

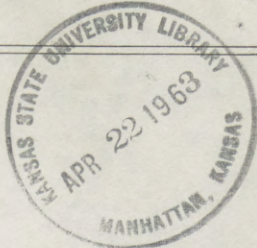
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OF THE DRAFT AND RELATED AUTHORITIES



HEARING BEFORE A SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES UNITED STATES SENATE EIGHTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION

H.R. 2438 (S. 846)

A BILL TO EXTEND THE INDUCTION PROVISIONS OF
THE UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE ACT,
AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

MARCH 12, 1963

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EXTENSION OF THE DRAFT

TUESDAY, MARCH 12, 1963

U.S. SENATE,
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee appointed to consider S. 846, composed of Senators Russell (chairman), Erwin, Byrd of West Virginia, Inouye, Beall, and Case met, pursuant to notice, at 10 a.m., in room 212, Old Senate Office Building.

Present: Senators Russell (chairman), Byrd of West Virginia, and Inouye.

Also present: John Ahlers for Senator Beall; Sam Zagoria for Senator Case; T. Edward Braswell and Gordon A. Nease, of the committee staff; Harry L. Wingate, Jr., chief clerk; and Herbert S. Atkinson, assistant chief clerk.

Chairman RUSSELL. Our hearings today are on S. 846, which would extend for a period of 4 years, from July 1, 1963, through July 1, 1967, the following provisions of law:

- (1) The authority to induct persons into the Armed Forces.
- (2) The authority to issue selective service calls for physicians and dentists and allied specialists.
- (3) The suspension of permanent limitations on the active duty strength of the Armed Forces.
- (4) The authority to pay a quarters allowance to all enlisted members of the Armed Forces with dependents irrespective of rank if the dependents are not furnished Government quarters.
- (5) The authority for special pay to physicians, dentists, and veterinarians.

Yesterday the House passed a companion bill—H.R. 2438—but, since that bill has not yet been officially referred to the committee, we will conduct hearings on S. 846.

Before the members there is a copy of a committee print explaining the provisions of this bill and giving a summary of the major provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act.

(S. 846 follows:)

[S. 846, 88th Cong., 1st sess.]

A BILL To extend the induction provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 17(c) of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, as amended (50 App. U.S.C. 467(c)), is amended by striking out "July 1, 1963" and inserting in place thereof "July 1, 1967".

SEC. 2. Section 1 of the Act of August 3, 1950, chapter 537, as amended (73 Stat. 13), is amended by striking out "July 1, 1963" and inserting in place thereof "July 1, 1967".

SEC. 3. Section 16 of the Dependents Assistance Act of 1950, as amended (50 App. U.S.C. 2216), is amended by striking out "July 1, 1963" and inserting in place thereof "July 1, 1967".

SEC. 4. Section 9 of the Act of June 27, 1957, Public Law 85-62, as amended (73 Stat. 13), is amended by striking out "July 1, 1963" and inserting in place thereof "July 1, 1967".

SEC. 5. Sections 302 and 303 of title 37, United States Code, are each amended by striking out "July 1, 1963" wherever that date appears and inserting in place thereof "July 1, 1967".

Chairman RUSSELL. The first witness today is the Honorable Norman S. Paul, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower. Following Mr. Paul's presentation and questioning by members, several organizations and individuals have requested the opportunity to testify and others have submitted statements for the record.

Because of the number of these witnesses, they have been requested to limit their oral testimony to a summary of not more than 10 minutes in duration and to furnish their entire statements for the record.

It appears from an examination of the list of witnesses that the subcommittee will also have an afternoon session.

Mr. Secretary, we are glad to have you appear before the subcommittee. You may make such statement as you desire with respect to this legislation.

STATEMENT OF NORMAN S. PAUL, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE (MANPOWER); ACCOMPANIED BY HAROLD WOOL ACTING DIRECTOR OF MANPOWER RESEARCH, OFFICE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE (MANPOWER), AND LT. COL. MARTIN PUTNOI, MEDICAL CORPS, U.S. ARMY, ASSISTANT FOR PERSONNEL, DASD (HEALTH AND MEDICAL)

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I welcome the opportunity to appear before you in support of S. 846. This bill, if enacted into law, will extend until July 1, 1967, the authority to induct persons under the Universal Military Training and Service Act. Included under this authority is the authority for selective induction of physicians, dentists, and allied medical specialists. This bill will also extend for the same period the suspension of certain statutory limitations on Armed Forces strengths; it extends the provisions of the Dependents' Assistance Act and the provision for special pay for physicians and dentists.

EXTENSION OF INDUCTION AUTHORITY

Last month, Secretary McNamara appeared before your committee and presented in detail his report on the military posture and on the Department of Defense program for the coming 5 years. I need scarcely elaborate here on the sobering facts concerning the costs of survival in these times. One of these costs and, in my judgment, one of the most vital elements in our national defense posture, is the obligation for military service which derives from the induction authority.

During the past years we have carefully examined the possible alternatives for procurement of manpower and for fulfilling the military service obligation in both the Active Forces and in our Reserve

components. As a result of these studies, we have submitted separate legislative recommendations concerning the authorities for procurement of personnel for our Reserve components and the length of their Reserve service obligation. These recommendations would also revise and consolidate the authorities for deferment and exemption from induction based on Reserve membership and participation. With your indulgence, Mr. Chairman, I will, therefore, limit my present statement to the basic issue of the need for extension of the induction authority and for the related extension provisions of S. 84.

It is my firm conviction that extension of the induction authority is absolutely essential for maintenance of our military strengths. This conviction is shared by Secretary McNamara, by the Secretaries of the military departments and by the Chiefs of Staff. This judgment has been reinforced by our recent experiences and by the facts on our projected manpower needs.

As you gentlemen know, it has been the consistent policy of all of the services to rely on voluntary manpower sources to the maximum extent in maintaining their strengths. The military services offer a wide range of choices—more than 50 by our last count—for volunteering into the Regular Forces or the Reserve components.

In addition to recruitment efforts, the services conduct energetic reenlistment programs among their personnel and offer special inducements for reenlistments, such as advanced training opportunities and choices of duty assignment. There has also been a sustained effort to increase the career attractiveness of military service. The Congress has always generously responded to requests for legislation designed to improve the welfare of our servicemen, including most recently the adjustment in quarters allowances last year. I am confident that you will give equally sympathetic consideration to the military pay legislation proposed by the Department of Defense, which, in our judgment, will go even further in aiding the services to compete effectively for qualified personnel.

These measures have served to enhance our ability to obtain volunteer enlistments and reenlistments and thereby help to minimize the direct requirement for selective service draft calls. The Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force have not had to place draft calls in recent years. And, in the Army, the ratio of draftees has declined from more than one-fourth of total Active Army strength, in 1958, to about one-sixth in the current fiscal year.

Selective service inductions have, however, continued to be an essential manpower procurement source for Army throughout this period. When a rapid expansion of our military strengths was required during the Berlin contingency, one of the initial actions taken by the Secretary of Defense was to authorize a sharp increase in draft calls. For fiscal year 1962, as a whole, the number of men actually inducted into the Army totaled 157,500, about twice the total number originally planned for that year. The accelerated draft calls were met promptly and efficiently by the Selective Service System. These added inductees, upon completion of their initial training, formed the primary manpower source for the two new divisions activated by the Army last year, and for other new or augmented combat elements. In turn, the availability of these replacements made possible release of recalled National Guard and Reserve units in August, without adverse effect on our military posture.

Looking ahead, we currently estimate a requirement for about 76,000 inductees during fiscal year 1963, a relatively low replacement year. In the following 4 fiscal years, fiscal years 1964-67, the average number of inductions is currently projected at about 90,000 per year.

These requirements for inductees have been estimated by Army on the basis of the latest approved strengths. Full allowance has been made in these estimates for expected gains through voluntary manpower sources. The actual draft calls would, of course, continue to be determined on a monthly basis, based on the latest available experience on losses, enlistments, and reenlistments.

In addition to the direct requirement for inductees by Army, all of the military services recognize that the existence of a military service obligation contributes substantially to their voluntary recruitment effort. Recent attitude surveys indicate that a large portion of new enlistees for active duty have been influenced to enlist, to some degree, by the existence of a draft liability. Our experience indicates that a large percentage of enlistees in the higher mental aptitude, or education, groups enlist for 3- or 4-year terms rather than being drafted, because they desire a greater choice of branch of service, of job assignments, and of training opportunities. In the absence of the induction authority, all services would experience serious difficulties in maintaining their numerical strengths and would experience intensified shortages of high quality personnel in their technical and combat leadership skills.

This situation would not, moreover, be limited to the enlisted ranks. The draft liability is a major factor influencing entry into ROTC, into officer candidate schools, and into programs for direct appointment of professionals from civilian life. The elimination of the draft would adversely affect the number and quality of applicants for commissions in these and similar programs. It would seriously limit selectivity and would have a particularly severe impact upon our ability to attract officers with specialized professional backgrounds in engineering, science, law, and the health professions.

The most serious effect, in the case of officers, would probably be felt in medical officer procurement. Under the so-called doctor-draft provisions of the current law, authority is provided for induction of medical, dental, or allied specialists under special calls, or for ordering to active duty of members of Reserve components, in these specialties, who have not reached their 35th birthday and have not performed at least 1 year of active duty. This authority is the keystone of the Department of Defense program for procurement of medical officers. The largest source of procurement of new doctors is through the program under which young physicians who are enrolled in the Reserves are deferred until they complete their residency training and then enter service for 2-year obligated tours of duty. Although these officers voluntarily enter this program, we recognize that the doctor-draft authority serves as the major impetus for enrollment.

The existence of this authority has, in most recent years, served to stimulate a sufficient number of volunteers so that direct recourse to Selective Service has not been necessary. During the Berlin crisis, in fiscal year 1962, the Department of Defense did, however, find it necessary to place special calls with Selective Service for about 1,000 physicians, as well as for more than 200 dentists and veterinarians. Review of medical manpower requirements for fiscal year

1964 indicates that a special call for nearly 1,400 physicians may also be necessary next summer. This requirement stems from the fact that so far there have been insufficient volunteers for active duty from this year's group of interns.

So far we have confined our presentation to the requirements of the active Military Establishment. Let us consider now the personnel situation of our Reserve components.

In recent years a very large portion of new manpower accessions into our National Guard and organized Reserve units has consisted of young men in the draft-liable ages who have chosen this alternative for fulfilling their military service obligation. If the induction authority were discontinued, it is highly probable that non-prior-service enlistments into Reserve and National Guard units would be drastically reduced. Non-prior-service personnel—men with a potential draft obligation—constitute about two-thirds of the overall strength of the Ready Reserves in paid training. Discontinuation of the induction authority would unquestionably curtail new inputs from among draft-liable men and would severely reduce the strength of our organized Reserves.

The impact would, moreover, not be confined to non-prior-service personnel. A discontinuation of the induction authority would also drastically reduce the flow of prior-service personnel with an outstanding service obligation into our Ready Reserve mobilization pools. Over a period of years these Reserve pools would dwindle to very small numbers, after reservists, currently in this status, completed their obligation.

MILITARY SERVICE STATUS OF DRAFT-AGED MEN

Before concluding this portion of my testimony, I would like to call your attention to the chart attached to my prepared statement. This shows the present military service status of the draft-liable-age classes in our population: the percentage who have served or are now serving and the status of those men who have not served.

Among men in the age classes which have just passed through the normal period of service liability—those who reached ages 26 or 27, last year—our records indicate that as of June 1962, 640,000, or 58 percent, had entered active or Reserve service. The remainder consisted almost entirely of men deferred under the current law and regulations on grounds of unfitness, dependency, or other causes, and of fathers in class I-A, who are in a low priority order for induction. It is clear from Selective Service reports that as in earlier years virtually no qualified nonfathers in these age classes, available for service under Selective Service rules, are currently escaping their liability.

You will also note that among men who were in ages 24 or 25 last year the overall percentages who had entered service by June 1962 is only slightly lower than among the 26- and 27-year-olds. In these and younger age classes, men are continuing to enter military service, through enlistments, officer programs, and inductions. If currently programed strengths are maintained through fiscal year 1967, it is clear that a majority of all men reaching age 26 in each year will continue to be required for active or Reserve service.

SUSPENSION OF STRENGTH LIMITATIONS

Section 2 of S. 846 provides for extension to July 1, 1967, of the suspension of certain statutory ceilings of the strength of the Active Forces. The ceilings in question were enacted as permanent legislation shortly after the end of World War II. These ceilings provide, in part, for a maximum strength of 837,000 for the Army, of 502,000 for the Air Force, of 500,000 for Regular Navy enlisted personnel and of 400,000 for the Marine Corps. With the exception of the Marine Corps, these ceilings are substantially below existing active duty strengths and programed requirements. In fact, it has been necessary for the Armed Forces to exceed these legislative limitations in each year since 1951. In each case this has been authorized by congressional action providing for the suspension of the ceilings.

If the ceilings provided in the permanent legislation were to become operative, it would be necessary to reduce active military strengths by more than one-half million from the currently programed level of approximately 2,695,000. It would be impossible for our Armed Forces to meet their commitments if these ceilings, in fact, became effective. We, therefore, urge that the Congress continue the suspension of those strength limitations for an additional 4-year period.

DEPENDENTS' ASSISTANCE ACT

The next section of this bill, section 3, provides for extension of the provisions of the Dependents' Assistance Act of 1950 as amended. This act, which has been extended by the Congress at periodic intervals since 1950, was amended by the Congress last year by Public Law 87-531. The current law provides for continued payment of the class Q dependents' allotment to dependents of enlisted personnel in the grade of corporal (E-4) with 4 years or less of service and to the lower enlisted grades, while the more senior enlisted personnel are now paid a quarters allowance as part of their monthly compensation in the same manner as officer personnel.

The dependents' allowances are recognized as an integral part of the military compensation structure for our junior grade enlisted personnel. At the current time, when a significant percentage of personnel in these enlisted grades are married, these allowances are absolutely essential to provide a means of meeting basic living expenses for our servicemen's families.

The proposed military pay legislation, which is now being considered, is based on the assumption that these allowances will, in fact, be extended. We, therefore, strongly recommend that you approve the extension of these provisions.

SPECIAL PAY FOR PHYSICIANS, DENTISTS, AND VETERINARIANS

The fourth section of S. 846 authorizes a continuation for an additional 4 years of the special pay provisions for physicians, dentists, and veterinarians. Under the current law, the special pay for physicians and dentists, other than interns, is fixed at \$100 monthly during their first 2 years of service; at \$150 monthly for active service between 2 and 6 years; at \$200 monthly between 6 and 10 years, and \$250 per month for active service beyond 10 years. Veterinary officers receive \$100 per month in special pay.

The present scale of benefits for physicians and dentists was enacted in 1956. These measures were enacted to aid in stopping a dangerous increase in resignations of our medical and dental officers and to help, to some degree, in making military service more competitive with alternative civilian opportunities for these most essential specialists. The present rates of special pay represent a necessary recognition of many factors, including the cost and length of professional training required, the loss of current earnings during that time, and the relatively greater economic opportunities for these professions in civilian life.

The effectiveness of these special pay provisions cannot be completely isolated from other career incentives currently offered to these officers, including the senior medical student plan, professional training opportunities for interns and residents, and the retirement benefits. It is, however, our judgment that these measures have, in fact, helped to increase the numbers of regular medical officers in all three services. Retention of the special pay provision is considered essential to the efforts of the uniformed services to maintain an effective peacetime medical corps and to provide an adequate hard core of experienced medical officers in the event of a need to rapidly expand medical services in an emergency.

CONCLUSION

I would like now to turn briefly to the considerations which have lead us to request an extension of these provisions for a 4-year period rather than for any shorter or longer period.

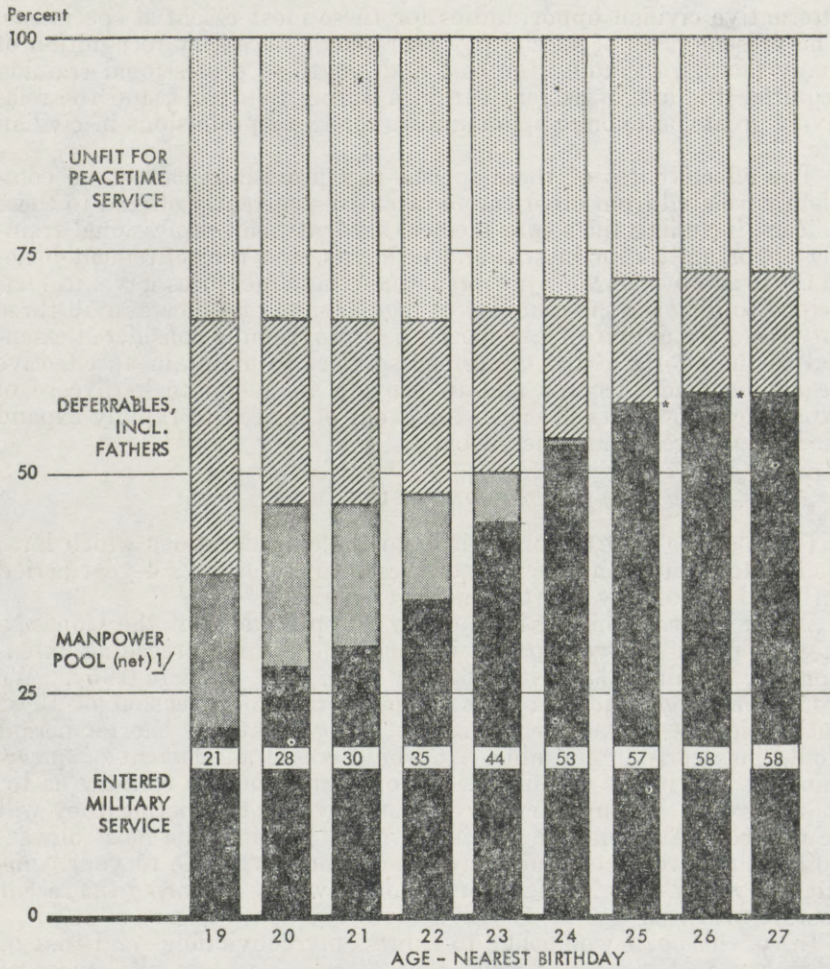
We have been guided, in part, by the precedent of the Congress in establishing a 4-year period in each of the three preceding extensions of the draft law—in 1951, in 1955, and again in 1959. We would have no objection to a longer period of extension of these authorities. On the other hand, we believe that any shorter period would be clearly undesirable. It would create an element of uncertainty in the minds of millions of young men in this country as to the future of their military service liability—as to whether they will be needed. Any such uncertainty would, I believe, be most unwarranted the hard facts which have been made available to your committee by Secretary McNamara and other witnesses during the recent posture hearings.

In conclusion, I would like to express my conviction—and that of Secretary McNamara, as well—that there is no more vital piece of legislation affecting the national defense of this country than the proposals you are considering here today.

(The tables referred to follow:)

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF MALE POPULATION, AGES 19-27 BY MILITARY SERVICE STATUS

(30 JUNE 1962)



Military service status of male population, ages 18½-27½, as of June 1962

	18½-19½	19½-20½	20½-21½	21½-22½	22½-23½	23½-24½	24½-25½	25½-26½	26½-27½
Number (in thousands)									
Total male population 1.....	1,460	1,410	1,300	1,220	1,170	1,160	1,130	1,110	1,100
Entered military service 2.....	300	380	390	420	510	610	640	640	640
Active service.....	250	340	340	350	400	480	510	530	560
Reserve service only 3.....	40	50	50	70	110	130	130	110	80
No military service—estimated status:									
Unfit for peacetime service 4.....	480	470	430	400	380	350	320	300	300
Fathers and dependency deferments.....	20	50	90	110	120	130	120	130	120
Students and other deferables.....	410	260	180	130	90	60	50	40	40
Net availables (non-father manpower pool).....	250	250	210	150	70	10	(*)	(*)	(*)
Percent distribution									
Total male population.....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Entered military service.....	21	28	30	35	44	53	57	58	58
Active service.....	17	24	26	29	34	41	45	48	51
Reserve service only 3.....	3	4	4	6	9	11	12	10	7
No military service—estimated status: 5									
Unfit for peacetime service 6.....	33	33	33	33	33	30	28	27	27
Fathers and dependency deferments 7.....	1	4	7	9	10	11	11	11	11
Students and other deferables 8.....	28	18	14	11	8	5	4	4	4
Net availables (non-father manpower pool) 9.....	17	18	16	12	6	1	(*)	(*)	(*)

1 Total male population: Includes continental United States, territories and possessions, and Armed Forces personnel overseas. Based on statistics of U.S. Bureau of Census.

2 Entered military service: Includes entries into Active Forces and Reserve components. Based on cumulative Department of Defense records of initial enlistments, inductions, and other accessions by age.

3 No tour of extended active duty. May have had active duty for Reserve training.

4 Less than 5,000 or 0.5 percent.

5 Status of men with no military service: Selective Service boards do not normally complete classification action on registrants until they approach the age of involuntary induction. The estimates in this table, therefore, show probable status by age, assuming that registrants in each liable age had, in fact, been completely classified and examined for service. The estimates are based on Selective Service and Department of Defense experience studies supplemented by Census statistics on school enrollments and fatherhood ratios by age. The estimating methods used are similar to those followed in earlier studies, as described in BLS Bulletin 1262, Military Manpower Requirements and Supply, 1959-63.

6 Unfit for peacetime service: Includes estimated number of men, in each age class, who would be found physically, mentally, or morally unfit for service under prevailing standards if all men were, in fact, completely examined for service. The lower percentages disqualified in the older age classes result from the fact that a portion of these men had service under lower mental standards in effect prior to enactment of Public Law 85-564, July 1958, which authorized modification of peacetime standards of fitness for service.

7 Fathers and dependency deferments: Includes fathers, potentially eligible for classification in class I-A, fathers, as well as men classified in class III-A, dependency, other than those unfit for service.

8 Students and other deferables: Includes full-time high school or college students, occupational deferments, and miscellaneous smaller deferred or exempt categories (ministers or divinity students, aliens, etc.).

9 Net availables (nonfather manpower pool): Estimated net number of nonfathers in age class who would be found qualified and immediately available for military service under existing fitness standards and Selective Service regulations.

NOTE.—Detail does not necessarily add to totals due to rounding.

Chairman RUSSELL. Mr. Secretary, I notice on page 4, where you state that you have a requirement for about 76,000 inductees during fiscal year 1963. The total number of personnel that we will have in the armed services over that period is about what, about 2.8 million?

Mr. PAUL. Yes, sir; approximately 2.7 million.

Chairman RUSSELL. Now, suppose we did not extend the law and were denied these 76,000 inductees. That, of itself, would not have a completely disastrous impact on our military structure. We might be able to absorb 76,000, but what effect do you think it would have on the overall manpower requirements of the Armed Forces if the law were not extended? In other words, what further impact would it have than merely denying these 76,000 men to the Army?

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, I think I might say, first, the 76,000 estimated for this fiscal year is lower than the normal would be.

Chairman RUSSELL. I understand.

Mr. PAUL. Because of certain things that have happened to the Army in the last couple of years, and this is a cyclical year and a lower year for inductions.

Chairman RUSSELL. With the exception of the Berlin crisis, it has not run above 100,000 for several years, has it?

Mr. PAUL. No, sir; it has not.

Chairman RUSSELL. That gives us some idea of it.

Mr. PAUL. But I think the most important element in answering your question is, the absence of the induction authority would drastically affect the recruitment programs that are now being conducted by the services, both in the enlisted and the officer area.

If a man is suddenly released from the obligation for military service for his country, his motivation for a military career or military service is drastically reduced. We feel that would be the most important, the most dangerous or difficult aspect of not continuing.

Chairman RUSSELL. Do you think that you could maintain or keep as many as 2.5 million men in the armed services over a period of the next 4 years without this law being on the statute books?

Mr. PAUL. No, sir; I do not.

Chairman RUSSELL. We have a great deal of talk every time this extension is up about the effect that it has in filling the manpower requirements of the Armed Forces through giving young men an opportunity to select the branch of service and the type of training that they desire. But, when the services come before this committee on their general statements, they do not give any great credit to the Selective Service System. They just talk about how they have to fill their requirements by volunteer means. It tends to lead one to believe, just in hearing them, that even if this law were not extended, that they could continue to fill their requirements through volunteers.

Your statement, I believe, is that that would not be true; that they could not get the necessary manpower voluntarily.

Mr. PAUL. I do not believe they could, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman RUSSELL. I would like very much to get some better system. With all of its faults and imperfections, the present system is the only practical way we can get the manpower that we require. It is somewhat like the seniority system in the Congress in selecting committee chairmen. You can always find something wrong with it, but when it comes to getting some alternative, the alternative has more objections than what you have.

I wish you would offer for the record, Mr. Secretary, a table that would give us information on the military service requirements imposed by law in all the nations with whom we are associated in the NATO organization, in SEATO, and I believe CENTO is the other one, is it not?

Mr. PAUL. Yes, sir; CENTO.

Chairman RUSSELL. People ask me from time to time why it is necessary for us to have a Selective Service System which has, undoubtedly, the effect of compelling military service on the part of some Americans who would prefer not to serve in the military forces during the cold-war period, when one of our associates like Great Britain has no selective service at the present time or any compulsory military requirement. Are there many other NATO countries that do not have some form of compulsion?

Mr. PAUL. No, sir, I believe that Canada and the United Kingdom are the only ones that do not have conscription at this time.

Chairman RUSSELL. England has reduced its Military Establishment very markedly in the last several years. What steps have they taken to secure even the number of people that they have at the present time? Have they increased compensation or done anything else to make military service more attractive?

If you do not have that available, you can offer it for the record. I just want something in the record to show why it is that our allies can maintain the military strength, they think they should have, even if we do not think it is comparable to their obligation.

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, England did offer certain inducements to retain people who were already in the service during the Berlin crisis, but their Armed Forces, as you say, have been so drastically reduced, that, to my knowledge, they have not offered any exceptional inducements, but I will find that out and supply it for the record.

(The following information was subsequently furnished by the Department of Defense:)

EXPERIENCE OF UNITED KINGDOM SINCE TERMINATION OF NATIONAL SERVICE ¹

In 1957, as a result of a complete reorientation of her defense posture involving increased reliance on the nuclear deterrent, Britain decided on a smaller, but all-regular, armed force. The plan, as originally announced, called for a reduction of total military strength from 690,000 in 1957 to approximately 390,000 by end-1962. National service callups would stop at end-1960 and all conscriptees would be released by end-1962 unless voluntary recruiting failed to provide the required manpower. It was contended that substantial military manpower savings could be accomplished through reduced training requirements, centralization of functions, and cutbacks of headquarters and administrative overhead staff.

Actual military strength developments have been broadly consistent with the original plan. Total active duty military strength was cut back to 485,000 by April 1961 and latest estimates provide for a further reduction to 432,700 by April 1963. By April 1961, the number of national service personnel on active duty had been reduced to 78,000, or 16 percent of total strength, and it was then estimated that all conscriptees would be released by the end of 1962. However, because of the Berlin situation, measures were taken to retain some of the conscripts for an additional 6 months active service beyond this date, if required.

Voluntary recruitment capability even in the face of the sharp reductions in force was recognized at the outset as the key uncertainty in the British program to attain an all-regular force. A number of measures were therefore taken after 1957 to increase enlistments and officer procurement. These included increased pay and allowances; improved barracks, military housing, and recreation facilities;

¹ This summary is based primarily on published official British sources and on other readily available published materials.

additional payments for travel costs and movement of household effects; special officer procurement programs, including scholarship plans, short-term (3-year) contracts for reserve officers, and higher pay scales and other special inducements for medical and dental officers. In addition, recruitment staffs and publicity were expanded, including extensive use of TV, mobile caravans, and other recruitment "sales" efforts.

From a numerical standpoint, the voluntary recruitment effort has apparently been reasonably successful to date. If recruitment can continue to meet strength requirements through 1963, the lower replacement needs resulting from longer term (6-year) enlistments should facilitate maintenance of the all-regular force beyond 1963. At the same time, there have been evident difficulties in procurement of junior officers and in meeting requirements for certain categories of specialized personnel for technical and professional units. The most critical problem has apparently been in the medical and dental profession, and resulted in announcement of a comprehensive program, in April 1962, for increased pay and a wide range of special inducements for medical and dental officers.

The shift from national service to voluntary recruitment has also required a major realignment of the Reserve Forces. The national service system had required a 3½-year period of mandatory Reserve service, following 2 years of active duty. With the termination of national service, a major source of inputs into the Reserves has been eliminated. In order to partially offset this loss, the British Government announced in early 1962 their decision to raise, from within the ranks of the territorial (reserve) army, a new volunteer category to serve with the Regular Army in time of emergency. These personnel, to be known as the Territorial Army Emergency Reserve—the "Ever Readies"—will be liable for callup to active service for periods up to 6 months. These personnel will receive an annual bonus equivalent to \$420 if they fulfill their Reserve training obligations.

While the numerical recruitment goals are now being met, this was done in conjunction with a 45-percent reduction in total military strength. The relaxation of the pressure of conscription produced problems in the areas of officer and technical personnel procurement which have not yet been fully overcome.

There are a number of obvious contrasts between the British and the United States military manpower situation:

(1) While British military strengths have been cut back by 45 percent since 1957, U.S. military strengths are only slightly below the 1957 level (2.8 million in 1957 versus 2.7 million in 1962). Moreover, the percentage of the military-aged population required for service in this country is nearly twice as great as in Great Britain.

(2) The contrast in military manpower requirements is even greater when allowance is made for the Reserve components. Total strengths of all Reserve components in Great Britain are reported at 394,000 in January 1962, as contrasted to nearly 2.9 million Reserves not on active duty in the United States.

Chairman RUSSELL. I would like to know the number of people that they have had in the military services over a period of years, also.

Mr. PAUL. Yes, sir.

I can say right now it went from 690,000 in 1957 to approximately 390,000 by the end of 1962.

Chairman RUSSELL. That is even more than I had thought it was. That is all they have in all branches, 390,000?

Mr. PAUL. Yes, sir; that is total military strength.

Chairman RUSSELL. I knew that "Britannia rules the waves" is now one of the great antique pieces in history, but I did not know it was that great a fall. That includes the army, navy, and air force?

Mr. PAUL. I have that as the total military figure, Mr. Chairman. I beg your pardon.

Chairman RUSSELL. That must be the army.

Mr. PAUL. That was the originally announced plan, and that was later revised. My figures indicate that total active duty military strength was cut back to 485,000 by April 1961, and recent estimates provide for a further reduction to 432,700 by April 1963.

I am sorry, that was the original plan, but they revised it.

Chairman RUSSELL. They revised it. They now have 485,000. Have you any information that would indicate the ratio of persons in the military services to the total population of the NATO countries?

Mr. PAUL. Yes. We have figures on that, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman RUSSELL. I wish you would also offer a table on that for the record.

(The following information was subsequently furnished by the Department of Defense:)

Selected data on NATO countries

Nation	Service	Active service in months		Ratio, military personnel, 1,000 population
		Legal period	Actual period	
Belgium.....	Army, Navy, Air Force.....	24	¹ 15 officers, 12 OR.....	12
Canada.....	No compulsory military service.....			7
Denmark.....	Army, Air Force.....	² 16	16.....	9
	Navy.....	14	14.....	
France.....	Army, Navy, Air Force.....	³ 18	⁴ 21.....	18
Germany.....	Army, Navy, Air Force.....	⁵ 18	⁵ 18.....	7
Greece.....	Army.....	³ 24	21.....	22
	Navy.....	³ 24	30 officers, 27 seamen.....	
	Air Force.....	³ 24	30 officers, 24-28 OR.....	
Italy.....	Army, Air Force.....	18	18.....	9
	Navy.....	24	24.....	
Luxembourg.....	Army.....	12	9.....	12
Netherlands.....	Army.....	⁶ 22	22.....	11
	Navy.....	⁶ 21	21.....	
	Air Force.....	⁶ 24	24.....	
Norway.....	Army.....	16	16.....	
	Navy, Air Force.....	18	18.....	8
Portugal.....	Army, Navy, Air Force.....	18	18-24 officers and specialists.....	15
Turkey.....	Army, Air Force.....	24	24.....	
	Navy.....	36	36.....	18
United Kingdom.....	No compulsory military service.....			9
United States.....	Army, Navy, Air Force.....	⁷ 24	24.....	15

¹ Conscriptees desiring to serve their entire 12-month tour within Belgium now must "volunteer" to serve an additional 6 months. (Total, 15.)

² Also unspecified Reserve liability.

³ Followed by 19 years in Reserves.

⁴ Actual service now being progressively reduced, as result of Algerian cease-fire, and will reach the legal period of 18 months by July 1, 1963.

⁵ New legislation on Feb. 22, 1962, increased period from 12 to 18 months, effective July 1, 1962. In addition 9 months Reserve full-time training liability up to age 45.

⁶ Followed by 15 years in Reserves.

⁷ 6 years Reserve obligation, less active duty service.

U.K. forces as of Apr. 1, 1963 (estimate):

Army, 193,700.

Navy, 95,500.

Air Force, 143,500.

EXTENSION OF THE DRAFT

Conscription data for SEATO countries

	Conscription	Length of tour	Ratio per 1,000
Australia.....	No.....		4.5
France.....	Yes.....	18 months.....	18
New Zealand.....	No (but a selective draft of 2,000 annually for territorial Reserve to expand later to 10,000. Selectees serve 1 year in Regular forces or 14 weeks active duty plus 20 days a year for 3 years.)		5
Pakistan.....	No.....		2.6
Philippines.....	Yes (2,000-3,000 selected by lot annually)	22 weeks.....	1.7
Thailand.....	Yes (30,000 chosen by lot from annual class of 250,000. Registration at 18, called up at 21.)	2 years.....	4.6
United Kingdom.....	No.....		9
United States.....	Yes.....	2 years.....	15

Cento military personnel questions	U.K.	Turkey	Iran	Pakistan
1. Length of minimum tour of active duty required.	No compulsory military service; all volunteer force. Each volunteer enlists for minimum 6 years active duty, with limited exceptions.	Universal conscription of 24 months. Conscription NCO's may volunteer for service of 1-5 years beyond initial mandatory service.	Theoretically universal conscription, with 2 years of active duty required of males between ages of 21 through 45. Small number of voluntary enlistments for 5, 7, or 10 years.	No compulsory military service; all volunteer forces. Enlistments in R.A. permitted from age 17 for 7 years of active service.
2. Length of military training and service obligation imposed by law.	Active duty service is followed by 6 years in reserves.	No definite time limit for service in the 2 categories of reserves (i.e., those with mobilization assignments and those without).	All conscripts technically in reserve until 46th birthday.	Personnel completing regular army service then serve 8 years in reserve status.
3. Ratio of military strength to 1,000 people.....	9	18	11	2.6

Mr. PAUL. Yes, sir; we will.

Chairman RUSSELL. We have had the question of German rearmament before us for a long time. Many people are afraid of it, and others have been complaining because the Germans have not furnished more divisions for the NATO organization in the event of aggression against that organization.

Was it 12 divisions the Germans were going to furnish, or was it 14? Have they ever reached their commitment? It was supposed to have been reached several years ago. The last time I inquired into it, they had not yet fully met their commitments.

Mr. PAUL. I do not believe they have fully met their commitments, but I do not have that figure with me, Mr. Chairman.

(The following information was subsequently furnished by the Department of Defense:)

The German commitment was for 12 divisions. As of this time, they have committed 11.

Chairman RUSSELL. Have they extended their compulsory military service term beyond 1 year, yet, or do they still have 12 months? They had a bill to extend it to 18 months in their parliamentary body.

Mr. PAUL. Active-duty requirements are 1½ years or 6 months basic training to prepare for mobilization assignments with the territorial defense force. Their service obligation in years is between 18 and 35 years. The total age group liable for military service is 18 to 45 years, and their procedure for determining the callup is a lottery system.

Chairman RUSSELL. That does not answer the question as to the compulsory time, the time they are compelled to stay on active duty when they are inducted into the armed forces. I would like to get that, if I could, for all of these, along with the other information.

Mr. PAUL. Yes, sir.

Chairman RUSSELL. I notice in this table you have attached to your statement that the unfit-for-peacetime-service percentage decreases as the age of the population that is subject to military service increases.

In other words, the 25-year-old group, the unfit for military service is apparently about 30 percent, whereas in the 26-year-old group it is only about 22 percent. Is there any reason for that? What is the reason?

Mr. PAUL. May I ask Mr. Wool to answer that question, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman RUSSELL. Yes.

Mr. WOOL. Senator, you will recall that in 1958 authority was obtained to raise the standards, the mental standards, for induction.

Chairman RUSSELL. I well remember that, but what effect is that going to have in 1963?

Mr. WOOL. Yes. These older men, who are not 26, to some extent, enlisted or were inducted under the standards in effect earlier.

Chairman RUSSELL. Oh, I see.

Mr. WOOL. We accepted some men who would not now be acceptable. The percentages shown in the table are not quite as low as 22 percent. They are about 27 percent in the older ages.

Chairman RUSSELL. I see, so that is just those who would not meet today's requirements that were inducted or volunteered at earlier dates?

Mr. WOOL. Yes, sir.

Chairman RUSSELL. When they were 18 or 19, I see. They were moved on.

Do you have any figures anywhere that would indicate the number of fathers who have been inducted? You need not present it now, but, if you would offer that for the record for over the last 3 or 4 years.

Mr. PAUL. Yes, sir. It would be a very small number, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman RUSSELL. Yes, I know.

In some States it is comparatively nil, but in others it has been a goodly number—I mean comparatively speaking.

(The following information was subsequently furnished by the Department of Defense.)

According to Selective Service reports, the only fathers who have been inducted in the past several years have been those who have either been delinquent under the provisions of the law, or who have failed to meet the requirement that they maintain a bona fide family relationship in the home with the child. There is no precise record of the number in this category, but it is known to be extremely small.

What are the requirements for educational deferment now, Mr. Secretary?

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, I must get this—

Chairman RUSSELL. How far does that extend?

Mr. PAUL. I think it is a general college deferment.

Mr. WOOL. There are a variety of deferment regulations covering this, sir, which permit, first of all, an individual enrolled in a particular year of college to finish the year he is in. Beyond that, there are provisions for either nationwide testing, which may have been modified recently, as well as for selection based upon class standings.

Practically speaking, since the age of involuntary induction, when selective service compels a man to come in, is about 23 now, most young men have an opportunity to complete their normal bachelor's degree education before they would be reached for involuntary induction, so that, as a practical matter, it is my understanding that the draft boards, in many cases, do not even have to formally defer these men, since they are not in imminent danger of involuntary induction.

Chairman RUSSELL. Is it possible for a man to continue his education to the age of 27 or 28 and, thereby, avoid discharging his military obligation?

Mr. WOOL. In the case of a man who is deferred, of course, his liability extends until age 35. Now, you have the very special situation of doctors and dentists, and they are in the category, because of their long education, who would be in that situation, and, of course, we, in effect, do have calls which affect the medical students beyond age 25, 26, 27, or 28. There may be other isolated situations where in other fields it is possible, but I would think these would be very small in number.

Chairman RUSSELL. It would depend somewhat on the manpower pool available to each draft board, too, I suppose.

Mr. WOOL. Yes, sir.

Chairman RUSSELL. If the boards had an adequate number to meet the ordinary requirements, it might be possible for a man to get into the higher age bracket.

Mr. WOOL. I should think the draft boards watch this very closely, though, in terms of evading the obligation.

Chairman RUSSELL. For doctors there is a special law that reaches rather far.

I will turn for a moment to the dentist and doctor draft. I believe you are calling in about 2,200 doctors and dentists a year, or is that just the medical doctors?

Mr. PAUL. Our total requirement for doctors in fiscal year 1963 is in excess of 4,000 and is comprised of 2,505 physicians and 1,624 dentists.

We have not had to use the doctor draft to any appreciable extent except during the Berlin crisis, but we do anticipate we will have to issue a call. I had 1,400 in my statement. Actually, as of 2 days ago, that estimate went down to in the neighborhood of 1,350, and I think it can be predicted that when the special call goes out, there will be a sufficient number of volunteers to fill up the quotas.

Chairman RUSSELL. In other words, you think that the fact that we have this law on the books that imposes a military obligation on physicians has enabled you to fill your quotas without resorting to the actual draft process?

Mr. PAUL. With a minimal resort to it, Mr. Chairman. In fact, if it were not for this authority, I am advised that the Berry plan which allows a man to get a reserve commission and complete his residency before he serves his 2 years of active duty would absolutely disappear from the scene if we did not have this authority. It would just cease to exist, and that is our main source of procurement of specialists at this time.

Chairman RUSSELL. If we did not extend the Selective Service Act, what impact do you think it would have on the availability of proper medical and dental care for the men who are in the armed services, assuming that we were able to maintain an adequate number of soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines?

Do you think that we could maintain the doctors without this law's being extended?

Mr. PAUL. Absolutely not, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman RUSSELL. You have about 12,000 physicians in the Department of Defense, and you have called from civilian life about how many, do you say, each year?

Mr. PAUL. 2,500 to 4,000 a year is our requirement.

CHAIRMAN RUSSELL. And what percentage of those are staying in the service at the end of this period of obligated service?

Mr. PAUL. Well, the retention rate in the category of doctors who come in under the residency plan that allows them to complete their residency before entering, which is a major source of our input into the service, for those people beyond their 2-year obligated period is very poor, is very low.

I have percentages ranging from 0.5 to 4.9 percent. I would say it is around 2 percent as an average in the last few years for that category.

The retention of a much smaller group of people who enter and accomplish their residency while in military service is much higher, and, of course, the retention rates of those who have served 20 years of active duty in the services is quite satisfactory. That is for physicians. The retention rates for dentists and veterinarians is, by and large, satisfactory. It is much lower than we would like to see it, Mr. Chairman, for that first group.

Chairman RUSSELL. There are some people who feel that the medical services are not even holding their own; that they are losing ground, even with the law on the books, because they are not gaining any career people under the doctors draft, and are losing the hard core career people faster than they are being replaced.

Your figures indicate that in fiscal year 1963, 18.2 percent of those physicians who were eligible will resign their commission. These physicians who entered immediately prior to and during World War II are, of course, becoming eligible for retirement. In other words, the World War II hump in a few years will actually be retired.

Does this not mean that the services will be losing a greater number of experienced physicians?

Mr. PAUL. Yes, sir; they will.

Chairman RUSSELL. And will be compelled to rely almost entirely on those who have just completed their medical training?

Mr. PAUL. Those percentage figures are correct, Mr. Chairman, and this is a serious problem. I think the only answer or objective we have to meet is to try to get a better retention rate on those who

have stayed on over the 2-year obligation period and to try to induce them to stay on beyond the 6- and 10-year period.

Whether the inducements we now offer are sufficient for that purpose is the question.

Chairman RUSSELL. You have the authority now to retain regular career medical colonels beyond the 30-year phaseout point, but I understand the Departments are not using this authority, and that you have a small group of dedicated persons who are not by any degree incapacitated by age and who desire to remain on active duty, but you phase them out. Have you, as head of manpower in the Department of Defense, given this situation any consideration?

Mr. PAUL. Yes.

Chairman RUSSELL. And, if so, what do you propose to do about it?

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, I cannot offer any specific plan or directive that we have put out on this subject, although I do think the services could administer this more flexibly than they have in the past.

I think the problem varies somewhat by different services.

In order to afford sufficient promotion opportunities and for other reasons, they have not made any special effort to keep these people in after the 30-year period.

I personally believe, Mr. Chairman, and I will certainly pursue this within the Defense Department, that we ought not to make it difficult at least for these people to stay on after the 30-year period.

Chairman RUSSELL. In the light of your retention rate on those who are coming in and discharging their obligation, I think it would be wise to look into that and see about it. It would have an impact in two ways:

One, it would give you some experienced men who are thoroughly familiar with all of the military aspects of the medical services as well as being excellent doctors, and it might help you with your retention rate just a bit, because a great many men do not feel like making a change in their career after they have devoted 30 years to one specific line of work.

Senator Inouye?

Senator INOUE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, on page 4 you refer to a recent attitude survey which indicates that a large portion of inductees for active duty have been influenced to enlist by the existence of the draft liability.

How many men enlisted in fiscal year 1962?

Mr. PAUL. In fiscal 1962?

Senator INOUE. Yes.

Mr. PAUL. In all services?

Senator INOUE. All services.

Mr. PAUL. We have that for you, Senator. First enlistments in fiscal 1962, 384,776.

Senator INOUE. Of this number, what percentage were influenced to enlist by the existence of the draft liability?

Mr. PAUL. It is difficult to be precise on that, Senator. I would have no way of giving you a percentage number on that. We have, as I say, conducted these attitude surveys, and we have the experience of past events in our history such as the Korean war, for example. The proportion of draft-motivated enlistees dropped off sharply after Korea at a time when there was a general decline in armed strength. It rose slightly during the Berlin buildup.

In other words, whenever there is a national crisis or relaxation of a crisis, it definitely affects the enlistment rates.

Senator INOUE. Your statement, Mr. Secretary, says a "large portion". I am just curious what you meant by "large portion."

Mr. PAUL. Perhaps Mr. Wool can give you some statistics on it.

Mr. WOOL. There have been attitude surveys conducted from time to time in the services recently. For example, in October 1962 the Air Force conducted a survey.

They found that over 40 percent of the men who had recently enlisted were influenced to enlist by the draft. The Army conducted a survey in early 1961 in which approximately 38 percent of the men said that their primary reason for enlisting in the Army was in fulfillment of their military service obligation. There have been similar types of surveys from time to time in other services.

What is very difficult, of course, is to conjecture as to whether or not these men who give other reasons, even, who say they enlist because of the positive benefits of service, training and so forth, would, in fact, have enlisted if not for this draft situation, and that is why this necessarily has to be conjectural, in part.

But a very sizable percentage advances this as their primary reason.

Senator INOUE. Mr. Secretary, would this 40 percent figure also apply to officers?

Mr. WOOL. The same type of surveys were not conducted in the case of officers. However, it is the opinion and judgment of the military personnel procurement experts in the services that particularly in the case of ROTC and some of the direct-appointment programs that a very sizable percentage of the officers, too, are motivated because of the draft liability, and this is evidenced, too, by the small percentages who stay in beyond their obligated tours of duty.

Senator INOUE. Mr. Secretary, according to the provisions of the present law, special treatment is granted doctors, dentists, and veterinarians.

Have you ever considered the same type of treatment to other professions?

Mr. PAUL. Yes, sir, we have. We have concluded, however, that, apart from proposals we have before the Congress now involving constructive credit for pay and promotion purposes for various specialties, the additional financial remuneration is not justified for other specialties. It creates a problem, as you know, Senator, a morale problem, within the services. Even the special pay for doctors and dentists and veterinarians, to some degree creates that type of problem, and it creates command problems.

If one were to expand that into the other specialties who deal more directly with the line elements in the services, I think the problem would be increased. It is largely for that reason that the services have not wanted to proceed with that program.

Senator INOUE. Mr. Secretary, I note from your testimony on the policy of deferment, that, somehow, special preference is being given to, say, young men of high intelligence. What I am trying to say is that, if you are making good grades in college, you are deferred, but if you are flunking, you are not.

What is the reason for this policy?

Mr. PAUL. Well, I believe I am correct, Senator, in stating that at a time back in the 1950's, when the standards were quite low—

Mr. WOOL. Senator, the obvious consideration is that there is a clear need for an assured flow of college graduates in the economy. Under circumstances when the manpower pool situation was tight, it was necessary to be careful as to who was given this deferment opportunity.

It is my understanding that currently the draft boards, in fact, are quite generous in enabling any young man going through college, normally, to get his college education.

The specific requirements on class standings are in deferment regulations, but I think the application effect is much more liberal at the present time.

Senator INOUE. Mr. Secretary, am I correct to assume from your testimony that the caliber of enlistees is much higher than those of the draftees?

Mr. PAUL. I would not say that they are much higher. There are differing standards. The physical standards are generally the same for inductees and enlistees. However, there is a difference in the mental aptitude standards that are applied. To say it is much higher, I do not know that I would go that far, but it certainly is higher.

Senator INOUE. Mr. Secretary, you noted in your testimony that you have considered the possibility of extending this act for 2 years. You have indicated that this would adversely affect the manpower situation in our military services. How much would it affect the manpower situation?

Mr. PAUL. Senator, first of all, we are not wedded to the 4-year period simply because this has been the tradition, although this is always an important consideration. However, we feel that if a young man's motivation, particularly if he is inclined to wonder whether he should enlist or volunteer for the services, could be greatly affected by having a feeling that 2 years hence, perhaps, there will not be any such obligation.

Another factor, which I did not mention in my statement but which I think is important is that, as a general matter, it would be well for our country and other countries around the world to know that we are planning to continue this 4-year authority again. Any indication that we are pursuing a less-than-4-year continuation of this important authority might suggest to some people a certain lack of resolve or uncertainty as to where we might be going in the future, as far as our national defense is concerned.

I think that would be most unfortunate, but that is a general consideration, not a specific one.

Senator INOUE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman RUSSELL. Thank you, Senator.

Mr. Secretary, there have been some suggestions made that lawyers, engineers and others should have the same benefits that doctors have as to special pay.

Have you had any difficulty securing all the lawyers you need for the Armed Forces under existing law?

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, I do not believe we have had. It has not been called to my attention.

Chairman RUSSELL. How about engineers? Are you suggesting any amendment here now to make a special provision for drafting engineers?

Mr. PAUL. No, sir.

Chairman RUSSELL. Under different conditions from existing law?

Mr. PAUL. No, sir; we are not.

Chairman RUSSELL. Is there any great shortage of engineers in the Armed Forces at the present time?

Mr. PAUL. There are undoubtedly shortages, Mr. Chairman, in certain specialized fields of engineering, but we do not think this is a sufficiently serious problem to attempt to make special provisions for them.

Chairman RUSSELL. Do you know of any amendments that are necessary to this act to enable the Department of Defense to get the military personnel that is considered necessary to maintain the security of the United States?

Mr. PAUL. No, sir.

Chairman RUSSELL. Do you think this law, as it stands today, the present law, is adequate for that purpose?

Mr. PAUL. Yes, sir; I do, together with the other legislation under which we operate.

Chairman RUSSELL. Of course, one of the important provisions of the law which you referred to in your statement is that which suspends the ceilings on personnel in some of the Armed Forces.

I have forgotten, does your statement refer to the impact it would have if the law is not extended?

Mr. PAUL. Yes, sir.

I indicated that we would have to reduce active military strengths by more than a half million from our current program strengths, if this authority were not continued.

Chairman RUSSELL. Which service would be the principal loser in that half million.

Mr. PAUL. The Air Force would be the largest loser, although every service would suffer except for the Marine Corps.

Chairman RUSSELL. The Air Force would be required to reduce its personnel strength by more than the Army and Navy combined, would it not?

Mr. PAUL. Yes, sir, by well over 350,000.

Chairman RUSSELL. 361,000?

Mr. PAUL. Yes, sir, that is correct.

Chairman RUSSELL. That is what the figures before me indicate: 115,000 for the Army, and the Navy, 81,000, enlisted members.

Mr. PAUL. Yes.

Chairman RUSSELL. Of course, that means a reduction of that many enlisted personnel would bring about a comparable reduction in the commissioned personnel?

Mr. PAUL. Yes, sir. That would be the case in Navy.

Chairman RUSSELL. You would not have any use for them. It is the recommendation of the Department of Defense that the law be extended in the form it presently stands for a period of 4 years?

Mr. PAUL. Yes, sir.

Chairman RUSSELL. You mentioned the uncertainty that might be created in the minds of young men liable for military service if the law were extended for a lesser period than 4 years.

Do you think it would have any detrimental effect in view of the fact that we moved from crises into crises on those who would destroy us if we were to just reduce it to 2 years, or whether those who are largely dependent upon the military forces of the United States for their own defense, would it be likely to create any uncertainty in the minds of those people?

Mr. PAUL. I think it would create uncertainties in the minds of both elements, Mr. Chairman.

I think it is most important that we leave no doubt in the minds of our potential enemies.

Chairman RUSSELL. Do you think it is among the factors, then, that deter aggression and help us to avoid the horrible catastrophe of a nuclear war?

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to overstate it, but I believe it is a factor, yes, sir.

Chairman RUSSELL. That is what I said, a factor.

Mr. PAUL. Yes, sir.

Chairman RUSSELL. I did not say it was the controlling factor. I do not think it is, either. It is one of the factors, perhaps.

Senator INOUE, do you have anything else?

Senator INOUE. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Secretary, I have noted that in industry, with the advent of automation, manpower has been cut down rather drastically, or attempts have been made to cut down manpower, and, yet, in the military, with all the automation we have, there seems to be a need for an increase in manpower.

Is there any, or should there be any, correlation between automation in industry and the military?

Mr. PAUL. I think there very definitely is a correlation. I think the size of the various service strengths does, in fact, reflect that. For example, in looking ahead, there is not much question in my mind that the new roles and missions of the Air Force, the phasing out of certain of our manned bomber forces and the change to more highly automated weapons systems, our guided missile systems, for example, are bound to have personnel effects on that service. And I think there are bound to be similar effects on other services, although the fluctuations do not always go by service at the same time. The Army, for example, is now increasing its strength, despite all the automation and new technical weapons systems that have been developed.

That is a reflection of the fact that we need a larger standing Army. There are, undoubtedly, weapons systems that can be manned by lesser people than the weapons we had to do similar jobs a few years ago, but, on the other hand, we have many more different types of weapons systems these days. I do not think there is any clear-cut analogy that can be drawn between the two.

Senator INOUE. Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

Chairman RUSSELL. The committee has received statements supporting the views of a number of organizations and individuals on various aspects of this proposed legislation. Included among them are the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American Legion, the American Medical Association, the American Veterinary Medical Association, the Disabled American Veterans, the Lobby for Peace, the National Guard Asso-

ciation, the Peace Committee of the Friends Committee of Washington, the Veterans of World War I, various branches of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and from sundry individuals.

In accordance with the request of these organizations and individuals, these statements are hereby made a part of the official record of this hearing at this point.

(The statements from the following organizations and individuals follow:)

American Dental Association.
 American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.
 American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
 The American Legion.
 American Veterinary Medical Association.
 Baltimore Yearly Meetings Joint Peace Committee.
 Chamber of Commerce of the United States.
 Disabled American Veterans.
 Friends Meeting, Eugene, Oreg.
 Lobby for Peace, San Francisco, Calif.
 Metropolitan Board of Conscientious Objectors, Brooklyn, N.Y.
 National Guard Association.
 National Medical Veterans Society.
 Veterans of World War I.
 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Washington, D.C.
 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, La Jolla, Calif.
 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, San Jose, Calif.
 Mrs. Lois Barton, Eugene, Oreg.
 William H. Meyer, former Congressman from Vermont.
 Mr. G. J. Ringer, Boston, Mass.
 Mrs. Ruth C. Smith, Mercer, Pa.
 Mr. Dabney Stuart, Williamsburg, Va.
 Mr. Robert Whitford, Madison, Wis.
 "Voice of the People" column "the Record," Hackensack, N.J.

AMERICAN DENTAL ASSOCIATION,
 Washington, D.C., March 12, 1963.

Hon. RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
 Chairman, Committee on Armed Services,
 U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR RUSSELL: The purpose of this letter is to submit for the consideration of the Committee on Armed Services the position of the American Dental Association regarding legislation to extend the special registration provisions for dentists and physicians under the Universal Military Training and Service Act and to extend the existing authority for providing incentive pay for dentists, physicians, and allied health specialists in the uniformed services. It is requested that this letter be included in the record of the hearings on S. 846 and H.R. 2438.

The American Dental Association has no objection to continuing until June 30, 1967, the existing provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act which permit special calls for nonveteran dentists under the age of 35 years. This position, which is consistent with that submitted to the committee at the time extension of this authority was last considered, remains predicated on the assumptions that (1) the regular draft provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act will be extended until June 30, 1967, and (2) that the provisions authorizing special calls for dental registrants will continue to be necessary to assure that the Armed Forces will be able to procure sufficient numbers of dental officer replacements to permit the accomplishment of their assigned missions.

The applicable provisions of the present law are generally consistent with policies adopted by the association's house of delegates, as follows:

"Resolved, That the American Dental Association believes that the following considerations should be treated in any legislation under the terms of which members of the dental profession can be involuntarily ordered into military service:

"1. Liability for military service should apply only to dentists otherwise liable as regular registrants under the Universal Military Training and Service Act.

"2. The obligated period of service should not exceed that imposed upon persons inducted as regular registrants under the Universal Training and Service Act.

"3. Dentists should not be inducted for any purpose other than to satisfy the officer personnel requirements of the military Dental Corps.

"4. The rank and pay system for dental officers should not be below the present level.

"5. The National, State, and local advisory committees should be retained and their authority in no way diminished.

"6. Students pursuing a course in pre dental, dental, graduate or postgraduate training at colleges, universities, and hospitals in the United States should be deferred until the completion of such training."

Since 1957, when the liability of dental registrants under the Universal Military Training and Service Act was equalized with that of regular registrants, the Department of Defense has been required on only one occasion to request the Selective Service System to order the induction of dentists. That instance occurred in 1961 as an outgrowth of the increase in Armed Forces strength ordered by the President in connection with the Berlin crisis. At all other times the requirements of the Armed Forces for dental officer replacements have been met satisfactorily through the successful operation of a voluntary recruitment program managed by the Department of Defense in close cooperation with the American Dental Association. That program, the Armed Forces Reserve dental officer commissioning program, has been directed annually at the senior class of dental students in the Nation's dental schools and, with the cooperation of the deans of those schools, has enabled the Department of Defense to determine the number of students with a military obligation and the number among those who were interested in satisfying that obligation upon graduation. Simultaneously, it permitted the students, well in advance of graduation, to indicate their choice of service and their preferred date of call to duty. The program is still functioning effectively and will continue to be utilized if the subject bill is enacted, since it has proved to be a mechanism that serves well the interests of the public, the Armed Forces, the dental profession, and the dental students. At the present time, approximately 70 percent of the male members of the current senior class of dental students have a military obligation. It is estimated that 75 percent of these men will have to volunteer for duty with the Armed Forces upon graduation if the needs of the Defense Establishment for dental officer replacements for fiscal year 1964 are to be met. The association is pleased to inform the committee that present indications warrant the conclusion that the number of volunteers will more than exceed the number of available spaces. The association must acknowledge, however, that the induction authority contained in the Universal Military Training and Service Act cannot be discounted as a significant motivating factor.

An intimately related provision of the proposed bill is that which would extend until June 30, 1967, the authority under which dentists, physicians, and allied health specialists serving with the Armed Forces have been entitled to receive increments of incentive pay in addition to their regular compensation. This authority, which the association has supported vigorously in the past, has eminently achieved the purpose for which it was designed. The high number of resignations among the career dental forces that was experienced prior to the enactment of the incentive legislation has diminished markedly while the number of applications for Regular commissions and for indefinite status with the Active Reserve Forces has increased considerably. This has produced a comparatively stable nucleus of career personnel in the three Armed Forces Dental Corps and has enabled the Dental Corps to elevate significantly their contributions to improved dental health of the personnel whom they serve. There is no question that these gains could not have been accomplished in the absence of the incentive pay authority. Concomitantly, there is no question that the advancement of the Armed Forces dental health programs cannot be sustained unless that authority is continued. There remains a problem with respect to dental and medical officers who leave military service after serving the minimum 20-year period required for voluntary retirement. In order to ameliorate this problem, it is suggested that consideration might be given to providing additional increments of incentive pay after 15 and 20 years of service.

In summary, the American Dental Association has no objection to continuing the existing special provisions for calling dentists into service with the Armed Forces under the Universal Military Training and Service Act if, in the judgment

of Congress, circumstances require extension of the regular draft provisions of the act until that date and if, in the judgment of the Department of Defense, the special call authority will continue to be necessary in order to meet the dental officer requirements of the Armed Forces. The American Dental Association firmly supports the coincident extension of the authority under which dentists, physicians, and allied specialists may receive additional increments of incentive pay.

The American Dental Association appreciates this opportunity to present its views on S. 846 and H.R. 2438 and to assure the committee of the willingness of the dental profession to assist in providing the members of the Armed Forces with the finest dental care available.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH B. KENNEDY, D.D.S.,
Member, Council on Legislation.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,
Washington, D.C., March 7, 1963.

HON. RICHARD RUSSELL,
*Chairman, Committee on Armed Services,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: In connection with the hearings of the Committee on Armed Services on S. 846, to extend the induction provisions of the Universal Military Services Act for 4 years, I would appreciate your including in the record of hearings the attached excerpts of resolutions adopted at the First, Second, and Third Constitutional Conventions of the AFL-CIO, and the dissent filed by President George Meany to the report of the Randall commission and report on military pay. Also, I would appreciate your including in the hearing record a paragraph from the AFL-CIO executive council resolution of February 22 on "Education," supporting GI bill education benefits to veterans of the cold war.

Sincerely yours,

ANDREW J. BIEMILLER,
Director, Department of Legislation.

ATTACHMENT 1

RESOLUTION ON MILITARY MANPOWER POLICIES, ADOPTED BY THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, DECEMBER 1955

"* * * We strongly support continuation of the Selective Service System as long as this is needed to maintain the strength of our Armed Forces against the threat of Communist aggression * * *."

ATTACHMENT 2

RESOLUTION ON VETERANS, ADOPTED BY THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, DECEMBER 1955

"* * * *Resolved*, The AFL-CIO pledges its complete, active, and renewed support to aid the veterans of our Nation through legislation and contract negotiations to accomplish the following program:

"1. The AFL-CIO shall continue to take such action as is found necessary to insure proper reemployment rights and reinstatement rights for all returning veterans, including persons entering upon active duty for limited periods of training. These rights should include an absolute guarantee that such veterans and trainees will receive full credit for all accumulated employees' benefits to which they would have been entitled if they had not left their employment to enter the Armed Forces.

"2. To make the GI bill of rights and the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 more fully effective in the protection of veterans by recommending and supporting legislation providing the following: pensions for all disabled and their dependents, taking into account the increased cost-of-living conditions; more liberal and effective provisions for direct loans to veterans for the purchase of homes, businesses, and farms; improvements in veterans' unemployment com-

pensation; and an increase in Veterans' Administration's Impartial Appeal Committees, to review and act upon the great backlog of veterans' claims for compensation and pension entitlements.

"3. The AFL-CIO shall continue its efforts to have Congress enact into law legislation which would make possible a housing program calculated to assure immediate large-scale housing construction of decent low-cost homes with no increase in the present GI 4½-percent interest rate.

"4. We shall recommend such enlargement of Veterans' Administration hospital facilities and services as are necessary to meet fully the medical care to which veterans are entitled, and the continuation of outpatient treatment and dental care for persons presently returning from the Armed Forces identical to that granted World War II veterans.

"5. The AFL-CIO will constantly and vigorously work for fair and equal treatment for all citizens subject to the draft under the Selective Service Act as amended, or similar laws, through the elimination of preferential treatment to any occupational group under these laws or their administration.

"6. We call upon each affiliated union to establish a veterans committee for the purpose of cooperating with our committee on veterans' affairs, to protect the interest of our membership in the selective service processes, in the Armed Forces, and in their readjustment to civilian life following their service to their country.

"7. We cooperate with the forward-looking forces of all existing veterans organizations to aid veterans rehabilitation * * *"

ATTACHMENT 3

RESOLUTION ON MILITARY PREPAREDNESS AND MOBILIZATION ADOPTED BY THE SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, DECEMBER 1957

"* * * The Selective Service System should be continued as the most democratic method for choosing young men for military service. The continuing loss of skilled manpower from the Armed Forces because of inadequate pay and fringe benefits must be reversed by making military service more attractive * * *"

ATTACHMENT 4

RESOLUTION ON VETERANS VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION AND EDUCATION ADOPTED BY THE SECOND CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, DECEMBER 1957

"Whereas educational grants to veterans under Public Law 550 provide that any person who was not a part of the armed services prior to January 31, 1955, shall not be eligible for educational assistance; and

"Whereas there is no logical reason for this cutoff date in making educational grants to veterans as the draft laws and compulsory military service requirements still prevail: Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the second biennial convention of the AFL-CIO go on record as favoring an extension of legislation to provide educational moneys for all veterans during the period that the selective service compulsory military requirements are in effect * * *"

ATTACHMENT 5

RESOLUTION ON "MILITARY SERVICE AND VETERANS' BENEFITS" ADOPTED BY THE THIRD CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, SEPTEMBER 1959

There are now over 22 million Americans who have served their country in the military forces. Moreover, the continuing need for an adequate defense during this cold war era will mean that a large segment of our young men will continue to serve in the Armed Forces.

The expectation that large numbers of young men will continue to enter military service raises important policy issues. The country must make certain not only that these youngsters will be selected in a fair and equitable manner but also that their military service provides the least possible disruption to their civilian life.

The labor movement cannot fail to recognize the sacrifices made by our veterans as they dedicated a part of their lives to their Nation's defense. Having made special sacrifices, these servicemen and ex-servicemen should be entitled to full

restitution and protection against the loss of any rights, benefits and opportunities which resulted from their absence from civilian life.

Many veterans are among the most active members of organized labor. The demands of these veterans for jobs, security, housing, education, training, and a decent standard of living are identical with the demands of the labor movement: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the AFL-CIO pledges its complete, active and renewed support through legislation and collective bargaining negotiations to aid veterans and servicemen in attaining the equitable treatment they deserve for their sacrifices in the Nation's behalf.

The AFL-CIO shall continue to emphasize the need for a strong military defense program ample to protect the Nation in any possible national emergency. Such military service should be made more attractive by providing adequate pay and fringe benefits. While continuation of the Selective Service System may be necessary so long as the cold war continues, the operation of the law should be reviewed with the aim of providing fair and equal treatment to all young men.

Special efforts will be made to insure proper reemployment rights and reinstatement rights for all returning veterans, including persons entering upon active duty for limited periods of training. These rights should guarantee that such veterans and trainees will receive full credit for all accumulated employees' benefits to which they would have been entitled if they had not left their employment to enter the Armed Forces.

The Government should review less-than-honorable discharges in view of the veteran's conduct in civilian life. Where exemplary civilian conduct would so indicate, proper changes in the type of discharge should be made.

The principles of the Korean GI bill of rights should be extended as a concomitant right to present-day cold war veterans. These GI benefits including education and training, assistance, loan credit assistance, mustering-out payments, job placement assistance, and related provisions are not only their due, but would tend to minimize the disruptive nature of their military service.

The benefits already granted to veterans must be reviewed. Pensions for all disabled veterans and their dependents should take into account the increased cost of living conditions. An equitable program of veterans' pensions must be provided to care adequately for the needs of disabled veterans and their dependents. The hospital facilities and services of the Veterans' Administration should provide the care and service needed by the Nation's veterans.

Construction of decent low-cost homes for veterans should be encouraged. To make good homes available to veterans within their means, loans should be available at reasonable interest rates, if necessary directly from a Government lending agency.

ATTACHMENT 6

DECEMBER 20, 1962.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: While I join with my colleagues on the Advisory Panel on Federal Pay Systems in the broad conclusions contained in their report to you on military pay scales, I must dissent in two areas.

First, I wish to repeat my dissent of January 29, 1962, to the Committee's conclusion that the principle of salary comparability can be applied to the lower levels of Federal Government. It is difficult, if not impossible, to find occupations on which comparability for these employees can be based. Nowhere is this more abundantly clear than in military service.

Secondly, I must disagree with my colleagues on their conclusion that consideration might be given to providing lesser increases for grades E-1 and E-2. So long as this Nation continues to draft its young men as a matter of necessary public policy, I could not support such a conclusion. I consider it unfair to require the young men of our Nation to serve in the Armed Forces at the very beginning of their useful careers as citizens and not provide pay properly in line with other military pay scales.

With these two caveats, I join in the report the Panel is submitting to you.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE MEANY, *President.*

ATTACHMENT 7

Paragraph from AFL-CIO Executive Council statement on education, February 22, 1963:

"Another proposal * * * seems to us to have great merit—The cold war GI education bill proposed by Senator Ralph Yarborough. The opportunities for higher education made available by the original GI bill to veterans of World War II and the Korean war did a great deal to democratize higher education in America. College education for the first time became a real possibility to thousands of working class young people. It is a matter of simple justice to extend the same opportunity to the veterans whose lives have been disrupted by the draft."

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.,
Philadelphia, Pa., March 13, 1963.

HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
*Chairman, Senate Armed Services Committee,
 Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR RICHARD RUSSELL: In spite of the fact that the hearings of your committee on the extension of the Universal Military Training and Service Act which expires in June of this year have been concluded, we are forwarding this letter to you today. We trust that attention can still be given to the views herein expressed and that they may prove helpful to the Senate Armed Services Committee in determining its recommendation on this matter. We shall appreciate the inclusion of this letter in the record of the draft extension hearings conducted by your committee.

The American Friends Service Committee is a Quaker organization, motivated in its outreach and program during the 46 years of its existence by the 300-year-old Quaker conviction that war and preparations for war are not only immoral, but also in the final analysis injurious to the interests and well being of the Nation. We therefore testify against the extension of the present Universal Military Training and Service Act not only because it violates our own religious faith, but also because we regard it as destructive of all that is best in the democratic heritage of our country.

We are deeply concerned about the ever-increasing militarization of America, all the more sinister and dangerous because it proceeds in a sense without overt manifestations. Area after area of our national life is evermore deeply influenced by war and the preparation for war. We are not here condemning the individuals involved in this process, but we must emphasize that the tendency to elevate the State, rather than emphasize the standards and values of democracy, inevitably results from this militarization. The vested interests of the vastly expanded military machine help to solidify and consolidate the military control of our society. Military conscription, which has now existed in America almost continuously for 23 years, has been one of the most important factors in this steadily growing influence over American life by the military mind. Military conscription may be of relatively little value in preparing the Nation for nuclear war, but as a method of continuing the indoctrination of our young men, it is most effective. The military service which our young men are required to perform conditions them to unfortunate ideas and concepts of regimentation and conformity. Independence, originality, creativity, and dedication to democratic values are required of young Americans today as never before. Compulsory military training does not cultivate these qualities.

It is always difficult to see ourselves as others see us, and to catch an image of what we appear to be to the rest of the world. American Friends Service Committee workers, privileged to spend in the aggregate many years overseas, have observed that our country appears from other lands to be a military colossus. All too often this image suggests a callous reliance on brute force and disregard for the rights of others. Although this is far from our Government's intention, we cannot escape the image that we cast, nor the stark fact that years of preparedness for whatever cruelty war compels us to practice does change the character of Americans. The training to which young men are subject as a result of military conscription is a very important element in this total process.

We also deeply believe that military conscription, far from adding to the security of our Nation, combines with other military measures to make us less secure. The basic cause of war, and in one sense the only cause of war, is the

acceptance of the war method. We shall never learn to solve our problems peacefully if we continue to accept war as the basic method for their resolution. We continue to look to war as we have done in ages past as a court of last resort. Although it is no longer a useful instrument of foreign policy, we still act on the assumption that it is. As Albert Einstein so well put it, "The splitting of the atom has changed everything except our ways of thinking." The Universal Military Training and Service Act indicates our basic acquiescence to the traditional line of thought. Its assumption is that the military method is both right and practical in 1963, this in spite of the fact that significant military and political leaders, as well as scientists, have recognized that war is now outmoded. Wars can no longer be won. Military conscription is part of the "war can win" thinking which no longer is valid. As an outdated instrument, the Universal Military Training and Selective Service Act should be laid down.

Whereas we are totally in opposition to military conscription regardless of the provisions of the law, we as religious objectors to war are, in a particular way, opposed to the provisions in the present law which recognize conscientious objection as genuine only when based on religious grounds. We do not believe that it is ever right for the State to force a person to violate his conscience regardless of whether or not that person is religious. We hold that it is a fundamental principle of our country to maintain the separation of church and state. It is inconsistent with this separation to grant privileges to people who identify themselves as religious and to deny those same privileges to others solely on the grounds that they are not religious.

The state cannot become the arbiter of God's relationship with men. Nor does it have the right or the ability to determine the validity of the religious basis for the convictions of one citizen as over against another. We believe that all men who cannot in good conscience submit to military training should be recognized as conscientious objectors, regardless of whether they assert a religious basis for their conviction against war and military training.

We appreciate this opportunity to bring our convictions and deeply held concerns to your attention, and respectfully request your careful consideration of what we have here set forth.

Sincerely,

THELMA H. HOW,
Secretary, Youth Services Division.

STATEMENT BY WILLIAM C. DOYLE, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL SECURITY COMMISSION,
THE AMERICAN LEGION

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, the American Legion sincerely appreciates this opportunity to recommend favorable action on S. 846.

The American Legion's position on extension of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, as amended, is expressed in Resolution No. 5, which was unanimously adopted by the 44th Annual National Convention meeting in Las Vegas, Nev., October 1962. The text of that resolution said:

Whereas the authority under the Universal Military Training and Service Act (62 Stat. 604) to induct persons who have not been deferred, will expire on June 30, 1963; and

Whereas voluntary enlistments in all branches of the Armed Forces are greatly influenced and encouraged by the mere existence of said act; and

Whereas there are over 40,000 members of the Selective Service System working without compensation; and

Whereas the Selective Service System has earned and enjoys the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the American people; and

Whereas our Nation should never be without an obligation for every youth to serve his country in a military capacity and a system for their selection so to serve: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the American Legion in national convention assembled in Las Vegas, Nev., October 9-11, 1962, That the Universal Military Training and Service Act (62 Stat. 604) as amended, be further amended so that the same in its present form will be extended until June 30, 1967, and that the Director of Selective Service, State directors and their compensated and uncompensated personnel be commended for their outstanding performance in assisting the recruiting service of all branches of the Armed Forces with their respective recruiting programs; and that the American Legion use all its efforts and influence to this end.

We would also like to note that the act has played a major role in spurring voluntary enlistments in the Regular forces and a steady flow of manpower into Reserve components of the armed services. Past experience I believe will show conclusively that voluntary enlistments drop when the selective service machinery has been allowed to rust.

The American Legion contends that the induction authority granted to the Selective Service System by the Universal Military Training and Service Act is absolutely necessary to maintaining relatively large numbers of personnel in the armed services. Forces of the size and quality required by the far-ranging commitments of the armed services cannot be maintained without placing an obligation on the youth of our country.

The only alternative open to the country if there were no such system would be to maintain a smaller number of personnel in our active forces and a far greater number than are presently in our Reserve forces. According to our most knowledgeable military leaders, the fast-breaking manner in which crises develop in these critical times—Cuba, Lebanon, and Berlin, for example—leave this country no alternative but to maintain a ready active force of considerable size.

Extension of the Universal Military Training and Service Act for an additional 4 years is essential.

STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN VETERINARY MEDICAL ASSOCIATION BY
J. A. McCALLAM, V.M.D.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am J. A. McCallam, and represent the American Veterinary Medical Association in Washington, D.C. Dr. H. E. Kingman, Jr., executive secretary of our association, had expected to testify on S. 846, but unfortunately is unable to be present. I am authorized to appear for our association. We appreciate the privilege of being able to present our views.

The AVMA supports the continuation of the induction provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, as amended, until July 1, 1967, which includes authority to make special calls for the induction of persons in medical, dental, and allied specialist categories. It should be mentioned that special calls have been utilized to provide veterinary officers for the military services.

We recognize that in order to insure the national security of the United States, extension of this act is necessary.

Referring to section 5 of the bill, it is noted that sections 302 and 303 of title 37, United States Code, would be amended to extend the provisions of each. We recommend extension of the sections cited in order that the provisions thereof relative to special pay would apply to physicians, dentists, and veterinarians appointed or called to active duty after July 1, 1963, and prior to July 1, 1967.

Mr. Chairman, we should like at this time to bring to the attention of the committee a subject not directly related to the measure under consideration, although it does pertain to sections 302 and 303 of title 37, United States Code. It is the years of constructive service credit authorized certain officers of the Army, Air Force, and other medical services in the section cited above. Physicians are authorized 5 years, dentists 4; and such is creditable for pay and promotion purposes. We are convinced it is merited and represents recognition of many factors such as officer retention, economic—as related to opportunities in civil life—length of time required for professional education, etc. The 3 years' credit authorized veterinary officers, however, only counts for promotion purposes and from time of entry on active duty.

One reason those in the former group were authorized the number of years credited was to compensate for the 4 years' study in a medical or dental school, and to equalize the status of these officers with their counterpart of similar age in the line.

We submit that 4 years' constructive service is applicable to the doctor of veterinary medicine, since he also must complete 4 years' post graduate study. This is in addition to the 2 years of college as a minimum prerequisite for acceptance in a school of veterinary medicine. We call attention to the fact the latter is no different than the legal minimum preprofessional requirement established by the councils on education of the other professions mentioned. We understand some dental schools require 3 years' preprofessional college work, although very few.

The following information, which is factual, relative to the enrollment of students in the first-year class of veterinary schools for the academic year 1962-63, is submitted. A total of 1,149 was accepted out of 2,664 applications processed. Of the 1,149 first-year students, 519 have had 2 years' preveterinary study, 260 have had 3 years, 223 have had 4 years, and 70 have had 5 years. Also, nine of the first-year students have M.S. or M.A. degrees (Journal AVMA, vol. 141, Dec. 15, 1962, No. 12). It is obvious the minimum requirement for acceptance as a first-year student in a school of veterinary medicine parallels that of the professions mentioned previously. Also, that approximately half have beyond the minimum preprofessional college education.

VETERINARY MEDICAL FUNCTIONS

The functions of the military veterinarian are varied but are similar to those of veterinarians in civilian life.

The veterinary officer might be engaged in worldwide food inspection service to protect the health of troops, and the financial interest of the Government. Because his training in medical sciences parallels that of the physician, the doctor of veterinary medicine is qualified to assume certain preventive medicine and research activities in addition to those which are strictly veterinary medical in nature. Briefly stated, these include control of animal diseases transmissible to man, this being vital to the health of troops overseas; research activities in all projects involving food or animals, the data from animal research being used to assist in extrapolating probable effects on humans; nuclear energy research; radiation experiments to determine the effects upon animals, and by extrapolation upon man; assisting in research relating to preservation of food by radiation for feeding military personnel on the ground or in flight; biological research in passive defense, its effect on man by use of tests on animals.

SERVICE CREDIT—SPECIAL PAY

The constructive service credit authorized the veterinarian does not count, as you are aware, for basic pay purposes. Furthermore, a considerable disparity exists when the veterinarian completes 2 years' service, and from then to completion of his 10th year of service.

In conclusion, the AVMA requests your consideration of an amendment to section 5, amending section 303 (special pay: veterinarians) of title 37, United States Code to coincide with that now authorized in section 302(b), title 37, of the United States Code, for physicians and dentists.

Thank you again for the opportunity to present our views.

WASHINGTON, D.C., *March 11, 1963.*

HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
*Chairman, Committee on Armed Services,
The Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR RUSSELL: Would you be good enough to see that the enclosed statement of the Baltimore Yearly Meetings Joint Peace Committee is included in the printed hearings on the extension of the draft law?

Thank you for this courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

MARIE S. KLOOZ,
*Chairman, Joint Peace Committee,
Baltimore Yearly Meetings of Friends.*

BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETINGS JOINT PEACE COMMITTEE STATEMENT AGAINST THE DRAFT

The Joint Peace Committee of the Baltimore Yearly Meetings of Friends wishes to speak out against any extension of the present draft law, expiring on June 30, 1963, for the following reasons:

1. The Society of Friends has had a religious testimony against war and violence for more than 300 years.
2. Our peace committee believes that reconciliation of differences is fundamental to replacing the war system.
3. Elimination of the draft is one definite act toward creation of a morale for peace necessary to reconcile differences.

4. Any national police service of our country should be entirely a voluntary matter in the best democratic tradition.

5. Such service-by-choice would tend to obviate the deleterious effect of attempts to evade the "call" by a rush for exemptions, restore and preserve fundamental democratic ideals, and elevate the morale of national service.

6. Career training given by the Armed Forces can be made available equally to civilians under more favorable circumstances by a program of scholarship aid with far less disturbance to the lives and welfare of young men and women.

7. We have a goodly heritage of civil life in the democratic spirit which we need to nourish and protect from the pervasion and perversion of encroaching militarism.

The Joint Peace Committee is grateful for the past provisions exempting those who conscientiously object to compulsory service because of religious belief. However, its members feel that "religious belief" has hitherto been too narrowly defined. Hence we suggest that "religious belief" hereafter include any deeply felt, conscientious conviction against war and violence.

Finally, since it has at last become official U.S. policy to work toward general disarmament, we hope you will see your way clear to advance that goal by (1) refusal to extend the draft law, and (2) redefinition of conscientious objector.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C., March 12, 1963.

HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
Chairman, Senate Armed Services Committee,
Old Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR RUSSELL: The Chamber of Commerce of the United States supports enactment of S. 846 before your committee to extend until July 1, 1967, the induction provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, and for other purposes.

It is evident that a continuation of the draft authority of this act is necessary to meet the manpower requirements of the Armed Forces, as these requirements cannot be met at this time through voluntary enlistments and reenlistments. In addition to supplying needed manpower through induction, the draft law has provided an important stimulus to voluntary enlistments. The draft law is also of importance in supplying or stimulating the necessary flow of young manpower into the various civilian components of the Armed Forces.

One aspect of the administration of the draft law which has caused us considerable concern, however, is the high average induction age of approximately 23 years—and the average continues to rise. This results from the requirement that local draft boards take—ahead of all others—the oldest men eligible for induction in the I-A classification between the ages of 19 and 26. Furthermore, many draft-inspired enlistees are from the older age levels.

Defense officials have indicated that younger men make more efficient and enthusiastic soldiers, and are more likely to consider remaining in service on a career basis with the attraction of career incentives. More rapid progress toward to development and maintenance of a quality career force therefore is dependent upon getting young men into the Armed Forces—voluntarily or involuntarily—at a younger age.

The induction of more men from the younger age group would bring additional benefits. The disruption of civilian careers of older men would be reduced by utilizing a higher proportion of the younger age group—the very group, by the way, in which there has been a considerable amount of unemployment. In addition, there is reason to believe the induction of younger men would result in savings to the armed services by reducing costs for dependents and related expenses which are higher among the older inductees.

We urge your committee to consider possible methods for reducing the average age of induction, such as amending the Universal Military Training and Service Act to provide flexibility for those administering the act to follow that course of action deemed most appropriate to achieve this vital objective.

I would appreciate you making this letter a part of the hearings on S. 846.

Sincerely,

Theron J. Rice,
Legislative Action General Manager.

DISABLED AMERICAN VETERANS,
Washington, D.C., March 7, 1963.

Hon. RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
Chairman, Senate Armed Services Committee,
Old Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR RUSSELL: The Disabled American Veterans is very pleased to know that a hearing is being held by your committee on the matter of extending the delimiting date of the Universal Military Training and Service Act.

A resolution was adopted last August by our national convention commending the personnel of the universal military training and service program, and urging continuance of the act. Copy of the resolution is attached.

This organization is vitally interested in this important legislation and is supporting it wholeheartedly.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES L. HUBER,
National Director of Legislation.

RESOLUTION No. 162 (LEGISLATIVE MISCELLANEOUS) COMMENDING THE PERSONNEL OF THE UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE PROGRAM, AND URGING CONTINUANCE OF THE ACT TO JUNE 30, 1967

Whereas the authority under the Universal Military Training and Service Act (62 Stat. 604) to induct persons who have not been deferred will expire on June 30, 1963; and

Whereas voluntary enlistments in all branches of the Armed Forces are greatly influenced and encouraged by the mere existence of said act; and

Whereas there are over 40,000 members of the Selective Service System working without compensation; and

Whereas the Selective Service System has earned and enjoys the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the American people; and

Whereas our Nation should never be without an obligation for every youth to serve his country in a military capacity and a system for their selection so to serve: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Disabled American Veterans in national convention assembled at Atlantic City, N.J., August 19-25, 1962, That the Universal Military Training and Service Act (62 Stat. 604) as amended, should be further amended so that the same in its present form will be extended until June 30, 1967; and that the Director of Selective Service, State directors, and their compensated and uncompensated personnel be commended for their outstanding performance in assisting the recruiting services of all branches of the Armed Forces with their respective recruiting programs.

STATEMENT OF EUGENE FRIENDS MEETING, EUGENE, OREG., MARCH 3, 1963

Members of the Eugene Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends appeal to you to abolish conscription. We believe the hope of the future lies in finding peaceful solutions to international problems. We look upon universal military training as a tool in the cold war. We believe peacetime conscription helps to promote fear and tension and hinders an honest search for better solutions.

Compulsory military service makes it inevitable that thousands of young men will be indoctrinated with a sense of overt suspicion and hostility to every move made by those who are classed as our enemies. This is an unavoidable concomitant of the military method. Such an attitude can make it impossible for those people so indoctrinated to recognize a peaceful overture even when one is made.

On the other hand abolition of conscription could be a step toward peace. It could demonstrate to the world our good faith in our expressed desire for peace. It could help to further negotiations at the Geneva Disarmament Conference where manpower reduction is one of the negotiables. Philip Noel-Baker, British Nobel Prize winner, said in a recent speech, "* * * It will be a reduction of manpower which will convince the common people of the world that disarmament is seriously intended."

From the purely practical standpoint of providing manpower we understand this system of universal military training is wasteful and inefficient. We deplore its effect on the lives of our young people, interfering as it does with their higher education, vocational choices, and family life.

We request your rejection of any bill to extend compulsory military service beyond June 1963.

On behalf of the meeting:

GERHARD HUBBE, *Clerk.*

STATEMENT OF LOBBY FOR PEACE (NORTHERN CALIFORNIA) ON H.R. 2438
(DRAFT EXTENSION)

Members of the Lobby for Peace, a nonprofit organization of about 200 members devoted to the promotion of peace through universal disarmament, world law, and economic aid to the less developed nations of the world, oppose the peacetime extension of the military draft.

We are aware of the reasoning which holds that this Nation needs a large pool of military manpower in order to maintain its defense under current world conditions, and we deplore the conditions that lead to this reasoning. We believe most urgently that we must disarm in order to survive in the modern world, and this is the primary focus of the Lobby for Peace. However, we do not suggest that Congress end the draft as a means of enforcing disarmament upon this Nation. We argue for disarmament in a universal context, and in another forum—primarily, at the moment in the test-ban forum at Geneva as a first step. We would like to propose, in that forum, that this Government press with all of its negotiating power for reductions in the Armed Forces, and use to this end those initiatives which it may deem expedient, such as the abandonment of missile bases in Turkey which is currently being prosecuted.

However, within whatever manpower needs we currently operate under in this peacetime, and even in anticipation of further crises of the kind we have recently been subjected to, in Lebanon, in Berlin, in southeast Asia, and in Cuba, we urge that this committee and the Congress end the conscription of military manpower, and recruit the men and women we need to carry out our military obligations on a voluntary basis. We oppose the peacetime draft because it is wasteful, it is unjust, and it destroys the moral fiber of our youth.

The contention is heard that we need the coercion of the draft to force young men and women to volunteer for service in the Armed Forces. How unlike America can we be. This country was built on the ideal of freedom for the individual, of free choice in the selection of what we shall do with our own, personal lives. Our young people have now lived for more than 20 years under the threat to every male who attains the age of 18 of having to report to the drill sergeant, having to serve in the conscript Army. The "conscript Army" used to be a term of approbrium. Now we try to make this term acceptable by calling it a democratic procedure. These are the techniques of Fascist dictators and Communist monolithic states. Where is the freedom that America boasts of, and that we expect our young men to defend, when every one of them is forced to register for possible draft into a conscript Army the day he turns 18?

Have we lost our ability to construct incentives? Have we forgotten that this country operates by means of the carrot and not the stick? Have we lost faith in our system of freedom? Are we too pitifully inept to devise procedures that will result in the manning of our Armed Forces without the destruction of our freedoms? Or, what is infinitely worse, don't we care?

Please, gentlemen, don't try to make the excuse that we have to have the draft in order to make the volunteer system work for the preferred services, such as it is. If this country needs military services, it is rich enough to pay for them. Various benefits of travel, insurance, education, and training in technical skills can be added to nest-egg pay in sufficient amount to attract any number of young men and women for any length of service that may be required. And the present system of half-hearted training for short periods of ineffective service is undoubtedly a more wasteful, more inefficient, more expensive method of getting the job done than almost any other that could be devised.

Proponents of the draft, which is operated under the euphemistic name of Selective Service, tell us that a large percentage of those qualified will give military service at some point between the ages of 18 and 26. But the fact can't be blinked that a relatively small (and diminishing) percentage of those who pass through this age range will be called or volunteer. The joker in this deck, as you gentlemen undoubtedly know, lies in the definition of who is qualified. The qualifications can always be, and are, adjusted so as to produce the number requested by the armed services. But consider the consequences of such a system. The person is considered stupid who is caught by this system. If he can't arrange

to be disqualified by work in an "essential" industry, by college registration, or by ill-considered fatherhood, he will always think of himself as a victim of injustice or a fool for failing to arrange an approved escape. To beat the system becomes the game. And justice, which may have been served by a mass system of impartial induction during World War II, is mocked by this game.

We are sure, gentlemen, that you are fully aware of the damage that is done to the moral fiber of American youth who adopt the attitude of "beating" the Selective Service System, rather than cooperating in a patriotic endeavor. We believe that you must be aware of the damage that is done to each youth who must devise his means of escape, and who must operate under the impending threat of being caught by Uncle Sam for unwelcome service every year that he is deferred until he can be relatively sure of having escaped. This grasping, pointing finger of Uncle Sam enters every decision, with respect to his prospective employer, to his search for a job, to his entry into marriage, to his ability to take a year or two off to bum around, to travel, to mature. Will he be caught? We expect that you have weighed this cost carefully, and have decided that it must be borne, at least up to this point in our national history. But now we do not believe that it need be borne longer. Twenty years has already been too long to blight the aspirations and the finer sensibilities of our youth. A nation of cynics and dodgers of responsibility is too high a price to pay—for what? For what we could easily achieve by means more compatible with our national principles and honor.

We urge you, gentlemen, to allow this iniquitous law to die with the end of June in 1963. We hope that you are aware of, and unwilling longer to pay, the terrible price that it costs us. For if you are not aware and are willing to continue to pay with the lives and characters of our sons, or worse, if you simply do not care, then God help us as a nation. No one else will.

METROPOLITAN BOARD FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS,
Brooklyn, N.Y., March 11, 1963.

HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
*Chairman, Committee on Armed Services,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR SENATOR RUSSELL: It is not possible for a member of the Metropolitan Board for Conscientious Objectors to attend the public hearings to be held March 12 on the bill to extend the induction authority.

Therefore the enclosed statement is being sent to you with the request that it be included in the record of testimony which the Committee on Armed Services will consider before passing upon the bill.

In appreciation of your courtesy in this matter, I am,
Sincerely,

FRIEDA LANGER, *Vice Chairman.*

The Metropolitan Board for Conscientious Objectors, 80 Pierrepont Street, Brooklyn 1, N.Y., was organized in 1940 to provide free information and advice regarding the regulations in the Selective Service and Training Act to men making their claims to exemption to either combatant or noncombatant service in the Armed Forces. Since its inception, and to the present date, this organization has dealt unofficially with all problems which confront Government in its classification procedures and legal determinations affecting conscientious objectors. During the years 1940-46, the Metropolitan Board assisted registrants in the entire United States but, with the enactment of the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1948, its activities were confined to the greater metropolitan area centered in New York City. The foregoing statements are made to establish before the Senate Committee on Armed Services the long experience and concern which the Metropolitan Board has in presenting for consideration certain facts in the Universal Military Training and Service Act which require serious thought before action is taken by the Senate committee in extending the induction authority.

It must be stated first that the Metropolitan Board is opposed categorically to conscription of men for military purposes, and especially so during peacetime. Attention is called here to the fact that Great Britain, concerned as is the United States about any attack by a foreign country, suspended conscription in November 1960 as an extravagant waste of manpower and an unnecessary economic burden. Attention also is called to the fact that on April 18, 1962, President

Kennedy set forth his proposals for a treaty on general and complete disarmament which included cessation of military training and the abolition of military institutions so that the desired goal of general disarmament eventually may be achieved.

Although the Metropolitan Board is opposed to the passage of a bill extending conscription, its greater concern, in the event such bill is presented to Congress, is that the "religious test" for conscientious objectors in the present Universal Military Training and Service Act be eliminated as contrary to the first amendment to the Constitution. The Selective Service Act of 1917 exempted only from combat service those men who were recognized members of the historic peace churches. By order of the Adjutant General, December 19, 1917, exemption was extended to men whose convictions against war were not based on religious affiliation. This order stated in part:

"The Secretary of War directs that until further instructions on the subject are issued 'personal scruples against war' should be considered as constituting 'conscientious objection' and such persons should be treated in the same manner as other 'conscientious objectors' under the instructions contained in confidential letter from this office dated October 10, 1917."

The foregoing order did not apply to all conscientious objectors; i.e., those opposed to any and all military service, but it gave cognizance to the great American tradition of freedom of conscience in recognition of "personal scruples against war." The Selective Service and Training Act of 1940 advanced this position by including provisions for men opposed to noncombatant service as well as combatant, and by including men of all religious sects. Under this act conscientious objectors were required to establish proof that their claims for exemption were based on "religious training and belief." Proof of membership in a religious sect was not specified in the act but many selective service local boards and hearing officers on appeal insisted on this requirement. Other local boards interpreted "religious training and belief" in broader terms to include the moral, humanitarian, or philosophical objector. Thus the administration of the act differed widely over the country; became a burden to Government agencies and the courts; and many sincere objectors were imprisoned while their counterparts residing in other communities were given proper recognition. The Selective Service and Training Act of 1940, while more liberal than the act of 1917, was at the same time more restrictive since there was no official directive to local boards and appeal officers similar to the Adjutant General's order, stated previously, which specifically requested the inclusion of "personal scruples against war" in determining the sincerity of a conscientious objector. In the interim period between two wars, new problems arose as a new generation, with greater educational opportunities, examined and considered all manifestations of religion, government, and war, and the role of the individual to these institutions of society. Many men developed strong convictions on the immorality and inhumanity of war to settle international disputes and held these convictions with all the faith of any professed religious person. Our Federal prisons during World War II became crowded with these very men, not guilty of any act of moral turpitude, but guilty of a criminal offense only because of the narrow interpretation of "religious belief" as the selective service procedure was administered in different areas.

The Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1948, instead of further liberalizing the provisions for conscientious objectors in accordance with our great tradition of implementing civil liberties, became a law enacted by Congress which drastically curtailed religious liberty. This act included the provision that conscientious objectors not only base their claims on "religious training and belief" but also state in definitive terms (Yes or No) their belief in a "Supreme Being." If Congress disregarded the first amendment to the Constitution by including this specific clause in the Universal Military Training and Service Act, then an optimistic note may be recorded in the progress made by the Supreme Court in the cause of religious freedom. A few of the opinions of noted Justices are cited:

Justice Stone, *Columbia University Quarterly*, volume 21, October 1919:

"The ultimate test of the course of action which the state should adopt will of course be the test of its own self-preservation; but with the limitation, at least in those countries where the political theory obtains that the ultimate end of the state is the highest good of its citizens, both morals and sound policy require that the state should not violate the conscience of the individual. All our history gives confirmation to the view that liberty of conscience has a moral and social value which makes it worthy of preservation at the hands of the state."

Justice Jackson, *Zorach v. Clauson* (343 U.S. 325) 1951:

"The day that this country ceases to be free for irreligion it will cease to be free for religion—except for the sect that can win political power."

Justice Douglas, *McGowan v. Maryland* (366 U.S. 363) 1960:

"* * * if a religious haven is to be worked into the affairs of our people, it is to be done by individuals and groups, not by government. This necessarily means, first, that the dogma, scruples, or practices of no religious group or sect are to be preferred over those of any others; second, that no one shall be interfered with by government for practicing the religion of his choice; third, that the state may not require anyone to practice a religion or even any religion. The idea (first amendment) was to limit the power of government to act in religious matters, not to limit the freedom of religious men to act religiously nor to restrict the freedom of atheists or agnostics."

In *Torcaso v. Watkins* (367 U.S. 488), 1961, where appellant had been denied a commission as notary public because he would not declare his belief in God, the majority Court opinion stated:

"We repeat and again reaffirm that neither a State nor the Federal Government can constitutionally force a person to profess a belief or a disbelief in any religion."

In *Engel v. Vitale* (370 U.S. 443), 1962, the opinion of the Court majority stated:

"The first amendment leaves the Government in a position not of hostility to religion but of neutrality. The philosophy is that the atheist or agnostic—the nonbeliever—is entitled to go his own way. The philosophy is that if government interferes in matters spiritual, it will be a divisive force. The first amendment teaches that a government neutral in the field of religion better serves all religious interests."

The foregoing quotations show the ever-increasing awareness of the Supreme Court in protecting the right to religious freedom for all persons, including those whose beliefs do not embrace the orthodox meaning of "God" or "Supreme Being." In the light of the opinions cited, the Metropolitan Board believes that a good test case brought before the Supreme Court involving a conscientious objector professing no accepted religious beliefs may result in the "religious test" declared unconstitutional.

However, there is another important point at issue: The Universal Military Training and Service Act excludes all those claiming conscientious objection whose views are "essentially political, sociological, or philosophical" or who have "a merely personal moral code." How shall we examine the tragic lack of wisdom which, by congressional action, permitted these statements to become part of a law? Ever since recorded time, a moral and ethical code has been the essential part of any religion, from Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, through to the great Judea-Christian religion. Shall we argue that religion, any religion, is not a philosophy? Does not religion, any religion, play its part in sociology? Have not theologians through the ages deliberated, and not often agreed, on varying concepts of religion, and have these differences in thought ever been resolved? When the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1948 was made public and the new limitations studied by those most concerned, it was felt that the inclusion of the "Supreme Being" clause had definite political overtones; that Congress, aware of the world situation, had succumbed to the popular theory that Russia is a godless nation; that Communists and their sympathizers would deny any belief in God, hence be deterred from making a conscientious objector claim when confronted with the "Supreme Being" clause in the special questionnaire (Selective Service Form 150). This was mistaken collective reasoning, if indeed it was Congress' intent by this means to weed out possible opportunists. During World War II, the Metropolitan Board counseled over 2,000 men claiming conscientious objection. Less than 20 men who came to the attention of the board claimed exemption for political reasons and the majority of these men were Socialists, sworn opponents of communism. It was a generally accepted fact among those who know Communist tactics in this country that men sympathizing with Russian ideology preferred to enter the Armed Forces with the expectation of spreading their propaganda in a "boring from within" process. The experience of the Metropolitan Board has been that few men claiming conscientious objection have any avowed political orientation. If political considerations entered their philosophy, the majority of these men expressed a belief in a United Nations and/or world government.

Conscientious objectors to war generally are conscientious in their daily way of life and many have made valuable individual contributions to our society. Conscience is a spiritual asset which originates in a force greater than man himself, whether this is personally acknowledged or not. For the greater majority of people belief in a Supreme Being is a controlling factor in their lives; but there are those who cannot accept this terminology, yet lead lives of quiet dignity in

their man-to-man relationships. Since no man can be certain his definition of God is the correct one, no man can sit in judgment on another's spiritual probings. Conscientious objectors as a group seek to make their contribution to society and it is believed that as individuals many would be happy to serve in the Peace Corps at home or abroad, or in any other altruistic organization. The religious test in the Universal Military Training and Service Act has prevented hundreds of men from serving their fellow man in peaceful pursuits by causing them to be imprisoned—a temporary loss to society and a sad commentary on the denial of religious liberty.

Therefore, the Metropolitan Board for Conscientious Objectors urgently requests the Senate Committee on Armed Services to ponder the implications in the present Universal Military Training and Service Act and move to eliminate the entire religious test requirement before giving any consideration to the renewal of said act. Only by recognizing conscience, whether its roots are in religious training and belief, in an ethical and humanitarian philosophy, or in a personal moral code, can the harm inherent in the present Universal Military Training and Service Act be undone. Only by taking this forward step to guarantee freedom of religion to all who come under the act, if renewed, will Congress truly honor the first amendment to the Constitution and the spirit of our forefathers.

STATEMENT OF MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM H. HARRISON, JR., PRESIDENT, NATIONAL GUARD ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is a privilege to appear before this committee during its consideration of S. 846 (H.R. 2438) which would extend the induction provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act and other corollary provisions of law.

The National Guard Association of the United States has always favored an equitable distribution of the liability and performance of military service among those most suited to bear this responsibility. We and many others have, in the past, supported a truly universal military training program and are still firmly convinced of its desirability.

The record underscores the necessity for retaining in statute the authority to induct young men into the Armed Forces. It would indeed be a fatal error at this point in our Nation's history if we were to eliminate the draft, reduce benefits available to those who are selected, or who volunteer to serve, or permit the strength of our Active Forces to drop to levels where they would be incapable of meeting their worldwide commitments.

Despite the tremendous technological advances in the art and the development of sophisticated weapons and the means of their delivery, all of which we fully endorse and support as a vital ingredient of our military posture, the past few years furnish ample evidence of the necessity for the trained individual soldier, airmen, sailor, and marine in quantities much beyond the numbers who are willing in time of so-called peace, or more aptly, periods of cold war, to volunteer.

The enactment of this bill would insure that the means to provide our Armed Forces with their needed manpower are immediately available and we urge that it be speedily favorably reported and passed.

TESTIMONY ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL MEDICAL VETERANS SOCIETY

It is planned that the Medical Veterans Society will be represented by its president, Charles B. Hudson, M.D., of Oakland, Calif., and by Milton V. Davis, M.D., of Dallas, Tex.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, our society appreciates the privilege of once again appearing before this committee. We have had a continuing interest in the procurement of military personnel and a specific concern about the health and medical care of military people and their dependents. We have appeared here before to testify about the procurement of medical officers and the utilization of medical manpower by the services. It is well known to the chairman as well as to many of the other members of this committee and its staff that our society has done its utmost to have incorporated into the law certain basic principles which we feel are essential. In "essential" we include the fact that the Nation has an obligation to its military people to protect and preserve their health, and that to secure enough qualified medical people to do this legis-

lation will be required. Having accepted this premise, we then worked toward what, to us, represented a fair and equitable approach to this problem. In this position we have found ourselves in concert with this committee in the past and we wish to express our sincere appreciation for the manner in which we and our points of view have been received here previously. If we may, we would like to review now, some of the more salient points of our position in these matters:

1. Physicians should be appointed, reappointed, or promoted to a rank commensurate with their professional education, experience and ability.
2. National, State and local advisory committees should continue to function.
3. All prior service, both line and medical, should be considered when a physician is sought for callup.
4. The tour of duty for physicians inducted under special callup should be limited by law. Also, physicians thus utilized should be afforded by law a chance to resign their commissions upon completion of their tours of duty.
5. Only those physicians who have a liability under the basic Selective Service Act or Reserve program should be called.
6. Overall, we have consistently held the view (shared, we feel, by this committee and the Congress) that doctors who have not previously served in the uniform should have this opportunity before veteran doctors with prior service are recalled involuntarily.
7. Further, we have held that it is the responsibility of the Nation, through its Congress, its Department of Defense and its military services to enact and formulate the necessary laws, directives and regulations to provide for emergencies, of whatever scope. When it becomes necessary to implement a special callup of physicians to meet an emergency, we feel that the first priority should call nonveteran doctors who have been deferred from service for their education. These should be followed by others who had not previously served, and aliens should be acceptable in both groups.
8. Physician to troop ratio should remain at around three per thousand.
9. In the ultimate the most desirable situation obtains when the majority of the military medical officers are true volunteers (as opposed to draft volunteers). Toward this goal we have concurred with the services, and applauded them, when they have provided an increasingly more favorable professional climate with high standards of professional care and more opportunities for postgraduate training in medical specialties. We have also concurred, and applauded, when the Congress has seen fit to provide incentives in pay and allowances for medical officers. We hope these will be continued.

AN INEQUITY AND A DANGER

As the committee surely perceives from this review, our society has been substantially in accord with its actions and the current law, which is being considered for renewal. Even so, there is a potential inequity and a potential danger in the present law which should be pointed out:

- (a) The inequity is that even though only those physicians who have a liability under the basic Selective Service Act are called, they are all subject to call because they are physicians, while others are called by lot.
- (b) The danger is that as the law now stands a physician who has served on active duty, but remains in obligatory Reserve status because he was inducted, enlisted or appointed prior to his 26th birthday, might be recalled in an emergency while others with similar education who had never served could see him off a second time.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Further, those provisions of the law which allow exemption from draft status by virtue of active duty with the U.S. Public Health Service are objectionable to our society. The attention of the committee is invited to your own 1959 committee print, from which the present law was taken, and specifically to pages 13, 14, and 15, and the following sections pertaining to "Deferment and exemptions": sections 6(a), 6(b)(2), 6(b)(3), 6(c)(1). Because duty in the Public Health Service fulfills draft requirements, the Government in effect can and does draft doctors to serve in the U.S. Public Health Service. If this practice is allowed to stand as a principle, there would be nothing to prevent its being enlarged so that the Government could draft doctors for any Federal Service, including, for example, work with civilian employee dispensaries, the Veterans' Administration, etc.

There are two other areas of concern to us which we feel the committee may wish to consider: dependent facilities in military hospital construction and the medical reserve programs.

MILITARY HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION

Recent DOD¹ plans have included substantial facilities for dependents in military hospitals, to be constructed in or near cities within the United States. When we supported the dependents medical care bill it was agreed and incorporated into the law itself that military medical facilities would not be enlarged for the primary purpose of caring for dependents.² Our concern then and now is that enlarged facilities can only lead to a larger staff. As long as we need to draft doctors, or face them with draft to get them to volunteer, it would seem a breach of faith as well as contrary to the statute to enlarge or build military hospital sections primarily for obstetrics and pediatrics.

THE MEDICAL RESERVE PROGRAM

It is rather difficult to approach this subject. Those in the Reserve program are doing such a grand job they deserve only praise. In spite of this, however, the program itself fulfills only a part of the Nation's preparedness needs at this time:

1. It is topheavy with senior officers.
2. It is geared more to a major mobilization effort than to exercises such as Lebanon, Berlin, Cuba, or to limited scope engagements such as Vietnam.
3. To call up individuals or units as things stand now would violate some of the principles our society has approved and this committee and the Congress have incorporated into law. Korea is a good example (a bad example) of this. In spite of the obvious difficulties involved, our society feels that we as a nation, the Congress and the services must tackle this problem. It may be refreshing to find that our initial proposals involve no additional cost to the taxpayers, and, as a matter of fact, some could be accomplished without even changing the law. In its essence we would like to propose that the principle of rotation, with full protective provisions, be applied to Reserve active duty service. We feel this is in the national interest because it would tend to fill a gaping need, for example, in times when troops must be pulled out and concentrated on short notice, such as Lebanon or Cuba. Recent experience suggests that the willingness of this Nation to pool forces and resources and point them toward a pressing problem has resolved the problem in a relatively short time. It would seem reasonable to call up Reserves, even those with prior service, to plug the holes and man the instruments until reinforcements could be brought in. It would not seem reasonable to commit such people with prior service to an extended tour, hence the desire to establish the principle of rotation after, say, 60 to 90 days of duty. This could be done to a limited extent under present law and regulations in at least one of the services. It would be done uniformly if authorized by the Congress and we feel we would get some volunteers, if the tours were limited by statute.

On behalf of the National Medical Veterans Society we would like to thank the committee for the privilege of appearing here. If the chairman or others would like to question us, we shall do our best to answer.

STATEMENT OF EDWARD J. NERON, NATIONAL COMMANDER, VETERANS OF WORLD WAR I OF THE U.S.A., INC., WASHINGTON 2, D.C.

As national commander of the Veterans of World War I of the U.S.A., Inc., we wish to go on record in full support of section 17(c) of the Universal Military Training and Service Act as amended (50 app. U.S.C. 467(c)), be amended by striking out "July 1, 1963" and inserting in place thereof "July 1, 1967."

The Veterans of World War I, due to past experiences at the outbreak of war, April 6, 1917, were faced by the Armed Forces unprepared to enter into a major war. The Selective Service Act was not put into effect until June 5, 1917, some 2 months after the declaration of war. The recruits selected under the draft laws did not start to enter camp for training until September 10, 1917. It was 1 month later before the second group of selective service recruits were started to military installations. This great delay in organizing an efficient Armed Forces in the defense of this country was indeed a serious handicap to those in command. It made it necessary for this country to send troops overseas who were certainly

¹ Project report—June, July, August 1902. Office of the Deputy Assistant Secretary (Health and Medical) Office of Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower).

² Public Law 569, 84th Cong., title I, sec. 103(a), "Primary Mission," title II, sec. 201(c)—"Adequate facilities"; title III, sec. 301 (b) and (c) "Retired members and their dependents"; sec. 306(2) "Repeal of the act of May 10, 1943."

not properly trained or equipped for engagement against the enemy. I believe it is a matter of record that it takes 1 full year to properly train a soldier or sailor in war tactics and to be prepared to defend their country.

In 1940, when the Selective Service Act was passed by Congress, it had only a one vote margin. There was much agitation against entering military service by people who do not understand military preparation for the defense of the Nation. This Selective Service Act proved to be of great assistance in preparing a force of men who were capable of defending this country after the attack at Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

In preparing for the defense of this Nation in a nuclear war, the recruits are required to indeed go through extensive training. We are well aware that unfriendly military preparations have been made close to this country. In this dangerous situation, the Veterans of World War I fully support H.R. 2438 and plead with the honorable members of the Senate Armed Services Committee to extend the Universal Military Training and Service Act by recommending favorably the extension to at least July 1, 1967.

This organization stands ready to assist your committee and the Congress and the Nation in full support of H.R. 2438.

It is interesting to note that in 3,400 years of recorded history, there have only been 250 years of world peace. Therefore, as head of this organization, I again plead with you to extend the draft law until at least July 1, 1967.

STATEMENT OF MRS. ANNALEE STEWART, WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (U.S. SECTION), WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, I am Mrs. Annalee Stewart, legislative secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom with an office at 120 Maryland Avenue NE., Washington, D.C. We would like to express our gratitude to the committee for giving us an opportunity to present testimony in opposition to S. 846. The league originated in 1915 in the midst of the First World War, with Jane Addams as its first president. Throughout its history it has maintained a policy and program consistent with its purpose to work by nonviolent means for the establishment throughout the world of those political, economic, social, and psychological conditions which can assure peace and freedom.

The league has always opposed peacetime constriction which it considers contrary to American traditions. It is accepted by public opinion only when people are convinced that the draft is necessary and that it is being carried out fairly. Millions of Americans today are not satisfied on either of these points. Others can present, with good evidence, reasons for opposing the extension of the draft based on its inefficiency and wastefulness. This has been ably outlined by John C. Esty, Jr., in the Nation, February 23, 1963.* While we do not agree with every point in the article, we believe that it emphasizes certain ideas that are worth studying seriously.

The league recognizes Mr. Esty's reasons and shares his concerns, but it believes that there are even more serious reasons for opposing the extension of the draft and any form of compulsory universal military training. We feel that compulsory military training has done a great deal of harm to the morality of our young people, both in training them for the destruction of individuals and nations and in developing in them a process of evasion in order to avoid being drafted. Many use such legal methods as remaining in school or getting married and starting their families at a younger age. These are sometimes forms of conscious evasion. Prof. Eli Ginzberg of Columbia University states that most young Americans "grow up without the understanding of military obligation, with the consequence that if and when they are called to duty, they view it as an imposition, an annoyance, or a stroke of bad luck that they were caught while so many others escaped." According to Mr. Esty, young men today no longer face a moral dilemma in regard to the draft; they simply see military service as "no longer relevant"—in view of the devastation a thermonuclear war would create.

In addition to the fact that young men may openly seek draft evasion, many feel that the draft cuts across all walks of life without really strengthening the military services. While the broad base of the draft has sometimes been cited as a strong point, it is also necessary to see what has occurred in practice. Besides the men who consciously seek a II-S (student deferment) or III-A (minor depend-

*NOTE.—Mr. Esty's article is included as a part of the testimony of Rev. Montgomery J. Shroyer.

ents) status, there are a few who even leave the country. However, all the above forms of evasion generally require some financial security. What of the young man who graduates from high school and who for reasons, financial or otherwise, does not attend college? He is placed in an extremely difficult position. In most cases he is unable to get a job, even one for which he may be qualified, because employers are unwilling to hire and train someone who may be drafted. Thereby, he is denied even the opportunity to earn money in order to go to college if he wishes to do so. Very often the young man is driven into the Armed Forces out of desperation. Is this a good attitude for a young man to have in reference to serving his country? Congressman Roman Pucinski, of Illinois, stated in 1959:

"I just completed * * * a very intensive survey in Chicago on teenage gangs and juvenile delinquency, and I find that the draft has a very important effect on the present development of our young people. * * * Hundreds of thousands * * * are forced to live in a shadow of constant doubt as to their future when actually only a few thousands are ultimately drafted. * * * Many young men who graduate from high school and who do not, or cannot because of economic reasons, go to college find it impossible to get decent employment because the first thing they are asked by a potential employer is what is his draft status. * * * I could not begin to tell you the hardships that this situation is causing."

It is obvious that we have problems to solve both in this country and abroad. The real problems of the world as we see them are economic, social, and political. They go beyond a military solution and intimate a wider field of service for one's country than primarily a military service.

Ending the draft would be a step toward again placing the military in a subordinate position with regard to policy matters. This country has always stood firmly for civilian government, recognizing the dangers of military authoritarianism. We hope that the dangers of military voices in policy matters will be seriously weighed in the light of the consequences. It is the responsibility of citizens to work for the kinds of alternatives which will deemphasize the military and place the solutions in their proper area which is to eliminate the causes of war.

There is another reason the emphasis of our Nation on a military solution fails to build peace and freedom. Such stress on military force often keeps other countries from understanding our real desire for peace. It isn't a question of the motives of U.S. foreign policy, but the implementation: the methods we use make us appear warlike rather than peace loving. The United States has an opportunity to exert real world leadership. Discontinuance of the draft by the United States could be followed by major efforts for the international abolition of conscription. In the midst of a prolonged cold war, without more clear-cut affirmative acts for peace, it is hard for either side to convince the other that it really wants peace. Ending the peacetime draft could help ease international tensions by convincing the world that we honestly seek peace by preparing for it, promote political settlements and disarmament agreements, and release men and resources to help concentrate on the real need of the world's people to raise their standard of living.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has gone on record many times in support of the Peace Corps. We believe that an essential preliminary to lasting peace is greater understanding between the peoples of the world through personal contact and firsthand knowledge. We hope to see, in the future, more young people enter an enlarged Peace Corps. We are encouraged too by the warm reception given to S. 1, the Youth Conservation Corps bill, by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. We hope that this bill or one for a Domestic Peace Corps will be enacted and become an integral part of the life of our country.

While the league advocates the abolition of conscription, we recognize that in 1959 many organizations supported a 2-year extension with the understanding that during that period a joint committee of Congress would study the draft to find out whether it is the most efficient way of maintaining the national defense, and mainly whether it is necessary to maintain the force levels. Since the methods and goals of national defense have changed so rapidly with technological advances, such a study is even more desirable now than it was 4 years ago. In addition the league feels that real, positive support should be given not only for the goal of general and complete disarmament, which our President said is the basis of our foreign policy (at the United Nations in 1961), but also for a continued effort to negotiate the proposals for universal disarmament which have been set forth by both the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. If the nations really agree on positive steps toward world disarmament, they will be lifting the burden of arms from the whole world and conscription from its youth.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM,
La Jolla, Calif., March 7, 1963.

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

GENTLEMEN: The La Jolla-San Diego Branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom wishes to register its opposition to extension of the draft because we believe that its overall influence is harmful to the young men of our Nation.

We regret the interruption to education and to planning for the future which it involves.

We object to putting boys in military camps.

We deplore that at an impressionable age our young men are taught to think in terms of military solutions, and that independent ideas, initiative, and personal responsibility are discouraged.

It is these very qualities of moral freedom and responsibility, so characteristic of the early days of this country, which we feel are most needed in today's world.

It is these qualities which conscription has tended to suppress in other nations. We are deeply concerned that that does not happen in our own land.

Yours respectfully,

Mrs. JOHN BEARDSLEY, *Legislative Chairman.*

LOS ALTOS, CALIF., *February 28, 1963.*

HON. RICHARD RUSSELL,
Chairman, Senate Armed Services Committee,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: The San Jose, Calif., Branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom requests herewith the right to submit the following statement for inclusion in the hearings on H.R. 2438, in opposition to the extension of the draft.

We agree with Representative Byron Johnson in his debate statement in 1959, in which he said, "It (the draft) extends the military influence on American life contrary to our constitutional intent to maintain civil dominance over the military." We feel that as Representative William Meyer asserted in the same debate, "The draft lulls us into a false sense of security and hinders the mobilizing of moral and spiritual forces while inculcating militaristic doctrine. * * * It violates our traditions and conflicts with much of our moral and religious thinking. This does not contribute to our international standing or to peaceful solutions of world problems."

It seems to us that what is needed is a massive effort to end the arms race and build a world of law and order. There must be a greatly intensified effort to develop and refine U.S. proposals for general and complete disarmament, to negotiate for them with renewed energy, and to strengthen and expand the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

We feel that an end to the draft would terminate the inequities of the present system and it would allow young men to plan their future with assurance. With the ending of the draft, we could look forward to the release of men and resources to more creative functions in professions which contribute in a more positive way to the needs of the world's people.

The above statement is submitted in lieu of personal testimony.

Sincerely,

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE
 FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM,
 Mrs. D. R. CHRISTEON,
Legislative Chairman, San Jose, Calif., Branch.

EUGENE, OREG., February 26, 1963.

Chairman RICHARD RUSSELL,
Senate Armed Services Committee,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Enclosed with this letter is my statement opposing extension of the Universal Military Training and Service Act which expires in June of this year.

Will you please include this statement in the hearings on draft extension to be held in the near future since I am unable to be present in person to present testimony.

Thank you.
Sincerely,

Mrs. LOIS BARTON.

STATEMENT OPPOSING DRAFT EXTENSION

I believe the Universal Military Training and Service Act should not be extended. It is an inefficient and wasteful technique for providing manpower. Peacetime conscription for military service is a violation of our democratic way of life, disrupting plans for every youth during the crucial years between education and vocational adaptation. And, at a time when war as a method has become unthinkable, it provides an opportunity for military indoctrination of impressionable young people by those who see in the military approach the only solution to international problems.

The eight children in our family deserve the right to apply their efforts toward a better world in a manner of their choosing, without being obliged to sacrifice many months as conscripts to a system which is not only wasteful and inefficient, but actually, in my opinion, detrimental to our stated goal of a peaceful world, under law. I therefore ask you to reject any resolution calling for an extension of the draft law.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM H. MEYER OF WEST RUPERT, VT.

As an individual citizen I regret that this legislation is moving so rapidly through Congress. Apparently the general public has not heard much about its progress and the news media have given relatively little attention to the subject. This may result in such a quiet passage of the bill as to make it seem extremely popular and widely accepted. I know, however, that there are millions of Americans who are opposed to this legislation in full or in part. While differing in detail and intensity, they share the reasons many of us expounded in 1959, in opposing an extension of the draft without adequate consideration of other alternatives. In the interest of brevity I recommend a perusal of my testimony as a Member of Congress before this committee in 1959.

It seems to me that the reasoning presented by many of us in 1959 is valid in 1963 and I am sorry that the 86th Congress did not see fit to accept the compromise proposal for a 2-year extension of the draft with a study commission to report on alternatives for the future. Although I am against the present bill in principle as I was in 1959, I do not deny that the compromise would have met with wide acceptance in many quarters and thus politically was a practical measure.

I believe S. 846 tends to prolong a system that is—

1. Wasteful in its effect on our human resources.
2. Too costly in dollars and wasteful with respect to our national treasury and national resources.
3. Unfair and inequitable.
4. Not in accord with our traditions and Constitution.
5. Harmful to our total national strength in a time of crisis.
6. Morally deficient and destructive to our social standards.
7. Dangerous to a free society that of necessity must guard against the growth of militarism.

I say all of these things as a "hard headed," practical realist.

Continuation of the peacetime draft in the United States, without frequent and thorough public discussion of its implications, is a dangerous development for our country.

The word militarism is not a pleasant word, and we do not ordinarily think of it in connection with the United States. Our history, in contrast to that of many other countries of the world, has happily been free of the ugly phenomenon of militarism. We have preserved a healthy tradition of civilian government,

civilian control over the military. The benefits of this tradition are among our most cherished possessions today. Indeed, this tradition is high among the values which we are anxious to defend in today's troubled world.

We have, of course, throughout our history, given proper and due respect and honor to our military leaders and enlisted men who have served the country and its institutions so well. But we have not, in general, relied on the military for the formulation of policy, in either internal or foreign affairs.

In a sense, this is a practice which is related to one of the basic principles of our system of government, the separation of powers. Just as we regard it as fundamental that the legislative branch not infringe upon the proper functions of the executive, that the judiciary not enter into the legislative province, and so forth, we have viewed it as essential that the military not infringe upon that area of national life which is properly civilian. At the same time, of course, in purely military matters, decision is left to the military. Why do I mention militarism here? Are we not secure in our traditions against the growth of this dangerous element in our national life?

There are, in the words of Mr. Justice Black, "grim reminders all over this world" today that the distance between a democratically elected civilian government and control by the military is small. We must be eternally vigilant to maintain the proper restraints upon the possible development of militarism in this country.

I feel the growth and acceptance of peacetime conscription in this country gives rise to dangerous trends in the wrong direction, in the direction of relaxation of these vital restraints.

I am sure that all of us remember the important warning sounded by President Eisenhower, in his farewell address to the Nation, against the development of power by the Military Establishment. The increasing relationships between the military and business is only one aspect of the problem. As military technology becomes more advanced, as the complexity of weapons systems increases to a point that staggers the imagination, the problems of maintaining necessary civilian control become more difficult. The question of the role of democratic decision-making with respect to the kind of highly specialized, technical matters which are involved in the issue of peace and war in our modern world is one which has troubled many thinkers in recent years.

It is in this context that I feel we must view the issue of peacetime conscription. There can be no doubt but that universal military training and service in peacetime vastly increases the impact of the military upon our Nation.

Many youths are called from the civilian pursuits which they have freely chosen and compelled to learn and live the military way of life. For 2 years, they are subject to indoctrination by the military.

It is not sufficient that some civilian control may be exercised over that indoctrination. It is not even sufficient, as some may argue, that the best defense against the development of the military way of thinking is to expose unwilling young people to it.

Perhaps, if it could be shown that peacetime conscription were necessary, or even the best means for providing for the common defense, it might be acceptable as such. The startling thing is, however, that such a case has never been made. Indeed, many of the facts seem to indicate that the opposite is true, that not only is the draft in peacetime unnecessary, but that it is much less satisfactory than other means for achieving our Nation's security.

I think that it has been shown that we can have a better defense with a volunteer, professional armed force. In the light of the complexity of modern military technology, to which I have already referred, the need is for highly trained, specialized personnel, for quality rather than quantity. It is wasteful in the extreme to invest in the amount of training necessary to render a draftee useful in the modern army, only to have him leave when his 2-year obligation is completed. Additionally, of course, the resentment of the man who is doing forced labor (for this is what service under the draft really is) cannot but injure the quality of his work.

The substitution of an entirely professional force, with rates of pay adequate to attract the caliber of personnel needed to do the job, for the part-professional part-drafted force we now have, would provide a net gain in this country's defense.

I might observe in passing that the use of a properly paid professional armed force is much more consistent with this country's basic philosophy of free enterprise. If we apply the principles of this philosophy to the problem of defense, we should conclude that the way to secure the proper work force to do this job is to pay the wages necessary to attract qualified people.

When weapons and other material are needed for defense, we buy them on the open market, paying the prices necessary to insure adequate quality. We do not draft people to design and build missiles, and we would probably not rely on missiles built by forced labor.

I submit that we rely on the draft only because we are unwilling to think clearly about the problem of manpower procurement, and to recognize that an adequate force can best be secured by the provision of adequate incentives.

The extent to which the operation of the draft is grossly unfair and inequitable in its effect on the young men of this Nation has been demonstrated over and over again, and should be well known to this committee. Only about 1 of every 10 young men who become 26 in 1963 will have been drafted. Student deferments result in many young men not being reached by the draft. Often, of course, it is those who can afford to pay for advanced schooling who thus obtain exemption, while their less wealthy fellows must serve.

Disruption of family life and, unfortunately, ill-considered and hasty decisions about marriage and children are produced by considerations of the draft.

An argument often relied on in support of the draft is that, while it may not provide large numbers of men itself, it is responsible for many voluntary enlistments by those who prefer enlistment to being drafted. Some figures may be revealing in this regard. Out of approximately 2,700,000 men in service, somewhere around 500,000 must be replaced each year. Of these, the draft now supplies about 100,000. As far as I know, no serious research has been done on the problem of how many of the remaining 400,000 are really motivated by desire to avoid the draft. I would seriously recommend that such a study be undertaken. At the same time, we should attempt to learn what other inducements, by way of pay and other conditions, would be sufficient to maintain the needed level of replacements in the absence of the draft. Certainly such studies would not be difficult, and they would be directed at bringing our armed services back into our free enterprise system.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that I have not argued that we should not have an armed force. I have merely tried to indicate that we could have a more efficient force without the draft in peacetime, with less expense to our vital human resources, to our country's traditions, and to the moral fiber of our Nation today.

STATEMENT OF GERALD J. RINGER OF BOSTON, MASS.

I. ON LIMITED WAR

Certain characteristics of war which have emerged as new realities since World War II pose unprecedented moral problems in the relationship between the serviceman and the civilian population. First let us isolate and clarify the nature of these as yet seldom-recognized moral problems; then we might ask about the propriety of continuing the draft; we would suggest an alternative method of obtaining servicemen; and finally we would suggest that a much greater national effort should be made to realize honorable alternatives to war in the atomic age.

In American wars prior to 1950: (1) the goal of victory gave the troops confidence in their destiny and purpose and (2) the American public supported the troops' faith that the "folks back home" would be willing to share the danger undergone by the troops—if need be. It may very well have been an illusion, but such support and such willingness tended to make it seem that the American public was well worth defending from danger. The old-style war was worth fighting, both in the sense that its aim was victory and in that its aim was protection of the "folks back home."

In the Korean war, for the first time, American cities became the potential targets of a potential enemy's weapons of modern mass destruction. Whatever illusions had existed fell away: the American public wanted maximum security at minimum personal risk. It wanted security from Communist expansion in Korea, and security from Soviet bombs at home; but the latter came first: for 2 years the troops on the front line were shortchanged in order to guarantee that Soviet Russia would not overtly participate. Fatal limitations were imposed from Washington: in numbers of United Nations troops employed; in weapons employed; in authorized targets and in area of maneuver.

The Korean war served to define "limited war" as any war which is "not the right war to win." (1) The sense of destiny and purpose flew out of the front-line experience of our troops. (2) It became crystal clear that the American public was willing to commit young lives to a holocaust ("burnt offering"), but

that it absolutely was not willing to share their danger—and, by hook or by crook, it would see that such a need would never arise.

Our leading strategists tend at present to favor holding big bombs and waging limited wars virtually forever. It is reasonable to assume that the same general kind of limitations will circumscribe all limited wars of the future—that a limited war will always be “not the right war to win.”

On three counts, limited war is immoral in ways that American wars have not been immoral in the past:

(1) To wage war only for the sake of stalemate points to a vast and meaningless waste of life and material. Far from being the result of their upbringing or their own moral fiber, the low morale of American servicemen in Korea stemmed largely from the certain knowledge that they were being wasted in a war that was not worth winning—a war in which the American people refused to share the risk; in which this refusal led to niggardly support and cost the lives of countless troops at the front.

Testimony on Capitol Hill after the Korean war followed an interesting pattern. The officers of flag rank who had commanded the troops in the field were practically unanimous in their condemnation of the limitations which had been imposed; the testimony of those analyzing the behavior of our prisoners of war attached blame about equally to the men and to their upbringing; and all too many of our legislators drew the conclusion that the fault lay with our churches, schools, patriotic organizations, and the armed services themselves. The false conclusion was drawn that our men had not been properly indoctrinated with Americanism. But there was at least one man who saw clearly to the heart of the matter. On July 27, 1956, Representative Philip J. Philbin submitted to the Congressional Record an article by an Army psychiatrist who had studied some 1,000 case histories of returned prisoners of war. Maj. William E. Mayer wrote:

“The behavior of too many of our soldiers in prison fell far short of the historical American standards of honor, character, loyalty, courage, and personal integrity. The fact that so many yielded to the degree that they did presents a problem of fantastic proportions and should cause searching self-examination by all Americans both in and out of uniform.”

The authorities in Congress and in the Defense Department responded to this moral challenge by issuing the soldier's code (earlier, in 1955), and by making a show of closer cooperation between the various institutions which instill loyalty and patriotism. Troop indoctrination was beefed up in the armed services. But behind a diplomacy that could prevent all-out wars but could not prevent limited wars, some of us thought we detected a cowardice and a crippling self-interest in the spiritual constitution of the American people.

(2) Our people commit young men to die in wars that are not worth winning—when our national heritage condemns such wars as not worth fighting.

(3) The overriding hypocrisy lies in the self-delusion of the public which allows limited wars to be conducted and projected on its behalf. Ostensibly, one of the major aims of limited war is to sustain avoidance of the all-out war. But precisely at that point at which it becomes worth fighting it becomes most likely to flame into all-out war; and so, in becoming “worthwhile” it has failed in one of its major aims: It has failed to “maintain the peace.” Ironically, the resulting all-out war can no longer resolve the crucial issues which have brought it into being; rather, through the mutual annihilation of the two then-contending powers, the issues are simply obliterated from the face of the earth. What Hans J. Morgenthau and other analysts and philosophers now call “suicidal absurdity,” our theologians are beginning to recognize as “blasphemous.” As time goes by it is becoming increasingly evident and increasingly true that all-out war would reduce our people and our Nation to meaninglessness and absurdity.

It is suggested above that limited wars that become worth winning are likely to become all-out wars—or else they become ignominious stalemates like Korea. To make the cream of our youth the brunt of either sort of fiasco is an unprecedented blight on our national honor. We must never forget or forgive the tarnishing of our national values in the Korean war. Is there not an unacceptable depravity involved in adults sending young men out to die, while yet remaining unwilling to risk allowing them to win?

II. ON CONTINUING THE DRAFT

Strictly on moral grounds, then, we must question whether our people have the right to command young draftees to fight these wars that are not worth winning. Is it not unsupportably hypocritical to command a draftee to die in a war which has been planned limited but which, if it were to become worth

winning, would become all-out war? Is this not potentially a betrayal of both the draftee and the people for whom he dies? Such war lays bare the essential ritual nature of war itself; but the "holocaust" today is illusory, for at the very point where the sacrifice becomes meaningful and worth while, the holocaust becomes international and absurd.

The new weapons render any kind of war increasingly hypocritical and immoral. We have reached a point where war is absurd—and, if you are a believer, blasphemous.

In recognition of the new realities, it may be wise and honorable, as well as practical, to consider alternatives to the now "traditional" draft as a method of recruiting troops.

III. A SUGGESTED ALTERNATIVE

In spite of the demonstrable absurdity of all forms of war today, the current drift of our Nation through the seas of world change indicates that the United States will likely be involved in limited wars for an indefinite period into the foreseeable future. But there is an alternative to the draft—an alternative that is plausible, viable, and honorable.

We can envision the establishment of a force of American mercenary servicemen. This would be a force of professionals, volunteers who fully understood and accepted their role. They would be willing to fight anywhere, any time—and they would be absolutely satisfied from the day of enlistment about the rules of the job: they would be on tap to fight wars that America does not deem worth winning. In return, they would be adequately recompensed in service pay and allowances. By offering high enough rewards, the Government could recruit any desired number; what constitutes "high enough" could be computed on electronic machines, using Department of Labor statistics.

The rationale for the individuals in such a force would be twofold: (1) They would be performing a specialized atomic-age function as Government employees. In all honesty, however, the traditional patriotic motives should not be alluded to, for to assert that the waging of war serves the long-range national interest is to return to hypocrisy and self-delusion. (2) They would be well paid for performing their potentially dangerous role. The nature of their recompense would be in harmony with the nature of their mission. A perfect example of (1) and (2) is the occupation of the U-2 pilot as brought to public attention by the mishap of Francis Powers.

Indeed, one is tempted to inquire whether this plan has not already been partially adopted, i.e., in the jungle fighting in southeast Asia. How many of the 50-odd American casualties in Vietnam have been draftees? Under this new plan none would have been draftees; all would have been volunteers, and they would have been paid a fair price for their service and their "sacrifice."

IV. AN END TO WAR

War—limited as well as general nuclear—all war is today an archaic and absurd way to resolve international issues. That we continue to wage cold war in a warlike mood is tragic, and it might well mean that we are courting the destruction of Western civilization. We ought to ask ourselves whether any single generation has the right to put an end to the long and upward march of European, Russian, and American man. Are we justified in being ready, willing, and able to destroy our world before our children—and grandchildren—have had their chance to build a future world unforeseeable by any prophet living today?

Certainly, before we have any more Koreas, we owe the Korean dead our maximum national effort in seeking the ways to avoid such a repetition of tragedy. For they could not buy us freedom; they could only buy us a little time. The task of establishing world peace with justice is herculean, and it is equally pressing in point of time. We should ponder whether we do not owe our current crop of 18-year-olds a program of the order of magnitude of the wartime Manhattan project—but focused upon goals of peace instead of destructive potential. In the absence of any such all-out assault on war itself, can there be any moral justification for continuing the draft?

Hence, the suggestion that we use the willing mercenary to replace the unwilling sacrifice. It is the lesser of two evils, designed only as a temporary solution. It would merely alleviate a moral situation that has arisen within the last 17 years; it is no long-range panacea. It might buy us a little peace of mind and a little time, however, which we ought to exploit in a serious public search for sane answers to the problems of international tensions.

MERCER, PA., February 20, 1963.

Senator RICHARD RUSSELL,
 Chairman, Senate Armed Services Committee,
 U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. RUSSELL: I request the right to submit the enclosed statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee to be included in the hearings on H.R. 2438 (draft extension).

Thank you.

Sincerely,

RUTH C. SMITH.

STATEMENT OF RUTH C. SMITH

Mr. Chairman and committee members, please consider the following as some of the reasons why H.R. 2438 (draft extension) should not be passed. I am a former high school teacher and have done graduate work in education.

(1) Educators know the psychological effect on high school boys of the present draft law. Many boys cannot be interested in even thinking of a possible vocation because of the draft.

In a discussion recently, a high school boy said, "I'm sure many couples are getting married in order to beat the draft." According to U.S. Chamber of Commerce figures, one young man in every six is avoiding service in this way.

(2) Fewer but better trained men are needed for today's army. We need, as Mr. Adlai Stevenson says, "a volunteer system which calls on young men not to endure 2 years of service because they have to but to choose it—for a longer period." Senator Mike Mansfield says "an armed service of professionals cannot be built by conscription." If 80 percent of the men in uniform will never be fighting why train them to fight? If civilian skills are required, these men could get such training without serving time in the armed services.

(3) The present draft law discriminates. Less than half the young men of draft age are actually seeing military service. This is because of deferments granted to students and to vital workers in agriculture and industry. When one adds those who are avoiding the draft by getting married and on grounds of physical and mental unfitness (the last group is said to be one out of every three), one realizes that those who are left are discriminated against.

(4) The draft has caused a moral problem. For every youth whom military service has bettered, there is one who has thrown all moral principles overboard. This may be because it forces upon youth at an early age decisions which they are not mature enough to make. The position of the National Council of Churches is: "The Christian church encourages incentives for freedom of conscience, freedom of vocational choice, and the integrity of family life. Universal military training encroaches on all three of these fundamental human values."

(5) President Kennedy's proposed Domestic Peace Corps could take the place of the draft. Volunteers would serve in social work life hospitals, mental health centers, schools, on Indian reservations, in city slums, or poor rural areas. Others might work on preservation of natural resources. With the proper motivation by civilian personnel, youth in this national corps would come to the realization that they, each one, can help carry out President Kennedy's inaugural challenge: "Not what my country can do for me, but what I can do for my country."

In doing such work many youth would receive training for a vocation.

(6) The Army's offer to train youth for a vocation can be questioned on at least two counts. First, many youth who enlist must wait a year or more before they are offered the courses promised them when they entered the service. In the second place, why should this vocational training be directed by the military at all? Isn't it because the military is trying to usurp control?

President Eisenhower's words before he left office showed how greatly he feared this usurpation of the military when he said: "We must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex."

(7) It is up to you, members of this committee, to vote against the draft bill in order that our country may return to a government by civilian control, a government by elected representation, rather than a military dictatorship.

WILLIAMSBURG, VA., *March 3, 1963.*

Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL,
Senate Committee on Armed Services,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR RUSSELL: Enclosed please find a statement on S. 846 which I hope you will insert in the hearings concerning that bill.

Gratefully,

DABNEY STUART.

STATEMENT OF DABNEY STUART

I would like to express my opposition to S. 846, a bill to extend the induction provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act.

It is my belief that peacetime conscription is contrary to the principles stated in the Declaration of Independence. It also seems fundamentally at odds with the attempt to maintain peace: it is self-defeating for a nation to concentrate its efforts for peace by building a powerful military force, even if this force is euphemized out of its destructive purpose by such terms as "deterrent." Finally, I believe that the defeat of this bill will contribute to the concrete possibility of disarmament on a multilateral scale, and as an indication of this Nation's willingness to take steps toward such an end is eminently desirable.

From a practical standpoint I think two reasons recommend the defeat of this bill. First, the effectiveness of young men in America as citizens will be enhanced if this chief obstacle to their life plans is removed and the nature of their military service placed more in their hands than it can be when a draft system is in operation. Secondly, and of more importance, if the U.S. Army is placed in a position similar to the Navy, Air Force, and Marines, that it will be forced to improve the structure and activity of its organization. In so doing it will of necessity strengthen itself internally as well as insure the chance of getting better men to serve it. If the Army were not sure of recruits it would be obliged to offer potential career men better opportunities than it does.

Positively, in place of the draft I would suggest some kind of service whose aim is more directly and sensibly directed toward maintaining and insuring peace—services similar to the Peace Corps and the Friends' educational exchange program. Though this is a naive approach to the problem which in a very large sense ignores the facts of history, I feel it is preferable to a continuation of the cynicism history teaches, which, if present indications are to be believed, is tantamount to suicide.

MADISON, WIS., *March 1, 1963.*

HON. RICHARD RUSSELL,
Chairman, Senate Armed Services Committee,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

SENATOR RUSSELL: Enclosed please find the statement for inclusion in the hearings on H.R. 2438, a bill to extend the induction provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act, which I requested the right to submit in my letter of February 20.

I was not aware that the hearings would so hastily be moved up, but I sent this in as quickly as possible.

Thank you very much.

ROBERT WHITFORD.

STATEMENT OF ROBERT WHITFORD

I should like to be heard as against the proposed extension of H.R. 2438, a bill to extend the induction provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act.

My reasons for being against the extension of this bill include—

(1) A desire to see a lessening of the paranoiac thinking prevalent in our country's dealings with foreign nations, especially those associated with the Communist bloc;

(2) A desire to see the young men of our country planning and living their lives without the threat of forced participation in our present policies of militarism; and

(3) A desire to see the size of our Armed Forces shrink, giving to the rest of the world an indication of:

(a) the lessening of our above-mentioned paranoiac thinking; and

(b) the sincerity of our continual protestations of the desirability of peace and the relaxation of world tensions.

Therefore, I ask that you please give this bill the utmost of consideration and listen to all relevant testimony in order that we might prevent the draft from becoming a way of life instead of an emergency wartime measure.

OLD TAPPAN, N.J., *March 13, 1963.*

HON. RICHARD RUSSELL,
Chairman, Senate Armed Services Committee,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR RUSSELL: On behalf of writers to the Voice of the People column of the Record, a newspaper published in Hackensack, N.J., I request the right to submit the enclosed statement in lieu of personal testimony to the hearings on draft extension. I am enclosing 25 copies of the statement simultaneously with this request in order that it be on time for possible inclusion with the record of the hearings.

The names of other writers besides myself to the Voice columns will be transmitted to your committee within a few days. I am compiling a more complete listing.

Very sincerely yours,

HENRY KOCH.

STATEMENT BY WRITERS TO THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE COLUMN OF THE RECORD,
A DAILY NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN HACKENSACK, N.J.

To the Armed Services Committee:

A draft is an interference with personal liberty. The subject is directed by Selective Service to give up his usual mode of life, remove to a camp, place himself under a rigid routine or orders. This is contrary to individual freedom.

Those individualistic young men insisting on their basic natural rights are set apart from others. Refusal to obey the compulsory program leads to a term in prison. The minimum sentence of a year and a day is still long enough to inflict loss of voting and other citizenship rights. Society is witnessing the degrading spectacle of constitutional government punishing those who by their acts uphold constitutional liberties.

Since it holds the weapon of induction over every family with male children, a permanent selective service organization is tyranny. Officials should not be permitted to compel the livelihood of young people. This abuse can be corrected by ending the draft.

The military effectiveness of the armed services has been impaired by compulsory service. Since coercion and not personal choice is the basis of filling the ranks, the morale is not up to that of a volunteer professional army. The Cordiner Committee, composed of businessmen and engineers, reported in 1957 that the men were counting the days until they got out. There were many more available than required to do the job. The officers live a life of exalted ease from the work of orderlies and male servants. Because of short-term service with constant labor turnover, valuable equipment is mishandled. The Cordiner report estimated machinery worth 5 billions of dollars would be saved by a smaller force trained over a longer period.

It should be evident that the United States is limited in aiding development of a free society abroad if an enormous apparatus of oppression is maintained at home. The Defense Establishment of over 3 million people and \$50 billion annual budget operating under military bureaucratic auspices undermines the free economic system. This organization supplied with cheap labor by virtue of draft legislation stifles personal initiative and promotes the pattern of the welfare state.

The majority of the 14 million persons in U.S. military service during World War II were in noncombat divisions. Since 90 percent never used combat training, there is no defense need for large numbers of men acquiring boot camp training.

With present adequate transportation, a small combat army with conventional arms can effectively defend any part of this Nation. For oversea operation these units could be serviced by civilian groups under contract, such as the Seabees of World War II.

Chairman RUSSELL. Do you have anything further, Mr. Secretary?

Mr. PAUL. No, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman RUSSELL. All right, sir, we thank you for your presence here. We will now turn to the nongovernmental witnesses.

In the interests of fairness, these have been listed, so far as the organizations are concerned, alphabetically. That brings us first to the presentation by the American Civil Liberties Union. They are represented here by Mr. Lawrence Speiser, director of the Washington office.

Have a seat, Mr. Speiser.

You are familiar, of course, with our hope that you can present your views in 10 minutes and let the rest of your statement be included in the record?

STATEMENT OF LAWRENCE SPEISER, DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON OFFICE, THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

Mr. SPEISER. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman RUSSELL. You may proceed.

Mr. SPEISER. My name is Lawrence Speiser. I am the director of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union. My appearance here today is concerned with the section of the Universal Military Training Service Act which provides for exemption for those who are conscientiously opposed to war.

The present section, section 6(j), provides:

Nothing contained in this title * * * shall be construed to require any person to be subject to combatant training and service in the Armed Forces of the United States who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form. *Religious training and belief in this connection means an individual's belief in a relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation, but does not include essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code.* [Emphasis added.]

This section was not always defined in this fashion. The "Supreme Being clause" was placed in the act after the decision of *United States v. Kauten*, 133 F. 2d 703 (2d Cir. 1943) in which Justice Hand ruled that a conscientious objector need not believe in a Supreme Being in order to qualify for deferment under the Selective Service Act. In his opinion Judge Hand stated:

It is unnecessary to attempt a definition of religion; the content of the term is found in the history of the human race and is incapable of compression into a few words. Religious belief arises from a sense of the inadequacy of reason as a means of relating the individual to his fellow man and to his universe * * * It is a belief finding expression in a conscience. * * * [It] may justly be regarded as a response of the individual to an inward mentor, call it conscience or God, that is for many persons at the present time the equivalent of what has always been thought a religious impulse. Recognition of this obligation (of conscience) moved the Greek poet Menander to write almost 2,400 years ago, "Conscience is a God to all mortals" * * *.

Similarly, it was pointed out by Judge Denman in his dissent in *Berman v. United States*, 156 F. 2d 377 (9th Cir. 1946), that many of the great religious faiths have no God including the Chinese.

religion of Tao and also Buddhism in its earliest years (19 Encyclopaedia Britannica [14th ed. 111].)

Since Congress amended the Universal Military Training and Service Act to include the statement:

Religious training and belief in this connection means an individual's belief in a relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation, but does not include essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code—

there has been a decision by the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Torcaso v. Watkins*, 367 U.S. 488 (1961). In that case the U.S. Supreme Court, in a unanimous decision, held that a Maryland constitutional provision requiring a belief in the existence of God as a qualification for holding any public office or position of honor in Maryland violated the freedom of belief and religion of an applicant for a notary public's position and could not be enforced against him. In that case, the Court, speaking through Justice Black, stated:

We repeat and again reaffirm that neither a State nor the Federal Government can constitutionally force a person "to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion." Neither can constitutionally pass laws or impose requirements which aid all religions as against nonbelievers, and neither can aid those religious based on a belief in the existence of God as against those religions founded on different beliefs

We contend that in the light of the decision of *Torcaso v. Watkins*, the present "Supreme Being clause" of the Universal Military Training Act is unconstitutional and should be deleted. This would place the law, we feel, back in the status that it was with Judge Hand's opinion, in which, even though you retain the religious training and belief requirement, this would be interpreted to include those whose beliefs are essentially political, sociological, or philosophical, or merely a personal code.

To require that a man's objection to participation in war be the result of religious training and belief alone fails to admit the plain fact that of the millions of our citizens who do not subscribe to the tenets of an organized religion or to the belief in a Supreme Being, there are those whose objection to personal participation in all war is as deeply felt and as unyieldingly held on conscientious grounds as those whose beliefs spring from a more formal religious conviction.

Statistics concerning conscientious objectors in World War II reveal that a good number of Americans were included in this category. Of the approximately 18,000 persons who were imprisoned or who served in civilian public service camps, more than 1,500 were non-religious conscientious objectors. There were also many others who claimed exemption on religious grounds but really objected to military service on the basis of personal conviction.

The present law recognizes the fact that men will in good faith refuse to bear arms or to participate in any war. It fails to recognize, however, that a man's conscience, whether or not rooted in a belief in a Supreme Being, deserves the recognition and respect of the community regardless of disagreement with the source of his conviction. To recognize the principle, but to restrict its application, in effect sanctions state-prescribed dogma. Certainly the Armed Forces cannot, and possibly dare not, probe into the motivations of all those who accept the mandate to be inducted or volunteer in lieu thereof. At least, in matters of conscience, no more than in matters of speech, the

attempted imposition of doctrine by the state is anathema to freemen. Moreover, our democratic society can rightfully pride itself on the first amendment guarantee of freedom of conscience, only if it asserts the special responsibility to recognize the dictates of individual conscience.

We do not suggest that persons without formal religious training or belief who have conscientious objection to war should be given special benefits, but only that their conviction be regarded as deserving of equal treatment. We realize that one argument advanced against exempting nonreligious pacifists is that persons seeking to evade military service will seize on the conscientious objection exemption as a dodge. We do not believe this is a realistic concern because criteria for proving legitimate conscientious objection can be drawn up, including, as only one factor, consideration of membership or activity in nonreligious pacifist and other other organizations which have objection to war. The final determination unfortunately—but necessarily because it involved “conscience”—must rest on an evaluation of the individual belief.

We urge this committee to recommend to Congress an amendment to the Universal Military Training and Service Act, which would eliminate the sentence requiring a belief in a Supreme Being as a condition for deferment as a conscientious objector.

(The following information was subsequently furnished by the Department of Defense:)

DOD POSITION ON CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

We are advised by the Selective Service System that experience has demonstrated the impossibility of devising and administering of objective tests capable of establishing convictions based upon other than religious training and belief. It is therefore recommended that the provisions of law with respect to conscientious objectors not be broadened.

WHO IS A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR?

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Since colonial days the Nation has traditionally granted exemption to satisfy the consciences of those persons who by reason of religious training and belief are conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form and not to grant exemption to the great numbers of persons who might object to war on philosophical, political, or other grounds. Even were the Nation willing to abandon this tradition the Selective Service System knows of no way that it could devise and administer an objective test capable of measuring the convictions of persons based upon other than religious grounds.

II. LEGAL ASPECTS

A. *Constitutional religious freedom*

The (Federal) Constitution grants no immunity from military service because of religious convictions or activities. Immunity arises solely through congressional grace in pursuance of a traditional American policy of deference to conscientious objection and holy calling. In short, it may be stated that there never has been in American history any Federal constitutional provision which exempted pacifists or even clergymen from compulsory military service; such exemption, when granted, is strictly an act of grace, and has been by specific act of the Congress of the United States.

The constitutionality of the Federal Draft Act of 1917 was upheld in the publicized *Selective Draft Law* cases. One of the main defenses in those cases was that it was unconstitutional for Congress to compel military service by a selective draft because the act violated the constitutional guarantee of religious freedom. The law is well settled that although government may not interfere with religious

beliefs and opinions, it can prohibit and punish religious practices which are criminal offenses. Since a violation of the Draft Act is a criminal offense, it can readily be seen that a pacifist, whose practices make him guilty of such offense, cannot claim the defense of constitutional religious freedom.

A (citizen) may be compelled, by force if need be, against his will and without regard to his personal wishes or his religious or political convictions, to take his place in the ranks of the Army of his country and risk the chance of being shot down in its defense.

B. History

1. *Revolutionary War.*—Under the Articles of Confederation, Congress had no power to enforce military service as its authority was absolutely limited to making calls upon the States for military forces needed to create and maintain the Army, each State being bound for its quota as called. The State in response to the calls made, met the situation by directing enforced military service on the part of its citizens.

The duty of the citizen to render military service and the power to compel him against his consent to do so was expressly sanctioned by the constitutions of at least nine of the States. Nevertheless, from as early as 1777, Quakers and some other conscientious objectors have been exempted as an act of grace from military service by provisions of a number of State statutes and State constitutions. The early statutes of Massachusetts and Maine expressly exempted Quakers who presented properly authenticated certificates of their being Quakers from their local Quaker Church.

When the Constitution of the United States was being drafted it was manifestly intended that the power to raise an army be given all to Congress, and leave none to the States, since besides the delegation to Congress of authority to raise armies, the Constitution prohibited the States, without consent of Congress, from keeping troops in times of peace or engaging in war (art. I, No. 10). Under the militia clause (art. I, No. 8) the States had the right to organize and train the militia, but the militia was subject to the paramount authority of Congress.

2. *War of 1812.*—From the act of the first session of Congress carrying over the Army of the Government under the Confederation to the United States under the Constitution down to 1812, the authority to raise armies was regularly exerted as a distinct and substantive power, the force being raised and recruited by enlistment. When the War of 1812 came, a bill was introduced to organize an army by compulsory draft by which it was proposed that the United States deal directly with the body of citizens subject to military duty, and call a designated number. Peace came before the bill was enacted.

3. *Mexican War.*—No draft was suggested because the regular U.S. Army, the militia, and volunteer commands proved adequate.

4. *Civil War.*—First the militia was called, then an act authorizing the President to accept 500,000 volunteers, then another act increasing the force of the militia was passed. Soon it became manifest that more men were required. As a result Congress enacted "An Act for enrolling and calling out the National Forces and for other purposes". By that act every male citizen between the ages of 25 and 45 was made subject to compulsory draft to service in a national army. Section 13 of this act provided that "any person drafted . . . may . . . furnish an acceptable substitute to take his place in the draft or he may pay to such person as the Secretary of War may authorize to receive it, such sum not exceeding \$300 as the Secretary may determine for the procurement of such substitute". Although this act did not make an express provision for exempting conscientious objectors to military service, it is now believed that it was then thought section 13 would take care of such persons.

5. *Confederate States of America.*—During the Civil War, the first Congress of the Confederate States of America, in its second session in 1862, enacted the first national express exemption of religious pacifists from military service which specifically applied to "all persons who have been and now are members of the Society of Friends and the association of Dunkards, Nazarenes, and Mennonists, in regular membership in their respective denominations: . . ." As can be seen, this legislation was limited to members of certain named sects. This exemptionary provision of the act was interpreted by an Alabama court in 1863. The court said: "Conscientious scruples, against bearing arms, unless the party entertaining them belongs to one of the religious sects mentioned in the statute, presents to the courts no legal grounds for declaring the petitioner exempt from military duty."

6. *Spanish American War*.—No draft was required because the regular U.S. Army, the militia and volunteer commands proved adequate as during the days of the Mexican war.

7. *World War I*.—The 1917 Federal Draft Act provided: “* * * and nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to require or compel any person to serve in any of the forces herein provided for who is found to be a member of any well recognized religious sect or organization at present organized and whose existing creed or principles forbid its members to participate in war in any form and whose religious convictions are against war or participation therein in accordance with the creed or principles of said religious organization.”

The previous practice of obtaining military exemption by furnishing a substitute or payment of money necessary to hire one was abolished by the 1917 Federal Draft Act. Under this act, one was a conscientious objector only if he was a member of a well-established religious sect. Thus, if one was not a member of such well-established sect, he was not a conscientious objector, even though his pacifism arose from his personal conscientious and religious beliefs.

8. *World War II*.—The Selective Service Act of 1940 specifically exempted any person “who, by reason of their religious training and belief is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form,” and gave the conscientious objector the choice of becoming a member of the Armed Forces in noncombatant service or doing work of national importance under civilian direction in a public service camp.

As has been seen, under the 1917 act it was necessary to have membership in a sect or organization whose religious convictions were against war to obtain exemption. The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 broadened the basis of exemption to include all persons who “by reason of religious training and belief” were conscientiously opposed to war in any form. The law thus embraced members of all churches, not merely those whose creed specifically forbade participation in war.

C. The Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951

The identical language as to conscientious objectors found in the 1940 act was carried over into the 1948 Selective Service Act and into the 1951 act. In addition, the following language was added in the 1948 act in order to remove any doubt as to the religious basis for the objection: “Religious training and belief in this connection means an individual’s belief in a relation to a supreme being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation, but does not include essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code.”

Chairman RUSSELL. Mr. Speiser, as a matter for the record, does the American Civil Liberties Union have various chapters or groups in each of the cities, or is it organized on a national level?

Mr. SPEISER. It is organized on a national level. There are affiliates in approximately 40 States. There are some additional affiliates in cities of some States in which there are not a sufficient number of people to be organized on a statewide basis.

I will be glad to send you some information, Mr. Chairman, on the organization.

Chairman RUSSELL. I was just curious in my own mind as to how you came to a meeting of the minds on your opposition to a provision such as this, whether you had a national convention that passed on it, or whether you had a national board of directors who took this position, or whether you sent around to each of your organizations that this appeared to be a meritorious case for intervention by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. SPEISER. On this particular issue, the determination was made by our national board of directors.

Chairman RUSSELL. How are they chosen?

Mr. SPEISER. They are chosen by election by the affiliates who vote on ballots which are sent out to the affiliates, and also to individual members.

Chairman RUSSELL. The American Civil Liberties Union has been rather active, at times, in presenting its viewpoint through litigation in the courts. Do you know whether this particular provision has been challenged in the courts or not?

Mr. SPEISER. Yes, it has. The challenges arose prior to the *Torcaso* decision that I am aware of. There were a couple of challenges in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in which the Ninth Circuit upheld the Supreme Being clause. However, these challenges were prior to the decision in the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the *Torcaso* case.

Chairman RUSSELL. Senator Inouye?

Senator INOUE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Speiser, in your testimony, you do not refer to the extension of the law for 4 years. Has your organization taken any position as to the extension of the authority for an additional 4 years?

Mr. SPEISER. No, we have not.

Senator INOUE. You are not prepared to answer whether you are for or against it?

Mr. SPEISER. No, I am not.

Senator INOUE. It is your belief that if this provision on the Supreme Being is deleted, it will not increase the possibility of dodging the draft?

Mr. SPEISER. Well, I must be frank to say it will increase that possibility. I think there is that possibility which exists at the present time with the Supreme Being clause and with the requirement, as it has been interpreted, for religious training and belief.

I think it is possible for an individual who is bent on avoiding the draft to, far enough in advance, go to a pacifist church, to assume all the attributes of being a conscientious pacifist and escape the draft.

I think that this is a possibility.

However, I think that the argument, I suppose, is not to throw out the baby with the bath water. Merely because some people will misuse it, I do not think it is a reason to not grant equal treatment to those who genuinely and conscientiously are opposed to participation in war.

I might suggest, Senator, that there is a problem here. For example, as I understand it, there are a number of religions that do not have a belief in a Supreme Being as a condition or a tenet of their particular religions. And it seems to me that, not only is there a discrimination against conscientious objectors who are members of those particular faiths, and there is apparently no consideration of that in this particular clause right here.

Senator INOUE. Thank you very much.

Chairman RUSSELL. This has caused more concern, generally speaking, and has been the most difficult provision of this whole law for me to deal with since it was first enacted in 1939 or 1940. It presents so many problems as far as the individual concerned is involved. I know some of the Federal judges who faced this question. As a matter of fact, I had a brother, a Federal judge, who used to stay awake at night wondering about these Jehovah's Witnesses in World War II.

Not only would they refuse to serve in the military, they refused to do anything at all.

Mr. SPEISER. Yes, I think this is true for Jehovah's Witnesses.

Chairman RUSSELL. The poor fellow is gone now, but I have never seen a man agonized more over anything he did than he was with that provision of the law: what to do with these people who would just come in, plead guilty, and there they were. He felt as if he had to do something to be fair to the thousands who were being taken into the service, by punishing those who were evading it. Yet, many of those people were in such apparent good faith that it was a real trial to a man's soul to have to punish them by sending them to the penitentiary.

Mr. SPEISER. I think the proof of their good faith was the fact that they were willing to go to jail to demonstrate their good faith.

Chairman RUSSELL. There is no question about that. There are those, though, who would rather be in jail than go to war. They are much more liable to get killed in a war than they are in jail.

Mr. SPEISER. As I said to Senator Inouye, I agree that there is certainly the possibility of some individuals taking advantage of any type of exemption, but that is not a reason for not providing for it, which the Congress, in its judgment, has determined has been a valid reason.

I suppose the other factor is, if you do force individuals into the Armed Forces who are conscientiously opposed and who do not feel strongly enough, I suppose, to go to jail, that this does not really help the Armed Forces. They generally are not good soldiers. They are more trouble than they are worth, and this may have been a factor in Congress initially providing for deferments.

Chairman RUSSELL. Yes, we have many problems. Of course, an outstanding impression to me has been the Quakers. They will not pick up a gun, but they will drive a truck to get a wounded man where the bravest soldier would not dare to go.

Mr. SPEISER. I think that the record of conscientious objectors, as far as bravery is concerned, is an outstanding one.

Chairman RUSSELL. Yes.

Thank you very much, Mr. Speiser.

Mr. SPEISER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman RUSSELL. The next witness represents the American Farm Bureau Federation whose views will be presented by Mr. Matt Triggs, Assistant Legislative Director.

Come around, Mr. Triggs.

STATEMENT OF MATT TRIGGS, ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR, AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION

Mr. TRIGGS. Thank you, sir.

Our statement is a very brief one, and I think you have it before you.

We respectfully urge that such action be taken by the committee, either in the form of an amendment to the bill or otherwise, as may be necessary to accomplish a better coordination between (1) the need to provide selective service trainees for the armed services and (2) the need to provide employment for young people in the 18-to-22 age group.

The difficult problems involved in the permanent entry of young workers into the labor force are generally recognized and have been the subject of numerous congressional hearings.

It seems to us that it is wasteful and harmful to the public welfare to induct many young men who have successfully overcome the difficulties involved in entering the labor force with resultant disruption of their lives and careers at a time when there are many thousands of unemployed young men of younger ages who have not yet become a part of the permanent work force.

The present regulations of the Selective Service System appear to us to operate so as to seriously impair the employment opportunity of young men. This result is brought about by the direction to local boards to induct first (after volunteers) "nonvolunteers who have attained the age of 19 years and have not attained the age of 26 years and who do not have a child or children with whom they maintain a bona fide family relationship in their homes, in the order of their dates of birth with the oldest being selected first."

I am not sure that this is an up-to-date quotation from the regulations, but it is, as we understand it, still the practice.

The consequence of this regulation is that the older aged group, those 25, 24, and 23 years of age, many of whom have established themselves in the occupation of their choice, are the ones who are drafted, even though there may be many eligible registrants in younger age groups who are not employed. This latter group, in turn, are called 3 or 4 years later, after they, in turn, have made some progress toward permanent and effective entry into the labor force. The result is the maximum disruption of the life of all inductees.

Our point is simply this: If a larger percentage of inductees are drafted at ages 18 to 22, this will have less disruption on the lives and occupational endeavors of young men than if they are inducted at ages 23 to 26.

The draft situation impairs the capacity of young persons to find worthwhile employment. Employers are understandably reluctant to employ on any permanent basis, particularly when training and experience are necessary to develop an employee's capacity, those who may be called at any time. Many young men who would otherwise obtain employment leading to a serious working life are compelled to mark time in some run-of-the-mill routine, temporary job. Thus, selective service regulations are a contributing factor to the unemployment problem of young men. This is a waste of our national manpower resources, our most important resource.

In his message of February 14, 1963, on "Our Nation's Youth," President Kennedy referred to the difficulties of young people in effectively entering the employed work force and pointed out that "unemployment among young workers today is 2½ times the national average." The President proposed a variety of new programs to improve employment opportunity of young people. We believe that a modification of selective service induction policy would represent a substantial contribution to solution of the problem.

The present situation provides an artificial incentive to premature fatherhood as a means of avoiding the draft.

We recognize, of course, that individuals can avoid this problem for themselves by volunteering for induction by selective service. Our point is that most of them do not and that the public interest is defeated by the situation now prevailing.

There does not appear to be any crucial urgency to the immediate enactment of an extension of the act. There is sufficient time that

careful and objective appraisal might be given to the problem. We believe it is an important problem and that some modification of induction policy could make a material contribution to relieving the youth employment situation.

Thank you very much, Senator.

Chairman RUSSELL. Thank you, Mr. Triggs.

Of course, this is a matter that can be corrected easily by regulation as well as legislation.

Senator Inouye?

Senator INOUE. Mr. Chairman, this statement makes a lot of sense to me. Would it be possible to have the views of the Secretary on this?

Chairman RUSSELL. Oh, yes, indeed. We will ask Mr. Paul to give us the views of the Department of Defense on this statement.

One of the reasons they have been getting the older ones is because of the fact that they request a deferment, or did for a long time, some of them, in order to complete their education.

Mr. TRIGGS. In some cases this is true, yes, sir.

(The following information was subsequently furnished by Department of Defense:)

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE POSITION

Under present selective service regulations registrants in Class I-A, Nonfathers, in ages 19-25 years, are selected for induction in order of age, with oldest men selected first.

Proposals have been advanced, at times, to reduce the maximum age of liability for induction from 25 to some earlier age. These proposals and other possible changes in the present system of selection for military service have received careful study within the executive branch over a period of years. We believe that the limit of 25 (or until 26th birthday) continues to have decided advantages at the present time.

First, it offers a greater flexibility to the individual to choose his time of entering service, in relation to his own educational plans and personal situation. Our statistics show that most of the young men who voluntarily enter on active duty as enlistees or as voluntary inductees do so shortly after leaving high school. Over three-fourths of our enlistees, in recent years, have been between 17 and 19 years of age at the time of their enlistment. On the other hand, those who choose to go to college first, or to start a civilian work career, have an opportunity to do so. These older enlistees, as well as those inducted, provide the armed services with a range of skills, training and experience which they would not otherwise obtain.

Second, a lowered maximum age of service liability could have possible adverse effects on our officer procurement program. Nearly all of our new commissioned officer inputs are drawn from the ranks of recent college graduates. The typical age at college graduation is between 21 and 22 years. Many, however, graduate at a later age, and a growing percentage continue for advanced degrees. However, if the maximum effective age of service liability were lowered, local draft boards would be faced with the dilemma of either withdrawing deferments from many college seniors and graduate students, or of allowing large numbers to escape their service liability by continuing in college under a deferred status. In either case, it is possible that our officer procurement program would suffer.

In addition, General Hershey has advised that a lower age of liability will endanger the student deferment program generally. This program has been of great value in increasing the Nation's resources of scientists, engineers and other essential specialized manpower.

Chairman RUSSELL. Thank you, sir.

The American Optometric Association, Dr. V. Eugene McCrary.

All right, Dr. McCrary.

**STATEMENT OF V. EUGENE McCrARY, O.D., ON BEHALF OF THE
AMERICAN OPTOMETRIC ASSOCIATION**

Dr. McCrary. Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you for the opportunity to appear this morning and to present the following testimony to the committee.

My name is V. Eugene McCrary. I am an optometrist, practicing in College Park, Md. I commenced practicing with my father in Greenville, S.C., in 1950. Subsequently, I moved to Maryland where I have served as president of the Maryland Optometric Association, a member of the Board of Examiners in Optometry for the State of Maryland, and as an optometric consultant to the industrial vision program of the U.S. Naval Research Laboratory. My appearance here is as trustee consultant to the Department of National Affairs of the American Optometric Association. In World War II, I enlisted in the Navy at the age of 17 in the combat aircrew program. Following my discharge I obtained my professional training as an optometrist and served during the Korean conflict as an optometry officer in the Medical Service Corps of the Navy Reserve. At the present time I hold a Reserve commission as a full lieutenant in the Naval Reserve.

There are approximately 18,000 licensed optometrists practicing in the United States, and substantially more than half of that number are members of our association. Our house of delegates is primarily composed of representatives of the 50 State associations and those of the District of Columbia.

As patriotic Americans we are interested in the national defense and recognize the necessity for the extension of the induction provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act as provided in S. 846. Our appearance is not only for the purpose of endorsing the extension of the act until July 1, 1967, but also to request that the bill be amended so as to include optometry officers along with physicians and dentists in the special pay provisions of the so-called draft doctors law. Optometrists are included in the law but not in those provisions which provide special pay.

Our association recently sent a questionnaire to the optometry officers now on active duty in the armed services. One of the questions propounded to them was whether or not they intended to make military optometry a career and, if not, why. Those who replied in the negative gave as the principal reason the lack of pay and rank. May I give you just one example within my personal knowledge? There was an optometrist who had attained the rank of captain in the Army who was stationed at Walter Reed Hospital. His duties included teaching physicians concerning the use of contact lenses and subnormal vision aids. Most of his students outranked him and all of them received special pay. He would have preferred to continue in the Army, but felt that the chances of promotion and the welfare of his family required that he go into civilian practice. He resigned only a little over a year ago and his first year of practice netted three times his Army pay. He is serving on the association's Committee on Visual Problems in Aeronautics and Space.

As has been pointed out to this committee, the benefits for doctors and dentists were enacted to stop a dangerous increase in resignations

of the medical and dental officers and in some degree to compensate for the financial sacrifice as compared to civilian practice. This applies to optometrists as well as to physicians and dentists.

There can be no question but that vision plays an important part in our national defense. It isn't just a question of what a soldier, sailor, or airman can read at a distance of 20 feet, or whether his ability to distinguish colors is so defective that he cannot tell red from green and therefore might be classified as "color blind." It is necessary to determine the individual's ability to see at near point, at far point, to judge speed and relative distance of two objects (sometimes referred to as depth perception), and the speed with which he can identify a particular object. One's ability to perform exacting visual functions for a sustained period of time, particularly those standing watch at radarscope stations on DEW line and other portions of our ballistic missile warning systems, must not only be determined, but having the basic visual ability, his performance can be improved by visual training. Night vision is another area that is becoming more and more important.

There are special visual problems connected with aeronautics and space. Our association has a committee dealing with this particular subject, known as the Committee on Visual Problems in Aeronautics and Space. Frederick W. Hebbard, associate professor in the Ohio State University School of Optometry, is chairman of the committee. Lt. Col. Floyd M. Morris, USAF (MSC), now stationed at the School of Aerospace Medicine, Brooks AFB, is one of the members.

May I quote from the remarks of Maj. Gen. Kneiss, Surgeon General of the Air Force:

The optometric profession is performing an increasingly important role in the aerospace age. While the research of Air Force optometrists is necessarily devoted to problems related to military requirements, the results of our research may have far-reaching benefits in men's efforts to conquer space.

I would also like to call your attention to some remarks by a former Secretary of Commerce:

I am informed that research by optometric and medical experts in many highly specialized industries has proved conclusively that there is a close correlation between good visual performance and successful working performance on specific jobs. Indeed, a worker with an undetected visual defect can be not only a liability to production, but also a liability to himself and his coworkers. Statistical evidence has come to my attention which reveals that two out of three adults have inefficient vision which can handicap their work and personal job advancement opportunities.

* * * * *

Millions of dollars have been saved annually by American industry through increased efficiency, eye protection, and qualitative as well as quantitative production.

In the field of research there were two interesting articles in the Sunday, March 10, 1963, edition of the Washington Post-Times Herald—one in the magazine section and the other in the paper itself. While neither one of them had a direct bearing on national defense, one of them did involve improved safety of motor vehicles on our highways. The death toll involved in highway accidents does cut down materially our defense manpower. I brought copies of these articles with me to leave with the committee, but I am not asking that they be incorporated as part of the record, although I have no objection to their being utilized if the committee desires it.

Beginning July 1, doctors of medicine and dentistry will be commissioned originally with the rank of captain and, together with the veterinarians at the start, will be drawing \$100 a month special pay. This special pay was provided by the draft doctors law which authorized the payment of \$100 a month bonus to physicians, dentists, and veterinarians who volunteered for service rather than waiting to be drafted. No doubt, some of you gentlemen are thinking that it takes a minimum of 6 years for a physician to qualify for an M.D. or a dentist for a D.D.S. Perhaps you are not aware of the fact that it takes 5 or 6 years at the college level for a man or woman to qualify for a professional degree in optometry which is necessary in order to secure an MSC commission as an optometrist. Many of our optometrists have successfully completed more than 6 years at the college level and yet they are commissioned only as second lieutenants or ensigns. This also results in their being assigned many nonprofessional duties although their backlog of patients is very heavy.

There is another fallacy which prevails in the Defense Department—namely, that they have an adequate supply of optometrists. It is true that while optometrists have never been drafted under the draft doctors law, neither have physicians or dentists. Last year it was necessary for our association to assist the Army in their campaign to secure their needed optometric manpower. The armed services could well use half again as many optometrists as are now on active duty. The reason they are not doing so is because of the difficulty in securing billets, spaces or slots for them. The officer strength of the Medical Service Corps is determined not by the need for optometrists but by the overall need for medical administrators, pharmacists, sanitary engineers, biochemists, physicists, optometrists and other specialists included in the makeup of the Medical Service Corps. Of this group optometrists are the only ones who, both in private practice and in the military, do in fact maintain the doctor-patient relationship which involves the same responsibility as that of physicians or dentists.

In World War II, the Navy was the only branch of our armed services which commissioned optometrists. They had between 130 and 140 commissioned optometry officers on active duty by V-J Day. It was not until the Medical Service Corps law was passed in 1947 that the Army and subsequently the Air Force began commissioning optometrists. Therefore, many of the optometrists who were commissioned in the Navy during World War II elected to make Navy optometry a career, with the result that a large percentage of our Navy officers hold ranks ranging from lieutenant commander to captain, while the great majority of our men in the Army and Air Force are serving as second and first lieutenants with the resulting heavy turnover. One method adopted by these two services to reduce their recruiting problem was to require optometrists applying for a commission to agree to a tour of 3 years' active duty, while physicians and dentists are only required to serve a minimum of 2 years. Obviously, this is another instance of unfair discrimination against our profession.

The students in our optometry schools and colleges have the same preprofessional training at the high school and similar training at the college level as students of medicine and dentistry. Their social and economic backgrounds are often identical. It is easy to understand

their resentment when they discover that their friends and classmates in high school and as freshmen and sophomores in college are commissioned as captains in the Army and Air Force and full lieutenants in the Navy, while they have to start at the bottom of the officer's ladder. Those who select either medicine or dentistry are not only given higher rank, but also receive special pay ranging from \$100 a month to \$250 a month. The veterinarians also receive the benefit of the \$100-a-month special pay.

Our men are well trained in anatomy, physiology, and pathology, particularly as these subjects relate to the eye. Postgraduate work in physiological optics is available only on the campuses which have schools of optometry. The hard core of the teaching staff on this highly important subject is composed of optometrists with postgraduate degrees. The head of the Optometry Division of the University of Indiana is Henry Hofstetter, who holds not only an O.D. degree, but also a Ph. D in physiological optics and is a trustee of our association.

It is my understanding that many of the optometrists in the armed services are giving courses in refraction, contact lenses, and visual training to physicians in the armed services. Yet, the physicians and dentists are given constructive credit for their professional education prior to entering the armed services and receive the special pay benefits.

I realize, Mr. Chairman, that you and the members of this committee are vitally concerned with the cost of our national defense and are very loath to act favorably on legislation which adds to our annual deficit. For this I commend you, but authorizing special pay for optometrists equivalent to that now provided for physicians and dentists would be only a drop in the bucket in the total cost of our defense program, and would eliminate what we feel to be an unfair situation. We, therefore, respectfully request, Mr. Chairman, that you and the members of your subcommittee, in reporting S. 846 to the full committee, offer an amendment to provide that commissioned officers performing optometric services in the Army, Navy, or Air Force shall receive the same special pay as if their services had been those of a commissioned officer in the Medical Corps of the Army, Navy, or Air Force.

The wording of such an amendment is attached to this statement. (The amendment referred to follows:)

AMENDMENT

Amend S. 846 by adding thereto on page 2 after line 12, the following:

"SEC. 6. If a commissioned officer's regularly assigned duties require him to perform optometric services in the Army, Navy, or Air Force, he shall receive special pay determined under section 302(b) of title 37, United States Code the same as if his service performing those duties had been as a commissioned officer in the Medical Corps of the Army or Navy, or in a comparable status in the Air Force, whichever applies to him."

Chairman RUSSELL. You make a very impressive statement, Dr. McCrary. I do not think there is any prohibition against optometrists being treated as medical doctors in existing law. I think they could serve as physicians, dentists, and allied specialists; I think they could be included by the Department of Defense now. I know the question was raised once here about chiropradists, podiatrists, I believe they are called now, foot doctors.

Dr. McCrARY. Yes, sir.

Chairman RUSSELL. They may be more popular since the New Frontier brought out this 50-mile walking business, but I have often thought podiatrists would be about as important to an infantry regiment as most any other kind of a doctor, but they do not share in these benefits.

We will ask the Department of Defense to submit its reasons for not having optometrists in this provision, particularly as to the matter of rank.

(The following information was subsequently furnished by the Department of Defense:)

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE POSITION

The differences in rank and pay between physicians and optometrists in the military service stem from several factors.

1. Physicians spend a considerably greater length of time achieving their professional training than do optometrists. The usual optometry training entails 5 years: 4 years of undergraduate study, plus 1 year of postgraduate training. Medical training entails a usual minimum of 9 years: 4 years undergraduate, 4 years of medical school, plus 1 year of internship. However, specialty training requires an additional 2 years in the case of pediatrics and anesthesiology to 4 years as exemplified by general surgery, pathology, and orthopedics.

2. None of the Armed Forces has been experiencing any difficulty obtaining the number of optometrists it needs. Were this otherwise, optometrists would not be required to serve 3 years in order to obtain a commission.

3. The hospital team is always headed by a physician. Only a physician can "treat" a patient in the full sense of the word. This is in no way intended to deprecate the role of the optometrists who, like the clinical psychologist, the social worker, the nurse, and the dietitian, is an important member of the hospital team. However, in order to be truly effective, this team must be supervised by a physician. Each of these people possess skills which may not be known to the general physician and it is undoubtedly true that physicians can and do learn from them. The medical counterpart of the optometrist, however, is the ophthalmologist whose training as a physician qualifies him to diagnose and treat diseases of the eye. The optometrist is not so qualified.

4. If other scientific personnel are to be given constructive credit for postgraduate study and/or degrees, certainly no less should be done for the optometrist.

Chairman RUSSELL. You say they are started off as second lieutenants?

Dr. McCrARY. Yes, sir.

I might mention, Mr. Chairman, that I gave some testimony a couple of weeks ago before the House Armed Services Committee with relation to this matter of constructive service credit, and we have proposed an amendment on that side of the Congress to extend this also to optometrists, and we do feel that this would eliminate some of the inequities that do exist.

We are having a little bit of a problem in retaining our younger optometrists to make military optometry a rewarding career for them.

Chairman RUSSELL. You have had some splendid optometrists in the services. I have known some of them personally.

Dr. McCrARY. Yes, sir.

We have been very proud of the record that they have made. As you will recall, we had quite a problem in obtaining commissions for optometrists until the passage of the Medical Service Corps Act.

Chairman RUSSELL. Yes.

Dr. McCrARY. In 1947.

Chairman RUSSELL. Yes.

Dr. McCrARY. The great bulk of the optometrists who served during World War II and prior in the Army, and, of course, the Air Force was part of the Army at that time, served as enlisted men. Many of them were privates, corporals, and so forth, and yet they performed these duties of performing visual examinations.

Chairman RUSSELL. They get the commission now, all right.

Dr. McCrARY. Yes, sir.

Chairman RUSSELL. I happen to remember one I met at Walter Reed once who was a captain or a major, and who had been one of the instructors in optometry at the Tulane University Medical School. I have forgotten his name for the time being, but he was an exceedingly capable man. It never occurred to me that he was not drawing all the emoluments of the other members of the medical profession, but he did have the rank all right. For his age, I think he was perhaps just as high or higher than medical doctors were.

Senator Inouye?

Senator INOUE. Mr. Chairman.

Dr. McCrARY, I realize that you represent the American Optometric Association, but could you think of any other profession allied to the medical profession that should be given similar treatment that you propose?

Dr. McCrARY. Let me just say this, Senator. I think, in general, the entire concept of the incentive pay does create a morale problem, as the Secretary mentioned a little earlier. There is, naturally, a resentment, because every man who serves in the Armed Forces feels that his time served is just as valuable as any other man's, and, yet, there is this problem of being able to attract men in the armed services, and we are beginning to feel this problem, as far as keeping our optometrists on active duty and encouraging them to make military duty a career.

There is no doubt that there probably should be other groups included, as far as this pay is concerned, but I would hesitate to enumerate them, because, if I mentioned one, there would be the possibility that I might forget someone, and, rather than do that, I would not mention any of them.

Senator INOUE. Thank you very much.

Chairman RUSSELL. Thank you, Dr. McCrary.

Dr. McCrARY. Thank you very much.

Chairman RUSSELL. The next witness is Dr. Edward K. Ziegler, who represents the Church of the Brethren.

STATEMENT OF REV. EDWARD K. ZIEGLER, ON BEHALF OF THE GENERAL BROTHERHOOD BOARD, CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN

Reverend ZIEGLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman RUSSELL. Down in my State we have quite a few Zieglers.

Reverend ZIEGLER. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Edward K. Ziegler, and my home is in Oakton, Va. I am appearing before this committee to testify on behalf of the General Brotherhood Board of the Church of the Brethren, and on behalf of my denomination. As a member of the general brotherhood board, a longtime pastor, and some years as a college teacher, I find myself in hearty agreement with the official statements the Church of the

Brethren has made on many occasions in its history of 244 years in America in opposition to the use of military might in international affairs and with the position of the general board of the church on current proposals before this committee.

Over the years, the Church of the Brethren has sent representatives to committees of the Congress which have considered bills relating to the Selective Service System. This testimony has always lifted up the historical position of the Church of the Brethren; that military service and war are contrary to the teachings of Jesus and the New Testament. Preparation for war and the drafting of manpower for war purposes or military training violates Christian conscience. However, the testimony of the Church of the Brethren has not been confined to pronouncing judgment on war, but has included positive suggestions for peacemaking. As you know, the Church of the Brethren has attempted to share food, clothing, blankets, physical help, and medical help for our brothers overseas and in this country. We have done this in the spirit of St. Paul:

If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink—
but more importantly in the spirit of Jesus:

Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me.

In testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee on January 31, 1950, W. Harold Row added a positive suggestion for peacemaking in the following statement:

We believe that a well motivated and supervised program of economic assistance and technical assistance is essential in building the peace.

We see in the Peace Corps an attempt to take positive steps for peace, just as we see in the Military Establishment unmistakable and irrevocable steps toward war.

It is our aim to be loyal and devoted citizens of our country with the understanding that loyalty to the state is always subject to a higher loyalty to God. Unless we resolutely obey what we believe to be the will of God, our ways are destined to failure. We feel our responsibility therefore to support legislation in harmony with God's law and to oppose that which is not.

Basically, our testimony is an appeal to this committee to take steps to repeal the law establishing the Selective Service System. This would be a dramatic step toward a peaceful world. Mankind eagerly awaits such steps on the part of the nations of the world.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, you have before you a bill to extend the induction provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act until July 1, 1967. In November 1962 the Brethren service commission, which is a part of the general brotherhood board, recommended:

That the Universal Military Training and Service Act be allowed to expire as a significant step toward disarmament and peace.

The Universal Military Training and Service Act forces young men into postponement of careers and interruption of education; it places youth in an authoritarian setting that is not compatible with democratic institutions; and it erodes the civil dominance over the military in our society. The major impact of the draft is the extension of the military claim to every young man and many families and the establishment of a military frame of reference in our country. A continuing militarization of this country is a serious threat to the historical civilian basis of government in the United States.

For more than 20 years, conscription for military service has been the policy of this Government, and many persons now regard it as established and permanent policy. However, through most of our history, and that of the free world, this policy has been considered dangerous and repugnant to the basic principles of individual freedom and democracy. The power to induct makes the element of compulsion inherent in the Selective Service System and violates the dignity and freedom of the individual. The prospect of induction places young men in positions of extreme difficulty as they plan educational and vocational programs. For many men the years between 18 and 22 or 23 hold so much uncertainty that their lives lose purpose, the foundations of character are threatened, and morality is often temporarily destroyed. Education, vocation, and responsible adult life cannot be postponed until "military service" is out of the way without serious and debilitating consequences. We urge you to recommend this bill not be passed and to allow the induction provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act to expire on July 1, 1963.

In the event the law is allowed to continue, which we fervently hope will not be the case, then we recommend that the religious definition of conscientious objector in the Universal Military Training and Service Act, section 6(j), be removed. In the judgment of Church of the Brethren leaders, it is not right for us to demand rights for conscientious objectors whom we have trained and encouraged, which are denied to persons who may be equally sincere but with a different orientation. While many conscientious objectors would base their conscientious objection to war on a belief in a supreme being and on religious training, we believe conscientious objection to war is not the exclusive right of those who hold these beliefs. No religious objector is automatically classified, without careful and just examination of the sincerity of his motives. Equal care in investigation could determine whether an objector who may not claim religious belief and training as his motivation, is worthy of such consideration. We live in a pluralistic society, and the cherished rights claimed by religious minorities must be granted to all citizens, whether or not they profess belief in a supreme being.

We would urge that the highest patriotism in the present time is that of the creative peacemaker, who resolutely and conscientiously spends his life in doing away with all the occasions of war, and in binding up the wounds of those whom past and present wars have hurt. We seek to inspire and train the people of our churches to be such creative peacemakers in the conviction that thus we can be of the highest service to our own beloved country and to all mankind. We believe in the light of this credo that conscription for military service is evil, unrelated to the highest interests of the Nation, and a denial of basic freedoms. Therefore, we urge that it be not further extended.

I am grateful to the committee for the privilege of presenting the testimony of the Church of the Brethren in opposition to this bill.

Chairman RUSSELL. We are glad to have heard you, Dr. Ziegler.

I know one of the greatest forces in the world today is an atheistic society that suppresses the practice of any religion, not to speak of freedom of religion. I am sure your organization took that into consideration in arriving at its views.

Reverend ZIEGLER. Yes, sir.

Chairman RUSSELL. You know its purpose is domination of the world?

Reverend ZIEGLER. Yes, sir.

Chairman RUSSELL. Declared and repeated time and again.

Senator Inouye?

Senator INOUE. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman RUSSELL. Thank you very much, Doctor.

Reverend ZIEGLER. Thank you, sir.

Chairman RUSSELL. The next presentation will be the representative of the Division of Peace and World Order of the Methodist Church. These views will be presented by Mr. Jack E. Corbett, who is a staff member of this organization. You may proceed, Mr. Corbett.

STATEMENT OF JACK E. CORBETT, STAFF MEMBER OF THE METHODIST DIVISION OF PEACE AND WORLD ORDER

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am, as you have mentioned, Jack Corbett, staff member of the Methodist Division of Peace and World Order. I am testifying on behalf of the Division of Peace and World Order, General Board of Christian Social Concerns of the Methodist Church, the official agency charged by our denomination with a consideration of U.S. military and foreign policy matters.

In 1960, the general conference of the Methodist Church, our highest authoritative body, registered its concern about military conscription in three ways. First, the general conference noted that the United States has had conscription legislation on its statute books for two decades and that, in the course of time, "many persons have come to regard this as an established and permanent policy."

The easy acceptance of this sort of military policy which, at one time, was almost universally regarded as repugnant to the principles of individual freedom and democracy, is ground for grave concern.

Here I quote the exact words of the Methodist general conference:

We are deeply troubled by the general indifference to the infringement of individual rights and freedom involved in compulsory military service. We urge that voluntary methods of recruiting military manpower be developed that accord the individual the freedom of choice which should characterize peacetime civilian life.

Let me add that in our judgment this is not just a matter of preference. The values and advantages of a voluntary system are so great that a determined effort should be made by the Armed Services Committees of the Congress and the Department of Defense to develop an alternative course to the all too easy one of renewing the present draft legislation.

The importance of strengthening the free aspects of our own society needs to be stressed. That portion of Soviet society with which we are most apt to disagree is its various expressions of compulsion. Americans pride themselves on their free political system and reasonably free economic system. The more elements of freedom in our society that we can provide for, the more confident we are of that society's future. Therefore, if there is any possibility of our moving from a compulsory enlistment system to a voluntary system, this should be given the fullest consideration by those who would seek to preserve American traditions and values.

The second concern of the general conference of the Methodist Church is for strenuous efforts to abolish military conscription throughout the world. The delegates expressed themselves in the following language:

We appeal to the United States to give bold leadership looking toward the universal abolition of peacetime conscription by or through the United Nations.

This position is closely related to another statement in which the conference commended the President, the Congress, and the State Department on their attention to disarmament and called for all governments to declare complete, universal, and enforceable disarmament to be their goals and to exert imaginative and dedicated leadership toward that goal.

The third point made by the 1960 General Conference of the Methodist Church deals with the provision for conscientious objectors under the existing draft legislation. As presently written and interpreted, the law requires that a person conscientiously opposed to participation in war must be an objector "by reason of religious training and belief" and must subscribe to a belief in a "Supreme Being."

Here is an instance where the official leadership of the Methodist Church clearly feels compelled to speak out, not in the interest of its own members or even that small minority which are conscientious objectors.

The words of the general conference should strike a responsive note in the minds and hearts of all religious people. Let me quote them for you:

Christians cannot complacently accept rights or privileges accorded to them because of their religious views but denied to others equally sincere who do not meet a religious test. So long as draft legislation remains in effect, we believe that all sincere conscientious objectors should be granted recognition and assigned to appropriate service, regardless of whether or not they profess religious grounds as the basis of their stand.

This concern is expressed with an awareness of the special relevance of the provision of our Constitution disallowing the "establishment of religion."

Some may raise the question of difficulty in determining sincerity. It should be noted that the present law and regulations do not automatically grant noncombatant duty or alternate civilian service to all religious men who claim conscientious objection. Draft boards and appeal officials are required to judge sincerity by objective evidence in the form of words, conduct, and general character. Why then should it be any more difficult to determine the sincerity of a non-religious objector motivated by a deeply humanitarian philosophy of life than that of a religious objector?

We commend these three concerns of the Methodist Church to your careful attention. We believe they should also be the concerns of every earnest and thoughtful citizen.

To these statements regarding the official positions taken by our Methodist leadership, I wish to add the following observations:

I. Effect on young men: At the present time, relatively few men are drafted. Of those who reach the age of 26, 58 percent enter some form of Active or Reserve military service. Out of the total manpower pool, fewer than 12 percent perform military duty through the draft. Furthermore, the young man may find many ways to avoid the draft.

He can choose to study science or attend graduate school, or get married—various devices which may be used to “beat the System,” as he calls it. Consequently, these factors erode his sense of patriotism. Serving in the Armed Forces through the draft rates low on the scale of popular respect among young Americans. They think of the draftee as “the fellow who got caught,” and he thinks of himself as unlucky. This makes for a low sense of patriotic duty.

II. Uncertainties over extended period: Further, it does not seem fair to keep our young men under the strain of 7½ years of uncertainty. During this extended period there are special anxieties with respect to finding employment, making plans educationally, and establishing a stable marriage and home. Certainly, if through a voluntary enlistment system such insecurities could be partially overcome, such a system should be considered very seriously.

III. Thorough review of means of manpower procurement: In the light of the above, we sincerely hope that a thorough review will be made of the means of manpower procurement for the armed services and that it will be possible for the Senate Armed Services Committee to initiate such studies.

These studies might deal with the following type of questions:

(1) What has been the experience of the ROTC during the last year on those campuses around the country where the compulsory ROTC program has been changed to a voluntary system of enlistment? Have the quotas been fulfilled? What effect has the change had on the morale of participants? Has the change in means of enlistment represented an improvement or a worsening of the situation—in the opinion of the students, professors, and administration? Such answers might provide a clue as to whether or not the Armed Forces would benefit from a voluntary enlistment system.

(2) Are there other means of making the voluntary system more attractive which have not yet been fully explored, such as increases in pay, more attractive training opportunities, a permanent bill providing for GI educational, housing, and other benefits?

(3) In the modern era, when conventional forces are most likely to be trained in effective guerrilla warfare or for limited war, is the draftee apt to be a type best suited for this kind of combat, either by his psychological inclination or by the rugged and highly specialized training requirements?

(4) Within the next few years, with the substantial increase in the manpower pool due to the addition of those young men born in the prolific post-World War II period, would voluntary enlistments be sufficient provided other inducements were offered?

We would hope that these questions will be considered through a study conducted by the committee or through some research organization contracted by the committee.

Thank you for the opportunity of presenting this testimony before the subcommittee.

Chairman RUSSELL. Senator Inouye?

Senator INOUE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Corbett, am I correct to assume from your testimony that the Methodist Church feels that at the present time there is a need to maintain manpower in the military services?

Mr. CORBETT. I quoted the 1960 statement, and we would not have really any statement with respect to that, but I am sure that the

Methodist Church feels the need for manpower in the armed services; yes, sir.

Senator INOUE. Mr. Corbett, would you like to comment on the Assistant Secretary of Defense's, Mr. Paul's, statement, that many of the enlistees enlisted because of a certain influence exerted by the existence of the draft liability? In fact, he quoted 40 percent, 40 percent of the enlistees were influenced by the draft liability.

Mr. CORBETT. Yes, I recall that statement. Certainly that is quite possible that that is true, now, under the present arrangements.

However, certainly the possibilities of other inducements being offered, the increase in potential manpower pool within the next few years could change the picture, it would seem to me.

Senator INOUE. Thank you very much, Mr. Corbett.

Chairman RUSSELL. The next witness is Mr. Edward Wugalter of Brooklyn, N.Y., who represents the End the Draft Committee. You may proceed, Mr. Wugalter.

STATEMENT OF EDWARD WUGALTER, ON BEHALF OF THE END THE DRAFT COMMITTEE

Mr. WUGALTER. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I welcome the opportunity to testify here on behalf of the End the Draft Committee in Brooklyn. Our group, End the Draft Committee, strongly opposes the bill before this committee and seeks to end the draft.

The committee which I represent goes beyond conscientious objection. It goes beyond the plight of the individual and his conscience caught in the draft; it is concerned with the basic warlike purpose of the draft itself. More than liberating an individual category from the draft, we are interested in liberating the Nation as a whole from an "un-American" threat technique which has been countenanced only since World War II. This aspect of the draft was described during the 1959 hearings by Representative Byron Johnson:

It is a continued invasion of the rights of privacy of American citizens. It is alien to our historical tradition; indeed, many of America's settlers were people who came here to escape the militarization of European countries.

The blackmail aspects of the draft were bluntly admitted during the 1959 House Armed Services Committee hearings by Assistant Secretary of Defense Charles C. Finucane, who stressed the value of the draft as a threat in encouraging enlistments. I would also like to add the fact that Mr. Paul makes this same statement in his testimony.

To a certain extent, the Government has recognized that the draft is repugnant to certain religious principles. Why the special consideration for religious ethics as against ethics generally? And if the draft is repugnant to ethics generally, let us get rid of it, not simply in specific cases, but altogether.

Those people who wave the flag and talk of defense, who call for increased military spending, who force military life on our young men and who reap the short-lived economic and political advantages of war preparations, are either cold war parasites or ignorant of the truth of nuclear war. War preparations cannot settle national or international problems; they only intensify them. And after the cold war—total destruction.

We are dangerously ignorant when we talk of limited wars, when we talk of protecting ourselves during a nuclear war, when we talk of recovery from a nuclear war. There can be no victors and no spoils for nuclear war means total destruction.

We are criminal when we dominate or threaten to dominate small nations, both in terms of the people's right to self-determination (e.g., Cuba, South Vietnam) and in terms of the possibility of guerrilla aggression escalating into nuclear war.

The draft is a basic support for such criminality. It forces our country's people to accept war as a sane, normal function of world relations by making national policy of the military subjugation of our young men and by conditioning them, in the services, to the cold war. It allows Government manipulation of world tensions by the arbitrary interruption of civilian lives and arbitrary increases in the size of the draft (e.g., President Kennedy's sudden draft increase during the Berlin crisis). It is used to give our economy the easy war-preparations way out by turning unemployed youth into soldiers, selecting, equipping, feeding, training, housing them—treating youth as so much grist for the war-preparations mill. Where is the sense? Where is the right? There is no sense. There is no right. Yet, millions find it easier to accept the draft, easier to accept nuclear war and even easier to accept death than to get into "political trouble."

We do not understand those who propagate the draft under the guise of "patriotism." In the world today any action that places humanity at the brink is an action unpatriotic to civilization. If opposing the draft brings with it the onus of being called "unpatriotic" to the United States, then we accept that label in accepting our obligation to a higher, more meaningful patriotism.

In the tradition of Thoreau and the principles of individual guilt and individual responsibility established in the Nuremberg trials and in the first session of the United Nations, we assert the right and obligation of the individual to protest and dissociate himself from these criminal preparations.

We urge this committee to recommend that the draft-extension bill be defeated and, thereby, to accept its responsibility in approaching world peace and the survival of the human race.

Chairman RUSSELL. Mr. Wugalter, who is the chairman of the committee?

Mr. WUGALTER. As yet, we have no chairman, sir. We have been meeting on a very informal basis.

Chairman RUSSELL. I notice you had another witness here, apparently representing substantially the same group.

Mr. WUGALTER. No, that is not true. That is a different group.

Chairman RUSSELL. A different group?

Mr. WUGALTER. Yes, sir.

Chairman RUSSELL. They are the End the Draft in 1963, and you are the End the Draft?

Mr. WUGALTER. Yes. End the Draft in 1963 has its headquarters in Washington. We are people from Brooklyn.

Chairman RUSSELL. Is this a national organization? Do you have any branches?

Mr. WUGALTER. We have supporters in different parts of the country, although we have not yet set up. We are a fairly new organization. We started in November of 1962.

Chairman RUSSELL. You are just in the process of organization now?

Mr. WUGALTER. Yes, and we were somewhat disappointed with how quickly these hearings have been rushed, since the law is due to expire June 30, 1963. We expected more time to organize—

Chairman RUSSELL. You expected what?

Mr. WUGALTER. More time to organize a more effective campaign and more lengthy testimony.

Chairman RUSSELL. I see. I do not suppose you have any definite objective as to the size of your membership. You would be willing to accept—your objective is to get everybody in the organization?

Mr. WUGALTER. That is right. We would like to have everybody in this organization.

Chairman RUSSELL. Senator Inouye?

Senator INOUE. Mr. Chairman.

It is the contention of your committee that it is not necessary to maintain a military force in the United States?

Mr. WUGALTER. No, that is not the contention of the committee. The contention of the committee is that it is not necessary to maintain the draft in the United States.

Senator INOUE. But you feel that we must have a military force here?

Mr. WUGALTER. Well, I am not here to say that. I am here to represent my opinion as related to the draft. As to the military force, I am sure that there are people in our committee who are pacifists, both religious and nonreligious, and who are also opposed to any sort of military service.

Senator INOUE. Thank you very much, sir.

Chairman RUSSELL. All right, sir.

The representative of the other End the Draft Committee, End the Draft in 1963, Rev. Montgomery Shroyer, of Westminster, Md.

STATEMENT OF REV. MONTGOMERY J. SHROYER, ON BEHALF OF THE END THE DRAFT IN 1963 COMMITTEE

Reverend SHROYER. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, gentlemen, permit me to thank you for the privilege of testifying here before your committee on the bill, S. 846, to extend the provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act. I am Montgomery J. Shroyer, of Westminster, Md., a member of the Advisory Committee of End the Draft in 1963, an ad hoc committee set up for the purpose indicated in the name.

This testimony is made with a sense of responsibility of the individual American citizen. The British physicist and Nobel Prize winner, P. M. S. Blackett, writes as follows in Harper's magazine (January 1963):

I would like to see more effort by individuals to persuade their countries to adopt national policies on armaments, which would produce a more favorable atmosphere for these all-important multilateral negotiations * * * it is necessary for individuals to subject their own government's defense and disarmament policies to a critical examination * * *. Perhaps the next decisive battle in the campaign for disarmament will be won or lost in the mind and heart of the American people.

The argument for the end of the draft in 1963 is based on the common observation that the system is not working. John C. Estey, Jr.,

in an article in the Nation (February 23, 1963), "We Don't Need the Draft," has pointed out that every male on reaching the age of 18 is subject to the draft but that very few are called into service.

Because there are so many eligible males and because the draft quotas are so small relative to the available manpower, the system needs reach in no further than the third category, and is operating there at about the 22.5 age level.

On account of the numerous deferments available, relatively few of the eligible men are actually drafted.

Further, it may be pointed out that very few of these drafted actually go into military service as such, but perform such duties in supplies, transportation, and maintenance as might well be done by civilians. Representative Curtis has shown that the percentage of nonmilitary occupations may run as high as 80 percent. In the light of the nonmilitary role of so many draftees, it is maintained with good reason that it would be far better not to use the draft at all, but, rather, to secure the men needed by voluntary enlistment and at wages in keeping with the American civilian scale. And since the problem of defense has become so highly technical, it is difficult to see how the draft system can supply the manpower adequate to the new situation.

The draft system needs to be analyzed in the light of the most important move toward disarmament which we have made. It is a sound principle laid down by psychologists (and Prof. Jerome Frank, of the Johns Hopkins University, has been a spokesman for the view) that individuals and nations must learn the way of give and take. Concessions can be made at points where the sacrifice is not great, and yet the result in the relief from tensions is significant. So, in view of the inefficiency of the draft, it would seem that the program might be abandoned with no loss of national safety, and the effect on the international situation would be salutary. Arthur I. Waskow, former legislative assistant to Congressman Kastenmeier, writing on "The Limits of Defense," in the Atlantic Monthly (February 1962), says:

A series of initiatives could be planned, starting with minor acts that would mean only a tiny peripheral loss to basic American security. Each act would be followed immediately by worldwide publicity for a request that the Communists reciprocate * * *. Many intense clashes of interest are also involved, and some softening of these clashes will be necessary to reduce fear and hatred to the point at which disarmament will look attractive to all.

Members of the End the Draft in 1963 movement are concerned over the moral and religious implications of the whole trend of armaments. It is not merely that the draft is inefficient in its present form. We look beyond it to the great threat to life itself for us and for the peoples of the earth. There are sound reasons for every possible step in the direction of disarmament and releasing men from the military life. A word spoken by William C. Foster, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament, demands our attention:

The present arms race can continue unabated as each side strives to achieve and maintain what is usually called a "balance of terror." * * * All of this may be quite obvious, but I feel it needs to be underlined that rational men have a reason, more compelling than ever existed before, to seek arms control, arms reduction, and arms elimination. This fact tends to be obscured by a certain disenchantment with international conferences, a certain cynicism concerning the intelligence and even the good intentions of mankind in general and the Russians in particular. There arises a type of fatalism, an atmosphere of "kismet," about disarmament which can result in a passive acceptance of the menacing present and its implications for the future of all of us.

It is in this light that we urge a gesture toward a more peaceful world which could do our Nation no damage, but would inspire some hope in the hearts of mankind.

May I thank you again, gentlemen, for the courtesy extended in the permission to appear before you.

I should like to submit for inclusion in the record a statement of principle and purpose of the End the Draft in 1963, also the article, a reprint, by John C. Esty, Jr., from *The Nation*, "We Don't Need the Draft." Mr. Esty is associate dean at Amherst College and a captain in the Air Force Reserve. I should also like to have included a statement by William H. Meyer, former Representative from Vermont, in his testimony to the House Committee of March 4, 1963. (NOTE.—Former Congressman Meyer submitted a statement for inclusion in the record, which appears elsewhere in this hearing.)

Thank you.

(The documents referred to follow:)

[From *The Nation*, Feb. 23, 1963]

WE DON'T NEED THE DRAFT

(By John C. Esty, Jr.)¹

On June 30, 1963, the Universal Military Training and Service Act will expire. It is under this authority that the Government has been empowered to draft young men into the Armed Forces for the last 4 years. But no one thinks the law will quietly die; sometime this spring Congress will resume its quadrennial debate on a subject which may well surpass tax relief and welfare programs in impact on this country's future. With all the current talk about legislative programs and priorities, the administration has been strangely quiet about selective service—unlike 4 years ago, when the draft bill was one of the first items on the agenda of the 86th Congress.

As the opponents of military conscription muster their (religious, constitutional, moral, practical and even military) arguments, manpower officials pore over demographic charts trying to determine how to man our peacetime garrison. If the final debate follows recent history, proponents will argue on the basis of present needs, while opponents will cite damaging, long-range effects and matters of principle. The former will have an advantage, for present needs always seem more impressive. Therefore it is important to examine the present state of military conscription and its effect on young people, why we have maintained it so long, and why and how it might be feasible to do away with it.

Under present law, every male, upon reaching his 18th birthday, must register with the Selective Service System. Some time later he receives a classification questionnaire by which his local board determines whether he is likely to be available for service or not. At this point, almost all young men are classified 1A—available for service—for the question of actual induction or deferment does not arise until one approaches his 23d birthday. The reason for this is the priority of draftable categories as they were established by Executive order: delinquents first, then volunteers, then nonvolunteer nonfathers between 19 and 26 (oldest first), then fathers (in the same fashion), then men over 26 whose liability has been extended beyond that point because of a previous deferment, and finally those between 18½ and 19. Because there are so many eligible males and because the draft quotas are so small relative to the available manpower, the system needs reach in no further than the third category, and is operating there at about the 22½ age level.

In addition to the escape hatches evident in these priorities—that is, fatherhood, or reaching age 26—one can make himself unavailable during the vulnerable period by getting a deferment: to attend school, to be a minister, to be employed in essential industry, to teach science, and to do many other things. But even before these possibilities arise, somewhere between 40 and 50 percent of a given eligible age group have been deferred for inability to satisfy the physical and mental standards presently required for induction. So in any given year in the

¹ John C. Esty, Jr., associate dean at Amherst College and a captain in the Air Force Reserve, will shortly become headmaster at the Taft School.

age level at which men are being drafted (between 22 and 23), there are relatively few men (perhaps 150,000) who are eligible, and even fewer are actually drafted (something like 100,000). The total number of males in the age group has recently averaged about 1.2 million, so obviously the draft operates on a highly selective basis. For a variety of reasons this is necessary, but it remains the fact; and it is the source of the present weakness of the Selective Service System.

This was almost exactly the situation 4 years ago, when I wrote in "Draft-Dodger or Patriot: The Dilemma of the College Student" (*The Nation*, January 10, 1959) that the many ways to escape the draft, and the relatively small proportion of his peers who were "hooked," eroded the sense of duty of the typical college male. Today many college students still make plans to attend graduate school prematurely in order to get deferred, today fatherhood is still hastened beyond reason (or love) to get a lower draft priority, today students are still warping their natural career bent so as to "beat the system."

There are even some new wrinkles. One enterprising young man staved off his induction by marrying a widow with three children. Apparently his lurch into instant fatherhood proved too hasty and he was divorced 3 months later—and then drafted. In another case, an illegitimate child, who was about to be released for adoption, was suddenly legitimized by marriage when the father learned this would provide ground for deferment. (These stories are a bit unfair to the local boards of the Selective Service System, who labor heroically to preserve community and family continuity against impossible ambiguities; they, do however, illustrate the ambiguities.)

Twice in the last 4 years two major international crises arose which revealed the weakness of the draft as an instrument of national policy. In the Berlin crisis of August–September, 1961, President Kennedy mobilized a number of reserve and National Guard units, and called for an increase in military conscription. During this period, the monthly draft quotas for the whole country rose from about 8,000 to 25,000, then to 20,000 and back down to about 10,000. The effect seemed to be mainly to lower the draftable age in category 3 from 22 years, 9 months, and to induce local boards to estimate their future potential by asking for preinduction physical exams as much as a year earlier than before. These moves caused a flurry of concern on the part of college students, but the moment soon passed with very little lasting impact.

The other episode was the Cuban crisis last fall. Partly because the crisis had more to do with mobilizing existing combat and support forces for an operation which did not involve ground forces essentially, but also partly because Berlin had shown how ineffective increasing reserve and conscription activity really was, there was almost no change in selective service quotas or practice. Thus, instead of placing the country's young men in touch with the realities and immediacy of a national emergency—through the realities and immediacy of the Selective Service System—the two crises served instead to illustrate the irrelevance of the draft to national defense.

It is this aspect of our present manpower procurement program that has the most damaging long-range effect. In World War II, almost every able-bodied male in the eligible age group served in the Armed Forces, and those who didn't had a hand in national defense if only indirectly. The whole populace was absorbed in a national effort, the goals of which—however destructive and negative—were nonetheless clear and impelling. Not to serve, in one way or another, was to incur a kind of guilt (which is still evident today). During Korea, the goals were much less clear and the burden of national service fell to a much smaller proportion of the population. Yet despite the inequities involved, with a relative few bearing the brunt of the fighting, there was a general feeling that there was no other way of handling the emergency.

Now, 10 years later, the goals of the cold war are much more diffuse and the percentage of the eligible pool of manpower which serves involuntarily is much smaller than ever before. Lebanon, Berlin, southeast Asia, and Cuba seemed to have taught that highly mobile forces already in being, rather than the resources of Selective Service, provide the military leverage we need in time of crisis. The result is that instead of feeling guilty at not serving, the young man today feels somewhat inept if he can't work out a way to avoid the draft.

When I pointed out this attitude 4 years ago, I was basing the observation on my experience with college students. Not only has this situation remained unchanged, but we have additional evidence now that the attitude is not limited to college-going males. In a 10-year study by the Conservation of Human Resources project, its director, Professor Eli Ginzberg of Columbia University, concludes that the present attitudes of American youth toward military service are "an

invitation to national disaster." Writing on "The Optimistic Tradition and American Youth," Professor Ginzberg suggests that most young Americans "grow up without the understanding of military obligation, with the consequence that if and when they are called to duty, they view it as an imposition, an annoyance, or a stroke of bad luck that they were caught while so many others escaped."

The college student, 4 years ago, viewed the problem of when and how to do his military service as something of a moral dilemma. Now there is no dilemma; military service is simply no longer relevant. And for young men in general, the threat of the draft clearly poses a major disruption in their lives which they treat not as necessary but as gratuitous.

But all of this must surely be evident to manpower policymakers and congressional leaders. Why, then, were these objections so easily brushed aside in the congressional debates over renewal of the legislation 4 years ago? Why were the proposals, then advanced, to extend the draft for only 2 years and to appoint a civilian commission to study the problem not even seriously considered? The answer is that at that juncture, the policymakers were not able to see beyond the charts, which spoke for forced conscription, to the broader social effects of this method of procuring manpower. Congressional leaders were so impressed by the basic need for manpower that they could not admit that the situation had become so much more complex than old answers would no longer do.

Obviously, if national defense requires the draft, no matter what the inequities and long-range erosion, then we must have the draft. But what if national defense needs the draft only a little bit? Under such circumstances, isn't it possible that the deleterious side-effects would more than outweigh the need? What are the arguments for continuing the draft? What was so persuasive about them 4 years ago? And do these arguments hold today?

First, it was argued that the draft machinery must be retained in case of large future need. But this kind of preparedness seems now to be too cumbersome and slow-moving for the kinds of demands we are likely to face. Anyway, it doesn't seem necessary to pass bodies through the machinery in order to keep it minimally operative.

Second, it was suggested that inducting a certain proportion of the country's youth provided a way to strengthen the moral fiber of the country and possibly keep some young men off the streets. Unfortunately, the Army doesn't want juvenile delinquents, either. And if the Ginzberg report doesn't specifically refute the "moral fiber" idea, then one can turn to the comments of Congressman Roman C. Pucinski in debate on February 5, 1959:

"I just completed * * * a very intensive survey in Chicago on teenage gangs and juvenile delinquency, and I find that the draft has a very important effect on the present development of our young people. * * * Hundreds of thousands * * * are forced to live in a shadow of constant doubt as to their future when actually only a few thousands are ultimately drafted. * * * Many young men who graduate from high school and who do not, or cannot because of economic reasons, go to college find it impossible to get decent employment because the first thing they are asked by a potential employer is what is his draft status. * * * I could not begin to tell you the hardships that this situation is causing."

A third argument—aimed at critics who pointed to the inequities inherent in the draft—stated that 7 out of 10 men reaching age 26 in 1959 served in the Armed Forces; excluding those who couldn't qualify, the ratio was 9 out of 10. The same estimates, projected to June 1963, indicated that about half of all men reaching age 26, and 8 out of 10 who actually qualify, will have served. (It is my guess that the actual figures will turn out to be more like 40 percent of all men and 70 percent of those qualified.)

There are three major weaknesses in this attempt to demonstrate the universality and fairness of selective service as it now operates. First is the fact that the inequity—whatever it is—is increasing: more men really are escaping the draft and more men are being held in suspense, that is, in the manpower pool. The second weakness is the manner in which "qualified" is defined. In order to keep a high ratio of men drafted to those "qualified," the Selective Service System needs only to "disqualify" large numbers, which is precisely what is happening. In one neighboring county, the rejection rate for mental and physical reasons is now 68 percent; any college student who wants to go to graduate school can be deferred whether he deserves to be or not.

But the most serious condition, which the figures do not show, occurs in the ratio of those who are actually drafted compared to those available in the vulnerable age group. Of the men reaching age 26 in 1963, only about 1 in 10 will have been drafted; the great majority of the young men who enter the Armed

Forces do so by voluntary enlistments when they are 18 or 19 years old. This phenomenon is largely responsible for the erosion of the sense of duty of college students as they approach the vulnerable age.

To check this, I studied three recently graduated classes of a representative small college. About 32 percent of the class of 1958 (most of whom are now past the drafting age) had some kind of military service, the class of 1960 had 18 percent in the Armed Forces, and the class of 1962 only 7 percent. This college, however, sends 80 percent of its graduates on to graduate schools, so presumably many of them can easily get deferments. To clarify this factor, I turned to a university which sends less than 30 percent of its male graduates to graduate schools, and which, in addition, has mandatory ROTC training. Of the class which graduated last June, only 15 percent said they were planning to enter military service. With such low figures, no wonder the college student looks around for a way out.

The most important argument for extending the draft 4 years ago was the claim that without it the Armed Forces could not maintain necessary manpower levels. The average annual replacement need for new men in the total Military Establishment of 2.7 million is about 500,000. Typically, this need is met by 400,000 enlistees and 100,000 draftees. Although the number of draftees looks negligibly small, it is pointed out that some fair proportion of the enlistees volunteer because of the pressure of the draft. The branches of the military service other than the Army are particularly insistent on this point, since they benefit from what is virtually a voluntary input; it is only the Army that utilizes selective service directly.

In all probability, the Army would be quite happy if it did not need to rely on forced conscription. The inductees are not around long enough to train for any really key jobs, and their reenlistment rate is less than 15 percent compared to an overall rate of 54 percent. The kinds of tasks appropriate for the draftee can usually be carried out better, or at least with greater continuity, by civilians hired locally. Obviate the draftees and the Army would lose its least effective personnel procured by the least efficient method; in replacing them by other means, it would actually gain in strength.

So the manning problem centers on the 400,000 annual voluntary enlistments or rather on the question of how many really are "voluntary." There seems to be no readily available study on the effect of the pressure of the draft on this group, although some simple sampling procedures ought to produce some reasonable estimates. In making a guess at what would happen to enlistments without the draft, one can immediately whittle off the 100,000 men who are in the 6-month program, which is clearly a grudging alternative to the 2 years' active duty of the draftee. It would be my guess, however, that a very high proportion of the remaining 300,000 men could be induced to continue to volunteer freely. With a demonstrated success in promoting the reenlistment of trained personnel, with a new pay raise and with straitened economic circumstances apparently a fact of life in many sections of the country, the prospect of an all-voluntary Military Establishment does not seem too farfetched.

More than at any time in recent history, the Department of Defense now seems determined to cut through vested interests, outdated procurement methods and shortsighted manpower policies to create a really effective military service. The new Reserve and National Guard program is a vast improvement over an almost scandalously inefficient aspect of our Military Establishment. The 6-month active-duty program, hopelessly unrelated to the needs of national defense right from the start, is about to be strengthened. The Army has recently announced a new officer candidate program for non-ROTC college graduates, which ought to reach a potential resource previously ignored. The ROTC programs in many colleges have undergone sweeping changes, and may soon be completely voluntary. So one might hope that the day of the citizen-soldier, which has lengthened into 20 years, may soon be over in favor of a professional army, professionally trained and professionally sustained. And for those who worry about military professionalism as an alien current in American life, it should be pointed out that this situation already prevails with 2.3 million of the 2.7 million in our Armed Forces.

Four years ago, the draft was extended as an important policy decision, even though many aspects of it seemed wrong in principle. Today it seems even more wrong in principle, but also highly questionable as a matter of policy. In any case, the forthcoming congressional debate should be illumined by more information and deeper insight into long-range effects compared to present needs than it was 4 years ago. Perhaps this time the civilian commission proposed

in 1959 could be established in advance of the debate to help shed some light on a problem whose ramifications are so dimly seen. If it is true that America's moral resolve is weakening, as so many charge, then certainly the irrelevance and erosion of selective service must be at least partly responsible.

END THE DRAFT IN '63

Authorization for peace time conscription in the United States will expire June 30, 1963. Legislation to continue the draft will be considered early in 1963. If you believe that the draft should be ended your voice needs to be heard today

Time is running out; extension of the draft may be a desperate gamble, causing us to forget that "time is running against us," as General Bradley said, "with the speed of a sputnik"

The present draft does not pay the recruit an adequate wage. It demands his compulsory contribution without adequate compensation, yet it results in a very expensive and very wasteful use of manpower.

The draft survives principally as a device by which we use compulsion to get young men to serve at less than the market rate of pay. We shift the cost of military service from the well-to-do taxpayer, who benefits by lower taxes, to the impecunious young draftee. This is a highly regressive arrangement which we would not tolerate in any other area. Presumably freedom of choice here as elsewhere would be worth paying for * * *. As an important added benefit a shift from compulsion to fully paid service would give us a better trained force—something that modern weapons make most desirable. We would not, as now, have a force which consists of partly trained men who leave about as soon as their training is complete."—Prof. J. K. Galbraith, Harvard University.

The draft is not only inefficient, it cannot accomplish the end for which it was adopted.

The modern military manpower problem, reduced to its simplest terms, is one of quality rather than quantity. It is not merely a matter of the total number of people on hand, but is much more a matter of the level of competence, skill and experience of those people.

The military services are not able, at the present time and under the present circumstances, to keep and challenge and develop the kinds of people needed for the period of time necessary for those people to make an effective contribution to the operation of the force.

"Defense Advisory Committee on Professional and Technical Compensation (better known as Cordiner Report).

"An armed service of professionals cannot be built by conscription. As in any profession there must be a certain amount of incentive. The current situation in the branches of the armed services gives very little incentive to a young man to make a career."—Senator Mike Mansfield.

The draft has become an escape from responsibility for both Congress and the Armed Forces.

"When we examine * * * the work performed by men in uniform for the military establishment, we will find that at least 80% is not fighting nor will it ever be fighting. It has to do with supplies, transportation, warehousing, maintenance, or front line feeding, etc. Obviously any work on the front lines will involve the need for military discipline. Now if 80% of the men in uniform are never going to be engaged in fighting * * * what in heaven's name are we talking about training 100% to fight. If needed an analysis of the job requirements of these 80% reveals, as it does, that the skills required are essentially civilian skills as were the skills of the Seabees, then we had best follow the Seabees formula in our personnel practices as it relates to the 80% group."—Representative Thomas B. Curtis.

The draft has caused problems in leadership, discipline and morale.

"Conscription of youth at an early age is especially reprehensible because it forces upon them decisions which they are not mature enough to make * * *. At a critical period in their adolescence, at a most impressionable age, they are subjected to training based on acceptance of militarism, and on a philosophy of mechanical, unquestioning obedience, which is bound to unfit them for responsible citizenship in a democracy."—Judge Byron Haworth, High Point (N.C.) Municipal Court.

"The Christian Church encourages incentives for freedom of conscience, freedom of vocational choice, and the integrity of family life. Universal military conscription seriously encroaches on all three of these fundamental human values.

"Compulsory military service makes it inevitable that thousands of our young men will be indoctrinated with a sense of overt suspicion and hostility to every move made by those who are classed as our enemies. This suspicion can make it impossible for a vast number of our people to recognize a peaceful overture even when one is made."—Position of the National Council of Churches.

The draft interferes with the advanced training of many young men and this ultimately weakens the real security and strength of our nation.

"Every young man who has served in our armed forces knows the incredible waste of our present system of forced but short-term service. He knows the money that could be saved, the new efficiency that could result from a volunteer system which calls on young men not to endure two years of service because they have to but to choose it—for a longer period—because it offers advantages that seem to them appealing. * * * I do add, and I think I speak for every person in America, that we will count it a better day when we find that these military needs can best be met by a system which does not mean the disruption of the lives of an entire generation of young men; which lets them plan their education, and get started more quickly along life's ordained course."—Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson.

The draft cannot be viewed only in terms of limited national policy. It is damaging to the individual draftee and therefore to society as a whole.

"The perfectly trained soldier is one who has had his civilian initiative reduced to zero. In the process the self becomes identified with the institution and dependent upon it for direction and stimulation. The ideally adjusted soldier would be a military dependent who looked to the institution for all his personal, social, and emotional satisfactions. Unlike the dependent child, who normally matures and strives to break the bonds of dependency that tie him to his parents, the adjusted soldier is encouraged to be a dependent of the institution. In psychiatric terms, the military institution becomes a substitute parent for an adult who has been reduced to infancy by the training it has given him * * *. In short the military is designed to produce soldiers—men conditioned to institutional requirements, defined situations, and explicit expectancies who will neither think for themselves nor make demands on the institution for needs that are not identified with the institutional ends * * *. For these reasons, the recruit must be re-made; as any old sergeant knows, 'a recruit is not worth a damn until he has been broken.'"—August B. Hollingshead, *American Journal of Sociology*.

The present draft law is discriminatory and inequitable.

"Universal service * * * cannot be applied fairly without yielding far more manpower than the armed services need or want * * *. All youths who become fathers before induction are automatically moved to the bottom of the call-up list * * *. About one youth out of six is beating the draft via this escape hatch. Two young men out of every six are avoiding service on grounds of physical or mental unfitness * * *. With an abundance of 1-A's awaiting call, local draft boards have been liberal in granting deferments to students and to vital workers in agriculture and industry. Less than half the young men in the draft age are actually seeing military service under the present universal service laws."—Louis Cassels, *Nation's Business*, U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

The draft is a continued invasion of the rights of privacy of American citizens. It is alien to our historical traditions and contrary to constitutional intent to maintain civil dominance over the military.

"The results of one year's training will not greatly affect the body politic and even after 5 or 10 years no striking change in public outlook may be apparent. Nevertheless, in the course of a generation the effects will have become cumulative even if they have grown imperceptibly, * * * and military considerations may be expected to enter more and more into party politics, governmental policy, and economic and social life."—Halford Hoskins, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

"It is said that we are going to teach the boys citizenship in the camps. This argument makes clear a real danger in the whole system. By handing boys over to the arbitrary and complete domination of the Government, we put it in the power of the Government to indoctrinate them with the political doctrines then popular with the Government * * *. In wartime it is bad enough; in peacetime, it would be intolerable."—Late Senator Robert A. Taft.

THE DRAFT AND THE UNITED STATES

Military conscription is a direct infringement of several individual liberties specifically protected by the Constitution. At the same time some feel that military power (and necessarily, military manpower) is an indispensable prerequisite to the preservation of those liberties, and of the Constitution itself. In the attempt to resolve these polarities, the United States has traditionally permitted conscription when the national peril seemed great enough to require military manpower beyond that supplied through volunteering. This meant that the authority to conscript was denied except in war time (as in the Civil War and World War I) until 1940. In that year the Selective Training and Service Act—the first peace time draft—became law, more than a year before Pearl Harbor.

Through the use of the Selective Service System the number of men under arms increased from 300,000 in 1940 to 14.6 million individuals (10 million inductees) in 1945. The 1940 act (as amended and extended) was allowed to expire on March 31, 1947, survived only by the Office of Selective Service Records. However, without the draft, the strength of the Armed Forces declined below that number considered by the Department of Defense as being necessary. This decline and increased tensions in the world community encouraged the Congress to pass the Selective Service Act of 1948. The 1948 act was to expire in 1950, but with the invasion of South Korea, the Congress extended the act one year. In 1951 it was incorporated into the Universal Military Training and Service Act and extended to July 1955. The 1955 act continued the draft and made provision for a "ready" reserve. In 1959 the existing legislation was extended, with little discussion, for an additional four-year period ending on June 30, 1963.

On June 30, 1961, over 13.8 million individuals were within the liable ages of 18½ to 26 (28 or 35 if deferred). For the fiscal years 1959, 1960, and 1961 the Selective Service System has supplied 111,889, 90,549, and 61,070 men respectively to the armed services.

The United States has an opportunity to exert real world leadership with regard to conscription. Discontinuation of the draft in 1963 could be followed by American efforts for the international abolition of conscription. In the midst of a prolonged cold war, it is hard for either side to convince the other that it really wants peace without some clear-cut affirmative acts for peace. Ending the peacetime draft could ease international tensions, promote political settlements and disarmament agreements, and release men and resources to help concentrate on the real needs of the world's people.

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Titles and associations used for identification purposes only.

COORDINATING SECRETARIES

Michale L. Ingerman

William R. Martin

Action you can take

Urge elimination of peace time conscription by:

Writing President John F. Kennedy, The White House, Washington 25, D.C.

Writing your Senators and Congressmen, Senate/House Office Building, Washington 25, D.C.

Writing Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, Department of Defense, Washington 25, D.C.

Write or Visit the Editor of your local newspaper and the news staff of your local radio and television stations.

Encourage widest possible distribution of petition post cards among your friends, college, church, labor, business, and civic organizations. Stimulate members of your community to discuss this important issue.

Display END THE DRAFT IN '63 bumper stickers.

Keep us informed of your activities. Please send carbon copies of letters to:

END THE DRAFT IN '63

321 D Street NE., Washington 2, D.C.—Telephone 543-5453

Chairman RUSSELL. Is former Representative Meyer a member of your committee?

Reverend SHROYER. He is.

Chairman RUSSELL. Do you have many branches of this committee?

Reverend SHROYER. The offices are local. The advisory committee covers quite an area, but I am not aware of branches. There are no branches. It is simply an ad hoc committee, with an advisory committee from a larger area.

Chairman RUSSELL. Does it have a chairman?

Reverend SHROYER. It has two coordinating secretaries, Mr. Michael Ingerman and Mr. William R. Martin.

Chairman RUSSELL. Senator Inouye?

Senator INOUE. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman RUSSELL. Very well, Reverend Shroyer.

The next witness is Mr. Charles Darlington, who represents the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

Come around, Mr. Darlington.

**STATEMENT OF CHARLES J. DARLINGTON, CHAIRMAN OF THE
GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON
NATIONAL LEGISLATION**

Mr. DARLINGTON. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Charles J. Darlington. I am chairman of the general committee of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, on whose behalf I am testifying here today. I wish to make it plain at the beginning that no organization or individual is authorized to speak officially for the Religious Society of Friends as a whole. Our committee represents our own point of view, which, however, is supported by many other Friends.

It is our firm belief that the present draft law, scheduled now to expire on June 30, 1963, should not be extended. There are various reasons for this belief, the chief ones of which I shall present here.

First and foremost, ever since its beginning some 300 years ago, the Society of Friends has borne testimony against the way of war and armed conflict as being contrary to our religious beliefs as to the teachings of Jesus and the will of God. We believe that every effort should be placed on seeking to do away with the war system rather than to continue it or to extend it. Because the draft is a cog in our country's Military Establishment, we believe that eliminating the draft would be a positive step in the right direction, looking toward the eventual goal of complete disarmament. Since our Government has stated a policy of working toward disarmament, it seems logical to consider abolition of the draft as consistent with this goal. An important part of the mechanics of working toward disarmament is to make available the resources needed for this purpose.

It is recognized that the establishment of law and order is an essential ingredient of a disarmed world. Law and order involve World Court problems, a strengthened United Nations in all its aspects, and a willingness, even an eagerness, on the part of our country to seek ways and means of dealing with others on a non-military basis. It is necessary to give major attention and effort to this problem. Manpower, brainpower, and financial resources are required in adequate amounts. If real progress is to be made along these lines, we must be prepared to provide what is needed here, recognizing that reduction in military expenditures will be involved.

Another reason for not renewing the draft is the disruptive influence that it has on the lives of our young people. Many of our young men have been unable to make definite plans for the future because of uncertainty regarding the time of being called or regarding whether they will be called at all. As a result, their educational activities have suffered. The Society of Friends has traditionally had a strong testimony for proper education. We deplore influences which interfere with its attainment.

Even when some given educational goal has been attained, the matter of finding a job often has been a real problem. In today's situation of many more young people than there are jobs for them to fill, it is understandable for employers to hesitate to hire young men who still have or may have a draft obligation to fill. Thus, when an otherwise desirable applicant for a job is passed over, it is only natural for him to lose some of his initiative and determination and to tend rather toward a "what's the use" attitude. This unsettled and

sometimes cynical frame of mind appears to be one of the factors contributing toward increased lawlessness among our country's young people.

A special phase of the adverse effect on young people is that only a comparatively small percentage of the young men coming of draft age each year are drafted. The chief reason, of course, is that they are not all needed to fill current requirements. Many are omitted for physical, educational, marriage status, and other reasons. But the effect upon those who may be called of seeing so many not called is unfortunate. Frequently, they are led to devious and sometimes dubious methods to try to get included in the uncalled groups. The moral impact is bad. Doing away with the draft should have a stabilizing influence both educationally and morally.

The third and last point that I wish to develop here is the trend toward increased militarism of our country that seems inherent in the continued draft of our manpower. Without our really intending that such should happen, it appears inevitable that it will happen unless we change our policy of drafting. A generation of our young people has grown up already under the draft system. If more generations should follow with the same background, there is a real danger that military spirit and methods will so pervade our thinking that purely civilian practices will be forgotten. Such a development would be completely inconsistent with our democratic heritage, which we profess to cherish but which I fear we are not guarding in the right ways.

Related to this problem is the close connection between our growing military requirements and the manufacturers and suppliers of the same. This connection is filled with danger to our traditional free enterprise economy. For this reason also we should be moving in the direction of reducing our involvement in a militaristic society and instead be working toward increased civilian influences. Abolishing the draft would be a step in this direction.

If the draft is to be continued, the Friends Committee on National Legislation would recommend broadening the definition of conscientious objectors to include those sincerely opposed to military service but who might not express such opposition primarily in religious terms. We are a religious organization and believe in the value and need of religious training and belief in a Supreme Being. Yet, religious freedom, in a democracy such as ours, should also allow freedom of expression about religion and freedom not to hold any particular form of religious belief, and, yet, to have one's deeply felt conscientious convictions recognized.

If I may add a word of postscript to the written testimony that I have presented, I would like just to emphasize the fact that the Friends Committee on National Legislation, and I am sure most intelligent people will agree that war is really an evil thing and, if it continues under present-day conditions of science and technology in the kind of world in which we live, that there are untold dangers that are likely to come.

We are faced with the tremendous likelihood of world catastrophe. That is something that we should be doing everything we can to work against. In order to work against it, we should be looking for alternate methods of solving international disputes other than going to war about it.

These alternate methods can be found, if our best brains and thought are given to seeking for them, and that can be done only if we do not put other things first.

Chairman RUSSELL. Thank you, Mr. Darlington.

The next witness is Miss Margaret E. Dungan of Wallingford, Pa., who presents the views of the Joint Peace Committee of Media and Providence Meetings of the Religious Society of Friends.

You might proceed, Miss Dungan.

STATEMENT OF MARGARET E. DUNGAN, ON BEHALF OF JOINT PEACE COMMITTEE OF MEDIA AND PROVIDENCE MEETINGS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

MISS DUNGAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am very grateful for this opportunity to express the reasons for my deep conviction that the draft should be permitted to expire on the 30th of June this year.

My chief reason is that I believe that the draft is a violation of morality. I mean that it is in direct opposition to the way of life of men who live in obedience to the laws of justice and kindness to their fellow men—to all of them.

Because our relation to those laws of obedience or disobedience is determining of our conduct of life, it may be worthwhile to think of the wastefulness of the draft. The Air Force and the Navy do not receive draftees because they have as many men as they need through volunteer enlistment. The Army accepts only a very small proportion of the men eligible for induction, and that number could be very easily obtained by raising the pay and increasing the opportunities for advancement of the enlisted men.

The educational and economic employment advantages to be enjoyed by the draftees is unnecessary. They can receive equal educational opportunities in public and in private schools, and in business offices and in the industries opportunities are given for the development through experience and training that prepares for advancement.

The actual violation of the moral law is seen in the effect upon the young American. He is deprived of two basic rights: (1) to exercise freedom of will within respect for the rights of others; and (2) the right to independent thinking. The deprivation of these rights through blind, unquestioning obedience to orders, the result of the law, the military regulations, is effective upon the young man's later life. It leads through the habit of blind obedience to thoughtless conformity, to personal irresponsibility, that tend to result in loss of self-respect and self-reliance.

The effect of the draft upon the youth of our country necessarily is reflected in the national character. Respect for the individual is the cardinal principle of democracy. The exaltation of the state at the expense of the individual is the chief political sin that we recognize in totalitarian countries. The United States cannot be guilty of that crime and regain its lost moral leadership of the world.

Between the two World Wars, when all the great powers except Great Britain and the United States adopted universal military service, men, women, and children came from many countries to live

in this land of liberty, free from conscription. Now Great Britain and many other countries have abolished conscription.

The draft is only one aspect of the immense, overwhelming command, military command, of our Nation. The immensity of the military machine operating continuously in preparation for nuclear war, the tremendous intellectual ability and knowledge and skill in technology in business and in the universities, the complex and intricate strategies in the military and in diplomacy, all these are so stupendous in our present life in the United States that it seems as if they were beyond our control.

But to end the draft would begin that control. A fresh wind would blow through the nations. It would be the beginning of proof of our sincerity of our protestations of purely peaceful intent and other proposals for universal complete disarmament. International fears would lessen. The neutralist countries would have new respect for the United States. Russia would lose some of its fear and its distrust of us and would be more willing to make similar concessions.

The idea that the draft, compulsory military service, is necessary exists because our moral vision is clouded. We teach the young man that the highest service he can render to his country is military service, whereas the highest service he can render to his country is to become an able and noble man, and to act to his highest conceptions of right for the fulfillment of our Nation, of the ideals with which it was founded.

We base our foreign policy upon the idea that our greatest task now is to defeat communism, whereas the truth is that our greatest opportunity and our greatest duty is to try to abolish hunger, disease, ignorance, and inequality.

I think that our Congress cannot extend the draft without subjecting its moral standards to expediency. I believe that to end the draft is to act within the framework of moral laws, where alone national policy should be made.

Chairman RUSSELL. I congratulate you, Miss Dungan, on the fine feat of memorizing a very eloquent statement. We do not see much of that any more. In the old days we used to have witnesses that would prepare a statement and memorize it, but you are the first one that has been before this committee in several years that has managed to give me a faint replica of that practice.

Miss DUNGAN. It was not a matter of memorizing. It was stating what I believe profoundly. I did not know that I could come here until yesterday, when I was called on the telephone to say so.

Chairman RUSSELL. That makes it all the more remarkable. I congratulate you on it.

(The complete prepared statement of Miss Dungan follows:)

I am grateful for this opportunity to express the reasons for my deep conviction that the Conscription Act should be allowed to expire on June 30 of this year.

My chief reason for opposing the draft is that I believe it to be a violation of morality. I mean that it is in direct opposition to the way of life in which men live in obedience to the laws of justice and kindness to their fellow men—to all of them.

Because opposition to those laws, as surely as obedience to them, determines the quality of our conduct, it may be worthwhile to note the wastefulness of the draft. It is unnecessary. The Air Force and the Navy do not receive drafted men because they obtain all the recruits they need from voluntary enlistment. The Army inducts only a small proportion of the men eligible to be drafted each year; and that number could easily be obtained by raising the pay and offering better opportunities for advancement to enlisted men.

The advantages in education and employment to be enjoyed by the draftees are offered unnecessarily because equal educational opportunities are open to them in the public and private schools; and business offices and industries offer practical training that prepares for economic advancement, without any accompanying training to kill their fellow men.

The actual violation of the moral law is seen in the effect of the draft upon the young American. It deprives him of two basic rights: the exercise of the freedom of his will within respect for the rights of others, and the right to do independent thinking. These deprivations exacted by unquestioning obedience to the orders of others may weaken both his mental and his moral character. The habit of submission to the authority of his military superiors inculcates thoughtless conformity and personal irresponsibility that tend to diminish self-respect and self-reliance.

The effect of the draft upon the youth must influence the national character. Respect for the individual is the cardinal principle of democracy. To exalt the state at the expense of the man is the chief political evil that we see and condemn in a totalitarian state. The United States cannot be guilty of this crime and regain the moral leadership of the world that she once held. Between the two world wars when all the great powers except Great Britain and the United States adopted universal military service, people from many lands fled here to live in the land of liberty, free from conscription. Now it is abolished by Great Britain and many other countries.

The draft is one aspect of the overwhelming command of the military in our Nation. The immensity of the military machine constantly operating in preparation for nuclear war, the tremendous intellectual ability and technological knowledge and skill expended in business and the universities to develop the machine, the complex and intricate military and diplomatic strategies planned to overcome the enemy—these are so stupendous as to seem beyond control.

But to end the draft would begin the control. It would blow a fresh wind of hope through the nations. It would begin to prove the sincerity of our protestations of only peaceful intent, and of our proposals for universal, complete disarmament. International fears would be lessened. The respect of the neutral nations for the United States would rise, and Russia would lose some of her distrust of us, and be more willing to make similar concessions.

The idea that we need compulsory military service exists only because our moral vision is clouded. We lead our young men to think that the highest patriotic service they can render is military service, whereas it is being able, noble men. We make our foreign policy on the mistaken foundation that our greatest task is to overcome communism, whereas it is to abolish poverty, hunger, ignorance, disease, and inequality. And the conquest of these evils is possible only, and surely, through morality.

I believe that Congress can extend the draft only by subjecting its moral standards to expediency, but that to end the draft would be to act within the framework of moral laws, where alone national policy should be made.

Chairman RUSSELL. The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:40 p.m., the committee adjourned, to reconvene at 2 p.m., of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

Present at this point: Senators Russell (chairman), Byrd of West Virginia, and Inouye.

Chairman RUSSELL. The next witness to present views to the committee is Mr. Alvin J. Beachy, of Souderton, Pa., who speaks as a representative of the Mennonite Central Committee.

Come around and be seated, Mr. Beachy.

STATEMENT OF ALVIN J. BEACHY, ON BEHALF OF THE MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AKRON, PA.

Reverend BEACHY. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am Alvin J. Beachy, pastor of the Zion Mennonite Church in Souderton, Pa. My address is 233 South Front Street, Souderton,

Pa. I am appearing before your committee at the request of Mr. Edgar Metzler, chairman of the peace section of the Mennonite Central Committee, and in behalf of all the Mennonite and brethren in Christ Churches, which together form the Mennonite Central Committee.

The history of the witness of these churches against war, military service, and conscription began in Europe during the 16th century, and it has been continuous in every century and in many nations since that time. The history of that witness is, I believe, well known to the members of this committee, and I shall not, therefore, elaborate further upon it. Literature on the subject is readily available for those members of the committee who may not be familiar with the history of the heroes and martyrs whose sufferings in past centuries have given to the world the great concepts of religious liberty and the separation of church and state.

While we wish to express our gratitude for provisions which have been made for conscientious objectors to war in the past, it is a matter of grave concern to us that the legislation now before the committee envisions no change in the restrictions imposed upon nonreligious objectors. These restrictive measures do not affect people from our constituent groups, since few, if any of them, would fail to find exemption either on the basis of religious training or belief in a Supreme Being. Our concern here is for those individuals who may not be able to claim either religious training or belief in a Supreme Being as a basis for their objection for military service, but whose objections may, nonetheless, be based upon sincere convictions. We believe that the consequences of war in the event of a thermonuclear conflict are sufficiently horrible that there is a firm basis for refusing to participate in preparation for such conflict on humanitarian grounds alone.

We could, therefore, suggest that the words "by reason of religious training and belief" be stricken from the first sentence in section 6(j) and that the second sentence be stricken in its entirety. With these deletions the first part of section 6(j) would then read:

Nothing contained in this title shall be construed to require any person to be subject to combatant training and service in the Armed Forces of the United States who is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form. Any person claiming objection * * *.

The rest of section 6(j) would not be changed.

If it is held that the historic recognition of religious objection should be retained in the language of the law, we believe that the law should be amended to cover all sincere objectors. This can be accomplished in our judgment by deleting the reference to the "Supreme Being" in section 6(j) and substituting the following:

Nothing contained in this act shall be construed to require any person to be subject to military training and service in the Armed Forces of the United States who, by reason of religious training and belief or personal, moral and philosophical conviction, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form.

We believe that if the "Supreme Being" clause is retained in the current law, then it should be changed to read "Supreme Power." This language would permit the exemption of persons who are sincere objectors but whose convictions are not based upon belief in a personal Deity.

We note also that the requirement for "religious training and belief" has sometimes been an obstacle for those who cannot claim a history of formal religious training as conscientious objectors. Changing the "and" to "or" in this sentence would provide for the possibility of a person coming to this conviction without a long history of formal religious training.

Our most urgent concern, however, is with the concept and fact of conscription itself. We do not believe that those who advocate continuation of the draft have proved beyond all reasonable doubt that such continuation is a necessary counterpart of the Nation's right to maintain the military posture necessary to its own defense. This opinion is shared by John C. Esty, Jr., a captain in the Air Force Reserves, who has given expression to his conviction in an article entitled "We Don't Need the Draft" in the February 23, 1963, issue of *The Nation*. In the absence of evidence that a continuation of the draft is needed in order to enable our Nation to maintain a legitimate military posture, we believe that continuation thereof will do the Nation incalculable harm in the following areas:

1. The continuation of the draft will tend to make the economy of the Nation more and more dependent upon the military industrial complex, against which President Eisenhower warned in the closing weeks of his administration. According to Gerard Piel in an article entitled "The Fork in the Road," which appeared in the July 1962, issue of the *Harvard Bulletin*, our Nation already possesses the equivalent of 10 tons of TNT for every man, woman, and child on earth. Mr. Piel argues that since there are no rational military or political justifications for such an overwhelming capacity for violence, we must look elsewhere for them. He states that without a doubt the ruling compulsions are and have been economic, and he cites impressive figures to support his case. If it is in order to do so, I should like to suggest that his article, "The Fork in the Road," be included in the record.

(The material referred to follows:)

[From the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, July 7, 1962]

THE FORK IN THE ROAD

(By Gerard Piel)

Our time is short. I shall cite evidence from history, economics, and social statistics to support the urgency of what I have to say. There is a tempo in the common experience of our species that is racing ahead of the biological clock. Events all out of scale with the rate and dimensions of life processes have transpired and impend.

If we had time, I would have no doubt about the outcome. But man changes and evolves more rapidly than any other invention of nature. This is because human heredity is accumulative and selective and is transmitted by teaching and learning. As the beneficiaries of this late, new phase of evolution, we cannot fail to call it by the name of progress. But, all too suddenly and unprepared, we have come to a fork in the road. The progress of which I speak has disclosed the noblest and most generous ends to human life and has placed in our hands the means to accomplish them here on this earth. In the command of those same means, progress has also given the power of irrevocable decision to our historic capacity for cruelty and folly.

The promise of tomorrow, I shall try to show you, is no less convincing than the threat that there may be no tomorrow. If the hope and confidence that embolden me to speak do not overbalance the appalling dangers of which I must speak, do not think that I despair. My hope comes from what I know is in the hearts of the best men among us and my confidence from what I know is in their heads.

By one reckoning, we have just 2 years. There were 25 years, time for one generation to grow up, between 1914 and 1939. June 1962 is not quite 23 years since August 1939.

Instability is inherent in the most sensible and humane argument for stability in the present impasse in world politics. Our national security is defended, we are told, by our power to retaliate. The Soviet Union does not dare try to overwhelm us with its nuclear striking power, because they know that we could overwhelm them in return. This is called the balance of terror. It is said to be secure against rational strategies, at least, on either side. That is to say, no statesman at present in power is likely to find a reason for attempting the first nuclear strike that would expose his own constituency to annihilation by the other side.

In recent months, however, even this insecure notion of security has been undergoing serious stress and revision. Unofficial leaks and official disclosures from the highest quarters in our Government have revealed that the balance of terror has concealed a considerable imbalance. From the President himself, from the Secretary of Defense and his Under Secretary, from Senators and Congressmen and from the Pentagon—the back door that is—we have learned that our country is equipped with a ready nuclear strike force that dwarfs the Soviet ready strike force in destructive power. In other words, there is no missile gap, nor any bomber gap, and there never was one. Throughout the 8 years of their stewardship, the Republicans always stoutly denied that there was such a gap, against the claims of the Democrats. And now the Democrats are in office, and they are denying it in turn. In fact, they have released sufficient information to permit reliable estimates that our ready strike force outnumbered and outweighed that of the Soviet Union by at least five times.

To appreciate the significance of this situation requires consideration of some unpleasant technical details. The destructive power of nuclear weapons is commonly expressed on a somewhat misleading scale of tons of chemical high explosives. Thus, a one megaton nuclear weapon is said to be equal to a million tons of TNT. Hans Bethe has calculated that a million tons is just a little less than the combined explosive power of all the old-fashioned bombs dropped on Germany in the course of World War II. To a certain extent the comparison must be discounted. A 10-megaton bomb is not 10 million times more destructive than a 1-ton high explosive blockbuster because a nuclear weapon discharges all its devastating energy at one point in space. The radius of destruction by blast increases only as the cube root of increase in explosive power. The destruction at that point, however, is the more complete because the weapon discharges all its energy at a single instant in time.

But blast is only part of the story. The exploding nuclear bomb evolves into a gigantic fireball—three and a half miles in diameter in the case of a 10-megaton bomb. The incendiary effect of the thermal radiation from this man-made star increases as the square root of the increase in power measured on the explosive scale. In other words, the bigger bombs yield more destruction by fire than by blast.

Thus the blast from a 10-megaton bomb will obliterate an area five miles in radius, but the heat from the fireball will incinerate an area with a radius of 12 miles. Now, if you draw these circles around Boston, with the point of your compass at the State house, you will see the central city destroyed by blast and the entire metropolitan region enveloped in fire. With the handy circular slide rule that you can purchase along with the new weapons-effects handbook, you can calculate that an attack with a total weight of about 1,000 megatons directed against the 111 largest metropolitan regions in the country could yield up to 100 million casualties. The effects of fallout may be neglected in these calculations, because the airbursts that would maximize the effects of blast and fire produce no local fallout.

My object in reciting these details to you is to show you that the civilian population is highly vulnerable to nuclear attack. This means, in turn, that a purely deterrent strike force need be of no more than modest size. Less than 1,000 megatons—a few hundred megatons—emplaced in secure and "hardened" bases have enough retaliatory killing power to keep the enemy from striking your population first. If both sides would commit themselves to a second-strike strategy, to a purely deterrent strategy, the arms race could terminate in a draw with relatively small deterrent forces on each side.

Most citizens, I suppose, have been under the impression that we have no more than a deterrent force, one that just about offsets its Soviet counterpart. It comes as a surprise therefore to realize that we are armed on a different scale entirely. Our nuclear force is of a size, in fact, that brings into the realm of

feasibility another kind of strategy. The objective of this strategy is to knock out the enemy's deterrent. To appreciate what this implies, we must go back again into the technical details.

Against a hardened target, such as an underground missile-launching silo, the blast and fire of an airburst, to which the civilian populace is so vulnerable, are of little avail. The attacker must ground-burst his weapon in the hope of engulfing the target directly in the crater. When a 10-megaton bomb is employed for such a purpose, its effective radius shrinks to less than a mile. To be confident of success, an attacker must be prepared to dispatch two or more big weapons to every hardened target. The destruction of the 1,000 hardened Minuteman missile installations contemplated in our administration's present military program, for example, would require an attack with the astronomical dimension of 20,000 megatons. A hit at each target would call for pinpoint location of the target, a continent away, and fantastically accurate guidance of the missiles. The preparation of such a "counterforce" attack, therefore, implies resolute intelligence work and endless research and testing, as well as a huge preponderance of striking power.

Now, there is a school of military strategists and publicists who argue for a counterforce strategy in justification of our overwhelming nuclear superiority. From the purely engineering standpoint, they say it is possible for us to strike first and disarm our antagonist by destroying his nuclear deterrent. We could then hold his civil population hostage under the threat of a second strike to be aimed at his cities. On moral grounds, they claim, we are entitled to such a preemptive strike because our antagonist would do it to us if he could.

But the preemptive strike, also known as "retaliation in advance," is still not a rational strategy. Its proponents concede that we would have to be ready to absorb some acceptable number of casualties—up to one-third of our population, say—because we cannot be sure of knocking out all the Soviet nuclear strike power. That is why the preemptive strategists are numbered among the most ardent advocates of civil defense. On the other hand, the popular apathy toward civil defense would indicate that ordinary citizens have not yet adopted this approach to the solution of the world's ills.

I do not believe that the advocates of the preemptive strike have had any significant influence on our military planning. Certainly, no responsible civilian or uniformed official of our Government has ever voiced or endorsed such a proposal.

The official justification for our present military posture takes quite another line. Thanks to our superiority in nuclear strike power, it is said the second-strike capability that would remain to us after a first strike by the enemy would be vastly greater than his first strike. But there is a contradiction buried in this line of logic that makes nonsense of this statement: an enemy so heavily outgunned could not conceivably be contemplating a first strike.

So long as the game of nuclear war is played on paper, there is never a last word. It can still be argued, it is said, that our overwhelming nuclear power promotes our security because it interdicts a first strike from the other side. But a necessary corollary to this argument is that the other side should also feel more secure in our possession of a potential first-strike capability. And in fact they have been given to understand that we would never strike first except on some intolerable provocation.

Yet, somehow, our excess nuclear armament has failed to promote stability in world politics. The Soviet Union called off the moratorium on nuclear testing last year, and reversed the hopeful downward trend in its military expenditures. When disarmament talks resumed at Geneva this year, the Russians proved to be more than ever obsessively concerned with their geographical security and resistant to early inspection.

Our enormous armament also complicates our own approach to disarmament. We would have to do so much more disarming than the other side that ratification by the U.S. Senate begins to look like a bigger miracle than an agreement at Geneva.

Meanwhile, the prolongation of the arms race darkens the prospects of the world. If the present conference at Geneva should break down, it cannot be reconvened without the presence of China, which is on the verge of becoming a nuclear power. By that time, there will be other new nuclear powers demanding or resisting invitations to the conference. France is only the first second-class power to realize that the nuclear weapon is the ultimate equalizer, and to adopt this dangerous route back to the summit. As the number of players in the game approaches the n th number, the hazard from irrational strategies, or from mere accident,

must rise. In the words of C. P. Snow—the Godkin lecturer 2 years ago—“We know, with the certainty of statistical truth, that if enough of these weapons are made—by enough different states—some of them are going to blow up.”

As citizens responsible for our self-government we are each personally confronted by grave questions concerning our responsibility in the creation of this dangerous situation. How did our Nation come into the possession of such overwhelming capacity for violence? Since there is no rational military or political justification for it, we must look elsewhere for the answer.

I think the answer is not difficult to find. Beyond any doubt, the history of the last decade of our domestic life shows that the ruling compulsions were economic. Any student of the stock market can tell you what happens on the rumor that peace is breaking out. The oscillations of the business cycle since the Korean war can be traced, every one of them, to variation in the rate of Government expenditure for arms. Military expenditure has taken up more than half of the Federal budget and fully a quarter of our manufacturing output throughout this period. In the fiscal management of our economy, in other words, armament has played the same role as public works in the first two administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt. After 10 years of this kind of pump-priming, is it any wonder that our magnificent industrial establishment should have burdened us with such an enormous surplus of weapons?

Now we have to ask ourselves another question. How did our economic house-keeping fall into such disarray as to lay this threat to our continued existence? To approach the answer this time we must turn from economics to technology.

During the past 25 years our technology entered upon the era of automatic production. The real work of extracting nature's bounty from the soil and the rock, and transforming it into goods, is no longer done by human muscles and less and less by human nervous systems. It is done by mechanical energy, by machines under the control of artificial nervous systems, by chemicals and by the application of such subtle arts as applied genetics. While the impact of these developments upon industry has attracted most of the attention, their impact upon agriculture has amounted to a revolution. Since only 1939 employment on the farm has dropped from one-fifth of our labor force to less than one-tenth, from 1 worker out of 5 to 1 out of 11. A mere 6 million farm workers, working fewer acres, are bursting our granaries, year after year, with unconsumed abundance. Adding up all the farmers and miners and all of the construction and factory workers, we find that not much more than one-third of our labor force is engaged in producing all of the abundance that chokes the channels of distribution. Most of the rest of us are employed in the task of distributing the abundance, keeping books on it, and repairing and servicing its working parts. To complete our census of the labor force we must face the most portentous of all the consequences of automatic production: more than 25 percent of our labor force today finds employment outside of the normal, domestic, private sector of our economy. They are employed in the arms industries or on the public payrolls, in uniform or in civilian clothes—or they find no employment at all.

Unemployment brings us back to economics. The most critical problem confronting our economic system is the insidious growth of unemployment. With each ripple in the now well-damped and administered business cycle, the number of workers left high and dry on the beach has increased. Yet, for everyone else, this has been a period of ascending prosperity. It is apparent that the disemployment of workers, by technological progress, has overtaken the growth of the economy and the now “classical” techniques for administering the cycle of recession and recovery from Washington.

Since no one can tell us how to get these surplus workers back to work, perhaps the time has come to ask why we must find jobs for them. Surely, the aim is not to increase production. On the contrary, a little reflection shows that the objective is to increase consumption. Jobs must be found for the jobless in order to qualify them as consumers of abundance.

Our economic system and our economics are confounded by abundance because they have their roots in the history of scarcity that lies back in time behind the industrial revolution. That revolution has come suddenly to fulfillment in our lifetime. We find it difficult to achieve equitable distribution of abundance precisely because our economic institutions are designed to secure the inequitable distribution of scarcity. In the more distant past, such inequity sustained the glory of civilization. Under the management of capitalism, it financed the industrial revolution.

John Maynard Keynes told the story in his famous parable of “the cake * * * that * * * was never to be consumed.” Writing 42 years ago, at the end of

the First World War, Keynes observed that "the immense accumulations of fixed capital, built up during the half century before the war, could never have come about in a society where wealth was divided equitably." This "remarkable system," he said, "depended for its growth upon a double bluff or deception. On the one hand the laboring classes * * * were compelled, persuaded, or cajoled * * * into accepting a situation in which they could call their own very little of the cake that they and nature and the capitalists were cooperating to produce. And on the other hand the capitalist classes were allowed to call the best part of the cake theirs * * * on the tacit understanding that they consumed very little of it in practice."

In drawing the lesson from his parable, Keynes indulged himself in a heretical forecast of the day when the cake might be cut: "* * * when there would at last be enough to go around * * *. In that day overwork, overcrowding, and underfeeding would have come to an end, and men, secure in the comforts and necessities of the body, could proceed to the nobler exercise of their faculties."

For most other economists, however, and for the owners and operators of the system, the perpetual growth of the cake remained "the object of true religion." It remains so today, sustained by the almost unanimous conviction of the community that high wages are bad (because they increase current consumption) and big profits are good (because they go to increase productive capacity).

The first portent that the system had fulfilled its purpose came in the 1930's. The economics of scarcity was then confronted by the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty. Strangely enough, as Clarence E. Ayres has pointed out, it was Keynes who saved the true religion with his "investment subterfuge." The Keynesian technique for administering the business cycle calls for increase in the current rate of investment on the downturn of the business cycle, with the Government supplying the funds, by deficit financing if necessary. Investment creates consumers but no addition to the consumable surplus, and so it delivers a powerful stimulus to the entire economy. The priming of the investment pump by the Government was a scandalous notion when first put into practice by the New Deal, but today it is a constitutional function of our Federal Government.

More investment could not go on serving, however, as the remedy for too much investment. Our economic system has found another way to certify citizens as consumers. The production of armaments, it turns out, can serve something like the same economic function as investment: it certifies additional workers with paychecks to consume the surplus and yet it certainly makes no addition to the consumable surplus. By this device, by dumping a quarter of our industrial output into the sink of armament, we have achieved affluence if not abundance. For a few years, we even attained full employment. But now in 1962, despite a 25-percent increase in military expenditure, the number of unemployed again exceeds the number unemployed at the last recovery peak.

There are other signs that the time has come to cut the cake. The progress of technology has stirred a new ingredient into the recipe. It is the sorcerer's ingredient that so astonished the apprentice. The cake now grows out of its own substance at no cost to the abundance of its consumable output. Despite the huge appetite of the Military Establishment, no certified consumer goes without any good that he hankers for. Admittedly, some 50 million of us continue to be ill fed, ill clad, and ill housed, but idle plant and rotting surpluses testify that we have more than enough to go around.

There is no doubt that disarmament would compel the cutting of the cake. The first word that follows disarmament in any economic essay on the prospect is: Depression. But the authors of these studies hasten on to dispel what they call any misconceived or exaggerated apprehensions about the potential economic impact of an agreement. As you read on, you are enthralled to learn what promise the future holds, when we are at last disarmed and freed to cultivate the arts of peace. In the first place, both Republicans and Democrats agree that disarmament would bring no corresponding cut in the expenditures of the Federal Government. The major portion of the funds released by disarmament are to be invested in the enrichment of our land and our people.

In a memorandum on the economic and social consequences of disarmament addressed to the Secretary General of the United Nations, the Kennedy administration declares that this country has "a backlog of demand for public services comparable in many ways to the backlog of demand for consumer durable goods and housing and producers plant and equipment at the end of World War II." By way of illustration, the memorandum shows that there is demand for an additional \$10 to \$15 billion in our annual expenditures for education, an additional \$4 billion for control of environmental pollution, and \$12 billion more each year

for conservation and for the development of our natural resources. A parallel study by the National Planning Association sees need for a total annual investment of \$66 billion in the realms of education, mass transportation, urban renewal, natural resources, and scientific research; this compares to a current annual investment of \$30 billion in the public domain. To the Eisenhower administration we are indebted for glimpse of what the Federal budget might look like after a first substantial step toward disarmament. Such figures as \$7.5 billion for education, \$3.7 billion for public health, \$3.2 billion for urban renewal, \$4 billion for resource development, and \$3 billion for space research, and a total increase in the Federal civilian budget of about \$30 billion, show that the Republicans can be as imaginative spenders as Democrats are reputed to be.

The Kennedy administration has yet to make such a full-dress forecast. But a report issued by the Disarmament Agency finds it possible to pick up some of the slack from disarmament by putting \$9 billion into space research. With the galaxy out there beyond the solar system, we have no cause to worry about depression.

The consensus is clear: we can offset the reduction in the arms budget by worthwhile and long overdue investment in the upgrading of our human and material resources and the enhancement of our domestic life. The possibilities inherent in the expenditure of Pentagon-size sums on these objectives stagger the imagination.

The prospect of disarmament confronts us, therefore, with a lesson, a vision, and a question. The lesson is that the public sector—comprising the Federal, State, and local governments—must continue directly and indirectly to certify a major and a growing percentage of our consumers with purchasing power. From 25 percent today, the figure is bound to go up, not down, on the day after disarmament. There is no return to normalcy in sight. On the other hand, the continued expansion in the scope and power of the Government lays serious hazards to self-government. We may hope that the exercise of citizenship will commend itself in the future to a citizenry blessed with increasing leisure time.

The vision is the vision of the Founding Fathers: the realization of the values of freedom, equality, security, abundance, and excellence in the life of our Nation.

The question is: What are we waiting for? If education should indeed command twice the present annual expenditure at some future date, then the children who are going to school today are being cheated. If our cities cry out for \$100 billion worth of reconstruction in the course of a half decade, some years hence, we are losing time and corrupting precious human resources in the slums and ghettos of the present. The same reasoning applies to the topsoil and the forests now going down the drain and up in smoke.

A hint of the answer to the question of why we are waiting is contained in the recent economic report of the Disarmament Agency which declares: "the chief obstacles * * * would be political resistance rather than deficiencies in our economic knowledge." It is difficult for anyone, including even the Secretary of Defense, to resist the demands on the Public Treasury laid by the Armed Forces. Those demands are now backed by the substantial economic interest of a giant industry exclusively devoted to armament. No such absolute moral sanction supports the claims of education, for example, and no comparable vested interest stands to gain from them. In many fields, as in natural resources and urban redevelopment, the expansion of governmental activity is bound to bring public and private interests into collision with one another. There are good grounds for the view that it will take disarmament and the threat of a great depression to overcome "political resistance" to our passage into the age of abundance.

But the politics of the situation can also be stated the other way: We are unlikely to get disarmament unless we are ready to embrace and vigorously advance the economic alternatives to armament. The large, round numbers I have quoted from the reports and studies made thus far must be translated into programs and engineering drawings. Local and individual initiative has an important role to play in this effort, especially in those regions and industries in which armament expenditures are now concentrated. While the Federal Government need not and cannot assume the entire burden, a real commitment to disarmament on the part of the administration would begin to bring the New Frontier into view on this side of the far horizon.

The choice one way or the other cannot be postponed much longer. The arms budget is losing its potency as an economic anodyne. It is concealing less and less successfully the underlying transformation of our economic system. Progress in the technology of war, as in all other branches of technology, is inexorably cutting back the payroll. With the miniaturization of violence in the

step from A-bombs to H-bombs, from manned aircraft to missiles, expenditure on armaments has begun to yield a diminishing economic stimulus. Armament in any case holds out no endless frontier. By some estimates, we are already armed with the equivalent of 10 tons of TNT for every man, woman, and child on earth. We acquired this monstrous capacity for destruction by a subterfuge on the investment subterfuge. There is surely little to be gained, economically or militarily, by raising that figure to 20 tons. Even in the postponement of disarmament, the economic and social consequences of abundance must soon be recognized and accommodated in our politics. If we had acquired the kind of armament most of us thought we had, scaled to the "rational" strategy of deterrence, we would be in the midst of abundance today.

In all that I have said I have dealt with the state of our Nation in isolation from the worldwide political crisis that so heavily conditions our domestic existence. I have done so deliberately, in the conviction that our country's domestic situation plays no inconsiderable role in shaping the nature of the world crisis. It goes without saying that we do not command all the variables in current history. But we can and must put our own house in order or we will surely lose what command we now claim. We have come to the fork in the road.

Reverend BEACHY. Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, has conducted a survey of the firms in our country which are currently engaged in defense contracts. These number a total of 400; yet, 24 of the 400 companies accounted for 70 percent of the total expenditure. The fact that decisionmaking in areas of national importance is thus taken out of the hands of the civil government and placed in the hands of the military industrial complex should, we believe, be a matter of grave concern to the Members of the United States Senate. We reiterate our conviction that the continuation of the draft will further strengthen the hold of this military industrial complex upon the economic and political life of our Nation.

2. The continuation of conscription will cast us more and more in the mold of the totalitarian regime of communism, whose plan for world domination we are now committed to resist. By subjecting our youth to military indoctrination in which unquestioning obedience to the superior officer is regarded as the desired standard of military excellence, we remake ourselves in the image of the power we are trying to resist. Conscription hardens the tendency to seek military solutions to problems that are largely ideological and economic. The military mind-set which it helps to engender will render us incapable of seeing the cracks in the Communist "wall" which indicate, if not a fundamental change in ideology, at least a significant shift in strategy, which calls for a nonmilitary response on our part. I refer to the recent publication in Russia of the anti-Stalinist novel, "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich." A criticism of the slave labor camps under Stalin, it represents a chink in the armor of the "closed society," which we should exploit to the full. Our continued reliance upon a military structure whose capacity for violence has no rational military or political justification can only serve to strengthen the conviction of the opposition in the cold war that we do not really desire peaceful solutions. Thus, the chink in the armor can be closed again by American as well as by Russian intransigence. Furthermore, the continuation of conscription hinders the work of the Disarmament Agency and makes all our effort toward a reduction of the armament race appear to be lipservice only.

3. Conscription places a cloud of uncertainty over the education and training of those who plan to continue formal education beyond high school. Furthermore, it often makes it difficult for the youth who does not plan formal education beyond high school to find gainful

employment, while his military service is still pending. The net result of this is that military service is not viewed as a patriotic duty but as a rude interruption of one's personal or educational career. Many who volunteer for military service are not motivated by a sense of patriotic duty so much as by the desire "to have it over with." In a day when the Nation needs its most able minds, not only in the sciences but in the humanities as well, it can ill afford a system of conscription which casts a shadow of uncertainty over the academic future of every American male after he becomes 18 years of age.

4. While conscription is theoretically universal, it has actually become under the present system highly discriminatory. This is due to the fact that the need for manpower replacement secured through the draft for the armed services is so low numerically that selective service has become, in fact, very highly selective—so highly selective that very few of those eligible for military service by law are actually drafted. Those who are drafted, therefore, often resent the fact that they were "caught," while many of their friends escaped the dragnet of conscription.

5. We believe that the national ideals and goals of the United States of America can best be maintained and achieved by diverting the vast financial expenditure and the large personnel now consumed by conscription to creative and constructive ventures such as the Peace Corps. The vast sums now spent on the procurement of weapons and for the military training and indoctrination of our youth do nothing to alleviate the most urgent needs of the peoples of the world whose poverty and disease make them an easy target for communism, which promises to alleviate their wretched condition.

We thank the committee for this opportunity of appearing before them and speaking in opposition to this proposed legislation. It is our hope and prayer that the members of this committee and of the U.S. Senate will find both the wisdom and the courage which is needed to end conscription and begin a more creative approach to the solution of the world's complex and often baffling problems.

Chairman RUSSELL. We are glad to have your statement, Reverend Beachy.

The next witness is Mr. Edward Eichel Burns, who will present the views of the Student Peace Union Committee of Brooklyn College.

STATEMENT OF EDWARD EICHEL BURNS, ON BEHALF OF THE BROOKLYN COLLEGE STUDENT PEACE UNION COMMITTEE

Mr. BURNS. My name is Edward Eichel Burns, and I am a student at Brooklyn College in the city of New York.

The Brooklyn College Student Peace Union Committee strongly opposes the bill before this committee to extend the draft.

We believe that peacetime conscription is in direct defiance of American traditions. It represents an invasion of the right to privacy inherent in our historical tradition.

The draft disrupts young men during an important period of their lives. At precisely that time when they should be allowed to develop unfettered, they are subjugated to a system that could not care less about them. Their ability to develop their intellectual outlets is crushed by an overpowering system.

The draft inculcates on young men acceptance of war and militarism as a sane, normal, integral feature of our way of life. Military conscription in no way works to the advantage of the youth of this Nation. It does, however, serve the purposes of those cold-war parasites whose main interest rests not in their patriotism, but, rather, in their overzealous desire to reap superprofits from war preparations. To these people the draft represents the solution to the economic problems of this country.

The flaw in American policy, the flaw which allows it to say, ergo: military conscription is the belief that nuclear annihilation is a myth. In 1945, with the explosion of the first atomic bomb over Hiroshima, civilization entered a new historical epoch. At that time many people realized the horrible implications of Hiroshima, but only a few far-reaching minds like the late Dr. Albert Einstein could envision the possibilities for a time when the H-bomb would be produced. Speaking of that possibility, he said:

If successful, radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere and hence annihilation of any life on earth has been brought within the range of technical possibilities * * *. In the end, there beckons more and more clearly general annihilation.

It was not until 1956 with incidents like "Lucky Dragon" that we began to learn that what science had undergone in 1945 was not merely a quantitative change from one type of weapon to another, but, rather, science had undergone a qualitative change—a change to a weapon that has the possibility to destroy all life on the planet earth—perhaps even the planet earth itself.

Speaking to this point, in his article "Commandments for a Nuclear Age," that appears in his correspondence with the Hiroshima pilot, the noted German philosopher, Gunther Anders, has remarked:

* * * the effect of the bomb is greater than any conceivable end for this end will necessarily be destroyed by its effect. Every end will be destroyed together with the entire world in which "ends and means" had existed (Burning Conscience).

We are facing a danger today unlike any other danger that humanity has ever been faced with. There are now in the possession of the Soviet Union and the United States more than enough nuclear weapons to wipe out all life, all societies on the planet earth.

The scientists who know best, people like Linus Pauling and Leo Slizard, have agreed that the prerequisite for the survival of the human race is that there should be no world war III.

In their old age, words tend to lose their meaning. They no longer are clear. This is precisely what has happened to words such as "defense" and "deterrent". The qualitative changes of the nuclear age have made it imperative that we alter our conceptions of these words.

In the context of this understanding, then, we think it is clear that we are dangerously ignorant when we speak of war as a means of settling the problems of the world. Having the draft means giving government an agent through which it can manipulate world tensions. We saw this in action during the Berlin crisis. We stand unalterably opposed to any action that will lead us down the path toward nuclear annihilation.

The Brooklyn College Student Peace Union believes that to end the draft would be a catalyst toward reducing world tensions and would represent a creative, intelligent beginning toward approaching the problem of world peace and the survival of the human race.

We urge that this committee recommend that the bill to extend the draft be defeated.

Chairman RUSSELL. You are a student in Brooklyn College now, Mr. Burns?

Mr. BURNS. Yes.

Chairman RUSSELL. About how many students are there in Brooklyn College?

Mr. BURNS. Offhand, I am not exactly sure.

Chairman RUSSELL. I do not want you to be exact. Just give me an estimate.

Mr. BURNS. I estimate there are 10,000 students in day session and 20,000 in the night session.

Chairman RUSSELL. How many members are there in the Student Peace Union? Understand, I am not challenging your right to be here. I have been in the minority most of my 30 years in the Senate in one way or the other.

Mr. BURNS. I would say, offhand, that there are approximately 300 to 400 active members who represent various classes in the school and various opinions in the school, and would be, I think, representative of the opinion of Brooklyn College.

Chairman RUSSELL. Are you an officer of the committee?

Mr. BURNS. No, I am not.

Chairman RUSSELL. Senator Inouye?

Senator INOUE. No questions.

Chairman RUSSELL. Thank you, Mr. Burns.

I asked those questions, Mr. Burns, because I like to have the record reflect something about the basis of the views you express, not, as I said, to in any wise impugn your rights.

The next witness is Mr. William R. Martin, who represents the Young Friends Committee of North America.

Come around, Mr. Martin.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM R. MARTIN, ON BEHALF OF YOUNG FRIENDS COMMITTEE OF NORTH AMERICA, RICHMOND, IND.

Mr. MARTIN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, and others, I am William R. Martin, a member of the Society of Friends, from Hillcrest Heights, Md. I am currently employed here in Washington for the Federal Government.

I might add that I have not memorized my speech, as has the previous Quaker witness before this committee.

I represent the Young Friends Committee of North America, an association of young people of college age and over from all segments of the Religious Society of Friends.

We are from the United States, Canada, and Costa Rica. In the past the Young Friends Committee of North America has served as a channel through which Young Friends could show their concerns and open channels of communications among the various groups of Quakers.

We seek to speak to all of Quakerism by earnestly fulfilling our concerns as we feel we are led by the spirit of Christ.

Most of our participants within the United States who are liable for the draft are conscientious objectors and take an alternative service position.

We support the increasing number of young Friends (and others) who must say "No" to war by even stronger means including non-registration. We warmly approve civil disobedience when done by divine compulsion as an honorable testimony fully in keeping with the history and practices of Friends.

It has not, however, been our practice to take an active part, as an association, in particular legislation. This is the first time that we have done so.

Generally, we are pleased to have our concerns conveyed by the Friends Committee on National Legislation which Friends organized for this purpose.

We particularly urge and support that committee in its efforts to aid in the building of the machinery needed for peace. But this particular issue concerns us directly, as young people.

Seldom is there a gathering of young people today when the state of world affairs and our responsibility are not discussed. Even less of ten is there a gathering of Young Friends where the war system and conscription are not discussed.

We need not delve too deeply into the historical and total opposition which Friends have to war—and in particular to conscription. Our opposition is adamant and absolute. We feel that the teachings of Jesus require that we seek peace and brotherhood among all peoples. Based on our religious convictions and the fact that we believe peace is the only realistic alternative in today's world we favor general and complete disarmament.

While we prefer disarmament generally, many of us stand ready to accept unilateral disarmament—if that is the best that can be had.

Ending conscription in the United States would be an initiative which could begin the peace race called for by President Kennedy.

Conscription, we feel, is in reality a deterrent to peace and true freedom, rather than a deterrent to war.

Four years ago, Hon. Byron Haworth, a municipal judge in North Carolina said, in presenting testimony before the House Committee on Armed Services:

Conscription of youth at an early age is especially reprehensible because it forces upon them decisions which they are not mature enough to make. At a critical period in their adolescence, at a most impressionable age, they are subjected to training based on acceptance of militarism, and on a philosophy of mechanical, unquestioning obedience, which is bound to unfit them for responsible citizenship in a democracy.

YFCNA concurs. But as young people we are usually less inhibited. We sometimes express our views more vehemently. A few years ago, the Washington, D.C., area group of Young Friends said, in addressing young people generally:

By now almost everyone knows that you surrender many basic freedoms of thought and action when you take the induction oath. If you think it is undiplomatic to disagree with some of your teachers, just try arguing with your superior officers, once you have been inducted.

The main purpose of this authoritarian control is to overcome your human reluctance to kill. This is an unpleasant fact and efforts have been made to sugar-coat this pill. But the facts are that you will be shown how to plunge a bayonet in the flesh of another human being, how to break his throat with your bare hands. You will be trained to drop a bomb on a target that may turn out to be a home or school, how to detonate an atomic or hydrogen bomb that may wipe out 400 square miles of human habitation with millions of lives.

If this sort of thing nauseates you, it is well to think about it in advance. Once you put on a uniform you will not be allowed to express any qualms of conscience about the things you do.

If this occupation could accomplish its announced purpose, saving our families from attack and the moral values of our civilization from destruction, you might think it justified. But on occasion even our military leaders have admitted that this is not the case.

* * * As a draftee you will be forced to cooperate in acts which will end by destroying the civilization for whose ideals you are supposed to be fighting. There is literally no defense against nuclear weapons and little chance of "preserving" very much in a full-scale war.

But when Friends and others say these things, it is usually answered that we are able to say them because we are not those responsible in government—and there are others who protect our right to these views.

We reject this theory. This is based on the obsolete belief that national security can be secured by seeking preeminence in military power.

Experience of recent years has shown that national security approaches zero as military might approaches infinity.

So it now seems necessary to explore nonviolent alternatives. Perhaps in nonviolent forms of power as developed by Jesus Christ, and Mahatma Gandhi, we eventually may find hope of preserving our freedoms and creating the conditions for men to live together in peace.

Indeed, it is primarily the nonviolent means that are today achieving the Negro his rights in our country. Violence would prevent the attainment of his objectives.

While not yielding on our total opposition to war and conscription, there are several specific inequities and concerns which we have regarding the specific legislation under consideration.

The pending legislation would simply extend the present situation for another 4 years, and at that time there would probably be another request for an even further extension.

But let us not forget that conscription is alien to all free traditions. How many of our ancestors came to America, the land of the free, to avoid conscription? What have we gained for liberty, if in attempting to preserve that liberty, we surrender our rights, freedoms, customs, and traditions?

Four years ago, a 2-year extension was proposed as an alternative with a study commission. This is still valid.

Today the Pentagon insists that we need the draft. A few short years, or indeed months, ago they were insisting on maintaining compulsory ROTC in many of our colleges and universities.

But today they seem to think that this is not an efficient means of solving the military manpower problem. Could not a similar argument be valid regarding the draft?

BROADENING OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR PROVISIONS NECESSARY

The present law provides that:

Nothing contained in the title shall be construed to require any person to be subject to combatant training and service in the Armed Forces of the United States who by reason of religious training and belief is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form.

Religious training and belief in this connection means an individual's belief in a relation to Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation, but does not include essentially political, sociological or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code.

This, we believe, is too restrictive. As we understand freedom of religion, it includes the right to believe or not to believe.

Ideally the same rights and privileges must be given—equally—to all of our fellow citizens.

It is the Quaker belief that there is that of God within each of us whether we call it that or not.

And we strongly feel, that this Inner Light—or God, or Power—does not compel many others to sincerely oppose war as much as we, as Friends.

We feel uncomfortable that we are given treatment not afforded to all who are conscientiously opposed to participation in war and thus we ask this committee to make some modification in the law at this respect.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I would like to include in the record a letter from Norman Thomas, several times candidate for the Presidency, in which he gives his views on this subject.

(The matter referred to follows:)

FEBRUARY 27, 1963.

HON. CARL VINSON,
*Chairman, Committee on the Armed Services,
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. VINSON: I wish to be on record in opposition to the renewal of the current Universal Military Training and Service Act.

I believe that if the act should be continued it should at least be subject to amendment. For example, I do not think that exemption or alternate service for sincere conscientious objectors should require that the objection be based on "religious training and belief" with a further provision that this religious belief be based on belief in a Supreme Being. Also there are other respects in which the law might well be amended.

These points, however, will doubtless be called to your attention by other witnesses. I am concerned to oppose the whole idea of military conscription as necessarily a tremendous curtailment on the liberty of the individual, unnecessary for national security, and in its effect a very important constituent in the military-industrial complex against which President Eisenhower so eloquently warned us.

The law as it now stands takes 2 years out of a conscript's life for training and service in the Army. The service may be in any part of the world, even in a war which Congress has not declared like that in South Vietnam. The law on the face of it provides a selective conscription which does not and cannot fall equally upon the members of the age groups toward which it is directed. It is not like monetary taxation, either in its incidence or its weight. It is, indeed, "selective" in its effort to gather in the best of our youth.

It is not used except to fill the quotas for the Army. The Navy, the Marine Corps, and the Air Force are able to recruit men voluntarily, partly out of their conception of their patriotic duty, partly out of desire for the well-advertised training which they may receive and partly, I suppose, to escape draft for the Army.

It is an historic fact that peacetime conscription has always played a very considerable part in building up authoritarian or totalitarian governments, in sustaining rival militarisms, and making war more likely. It is very doubtful whether Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, and Czarist Russia could have plunged so recklessly into World War I, except for the effects upon men and men's minds of long-established custom of conscription.

It is also an historic fact that a great many of our best citizens among former generations came to us to escape what they felt was the tyranny of military conscription over their whole lives, body and soul. Historically the lack of conscription helped to make America great in the value of individual freedom.

You may argue, however, that in our time it is necessary for national security that we accept this limitation on individual liberty. To this argument I respectfully dissent. Our national security depends upon an end of war at a time when men are possessed of weapons to obliterate their race.

I do not advocate unilateral disarmament but a much more vigorous approach to universal disarmament. I think we could make this approach more meaning-

ful if we should show that we did not use conscription to keep up armies while we were pressing for disarmament. What armed forces might be deemed necessary during the process could be recruited from volunteers. It will be observed that Great Britain, certainly in as great danger as we in the event of nuclear war, has felt able to abolish conscription. At the same time she has maintained such armed forces as she deemed necessary, during the drive for disarmament down to a police force level under a strengthened international authority which can supply law in place of war. In the success of that drive lies our only security.

One of the great obstacles to the achievement of peace and to the preservation of democracy at home is precisely the power of a military-industrial complex operating in our economy, our politics, and our education. Of course, it has been strengthened by and makes use of the selective service law and its execution in the sometimes subtle and sometimes not so subtle process of making us, still under democratic forms, essentially a garrison state. I do not accuse particular individuals of evil intent. Rather this is the inevitable consequence of what we are doing in the steady increase of vast expenditures of the national wealth on arms and in the indoctrination of selected youth in the ideology of militarists.

It is for these reasons that I am opposed to renewal of any selective service act even should it be revised and improved.

Sincerely yours,

NORMAN THOMAS.

Mr. MARTIN. Also I would like to make brief mention to the wording I think of a Supreme Court decision just a couple of weeks ago:

In other words, for the first time in history of American law the Supreme Court recognized that a man can be religious without believing in a Supreme Being.

And the Court specifically mentioned the Ethical Culturists, who call themselves Humanist Buddhists.

We now have at least 100,000 Buddhists in Hawaii who, as Chief Justice Warren pointed out 2 weeks ago, do not necessarily believe in a Supreme Being.

I will include a bit more of this in the testimony.

Chairman RUSSELL. Those matters will appear in the record.

Mr. MARTIN. Eliminate requirement of belief in Supreme Being.

We are concerned with the definition of religion which requires a belief in a Supreme Being. This term is vague and does have different meanings to different people since an Infinite God is not capable of being defined by any one word or attribute.

There are those, including some members of the Religious Society of Friends, who cannot state that they believe in a Supreme Being.

And under the current draft law they may not be eligible for the conscientious objector classification.

These Friends are at ease to equate the words God with Universal Love, Truth, Kindness, or the Inner Light—but not with Supreme Being.

They do not conceive of God as a Supreme Being taking on the characteristics of man. But rather man takes on the characteristics of God and God is within every man.

The problem is brought particularly to mind since I was visited last month by two agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation who were investigating the claim of a friend of mine who is a conscientious objector.

Apparently this was a principal concern of theirs—to determine whether he believed in a Supreme Being since a large portion of the 45-minute interview centered on this question.

PROVISIONS FOR ABSOLUTIST CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

Finally, Mr. Chairman, should the draft law be extended, we ask at least for partial return to the more liberal position of the 1948 act providing for total exemption of certain conscientious objectors.

As I have indicated earlier and as is supported by an attitude survey which will be made part of this record, there is a growing number of young men who cannot conscientiously cooperate with Selective Service to the extent of performing alternative service.

Such cooperation, it is felt, is rendering aid to a war system, and to do so would be to violate their scruples.

Under present law these individuals face prosecution and jail—when their only crime is that they have remained steadfast to their principles and convictions more than most of us are able to do.

Only after deep searching and prayerful consideration does any Friend deliberately violate our country's law. Indeed, Friends recognize and insist that if peace is to be had in our world, we need more law, and more machinery to handle the world's problems.

We need a strengthened United Nations and a World Court. But as the U.N. has recognized, we need recognition of conscience.

Friends try to be good and active citizens, assuming their roles in this cosmopolitan society. But these Friends (and others) may even be prevented from voting in an election.

In the last election, a Friend, Herbert F. Hoover of Oskaloosa, Iowa, a cousin to our former President, ran in the Republican primary for the U.S. Senate. And although he received nearly 20 percent of the vote against the incumbent Senator, he could not vote for himself. He had served a prison sentence because there was no provision in the law for recognition of his views.

Some of these cases may be handled administratively by other deferments, but the only real solution is a legislative change.

At this point, I would like to include in the record a minute from the Young Friends Committee of North America which supports much of what I have said.

Also, I would like to have included a statement by a Young Friend which presents a position being taken by some Young Friends today.

Finally, in support of this testimony, I wish to include part of an attitude survey made recently by our committee.

And one final inclusion is a letter from the Honorable Morris Udall in which he discusses the provisions for modifying the conscientious objector determinations to permit nonreligious conscientious objectors to be recognized.

Chairman RUSSELL. How lengthy are those?

Mr. MARTIN. Very, very brief.

Chairman RUSSELL. None of them are over three or four pages?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, no, nothing that long.

Chairman RUSSELL. Very well, they will all appear in the record. (The matter referred to follows:)

MINUTE OF THE YOUNG FRIENDS COMMITTEE OF NORTH AMERICA, ADOPTED AT THE SPRING COMMITTEE MEETING, EARLHAM COLLEGE, APRIL 15, 1961

In November 1960, Friends rededicated themselves to the peace testimony which George Fox delivered to King Charles II in 1660. In a world of conformity, of bias and of imminent disaster, we feel that this peace testimony is today even more relevant.

In our early existence as a society, we were not afraid to respond to the dictates of God's will as it was inwardly revealed to us. On some occasions this obedience to the "inner light" caused thousands of Friends to suffer imprisonment.

Today many Friends again face the conflict between man's law and God's law. We support all Young Friends who follow the law of God even when it contradicts that of man.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE NONREGISTRANT

(By Stephen W. Simon)

(Stephen W. Simon, a Young Friend, is married and has two children. He is a graduate of Earlham College and Cornell University and is a member of Home-wood Friends Meeting, Baltimore. Stephen's education was interrupted twice by prison terms because of his refusal to cooperate with Selective Service.)

There are many reasons why a nonregistrant considers any form of military conscription as contrary to his way of life. One may well ask whether conscription could be a part of a world based on the principles of Jesus, the principles of the United Nations or the principles of a truly democratic government.

Can a sense of true service be embodied in any conscription system? Service must come from a sense of inner compulsion, not an external law.

Conscription puts an end to the path followed by a person whose inner compulsion leads him in a life of Christian love.

It removes the possibility of following the will of God or one's conscience. One who is trying to obtain world peace by living by the principles of peace in the sphere of his own life finds conscription contrary to this goal.

The selective service law itself can be reason enough for a nonregistrant's objections. Its narrow definition of a conscientious objector excludes those who might object to war on other than strictly religious grounds.

The draft and appeal boards act as judges of whether one's religious convictions are sincere or not. Sometimes unfair and arbitrary decisions have been made by them.

It seems to me that a conscientious objector, operating within the selective service law, is still a part of the total picture of the preparation for war.

It is expedient, even though done with reluctance, for the Government to recognize a conscientious objector and then put him aside in civilian service, meanwhile continuing to conscript other men to learn to kill.

I cannot be a part of a system that conscripts other men to kill, even though they do not object to it.

To be most effective, the nonregistrant's stand must rise out of a way of life in which a seemingly negative attitude actually is a confirmation of a well-integrated spirit.

It may be that this refusal to cooperate with Selective Service is the only way he can continue to live by those principles in which he believes.

A sensitive person cooperates with most of the laws of man. It is his duty to abide by those laws which are not contrary to his conscience. It is also his responsibility to oppose, by refusing to cooperate with, those laws which violate his conscience.

I found that I could not make the final decision myself. I left it in God's will. Since then I have been clear in my mind that taking any part in a military regime is contrary to the life God wants me to lead.

Although some courts have granted probation, the terms "nonregistrant" and "prison" are usually synonymous, since a nonregistrant is breaking a law which carries the maximum penalty of 5 years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

Taking the nonregistrant stand should not be influenced by a possible prison term. The nonregistrant is not choosing prison; it comes as a result of his way of life. Going to prison can have the same affirmative force as the way of life itself.

The challenge of a prison experience can offer many rewards and opportunities. In the day of a new awakening in prison reform, the conscientious objector can be an effective witness.

While in prison, it is possible to be of service to the general inmate population in many ways.

Some may be fortunate enough to take part in a human guinea pig experiment. I participated in an experiment in infectious hepatitis.

The pending arrest, trial, and final decision, with so much time elapsing from start to finish, create great strain. It is imperative that the nonregistrant continue doing whatever he might be doing, as if these difficulties had not come up. A conscientious objector should not worry about what a prison sentence will actually prove worthwhile in many ways.

ATTITUDE SURVEY

A recent survey of Young Friends by the Young Friends Committee of North America brought the following results:

If I were a draft age male, I would prefer this position:

	<i>Percent</i>
No cooperation with Selective Service.....	6. 73
Alternative civilian service.....	83. 65
International police force duty.....	2. 88
Noncombatant duty in military service.....	1. 92
Full military duty.....	. 96
Uncertain.....	3. 85

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., January 23, 1963.

Mr. JERRY FISH,
Tucson, Ariz.

DEAR MR. FISH: It is appalling to me to think that you might have to spend any time in prison because you have a moral though non-religious conviction that war is wrong and that consistent with your principles you cannot render military service. I hope that this will not happen.

In this age of modest enlightenment the old shibboleths sound strangely out of place, and yet society goes on as though people really believed the things they pretend to believe. I admire you for having the courage to try to adhere to your beliefs. Your suggestion that changes be made in the draft law to allow for non-religious conscientious objection is an excellent proposal which I intend to pursue. However, I can imagine the road will be a rough one. In my opinion there is a very little need today to continue the draft, for I believe the military services can obtain all the personnel they need through recruitment. If I have the chance I will certainly vote to terminate selective service. It is hard to believe that we have been living with the draft for over 22 years.

If your response from the local draft board is negative, I assume you will appeal the case. If I can be of help, please call upon me.

Sincerely,

MORRIS K. UDALL.

Mr. MARTIN. Concluding, Mr. Chairman, let me express our thanks to you for permitting us to testify on this important matter. While we have been critical—and shall remain so—of many of your decisions we know that they are made in good faith.

We particularly appreciate the progress made thus far in protecting the rights of conscience.

Since this is an extremely important issue to young people, we appeal to the committee to give it ample consideration and full discussion—both here and on the floor.

Senator RUSSELL. Thank you, Mr. Martin.

Did you get all of your statement in the record?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Senator RUSSELL. Thank you.

The next witness before the committee is Mr. Gene Keyes of Wallingford, Pa.

STATEMENT OF GENE KEYES, WALLINGFORD, PA.

Mr. KEYES. Mr. Chairman and members of this committee.

My name is Gene Keyes. I am 21 years old, and a student currently situated at a Quaker study center known as Pendle Hill.

Prior to that I had been a sophomore at Harvard, but had left 2 years ago to participate in demonstrations sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action.

I am not speaking on behalf of any organization, but solely as an individual student approaching induction age.

The especial responsibilities and burdens for maintaining the defense of our Nation that you members of this committee share with the President and the Department of Defense are awesome.

The decisions you make in this committee, and when voting in the Senate, properly take into account the diverse opinions of the citizens of this Nation as well as our defense needs as determined by qualified experts from the Department of Defense itself.

Among the many opinions freely expressed in this Nation, you represent mine.

In particular, the decisions you, the members of this committee, make during the next few weeks concerning the Universal Military Training and Service Act will drastically affect my life and the life of countless others.

But, most important, this, and all of the decisions you make, are a measure of the morality and honor of this Nation and the means chosen to defend it.

For all of these considerations, therefore, I am availing myself of the opportunity to submit this statement for the consideration of this committee and of the Senate.

It is my purpose to make a deposition before the House and Senate of the United State of America in Congress assembled, through their respective Committees on Armed Services, in which I would seek to—

1. Express my opinion with respect to the bill currently under consideration with the hope that the members of this committee would see fit not to report H.R. 2438 without first striking at least the first six lines therein; but instead, will allow section 17(c) of the Universal Military Training and Service Act as amended to remain unamended.

2. Express the further opinion, not however, germane to the bills' present provisions, that there should be added to the bill an additional section to repeal at this time section 12 of the Universal Military Training and Service Act.

3. Indicate, necessarily, my favoring of the idea of establishing an integral strategic nonviolent national defense system.

1. H.R. 2438

I wish to be on record as opposing at least the first six lines of H.R. 2438, a bill to extend the induction provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act as amended, and for other purposes.

Yet, even if the committee should enact this recommendation, the only consequence will be to permit the termination this June of the induction authority granted to the President by Congress through the act, but will not otherwise be to alter the Universal Military Training and Service Act and the Selective Service System. I do not wish that my position should thereby be construed as favoring the balance of the Universal Military Training and Service Act.

2. THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE ACT

In general, I oppose the compulsory aspect to the selective service process, as well as the immediate purpose for which selective service is currently utilized.

Therefore, of necessity, I must state my hope, knowing that it may be neither desirable nor feasible from the standpoint of this committee and its responsibility for the present defense system of this Nation, that there would be passed by the Senate a bill which would also repeal section 12 of the Universal Military Training and Service Act.

Section 12 is only the enforcement provision; I have deferred opinion on the balance of the act pending further study.

It will suffice at this time to establish for the record that I speak for no transient readjustment in the instruments of security, such as a conditional reliance upon means other than induction to maintain the strength of the Armed Forces.

Rather, what is suggested is a basic reorientation of the defense posture of this Nation.

3. CERTAIN ASPECTS OF NATIONAL SECURITY AND THE UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING AND SERVICE ACT

A. The reliance upon voluntary manpower: Thus, I am not here to speak as a would-be expert on the voluntary procurement of manpower for the Armed Forces.

I believe those who call themselves pacifists should not offer to Congress and to the people of America expedient instruments of security, such as recommendations, explicit or otherwise, for voluntary professional armed forces in which they would otherwise have no part.

If they are to be consistent, let them instead design and advocate strategic nonviolent defense systems whose power and application in nowise depends upon the threat or use of organized violent intimidation.

B. Conscientious objection: Nor am I here to speak for the rights of conscientious objectors, even though as a Quaker, I could probably qualify within the provisions of section 6(j) of the present act.

I fully appreciate the good will of Congress and the Selective Service System in extending to certain conscientious objectors provisions for alternate service in the national interest, as well as those who choose to render the service designated thereby.

However, my responsibility as a citizen is to defend directly the integrity and institutions of the United States of America.

My purpose is not to secure a special berth in the ship of state while others man its artillery.

My purpose is equally to participate in the national defense, upon supplanting of the violent premises on which our national Defense Establishment is currently structured.

Whereas, the purpose of the induction authority delegated to the Selective Service System with its attendant processes of registration, classification, channeling, and enforcement, is but to provide the present Armed Forces with adequate numbers of the right kind of inductees, who will obey such orders and inflict such violence as the President may direct.

It is this present purpose which I deplore.

Therefore, it is not properly my concern to assist in the selective process by which our Armed Forces are maintained, nor to submit to orders to do work in the national interest, insofar as selective service

and the national interest are presently directed toward ends which envisage the mechanics or threats of human demolition.

Rather, I submit that those who wish to be considered conscientious objectors should examine the systems and institutions whereby the massive violence of warfare is held in potential.

If they find that selective service is one of those systems, they should refuse to lend themselves to any aspect of such a system, even if the label reads "civilian work."

Let them instead accept the full responsibility of standing directly athwart the Nation's war effort, rather than accepting a predetermined part in the war effort by agreeing to carry out some or all of the specified provisions in the Universal Military Training and Service Act.

And let them additionally accept the responsibility for propounding national security systems not dependent upon the calculated infliction of controlled or uncontrolled violence.

C. The retention of an enforced Selective Service System: I have indicated by unqualified determination to cooperate in the establishment of a national defense system based wholly on the deployment of non-violent power.

I have similarly indicated my unqualified rejection of defense systems based wholly on the deployment of violent power.

In symbolic witness thereof, I have been and I will be, when and where feasible, by conscience standing bodily opposed where instruments of violent defense are poised or in operation.

May God grant me the same determination to do likewise if this were totalitarian country.

Since we in this open society have yet these avenues of citizen participation in the governing process, I am making my views known to Congress through these hearings.

It is my hope that in your deliberation you may, in considering these views, make a determination to discontinue the induction and enforcement provisions of the Universal Military Training and Service Act as a forerunner to a strategic nonviolent national defense posture.

If the Universal Military Training and Service Act is not thus changed, I will find myself in conflict with those provisions which hold all male personnel between 18 and 45 years of age liable, on penalty of \$10,000 fine and/or 5 years' imprisonment, to registration, classification, induction, training, and service, in the Armed Forces or elsewhere.

It may be, however, that you will, in your deliberation, decide to favorably report and pass S. 846, and further determine not to repeal section 12 of the Universal Military Training and Service Act as in my opinion it should be.

In that case I will then have no honorable choice but to make known to the Attorney General such evidence and actions as my conscience may deem appropriate, and at such time and place as I may prescribe, to establish my overt, unremitting, and willful refusal to sanction, participate in, or consent to any aspect whatsoever of the Selective Service System, the Armed Forces, the Bureau of Prisons, or such other agencies of enforcement as may be involved, insofar as their present functions are directed to furthering or utilizing the threat of violent coercion, whether against national populations or individual American inductees for any purpose whatsoever.

Conclusion: I have, and will continue to have, pledged allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

I have further pledged my life's efforts to see that the ideals of liberty and justice shall not be reserved to America alone, but shall be perpetuated and extended to include all of the people of the world, including those living in nations currently enslaved, and those not now considered a part of the free world.

I find the current defense efforts of this Nation to be in the interest of neither liberty, nor justice, nor morality, nor honor. And I have not pledged allegiance to the defense of these ideals with the threat of the sword, but to use instead no sword. To defend these ideals thereby, I look to the development of nonviolent systems, and for, when necessary, strategic nonviolent warfare operations.

Mr. Chairman, we must never surrender in the cause of defending liberty. We must seek to maintain that defense by any means consistent with nonviolence, morality, and honor.

It is my conviction that as free people advancing in this manner, we may perhaps be killed, but never conquered.

If we were thus armed with weapons systems of moral and strategic nonviolent power, in the hands of free and unscripted citizens, ours would then truly be a nation under God.

Chairman RUSSELL. Senator Inouye.

Senator INOUE. Just one question, Mr. Chairman.

Sir, what do you mean by "a nonviolent defense system" or "strategic nonviolent warfare operation"?

Is there such a thing as a nonviolent warfare operation?

Mr. KEYES. One of the theories of nonviolence holds that another means of carrying on war is by nonviolent means that you try to meet your opponent and maintain your own ideals but not at the same time try to inflict violence upon him or his populations.

It is something of an extrapolation of the way Gandhi was operating in India, except that one could also envisage a nation's defense establishment operating on nonviolent premises so that its entire military establishment would be unarmed but otherwise organized to meet conflict situations or forms of aggression in a nonviolent manner.

Mr. INOUE. Thank you very much.

Chairman RUSSELL. Very well.

We are glad to receive your statement, Mr. Keyes.

The next witness is Mr. Richard Stern.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD STERN, TONASKET, WASH.

Mr. STERN. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, and others, my name is Richard Stern and my home is in Tonasket, Wash.

I wish to thank you for granting my request to appear today. Rather than representing an organization, I prefer to speak on behalf of that diverse group of individuals who are not recognized by the present draft law.

Presently I am doing civilian work here in the District as a conscientious objector "contributing to the maintenance of national health, safety, or interest," in lieu of military service.

This, of course, means that I am subject to the current Military Training Act and to the regulations and control of the Selective Service System.

A skyscraper of authoritarianism is being built ever greater in our society. This is most evident in the steady and continued influence of the military upon our lives.

Conscription is another story in this sturdy building of strength alongside our deteriorating shack of freedom and democracy.

In our fear of losing that dear old shack which we value, we unwittingly forsake it for this skyscraper of power—all with the good intention of protecting this figurative “shack.”

We regiment ourselves in conformity to defend our individual right to be different and unregimented; we subordinate ourselves to a military hierarchy in order to keep from being overrun by another dictatorial power; we resort to violence and power wielding to show our abhorrence of violence, respect for law and order, and desire to maintain or regain peace.

Whatever merit this sort of paradoxical logic may have, my feeling is that peacetime universal military training has taken it too far.

Now that I have aired my opposition to the draft, I will leave that many-faceted argument to more competent persons and will confine my remaining words to the subject of conscientious objectors and the draft law.

If we must retain the draft, I would respectfully suggest that something be done about the limited and discriminating definition of religion in section 6(j), regarding conscientious objectors.

As you know, this section exempts a person from combatant training “who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form.”

Then it goes on and clarifies religion as being a belief in an orthodox Christian theological dogma.

I feel that this is unfair to religious attitudes and disciplines outside of that definition.

I am a conscientious objector. I believe that violence is wrong; that killing is doubly wrong; that organized, mass killing is absolutely, irrevocably unjustified.

Preparation for an absolute wrong has no bearing, purpose, consistency, or justification in my life.

Also, you might call me agnostic, for I neither believe nor disbelieve in a Supreme Being or a relation * * * involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation.

For the sake of convention, my God is a human, transitive verb, not a Being.

And this action, of which my religion consists, involves precisely duties arising from human relations, and nothing superior to this—for there is nothing I know of that is superior to this.

Furthermore, this does include “essentially political, sociological, and philosophical views, (and) a personal moral code,” for these are major aspects of life and my belief concerns just that: the whole of life, here and now.

Among those values of good which may be included in my belief are love, truth, sincerity, humility, simplicity, and nonviolence.

I will not go into these further here, for they are mere words which have no meaning apart from action and application.

They are commonly heard terms—even clichés—but not commonly meant.

And I certainly have a great deal to learn of their meaning myself. I don't maintain that I have found absolute truth as opposed to anyone who disagrees with me—only that I have found hope that truth lies in this direction and my conscience compels me to move toward it.

I submit all this to you merely as an illustration of a sincere conscientious objector who doesn't quite qualify under the law.

There are other examples.

Some, more disillusioned than I of the inadequacies and failures of institutionalized religion, have had to reject entirely the association of their views with the traditional in order to retain their integrity.

While my thinking tends to be humanistic, others, just as sincere, are atheists, freethinking radicals, ethical socialists, Tolstoyan anarchists, and so forth.

The question is that if an atheist conscientious objector, for instance, is zealously positive of his "religious" conviction and attitude, why should he be less qualified for exemption than a Brethren or Quaker, for instance?

Is it because the law respects religious institutions more than religious freedoms and attitudes?

If so, the law would appear to be merely mouthing respect for religious freedom in order to soothe and satisfy the organized wrath and demands of institutions—i.e., churches.

Where is the regard for those individuals not protected by proximity to an "acceptable" organization?

Even though these questions and this viewpoint have been raised before this subcommittee today over and over again by a variety of groups and persons concerning the broadening of the conscientious objector provisions, no reasons have been given by the Government to substantiate the present position of the law.

No contradicting opinions have been put forth by Government authorities to the similar viewpoints expressed today by the ACLU, the Church of the Brethren, the Methodists, the Friends, two groups of Friends, and the Mennonites.

I would like to know why this is.

I hope that these two questions will be asked honestly and openly, and considered in spite of the dark, disapproving glances cast upon this sort of thinking because of administrative burdens that change might put upon the Government.

Thank you for your attention in this matter.

Chairman RUSSELL. Senator Inouye.

Senator INOUE. No questions.

Chairman RUSSELL. You have a fine gift of expression, Mr. Stern.

Mr. STERN. Thank you.

Chairman RUSSELL. The next witness will be the Reverend Dr. Charles H. Straut, the Methodist Church in Kinnelon, N.J.

**STATEMENT OF REVEREND DR. CHARLES H. STRAUT,
THE METHODIST CHURCH, KINNELON, N.J.**

Reverend STRAUT. My gratitude to you, Mr. Chairman, for allowing me to come before this subcommittee.

My name is Charles Straut, and as the minister of the Methodist Church in Kinnelon, N.J., I come to you as one of those professional

men of which you were speaking earlier who is the recipient of unfair advantage under the present draft law, and I speak only for myself.

I request that my written remarks be placed in the record, and I shall summarize and supplement them in oral testimony.

Senator RUSSELL. Very well, the remarks will appear in the record.

Reverend STRAUT. As a minister, I share the view that every Christian has the obligation to love his neighbor—especially his enemy.

This means that no man should willingly do that to another man which would harm that man, nor should he allow anything harmful to befall a friend or foe if it is within his power to help.

This is the ethical theory which informs my view of morality. However, I cannot share the strategy which some Christians (and others outside the faith) choose for translating this theory into practice.

That is, I am not a pacifist. I believe God holds human life too sacred to countenance throwing it away senselessly by offering no resistance to an aggressor.

I further cannot believe that it is the will of God to permit someone; for example, a mad killer or a depraved conqueror, to destroy himself by destroying others.

The Christian has an obligation to help even this kind of a person, and sometimes people can only be helped after they have first been stopped—by force, if necessary.

By the same token, the Lord creates men and allows them to enhance their existence by living together in communities.

In these communities murder cannot be tolerated by men or by God.

But human nature being what it is, the communities of men must protect the majority against murderers. They do it by law and by excusing the use of force, up to and including murder itself, against potential murderers.

They will excuse a man for using force against, or murdering, another man, if he did it either in self-defense or in the defense of another.

While this is lamentable, since it wouldn't be necessary if we lived in a society of perfect men, it is nevertheless a cold and hard necessity if a society is to maintain law and order.

Now, this is the way a nation maintains itself internally through the principle of force. And although I am sure that this circumstance grieves our Heavenly Father, it is He who has created us in freedom and thus I am sure, that while He laments the sinfulness of our nature for making this circumstance necessary, He does not condemn our technique of force for handling the threat.

I therefore can easily understand the cold and hard realities of international life which necessitate a nation maintaining itself externally by the employment of the force principle again. However, I cannot excuse one nation employing force against another nation except on the same basis as it allows force internally; that is, either in self-defense or in defense of another.

Hence, in Christian conscience I could only support a war which was clearly being fought in direct defense of my nation and/or its people, or in the defense of an ally against an aggressor.

And then, the motivation could only be my love of my neighbor [the ally], as well as my love for my enemy [the aggressor], which

means I would be seeking the welfare of the former and the redemption of the latter.

I therefore would like to list briefly the reasons which I have contained in my written essay for rejecting the draft which I believe is in opposition to such a Christian view of war as I have just outlined.

First of all, as many have said so well today, the draft contributes to a state of continual war orientation among our people and presents us in that posture to the other peoples of the world, both our friends and our enemies.

This, of course, is to the delight of the aforementioned military-industrial unholy alliance, but it is at the expense of the time-honored American principle of civilian control over the military.

Secondly, it is a gross violation of the civil rights of the young men of our Nation which I think cannot be countenanced if we are to maintain the democracy which we proclaim.

Thirdly, it is a program which brainwashes these young men to accept militarism and regimented mechanical obedience, the draft and all that it supports destroys that which the church, the schools, and the family have sought to establish in our youth, that is freedom of conscience, freedom of choice, and the integrity of the individual.

It further fosters suspicion and hostility in their minds toward those who have been designated by our Government as our enemies, and therefore makes it difficult for them to be able to see a peaceful gesture on behalf of these enemies.

The draft takes initiative in addition is soon reduced to nil. The individual becomes so immersed in and identified with the war machine of which he is a part, that the ideal soldier becomes like a child dependent upon his parent for all his satisfactions.

The trouble is, there is no provision for attaining maturity, for the cutting of the umbilical cord, or the untying of the apron strings.

The good serviceman is thereby suited by his training more to becoming a well-adjusted pawn in a totalitarian dictatorship than a responsible citizen of a free democracy.

The Cordiner committee has well documented my fourth point, and that is the folly of believing that mass armies are able to do anything against the nuclear weapons with which we are faced today.

Instead of forcing a whole slew of unwilling and uninterested tourists from civilian life to gape awe-struck at the incredible complex problems of today's military, let's provide the necessary incentives to attract capable and enthusiastic professional career men to stay long enough to do the job right.

Only the habitual inefficiency of politics which fosters such things as the seniority system could have inspired and continued to countenance such an inept way of running the military effort long after the need for running it in such a way has disappeared.

Good businessmen would have scrapped such a makeshift arrangement long ago.

My fifth point is that since there are approximately twice as many eligible draftees around than there are openings for them in the armed services, the resultant liberal policies of local draft boards in granting deferments makes the task even more odious to those who aren't able to legitimately dodge Uncle Sam's invitation.

Furthermore, take the case of those who can't afford immediately after high school either to go to college or to begin to raise a family.

They are the first to get drafted, so that they can begin to make even less money than they are making in civilian life.

And that brings up the morality of forcing a man to do something he doesn't want, and then paying him less than he could make almost anywhere else.

No wonder the draftee, just about as soon as he knows his job, returns to civilian life.

At least there a man has some dignity. He can make his own choices and gets paid a livable wage besides.

If we didn't waste so much money paying so many so little, perhaps we could afford to pay the qualified enough to insure their future availability.

Perhaps it will ever be the curse of our culture that we prefer quantity to quality.

The injustice to the youth of our Nation ought to be reason enough, however, for rejecting the draft.

The sixth objection is that constant doubt dogs the thoughts of these young people about this future if they are not lucky enough to go quickly to college and/or get married and hastily begin having children.

They can't even get a decent job because the employer wants to know their draft status the very first thing.

The young men of our country are coerced—almost driven—into the Armed Forces to “get it over with.”

And when the jaws of the merciless draft board do close around the boy who has plans either for college, or some other advanced training, and interrupts his career—setting it back at least 2 years by induction into the armed services—believe me, that lad is not the only loser.

The real strength and security of our Nation, which has to wait for the benefits it will receive from this son's vocational capacity is ultimately weakened as well.

Perhaps Congress and the military have been shirking their rightful responsibility by hiding behind the draft.

And therefore my seventh objection is we have to realize that we would be saving an immense amount of presently wasted money if we trained intelligently an Army, an armed force of specialists, each to handle his own particular job efficiently instead of following the medieval military custom of teaching 100 percent of our military personnel to fight when never more than 20 percent of them at most will ever see combat.

It seems to me that our choice is not less serious than this: We must choose between the draft and disarmament, and therefore my last objection is that as long as conscription exists in the United States, it is a roadblock at home and abroad to any constructive lessening of cold war tensions.

It makes us feel falsely secure while drumming a militaristic frame of mind into us, completely against our better moral and spiritual instincts.

It puts us at odds with our entire heritage while diminishing our moral leadership in the world.

The greatest mistake we are making, however, is to perpetuate the draft out of the erroneous belief that the more we prepare for war, the more likely we are to prevent war.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

This world will soon see the finish of civilization and humanity as we know them today, unless it realizes the utter futility of such a doctrine and shifts its reliance from the arms race to what President Kennedy has called the peace race.

Chairman RUSSELL. I am very sorry, Reverend Straut, but I have let you run over a couple of minutes.

If you have anything additional there you can submit it.

Reverend STRAUT. Thank you.

(The full statement submitted by Reverend Straut follows:)

STATEMENT BY REV. CHARLES H. STRAUT

As a minister, I share the view that every Christian has the obligation to love his neighbor—especially his enemy. This means that no man should willingly do that to another man which would harm that man, nor should he allow anything harmful to befall a friend or foe if it is within his power to help. This is the ethical theory which informs my view of morality. However, I cannot share the strategy which some Christians (and others outside the faith) choose for translating this theory into practice. That is, I am not a pacifist. I believe God holds human life too sacred to countenance throwing it away senselessly by offering no resistance to an aggressor. I further cannot believe that it is the will of God to permit someone (e.g., a mad killer or a depraved conqueror) to destroy himself by destroying others. The Christian has an obligation to help even this kind of a person, and sometimes people can only be helped after they have first been stopped—by force, if necessary.

By the same token, the Lord creates men and allows them to enhance their existence by living together in communities. But human nature being what it is, the communities of men must protect the majority against murderers. They do it by law and by excusing the use of force, up to and including murder itself, against potential murderers. They will excuse a man for using force against, or murdering, another man, if he did it either in self-defense or in the defense of another. While this is lamentable, since it wouldn't be necessary if we lived in a society of perfect men, it is nevertheless a cold and hard necessity if a society is to maintain law and order. Now, this is the way a nation maintains itself internally through the principle of force. And although I am sure that this circumstance grieves our Heavenly Father, it is He who has created us in freedom and thus I am sure, that while He laments the sinfulness of our nature for making this circumstance necessary, He does not condemn our technique of force for handling the threat.

I therefore can easily understand the cold and hard realities of international life which necessitate a nation maintaining itself externally by the employment of the force principle again. However, I cannot excuse one nation employing force against another nation except on the same basis as it allows force internally (i.e., either in self-defense or in defense of another.)

Hence, in Christian conscience I could only support a war which was clearly being fought in direct defense of my nation and/or its people, or in the defense of an ally against an aggressor. And then, the motivation could only be my love of my neighbor (the ally) and my enemy (the aggressor), which means I would be seeking the welfare of the former and the redemption of the latter.

To my mind, peacetime conscription does not contribute to a national policy toward war which would conform to any Christian position vis-a-vis war, such as the one just outlined. That is because maintaining a draft in time of peace contributes to a state of continual war orientation not only among our own people, but among the other peoples of the world as we present ourselves to them—whether allies or adversaries. It abets a militaristic outlook among our citizens to the delight of the military-industrial unholy alliance, and the detriment of those who believe in and support the traditional American scheme of civilian control over the military.

The draft in peacetime further erodes other aspects of our American heritage. In the short run, it invades a citizen's inherent rights to privacy, by forcing our boys to submit to complete and often arbitrary domination by the Government. And in the long term, its insidious influence can force militaristic thinking to a greater and greater degree into our society, our economy, our politics, and our Government.

Thirdly, the peacetime draft mints a two-sided coin in the minds of our youth. On the one hand it brainwashes them from the tender age of their first draft.

eligibility on, to accept militarism as an unavoidable fact of life. And on the other hand, it begets the twin conclusion (before these adolescents are mature enough to learn better) that regimented, mechanical obedience without question to an irreproachable authority, is a philosophy—no, more than a philosophy—a way of life to be followed and even embraced out of preference for any other. What kind of citizens does this make to strengthen a free democracy? It destroys that which the church, the schools and the family have sought to establish in our youth: freedom of conscience, freedom of choice and the integrity of the individual. And this military philosophy, with which our young men are indoctrinated, delivers them into the hands of suspicion and hostility toward our "enemies" thus negating, for them at least, any chance that some peaceful gesture would even be recognized, let alone accepted or reciprocated. Given the Armed Forces' premium on conformity, the draftee's initiative is soon reduced to nil. This can only issue to the detriment of society. The individual becomes so immersed in and identified with the war machine of which he is a part, that the ideal soldier becomes like a child dependent upon his parent for all his satisfactions. The trouble is there is no provision for attaining maturity: for the cutting of the umbilical cord; or the untying of the apronstrings. The good serviceman is thereby suited, by his training, more to becoming a well-adjusted pawn in a totalitarian dictatorship, than a responsible citizen of a free democracy.

The report of the Defense Advisory Committee on Professional and Technical Compensation amply documents the next contention: that conscription is inane in a day when mass armies are helpless against nuclear weapons. How naive it is to go on deceiving ourselves that half-trained amateurs possess enough knowledge and skill to perform the extremely technical tasks of the military in the missile age. Instead of forcing a whole slew of unwilling and uninterested tourists from civilian life to gape awestruck at the indredibly complex problems of today's military, let's provide the necessary incentives to attract capable and enthusiastic professional career men to stay long enough to do the job right. Only the habitual inefficiency of politics could have inspired and continued to countenance such an inept way of running an organization after the need has disappeared. Good businessmen would have scrapped such a makeshift arrangement long ago.

In all these moral and pragmatic objections never let it be said that I would neglect to mention all the inequities which others, more competent and observing than I, have pointed out concerning the unjust hardship which the conscription law works upon the draftee. I'm sure we all realize that since there are more than twice as many eligible draftees around than there are openings for them in the armed services the resultant liberal policies of local draft boards in granting deferments makes the task even more odious to those who aren't able to legitimately dodge Uncle Sam's invitation. Furthermore, take the case of those who can't afford immediately after high school either to go to college or begin to raise a family. They are the first to get drafted, so that they can begin to make even less money than they were making in civilian life. And that brings up the morality of forcing a man to do something he doesn't want, and then paying him less than he could make almost anywhere else. No wonder the draftee, just about as soon as he knows his job, returns to civilian life. At least there a man has some dignity. He can make his own choices and gets paid a livable wage besides. If we didn't waste so much money paying so many so little, perhaps we could afford to pay the qualified enough to insure their future availability. Perhaps it will ever be the curse of our culture that we prefer quantity to quality.

But to pursue the injustice to the youth of our Nation a bit further, let's consider the disruption which is fostered in the majority of young male lives today because of this accursed draft. Constant doubt dogs their thoughts about the future if they are not lucky enough to go quickly to college and/or get married and hastily begin having children. They can't even get a decent job, because the employer wants to know their draft status the very first thing. The young men of our country are coerced—almost driven—into the Armed Forces to "get it over with." And when the jaws of the merciless draft board do close around the boy who has plans either for college or some other advanced training, and interrupts his career—setting it back at least 2 years by induction into the Armed Forces—believe me, that lad is not the only loser. The real strength and security of our Nation, which has to wait for the benefits it will receive from this son's vocational capacities, is ultimately weakened as well.

Perhaps Congress and the military have been shirking their rightful responsibility by hiding behind the draft. Maybe they're taking the easy way out because they're afraid to go to the taxpayer and ask him to assume the necessary burden—which, I am told, is not of the magnitude which supporters of the draft claim.

We have to realize that we would be saving an immense amount of presently wasted money if we trained intelligently an armed force of specialists—each to handle his own particular job efficiently, instead of following the medieval military custom of teaching 100 percent of our military personnel to fight when never more than 20 percent of them at most will ever see combat.

It seems to me that our choice is no less serious than this: we must choose between the draft and disarmament. As long as conscription exists in the United States, it is a roadblock at home and abroad to any constructive lessening of cold war tensions. It makes us feel falsely secure while drumming a militaristic frame of mind into us, completely against our better moral and spiritual instincts. It puts us at odds with our entire heritage while diminishing our moral leadership in the world. The greatest mistake we are making, however, is to perpetuate the draft out of the erroneous belief that the more we prepare for war, the more likely we are to prevent war. Nothing could be further from the truth. This world will soon see the finish of civilization and humanity as we know them today, unless it realizes the utter futility of such a doctrine and shifts its reliance from the arms race to a "peace race."

That is the only alternative to the draft. We must stop trusting that "might makes right" and show the world that we mean business by ending peacetime conscription. I've tried to point out that by training an efficient and highly skilled professional armed force, it doesn't mean that by abolishing conscription we are renouncing the principle of force as a necessary national strategy. It simply means that we shall be taking the first step toward peace and thus showing the genuineness of our intentions. But from there we must press on to even more vigorous peace efforts through continued negotiation for general and complete disarmament, strengthening of the U.N. and especially its International Court of Justice and International Atomic Energy Agency, expansion of our own U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, greater effort through the Peace Corps, and by supporting any other national or international agency or institution which will help to establish the rule of law and a reign of peace.

Chairman RUSSELL. Mr. Paul Blanshard, who represents the American Humanist Association.

STATEMENT OF PAUL BLANSHARD, SPECIAL COUNSEL, AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION

Mr. BLANSHARD. My name is Paul Blanshard. I am appearing here as counsel for the American Humanist Association, a not very large organization, composed of liberal religious people in all parts of the country.

I have a very brief statement but I think I will not follow that.

I ask permission to insert it in the record.

(The statement of Mr. Blanshard is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY PAUL BLANSHARD, SPECIAL COUNSEL OF THE AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION, YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

The American Humanist Association is an organization of independent liberals, with nationwide branches, interested in the commitment of persons to moral ideals without reference to theological concepts. Our membership includes many college professors.

We are not opposed to the draft as such, nor are we champions of the draft as such. Our sole interest in appearing here this morning is to urge two minor reforms in selective service that would put the nontheist on the same basis as the theist.

In 1940 Congress ruled by statute that no person shall be subject to service "who by reason of religious training and belief is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form." In 1948 the Supreme Court interpreted this phrase in the following terms: "Religious training and belief in this connection means an individual's belief in relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation, but does not include essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code."

Both the American Unitarian Association and the American Humanist Association, as well as the Ethical Culture Society have protested that, in view of this

Court decision, nontheistic conscientious objectors are discriminated against. I wish to introduce into the record at this point the resolution adopted by the American Unitarian Association.

The Committee on Church and State of the American Humanist Association asks that a small modification be made in the statute, adding the words "or personal philosophical or personal moral conviction." Perhaps it would be still better to add "a past record of devotion to a moral ideal consistent with opposition to military service." We recognize the fact that no person should be allowed to escape duty because of a sudden impulse, not based on thoughtful reflection. We suggest that language definitely excuse the unbeliever on the same basis as the believer.

This request is in line with the 1961 case of *Torcaso v. Watkins* in which the Supreme Court placed religions which do not accept a Supreme Being on the same basis as religions which do accept a Supreme Being. The Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia also took this line in the tax case of the Washington Ethical Culture Society.

We also wish to raise the issue whether the new requirement in the enlistees' death is being fairly administered for nonbelievers. The phrase "so help me God" was added by H.R. 218. The House Armed Services Committee has said that these words are "not part of the obligation." But the machinery is compulsory, and we believe that a third form of oath should be provided, one for the enlistee willing to take the oath, one for the enlistee who is ready to affirm, and one for the enlistee who is willing to affirm but not willing to profess atheistic belief. At present the enlistee in the third category would be deeply embarrassed and perhaps hindered in his progress in the armed services by asking for a special exemption. The discussion of this issue in the Senate last year by Senators Morse and Thurmond reveals that the military authorities have not yet made arrangements to treat the nontheistic objector quite fairly.

We ask the Senate to make the proper changes either in the statute or the administrative rules. I ask permission to file, as part of my statement, the published statement of the American Humanist Association, and an article by Lester Forest on "Agnostic Conscientious Objectors." Paul Blanshard.

Mr. BLANSHARD. I feel almost abashed to bring up a point that is so minor in the face of a problem which is so colossal.

I feel especially abashed because I have at one time or another sat on the other side of the Government table, having been a State Department official in the last war with two sons in the conflict, and a member of an Alien Control Board, and I at one time had the job of trying to judge the loyalty of people.

The only point that I want to raise is concerning the fairness of the law as it affects the nontheistic conscientious objector and the present theistic oath which is now administered to enlistees.

In 1940 Congress ruled by statute that a person shall not be subject to service if by reason of religious training and belief he is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form, and the Supreme Court has interpreted that in terms of belief in a Supreme Being.

Now, I don't believe that that is consistent with the recent Supreme Court decisions or with a reasonable interpretation of the Constitution.

The American Humanist Association, composed largely of university professors and so-called intellectuals in various parts of the country deeply concerned with protecting the rights of the non-orthodox, believes that the statute should be changed to add some phrase like this:

Or personal, philosophical or personal moral convictions or perhaps—
and I like this a little better—

a past record of devotion to moral ideals consistent with opposition to military service.

I don't for a moment believe that the present military authorities mean to be unfair to conscientious objectors, but it has been pointed out again and again here today by the American Civil Liberties Union and by many of these religious groups here that the distinction is not feasible.

I am particularly sorry that Senator Inouye had to step out because in the Supreme Court this last week it was brought out that there are about 100,000 Buddhists in Hawaii, and one of the large segments of the Buddhist religion rejects the idea of a Supreme Being.

Now what are you going to say when a Buddhist from Hawaii appears before a draft board and says, "I am a conscientious objector but it is part of my religion not to believe in a Supreme Being"?

The truth is that the Supreme Court in two decisions, the case of *Torcasso v. Watkins* and the case of the *Washington Ethical Society v. the DFC*, has ruled that there are religions worthy of recognition which do not recognize a Supreme Being.

The Unitarian Church itself, which has a large segment of people who say they do not accept the concept of a Supreme Being, passed a resolution in 1953 to which it still adheres, asking that the Selective Service law be changed.

With your permission, I will enter that resolution in the record. Chairman RUSSELL. Very well.

(The resolution referred to is as follows:)

3. MILITARY AFFAIRS

"Oh for a lodge in some vast wilderness,
Some boundless contiguity of shade,
Where rumour of oppression and deceit,
Of unsuccessful or successful war,
Might never reach me more."

—William Cowper.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

We believe that universal military training would further promote the militarization of the American mind and way of life; and there is no assurance that the proposed universal military training legislation would result in young men being ready for actual military combat; and the period of regimentation under such training might well be a detrimental break in the mental and emotional development of those young men under training; and the cost of maintaining such a program would be exorbitant and inflationary. We reaffirm our opposition to compulsory peacetime military training, either openly or by indirection unless and until all voluntary methods have proved unworkable.

Therefore be it resolved that we reject legislation enacting universal military training (AUA, 1952).

Being concerned over the increasing acceptance of militarization in our society, and having heretofore opposed all forms of permanent military conscription we deplore Congress having enacted a plan for universal military training, and urge our people to work for its ultimate repeal (UCA, 1955).

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

One of the achievements of Unitarianism has been a fellowship in which persons of varying theological beliefs worship and work in mutual recognition and respect. The Selective Service law now provides nonmilitary assignment of conscientious objectors only if their "religious training and belief" expressly includes "belief in a Supreme Being." This definition has led to the imprisonment of many sincerely religious young men who do not express their beliefs in such traditional language, and it violates the integrity of our religious fellowship.

The first amendment indicates that an official theological definition of the nature of religion lies beyond the proper province of secular government. There-

fore, we deplore the continued use of only a theistic test in determining eligibility for special assignment as a conscientious objector (AUA, 1953).

Whereas the Congress of the United States continues in practice to employ the "belief in a Supreme Being" as the test of "religious" objection to military training or service, and men whose grounds of objection would be recognized as religious by Universalists are still being denied recognition because of this definition, we challenge the use of the words "Supreme Being" as any exclusive test of religious conviction and call upon the Congress of the United States and Selective Service officials to recognize the broadly religious implications of social and philosophical objections to war (UCA, 1959).

The right to hold any religious belief or disbelief is an essential to our American democracy guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. However, there is increasingly widespread insistence upon religious conformity.

The "religious training and belief" requirement for recognition of conscientious objection to military service under the Universal Military Training and Service Act has been interpreted to mean belief in a Supreme Being. Some religious liberals cannot subscribe to this and hence are denied recognition, prosecuted, and imprisoned.

Therefore be it resolved that we (1) deplore the present pressures toward conformity and orthodoxy in matters of conscience and religious belief; (2) call the attention of liberal religious groups and individuals to the narrow interpretation of religious belief in the present draft law, with consequent nonrecognition and discriminatory treatment of conscientious objectors whose beliefs are primarily ethical and nontheistic; and finally (3) urge our churches to be alert to combat any infringements on freedom of conscience and religion, and to give moral, spiritual, and practical support and counsel to individuals whose rights are so threatened or infringed upon (AUA, 1955).

Whereas Universalists require no specific assent to mere words as a condition of fellowship and acceptance among them, or of membership, they support those members who have taken the position of conscientious objection to military service. The present Selective Service law recognizes only those objectors who assent to a belief in a Supreme Being, but the first amendment to the U.S. Constitution militates against sectarian definitions of religion by any governmental authority.

We call upon the Attorney General of the United States to broaden the administration of the law, and upon Congress to amend the law to recognize the validity of objection to war by Universalists and others, in those cases where the objection is based upon sincere, moral or philosophical grounds, or upon those grounds not based upon traditional Western theologies (UCA, 1957).

Mr. BLANSHARD. Now, there is one other point I would like to bring up, and that is this:

There was added by H.R. 218 the phrase, "So help me God" to the enlistee's oath.

This was brought up in the Senate in a discussion between Senator Morse and Senator Thurmond last year.

The House committee said that the words "So help me God" are not part of the obligation, but there is nothing in the law which indicates that this is not part of the obligation.

In the debate on the Senate floor, Senator Thurmond admitted that, in his opinion, no enlistee would be obliged to add the phrase.

But Senator Morse pointed out, and these are his words:

Suppose that, after the bill is passed, a constituent writes to me and informs me that he offered to enlist in the Air Force and was accepted, and that when the time came for him to be fully recruited, he was asked to raise his right hand and swear, but he refused and said, "I will affirm," and then they allowed him to affirm, but the affirmation ended with the words, "So help me God," and he said, "I can't accept that because I don't believe in God."

Continuing the quotation from Senator Morse:

My question is this: Will it then be possible to fall back on the committee report and to offer such a person a third form, namely, an affirmation which stops before reaching the words, "So help me God"?

And Senator Thurmond replied:

I would say that the policies in the armed services, as I understand it, have been not to require the addition of the words "So help me God," and thus far there has been no difficulty. Of course, if difficulty were to arise, the matter could be tested in a court. I would welcome a test on this point.

The point I want to raise, Senator, is this:

It would be very simple to have a third form for the nontheistic conscientious objector who is asked to sign neither the affirmation statement "so help me God" or the oath statement "so help me God," but simply an oath or an affirmation without that phrase.

I hope that the committee sees that this is a vital moral point, and I would like to file, with my statement, a very perceptive article by Lester Forest which is quite brief, called the Agnostic Conscientious Objectors.

Senator RUSSELL. That statement will appear in the record.
(The article referred to is as follows:)

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AGNOSTIC CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

Concerning the nonbeliever as "C.O."

(By Lester Forest ¹)

The American Humanist Association, Humanist House, Yellow Springs, Ohio

REFERENCES

"The Legal Status of the Agnostic 'C.O.,'" by Charles H. Lyttle, the Humanist, vol. IX, No. 2, 1949. * * * "Are You a Conscientious Objector?" also "The Draft Law and Your Choices," Friends Peace Committee, 1520 Race St., Philadelphia. * * * *Torcaso v. Watkins*, U.S. Supreme Court, 1961. "No person can be punished for * * * professing religious beliefs or disbeliefs," etc. (Summary sheet available from AHA.)

THE NONTHEISTIC CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

World youth is uneasy, defiant, and searching. Perhaps no more than in past centuries but never before has man faced the prospect of global destruction. Fearing one's own death, or the destruction of one's land and country or even a part of the world is not the same as fearing total world annihilation. One of man's inherent drives is self-perpetuation; with that cut off a psychic imbalance may follow with its unrest, manifest in the world today.

Whereas prior to the H-bomb, banner-waving, marching, and picketing for peace may have been expected of members of peace-churches, isolationists, and peace-groups suspected of being Communist inspired, now the American citizenry in general thinks and moves with caution and the longing for peace stirs every heart. The posters and placards of housewives on a peace-walk to Washington, D.C., are "observed and the message received" by the President of the United States. The air today is sufficiently charged so that loving peace and standing up to be counted for peace is not quickly branded as unpatriotic, naive, or appeasing, and is no longer disloyal.

This might be the decade in which the nontheist, nonbeliever conscientious objector (CO) will be granted equal status with the CO whose exemption stems from religious training and belief related to a supreme being. A review of the CO status and certain pertinent judicial thinking will bring this view into focus.

THE DRAFT LAWS

Although the history of exemption from military service may be traced back to colonial times, for our purposes we need go no further than the Act of 1917. Congress then exempted from military service regular or ordained ministers of

¹ Lester Forest is chairman of the Committee on Family Relations of the American Humanist Association and a member of the Committee on Church and State. This article is the outgrowth of a study made by him for the Committee on Church and State, which approved the policy outlined.

religion, students in theological schools, and persons who belonged to a group which forbade participation in war, and whose own religious convictions were in accord with those of the group.

In 1940 Congress ruled that no person shall be subject to military service "who by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form." This was a transition from exemption based upon group consideration to individual conviction, but a conviction that must be based or founded in "religious training and belief."

There was not too much difficulty in interpreting this clause and it served to keep nonreligious objectors from exemption. However, two cases did allow objectors exemption under a very broad construction by the courts. Congress was jealous of these two who escaped; by an amendment in 1948 it added a restricting and narrowing definition to "religious training and belief":

"Religious training and belief in this connection means an individual's belief in a relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation, but does not include essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code."

There are no court cases reported since 1948 that uphold exemption without including a belief tied in with a supreme being concept. In 1957 one case, the only one found, upheld a registrant who said his concept of a Supreme Being is Love; the Court held this sufficient and within the meaning of the Act to grant exemption. Humanists today, if not granted exemption by the local draft board, would not be successful in an appeal to the courts.

Thus, although Congress made progress by considering individual conviction, the 1948 amendment set up a wall between those who believed in a Supreme Being and those who did not.

CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE DRAFT

Apart from interpretation of statutory requirements, the courts have examined whether there is any violation of the clauses in our Constitution that deal with free exercise of religion or the equal protection of the laws.

The Supreme Court has uniformly held that there is no violation of any constitutional rights in view of Congress' war powers. In 1931 the Court unanimously said that the right of Congress to require military service from every able-bodied man could not be challenged:

"The privilege of the native-born conscientious objector to avoid bearing arms comes, not from the Constitution, but from acts of Congress. That body may grant or withhold the exemption as in its wisdom it sees fit; and, if it be withheld, the conscientious objector cannot successfully assert the privilege. No other conclusion is compatible with the well-nigh limitless extent of the war powers * * * which include, by necessary implication, the power, in the last extremity, to compel the armed service of any citizen in the land, without regard to his objections or his views in respect of the justice or morality of the particular war or of war in general."

Thus the familiar principle is brought into play that whatever government may take away altogether, it may grant, if it wishes, only on certain conditions. A Federal Court in 1952 reviewed the 1948 amendment as follows:

"In sum, as the exemption from participation in war on the ground of religious training and belief can be granted or withheld by Congress, the Congress is free to determine the persons to whom it will grant it, and may deny it to persons whose opinions the Congress does not class as 'religious' in the ordinary acceptance of the word. So, assuming that the definition of 'religious training and belief' * * * is restrictive, such restriction is within the constitutional power of the Congress. * * * The definition which the Congress introduced into the 1948 amendment comports with the spirit in which 'religion' is understood generally, and the manner in which it has been defined by the courts. It is couched in terms of the relationship of the individual to a Supreme Being, and comports with the standard or accepted understanding of the meaning of 'religion' in American society."

This is the present position of the CO; this is the law of the land.

THE NONBELIEVER

What of the conscientious objector who is sincere in opposing war but cannot relate his conviction to a Supreme Being? Is there any hope for a change? Can anything be done? Yes, and Congress is the only body that can make the change.

Through its Committee on Church and State the American Humanist Association recommended to Congress that it strike out the 1948 amendment and

thereby return to the language of the 1940 act allowing exemption "by reason of religious training and belief" and adding "or personal philosophical or personal moral conviction." In 1959, Mr. Paul Blanshard appeared before the House Armed Services Committee and the author of this article appeared before the Senate Armed Services Committee, on behalf of A.H.A., recommending the above change, but the congressional climate was not ready for this kind of sweeping freedom of conscience. Congress is concerned—as a business corporation would be—with how much an extension of exemption would cut into the manpower supply. This is not easy to estimate but a look at past performance and the system in Great Britain might assist.

The English system appears to have suffered no depletion in supply and it has no requirement for belief in a supreme being; it bases its exemption solely on the applicant's sincerity of belief in opposing war in any form. In the United States between 1950 and 1958 there were over 2,000 nonreligious conscientious objectors who were denied exemption and were sent to prison out of 14 million who were called into service. This indicates no likelihood of stampede. (It also indicates that not many people are interested.)

If sincerity is the test for an exemption nothing speaks more eloquently on behalf of the objector than his deeds and the record he has made for himself. This is no test for which the objector can cram, nor can a past be lived or created in the prose material submitted with an application for exemption.

The 1952 Federal case referred to above pointed out that Congress in the 1948 amendment was only reflecting the understanding American society had of religion in general. But there has been a slow development in Court decisions which indicates a breakaway from a former popular understanding of religion. In 1957 two Federal tax cases granted tax exemption to humanist and ethical societies on the same basis as any religious organization (in the popular sense) acknowledging full religious recognition to nonbelievers. In June 1961 the U.S. Supreme Court reviewed four Sunday law cases and held such laws are no longer religious in nature or significance. Previously, in the *Zorach* case, the Court had set the record straight about the American people being religious that although "We are a religious people" the Government must show no "partiality to any one group" nor can it prefer "those who believe in no religion over those who do believe." In 1961 in the *Torcaso* case the Supreme Court wrote into the law of the land that there can be no preference for "those religions based on a belief in the existence of God" over those religions founded on different beliefs."

There is not full religious recognition accorded to nonbelievers so that they come within the scope of protection of the first amendment in the free exercise of their conscience. It is submitted that here is a judicial atmosphere that reflects, as an integral part of the judicial process, the most current thinking of the American people. But the analysis in the earlier part of this article has shown that conscientious objector exemption rests upon the grace of Congress and not upon constitutional rights. Two years ago Congress extended the draft law without any change in conscientious objector exemption. In the face of the above judicial breakthrough it must be concluded that Congress was not made sufficiently aware of what the people are thinking. The remedy is simple: citizens should write to their Congressmen, telling them that conscientious objector exemption should be extended to include the nontheistic, nonbeliever registrant. It behooves humanists, ethical culturists, liberal religionists, the unchurched—parents, college students, and unmarried adults—to make Congress aware that the nonbeliever conscientious objector is as much a part of "We are a religious people" as "We the people * * *."

Until such time as Congress acts to extend conscientious objector exemption as here recommended, it is strongly urged and advised that under the present draft law a sincere, nontheist objector nevertheless file for the exemption classification; he may have a liberal local board and it may grant him the exemption. But let it be emphasized that if he is not granted exemption at the local level and he wishes to go up on appeal, to be successful on appeal (or in court) he must have shown at the local level: (1) a sincere belief that ties in with a Supreme Being, and (2) support of his belief with evidence. The registrant's sincerity must be without doubt, and the best evidence is the life he has lived.

Chairman RUSSELL. Any questions, Senator Byrd?

Senator BYRD (West Virginia). No, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman RUSSELL. Thank you, Mr. Blanshard.

The next witness is Mr. Harry Hale Purvis.

STATEMENT OF HARRY HALE PURVIS, NORTHPORT, N.Y.

Mr. PURVIS. Senator Russell, members of the committee, as a citizen of the United States, and as the father of three boys, I urge you to discontinue compulsory military training and service for mass warfare.

Its totalitarian destruction of communities and nations, and its indiscriminate massacre of unoffending and offending persons, violate "The truths we hold to be self-evident"—that government derives its just powers from those governed to secure the rights with which all men are equally endowed by their creator.

The law whose extension you have before you compels our sons to prepare and train to violate these truths expressed in our Declaration of Independence—to violate the equal rights to life and liberty with which all equally endowed by their creator—by employing governmental force to exterminate people indiscriminately without regard to their offense, people who are without representation in our Government and who are outside its jurisdiction.

There is a much better way—a way to secure the individual rights of American people without violating individual rights of other people.

This is by instituting among men a representative United Nations government with legal jurisdiction over the external acts of officials of all nations and over the international activities of all people.

Chairman RUSSELL. Thank you very much, Mr. Purvis.

Mr. PURVIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman RUSSELL. After the committee convened today, I was approached by Mr. Raoul Kulberg who stated he wished to testify.

Mr. Kulberg did not conform to the rules of the committee with respect to statements, but inasmuch as we are concluding the witnesses for today somewhat earlier than I had expected, we will give Mr. Kulberg about 5 minutes and then he may submit any additional material for the record.

**STATEMENT OF RAOUL KULBERG, FOR THE PEACE COMMITTEE,
FRIENDS MEETING OF WASHINGTON**

Mr. KULBERG. Thank you very much.

I am appearing on behalf of the Peace Committee of the Friends Committee of Washington.

I would like to thank the Senator for the opportunity to testify and also to express my appreciation for the courtesy of the staff as exemplified by Miss Mary Keough, in making arrangements for today.

As a concerned citizen interested in public affairs I began a study of military manpower systems some months ago.

In doing the study I made a number of observations and came to some tentative conclusions relevant to your committee's consideration of the renewal of the induction power under the Universal Military Training and Service Act as proposed in S. 846.

1. It appears that little research and study has been done on the subject of military manpower systems. I agree with Alastair Buchan, Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies, that in M.R.D. Foot's book for the Institute—

the essential facts concerning the ways in which different systems of raising and maintaining manpower operate have been collected and collated for the first time.

I found no major studies. There have been staff studies for Congress; the Selective Service System has compiled materials on the operation of the World War II draft.

As a matter of fact, I spoke to General Hershey recently and he said that he is still working on some of those volumes.

There are a few volumes on specific issues such as student deferment. Much of the testimony at congressional hearings presents untested theses on both sides of the question.

Recent inquiries to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency lead to the conclusion that little consideration has been given the subject by that Agency.

I found that they neither initiated a request nor have they been invited by either the House or Senate committees to testify on this particular question.

Yet this subject has impact on millions of lives, has significance for the nature of our society, and could be of importance in our search for peace.

2. Each reconsideration of the draft produces a repetition of the arguments for and against. Peace groups, religious institutions, educators, and others raise the issues of morality, efficiency, etc.

Some persons who favor strengthening the Armed Forces feel the draft impairs military efficiency and proficiency.

The official military view continues to be that "we need it;" and they get it.

May I say I appreciate the Senator and others putting up with having to hear the repetition of this testimony from time to time.

Close study of the situation or later observation sometimes raises serious questions as to whether these manpower requests can always be justified.

But acceptance of the military's assessment is almost always the case.

3. There has been increasing apathy on the part of the public toward the subject. In wartime in 1917, Congress spent some weeks in hearings and debate, on the topic of whether or not to draft men and that was when war was already declared.

A leading Member of the House, I believe it was the then Speaker, said he would rather see his son a convict than a conscript, so strong was the feeling at that time.

Yet by 1951 a permanent draft system seemed to be an established fact.

By 1956, when a presidential candidate was taken to task for even suggesting a review of the question.

In 1959, Hanson Baldwin, military affairs analyst for the New York Times, noted the prevalent apathy of the public on the question of draft renewal; the "Nation" (Feb. 7, 1959) observed that "most of the groups that would be actively opposed to the extension of the act are either silent or indifferent."

The proposal supported by even those in favor of draft extension, such as the Washington Post, for careful civilian study fell by the wayside.

Groups such as educators once strongly opposed are now mostly concerned with accommodating to the draft.

4. The military profession in the United States has been concerned with extending some control over American manpower since the last century.

The debate has been more directed to "how" than to "whether or not."

There has been considerable interest in adapting European models to the American scene, the suggestions of Generals McClellan and Upton, for example.

In World War I, the War Department prepared Selective Service legislation before war was declared and put the machinery in operation before it was authorized by Congress.

The program adopted in 1940 was drafted in 1926 and we have had it almost the entire period since its passage.

These are the honest, patriotic concerns of the military, not some evil plot, but they do disturb many citizens just as honest and patriotic.

5. There is a perspective provided by history which raises questions about the long-term impact of conscription systems.

In classical times Greece and Rome raised citizen armies for their defense.

But the results of the wars led to the transformation of these armies into instruments of imperial conquest.

In France the conscripts raised to defend the Revolution became the means for Napoleon to wage war on all Europe.

Prussia's citizen defenders were one beginning of a social order which has disrupted Europe with war since 1860.

May our Republic never follow such a pattern.

Several military commentators have noted that Americans are warlike, but not military. I think our history justifies the observation.

But new conditions prevail in the world and our future requires our finding new responses.

If the military are effective in programs such as the draft, they will have a pervasive influence in the determining of our response to the world's changing conditions.

If they are not effective, there seems little reason for having such programs.

On the basis of my studies and other observations, I would suggest the following:

1. Allow the present provisions to expire with the clear intention that this is an American initiative toward peace; or

2. If the act's provisions are renewed:

(a) Renew them for 2 years only, so that public review and discussion may be renewed and continued.

(b) Hold hearings in several sections of the country to encourage broad citizen participation in the consideration of the legislation.

People have been coming to this in the House hearings from several parts of the country.

But it seems to me hearings held elsewhere would make it much better for our citizens to be able to testify to their own viewpoints.

(c) Allow the President to discontinue the system if world conditions permit and urge the Executive to initiate negotiations for an international treaty banning conscription. (There was some discussion of this in 1946 and in years before that.)

(d) Authorize a civilian commission with competence and a variety of viewpoints to give military manpower systems thorough study, say, over a 2-year period.

(e) Urge the ACDA to engage in appropriate research by both its own staff and private scholars.

(f) Broaden the provisions for conscientious objection to military service. Several witnesses with different viewpoints testified to this need before the House committee. I can particularly cite my own case.

I came to an objector's position while in college, some 10 or 12 years ago. My religious position has developed over the years, and I recently joined the Society of Friends.

However, from the end of my student days until recently, I was classified 1-A as a hearing officer appointed for my appeal reported my position as "philosophical."

He did grant the sincerity of my stand.

During that time only coincidence kept my case from the courts (and possibly me from prison) as I would have refused induction.

The Friends Meeting of Washington on January 21 made clear its opposition to renewal of the expiring law and in the event of its renewal supported broadening the provision for conscientious objectors to include all sincere objectors.

We appreciate the opportunity to present this testimony.

Chairman RUSSELL. We are glad to have heard you.

Thank you very much.

That will conclude the hearings on this measure.

(Whereupon, at 3:20 p.m., the committee recessed to meet at the call of the Chair.)

