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DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
42D AIR BASE WING (AETC)
MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE ALABAMA



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JAN 26 2017

Mr. John Greenwald
[REDACTED]

Dear Mr. Greenwald

We have processed your Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request, (number 2017-00830-F) for a copy of Dissent within the Armed Forces December 1970, an Air War College paper. We processed your request under the Freedom of Information Act. All releasable records responsive to this request are enclosed.

There is no charge for processing this request.

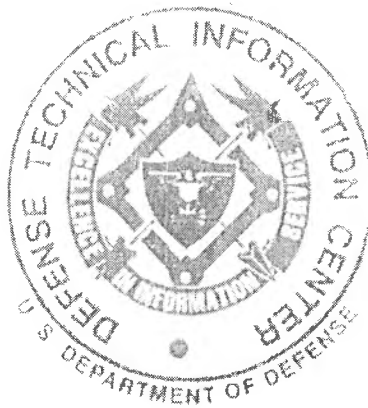
Sincerely


HEIDI L. DEXTER, Lt Col, USAF

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AIR WAR COLLEGE
AIR UNIVERSITY

REPORT NO. 4244

DOSSIER WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES

by

John D. Stensrud, [REDACTED]
Captain, USAF

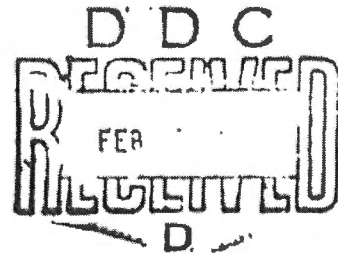
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ALL ESSAYS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY

MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE, ALABAMA

DECEMBER 1970

Best Available Copy



AJR WAR COLLEGE REPORT SUMMARY

NO. 4244

TITLE: Dissent Within The Armed Forces

AUTHOR: John D. Stensrud, Captain, U. S. Navy

Remarks on dissent in the Armed Forces in relation to dissent in American society. In Armed Forces, dissent takes on a different garb because of the code of conduct expected of personnel. Dissent has primarily manifested itself in the following areas: Underground newspapers; Off-post gathering places; Servicemen's Organizations; On and Off post demonstrations and Grievances. DOD has provided adequate guidance for coping with dissent once identified. The following actions are suggested to minimize the problem: Gainful employment of personnel; Better human relations, leadership and more effective communications; Early identification of dissenters and [CMA] action where appropriate. Problem must be kept in proper perspective as over 99.9+ percent of Armed Forces personnel are non-dissenters.

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It is intended to cover the nature of dissent in the Armed Forces; the significant differences in the environment; i.e., military vs civilian, in which dissent is perpetrated; to review Department of Defense policy for handling dissent; to propose some suggested action to preclude or minimize dissent; and finally, to draw some conclusions that may be of help in understanding the significance of the problem.

Dissent on college campuses is generally assumed to be associated with a rebellion against "the system or establishment." The typical student of college age today is generally regarded as a far more astute, knowledgeable and worldly individual than his parents or ancestors. He generally comes from a more affluent background and is a highly idealistic individual who is questioning values. He is impatient and "up tight." He is a part of the instant or now generation. Students are often exposed to radicalism, racial problems, hippies, drugs, the draft, and critical issues--the foremost of which is our involvement in the war in Vietnam. Some campus disorder and dissent has been directed against vital projects in defense sponsored research and development and the ROTC programs. There are those who believe the campus disorders are highly organized. Students have sometimes been exposed to violence and crime. They are also influenced by young idealistic professors who are

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When a person becomes a member of the Armed Forces he subscribes to a certain code of conduct. He takes an oath:

....I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I will obey the orders of the President of the United States and the orders of the officers appointed over me, according to regulations, and the Uniform Code of Military Justice. So help me God.

This is the most significant difference between civilian and military status. He is now a responsible citizen enjoying honors, privileges, rights, and benefits as afforded by a lawful contract with the United States government. Most importantly, he is enjoying the respect of a vast majority of the American people who still look on service in the Armed Forces as being honorable and who still expect members to obey the laws of the land. He has the unquestioned support of rank and file Americans.

He does not give up any of his rights as an American citizen; however, the issue of freedom of speech is often in contention. The Court of Military Appeals has recently had this to say:

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request, is broad in scope and may vary from gripes about the style and type haircuts etc. to the more routine requests for leave and liberty. Most importantly, a means is provided for an individual to voice his grievances, petty annoyances, or gripes that may otherwise become a source of dissent. These procedures are well handled in most commands with definite instructions that requests are not to be short-stopped, pocketed, or disapproved by anyone except the Commanding Officer. Routine Administrative/Inspector General Inspections evaluate the effectiveness of the procedures used, to ascertain if the rights of the individual are, in fact, being honored.

Commands have training programs by which individuals are made aware of policies, regulations, customs, etc. of the service. They are made aware of the equal opportunities existing in the Armed Forces and receive instruction on elements of race relations.

The preceding paragraphs have reflected some of the differences in the background of civilian and military dissent. They suggest that perhaps long before dissent gained the wide publicity it has recently enjoyed, government officials had provided by law means for handling grievances within the Armed Forces. They further suggest that the Armed Forces have also had a long and continuing interest in

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What then is the nature of dissent in the Armed Forces that we are concerned about? The Secretary of Defense promulgated Department of Defense Directive 1325.6, on 12 September 1969, giving services guidelines for handling dissident and protest activities among members of the Armed Forces.³ This general guidance emphasizes that specific problems can be resolved only on the basis of the particular facts of the situation and in accordance with the provisions of applicable regulations and the UCI. It also gives very specific guidelines which are related to dissident activities that the Armed Forces have encountered and delineates statutory provisions which are applicable to all persons as well as those applicable only to members of the Armed Forces.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the number of dissenters; some feel can be gained, however, from an article in Naval Times (Family Magazine) of 19 August 1970 which states:

The Naval Times says it has about 525 identified dissenters. About 50 are considered "hard core." Fifteen months ago the Naval Times had 421 dissenters and 114 of that number were considered "hard core." The Air Force source told...his service has 41 dissenters, of whom 14 are "hard core." The Navy and Marine Corps keep no figures on identified dissenters, spokesman said.

These numbers appear reasonable as according to note

will be made to distribute. The fact that a publication is critical of government policies or officials is not, in itself, a ground upon which distribution may be prohibited.

Most information reveals that the off-post gathering places have generally been in the nature of coffee houses most appropriately described by Stewart Alsop:

The Fort Dix coffeehouse is about what anyone with a nodding acquaintance with the New Left would expect-- 'underground' papers in profusion, posters of Che and Malcolm X and Huey Newton; a pledge to refuse induction; red Soldiers' Liberation Front stickers, with such incendiary slogans as '7--- the way.' The bomb had knocked out two windows, and the cardboard replacing them was scribbled over with new left slogans.⁵

DOD policy states that Commanders have the authority to place establishments "Off-limits," ...when, for example, the activities taking place there, including counselling members to refuse to perform duty or to desert, involve acts with a significant adverse effect on members' health, morale, or welfare.⁶

Servicemen unions appear to represent no real threat to discipline in the near future of this decade, according to Military Review; however, "Servicemen Unions represent a future consideration to keep in mind. They are currently of-subrosa and ill defined character with no expressed power of any consequences."⁷ The Armed Forces Journal has recently discussed some of the more important and active of the dissent groups and based its information on Pentagon sources.

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On-post demonstrations have generally not been successful. The most widely publicized has been the accept of the New Movie (starring actress Jane Fonda) to agitate on base at Fort Meade, Md. According to the Armed Forces Journal they were attempting to subvert soldiers to support the anti-war campaign. DOD policy states that the Commander of a military installation shall prohibit any demonstration or activity on the installation which could result in interference with or prevention of orderly accomplishment of the mission of the installation, or present a clear danger to loyalty, discipline, or morale of the troops. Off-post demonstrations are prohibited when members of the Armed Forces are in uniform, on duty, or in a foreign country, or when such activities constitute a breach of law and order, or when violence is likely to result.

Grievance procedures in the Armed Forces have been previously discussed. DOD policy reiterates the rights of the individual in accordance with Article 138 of the UCMJ as well as his right to communicate with members of Congress.

As indicated, the guidance for action after dissent has occurred is clear. Action must be based on factual information, legal ramifications, effect on mission and morale of personnel, etc.

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"world" as it appears to these young men, who perhaps have different values than their predecessors. These values may perhaps be more reflective of modern American society than those which would enhance the Armed Forces. At any rate, the onus is on the military leaders to be able to communicate with their subordinates on their level of interest, with knowledge of their values. It is from this base that personnel can be moved toward acceptance of proper values for personnel in the Armed Forces. More effective communications are not only essential but should be a goal of every command--- up, down, and sideways.

It is also essential that dissidents be identified. If they have a legitimate grievance, it should be corrected. If it is not a legitimate grievance and the individual persists, after the command has made its decision, he should then be promptly charged, tried, and if guilty, punished under the UCMJ. Let us then recognize it for what it is---a disrupting influence that is contributing nothing to military effectiveness. These dissenters are then taking an inordinate amount of the command's time at the expense of more vital tasks not the least of which is the welfare and development of the non-dissenters. Injurious actions, troublemakers, and tomfoolery have no place in the Armed Forces. Most certainly, at least some, actions of

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The Armed Forces Journal has recently had this to say:
"This year, programs of GI dissent have failed. They are likely to fail next year, and the year after that, but we expect them to be skirmishing around our flanks for some time to come."⁹ More recently, the Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., USN, brought out the following point in a West Coast press conference:
"....he is not 'personally concerned' about dissent in the Navy because he feels it is at a 'very bare minimum' and that those who have 'honest doubts' about our Nation's policies have chosen 'appropriate ways to deal with them.' "¹⁰

The problem of dissent is not considered to be of major proportion, and it has likely received publicity out of proportion to the problem involved. It has resulted in some undesirable publicity for the Armed Forces and the public affairs aspects of incidents is always a cause for concern. Calm and prudent judgement, good common sense, and an effective, responsive and timely working relationship are required between command and members of news media. If this relationship has been established before incidents occur, commands should then be able to "tell it like it is" to an understanding media and avoid sensational news.

M-U 32983 SP268 P.1

NOTES

1. "Appeals Court Clarifies Free Speech in Military," Navy Times, October 14, 1970, p. 33.
2. "Armed Forces, Singing Zumwalt, USA," Time, Vol. 96, No. 19, November 9, 1970, p. 17.
3. "Guidelines for Handling Dissident and Protest Activities among Members of the Armed Forces." DCD Directive Number 1325.6, September 12, 1970.
4. Jim Scott, "Dissenters in Uniform," Naval Forces/Times, August 19, 1970, p. 4.
5. S. Alsop, "The Coffeehouse," Newsweek, March 16, 1970, p. 116.
6. DCD Directive 1325.6, p. 2.
7. Robert B. Rigg, "Future Military Discipline," Military Review, September 1970, p. 22.
8. "The G.I. Anti-war Movement," Armed Forces Journal, September 7, 1970, pp. 32-33.
9. Ibid., p. 39.
10. "CIO Has Plenty to Come," Navy Times, November 4, 1970, p. 3.

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