U.S.-supported Guatemalan Army, has assassinated between one and three thousand people in the past year. The victims were usually social reformers or revolutionaries. By 1966, the U.S. had stationed one-thousand military personnel in Guatemala and supplied napalm to Guatemalan pilots for use against guerillas.

In Greece, a country in which the U.S. has supported right-wing political factions since World War II, the present junta came into power by activating a 1958 NATO contingency plan which was intended to 'save Greece from communism.'

In Thailand, at least 38,000 U.S. troops participate by attempting to suppress a peasant revolution similar to that of the Vietnamese, while defending the Kittachorn dictatorship.

The military supervision of the Bay of Pigs invasion and the invasion of the Dominican Republic are 'neighborly' examples further documenting the claim that a central role of the U.S. military is the implementation of imperialist policies.

The American military has been deemed necessary for suppressing popular uprisings (e.g. Watts, Newark, Detroit, Wilmington) and mass anti-war demonstrations (e.g. Chicago) at home. In Wilmington, Delaware, National Guardsmen were still on duty nine months after the original rebellion.

IMPORTANCE OF ROTC TO U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

The case has been argued that the central role of the American military is to implement a systematic, long-standing policy of securing world-wide markets open to American investments and trade. This aim implies installing and supporting reactionary governments and suppressing popular revolts. The case for abolishing ROTC rests on evidence that ROTC is essential to the smooth functioning of the American military in the pursuit of these policies in Vietnam and elsewhere.

ROTC: THE MAIN SOURCE OF OFFICERS

ROTC provides a most essential function of the American military: it supplies the necessary officers. By Col. Pell's calculations

About 45% of all Army officers currently on active duty are ROTC graduates; 55% of our first lieutenants and 85% of our second lieutenants come from the ROTC program.

The N.Y. Times (5 January, 1969, p.64) corroborates these figures. ROTC supplies 50% Army, 35% Navy, and 30% Air Force officers. As Col. Pell earnestly points out,

Today, reliance upon colleges and universities for officers is greater than ever. For example, the 1968 graduating classes contained over 11,000 newly commissioned officers who, as they enter the ranks of the Active Army, will fill 85% of the required annual input needed to provide the junior leaders for today's troop units. More than 1100 of these young men will become career officers to furnish the hardcore leadership for the future. It is very evident that *the present mission of ROTC is the production of officers*, not merely to expose students to military training. (Ital. added).

NO ALTERNATIVE TO ROTC

Still, the question might linger, will abolition of ROTC effectively slow the operation of an imperialist policy? Col. Pell notes parenthetically,

Let it be understood beyond question that there is at present no acceptable alternative source of junior officer leadership if ROTC is driven from the college campus.

Pell also has a strategic aim in view:

The anti-ROTC extremists apparently do not accept the criticality of ROTC to our defense establishment. They persist in the notion that the armed forces will continue to exist and perform their function, somehow, without ROTC. The blunt truth is that Officer Candidate School (OCS) programs are not attractive to college graduates unless there is extreme pressure from the draft.

Thus, a widespread anti-ROTC movement *would* have the desired effect. Even with considerable effort to expand OCS, which now contributes 2300 officers per year, and West Point, which now contributes 550, the short-term result would be to dry up the supply of officers for the military. The abolition of ROTC would make it more difficult to continue the Vietnam War or initiate similar wars.

CIVILIAN ELITES AND THE ARMY

But doesn't the influx of educated men into junior officer position make a basic difference in the politics of the army? We think not. In the first place, foreign policy is made by civilians. The top military officers exert some influence on the choice of specific tactics, but the counterrevolutionary character of American foreign policy is not the result of militarism. The ROTC program (and the argument about 'intelligence') is based on class prejudice and the perpetuation of the inequalities of American society within the army. As Col. Pell puts it,

The armed forces simply cannot function without an officers corps comprised largely of college graduates. Who is prepared to trust their sons—let alone the nation's destiny—Equally disturbing (as 'idealistic young Americans' ruining their lives 'by fleeing the country to avoid the draft') must be the knowledge that there are brilliant young Harvard men with God-given leadership abilities who seem content to waste two years of their life by allowing themselves to be drafted to serve as a private.

Col. Pell's snobbery about the virtues of the educated man may be unusually overt, but it is no secret that the armed forces have highly rigid class structures.

This argument is not meant as a recommendation for tokenism in the army, or increased percentages of working-class officers for imperialist wars. By destroying ROTC, a strong student movement would contribute to stopping this war and wars like it; hence no one would have to go. In addition, a just society waging a just war would not need an elitist army.

AN ATTACK ON ROTC IS AN ATTACK ON IMPERIALIST POLICY

In addition to supplying the U.S. Army with officers, ROTC is physically present on college campuses while other aspects of the military establishment, the Draft, for example, are not. Thus, fighting against ROTC is also a vital way in which students and faculty can effectively oppose the Vietnam War and American imperialism. As Col. Pell summarizes:

More important than any point thus far made is the role of Harvard University in setting a pattern of ROTC policy for the entire academic community. Harvard has a special obligation to the nation as a precedent-setting leader of the academic community. 'As Harvard goes, so goes the Army ROTC program' might produce a disaster of real proportions if the ROTC concept is weakened and degraded nation-wide.

We agree. So eliminating ROTC at Harvard would strike a genuine blow against US imperialism and have favourable repercussions on the anti-ROTC struggles at Dartmouth, B.U., Yale, Tulane, S.F. State, and other campuses.

We believe the university should oppose American imperialism. Such a stand does not mean opposing armed forces per se. We believe that the university should refuse to cooperate with the armed forces as long as counterrevolution remains the objective of American foreign policy. Vietnam is just the latest, most flagrant example of the use of US armed forces as the means to suppress popular revolutions. Col. Pell has more than a spark of wit when he observes that the 'Reasons for wanting to destroy ROTC are patently contrived because they are exactly the same reasons that existed without challenge for 50 years before Vietnam clouded our vision and robbed our logic.'

Suppose our campaign succeeded and we abolished ROTC on every campus in the U.S. Clearly the defense capacity of this country, strictly defined—its security against invasion and nuclear strike—would not have been impaired, but a significant blow would have been struck against the Vietnam war.

To test this reasoning, let us take an extreme case. Suppose the anti-war movement were so successful that no one in the whole United States were to enlist or to accept induction except to organize against the war inside the army. What would the rulers of this country do? Clearly they would not abolish the army: but they would have to get out of Vietnam immediately, and they would have a hard time fighting more Vietnamese.

Finally, an attack on ROTC is not an attack on students in the ROTC program. We believe that ROTC manipulates students into signing up by appealing to their immediate needs—money to go to school, and fear of the draft. There is no genuine—only mis-guided—patriotism involved in a war of conquest, or in service to the American army. We think, therefore, that many ROTC students can be won over to our position.

II ROTC AND THE NATURE OF THE UNIVERSITY

SOURCES OF OPPOSITION TO THE 'ABOLISH ROTC' CAMPAIGN

The case for abolishing ROTC completely has been presented above and should be clearly distinguished from the other positions presented to the faculty. The opposition to the demand to abolish ROTC stems from two different political positions: from those who see that Harvard is not politically neutral but support its current political alignment, and from those who believe that the University is and ought to be neutral—a belief which we hold to be mistaken both factually and morally. Understanding the alliance between these two positions will further clarify the case for abolishing ROTC.

DEFENDERS OF HARVARD'S POLITICAL COMMITMENTS

Many who control Harvard's policies, in particular the Corporation, the Administration, and a few prominent members of the faculty actively support America's imperialist foreign policy. They seek to further this policy and to protect America's current economic structure and the politics it generates. They understand that the University is not and cannot be "neutral". They know that Harvard, like other univer-

sities, functions to inculcate and perpetuate the dominant American ideology. They want Harvard to provide the trained experts who can help shape American policy in keeping with the needs of the existing social order—that is, these needs as seen from the viewpoint of corporation executive and national leaders.

THE ATTACK ON HARVARD'S POLITICAL COMMITMENTS

The Corporation, the Administration, and a few in the faculty correctly perceive the fight against ROTC as a direct attack on the policies they seek to implement. They are aware that the attack can be generalized to include other of Harvard's existing political alignments. They fear related fights against Harvard policies which discriminate in favor of the economically and culturally advantaged—less than 4% of a typical Harvard entering class have family incomes less than \$7500 (the national median). They fear opposition to the current investment of the University's resources in defense industries and power companies in the American South. They fear reaction to Harvard's expansion into Cambridge and to its role in the housing crisis. They foresee labor troubles in which students would support Harvard employees fighting low wages and company unions. They fear major expansion of student efforts to change the content of social science courses for it is in such courses and in related social science research that the political biases and commitments of the University are most obvious. Expansion of critique courses, radical caucuses within existing courses, radical research seminars, demands for funding of radical research and for hiring radical professors, all are a threat to Harvard's existing political alignments.

THE MYTH OF NEUTRALITY AND THE RESULTING ALLIANCE

The campaign to abolish ROTC is a frontal attack on policies that the Corporation and Administration would rather keep hidden behind a facade of university "neutrality." If the present political commitments of the university were revealed, then the ideal of university neutrality might lead those who hold it to oppose existing policies, whereas now the belief that the university is and ought to be devoted solely to the pursuit of "knowledge" and "truth" provides allies for those seeking to protect these policies.

Those who uphold the ideal of an "apolitical" university see the campaign to abolish ROTC as an effort to make Harvard take a political stand. We will argue later that the ideal of an apolitical university is in itself both undesirable and misleading, but for now we wish to point out that since this ideal is *not* realized at Harvard, opposition to abolishing ROTC is in reality a defense of the reactionary status quo.



Photo by Peter Simon *BU News*

A JUNIOR ROTC UNIT DRILLING

Since the passage of the ROTC Revitalization Act of 1964, the Army has been expanding the Junior ROTC program in American high schools. Some 245 programs were initiated the first year, enrolling 60,000 high school students (some in compulsory programs) with plans for 1200 Junior units by 1971.

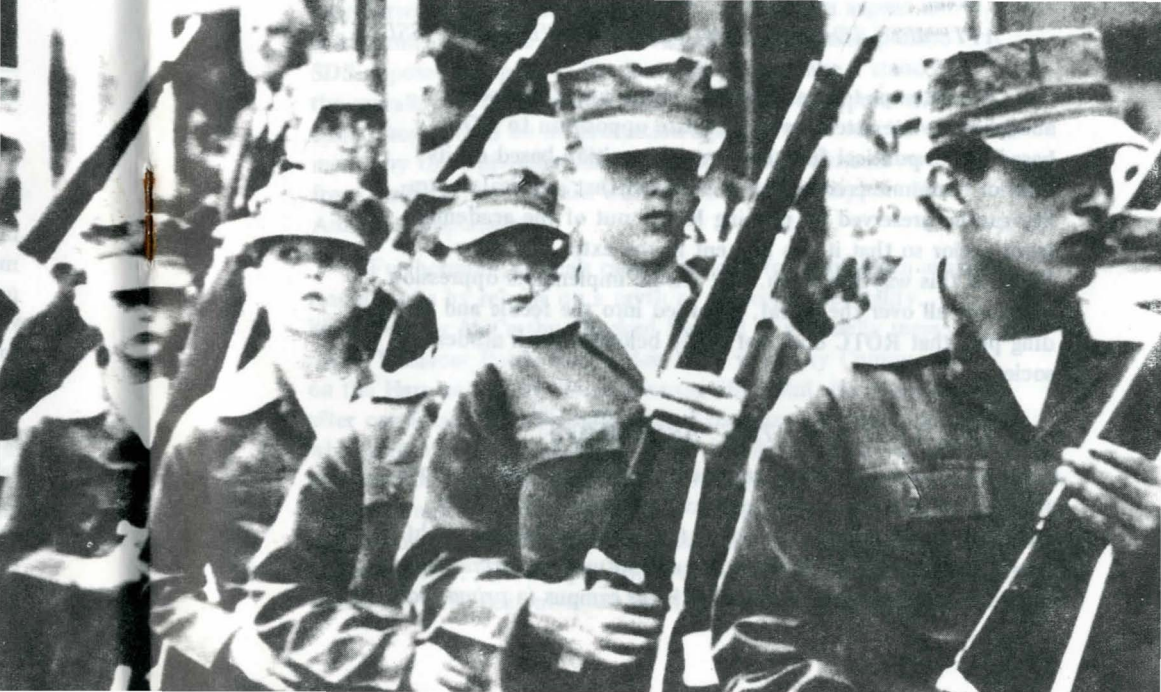
The liberal ideal of neutrality is undercut by the state's power. Failure to see this means attack on other non-state actors. The state and police keep the former silent on its own role. As a result, many liberalists are misled into believing that the state is neutral. The liberal ideal of neutrality is undercut by the state's power. Failure to see this means attack on other non-state actors. The state and police keep the former silent on its own role. As a result, many liberalists are misled into believing that the state is neutral.

YOUR ACTION ARMY

U.S. Armed Forces are now being intensively trained for use in "pacifying" American dissidents (blacks in Detroit and Newark, student protestors in Chicago and Washington).

EFFECTS OF THE UNIVERSITY LIBERALITY MYTH
between liberalism and the state. The liberal ideal of neutrality is undercut by the state's power. Failure to see this means attack on other non-state actors. The state and police keep the former silent on its own role. As a result, many liberalists are misled into believing that the state is neutral.





The liberal ideal of neutrality is subverted by the status quo. Failure to see this makes attacks on other university practices and policies look like further attacks on Harvard's "neutrality." As a result, many Harvard faculty members and students find themselves in the camp of the Corporation and Administration, mistakenly believing that they are fighting the same fight. Liberal ideology encourages students and faculty to conceive of themselves as privileged beings above the conflicts of the world, encourages them to remain "neutral," to exercise the "right" to be "apolitical." The conflicts continue, however, and "neutrals" are implicitly allied with the dominant powers, who make the University serve their particular political interests. Neutrality must be seen for what it is: Assent.

EFFECTS OF THE UNIVERSITY NEUTRALITY MYTH

Effects of the alliance of Corporation and Administration interests with the liberal ideology of university neutrality are obvious when the responses to the abolish-ROTC campaign are examined. They fall into two categories: attempts to restrict the scope of the ROTC issue to academic, procedural questions, and attempts to resist student efforts to enlarge discussion to include the substantive political issues.

ATTEMPTS TO LIMIT THE SCOPE OF THE ROTC ISSUE

The attempt to change ROTC's status --as opposed to abolishing it--are attempts to translate opposition to ROTC based on its political functions into opposition based on its inferior academic credentials. It is hoped that political neutrality can be preserved by pushing ROTC out of the academic front parlor so that it can be kept in the extra-curricular Yard. In this way the truth, that ROTC implements oppression of people all over the world, is turned into the feeble and misleading plea that ROTC does not really belong in high academic society.

THE "CIVIL LIBERTIES" ARGUMENTS

A variety of civil libertarian arguments have been used to block abolition of ROTC based on political grounds. The typical version of such an argument claims that students have a "right" to have ROTC training. This argument confuses the *prima facie* right of students to join ROTC if it is on campus (a *prima facie*

right which might well be outweighed on serious consideration of Section I above) with the "right" of the Army to establish ROTC at American universities—*either in curricular or extra-curricular form*. The erroneous conflation of these "rights" leads to the view that extra-curricular status cannot be denied without violating civil liberties. This status certainly *can* be denied if it can be used by the Army for exactly the same ends that ROTC now serves. It should be noted that this argument would not abolish a "club" that simply studied American counter-revolutionary tactics. Only if such a club involved contractual relations with the Army to turn out officers to implement these tactics would the argument apply.

A second attempt at a civil libertarian argument is one which warns against setting precedents for throwing organizations off campus for political reasons. This argument falsely assumes that the politics and function of the organization concerned are never relevant to its acceptability on campus. If there were an attempt to throw the HSHA (Harvard Slave Holders Association) off campus, one doubts that the argument about precedents would be raised against the abolitionists.

This argument is usually presented as a veiled warning, with the example of SDS in mind. The warning is inappropriate for two reasons. First, choices must be made. There is no analogy between ROTC and SDS: ROTC, as has been argued above, is instrumental in the pursuit of American imperialist policy; SDS opposes this policy. The University must take a stand on the morality of the positions these organizations represent. Second, there would be no protection against future reactionary moves by the University Administration if we refrained now from insisting that Harvard withdraw its current support for American imperialism.

Furthermore, radicals cannot depend for protection against reactionaries by relying on a myth of university neutrality. When Senator McCarthy attacked Harvard as a 'smelly mess of reds,' President Pusey denied that there were any Communists on the Harvard faculty. To underscore the point, the Corporation, after considerable interrogation, fired three junior faculty members who were former Communists. A full faculty member was also attacked for "grave misconduct" on the grounds that he had been a Communist from 1938 to 1945. Since his membership had terminated nine years before and since, in the judgment of the Faculty, his "independence of mind" in teaching physics would not have been affected by his membership, he was per-

mitted to stay. Such was the firm conviction with which Harvard upheld its "precedents" of academic freedom. Radicals who intend both to speak and to act in this University have learned that they cannot rely on the Administration and on liberal phraseology. Only a strong radical movement will protect them.

HOW NEUTRAL ARE THE "PROPER CHANNELS" ?

Another effect of the alliance of Corporation and Administration interests with the liberal ideology of neutrality is the attempt to sidetrack political questions into questions about the "proper" procedures for seeking change in a university. Here the very same misperception that leads many faculty and students to think the University really *is* politically neutral with respect to the external world leads them to think the University really is neutral when it considers university changes. The claim is made that militant tactics are *always* inappropriate since the University is a community of neutral, reasonable men given only to reasonable ways of producing change.

That Harvard is not such a community, however, is a fact which is obvious to those who seek change. One clear failure of neutrality is in the composition of the faculty voting on the ROTC issue. Approximately 60 are administrative or military men concerned with the preservation of the status quo. Add to this the members of the faculty who serve as advisors to the State and Defense Departments and Economic Advisory Council, and thus shape the policies which require the continuation of ROTC, one must conclude that these men, however reasonable, are hardly neutral. Further, final say rests not with the faculty but with another hardly neutral group—the Corporation.

The handling of the Army memorandum to the CEP further demonstrates the lack of neutrality in the Administration. This memorandum, published by the *Crimson* on 10 January 1969, was only one of nine documents included under a single covering letter. The entire package, dated 4 December, was entitled 'Information to Illuminate the Harvard Anti-ROTC Debate.' Several of the other documents might have been of great interest both to proponents and opponents of ROTC. (They included a previously released paper by Colonel Pell, "Justification for Academic Credit for ROTC at Harvard," "The Role of ROTC in a Liberal Arts College," "ROTC and the U.S. Armed Forces," "A Brief History of ROTC," "Army Enrollment at Harvard 1968-69," a position paper by some ROTC cadets, and extract copies of the

contract between Harvard and Army ROTC, the current program of instruction, and a revised curriculum concept).

The entire package of documents was addressed not only to the CEP, but to "Other Harvard Administration and Faculty Leaders" (specifically: President Pusey, nine Deans, thirty Department chairmen). It is of course perfectly within the rights of the Army ROTC Instructor Group to persuade whomever they please. It is disturbing, however, that the recipients of these documents chose to keep it out of the hands of Harvard students and faculty at large, when the most superficial examination of its contents would reveal that they included factual material necessary for an informed decision about ROTC. This kind of secrecy is intolerable, especially from men who claim to seek an academic community that places a premium upon rational choice based on knowledge of the relevant facts. Surely a neutral administration would have sought to make this information available. It was not until opponents of ROTC discovered a copy, more than one month after it was released, that its contents were publicized. Indeed, if the Harvard Faculty had been able to meet and decide on the ROTC issue on 12 December, most faculty members would have been acting in ignorance of many important facts, particularly about the relation of ROTC to the armed forces.

PUNISHMENT AND NEUTRALITY

The Administration and Faculty found themselves in substantial agreement that punishment was the appropriate response to the Paine Hall sit-in. The liberal misconception of the actual political environment at Harvard leads to the view that even a mild confrontation, even one which has the intention and effect of provoking discussion, is a violation of community procedures. The punishment, however, is an intimidation of those who seek to change university practises. It is a further confirmation of the claim that the community fails to match its ideal self-image of neutrality. It will suppress those who actively seek change, unless they are strong enough to resist such suppression.

NO STUDENT POWER ISSUE

Yet another result of the dominant liberal ideology is the attempt to construe the anti-ROTC fight as a fight about student power. This seriously distorts the content of the Paine Hall sit-in. The demonstrators claimed only the right to attend *that specific* faculty meeting on an issue of great public importance, not the general right to attend all faculty meetings.

The student power issue can only sidetrack political issues into further procedural matters. The only power the anti-ROTC campaign can acquire is that which derives from building a strong student movement which understands the ROTC issue and can eventually destroy ROTC. The belief of the abolish-ROTC campaign is that through intensive discussion it can win substantial support for its position and achieve its aim. This belief has led the campaign to pursue such support--not, however, to pursue positions on special committees.

REALIGNING THE UNIVERSITY

Several effects have been traced of an unfortunate alliance of those actively favoring current University policies and those upholding a misapplied ideal of university neutrality. It may be clear by now that correct application of that ideology of neutrality would lead to an alliance with those who seek abolition of ROTC. But as has also been pointed out, the ideal of neutrality is itself highly questionable. Most of those who seek to fight current University practices do not seek neutrality but a realignment of the University with the interests of the people of America and the world, not with their rulers and oppressors. Concerning this central question, of alignment with corporations and rulers or with the people, there can really be no neutrality.

This is so because universities are economically-controlled institutions with limited resources. They live in an economic world. Decisions must always be made about who is to be hired and fired, what research will be done, what training must be provided, and who will get the funding necessary to research and train. These decisions *are* political decisions. Currently they are made by the external institutions--government and private--that control university funding. They are made by men who were themselves trained in universities under similar control. That these men follow reactionary models is clear. It is in the light of these factors that Harvard's claims to public service must be scrutinized, evaluated. Who does Harvard really serve? Who should Harvard really serve? And who does ROTC really serve?

Today, the University serves corporate and governmental interests, not the interests of the people at large. Many faculty members and administrators are undoubtedly sincere in their belief that this constitutes genuine "public service." That many University policies are against the interests of the peoples of the world bespeaks the dangers of that liberal ideology.

III ANALYSIS OF THE ROTC PROPOSALS

THE PUTNAM PROPOSAL

The Army ROTC *Memorandum* to the CEP challenged the Harvard Faculty "to take a bold position in support of an unpopular but totally logical and just issue now confronting the academic community nationwide," and called upon Harvard to demonstrate "its traditional role of national leadership." We ask the Harvard Faculty to take up this challenge by abolishing ROTC! Only the proposal by Professor Putnam would effectively accomplish the abolition of ROTC

The essential points of Professor Putnam's proposal are:

- 1) that ROTC have no access to University facilities on any basis;
- 2) that there be no contractual relation between Harvard University and the U.S. Army for the training of officers at Harvard on a curricular or extra-curricular basis;
- 3) that students who are currently receiving ROTC scholarships be given equivalent Harvard University scholarships.

An analysis of the other proposals made to the Faculty regarding ROTC will demonstrate that they either leave the functioning of ROTC essentially intact, or actually serve to bolster its position at Harvard.

THE SFAC PROPOSAL

This proposal would withdraw academic credit from ROTC courses, terminate Faculty appointments for ROTC instructors, and cease the *free* allocation of space to ROTC in University buildings. The reasons given for these actions are that the ROTC program is externally controlled by the Department of Defense, and hence, inconsistent with the autonomy of the University, and that ROTC courses are pre-professional in content and hence, not appropriate to a liberal arts curriculum.

The SFAC arguments are *not* directed against the *extra-curricular* perpetuation of military training at Harvard and do *not* call for the abrogation of the contract between Harvard University and the Department of Defense to provide officers for the armed forces. The objections to the present form of ROTC which the SFAC proposal raises can be answered by proposals to *reform the ROTC program in ways that would strengthen it—proposals like those of the CEP and Profes-*

for Huntington. This is the crucial point to see, for it starkly demonstrates the weakness of SFAC's reasons and proposal for fighting ROTC

The withdrawal of academic credit from ROTC would apply to courses presently taught by the Department of Military Science, e.g., Military Science I-II ("U.S. Defense Establishment"). The Government department could well give a comparable course that would be required of ROTC cadets, such as Government 159 ("National Security Policy"). Perhaps half of the ROTC courses cover areas that could easily be incorporated into academic departments without sacrificing their function of indoctrinating reactionary values. But academic credit in any case is a minor issue. Most ROTC cadets do not receive course credit (49 of 149 do), and a recent survey indicates that only 4% of ROTC cadets would leave the program if academic credit were withdrawn.

The fact that two-thirds of the Army ROTC enrollment at Harvard consists of law (graduate) students and the fact that only 20% of the undergraduate students actually use ROTC for degree credit make the question of academic credit essentially irrelevant. (Position paper of Army ROTC Instructor Group, 4 December 1968.)

A clearer statement of our argument could not be given.

The withdrawal of descriptions of ROTC courses from the course catalogue would refer only to the courses presently taught. As indicated earlier, the subjects could be taught in other departments, and their listing as such could be interpreted to satisfy the legal requirement that ROTC courses be included in the curriculum.

There seems to be little doubt that our spiralling military budget permits the lease of University space. The cessation of free allocation of space in University buildings is, therefore, a trivial move.

The termination of faculty appointments for ROTC instructors contravenes a law which requires that Service Officers assigned to ROTC duty be given faculty status. However, even if this provision were not taken care of by a "standing committee on military studies" (see Huntington Proposal, below), the law could be amended.

In Col. Pell's considered judgment, finally, 'the withdrawal of academic credit for Army ROTC courses at Harvard, would not, of itself, cause the Department of the Army to withdraw the ROTC unit from Harvard. Better, in my judgment, is the action by the faculty to cause a thorough reappraisal of the ROTC curricula, within the framework of flexibility available to each service, that would make the ROTC courses of acceptable quality.'

CEP AND HUNTINGTON PROPOSALS

Both these proposals are intended to reform the ROTC programs to meet liberal objections about external control and academic quality. The CEP proposal would allow degree credit for courses in military, air, and naval science, that are sponsored by an academic department, division, or committee, and directed by a person whose appointment was recommended by a department, division, or committee. The Huntington Proposal is similar, but would create, in addition, a "standing committee on military studies" to approve military courses and recommend faculty appointments of Army officers.

For many years, scholars sympathetic to the goals of ROTC have been recommending similar reforms to these proposals. (In this context, see Gene M. Lyons and John W. Masland, *Education and Military Leadership: A Study of ROTC*, Princeton University Press [1959].) Faculty acceptance of the CEP and/or Huntington proposals would serve only to make ROTC appear more legitimate and academically respectable.

THE LIPSET PROPOSAL

Professor Lipset calls for an advisory referendum of Harvard College undergraduates on the question, "Whether ROTC shall retain its special status (academic credit for courses, Corporation appointments for instructors, and free, permanent use of University buildings) or become a voluntary extra-curricular activity."

It is difficult to see how Professor Lipset can call a referendum of *Harvard College undergraduates* "a mechanism for determining the opinion of the student population as a whole." In addition, his formulation excludes the position of at least the 1100 students who signed the Abolish-ROTC / No Punishment statement (*Crimson*, 1/14/69). His alternative, that ROTC become a "voluntary extra-curricular activity," is both disingenuous and a firm avoidance of the real issue. It is disingenuous to label as "voluntary" programs whose quotas are largely filled under the threat of the Draft. He avoids (for reasons others may plumb) the central issue, which is not the mechanism of recruitment the U.S. Army uses, but rather *the justice of the purposes for which the Army is used at home and abroad*.

THE BAILYN-HANDLIN PROPOSAL (A TROJAN HORSE)

The proposal by Professors Bailyn and Handlin would provide that the content of all courses in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences be "entirely academic in purpose" and be determined entirely by members (including 50 administrators, apparently) of the Faculty, and that all

courses be directed by persons holding a regular academic appointment.

This proposal is particularly disingenuous. Its acceptance would affect ROTC very little, since its criteria would be met by the CEP or Huntington proposals. Its chief effect would seem to be to discourage student-run / student-initiated courses, like Soc Rel 148 (as would section 3b of the CEP proposal). One is reminded here of the historical side-effects of the Fourteenth Amendment, i.e., to give corporations the legal status of persons. The Bailyn-Handlin proposal is obviously a Trojan horse.

SUMMARY

1) The SFAC proposal would not abolish ROTC. Its operative clauses might force the re-negotiation of ROTC contracts, and perhaps even a minor change in the law. But the SFAC proposal does not sever the contractual relationship between Harvard University and the Department of Defense *for the production of military officers*. In addition, it does not oppose extracurricular status for ROTC. Since it confines its objections to the liberal issues of external control and academic content, it leaves the door open for more "constructive" proposals for reforms in the ROTC programs that would actually consolidate their position at Harvard.

2) The CEP and Huntington proposals would strengthen ROTC's position at Harvard. The modernization of ROTC along these lines would make the production of military officers for imperialist wars merely more "efficient."

3) Only the proposal by Professor Putnam would effectively abolish ROTC at Harvard. The political issue at stake can be posed as follows:

Should Harvard University, in the context of current American domestic and foreign policies, have a contract with the Department of Defense to provide for the production of officers for the U.S. armed forces?

It should not. Military training is sometimes appropriate on the University campus. This is a judgment men must make with full awareness of the world in which they live, with full awareness of the responsibility they owe that world. In historical situations like World War II, it was right for Harvard to produce military officers. It is not right today. There is no more obligation for Harvard University to provide professional training for military officers at this time in history than to provide training for *any* other agency of counter-revolutionary aggression.

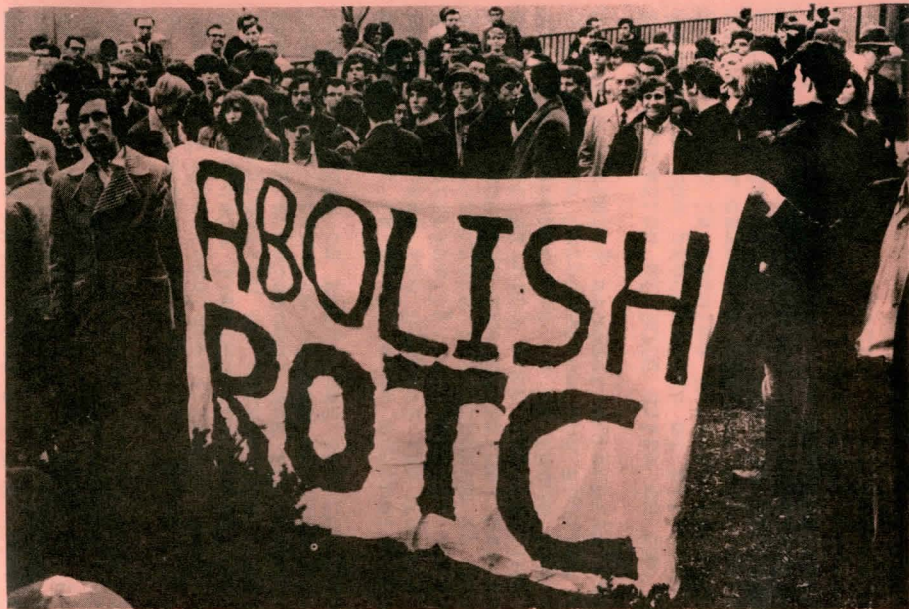


Photo by Jerry Berndt *Old Mole*

Written by:

David Appelbaum
Norman Daniels
Paul Garver
Alan Gilbert

Paul Gomberg
Susan Neiman
Richard Strier

of NUC,

*Produced with the assistance of Ellen Cantarow, George Abbott White,
and The Old Mole staff.*

Printed by:

The New England Free Press



THE CASE FOR ABOLISHING R.O.T.C. was thrown together rather haphazardly from fragments of earlier leaflets. In our struggle to get it out before a faculty meeting, we had no time for stylistic revisions or even careful typing. As things turned out, the pamphlet may have had some minimal effect in causing the faculty to adopt the SFAC proposal, which we did not support, but which was superior to some of the other alternatives.

It soon became evident that we had not analyzed carefully enough the role of the Corporation (Board of Trustees) relative to the vote of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. The Corporation rigorously limited the competence of the faculty to purely 'academic' matters, declared its firm intention to retain ROTC, and opened negotiations to that purpose with the Pentagon. The Faculty acquiesced, but SDS acted for total abolition by seizing the administration building. Under pressure of the ensuing student strike, the Faculty voted to enforce strict extra-curricularity on ROTC, and the Corporation was forced to go along.

While there is still some confusion about the precise details of how the three ROTC units will be phased out, and despite the Faculty's groveling insistence that their move against ROTC was not 'politically' motivated, it is clear that we have abolished ROTC at Harvard. The Army will terminate its program by June 1970, and the Air Force by June 1971. The Navy has not yet announced its decision, but has accepted no new freshmen into its program. In order to remain at Harvard even for the two years the Faculty allowed for phasing out the programs, some arrangement has to be found for giving Faculty appointments to military instructors. Although the Corporation and Faculty are eager to do so, they will be constrained by the now-overwhelming student consensus against ROTC.

The elimination of ROTC units on the few Ivy League campuses yet affected does no serious damage to the procurement of military officers, although the anti-ROTC campaign has also been useful in raising anti-imperialist consciousness among students and even a few faculty members. A campaign against ROTC on hundreds of campuses, however, has the potential of seriously damaging the orderly production of military officers for imperialist wars, and, if nothing else, expose to thousands of students the myriad ties between the universities and U.S. imperialism. At Harvard we'll doubtless keep even a lame-duck ROTC under pressure, but should move on to hampering counter-insurgency research (domestic and foreign) which is one of Harvard's special services to the Empire.

Paul Garver, 14 August 1969