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RAC-TP-410
MARCH 1971

Determination of the Potential for Dissidence in the US Army

Volume I—Nature of Dissent

by Howard C. Olson
R. William Rae

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**PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS AND
SAFETY DEPARTMENT**

TECHNICAL PAPER RAC-TP-410

Published March 1971

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FOREWORD

In recent years, there has been an increase in manifestations of unrest or dissent by young people throughout the world against institutions of authority, including the Army. This report is the first of two volumes on a study undertaken with institutional research funds by the Research Analysis Corporation to determine the potential for dissidence in the U.S. Army.

This volume deals with the nature of dissent and the characteristics of dissidents in the Army. An attempt is made to develop methodology for examining the problem on an analytical basis. Some preliminary results are presented, but as they are based on a limited amount of data, they are intended to serve primarily as a guideline for the direction of future work which is in progress in this field.

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SUMMARY

PROBLEM

(a) To categorize and order dissident activities in the US Army, and to relate these to the characteristics of known dissidents.

(b) To develop indicators that may be useful in helping commanders to be aware of the extent of potential dissident behavior.

(c) To suggest possible changes in military procedures and practices that could serve to reduce dissent.

FACTS

(a) This study originated from discussion with personnel of the Directorate of Military Personnel Policies, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, DA, and was actively supported administratively by that office.

(b) As of January 1970, the Counterintelligence Analysis Detachment (CIAD), Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, DA, maintained card file information on 1,092 servicemen who were thought to be involved in dissident activities.

(c) The level of dissent in the Army has been a matter of increasing concern for military commanders, resulting in a DA letter of 28 May 1969, followed by a Department of Defense (DoD) memorandum of 12 September 1969, offering guidance to commanders on dealing with dissent.

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(d) Opposition to US involvement in Vietnam and to the military draft has exacerbated anti-military feeling generally among college students and service personnel of college age.

(e) This report deals only with objective (a) of the problem; the remaining two objectives are addressed in Volume II.

DISCUSSION

The records maintained by CIAD of 1092 active dissidents were analyzed to learn the range and scope of dissident activity in CONUS. Using the psychophysical technique of paired-comparisons, a quantitative scale of dissent was developed to order the principal activities according to perceived seriousness. Further, each type of dissent was classified according to whether its provocation and target were chiefly systemic (that is, related to the administration of the Army), humanistic (that is, related to the treatment of the individual in the Army system), or political. The scale was then applied to the dissent data to obtain an overview of the seriousness and incidence of dissent at various US Army installations. The relationship between severity of dissent and post size was explored.

Characteristics of dissidents were obtained from Army personnel files of 14 percent of the total dissident population. Factors of Army component, geographic origin, religion, education level, Army Classification Battery (ACB) scores, and Military Occupational Specialty (MOS) proved to be significantly related to dissident activity.

A questionnaire on dissent completed by commanders of the 17 largest US Army posts in CONUS supports and supplements the findings from the analysis of dissenting activities and personnel records.

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CONCLUSIONS

1. Dissident behavior is capable of quantitative analysis, both with respect to its severity and with respect to the motivational characteristics of individuals engaged in dissident activity.

2. Methodology developed in the study permits discriminating analysis of levels of dissent by installation or on a country-wide basis.

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DETERMINATION OF THE POTENTIAL FOR

DISSIDENCE IN THE U.S. ARMY

Vol. I - Nature of Dissent

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACB	Army Classification Battery
ASU	American Servicemen's Union
AWOL	absent without leave
CIAD	Counterintelligence Analysis Detachment
CONUS	continental United States
CPUSA	Communist Party of the United States of America
DA	Department of the Army
EM	enlisted man
FOD	field officer of the day
GIUAWV	GI's United Against the War in Vietnam
IG	Inspector General
MOS	military occupational specialty
NCO	noncommissioned officer
PX	post exchange
RA	regular Army
SDS	Students for a Democratic Society
SOP	standard operating procedure

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INTRODUCTION

PROBLEM

There has been a marked increase in dissident activity in the Army over the past three years, including activities such as refusing to train or wear the uniform, distributing unauthorized publications critical of the Army and participating in anti-war rallies and stockade riots. Numerous speculations are offered in explanation: e.g., resistance to the military draft, reluctance to participate in the Vietnam war, perceived racial and ethnic inequities associated with military service, the threat of military service to life, limb, personal liberty, and freedom.

To ensure common understanding of the terms "dissent" or "dissidence" (which are used synonymously in this report) the following definition was arrived at in collaboration with staff members of the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel:

Deliberate, willful activities by members of the Army representing disagreement with Army missions/practices/government policy that could to some degree, however slight, adversely affect the ability of the Army to accomplish its mission.

The threat that dissent poses to the Army is uncertain. The ratio of latent dissent to that overtly expressed is not known. It is of concern that dissent could pose a serious threat to the ability of the Army to carry out its missions. Soldiers who are not necessarily dissident are beginning to question the meaningfulness of their service. An

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inordinate proportion of commander and staff time is going into the handling of problems of dissident behavior by servicemen.

A post commander's concern is expressed well by the following questionnaire response from one of the larger posts in CONUS (App A):

"Dissent poses the most serious threat [to the Army] of all known factors as it is underground ... (and) tends to create doubts in a unit's reliability in time of crisis. If left unchecked, dissidence could hinder the overall mission of the Army and have a definite impact upon the morale and welfare of the total installation."

There is a need for methodology to define the limits of the problem, and to provide answers to such questions as: What motivates dissent in the Army? Do certain aspects of military life, customs, and practices exacerbate it? Can its appearance be forecast? What can be done to control or accommodate to dissent without impairing the ability of the Army to carry out its missions?

OBJECTIVES

1. To determine the nature of dissident activities in the US Army and the characteristics of known dissidents.
2. To develop indicators that may be useful in helping commanders to be aware of the extent of potential dissident behavior.
3. To suggest possible changes in military procedures and practices that could serve to reduce dissent.

It is implicit in the objectives that the Army is concerned not only with the reduction and control of dissent, but also with examining ways in which it may be turned to constructive ends. The assumption is made that the Army is a necessary and continuing part of our national defense force, even though some of its institutional practices and some

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of its missions may not be accepted by some of the persons it accepts for service.

This report concentrates on the first objective—to describe current dissent in the Army (in the US) in terms of kinds of dissent, its scale, location, incidence of dissident activity, and the background, biographical, and psychological characteristics of those who dissent. A second report deals with the last two objectives, utilizing some information described herein, but devoted largely to analysis and interpretation of the results of an extensive survey of servicemen's opinion of current military life.

BACKGROUND

Origin of the Study

This is a RAC Institutional Research study, conducted at RAC's initiative, not requiring formal support from a military sponsor. However, the study has had the good fortune to be guided and administratively supported by the Directorate for Military Personnel Studies, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, Department of Army. The study arose as a consequence of conversations with Maj Gen Franklin M. Davis, Jr., of that Directorate, and has benefitted from his counsel and advice and that of his staff.

Anti-Military Feeling

Dissent is not uncommon to American society. Dissent is unusual in wartime. In a recent book by Morison, Merk and Freidel¹ it is noted that disagreement with war is not unusual and is not restricted to US involvement in the Vietnam struggle.

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The War of 1812 is called the most unpopular war in American history. The regular army was never able to build itself up to more than half its authorized strength and obtained only a fifth of the 50,000 volunteers authorized.

The War with Mexico was called a "work of butchery" and "wholesale slaughter," said to be unconstitutionally commenced by the order of the President, waged by a powerful nation against a weak neighbor with the goal of extending slavery and strengthening slave power. The press charged that while the war was draining the nation's resources, urgent domestic needs were not being met.

Protests against the Spanish-American War bore resemblance to protests in the 1960's against the war in Vietnam. Harvard students then were urged not to enlist in a war in which we "jettisoned all that was most precious of our national cargo ... a turning back from a path of civilization to that of barbarism."

The Philippine insurrection raised the question of whether or not objectors have the right to dissent. One of those who commented most interestingly about this question was Mark Twain. He questioned whether one should be called a "traitor" if he was opposed to a political war. Twain is quoted: "It would be an entirely different question if the country's life was in danger, its existence at stake; then we would all come forward and stand by the flag, and stop thinking about whether the nation was right or wrong; but when there is no question that the nation is in any way in danger, but only some little war away off, then it may be that on the question of politics the nation is divided, half-patriot and half-traitors, and no man can tell which from which."¹

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Although the nation was generally united during World War II, it is reported in the sociological study of the American soldier by Stouffer, et al,² that some 7 percent of the servicemen sampled had cynical attitudes toward the war or expressed bewilderment or skepticism about the war and its aims (p 436), and that after VE Day, 3 percent expressed a desire to be discharged right away or before the end of the war, even though they felt they might not have "done their share" (p 453).

In a search for causes for the recent changes in the nature of Army dissent, it is instructive to examine the structure of that segment of the population from which Army recruits are primarily drawn, namely, young males in the age group, 19 to 26. This group consists of individuals who usually have just finished high school or have had some college education.

In a study of American youth by the Urban Affairs Council, it has been noted that in the last five years there has been a rising tide of civil disorders in the US involving young people, both in and out of school. These disorders have included strikes, boycotts, sit-ins, protests, marches, demonstrations, vandalism, political activism, increasing use of marijuana and drugs, and a proliferation of radical underground newspapers. Since the beginning of 1968, the disorders have become more prevalent among students; for example, in the last academic year, 524 institutions of higher learning, that is about 20 percent of all such institutions, had disruptions. Not only have there been disturbances in colleges, but these are now spreading at an increasing pace into high schools and junior high schools.³ Between November 1968 and March 1969, at least 341 student protests were reported at high schools in the US. The student unrest at the high school level has been found to involve every kind of American community—from small towns and rural schools to suburban and core city areas.

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It should be noted that student unrest is not peculiar to the US by any means; for example, the New York Times in 1968 listed the occurrence of serious student disorders in 33 countries, including several behind the iron curtain. One theory that has been advanced for the activism of youth throughout the world relates to the rapid growth of technology. The constant technological change and new discoveries in science make it difficult to predict the nature of the future world. When the future is too uncertain, there is a tendency for everyone to demand what he feels to be rightfully his, and expect it immediately. Many of our young people are convinced that further technological progress will make things worse rather than better, and for some of our most radical young the only answer is revolution, namely, the destruction of society in the hope that something better will be created.

Some educators blame the student unrest on the war in Vietnam, the political system, and shortcomings of society. Others claim that the blame weighs heavily on the educational system, and that failure of both the home and the church are partly to blame. Students criticize both adult society and political systems.

In view of the prevalence and continuing increase in student unrest related to institutions of authority, it should not be surprising that manifestations of dissent have appeared in a similar segment of the population against another institution of authority, namely, the Army. When a young man who has been exposed to a dissenting environment in high school or college is inducted into the Army, once again he finds himself in an authoritarian environment in which decisions affecting his life are made, over which he has no control. The resulting frustrations, together with the questioning attitude of intelligent youth concerning the necessity

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for many procedures that are traditional in the Army, create a mood susceptible to dissenting behavior. In individuals where this mood is sufficiently strong, the natural reaction may well be an attempt to bring about changes in the Army by adopting tactics that have proved to be successful in campus protest.

The 28 May 1969 DA letter, "Guidance on Dissent," spelled out principles for commanders for dealing with problems of dissidence. DoD Directive 1325.6, on the subject of guidelines for handling dissident and protest activities among members of the Armed Forces, published 12 September 1969, expressed the same guidance as the DA letter, but stated it in somewhat more terse terms. These documents indicate a concern for matters of dissent in the service and, at the same time, show increasing attention toward insuring that the military forces do not abuse their powers to restrict servicemen in the exercise of their constitutional rights. On the other hand, activities which present a "clear danger to loyalty, discipline, and morale" are not to be permitted.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF DISSENT

GENERAL

Much current dissent in the Army differs in nature from that experienced in the past. There has always been griping against various aspects of the Army system. However, the dimensions of dissent have been extended from the usual types of griping to include a new element of political activism that is manifested by antiwar demonstrations, the establishment of coffee houses, and the proliferation of underground newspapers. Moreover, free legal advice to dissenting soldiers has been provided recently by a law firm under the auspices of the American Civil Liberties Union. With the aid of this expert legal advice, it appears that dissidents are resorting to sophisticated legal tactics to harass the Army, such as entering law suits against post commanders and the Secretary of Defense for alleged infringement of their civil liberties.

SOURCE OF DATA

The nature of the activities that have been considered dissenting was determined from several sources. The Counterintelligence Analysis Detachment (CIAD), Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, provided access to data on individuals who were listed as dissidents or suspected dissidents. These data consisted of individual cards listing the type of activity carried out by each "dissident" in a number of categories:

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- a. In the Army in Continental United States (CONUS)
- b. In the active Army outside of CONUS
- c. Believed to be on active duty
- d. Held for further action
- e. Racial dissidents
- f. Dissident deserters
- g. Released dissidents. (These are dissidents who were released from the Army during the period from Oct 1968 to Oct 1969.)

In addition to the card files, access was provided to a number of selected individual files of the more active dissidents, a print-out of dissidents listed in November 1969, and a number of Army personnel files. In all, sufficient information was obtained on 1092 individuals for this portion of the analysis on the characteristics of dissent. These represent the current dissident population known to CIAD as of January 1970. It may not be the universe of Army dissidents, as many have never been reported so as to get into the dissident card file.

Additional information on the dissent experience at selected Army posts was obtained during visits to Forts Bragg, Belvoir, Dix, Jackson, and Meade, and from questionnaires completed by the 17 largest Army posts in CONUS. A summary of the questionnaire replies is given in Appendix A.

DISSENTING ACTIVITIES IN THE ARMY

All the dissenting activities as reported were examined, and by grouping together those that were similar in nature, 19 separate categories of dissenting activity were identified, as indicated by the following abbreviated titles.

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- Participated in strike on post
- Possessed dissident literature
- Member American Servicemen's Union (ASU)
- Prepared material for publication
- Member protest group
- Signed petition
- Demonstrated against government policies
- Sought sanctuary
- Organized dissident activities
- Demonstrated against Vietnam war
- Deserted
- Demonstrated against Army conditions
- Distributed dissident literature
- Demonstrated in uniform
- Refused orders
- Member Communist-affiliated organization
- Applied for Conscientious Objector status
- Frequented coffee house
- Qualified loyalty oath

The order of items above is a random one that bears no intended relationship to the seriousness of the incidents. At this stage of the study on dissent in the Army, this list was considered a tentative one to assist in the formulation and development of methodology. Some revisions were made in this list after further analysis, as reported in Volume II.

Description of Dissenting Activities

The nature of the activities described by the abbreviated titles listed above is covered in more detail in the following paragraphs.

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Participated in strike on post. This refers to participation as a member of a group in an organized activity intended to disrupt the Army's administrative procedures. For example, 43 soldiers at Fort Hood staged a protest against riot control duty in Chicago during the Democratic national convention in 1968. On another occasion, a group of soldiers at Fort Knox organized a form of strike by reporting for sick call on a given morning in November 1969.

Possessed dissident literature. This includes possession of literature such as underground newspapers and Communist or other subversive propaganda. At some installations, an individual was not listed as a dissident for "possession of literature," but merely as a suspected dissident.

Member American Servicemen's Union (ASU). The idea for the ASU originated with a soldier at Fort Sill named Andy Stapp, who in late 1966 declared his intention to organize a union for servicemen that would be similar to a trade union. Although Stapp was released in early 1967, subsequent disciples have spread the movement to the extent that there are probably some ASU members on every Army base. The central theme of the ASU appears to be that the average GI has no voice in the affairs affecting him. (There is a parallel here with the student activist on a college campus.) The union is intended to provide a means for the GI to exert leverage on the Army through organized action. The ASU demands, as spelled out in its newspaper The Bond, are:

1. Eliminate the practice of saluting.
2. Select officers by a vote of the men rather than by appointment.
3. Complete racial equality in the Army.
4. Rank and file control of court-martial boards.
5. Federal minimum wages for soldiers.

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6. Right of free political association for soldiers.
7. Right of collective bargaining for soldiers.
8. Right to disobey illegal orders. (The legality would apparently be determined by the soldiers themselves, since an example of an "illegal" order is given in the paper as an order to go and fight in the war in Vietnam.)

Prepared material for publication. This includes writing dissenting letters to public figures and news media, and preparing material for an underground newspaper. The first antiwar newspaper for GI's, The Bond, was started in Berkeley in 1966. After Stapp's release from the Army, he took over as editor of The Bond in 1967 and it is now printed in New York as the official organ of the ASU. As a result of organizing activity by Stapp and his followers, underground newspapers have multiplied rapidly since 1967, and now exist at virtually every US military base of any size. As of November 1969, some 59 such newspapers were in existence. The papers vary greatly in quality and editorial style. Most are no more than one or two mimeographed pages of poorly written material, whereas a few, such as The Bond, are printed and comparatively well written. All of them are antiwar and carry the propaganda of the ASU.

Member protest group. This relates to membership in an organization that is primarily engaged in protest related to the war in Vietnam or civil rights issues. Examples of such organizations were taken to be Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), GI's United Against the War in Vietnam, and the Black Panther Party.

The SDS has been increasingly involved in the current turmoil on college campuses. Favorite SDS issues include: the war in Vietnam, the military draft, the Reserve Officers Training Corps, campus recruitment by companies making war materials, and military research projects. A link

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between dissent in the Army and the induction of SDS-oriented students into the armed forces seems apparent.

Actions like giving a black power salute during the playing of the National Anthem were considered equivalent in this study to membership in a protest group. However, the racial flare-ups that have occurred in recent months at many military posts were not reported as dissent in our data, and therefore have not been specifically considered in this phase of the study.

Signed petition. Most of the activities in this category relate to the signing of antiwar petitions or of petitions to a base commanding officer for permission to conduct special activities, e.g., to distribute underground newspapers on post, or to hold an antiwar parade or demonstration. Such petitions have been quite numerous at Fort Bragg, for example. The verbal expression of antiwar or antigovernment sentiments was taken as equivalent to signing a petition.

Demonstrated against government policies. This refers to participation as a member of a group in a demonstration where the issue is related to government policies in general, e.g., a demonstration against the draft.

Sought sanctuary. This is a form of protest, generally directed at US involvement in the war in Vietnam, where the protest is dramatized, with resulting publicity, by the individuals involved going AWOL and seeking sanctuary. This was done by a group of servicemen in Hawaii in the summer of 1969, who obtained sanctuary in a church for several weeks.

Organized dissident activities. This includes activities such as recruiting dissidents, organizing for the ASU, counseling on desertion, operating a coffee house, serving as editor of a dissenting publication, or speaking in public at a demonstration.

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Demonstrated against war in Vietnam. This involves participating as a member of a group in an antiwar demonstration.

Deserted. This is a difficult category to relate to dissent. There have always been desertions from the Army for many reasons not necessarily associated with dissent, e.g., financial or domestic problems. It is evident that very few deserters are considered dissidents by the Army since our data contained only 43 listed as "dissident deserters," whereas it has been reported [Army, Feb. 1970] that the number of AWOL's and deserters among US servicemen was over 200,000 in 1969. Some definition of the term "dissident deserter" will be needed to permit meaningful analysis of this category.

Demonstrated against Army conditions. This is taken to be participation as a member of a group in a protest or demonstration against conditions or regulations in the Army, such as the necessity to salute, adequacy of messing, stockade conditions, etc. If the demonstration is carried on to the point that it interferes materially with the normal operation of a post, it may be considered a strike on post.

Distributed dissident literature. This generally involves the distribution of underground newspapers on post contrary to post regulations.

Demonstrated in uniform. Whereas it is legal for a soldier to participate in an off-post demonstration in the United States provided he is off duty and not in uniform, in most cases it is a punishable offense to do so in uniform.

Refused orders. This comprises behavior as serious as refusing to train, refusing to wear a uniform, or refusing to serve overseas.

Member Communist-affiliated organization. This refers to a card-holding member of a subversive organization.

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Applied for Conscientious Objector status. It may be noted that although this denotes dissent with at least some of the Army's policies, it is a legally permissible procedure under Army regulations.

Frequented coffee house. At about the same time that Andy Stapp was beginning to organize the ASU, a young ex-soldier, a Harvard graduate by the name of Fred Gardner, began an antiwar campaign. His approach was to provide soldiers with a place to meet off post, in a bohemian atmosphere where they could air their gripes, receive dissident literature and counseling on desertion, hold antiwar discussions, and so on. The concept resulted in the establishment of coffee houses near several of the larger bases. Frequenting a coffee house may not in itself represent a dissenting act, but there is no denying that the coffee houses serve as natural recruiting grounds for dissidents.

Qualified loyalty oath. This includes actions such as refusing to answer questions on the personal history statement related to membership in subversive organizations, refusal to take the oath of allegiance, failure to show respect for the flag, etc.

SCALE OF SEVERITY OF DISSENT

In order to estimate the magnitude of the dissent problem, it is necessary to develop some means of measuring the seriousness of the dissent represented by each type of incident listed above. One way to do this would be to rank the incidents in order of estimated severity and arbitrarily assign a rank number to each. However, it would be difficult to perform such an ordering of the items since they differ greatly in nature; in other words, one might well consider incident 'a' more serious than 'b', 'b' more serious than 'c', and yet feel that 'c' is more serious than 'a'.

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It has been found that the scaling problem, when dealing with multi-dimensional judgments, can be tackled statistically by a technique known as "paired comparisons," that is, the judge or evaluator is presented with every possible combination of two items from the set to be evaluated. In each case, he must select one item of the pair, with no ties allowed. An extension of this method is to increase the number of judges who will perform the selection.

In essence, an analysis of the results of a paired comparison test produces a rank order for the set of items under consideration, then superimposes this order on a normal distribution to obtain scale values for the items. The effect of the normal distribution is to stretch out the tail ends of the scale. An implicit assumption in this method is that the set of items to be scaled represents the full range of the activity scale.

This scaling procedure was used to determine scale values for the 19 listed dissent categories, where the lowest item on the list was assigned a scale value of zero. (A fuller description of the method is given in App B.) The judges who participated in the paired comparison test consisted of 47 retired or active-duty officers representing a variety of branches of Army service and ranging in grade from Captain through Major General.

The list of dissenting activities in decreasing order of perceived severity according to the scale values as derived from the paired comparison test is given below.

<u>Dissenting Activity</u>	<u>Scale of Severity</u>
1. Organized dissident activities	4.5
2. Refused orders	4.1

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<u>Dissenting Activity</u>	<u>Scale of Severity</u>
3. Deserted	3.9
4. Participated in strike on post	3.6
5. Member Communist-affiliated organization	3.3
6. Demonstrated in uniform	3.0
7. Sought sanctuary	2.8
8. Demonstrated against Army conditions	2.7
9. Prepared material for publication	2.3
10. Distributed dissident literature	2.2
11. Qualified loyalty oath	2.0
12. Demonstrated against Government policies	2.0
13. Demonstrated against war in Vietnam	1.8
14. Member protest group	1.7
15. Member American Servicemen's Union (ASU)	1.5
16. Signed petition	1.1
17. Frequented coffee house	0.2
18. Possessed dissident literature	0.2
19. Applied for Conscientious Objector status	0

"Applied for conscientious objector status" appeared lowest on the scale. This undoubtedly reflects the opinion held by many that this should not be included as a dissent category at all. The next two items on the low end of the scale, "possessed dissident literature" and "frequented coffee house," are also low in comparison with other items on the list. They might be considered potential dissent, insofar as affecting the accomplishment of the Army mission is concerned, only in that the individual may progress from that activity to one that is higher on the dissent scale.

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The Counterintelligence Analysis Detachment (CIAD) has a qualitative evaluation for classifying dissidents as either activists, participants or suspects. The scale values as given above were applied to the dissenting activities of the individuals listed in these three categories. The average scale value of the seriousness of dissent of the activists was found to be about 3.3, whereas the participants and suspects had a severity scale value of 1.8. Thus the scale values as derived appear to be compatible with the CIAD rating method.

It is emphasized that the severity scale as developed here is not intended to represent a final scale of severity of dissent. Later work on this study indicated a need to revise the above list of 19 dissenting activities. At that time, this scaling exercise was repeated with a wider representation from the Army—from enlisted men to general officers—serving as judges. This re-scaling is reported in Volume II.

COMPONENTS OF DISSENT

A subsequent phase of this study will be concerned with possible ways to reduce dissent in the Army. For that purpose, it will be important to know not only the extent of dissent but also something about its causes—causes that are embedded in the motivations and value systems of the individual dissidents.

The motives for the different types of dissenting activity would appear to fall into three general categories that will be referred to in this study as systemic, humanistic, and political, where these terms are defined as follows.

Systemic dissent. Dissenting activities that are concerned with the nature of Army regulations and procedures, and the administration of

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the Army as an institution. Traditional Army griping is basically systemic dissent.

Humanistic dissent. Dissenting activities that are concerned with human rights and the treatment of an individual within the Army system in the accomplishment of the Army mission.

Political dissent. Dissenting activities that are concerned with government policies and the mission of the Army.

A breakdown of the various dissenting activities into components along these lines is felt to be important because it would appear that reductions in dissent can probably be achieved most readily in the systemic and humanistic categories, through procedural changes for example. Politically motivated activities represent the hard core of dissent involving more than the Army as an institution, and therefore less tractable to intra-Army palliatives.

An attempt was made by the authors to estimate the composition of each dissenting activity in terms of the above three components, with results as given in Table 1. The judgmental values in this table serve the immediate purpose of illustrating the methodology. These values were refined in later stages of this study with the aid of additional judges as reported in Volume II.

The percentage breakdowns into three components as given in Table 1 were applied to the scale values as previously determined for each dissenting activity. The results are shown schematically in Figure 1. The numbers correspond to those in Table 1.

It would appear from Figure 1 that some further consolidation of types of dissident activity is possible. For example, there seems to be little perceived difference between the categories "prepared material for

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publication" and "distributed dissident literature" either in composition or in perceived scale of severity, so that these could well be combined into one category.

Table 1
COMPOSITION OF DISSENTING ACTIVITIES
(percent)

Dissenting Activity	Dissent component		
	Systemic	Humanistic	Political
1. Organized dissident activities	20	20	60
2. Refused orders	40	30	30
3. Deserted	50	30	20
4. Participated in strike on post	60	30	10
5. Member Communist-affiliated org.	-	20	80
6. Demonstrated in uniform	10	20	70
7. Sought sanctuary	10	60	30
8. Demonstrated against Army conditions	80	10	10
9. Prepared material for publication	40	20	40
10. Distributed dissident literature	30	20	50
11. Qualified loyalty oath	-	40	60
12. Demonstrated against govt. policies	-	10	90
13. Demonstrated against war in Vietnam	-	40	60
14. Member protest group	10	80	10
15. Member American Servicemen's Union	50	20	30
16. Signed petition	40	30	30
17. Frequented coffee house	40	30	30
18. Possessed dissident literature	40	30	30
19. Applied for CO status	10	80	10

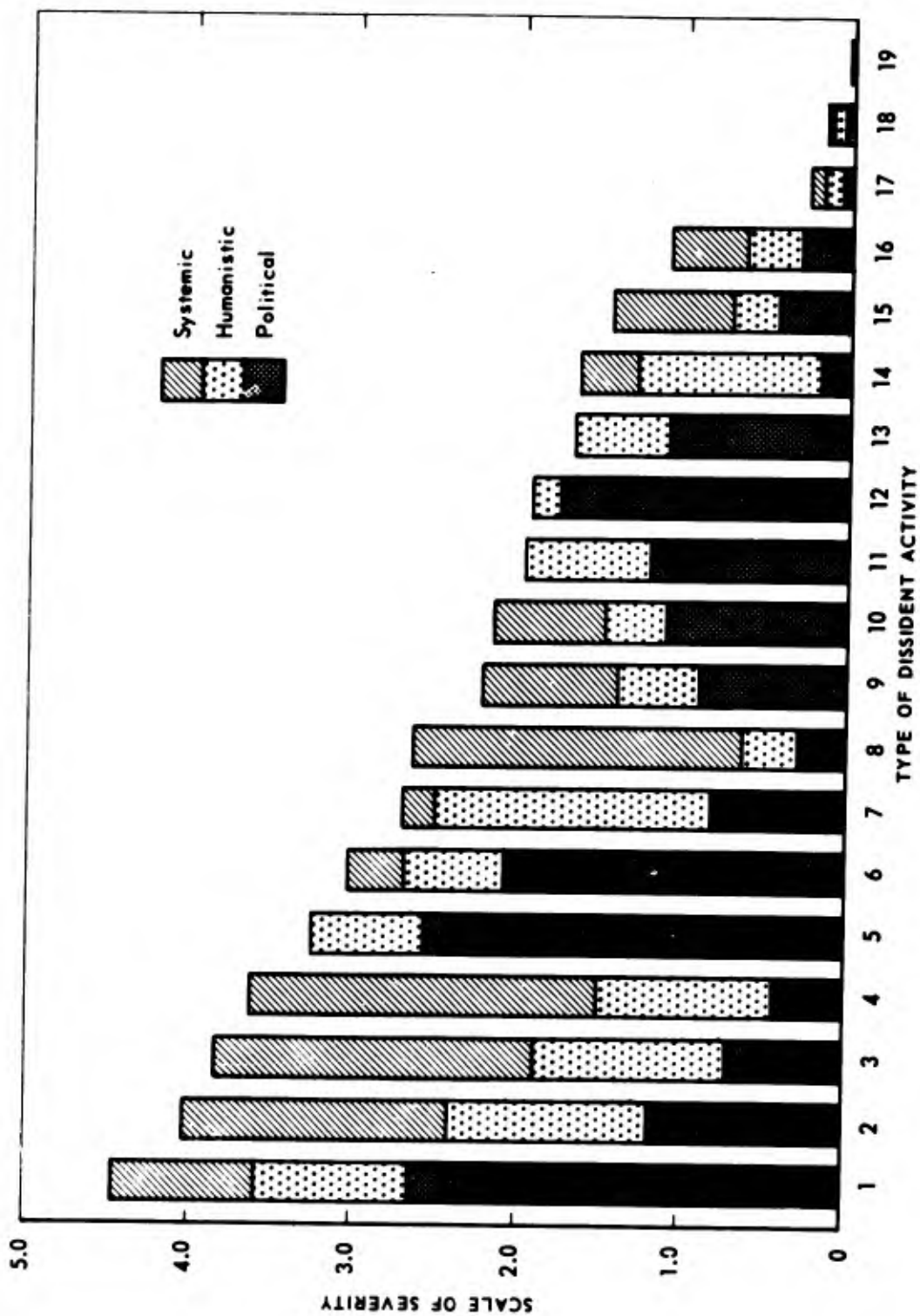


Fig. 1—Perceived Relative Severity of Dissident Activities According to Motivation Factors

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ANALYSIS OF ARMY DISSENT DATA

The data for recorded Army dissidents were examined and each individual was assigned a number from 1 to 19 appropriate to his dissenting activity type. If several activities were recorded for an individual, the one representing the highest severity scale number was selected. The individual dissidents were then tabulated by type of dissenting activity and the Army post where the activity took place. The results are given in Table 2, where the 20 largest bases in CONUS are broken out separately. Dissenting activities at smaller posts were grouped together under "Other."

It may be noted from Table 2 that at many of the Army posts much of the dissenting activity has been in a single dissent category. For example:

- a. Fort Bragg shows 96 individuals in the category, "signed petition," and there has indeed been an unusual amount of petition-circulating there, culminating in a civil suit against the Commanding Officer and the Secretary of the Army for alleged infringement of soldiers' civil liberties.
- b. Fort Jackson lists 44 in the category, "member protest group." This reflects the fact that the organization, "GI's United Against the War in Vietnam" was started there.
- c. At Fort Knox, 13 of its listed 34 dissidents are in the category, "participated in strike on post." All 13 were involved in a single incident, namely, participation in mass organized sick call on a given morning.
- d. The 16 individuals at Fort Rucker listed as members of a protest group all participated in the same single incident, namely, giving a Black Power salute during the playing of the national anthem in the post theater.
- e. The 22 at Fort Sam Houston who "refused orders" are young student trainees from the US Army Medical Training Center and the Medical Field Service School. These students were in training as medics, and at some stage they either refused training or refused to wear a uniform. The fact that they were in training for a non-combatant role suggests that they had conscientious objector leanings from the beginning.

Table 2
ARMY DISSIDENTS (Oct 68 - Oct 69)

Army Post	Type of Dissenting Activity																		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Benning	3	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	5	-	-	6	3	1	-	4	1	-
Belvoir	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Bliss	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	1	-	1	8	8	2	6	-	-	-
Bragg	5	1	3	-	2	-	2	2	18	18	-	1	2	10	96	20	4	-	-
Campbell	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Carson	11	-	2	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dix	13	-	1	2	-	-	-	2	3	3	-	-	4	-	5	2	3	-	-
Gordon	6	2	4	-	3	-	-	1	10	7	3	8	2	2	1	2	6	-	-
Hood	20	2	10	24	1	-	-	3	8	5	7	-	31	10	1	30	2	2	2
Jackson	9	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	2	1	1	44	-	-	1	1	-
Knox	1	1	1	13	-	-	-	-	4	4	7	-	1	3	1	1	1	1	-
Leonard Wood	4	3	4	-	1	-	1	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-
Lewis	4	5	5	1	1	-	-	2	9	4	-	-	2	13	7	1	32	6	-
Meade	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	6	-	-	2	-	-
Ord	2	-	4	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	5	1	2	-
Polk	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Riley	2	-	5	2	-	-	-	2	3	4	-	-	-	-	3	2	2	4	-
Rucker	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	16	-	-	-	-	-
Sam Houston	1	22	3	-	1	1	-	-	-	6	4	1	1	6	1	-	-	-	1
Sill	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	3	-	-	-
Other	20	8	7	1	2	-	13	9	12	30	2	1	32	7	-	7	12	13	2
Total	123	46	56	44	14	1	14	22	54	101	32	11	100	130	52	126	114	47	5

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It may also be noted from Table 2 that there is at least one dissident at each post in the most serious category, i.e., "organized dissident activities." On the other hand, if we examine the low end of the dissent scale, it may be seen that 474 of 1092, or over 40 percent of the listed dissidents, are in the six lowest dissent categories: member protest group, member ASU, signed petition, frequented coffee house, possessed dissident literature, and applied for conscientious objector status. This high proportion of dissidents in the low dissent severity categories will be of special interest in the next phase of the study where possible ways of reducing dissent will be considered. It is possible that official reaction against dissent in these low severity categories may in fact serve to exacerbate dissent. In other words, an action such as a locker search in barracks to uncover the possession of dissident literature may create more dissent than is represented by the mere possession of literature.

To obtain an overview of the nature of dissent at various posts, the frequency in a given category as shown in Table 2 was multiplied by the severity scale value for that category, and then broken down into the three components — systemic, humanistic, and political — with the aid of Table 1. A summation for all categories at each post gave dissent component totals. The results are given in Table 3 for the 20 largest posts in CONUS, together with the post population.

The total dissent scale value for each post is plotted against aggregate post population in Fig. 2. It is not suggested that this plot should be used for comparing one post with another, since the type of activity, general conditions, and definitions of dissent, as determined

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Table 3
NATURE OF DISSENT AT ARMY POSTS
(Oct 68 - Oct 69)

Post	Aggregate post population (thousands)	Dissent component			Total scale value of dissent
		Systemic	Humanistic	Political	
Benning	42.9	11.9	16.6	27.7	56.1
Belvoir	17.1	1.1	2.2	2.9	6.2
Bliss	23.2	24.0	28.4	45.9	98.4
Bragg	45.9	76.3	68.3	82.9	227.5
Campbell	16.9	7.2	5.1	9.3	21.6
Carson	24.3	17.6	18.6	43.5	79.7
Dix	31.8	25.3	22.4	48.3	96.0
Gordon	33.3	35.0	38.6	70.9	144.5
Hood	36.3	135.6	117.5	147.6	400.7
Jackson	20.7	23.3	75.0	46.7	145.0
Knox	34.0	35.5	28.9	23.7	88.1
Leonard Wood	27.6	18.4	14.4	25.6	58.4
Lewis	41.8	50.2	47.4	47.1	144.7
Meade	15.3	8.2	13.4	20.8	42.4
Ord	29.3	16.0	10.6	17.3	43.9
Polk	26.0	6.6	4.8	9.8	21.2
Riley	21.1	29.6	15.2	19.9	64.7
Rucker	15.4	3.9	26.6	9.4	39.9
Sam Houston	13.7	48.9	48.8	52.7	150.4
Sill	28.9	9.5	8.0	10.1	27.6

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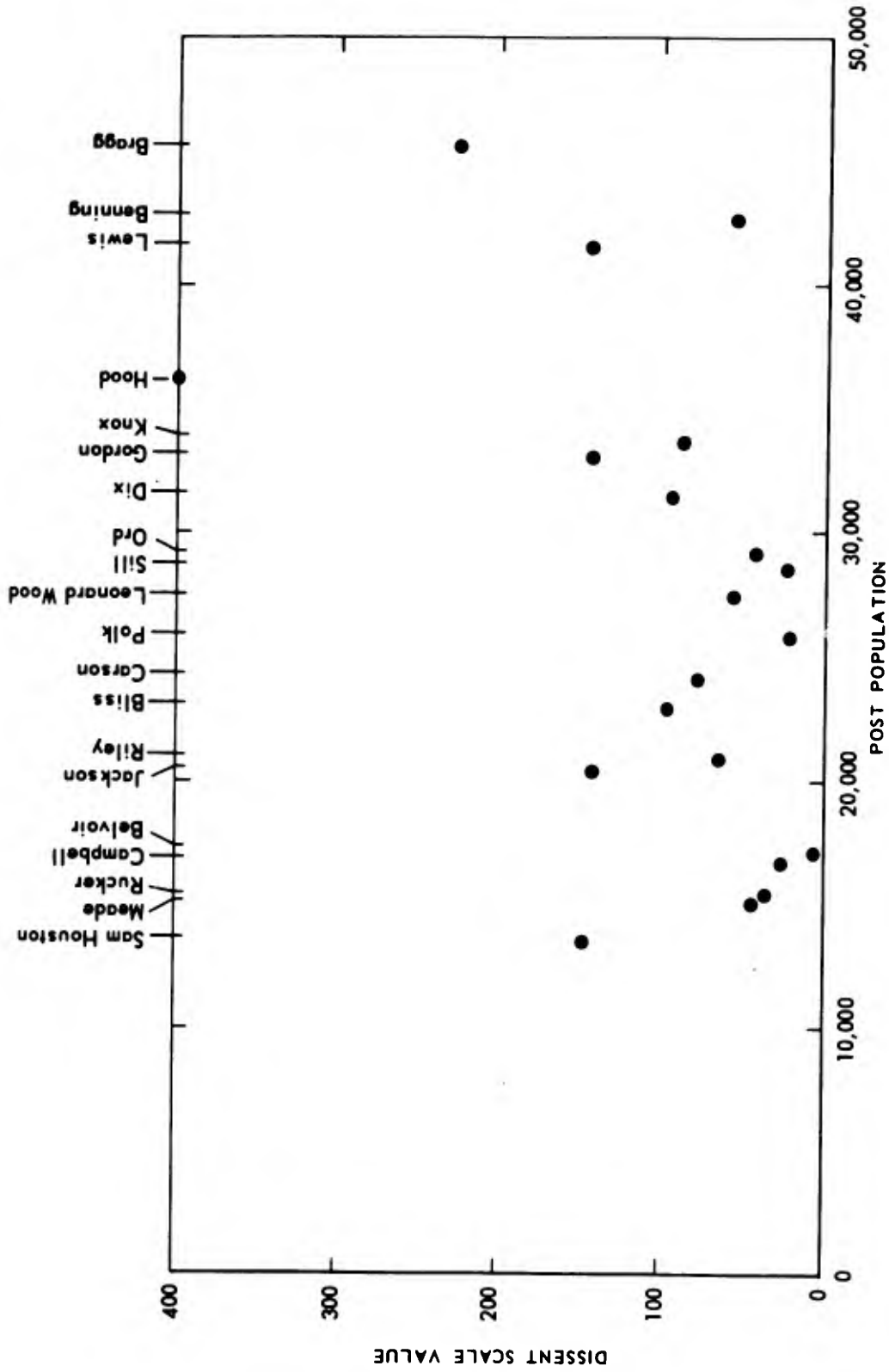


Fig. 2—Total Scale Value of Dissent at Selected Posts, Oct 68—Oct 69

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from the returns that are summarized in App A, differ materially from one post to another. For example:

- a. The dissent level at Fort Sam Houston appears high, owing to numbers of student-trainee medics who have refused training.
- b. The Fort Jackson dissent level reflects the formation of the organization "GI's United Against the War in Vietnam" (GIUAWV) in January 1969, and its subsequent activities.
- c. It has been suggested that the low level of dissent at Fort Belvoir results in part from the nature of the training conducted there. Fort Belvoir conducts only Officer Candidate School (OCS) training, Military Occupational Specialty (MOS) training in engineering subjects, and advanced training for engineer officers. Thus there is a filtering process before men are ever assigned to Belvoir.
- d. From information in the survey data summarized in App A, the lack of organized dissidence at Fort Polk is attributable in large measure to its relative isolation from any major metropolitan areas where dissidents are active.
- e. The low level of perceived dissent at Fort Benning may arise in part from differences in interpretation as to what constitutes dissent. In one of the underground newspapers, namely, "Task Force, Bulletin 1," it is reported that on October 27, 1968, 50 GI's from Fort Benning marched in an anti-war parade in Atlanta. This activity was not noted in the dissent data but, if it were included, the total dissent scale value for Fort Benning would increase from 56 to near 150. It is evident that a uniform system of recording and reporting dissenting behavior is needed, preferably in a form adaptable to machine processing.

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The dissent situation at most posts will undoubtedly change with time because of personnel replacements, transfers and releases. For example, according to information from Fort Jackson, "During April and May 1969, virtually all GIUAWV members were either transferred or dismissed from the service." (A drop in dissent level may well be noted at Fort Jackson in 1970, although the dissidents who were transferred elsewhere may of course serve to increase the dissent levels at other posts.) Thus a periodic plot of dissent of the type illustrated in Fig. 2 for all major Army posts would provide a possible way of estimating the overall change in dissent level on a country-wide basis, and of determining the direction of the change at individual posts.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF DISSIDENTS

THE SAMPLE

Of the 1092 dissidents that were in the card file of dissidents, reasonably complete Army 201 files (DA Form 20-Enlisted Qualification Record, DD Form 398-Personal History Statement, and DD Form 98-Armed Forces Security Questionnaire) were available on 153, the total number of the more serious cases (as estimated by Army intelligence sources). That these 153 are not completely typical of the total of 1092 is demonstrated in Table 4.

Shown in Table 4 is the number of individuals in the sample of 153 associated with each dissident act, as compared with the expected number as determined from their proportion in the total population of 1092; activities are arranged according to scale value. Thus one notes that the sample of 153 is heavier in the number of persons engaged in the more serious activities, such as "organized dissident activities," and "refused orders," while it has fewer than expected in the less serious activities, such as "frequented coffee house," "signed petition," and "possessed dissident literature," than would be expected. By chi-square test, the two distributions are significantly different from each other beyond the .01 level.

Since the sample of 153 includes the more serious dissidents, it may be expected that if there is a difference between a dissident and a

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Table 4
REPRESENTATIVENESS OF DISSIDENT SAMPLE

Dissident Activity	Frequency in Sample	Expected Frequency*
1. Organized dissident activities	34	17.2
2. Refused orders	9	6.4
3. Deserted	7	7.8
4. Participated in strike on post	1	6.2
5. Member Communist-affiliated organization	3	2.0
6. Demonstrated in uniform	-	-
7. Sought sanctuary	-	2.0
8. Demonstrated against Army conditions	8	3.1
9. Prepared material for publication	11	7.6
10. Distributed dissident literature	12	14.2
11. Qualified loyalty oath	3	4.5
12. Demonstrated against Govt. policies	-	1.5
13. Demonstrated against war in Vietnam	10	14.0
14. Member protest group	20	18.2
15. Member American Servicemen's Union (ASU)	9	7.3
16. Signed petition	10	17.7
17. Frequented coffee house	13	16.0
18. Possessed dissident literature	2	6.6
19. Applied for CO status	<u>1</u>	<u>.7</u>
Total	153	153.0

*As determined from the totals in Table 2; e.g., for "Organized dissident activities," $123/1092 = (17.2)/153$.

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nondissident in a given characteristic, this difference should be highlighted when the sample is compared with the Army population as a whole. It is recognized that where differences are found, it would be necessary to examine the full range of dissident activity in order to determine more clearly the nature of the relationship between the magnitude of the difference and the degree of severity of dissent.

The following characteristics were examined using the 201 file information:

- Component
- Race
- State in which dissident was born
- Religious preference
- Level of education
- Army Classification Battery Test scores
- Primary MOS

COMPONENT

The distribution of all servicemen among Army components is shown in Table 5. It is seen that the sample of 153 more serious dissidents had a slightly higher proportion of volunteers (Regular Army) than draftees (Army of the US); but when compared with the proportions in the total active Army, the proportions are fewer volunteers and more draftees than would be expected. The high proportion of volunteers in the dissident sample might be viewed with some surprise. However, it is probable that many of these "volunteers" were on the verge of being drafted, and volunteered primarily to assure themselves of some of the benefits of occupational choice within the service.

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Table 5
DISTRIBUTION OF DISSIDENT SAMPLE AMONG ARMY COMPONENTS

Component	Active Army - 1969(%)*	Dissident Sample(%)
Regular Army	63	53
Army of the US	35	45
Army Reserve	1	2
National Guard	1	0

*DA, ODCSPER, "Strength of the Army (U)," Part 1, Strength Active Army, DCSPER-46, 31 March 1969, CONFIDENTIAL. (Above data Unclassified.)

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RACE

The proportion of Negroes in the dissident sample appears to be almost identical with the proportion in the US population, and with the proportion in the Army — about 11 percent of the dissidents are Negroes. At this time, then, dissidence in general appears not to be related to race.

STATE OF BIRTH

Ideally, one would prefer to use data that would show directly the geographic area in which the dissident was reared, but these were not available from the source data. The assumption is then made that the State in which a dissident was born is the same as the one in which he was reared. (Enlisted Master Tape File data show that there is high agreement between state of birth and state from which a soldier entered service, so as an approximation, the assumption appears not to be a bad one.) The number of dissidents of a US regional area was related to the population of that area, and expressed as the dissidents per million population in Fig. 3. Marked differences among regions are seen. The West South Central States of Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Louisiana, and the Mountain States have a much smaller proportion of dissidents per unit of population than do the Pacific and East North Central States. The other regional areas fall in between. The ratio of extremes is almost 4 to 1 (1.0 to .26).

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE

The religious preferences of the 153 dissidents are shown in Table 6. Dissidence scale items are arranged in order of scale value. The number of individuals expressing various religious preferences, as compared with their dissident activities, is shown in each column. The distribution

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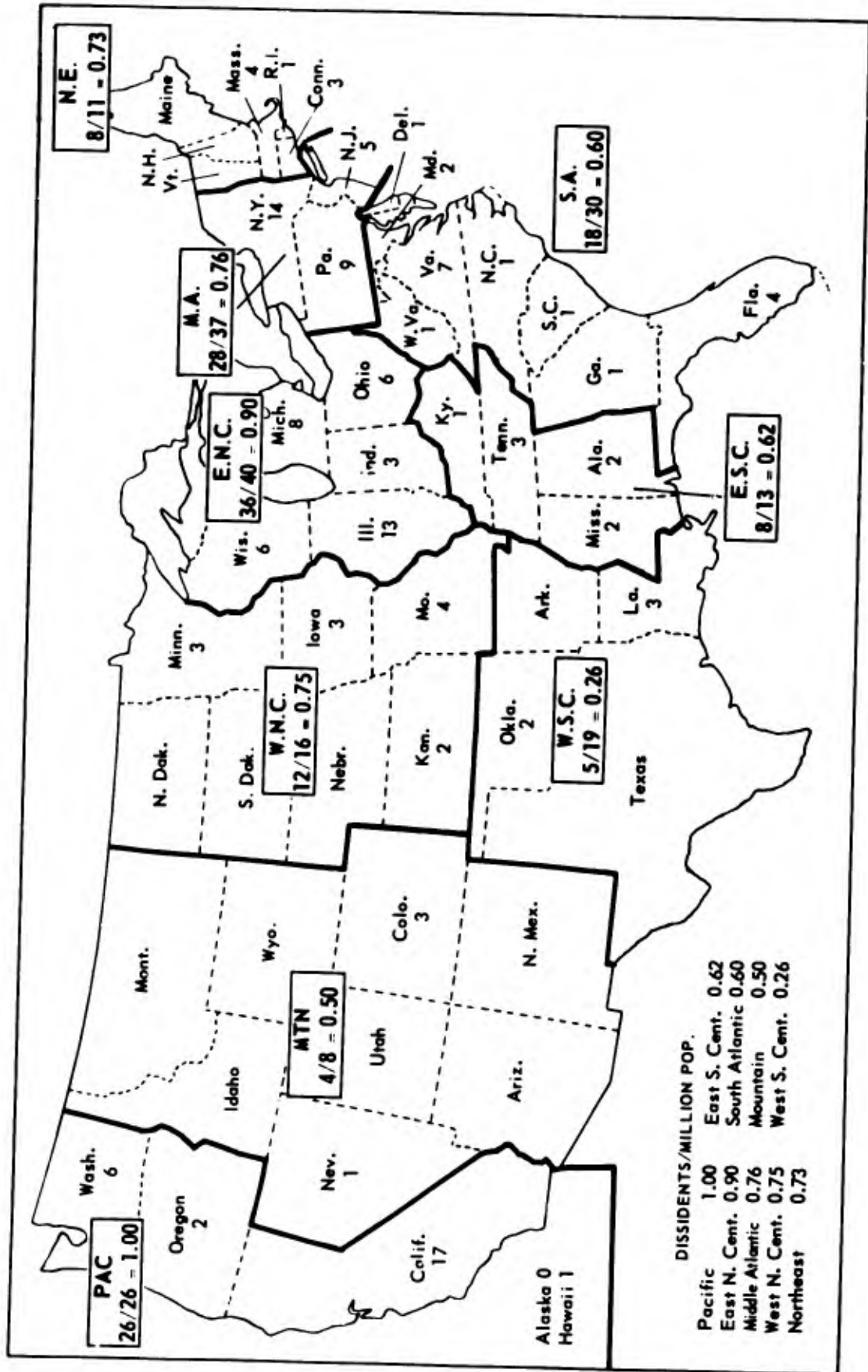


Fig. 3—State of Birth of Dissidents in Sample

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Table 6
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE OF DISSIDENT IN SAMPLE

Dissident Activity	No Preference	Religious Preference			
		Roman Catholic	Protestant	Jewish	Other
1. Organized dissident activities	14	3	9	5	3
2. Refused orders	2	1	6	-	-
3. Deserted	3	3	1	-	-
4. Participated in strike on post	1	-	-	-	-
5. Member Communist-affiliated organization	1	2	-	-	-
6. Demonstrated in uniform	-	-	-	-	-
7. Sought sanctuary	-	-	-	-	-
8. Demonstrated against Army conditions	1	4	2	-	1
9. Prepared material for publication	2	5	3	1	-
10. Distributed dissident literature	7	-	5	-	-
11. Qualified loyalty oath	2	-	1	-	-
12. Demonstrated against Govt. policies	-	-	-	-	-
13. Demonstrated against war in Vietnam	2	1	6	1	-
14. Member protest group	2	6	9	1	2
15. Member American Servicemen's Union (ASU)	1	4	4	-	-
16. Signed petition	2	2	6	-	-
17. Frequented coffee house	2	2	8	-	1
18. Possessed dissident literature	1	-	1	-	-
19. Applied for CO status	-	1	-	-	-
Total	43	34	61	8	7
Percent of dissident sample	28	22	40	5	5
Religious preference distribution in US population - 1960 census (%)	36	24	36	3	1

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of religious preference within the Army population was not available for this study. However, the totals of each column are not much different from the proportions of church members in the US population — a slightly smaller percentage of Roman Catholics as dissidents than their proportion in the population would indicate, a slightly higher proportion of Protestants, a slightly higher proportion of Jewish, and a lower proportion of unaffiliated among the dissidents. Of special interest in this table, however, is the relatively high number of individuals of "No preference" associated with the heavily weighted dissident acts and the high proportion of Protestants associated with the less heavily weighted activities. This disproportionate distribution results in a chi-square of 7.29, which is statistically significant beyond the 5 percent level of confidence.

This distribution was examined in greater detail in terms of the three dissent subscales so as to determine the interaction of religious preference with motivation for dissent.

The ordering of the rows in Table 6 was rearranged in three different ways: first, with the dissident activities in order of decreasing systemic component (as taken from Table B4), then a similar procedure with the humanistic component, and finally with the political component. Then in each new list, the top eight items were taken as the upper half and the remaining items as the lower half. The number of dissidents included in each half of the three lists was counted, with results as given in Table 7.

Some differences in the motivation of dissidents (as indicated by the three dissent components) and their religious preference would appear to exist. For example, those dissidents with no religious

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Table 7

**RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE IN ASSOCIATION
WITH DISSENT MOTIVATION SUBSCALES**

Dissidence Subscale	No Preference	Religious Preference			
		Roman Catholic	Protestant	Jewish	Other
<u>Systemic*</u>					
Upper half	23	16	21	6	4
Lower half	15	14	33	1	3
<u>Humanistic*</u>					
Upper half	24	13	26	6	5
Lower half	19	20	35	2	1
<u>Political*</u>					
Upper half	28	7	27	6	3
Lower half	15	26	34	2	3

*Distributions will not sum to 153 because some of the dissidence activities have no components on some of the subscales (see App B).

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preference appear to be involved in activities in the upper half of severity of dissent on all the subscales, but are especially highly politically-motivated. Those dissidents indicating Roman Catholic preference do not seem highly politically-motivated. The dissidents indicating Protestant preference appear to be involved in activities that tend to be in the lower half of severity of dissent on all the motivational subscales. The sample is too small to comment on dissidents of Jewish or other religious preference.

EDUCATION LEVEL

In Table 8, educational level of the dissident sample is shown in three categories: did not graduate from high school, did graduate, and had at least some college. The high proportion of persons with some college training is atypical of the Army population. Those having college training are most often listed for organizing dissident activities. High school graduates, on the other hand, tend to be associated with less serious dissident activities.

ARMY CLASSIFICATION BATTERY TESTS

The Army Classification Battery tests consist of a group of eleven tests which measure various aspects of mental ability, perceptual speed, interests, and knowledge in various subject areas. The tests are combined in various ways to select personnel for different aptitude areas. The mean test scores of the dissident sample were compared with the scores of a 1968 representative induction sample of 17,000. The significance level of the differences between means was determined by the t tests. As seen in Table 9, all of the test means for the dissident sample are

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Table 8
EDUCATION LEVEL AMONG DISSIDENT SAMPLE

Dissident Activity	Education Level		
	Did Not Graduate from High School	High School Graduate	Some College
1. Organized dissident activities	1	10	23
2. Refused orders	-	5	3
3. Deserted	1	2	4
4. Participated in strike on post	-	1	-
5. Member Communist-affiliated organization	-	1	2
6. Demonstrated in uniform	-	-	-
7. Sought sanctuary	-	-	-
8. Demonstrated against Army conditions	1	4	3
9. Prepared material for publication	-	4	6
10. Distributed dissident literature	1	4	7
11. Qualified loyalty oath	-	1	2
12. Demonstrated against Govt. policies	-	-	-
13. Demonstrated against war in Vietnam	-	4	6
14. Member protest group	2	9	8
15. Member American Servicemen's Union (ASU)	-	4	6
16. Signed petition	-	7	3
17. Frequented coffee house	-	10	3
18. Possessed dissident literature	-	2	1
19. Applied for CO status	-	-	1
Total	6	68	78

Note: Do not sum to 153 as data not available for one member of sample.

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Table 9

**ARMY CLASSIFICATION BATTERY SCORES
FOR DISSIDENT SAMPLE**

Test	1968 Sample Mean	Dissident Mean	Mean Diff.	Significance Level of Diff.*
Verbal Reasoning	103.2	124.2	21.0	.001
Arithmetic Reasoning	99.6	115.5	14.9	.001
Pattern Analysis	101.1	114.1	13.0	.001
Mechanical Aptitude	102.7	112.9	10.2	.001
Classification Inventory	93.6	100.6	7.0	.001
Army Clerical Speed	103.8	114.2	10.4	.001
Army Radio Code	96.2	109.8	13.6	.001
General Information Test	99.0	109.0	10.0	.001
Shop Mechanics	102.1	106.0	3.9	.01
Automotive Information	103.4	103.0	-0.4	NS
Electrical Information	101.0	110.7	9.7	.001

*By t test

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significantly higher with the exception of the test of Automotive Information, for which there is no significant difference. The mean difference for Shop Mechanics is not as great as for the others.

In Army personnel practice, Verbal and Arithmetic Reasoning tests are combined to develop a general intelligence score. In our sample, the dissidents scored high on both of these tests, but with Verbal Reasoning significantly higher than Arithmetic Reasoning. In fact, 10 percent of the individuals had the maximum possible score of 152 in Verbal Reasoning. The relation between these tests, i.e., Verbal and Arithmetic Reasoning both high, but Verbal significantly higher than Arithmetic, may prove to be a useful selection and classification technique for isolating potentially dissident personnel.

MILITARY OCCUPATIONAL SPECIALTIES

Military Occupational Specialties are grouped into ten broad occupational areas. The proportion of men in the dissident sample having primary MOS's in the ten areas is shown in the middle column of Table 10. In the last column is shown the distribution of all enlisted men, grades E1 through E4, assigned to these same occupational areas throughout Continental US (CONUS). There are marked differences in the proportions in three occupational areas: Tactical Operations and General Electronic Maintenance have a much smaller proportion in the dissident sample than in the Army in CONUS as a whole: Clerical and Graphics have a much higher proportion. Further examination of the Clerical area shows that these assignments are mostly in general administration and supply. Such assignments, however, may augment the problem, as persons in the administration and supply areas often have access to supplies, equipment, and information which can facilitate dissident activities.

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Protests and demonstrations by individuals were thought generally to be about the same. Protests and demonstrations by groups appeared to be increasing. There appeared to be little change, on the average, in the level of appearance of underground newspapers and other dissident literature. But an increase was suggested in attendance at off-post coffee houses and other meeting places.

MOTIVATION FOR DISSENT

Commanders were asked to make estimates of the motivation for dissent by apportioning types of motivation among six different categories. The average apportionment is shown in Table 12. These values are being corroborated generally by surveys administered in the last phase of the study.

Table 12

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY OF DISSENT AT MAJOR CONUS INSTALLATIONS (Motivation for Dissent)

Nature of Motivation	Estimated Percentage (average)
Desire for greater personal privilege	14
Disagreement with military practices	20
Disagreement with US involvement in Vietnam	30
Disagreement with national military draft policies	13
Desire for correction of racial inequalities	17
Disagreement with US political system	6

These results relate to the components of dissent already described. It is judged that desire for greater personal privilege is generally humanistic in motivation; disagreement with military practices is systemic; disagreement with US involvement in Vietnam is political,

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as is disagreement with national military draft policies and with the US political system. The desire for correction of racial inequalities is another humanistic element. When one sums these percentages by motivation category, they agree surprisingly well with the distribution of the three components of motivation described earlier. In the commanders' estimates, political dissent is foremost, occupying 49 percent of the total; humanistic is 31 percent; and systemic is 20 percent.

ESTIMATES OF LATENT DISSENT

Each post commander was asked to estimate the number of unreported dissidents believed to be in his command for every dissident that was reported. The estimates ranged from none to 25, with a median of about five dissidents unreported to every one reported.

EFFECT OF DISSENT

All commanders reported that thus far dissent has had little effect on morale. It was mentioned that there is some effect on career soldiers who wonder why they're not receiving more support from the news media and their fellow Americans.

It was the consensus that dissent has not affected the day-to-day performance of units or individuals except for the few individuals who are active dissidents. At this point, commanders' assertions are that dissent is not affecting the accomplishment of the Army mission. It was noted, however, that if dissent should begin to be manifested by disobedience or insubordination during combat, the effect could be disastrous. It was the general opinion that unless the Army dealt with dissent swiftly, firmly, and resolutely, but without over-reacting, it could become a serious morale problem.

For more complete description of questionnaire responses, see App A.

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FINDINGS

CHARACTERISTICS OF DISSENT

On the basis of the records of 1092 soldiers listed as dissidents during the period October 1968 to October 1969, dissenting activities can be classified into 19 categories and a quantitative scale of severity developed. Such scale values can be further subdivided into three components — systemic, humanistic, and political — depending on the motivation for the dissenting act.

CHARACTERISTICS OF DISSIDENTS

Component

More than half the dissidents are Regular Army volunteers (with a 3-year or longer term of enlistment).

Race

The proportion of dissidents in the study sample who are non-Caucasian is no different from that in the Army generally.

Geographic Origin

Relative to the population of the region of the US in which they were born, and presumed to have been reared, a greater proportion than would be expected on the basis of population come from the Pacific and East North Central States; a smaller proportion than would be expected come from the Mountain and West South Central areas.

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Religion

The most active dissident is likely to express no religious preference; those dissidents expressing preference for the Roman Catholic religion are likely to be motivated by other than political reasons.

Education Level

The more active dissidents are college trained.

Army Classification Battery

Dissidents do especially well on nearly all the ACB tests, and excel in Verbal Reasoning.

Military Occupational Specialty

Dissidents are over-represented in the Clerical occupational area, and under-represented in the Tactical occupational area.

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CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this report, data available from Army intelligence and personnel sources have been analyzed to determine the character and seriousness of dissent in the Army. In doing so, a method for scaling dissidence has been developed and employed; the techniques illustrated should be useful for further work in this area. The personnel data analysis points up some of the more critical demographic, biographical, and other factors which must be taken into account in dealing with the matter of dissent.

The analysis has been based on the activities of 1092 individuals. Since these represent only 0.1 percent of the total Army population, does the Army really have a serious problem with dissent? Some of the points to consider are: (a) the number of identified dissidents represents the most active ones. Thus the available data may portray only a small part of the dissent problem. Many serious revolutionary movements have begun with a few active organizers. Moreover, if figures reported by the ASU in "The Bond" are valid, the ASU has grown from zero to near 7000 in three years; (b) on the other hand, as US participation in the war in Vietnam is de-escalated, and as the Army moves in the direction of an all-volunteer force, some of the current issues for dissent will decrease in importance.

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At this stage of study, it cannot be determined categorically whether or not the Army has a serious problem with dissent. However, it is clear that the potential for a serious problem exists, and that further effort is warranted to examine the possible scope of that problem and to develop methods for coping with it.

Some of the areas for further study will be: to determine better bounds for defining dissent; to develop a uniform method for recording dissent data; to look at individual posts in terms of their indicated levels of dissent; and, hopefully, to arrive at recommendations for possible ways to reduce dissent and to channel it to useful ends.

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Appendix A

ARMY DISSENT QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTION

In the course of this study on Army dissent, a questionnaire was sent to the commanders of the following 17 Army posts for an appraisal of dissident activities in their area and any measures that had been taken to deal with them: Ft Benning, Ft Bliss, Ft Bragg, Ft Campbell, Ft Carson, Ft Dix, Ft Gordon, Ft Hood, Ft Jackson, Ft Knox, Ft Leonard Wood, Ft Lewis, Ft Ord, Ft Polk, Ft Riley, Ft Sam Houston, Ft Sill.

Questionnaire responses have been summarized only. No attempt has been made to correlate responses within a specific questionnaire, or to draw inferences from responses in one part of a questionnaire to those responses in another part.

In order to preserve anonymity, the post numbers in the tables are not related to the order in which the posts are listed above.

CRITERIA USED TO IDENTIFY DISSENT

A general criterion of dissent listed in the returns was participation in activities considered detrimental to discipline or morale. Other specific criteria as formulated by the respondents were:

- a. Disagreement with established policies or practices, manifested in a way to disrupt orderly operations.

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- b. Involvement in anti-military, anti-war, anti-US government activities, including participation in rallies or demonstrations.
- c. Overt display, preparation, publication or dissemination of anti-military, anti-war, or anti-US government materials.
- d. Refusal to comply with military directives.
- e. Promotion of violent means to change the racial policies within the US Army.
- f. Any action that appears to promote disloyalty among personnel.
- g. Increased disciplinary incidents, such as excessive AWOL's or other signs of disaffection or lowered discipline.
- h. Request for leave or pass to a location where demonstrations or other protest activities are being held or scheduled.
- i. Signing anti-war/anti-military petitions.
- j. Possession and distribution of political materials.
- k. Organization or operation of coffee houses.
- l. Attendance at coffee houses.
- m. Membership in "Servicemen's Union."
- n. Associating with radical left- or right-wing organizations, i.e., CPUSA, SDS, BPP, KKK.
- o. Qualifying loyalty forms, or failing to take the oath of allegiance.
- p. Theft of weapons to be used by extremists.
- q. Public display of racial or anti-military greetings.

The point was made in one of the returns that dissent does not include mere disagreement with certain foreign policies of the US government, political issues created by the current administration, issues related to poverty in the US, and support of minority groups in their quest for "equality," unless such disagreement results in action that affects the capability of the Armed Forces to perform their assigned missions.

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KINDS AND LEVEL OF DISSENT EXPERIENCED

The kinds of dissent which installations reported over the past year are listed in Table A1. An expression of whether the level of dissent was judged to have changed over the year is shown in Table A2.

Table A1
KINDS OF DISSENT OVER PAST YEAR

Type of Activity	Army Post ^{a/}																
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Demonstrations	x						x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	
Stockade riot	x																
Off-post coffee house	x	x					x	x	x							x	x
Underground newspaper	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x			x		x	x	
Organized excessive sick call	x																
Development of resistance movement				x													
Distribution of unauthorized materials		x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		x
Organizing dissidents		x	x			x	x	x									
Protest marches				x													
Display of dissident symbols					x						x			x			
Applications for CO status						x	x										
Refusal to obey orders						x	x		x		x						
Signing or distributing petitions						x	x			x						x	
Meetings of antiwar org.						x	x						x		x	x	
Preparing dissident articles for publication in press media or letters to public figures								x			x					x	
Appearances on TV to air grievances								x									
Involvement w/extremist groups									x				x	x			
Increased AWOL's & incidents against authority													x				
Defection to foreign county																	x
Suggesting a servicemen's union																	x

^{a/} Post numbers do not correspond to the order in the list in the introduction to this appendix.

Table A2
CHANGES IN LEVEL OF DISSENT

Types of Dissent	Change in Level of Dissent																
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Comparison w/Dissent Level 6 mos. ago																	
Dissent in General	x	x				x	x	x									
Increase																	x
Decrease																	
About same					x												
Changes Over the Year																	
Protests & demonstrations by individuals																	
Increase																	
No change																	
Decrease																	
Nonexistent																	
Protests & demonstrations by groups																	
Increase																	
No change																	
Decrease																	
Nonexistent																	
Appearance of underground newspapers & other dissident literature																	
Increase																	
No change																	
Decrease																	
Nonexistent																	
Attendance at off-post coffee houses & other meeting places																	
Increase																	
No change																	
Decrease																	
Nonexistent																	

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The reasons listed for changes in level of dissident activity noted in Table A2 were as follows:

Increase

- a. Increased experience and more organized efforts by dissident soldiers
- b. Increased support from national and local civilian groups and organizations
- c. Tightened interpretation of regulations, limiting command reaction
- d. Emergence of new organization focused on the racial issue
- e. Increased publicity for dissenting activities
- f. Court decisions allowing soldiers to object to Vietnam war, military appearance and standards

Decrease

- a. Decrease in organized dissent nation-wide
- b. Lack of newsworthy issues for dissidents
- c. Decreased publicity for dissenting activities
- d. Command not over-reacting to dissidence
- e. National policy of de-escalating war in Vietnam
- f. Transient nature of personnel on post and transfer of dissidents
- g. Lack of funds for underground newspaper
- h. Decreased support by local civilian groups
- i. Program of surveillance of individuals involved in dissident activities
- j. Increased emphasis on enforcing regulations
- k. Decline in narcotics cases
- l. Fewer draftees among assigned personnel

Post policies on specific dissent-related activities are summarized in Table A3. The results amplify information given in Table A2.

Table A3

POST POLICIES ON CERTAIN DISSENT-RELATED ACTIVITIES

Questions Posed	Army Post																
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
<u>Post Policy on Dissident Literature</u>																	
Has approval been requested to distribute literature on post?	Yes	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
If so, what was response?	No	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Granted	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Denied	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
At one post, approval was granted for the distribution of copies of the Oath of Enlistment and Bill of Rights. This approval was withdrawn when material other than that which was approved was distributed.																	
<u>Post Policy on Coffee Houses</u>																	
Has a coffee house patronized by GI's been operated near the post?	Yes	x	x	a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	b	x	x	x
If not, have efforts been made to establish one?	No	-	-	-	x	x	-	x	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
Has community action been taken to close coffee house?	Yes	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x
Has the command been involved in any influence against operation of coffee house?	No	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Yes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x
	No	x	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	x
<u>Occurrence of Meetings of Dissidents on Post</u>																	
Has approval been requested for meeting to discuss dissident topics?	Yes	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Has approval been granted for any such meetings?	No	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	e	x	x	x
Have such meetings been held on post?	Yes	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Don't know	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

a. Church-sponsored gathering place near post.
 b. Church-sponsored gathering place near post, closed through cooperation of law enforcement, military & church representatives.
 c. No attempt is made to disrupt peaceful meetings.
 d. Delays in administrative processing of requests such that approval not obtained by proposed dates.
 e. On-post coffee house operated nightly by Army chaplains where discussion of controversial topics permitted.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF TYPICAL DISSENTER

A few commands identified two types of dissident, namely, leaders and followers. These correspond to the activists and participants in the CIAD classification noted in the body of the report. One post identified a third type as a member of a deprived minority group, or a petty offender.

Where followers were specifically mentioned, the general characteristics listed were:

- immature, easily swayed, searching for recognition within peer group
- predominantly high school dropouts
- age 17 to 20

It was pointed out in several cases that there is considerable variation in dissident characteristics so that it is difficult to generalize to portray a "typical" dissident. However, the following are commonly found as characteristics of an active dissident according to the questionnaire returns.

- young
- urban background
- civilian-oriented, irresponsible, emotional
- above average intelligence
- resentful of discipline and military restrictions, which he considers an infringement of his rights
- college background at one of larger colleges, majored in social sciences
- often active in anti-war or racial organizations prior to entering the service
- superiority complex over anyone who has a dissimilar background
- some have been involved with drugs
- predominantly from northeast United States, especially New York and Philadelphia

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- draftee or reluctant first-term enlistee
- determined to avoid combat duty
- views military assignment as far below his educational level and capabilities
- from middle-class or wealthy families, self-centered, and liberally oriented
- strives to attend military schools/courses or to occupy administrative assignments

Estimates of perceived motivation for dissent at each installation are shown in Table A4.

In addition to the motivation categories listed in Table A4, three others were mentioned, each by one command only; namely, religious beliefs, training, and desire to go along with a crowd. These were incorporated into one of the other categories in Table A4.

To arrive at some figure for the potential for dissent, respondents were asked to estimate the number of latent but unreported dissidents believed to be on post, for every one reported. These estimates ranged from 0 to 25 with an average of about 5. Such estimates are admittedly difficult to make, but an average of 5 latent dissidents for every one reported does not appear unreasonable.

EFFECT OF DISSENT ON TROOP MORALE AND PERFORMANCE

Morale

All the commands reported that, thus far, dissent has had little effect on morale. However, it was mentioned that there is some effect on the career soldier who tends to wonder why he is not receiving more support from news media and his fellow Americans.

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Table A4
 ESTIMATES OF PERCEIVED MOTIVATION FOR DISSENT
 (percent)

Motivation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Average*
Desire for greater personal privilege	10	5	-	25	-	10	25	-	-	5	15	15	50	-	7	10	-	14
Disagreement with military practices	20	25	-	10	60	18	7	-	-	40	25	15	30	-	15	10	-	20
Disagreement with US involvement in Vietnam	40	30	-	20	20	50	25	-	-	30	20	35	8	30	30	50	-	30
Disagreement with national military draft policies	-	20	-	10	-	10	3	-	-	10	5	10	3	50	30	20	-	13
Desire for correction of racial inequalities	20	15	-	30	20	10	15	-	-	10	30	15	7	20	15	5	-	17
Disagreement with US political system	10	5	-	5	-	2	25	-	-	5	5	10	2	-	3	5	-	6

*Of 13 respondents

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One post indicated that morale has been moderately affected as evidenced by increased disciplinary incidents and AWOLs. It was also pointed out that it is difficult to determine the effect on morale because the majority of soldiers know that they will be in the Army for a period of only 2 or 3 years, so that although many of them may be unhappy about it, they are hesitant to become involved in any activity which might result in official action that would follow then into civilian life.

A summary of views on the difference between dissent and ordinary griping is shown in Table A5.

Table A5
DISSENT VERSUS GRIPING

Dissident	Griper
Attempts to change basic rules & policies through unauthorized means & urges others to do likewise	Is interested primarily as these rules & policies apply to him alone. Relieves his frustrations verbally
Attempts to disrupt Army by overt reckless actions or arrogant disregard for justice	May not want to do a task & grumbles about it, but does it satisfactorily
Engages in long-term, organized activity to effect changes in the military system, often supported by civilian groups	Complains about a particular decision or policy, but griping usually short-term and unorganized
Has either a severe adjustment problem or a deep personal conviction grounded in a radical philosophy of life normally at odds with the establishment — civilian, military, or both	Reflects minor, individual adjustment problems common to most people
Is motivated by political or social issues such as charges of harassment, alleged violation of constitutional rights, etc.	Is motivated by issues related mainly to immediate physical needs: better food, more pay, etc.

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Effect of Dissent on Performance

It was the consensus that dissent has not affected the day-to-day performance of units or individuals except for the few individuals who are active dissidents, and that dissent at the current levels did not represent a threat to the accomplishment of the Army mission. It was noted that if dissent should begin to be manifested through disobedience or insubordination during combat, the effect could be disastrous. It was also mentioned that unless the Army dealt with dissent swiftly, firmly, and resolutely, but without over-reacting, it could become a serious morale problem for the majority of personnel who do not participate in such activities.

Although unit performance has not been affected to any appreciable extent, it was noted that costly man hours are taken up at all levels of command in dealing with dissent. An estimate of this unproductive time, as reported in the returns, is given in Table A6.

Dissent in Types of Units and MOS Categories

There was some difference in experience as to the types of units in which dissent appeared to occur most frequently. However, several returns mentioned the following:

- advance training units
- headquarters, administrative and service units
- medical units
- signal school students
- special troops
- combat support units
- Special Processing Detachment
- Army Personnel Center

Table A6
 ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE OF TIME OF STAFF AND COMMANDERS
 TAKEN UP IN DEALING WITH DISSENT
 (as of February 1970)

Time Period	Army Post																
	1	2	3 ^b	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Last month	5	a	25-	5	10	10	0.5	21 ^c	5-	30 ^f	2-	2	2	3	1-	15	3-5
6 months ago	5	a	20	10	6	8	0.5	7 ^d	5+	50	2-	3	2	3	1-	10	3-
Year ago	5	a	15-	2	2-3	4	1	7 ^e	5+	5	2-	3	2	3	1-	1	3-

- a. negligible
- b. of intelligence staff only
- c. % of normal duty hours of 25 individuals
- d. % of normal duty hours of 10 individuals
- e. % of normal duty hours of 6 individuals
- f. % of duty hours of ACoFS, G-2 and his counterparts, 10% of time of Commanders
- g. G-2 and his staff - 75%; command elements and other staffs - a very small percentage

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It was noted in one return that dissent is less of a problem in units that are busy and able to train aggressively for their mission.

The following MOS categories were mentioned by more than one command as ones where dissent has been noted more often than in others.

- clerical
- administrative
- medical
- personnel specialist

METHODS USED TO DEAL WITH DISSENT

Conventional Military Discipline and Courts-Martial Procedures

The consensus was that disciplinary measures appear to have been effective as a deterrent to the outright violation of the legal restrictions on dissent. However, it was emphasized that these do little toward reducing dissent because the typical dissident is generally careful to be a good soldier while on duty, specifically to avoid punishment. The threat of court-martial does not exist insofar as the off-post activities of the dissident are concerned, provided he is not in uniform.

Changes in Regulations and Practices

Changes in regulations and practices that have been introduced for handling dissent or as preventive measures were listed as follows:

Post 1.

(1) Introduction of changes in military leadership techniques and disciplinary practices permitting a more flexible response to dissent.

(2) Maintenance of a close relationship with news media to assist in early identification of possible problems.

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Post 3. Conduct of a series of seminars which have been oriented toward the race problem have been useful in reducing this area of possible dissent.

Post 4. Modification of regulations pertaining to haircuts.

Post 5. Change in duties and environment of known or suspected dissidents.

Post 6.

(1) Amplification of regulations concerning gatherings and distribution of literature to define better the responsibilities of the individual and actions to be taken within the command.

(2) Continuing command emphasis on duty, honor, and country through the chain of command down to and including the platoon sergeant.

Post 7.

(1) Team consisting of Commanding General, Chief of Staff, G-2, Provost Marshal, Information Officer and Staff Judge Advocate, formed to coordinate collection of information about dissidents, predict probable courses of dissident actions, and to formulate policies and procedures for dealing with dissent.

(2) Education program undertaken to make soldiers more aware of their responsibilities.

(3) Regulation revised concerning dissemination of publications on post.

(4) Directive issued establishing procedures to regulate civilian dissidents coming on post.

(5) Regulations pertaining to applying for CO status changed to curb its use as a means of dissent, while protecting the rights of the legitimate conscientious objector.

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(6) Platoon-size reaction force created to augment military police element if needed.

(7) Emphasis placed on the welfare of the soldiers by commanders.

Post 8. Regulations prohibiting the distribution on post of certain types of publications changed to define more precisely the items within the purview of this restriction.

Post 9. Use of smooth and easy to use grievance channels, such as commander's open door policies, IG and open discussions in command information sessions.

Post 10.

(1) Instituting SOP for collecting underground newspapers distributed illegally on post.

(2) Emphasis on adequacy of information program and personnel services.

(3) Refusal to acknowledge or react to unwarranted attacks in underground newspapers.

Post 11. Broadening of regulations to make them more defensible legally.

Post 12. Keeping troops informed through character guidance classes, post newspaper, daily bulletin and commander's hour.

Post 13. Close coordination with on-post and off-post law enforcement and intelligence agencies to monitor dissident activities better.

Post 15.

(1) The revision of appropriate regulations has been beneficial in controlling demonstrations and the dissemination of dissident literature.

(2) Command information program expanded to counteract dissident activities.

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(3) Command information class begun to explain US involvement in Vietnam.

Post 16.

(1) Increased emphasis on intelligence reporting of all incidents.

(2) Efforts concentrated on disciplining, eliminating, or transferring hard-core activists.

(3) Appointment of Field Officer of the Day (FOD) (in addition to normal Duty Officer) to operate daily from last light until one hour after closing time of clubs. The FOD visits service clubs, bus depots, theaters, etc., and maintains radio contact with military police.

(4) Establishment of two-man courtesy patrols by major unit commanders to patrol areas of responsibility from last light until one hour after closing of clubs. Patrols can alert the military police who will respond as required.

(5) Senior NCO required to remain in barracks at night.

(6) Platoon size ready force established in each major command, prepared to react on 30-minute notice, to reinforce and assist the Provost Marshal as required.

(7) Armed guards established to guard weapons and ammunition, especially during training in the field.

(8) Emphasis on Command Information program. Two publications have been issued; one covers a discussion on dissidence, and the other deals with personal appearance.

(10) An acting IG has been appointed at battalion level to handle complaints and grievances promptly.

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- (11) Enlisted and officer advisory councils have been formed.
- (12) Distribution of substandard personnel under constant review.
- (13) PX's and commissaries stocked with specialized items, such as reading material, 'soul' music, specific cosmetics, and 'soul' food.
- (14) Dissident Advisory Council established under Chief of Staff to evaluate dissident activities and recommend countermeasures.
- (15) Narcotic Advisory Council established under G-1.

Counseling with Dissidents

Most posts reported a passive attitude toward counseling with dissidents, namely, that individual soldiers are permitted access to commanders through established counseling periods and through the IG. It was stressed that counseling can be effective with followers or marginal dissidents, but that the hard-core dissident is dedicated to a radical policy and cannot be reached by logic or rational argument.

Surveillance of Dissidents

The questionnaire requested comments on a policy of observing dissident action closely, but taking no action until required. Eleven of the 17 returns indicated that they considered this worthwhile and were using it in varying degrees. One return mentioned that, in addition to unobtrusive surveillance of known or suspected dissidents, obvious surveillance of troubled areas is maintained with a view to preventing violations rather than arresting after the fact.

Those who appeared to prefer more direct action put forward the following points:

- (1) Immediate counseling is preferable to preclude the dissident influencing others.

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(2) Delay often results in more harmful effects on the good order and discipline of the entire command.

(3) Unfavorable publicity results if any action is taken against dissidents for activities other than outright violations of regulations. It is difficult to maintain surveillance and avoid charges of harassment.

DISSIDENT ACTIVITIES OFF POST

Dissident activities that originated off post but had some effect on post operations were most common where the post was located close to a city, especially one with a large university. The posts that are located in isolated areas were relatively unaffected by off-post dissident organizations.

The types of off-post dissident activities directed at military reservations consisted of the following:

- a. Civilian protest groups (often consisting of "New Left" students), attempting to demonstrate or distribute dissident literature on post.
- b. Provision of off-post counseling by coffee house staff or other civilian groups to discontented soldiers, consisting of advice on topics such as going AWOL, desertion, and applying for CO status.
- c. Civilians providing support for suits in Federal Court to challenge constitutionality of various Army regulations.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

Additional comments relevant to the study of Army dissent, as reported in the questionnaires, is summarized in the following paragraphs.

- The soldier entering the Army today does not leave his customs and mores of life on the streets of his hometown. Drug abuse, rebellion against society, disregard for law and order, and racial tension in the

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military is carried over from the civilian community. The Army is not in any sense creating its own problems, but is coping with problems created from outside its control.

- The hard-core dissident is not interested or impressed with the Army's outstanding record of the past. It is never easy to explain to a later generation the achievements of an earlier one in shattering an unacceptable status quo, because these achievements in turn have become the status quo beyond which the dissident wishes to advance. He demands visible evidence of immediate change.

- Whereas there can be little or no argument that a difference of opinion is constitutionally protected, the manner and place at which such opinion is expressed is in issue in Federal Courts. Decisions of Federal Courts have held that the constitutional rights of military personnel are limited. In particular, the interest of the Government and the public in the maintenance of an effective and disciplined Army for the purpose of national defense justifies certain restraints on the activities of military personnel which need not be imposed on similar activities by civilians.

- A major factor or cause of dissent could lie and be influenced in or during the initial induction/enlistment process. It is felt that with additional time in initial screening prior to induction, and by eliminating those individuals from induction that are troublemakers or have a background of dissent, the existing dissension problems would be eased. Continued leniency toward interpretation of the Bill of Rights and Army regulations, as well as clearly defined guidelines as to actions authorized, would greatly assist in dealing with dissension.

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- A point of consideration in discussing dissent within the Army is the impact of the press on heightening public interest in these activities. Hard-core dissidents are publicity seekers who enjoy seeing their minor incidents sensationalized. To generate publicity that will create doubt and loss of confidence in the ability of the Government or Army to maintain good order is exactly what this group wants. Their objective or goal can be reached only through the amount of publicity received and resultant public and Army reaction. In order for organized dissidence to thrive, it must be supported by a sustained effort by a dedicated outside organization.

- Over the past few months, numerous AWOL and racial tension seminars determined that the major contributing factor to these problem areas is a lack of communication in the established chain of command. Policies or practices that strengthen or open up the existing chain of command offer the most fruitful relief to the problems of dissent.

- Control of dissidence must begin at the lowest command level. Activities of potential dissidents must be monitored by first-line supervisors who must initiate prompt legal corrective action and make necessary reports through the chain of command.

- Dissent is perhaps more broadly based than implied by the questions contained in this questionnaire. Experience tends to indicate that the Army's performance today is affected less by overt and organized dissidence than by the attitudes toward the nation, the military, and constituted authority which are brought into the Army by young men influenced by the environment of America in 1970. Thus, the extent of dissent should be gauged not only in terms of organized dissident meetings, coffee houses, and underground newspapers, but also in terms of increased disciplinary

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incidents, AWOL's and other signs of disaffection or lowered discipline. The employment of professional opinion-sampling organizations, to ascertain scientifically the extent and causes of dissent and disaffection, is suggested. Such sampling would provide a firm basis for attacking the problem.

A major part of the response to the present situation would seem to lie in enlightened leadership which seeks to understand the young men of today and the environment from which they come, and employs such tools as unit newspapers and junior officer, NCO, EM, and race relations councils to this end. Further, military leaders must review traditional practices and procedures — some of which are "self-inflicted wounds" and are prime sources of irritation — to determine whether they are still militarily essential. Finally, major efforts should be made to stabilize military assignments — for both the leaders and the soldiers — since personnel turbulence is destructive of efforts to employ soldiers productively and to build morale and esprit within units.

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Annex 1 to Appendix A

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR POST COMMANDERS ON RAC STUDY 010.206,
"DETERMINATION OF POTENTIAL FOR DISSIDENCE IN THE US ARMY"

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RAC

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26 January 1970

RESEARCH ANALYSIS CORPORATION
McLean, Virginia

Installation _____

Questionnaire completed by _____

Questionnaire for Post Commanders on RAC Study O10.206,
"Determination of Potential for Dissidence in the US Army"

Dissent: Webster defined dissent as difference in opinion; withholding assent; nonconformity. In this study, dissent concerns difference in opinion among Army personnel, with respect to national policies, with respect to the official position of the Department of Army in implementing national policy, and with respect to military operational policies and practices. It is assumed that such difference of opinion is not in conflict with the liberties assured in the First Amendment to the US Constitution: "Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."*

Instructions: Please respond to the questions following as objectively and candidly as possible. Add sheets if more space is required.

1. Dissenting Behavior at Your Installation Over the Past Year

a. In general, what criteria are used in your command to identify dissent?

* For our purposes, dissent represents behavior that to some degree, however slight, reduces the capability of the Army to perform its missions.

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b. Dissent in general

(1) Briefly describe the principal kinds of dissent which have occurred over the past year.

(2) Is dissent at your installation, as compared with six months ago, on the increase, about the same, on the decline — or is it nonexistent?

(3) If change in the level of dissident activity is evident, please suggest an explanation for it.

c. Specific kinds of dissent — change over the year

(1) Incidence of overt protest and demonstration by individuals of your command. (Circle one)

Increase Same Decline Nonexistent

(2) Incidence of overt protest and demonstration by groups within your command. (Circle one)

Increase Same Decline Nonexistent

(3) Appearance of underground newspapers and other dissident literature. (Circle one)

Increase Same Decline Nonexistent

(4) Attendance at off-post coffee houses and other meeting places. (Circle one)

Increase Same Decline Nonexistent

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d. Post policy

(1) Has approval been requested for distribution of dissident newspapers or literature on your installation? If so, what was your response?

(2) Have efforts been made to influence the operation of nearby coffee houses? If so, in what ways? Request local civilian authorities to use its powers; recommend off-limits action by Armed Forces Disciplinary Control Board; other? What has been the success realized or difficulties encountered, of any action taken?

(3) To what extent are gatherings and meetings at which dissident topics are openly discussed possible on the installation?

e. Motivation for Dissent

(1) Please give your description of the typical dissenter with respect to psychological and background characteristics.

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(2) Try to apportion the dissent in your command among the following:

	<u>Percent</u>
Desire for greater personal privilege	_____
Disagreement with military practices	_____
Disagreement with US involvement in Vietnam	_____
Disagreement with national military draft policies	_____
Desire for correction of racial inequalities	_____
Disagreement with US political system	_____
Other (please add)	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____ Total	<u>100%</u>

(3) For every case of dissent in which military action has been taken, estimate how many cases are latent — that do not reach the point to which action is required. (For example, suppose there had been one person reported for dissident activity last month; were there 5? 10? 50? whom you might suspect having dissident attitudes, but who were not reported?)

2. Dissent as a Threat to the Accomplishment of the Army Mission

a. Is dissent having any effect on the morale of troops in general?

b. How does dissent differ from griping, as you know it?

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c. Does dissent affect the day-to-day performance of individuals and units?

d. Please estimate the proportion of time of your staff and commanders over the past month that has been taken up in dealing with dissent.

How does this contrast with the proportion of time spent six months ago?

_____ A year ago? _____

e. Do you note dissent occurring more in some types of unit than in others?

f. Do you find more dissent among certain MOS categories? Which?

g. What can you add about dissent as a threat to ability of the Army to perform its mission?

3. Handling of Dissent

a. Please evaluate the methods employed at your installation to manage dissent.

(1) Use of conventional military disciplinary and court-martial procedures.

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(2) Change in regulations and practices.

(3) Counseling with dissidents and attempting to establish better communication between constituted military authority and the dissident element.

(4) Observing dissident activity closely, but taking no action until forced to.

(5) Other methods employed.

(6) Actions contemplated, but not yet tried.

b. Please describe the frequency and type of dissident activities emanating from off post — not truly associated with your command — which are affecting the carrying out of your responsibilities.

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Appendix B

SCALING OF DISSENTING ACTIVITIES

INTRODUCTION

In this study a dissenting activity was one which was named as such by the Counterintelligence Analysis Detachment (CIAD), Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, DA. Dissenting activities were those which CIAD thought to be a threat to military operations and/or to the military institution. These activities range from attending a coffee house to organizing a coffee house, from writing a letter of dissident nature to the editor of a newspaper or to a public figure to organizing and editing an underground newspaper, from attending a rally to organizing a demonstration, from applying for conscientious objector status to refusal to wear the uniform or participate in training. It is necessary to have some means of codifying these activities to reduce them to a more manageable number and to order them as to degree of dissent so as to be able to better compare individuals and installations.

By logically combining like categories, the total number of listed activities was encompassed within 19 categories. These 19 categories included the full range of activities; nothing was dropped out. For example, in the categorization, refusal to train, refusal to wear the uniform, refusal to accept a particular duty, refusal to serve overseas fell in the category: Refused to obey orders.

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PROBLEM

To scale dissenting activities in terms of their seriousness, i.e., the threat the activities are assumed to present to the Army and to Army operations.

METHOD

Background

One may determine the number of times an individual attended a coffee house, or the number of coffee houses, or the number of signers of a petition, or the number of soldiers attending an antiwar rally. It is not often, however, that the seriousness of an activity can be expressed as a quantity. This becomes a matter of judgment for the manager or policy-maker concerned about the activities. The judge weighs the seriousness of dissident activities on the basis of some personal criteria of seriousness, and he seldom compares across the full range of activities.

Psychophysical studies have shown ways to deal with such problems—to develop an ordering among a number of like stimuli. For example, a judgment is made among pairs of weights—which is heavier, A or B?; which is heavier, B or C?; which heavier, C or A and so on--until a psychological scale of heaviness is developed. The methods developed to analyze such data are credited to the early psychophysicists, E. H. Weber and G. T. Fechner, but it was L. L. Thurstone, in 1927, who applied the method to other kinds of subjective information.⁴

The method is called "Thurstone's law of comparative judgment," and employs the statistical technique of paired comparisons. In the paired comparison method, every item of a series of like items is compared with every other item in the series, the judgment being made only for a pair

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of items. It is assumed in using this technique that (1) individual differences can be perceived between the items; (2) the dispersion of judgments is normal on the assumption that errors of observation as applied to estimates of "seriousness" are normally distributed; and (3) the series of items being compared represents a complete range of those items in the real world, or at least represents the range over which we have interest.

In this paired comparison analysis of dissident activities, activities were judged with respect to a general criterion of "seriousness to the Army." In the presentation of the scaling instrument to participants, this instruction was emphasized.

Preparation of the Scaling Instrument

In developing the instrument to perform the paired comparison rating, the following steps were performed:

1. The 19 activities were arrayed in a random order, and activities numbered 1 through 19.
2. Each of 19 activities was paired with every other, across all possible combinations; the possible combinations are represented by the formula $\frac{N(N-1)}{2}$, or $\frac{19(19-1)}{2}$, which solves to 171 pairs of items. A constraint was added for the presentation of pairs, so that any particular item appeared first only half the time (e.g., in the 18 possible pairs involving item 1, it appeared first exactly half the time).
3. The presentation order of the possible pairs was made random by writing the possible pairs on slips of paper and then drawing them "lottery style" until each of the 171 had been drawn.
4. A short descriptive code for each activity was developed and that code associated with each number in the presentation of pairs.

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Table B1
NUMBER AND PROPORTION OF TIMES* EACH ACTIVITY WAS JUDGED TO BE THE

		Activity Number										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Activity Number	1		2 .04	2 .04	5 .11	5 .11	0 .00	8 .17	17 .36	25 .53	2 .04	33 .70
	2	45 .96		35 .74	44 .94	43 .91	44 .94	45 .96	45 .96	47 1.00	43 .91	46 .98
	3	45 .96	12 .26		36 .81	32 .68	23 .49	25 .53	38 .81	45 .96	27 .57	44 .94
	4	42 .89	3 .06	9 .19		14 .30	11 .23	16 .34	34 .72	44 .94	13 .28	40 .85
	5	42 .89	4 .09	15 .32	33 .70		18 .38	34 .72	34 .72	47 1.00	28 .60	43 .91
	6	47 1.00	3 .06	24 .51	36 .77	29 .62		39 .83	41 .87	47 1.00	34 .72	45 .96
	7	39 .83	2 .04	22 .47	31 .66	13 .28	8 .17		35 .74	47 1.00	20 .43	39 .83
	8	30 .64	2 .04	9 .19	13 .28	13 .28	6 .13	12 .26		39 .83	14 .30	36 .77
	9	22 .47	0 .00	2 .04	3 .06	0 .00	0 .00	0 .00	8 .17		1 .02	30 .64
	10	45 .96	4 .09	20 .43	34 .72	19 .40	13 .28	27 .57	33 .70	46 .98		40 .85
	11	14 .30	1 .02	3 .06	7 .15	4 .09	2 .04	8 .17	11 .23	17 .36	7 .15	
	12	34 .72	2 .04	12 .26	19 .40	10 .21	6 .13	8 .17	26 .55	35 .74	7 .15	36 .77
	13	41 .87	0 .00	12 .26	25 .53	16 .34	10 .21	22 .47	31 .66	47 1.00	18 .38	38 .81
	14	30 .64	1 .02	11 .23	17 .36	9 .19	3 .06	5 .11	27 .57	33 .70	5 .11	42 .89
	15	11 .23	1 .02	2 .04	3 .06	3 .06	2 .04	4 .09	10 .21	14 .30	1 .02	29 .62
	16	23 .49	2 .04	4 .09	9 .19	7 .15	4 .09	13 .28	17 .36	21 .45	7 .15	32 .68
	17	45 .96	36 .77	43 .91	44 .94	44 .94	42 .89	45 .96	44 .94	47 1.00	45 .96	47 1.00
	18	47 1.00	18 .38	36 .77	43 .91	42 .89	37 .79	44 .94	42 .89	47 1.00	42 .89	45 .96
	19	33 .70	13 .28	16 .34	26 .55	26 .55	16 .34	26 .55	33 .70	37 .79	18 .38	45 .96
Sum	635	106	277	430	329	245	381	526	685	332	710	

*In each cell, the top number is the number of times that the dissenting activity represented by the column in which the cell is located was selected as more serious than the activity for the corresponding row. The bottom number is the proportion of times that the selection was made.

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Table B1

EACH ACTIVITY WAS JUDGED TO BE THE MORE SERIOUS DISSENTING ACTIVITY

Activity Number

8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
17 .36	25 .53	2 .04	33 .70	13 .28	6 .13	17 .36	36 .77	24 .51	2 .04	0 .00	14 .30	
45 .96	47 1.00	43 .91	46 .98	45 .96	47 1.00	46 .98	46 .98	45 .96	11 .23	29 .62	34 .72	
38 .81	45 .96	27 .57	44 .94	35 .74	35 .74	36 .77	45 .96	43 .91	4 .09	11 .23	31 .66	
34 .72	44 .94	13 .28	40 .85	28 .60	22 .47	30 .64	44 .94	38 .81	3 .06	4 .09	21 .45	
34 .72	47 1.00	28 .60	43 .91	37 .79	31 .66	38 .81	44 .94	40 .85	3 .06	5 .11	21 .45	
41 .87	47 1.00	34 .72	45 .96	41 .87	37 .79	44 .94	45 .96	43 .91	5 .11	10 .21	31 .66	
35 .74	47 1.00	20 .43	39 .83	39 .83	25 .53	42 .89	43 .91	34 .72	2 .04	3 .06	21 .45	
		39 .83	14 .30	36 .77	21 .45	16 .34	20 .43	37 .79	30 .64	3 .06	5 .11	14 .30
8 .17		1 .02	30 .64	12 .26	0 .00	14 .30	33 .70	26 .55	0 .00	0 .00	10 .21	
33 .70	46 .98		40 .85	40 .85	29 .62	42 .89	46 .98	40 .85	2 .04	5 .11	29 .62	
11 .23	17 .36	7 .15		11 .23	9 .19	5 .11	18 .38	15 .32	0 .00	2 .04	2 .04	
26 .55	35 .74	7 .15	36 .77		18 .38	32 .68	44 .94	35 .74	2 .04	1 .02	17 .36	
31 .66	47 1.00	18 .38	38 .81	29 .62		38 .81	41 .87	33 .70	7 .15	5 .11	20 .43	
27 .57	33 .70	5 .11	42 .89	15 .32	9 .19		42 .89	32 .68	2 .04	0 .00	19 .40	
10 .21	14 .30	1 .02	29 .62	3 .06	6 .13	5 .11		17 .36	1 .02	0 .00	6 .13	
17 .36	21 .45	7 .15	32 .68	12 .26	14 .30	15 .32	30 .64		1 .02	4 .09	8 .17	
44 .94	47 1.00	45 .96	47 1.00	45 .96	40 .85	45 .96	46 .98	46 .98		37 .79	41 .87	
42 .89	47 1.00	42 .89	45 .96	46 .98	42 .89	47 1.00	47 1.00	43 .91	10 .21		34 .72	
33 .70	37 .79	18 .38	45 .96	30 .64	27 .57	28 .60	41 .87	39 .83	6 .13	13 .28		
526	685	332	710	502	413	544	728	623	64	134	373	

denting activity
ted as more
number is the

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Table B2
PROPORTION OF TIMES JUDGED MORE SERIOUS, AND DERIVED SCORE

		Activity Number										
		15	11	9	1	16	14	8	12	4	13	7
Activity Number	15		.62 .306	.30 -.524	.23 -.739	.36 -.358	.11 -1.226	.21 -.806	.06 -1.555	.06 -1.555	.13 -1.126	.09 -.112
	11	.38 .306		.36 -.358	.30 -.524	.32 -.468	.11 -1.226	.23 -.739	.23 -.739	.15 -1.036	.19 -.878	.17 -.912
	9	.70 .524	.64 .358		.47 -.075	.55 .126	.30 -.524	.17 -.954	.26 -.643	.06 -1.555	.00 -3.290	.00 -3.290
	1	.77 .739	.70 .524	.53 .075		.51 .025	.36 -.358	.36 -3.58	.28 -.583	.11 -1.226	.13 -1.126	.17 -.912
	16	.64 .358	.68 .468	.45 -.126	.49 -.025		.32 -.468	.36 -.358	.26 -.643	.19 -.878	.30 -.524	.28 -.583
	14	.89 1.226	.89 1.226	.70 .524	.64 .358	.68 .468		.57 .176	.32 -.468	.36 -.358	.19 -.878	.11 -.112
	8	.79 .806	.77 .739	.83 .954	.64 .358	.64 .358	.43 -.176		.45 -.126	.28 -.583	.34 -.412	.26 -.643
	12	.94 1.555	.77 .739	.74 .643	.72 .583	.74 .643	.68 .468	.55 .126		.40 -.253	.38 -.306	.17 -.912
	4	.94 1.555	.85 1.036	.94 1.555	.89 1.226	.81 .878	.64 .358	.72 .583	.60 .253		.47 -.075	.34 -.412
	13	.87 1.126	.81 .878	1.00 3.290	.87 1.126	.70 .524	.81 .878	.66 .412	.62 .306	.53 .075		.47 -.075
	7	.91 1.341	.83 .954	1.00 3.290	.83 .954	.72 .583	.89 1.226	.74 .643	.83 .954	.66 .412	.53 .075	
	19	.87 1.126	.96 1.751	.79 .806	.70 .524	.83 .954	.60 .253	.70 .524	.64 .358	.55 .126	.57 .176	.55 .126
	10	.98 2.054	.85 1.036	.98 2.054	.96 1.751	.85 1.036	.89 1.226	.70 .524	.85 1.036	.72 .583	.62 .306	.57 .176
	5	.94 1.555	.91 1.341	1.00 3.290	.89 1.226	.85 1.036	.81 .878	.72 .583	.79 .806	.70 .524	.66 .412	.72 .583
	3	.96 1.751	.94 1.555	.96 1.751	.96 1.751	.91 1.341	.77 .739	.81 .878	.74 .643	.81 .878	.74 .643	.53 .075
6	.96 1.751	.96 1.751	1.00 3.290	1.00 3.290	.91 1.341	.94 1.555	.87 1.126	.87 1.126	.77 .739	.79 .806	.83 .954	
18	1.00 3.290	.96 1.751	1.00 3.290	1.00 3.290	.91 1.341	1.00 3.290	.89 1.226	.98 2.054	.91 1.341	.89 1.226	.94 1.555	
2	.98 2.054	.98 2.054	1.00 3.290	.96 1.751	.96 1.751	.98 2.054	.96 1.751	.96 1.751	.94 1.555	1.00 3.290	.96 1.751	
17	.98 2.054	1.00 3.290	1.00 3.290	.96 1.751	.98 2.054	.96 1.751	.94 1.555	.96 1.751	.94 1.555	.85 1.036	.96 1.751	
	24.559	21.757	30.384	18.576	13.633	10.698	6.892	6.281	.344	-.645	-3.461	
M_z	1.292	1.145	1.599	.978	.718	.563	.363	.330	.018	-.034	-.182	
$M_z \sqrt{2}$	1.82	1.61	2.25	1.38	1.01	.79	.51	.47	.03	-.05	-.26	
$M_z \sqrt{2+2.25}$	4.07	3.86	4.50	3.63	3.26	3.04	2.76	2.72	2.28	2.20	1.96	

*In each cell, the top number is the proportion of times that the dissenting activity represented in which the cell is located was selected as more serious than the activity for the corresponding bottom number is the standard score value for that proportion.



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Table B2

MORE SERIOUS, AND DERIVED SCALE VALUES FOR DISSENTING ACTIVITIES*

Activity Number																											
	8	12	4	13	7	19	10	5	3	6	18	2	17														
806	.06	-1.555	.06	-1.126	.13	-1.341	.09	-1.126	.02	-2.054	.06	-1.555	.04	-1.751	.04	-1.751	.00	-3.290	.02	-2.054	.02	-2.054					
739	.23	-.739	.15	-1.036	.19	-.878	.17	-.954	.04	-1.751	.15	-1.036	.09	-1.341	.06	-1.555	.04	-1.751	.04	-1.751	.04	-1.751	.02	-2.054	.00	-3.290	
954	.26	-.643	.06	-1.555	.00	-3.290	.00	-3.290	.21	-.806	.02	-2.054	.00	-3.290	.04	-1.751	.00	-3.290	.00	-3.290	.00	-3.290	.00	-3.290	.00	-3.290	
58	.28	-.583	.11	-1.226	.13	-1.126	.17	-.954	.30	-.524	.04	-1.751	.11	-1.226	.04	-1.751	.00	-3.290	.00	-3.290	.04	-1.751	.04	-1.751	.04	-1.751	
358	.26	-.643	.19	-.878	.30	-.524	.28	-.583	.17	-.954	.15	-1.036	.15	-1.036	.09	-1.341	.09	-1.341	.09	-1.341	.04	-1.751	.02	-2.054	.02	-2.054	
176	.32	-.468	.36	-.358	.19	-.878	.11	-1.226	.40	-.253	.11	-1.226	.19	-.878	.23	-.739	.06	-1.555	.00	-3.290	.02	-2.054	.04	-1.751	.04	-1.751	
	.45	-.126	.28	-.583	.34	-.412	.26	-.643	.30	-.524	.30	-.524	.28	-.583	.19	-.878	.13	-1.126	.11	-1.226	.04	-1.751	.06	-1.555	.06	-1.555	
126			.40	-.253	.38	-.306	.17	-.954	.36	-.358	.15	-1.036	.21	-.806	.26	-.643	.13	-1.126	.02	-2.054	.04	-1.751	.04	-1.751	.04	-1.751	
583	.60	.253			.47	-.075	.34	-.412	.45	-.126	.28	-.583	.30	-.524	.23	-.739	.19	-.878	.09	-1.341	.06	-1.555	.06	-1.555	.06	-1.555	
412	.62	.306	.53	.075			.47	-.075	.43	-.176	.38	-.306	.34	-.412	.26	-.643	.21	-.806	.11	-1.226	.00	-3.290	.15	-1.036	.15	-1.036	
643	.83	.954	.66	.412	.53	.075			.45	-.126	.43	-.176	.28	-.583	.47	-.075	.17	-.954	.06	-1.555	.04	-1.751	.04	-1.751	.04	-1.751	
524	.64	.358	.55	.126	.57	.176			.55	.126			.38	-.306	.55	.126	.34	-.412	.34	-.412	.28	-.583	.28	-.583	.13	-1.126	
524	.85	1.036	.72	.583	.62	.306			.57	.176	.62	.306			.40	-.253	.43	-.176	.28	-.583	.11	-1.226	.09	-1.341	.04	-1.751	
583	.79	.806	.70	.524	.66	.412	.72	.583	.45	-.126	.60	.253			.32	-.468	.38	-.306	.11	-1.226	.09	-1.341	.09	-1.341	.06	-1.555	
878	.74	.643	.81	.878	.74	.643	.53	.075	.66	.412	.57	.176	.68	.468			.49	-.025	.23	-.739	.26	-.643	.09	-1.341	.09	-1.341	
126	.87	1.126	.77	.739	.79	.806	.83	.954	.66	.412	.72	.583	.62	.306	.51	.025			.21	-.806	.06	-1.555	.11	-1.226	.11	-1.226	
226	.98	2.054	.91	1.341	.89	1.226	.94	1.555	.72	.583	.87	1.226	.89	1.226	.77	.739	.79	.806			.38	-.306	.21	-.806	.21	-.806	
751	.96	1.751	.94	1.555	1.00	3.290	.96	1.751	.72	.583	.91	1.341	.91	1.341	.74	.643	.94	1.555	.62	.306			.23	-.739	.23	-.739	
555	.96	1.751	.94	1.555	.85	1.036	.96	1.751	.87	1.126	.96	1.751	.94	1.555	.91	1.341	.89	1.226	.79	.806	.77	.739			.77	.739	
892	6.281		.344	-.645	-.645	-3.461	-3.461	-3.428	-6.758	-7.465	-10.313	-15.468	-27.122	-28.082	-30.382												
363	.330	.018	-.034	-.182	-.180	-.356	-.393	-.543	-.814	-1.427	-1.478	-1.599															
51	.47	.03	-.05	-.25	-.25	-.50	-.55	-.77	-1.15	-2.01	-2.08	-2.25															
76	2.72	2.28	2.20	1.99	2.00	1.75	1.70	1.48	1.10	.24	.17	.00															

*Times that the dissenting activity represented by the column is more serious than the activity for the corresponding row. The proportion.

B

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The scaling instrument used to secure the paired comparison judgments is shown in Annex 1 to Appendix B.

Administration of Instrument

The instrument was administered to 47 retired or active-duty officers representing a variety of branches of Army service. The officers ranged in grade from captain through major general. The instructions were as shown in Annex 1. There was no time limit on the completion of the scale; most completed it in less than an hour.

Development of Dissent Scale

Table B1 summarizes the paired-comparison results. In each cell is shown the number and proportion of times that each activity was judged more serious. For example, Activity #9, "Organized or recruited for dissident activities," was judged more serious than Activity #1, "Participated as a member of a group in a strike on post," 25 out of 47 times, or 53 percent of the time. Another example: Activity #3, "Held membership in a serviceman's union," was judged more serious than Activity #13, "Distributed dissident or subversive literature," 12 out of 47 times, or 26 percent of the time. When the columns of numbers of times each activity was judged more serious are summed, they give a general indication of the rank order of the various activities with respect to the seriousness of the activity. For example, and again referring to Table B1, #15, "Refusal to obey orders," was judged more serious a total of 728 times. Activity #6, "Signed a petition," was judged more serious 245 times. The sums at the bottom of Table B1 describe the general order of activities for the further analysis summarized in Table B2.

In Table B2, activities have been arranged in order of the frequency with which they are judged more serious. Now, on the assumption

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that these activities form the full range of dissenting activities, and that the responses are normally distributed, the proportion of times that they appear can be imposed on the normal distribution curve. This is done by assigning a z value to each of the proportions, the value being the standard score for that proportion of the area under the curve. For example, Activity #8 was judged more serious than Activity #15, 21 percent of the time. Conversely, Activity #15 was judged more serious than Activity #8, 79 percent of the time. The z score applicable to these proportions is .806; it is positive for the higher proportion, negative for the smaller. Using the arithmetic sum of the z score values, one can now develop the "true" order among the activities.

In Table B2 is shown the mean z score for each column (activity). On the assumption that there is an equal dispersion among activities, we may multiply each of the mean values by the square root of 2, or 1.41. The resultant value is the position of that activity on the normal curve. It is seen that these values, then, range in magnitude from 2.25 for Activity #9 to a -2.25 for Activity #17. To make these numbers more usable, the negatives are eliminated by adding 2.25 to each value. The bottom line on Table B2 now represents the absolute scale value for each dissenting activity, ranging from 4.50 to 0. These activities, as reordered, with the scale value appropriate to each, are shown in Table B3.*

COMPONENTS OF EACH ACTIVITY

As noted in the main body of the report, the motives for dissent appear to fall into three non-exclusive categories: systemic, humanistic, and political dissent. These terms are defined as follows:

* These 19 activities are not regarded as a firm and unalterable list. It is recognized that some may be combined and that the list may change somewhat as the study progresses.

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Table B3

DISSIDENT ACTIVITIES ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SCALE VALUE

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Scale Value</u>
Organized dissident activities	4.5
Refused orders	4.1
Deserted	3.9
Participated in strike on post	3.6
Member Communist-affiliated organization	3.3
Demonstrated in uniform	3.0
Sought sanctuary	2.8
Demonstrated against Army conditions	2.7
Prepared material for publication	2.3
Distributed dissident literature	2.2
Qualified loyalty oath	2.0
Demonstrated against Government policies	2.0
Demonstrated against war in Vietnam	1.8
Member protest group	1.7
Member American Servicemen's Union (ASU)	1.5
Signed petition	1.1
Frequented coffee house	.2
Possessed dissident literature	.2
Applied for Conscientious Objector status	0

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Systemic dissent. Activities concerned with the nature of Army regulations and procedures, and the administration of the Army as an institution.

Humanistic dissent. Activities concerned with the treatment of an individual within the Army system in the accomplishment of the Army mission.

Political dissent. Activities concerned with government policies and the mission(s) of the Army.

The authors made summary estimates* of the motivational composition of each dissenting activity, and the total scale value was apportioned among the three components. This results in three separate motivational subscales for dissidence (Table B4).

SUMMARY

This appendix has shown how the technique of paired comparisons can be applied to the scaling of dissident activities. The scales developed should be regarded as tentative pending refinement, using a more diverse, and larger sample of judges.

* This is mostly an illustration of methodology; the estimates will be refined with a sample of appropriate size during later stages of the study.

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Table B4

MOTIVATIONAL COMPONENTS OF DISSIDENT ACTIVITIES
AND THEIR PROPORTIONATE SCALE VALUES

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Scale Value</u>	<u>Motivation Component*</u>			<u>Motivational Scale Values</u>		
		<u>S</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>P</u>
Organized dissident activities	4.5	.2	.2	.6	.9	.9	2.7
Refused orders	4.1	.4	.3	.3	-	-	-
Deserted	3.9	.5	.3	.2	2.0	1.2	.7
Participated in strike on post	3.6	.6	.3	.1	2.1	1.1	.4
Member Communist-affiliated organization	3.3	-	.2	.8	-	.7	2.6
Demonstrated in uniform	3.0	.1	.2	.7	.3	.6	2.1
Sought sanctuary	2.8	.1	.6	.3	.3	1.7	.8
Demonstrated against Army conditions	2.7	.8	.1	.1	2.1	.3	.3
Prepared material for publication	2.3	.4	.2	.4	.9	.5	.9
Distributed dissident literature	2.2	.3	.2	.5	.7	.4	1.1
Qualified loyalty oath	2.0	-	.4	.6	-	.8	1.2
Demonstrated against Government policies	2.0	-	.1	.9	-	.2	1.8
Demonstrated against war in Vietnam	1.8	-	.4	.6	-	.7	1.1
Member protest group	1.7	.1	.8	.1	.2	1.3	.2

* S = Systemic
H = Humanistic
P = Political

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Table B4 (continued)

<u>Activity</u>	<u>Scale Value</u>	<u>Motivation Component*</u>			<u>Motivational Scale Values</u>		
		<u>S</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>P</u>
Membership American Servicemen's Union (ASU)	1.5	.5	.2	.3	.8	.3	.4
Signed petition	1.1	.4	.3	.3	.8	.3	.4
Frequented coffee house	.2	.4	.3	.3	.5	.3	.3
Possessed dissident literature	.2	.4	.3	.3	.1	.05	.05
Applied for Conscientious Objector status	0	.1	.8	.1	-	-	-

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Annex 1 to Appendix B

PAIRED COMPARISON SCALING INSTRUMENT

Research Analysis Corporation
20 January 1970

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SCALING OF DISSENTING ACTIVITIES

Current manifestations of dissent in the Army, although not at a level that would seriously endanger the accomplishment of the Army missions, nevertheless are causing sufficient concern that a study is being undertaken to determine the potential for dissidence in the Army. We are considering dissenting activities to include a wide range of protest — from an extension of normal "griping," to racial protest, to willful disobedience, to desertion.

The Research Analysis Corporation (RAC) has been authorized to conduct this study. The progress of the RAC study would be assisted materially if you could serve as one of a test group to complete the attached questionnaire. On the first sheet are listed 19 types of activities that have been considered dissenting to some degree, however slight. Please read the list of dissenting activities over carefully before beginning.

On the remaining pages, these 19 items are arranged in pairs, identified by their number in the list and key words as underlined in the list. No pair of items appears more than once. For each pair, please circle the item that you feel represents the more serious dissenting activity. To assist in the analysis of the questionnaire, a choice must be made in each case — no ties are allowed.

For example, if we consider item 62, you would probably feel that "organized dissident activities" represents a more serious form of dissent than "possessed literature," so that your entry would appear as below.

62. 2 - Possessed literature (9) - Organized dissident activities

Please try to make your choice quickly without worrying about possible internal inconsistencies. These will take care of themselves in the analysis of group results.

Finally, it is requested that you note at the end of the questionnaire whether you are currently in the Army, retired military, or a civilian.

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POTENTIALLY DISSENTING ACTIVITIES

1. Participated as member of a group in a strike on post (e.g., organized sick-call, hunger strike, sit-down strike, etc.).
2. Possessed dissident or subversive literature (e.g., underground newspaper, Communist propaganda, etc.).
3. Held membership in a servicemen's union.
4. Prepared material for a dissenting publication (e.g., wrote for underground newspaper, or wrote dissenting letters to public figures or news media).
5. Held membership in organization that is primarily a protest group, including racial bias groups (e.g., membership in GI's United Against the War in Vietnam, or in the Black Power Party; and including actions such as black power salute during playing of the National Anthem).
6. Signed a petition of a dissenting nature (e.g., a petition to post commander for right to distribute underground newspaper on post).
7. Participated as a member of a group in a protest or demonstration against government policies in general (e.g., against the draft).
8. Sought public sanctuary to dramatize dissent.
9. Organized or recruited for dissident activities (e.g., counseling on desertion, participating in operation of a coffee house, serving as editor of a dissenting publication, or speaking in public at demonstrations).
10. Participated as a member of a group in a protest or demonstration against the war in Vietnam.
11. Deserted (including AWOL with the aim of deserting).
12. Participated as a member of a group in a protest or demonstration against conditions or regulations in the Army (e.g., adequacy of messing, necessity to salute, stockade conditions, etc.).
13. Distributed dissident or subversive literature.
14. Participated in off-post demonstration in uniform.
15. Refused to obey orders (primarily refusal to train, refusal to wear uniform, or refusal to serve overseas).
16. Held membership in a Communist-affiliated organization.
17. Applied for conscientious objector status.

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(continued)

18. Frequented a coffee house (includes attendance at meetings of a dissident nature).
19. Qualified loyalty oath or personal history statement (includes refusal to take oath of allegiance, failure to respect flag, etc.).

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Circle the item in each pair that you feel represents the more serious dissenting activity. You must make a choice. No ties allowed.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. 3 - Membership union | 14 - Demonstration in uniform |
| 2. 6 - Signed petition | 11 - Deserted |
| 3. 5 - Membership protest group | 12 - Demonstration against Army |
| 4. 16 - Membership Communist-affiliated | 10 - Demonstration against Vietnam |
| 5. 11 - Deserted | 5 - Membership protest group |
| ----- | |
| 6. 10 - Demonstration against Vietnam | 19 - Qualified loyalty oath |
| 7. 17 - Conscientious objector | 9 - Organized dissident activities |
| 8. 18 - Frequented coffee house | 6 - Signed petition |
| 9. 15 - Refused orders | 11 - Deserted |
| 10. 3 - Membership union | 1 - Strike on post |
| ----- | |
| 11. 15 - Refused orders | 5 - Membership protest group |
| 12. 7 - Demonstration against policies | 14 - Demonstration in uniform |
| 13. 19 - Qualified loyalty oath | 1 - Strike on post |
| 14. 8 - Sought sanctuary | 9 - Organized dissident activities |
| 15. 12 - Demonstration against Army | 4 - Material for publication |
| ----- | |
| 16. 11 - Deserted | 18 - Frequented coffee house |
| 17. 9 - Organized dissident activities | 14 - Demonstration in uniform |
| 18. 7 - Demonstration against policies | 12 - Demonstration against Army |
| 19. 6 - Membership Communist-affiliated | 4 - Material for publication |
| 20. 9 - Organized dissident activities | 12 - Demonstration against Army |
| ----- | |
| 21. 1 - Strike on post | 12 - Demonstration against Army |
| 22. 10 - Demonstration against Vietnam | 15 - Refused orders |
| 23. 2 - Possessed literature | 7 - Demonstration against policies |
| 24. 10 - Demonstration against Vietnam | 8 - Sought sanctuary |

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25. 16 - Membership Communist-affiliated	19 - Qualified loyalty oath
26. 12 - Demonstration against Army	8 - Sought sanctuary
27. 19 - Qualified loyalty oath	13 - Distributed literature
28. 1 - Strike on post	4 - Material for publication
29. 16 - Membership Communist-affiliated	17 - Conscientious objector
30. 16 - Membership Communist-affiliated	14 - Demonstration in uniform

31. 7 - Demonstration against policies	8 - Sought sanctuary
32. 11 - Deserted	3 - Membership union
33. 19 - Qualified loyalty oath	11 - Deserted
34. 17 - Conscientious objector	15 - Refused orders
35. 14 - Demonstration in uniform	2 - Possessed literature

36. 19 - Qualified loyalty oath	7 - Demonstration against policies
37. 10 - Demonstration against Vietnam	13 - Distributed literature
38. 15 - Refused orders	3 - Membership union
39. 1 - Strike on post	10 - Demonstration against Vietnam
40. 14 - Demonstration in uniform	10 - Demonstration against Vietnam

41. 17 - Conscientious objector	3 - Membership union
42. 5 - Membership protest group	6 - Signed petition
43. 7 - Demonstration against policies	16 - Membership Communist-affiliated
44. 1 - Strike on post	6 - Signed petition
45. 19 - Qualified loyalty oath	17 - Conscientious objector

46. 10 - Demonstration against Vietnam	17 - Conscientious objector
47. 18 - Frequented coffee house	8 - Sought sanctuary
48. 10 - Demonstration against Vietnam	2 - Possessed literature
49. 6 - Signed petition	19 - Qualified loyalty oath
50. 19 - Qualified loyalty oath	3 - Membership union

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51. 14 - Demonstration in uniform	12 - Demonstration against Army
52. 4 - Material for publication	13 - Distributed literature
53. 8 - Sought sanctuary	6 - Signed petition
54. 12 - Demonstration against Army	13 - Distributed literature
55. 14 - Demonstration in uniform	19 - Qualified loyalty oath

56. 5 - Membership protest group	18 - Frequented coffee house
57. 14 - Demonstration in uniform	8 - Sought sanctuary
58. 11 - Deserted	14 - Demonstration in uniform
59. 18 - Frequented coffee house	2 - Possessed literature
60. 3 - Membership union	6 - Signed petition

61. 12 - Demonstration against Army	6 - Signed petition
62. 2 - Possessed literature	9 - Organized dissident activities
63. 12 - Demonstrated against Army	15 - Refused orders
64. 18 - Frequented coffee house	16 - Membership Communist-affiliated
65. 17 - Conscientious objector	1 - Strike on post

66. 6 - Signed petition	4 - Material for publication
67. 1 - Strike on post	8 - Sought sanctuary
68. 5 - Membership protest group	16 - Membership Communist-affiliated
69. 7 - Demonstration against policies	3 - Membership union
70. 1 - Strike on post	16 - Membership Communist-affiliated

71. 9 - Organized dissident activities	5 - Membership protest group
72. 6 - Signed petition	2 - Possessed literature
73. 18 - Frequented coffee house	4 - Material for publication
74. 16 - Membership Communist-affiliated	6 - Signed petition
75. 1 - Strike on post	18 - Frequented coffee house

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76. 7 - Demonstration against policies	10 - Demonstration against Vietnam
77. 4 - Material for publication	11 - Deserted
78. 14 - Demonstration in uniform	6 - Signed petition
79. 17 - Conscientious objector	7 - Demonstration against policies
80. 4 - Material for publication	2 - Possessed literature

81. 13 - Distributed literature	7 - Demonstration against policies
82. 6 - Signed petition	7 - Demonstration against policies
83. 5 - Membership protest group	8 - Sought sanctuary
84. 19 - Qualified loyalty oath	9 - Organized dissident activities
85. 2 - Possessed literature	3 - Membership union

86. 14 - Demonstration in uniform	15 - Refused orders
87. 2 - Possessed literature	15 - Refused orders
88. 19 - Qualified loyalty oath	15 - Refused orders
89. 10 - Demonstration against Vietnam	11 - Deserted
90. 11 - Deserted	9 - Organized dissident activities

91. 13 - Distributed literature	14 - Demonstration in uniform
92. 5 - Membership protest group	14 - Demonstration in uniform
93. 4 - Material for publication	7 - Demonstration against policies
94. 19 - Qualified loyalty oath	5 - Membership protest group
95. 2 - Possessed literature	13 - Distributed literature

96. 3 - Membership union	18 - Frequented coffee house
97. 11 - Deserted	7 - Demonstration against policies
98. 15 - Refused orders	18 - Frequented coffee house
99. 9 - Organized dissident activities	10 - Demonstration against Vietnam
100. 8 - Sought sanctuary	4 - Material for publication

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101. 12 - Demonstration against Army	10 - Demonstration against Vietnam
102. 13 - Distributed literature	3 - Membership union
103. 15 - Refused orders	1 - Strike on post
104. 2 - Possessed literature	17 - Conscientious objector
105. 9 - Organized dissident activities	16 - Membership Communist-affiliated

106. 6 - Signed petition	17 - Conscientious objector
107. 15 - Refused orders	16 - Membership Communist-affiliated
108. 11 - Deserted	1 - Strike on post
109. 6 - Signed petition	9 - Organized dissident activities
110. 3 - Membership union	10 - Demonstration against Vietnam

111. 9 - Organized dissident activities	7 - Demonstration against policies
112. 8 - Sought sanctuary	13 - Distributed literature
113. 4 - Material for publication	15 - Refused orders
114. 1 - Strike on post	14 - Demonstration in uniform
115. 13 - Distributed literature	11 - Deserted

116. 15 - Refused orders	13 - Distributed literature
117. 16 - Membership Communist-affiliated	8 - Sought sanctuary
118. 4 - Material for publication	5 - Membership protest group
119. 17 - Conscientious objector	18 - Frequented coffee house
120. 2 - Possessed literature	5 - Membership protest group

121. 10 - Demonstration against Vietnam	4 - Material for publication
122. 13 - Distributed literature	1 - Strike on post
123. 8 - Sought sanctuary	17 - Conscientious objector
124. 5 - Membership protest group	3 - Membership union
125. 7 - Demonstration against policies	18 - Frequented coffee house

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126. 4 - Material for publication	17 - Conscientious objector
127. 1 - Strike on post	2 - Possessed literature
128. 15 - Refused orders	7 - Demonstration against policies
129. 2 - Possessed literature	11 - Deserted
130. 11 - Deserted	12 - Demonstration against Army

131. 14 - Demonstration in uniform	4 - Material for publication
132. 18 - Frequented coffee house	19 - Qualified loyalty oath
133. 8 - Sought sanctuary	2 - Possessed literature
134. 13 - Distributed literature	9 - Organized dissident activities
135. 18 - Frequented coffee house	10 - Demonstration against Vietnam

136. 9 - Organized dissident activities	1 - Strike on post
137. 3 - Membership union	16 - Membership Communist-affiliated
138. 13 - Distributed literature	18 - Frequented coffee house
139. 16 - Membership Communist-affiliated	12 - Demonstration against Army
140. 4 - Material for publication	19 - Qualified loyalty oath

141. 17 - Conscientious objector	11 - Deserted
142. 15 - Refused orders	9 - Organized dissident activities
143. 17 - Conscientious objector	13 - Distributed literature
144. 18 - Frequented coffee house	14 - Demonstration in uniform
145. 8 - Sought sanctuary	15 - Refused orders

146. 3 - Membership union	4 - Material for publication
147. 17 - Conscientious objector	5 - Membership protest group
148. 8 - Sought sanctuary	11 - Deserted
149. 12 - Demonstration against Army	17 - Conscientious objector
150. 6 - Signed petition	13 - Distributed literature

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- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 151. 3 - Membership union | 12 - Demonstration against Army |
| 152. 4 - Material for publication | 9 - Organized dissident activities |
| 153. 7 - Demonstration against policies | 1 - Strike on post |
| 154. 11 - Deserted | 16 - Membership Communist-affiliated |
| 155. 13 - Distributed literature | 5 - Membership protest group |
| ----- | |
| 156. 8 - Sought sanctuary | 19 - Qualified loyalty oath |
| 157. 7 - Demonstration against policies | 5 - Membership protest group |
| 158. 16 - Membership Communist-affiliated | 2 - Possessed literature |
| 159. 9 - Organized dissident activities | 3 - Membership union |
| 160. 18 - Frequented coffee house | 12 - Demonstration against Army |
| ----- | |
| 161. 10 - Demonstration against Vietnam | 6 - Signed petition |
| 162. 13 - Distributed literature | 16 - Membership Communist-affiliated |
| 163. 3 - Membership union | 8 - Sought sanctuary |
| 164. 5 - Membership protest group | 10 - Demonstration against Vietnam |
| 165. 14 - Demonstration in uniform | 17 - Conscientious objector |
| ----- | |
| 166. 12 - Demonstration against Army | 19 - Qualified loyalty oath |
| 167. 2 - Possessed literature | 19 - Qualified loyalty oath |
| 168. 9 - Organized dissident activities | 18 - Frequented coffee house |
| 169. 6 - Signed petition | 15 - Refused orders |
| 170. 12 - Demonstration against Army | 2 - Possessed literature |
| 171. 5 - Membership protest group | 1 - Strike on post |

Army _____ Retired military _____ Civilian _____

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