

Draft

MEMORANDUM

To: Richard Nixon
From: Martin Anderson
Re: An Outline of the Factors Involved in
Establishing an All-Volunteer Armed Force

"The compulsory draft is far more typical of totalitarian nations than of democratic nations. The theory behind it leads directly to totalitarianism. It is absolutely opposed to the principles of individual liberty which have always been considered a part of American democracy."

Senator Robert A. Taft, 1940

Drafting the youth of our country constitutes two years of involuntary servitude to the State. It is inimicable to the basic principles of freedom that are the moral foundations of our Republic. It has been tolerated reluctantly only because it has been thought to be absolutely necessary to preserve and protect the national security of the United States.

Recent studies of new information by reliable experts now show that it is within our grasp to eliminate this last vestige of involuntary servitude without weakening the security of our country in the slightest; to the contrary, we would actually strengthen our security.

The key to this bold, progressive step forward in the cause of freedom lies in the ultimate establishment of a modern, highly-trained armed force of competent professionals, staffed completely by volunteers.

[A] ADVANTAGES OF ALL-VOLUNTEER ARMED FORCE

(1) Moral

- (a) Two years of involuntary servitude to the State, even for military service, is an abrogation of men's rights and establishes the principle that man's life is at the disposal of the State.
- (b) The elimination of the draft would eliminate the contradiction inherent in defending individual rights and reluctantly supporting the draft.

(2) National Security

- (a) The establishment of an all-volunteer armed force would strengthen the military security of the U.S.
- (b) A highly trained, motivated team of professionals, skilled in the technical aspects of modern warfare is -- man for man -- a far more effective defense force.

- (c) Drafted men resent being conscripted, they often do just enough to "get by". Their resulting inexperience lowers the effectiveness of our military forces. In battle it may even constitute a threat to the safety of career soldiers.
- (d) Fully 93 percent of draftees leave the military as soon as possible; their expensive training is largely wasted. A much higher percentage of volunteers will make the military a career, and utilize their valuable skills in the defense of the country.

(3) Economic

- (a) Contrary to the general impression created by the Department of Defense and the media, the annual monetary cost of moving forward to an all-volunteer armed force (including a truly ready volunteer reserve) is in the range of \$5 to \$7 billion. This is three to four percent of the current level of annual expenditures of the federal government.
 - (1) The higher reenlistment rate characteristic of a volunteer armed force means that far fewer men are needed annually. This would result in lower training costs and a reduction of the number of men required for training purposes.
 - (2) To achieve an all-volunteer military, pay and allowances would have to be increased about 68 percent for enlisted men during their first tour of duty. To maintain balance the pay and allowances of current career men should be increased about 17 percent.
- (b) During his first tour of duty an enlisted man earns an annual income equivalent to \$2,400. This is far below the so-called poverty level, far less than that guaranteed to civilians by minimum wage laws.
 - (1) If policement, FBI agents, or CIA personnel were paid similar wages, it would be "necessary" to draft them also. It is only fair that men in the military be paid reasonable wages.

(c) It has been estimated that enlisted men could earn at least \$3,600 a year in civilian jobs. Thus, they pay a hidden tax of \$1,200 a year -- twice that paid by the average taxpayer.

(d) More effective recruitment techniques and more effective utilization of manpower under the stimulus of an all-volunteer force would result in significant cost savings.

(1) The existence of the draft tends to create a dependence on its use, and leads to a slackening of recruitment efforts.

(2) Today we only spend \$1 on manpower research in the military for every \$300,000 spent on weapons related research.

(3) More realistic mental and physical recruitment standards would further reduce costs. Men could be classified according to their mental and physical abilities and assigned to appropriate jobs

(4) Political

(a) Clearly explained and understood, it is likely that most Americans would support an all-volunteer armed force.

(1) The attainment of both increased military protection and increased personal freedom should gain support from Republicans, Independents and Democrats, from Conservatives and Liberals.

(2) 1,700,000 career military men and their families would enjoy increased pay, prestige and dignity.

(3) Upwards of 20,000,000 young men and their families and friends would have the uncertainty associated with the draft removed. They would be able to plan their futures -- civilian or military -- and make their own choices.

(5) Social

- (a) With an all-volunteer armed force no income group, no racial group, no educational group, would bear an unjust proportion of coercion; no coercion would exist.
- (b) A well-paid career in the armed forces would be viewed as an attractive opportunity. It would provide well-paying, important work that many young people would be proud to have.

[B] OBJECTIONS TO AN ALL-VOLUNTEER ARMED FORCE

(1) The National Security Would be Threatened

- (a) The opposite is true -- an experienced all-volunteer armed force is a far more effective defense team than a partially drafted one. Today, 43 percent of our Army is composed of men with less than one year's experience.

(2) Not Enough Men Will Volunteer

- (a) During the transition to an all-volunteer armed force the draft would be maintained until the increases in pay, and other changes, had increased the level of volunteers to the point where the draft is unnecessary. There is no risk involved.
- (b) Stand-by draft provisions, for use in extreme emergencies, would be developed and maintained.

(3) We Can't Do It While the Vietnam War Continues and the Federal Government Incurs a \$30 billion Deficit

- (a) In view of the intensity of the pressures of Vietnam on our whole military establishment, and the dangerous \$30 billion deficit the Johnson Administration will incur in fiscal 1968, the implementation of an all-volunteer armed force should be postponed until the major fighting stops in Vietnam and the economy is sound.

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- (4) A Volunteer Force Lacks Flexibility for Quick Response
- (a) A volunteer career armed force would be backed up by a large volunteer ready reserve, composed of well-trained, experienced men, committed to fight on short notice.
 - (b) Draftees take months to induct, and more months to train. A volunteer ready reserve would be far more flexible, and more effective, than hastily trained teen-agers.
- (5) It Would Cost Too Much
- (a) The costs are not prohibitive. Clearly \$5 to \$7 billion a year is within our economic reach. Moreover, significant savings would result from lower turnover of military personnel and lower training costs.
- (6) There is Increased Danger of a Military "Take-over"
- (a) Any possibility of a military take-over would initiate in the top ranks of the officer corps. Today's officer corps are composed solely of volunteers, and the transition to an all-volunteer armed force would affect only the lower ranks of the enlisted men.
- (7) We Should Not be Defended by "Mercenaries"
- (a) A career military man is not a mercenary. A mercenary is a man who fights for anyone -- regardless of nationality or ideology or moral conviction -- for money.
- (8) Everyone Has a Duty to Serve
- (a) No one has any obligation to serve the State involuntarily, even in the military.
 - (b) Even if we maintain the draft, less than half of our men will ever be likely to serve in the military.

(9) You Couldn't Get Men Qualified in Special Skills

- (a) This is a technical manpower problem that has been solved admirably by our Navy, our Air Force, our Marines, and our officer corps in all branches of the armed services, who rely almost exclusively on volunteers. The appropriate adjustments in pay and other incentives could be made for jobs that are relatively difficult to fill.

(10) We Would be Defended by an All-Negro Armed Force

- (a) Any reluctance to be defended by Negroes per se is overt racism.
- (b) An all-Negro armed force is physically impossible. Even in the highly unlikely event that all qualified Negroes volunteered, the majority of the armed forces would still be white.
- (c) It is possible that a relatively higher percentage of Negroes would enlist voluntarily, but they would only do so if they found it to their advantage.

(11) In Time of Extreme Danger Men Would Not Volunteer, Regardless of Pay

- (a) If there was a serious threat to the security of the U.S., men would certainly be motivated to fight to defend their lives, their families and their property. In all likelihood there would be more volunteers than could be effectively assimilated into an effective fighting force.

[C] SUMMARY

Because it is moral and fair, because it increases our national security, and because it is economically feasible, we should give high priority to the goal of establishing an all-volunteer armed force with fair, decent wages that will offer the young men of our country the opportunity to participate in its defense with dignity, with honor and as free men.