

special
issue

new left notes

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ON THE
DRAFT

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PRAXIS MAKES PERFECT

by Carl Davidson

At this point it seems clear that the war in Vietnam will continue to escalate, expanding throughout Southeast Asia, and lead to a major confrontation with China. At the same time, we should recognize the importance of the fact that the U. S. military has already become directly involved in the suppression of guerilla movements in Latin America. The Air Force has napalmed villages in Peru, the Special Forces are building "strategic hamlets" in Northeast Brazil, and there are 1,000 Green Berets in Guatemala. The Vietnams of the future are well underway.

How do we stop it? I think we all know only too well that there is no single answer to that overwhelming question. Should we continue demonstrations and teach-ins? Organize the poor? Fight for student power? Organize within the working class? Resist the draft? Run radical candidates in the elections? Turn the hippies into Provos? The answer to all of these questions is "Yes." (No little doubt remains that America needs to be fundamentally changed.) We need to move from protest to resistance; to dig in for the long haul; to become full-time, radical, sustained, relevant. In short, we need to make a revolution. But again, how do we go about it? How do we decide how, when, and where to act? It seems to me that we can arrive at a set of strategic criteria to help us answer these questions and make the relevant decisions. What would the set of criteria look like?

1. Any issue around which we organize a national program should be seen and felt as a critical problem by a great number of ordinary people.
2. Issues should be chosen which demand direct action.
3. The issues should enable us to broaden and/or deepen our base in the student, poor, and/or working class communities.
4. The issue and action should be one that is not readily co-opted by the powers-that-be.
5. The issue (and action around it) should de-obfuscate the nature of power in America.
6. Action around the issue should raise the political consciousness of both the organizer of the action and those reached by it.
7. In addition to touching people's moral sensibilities, the issue should appeal to their self-interests and expose their political powerlessness.

This list is not meant to be exhaustive or definitive. These are only the rough rules-of-thumb that guide my political plotting. What I would like to do now is look at our draft resistance program from this framework.

(1) There is no doubt that the draft is a national issue. The draft itself was never popular, and the war in Vietnam is making it increasingly unpopular. A whole range

from frustration to affirmation

DEVELOPING DRAFT RESISTANCE UNIONS IN AMERICA

Dee Jacobsen

The wars in Vietnam, Guatemala and Nicaragua have continued inexorably -- teach-ins, marches, fasts, vigils, and political protest -- all have been attempted to no avail. These brutal and imperialistic wars have continued against a backdrop of the inhuman and stifling state of mind and physical environment that so many proudly call America. The land of the free and the home of the deprived, the depraved and the dispossessed who crouch in urban ghettos and hillside shanties poised to catch the crumbs so generously extruded from the bloating body of the affluent society. The land of the free in which the decision-making organs of the body politic have atrophied from disuse, and systematic miseducation and psychological emasculation have become the Immediately Believable Mottos of corporations and multiuniversities alike. The home of the brave politicians and generals who regrettably submit that they are compelled by circumstance to murder en masse the earth's children.

THE INCEPTION

All of the above and more had long occupied the minds and consciences of the SDS people who descended upon Berkeley for the Winter National Council meeting. As the political debate dragged on, it became increasingly evident that most of the delegates had come with preoccupations rather than programs. The disjointed pattern of discussion took form only in the sense that individuals were expressing their own feelings of futility and growing concern about the state of their country in the world, and the impact of ongoing events on their psyches.

In the midst of this scene, a SDS officer arose and proposed that the Council concentrate on developing a draft resistance program. Most of the delegates willingly took up the debate. The minority who opposed such a discussion did so on the grounds that a draft resistance program would be "politically impractical" and "impossible to implement".

Hours of heated discussion slipped by and no logical imperatives appeared as manifestations of group consensus. Despite their clearly pronounced sense that there were few if any alternatives to resistance, the delegates were genuinely unclear about the theory and practice of draft resistance. Some of the questions repeatedly raised were: What exactly is draft resistance? What would unions of draft resisters be like, and in what types of functional activities might these unions engage? These and many similar questions floated up from the body during the long and often repetitious multilogue that led to the strongly-worded anti-draft resolution which was passed after nineteen hours of struggle. The moral imperative had prevailed and the resolution was endorsed with many seemingly significant questions answered either in vague terms, or not at all. Why was it that the puzzles which constituted much of the resolutions' meat were left scattered on the Council floor?

The reasons are complex and numerous; generalized and specific. On a more general level, the delegates who attended the NC are the products of a society whose rampant nationalism is subtly presented to the public in many forms. Perhaps the most prevalent being the necessity to maintain national consensus in order

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of reforms will be suggested when the Selective Service Act comes up for renewal in Congress later this year. There is one thing that we should keep in mind during all debate and discussion about the draft -- that the issue of the war in Vietnam and the draft cannot be separated. Except for a few, the draft was never a major problem for most people until the war expanded. The guys presently being drafted and their families don't separate the two issues--neither should we.

(2) The issue of the draft suggests a whole range of possibilities for direct action. The induction center is an ideal and logical focus for discussion, leafleting, picketing, rallies, teach-ins, and general disruption. Furthermore, our experience has indicated that the point of pre-induction physicals and/or induction is a time when inductees are most open and receptive to critical discussions of the draft, the war, and U. S. foreign policy in general. It is also a point where the government and the military are most vulnerable, in terms of disruptive tactics.

(3) As long as we continue to clearly renounce the 2-S deferment, the draft is an issue that enables us to reach out to non-student young people and their families in poor, black, and working-class communities. It is also an issue that gives us an easy and radical access to high school students.

(4) The demand for the abolition of the draft cannot and will not be co-opted by the government, especially if U. S. foreign policy is what we think it is. We should be careful not to be caught up in such Orwellian doublethink campaigns as "voluntary national service for everyone."

(5) Even a brief look at the internal dynamics of the Selective Service System reveals most clearly the authoritarian, manipulative, and anti-democratic nature of the American system. The SSS literature itself talks in terms of "pressurized guidance", "manpower channeling", the "club of induction", and "engendering fear." The SSS proudly describes its non-military aspect of coercing young men into "... civilian activities which are manifestly in the national interest." Class ranking is also an issue that lays bare the universities' cooperation with the war machine, as well as the coercive nature of the grade system. Finally, a little research usually uncovers the fact that most SSS board members are selected from the ranks of the local ruling class, revealing the anti-democratic nature of power in America.

(6) The nature of the political issues involved with draft resistance immediately raises the question of the relation of the individual to the state. While most anti-war protest only involves people in a repudiation of a particular policy (the Vietnam War) or aspect (foreign affairs) of the U. S. government, draft resistance is the sort of program that puts people into battle with the government itself. Anti-draft organizing moves from protest activity to activity that takes on more and more of the characteristics of a seditious resistance movement. Direct action at induction centers and courtrooms begins to de-sanctify those traditional American institutions oppressing people both at home and abroad. The people reached by the anti-draft organizers (young men of draft age or those already in the military) soon begin to translate their personal anxieties about the war and the draft into political dissent and opposition.

(7) Draft resistance cuts across a lot of political divisions. Even conservatives can be turned on to the individualism expressed by our slogan, "Not with my life you don't!". The moral dimensions of draft resistance are also unambiguous. The war in Vietnam is unjust, oppressive and wrong. Therefore, we won't go. Even those people who don't see through the government's corporate liberal rhetoric have sufficient doubts about the morality of the war to be sympathetic. Finally, we can reach those young men who oppose the war and draft only in terms of their own self-interest of not wanting to kill or be killed.

Draft resistance (among other issues) is certainly a relevant political program. Its implications, in terms of developing radical consciousness and reaching into vital constituencies, go far beyond the issues of the war and the draft themselves. The questions confronting us are the tactical issues of how to go about resisting the draft in the most effective way.

One basic consideration I would like to deal with is a difference in attitude between the traditional style of draft opposition and the kind of resistance beginning to develop now. In the past, the action of individuals confronting the draft manifested the characteristics of a "moral witness", a kind of martyrdom. We would not give our lives to the war-machine. Thus, if the government so chose, it could imprison our bodies, but it could not steal away the freedom of our hearts and souls. And after many high-sounding words and phrases, our bodies were willingly or limply carted off to the clink.

A good number of us were deeply moved by these solitary acts, overwhelmed by the small, still voice of conscience resounding loudly over the moral wasteland. But it was not enough. After a few headlines, mailings from 5 Beekman, and a demonstration or two; our righteous anger subsided and the war machine only too readily set aside the prison cells for us and went lumbering on about its business.

What happened? Why did these courageous acts of the brave young men of our generation fail to build a massive movement? I think the answer lies in an understanding of the psychological impact of the "martyr" on those among us who were not quite so courageous. My feeling is that the impact of the martyr is one of making people feel weak. In addition, martyrdom and moral witness are acts of individual conscience, resulting in the despair and frustration of isolation. Thus, the solitary act of individual moral witness against the draft tends to produce the opposite of those psychological stances that are necessary if we are to build a strong, viable, and large draft resistance movement.

What are the attitudes necessary for a resistance movement? First of all, *audacity*. Counterpose the beautiful arrogance of the slogan on our new button, "Not with my life you don't!" with the resolve of the moral witness, "Do with me what you will, but I cannot obey." What we must begin to assert is that the rulers of America cannot have neither our *bodies*, nor our minds and spirits. Iron bars do make prisons and the only we should go to prison is kicking and screaming. And even then, they should have to catch us first.

I am not saying that our draft resisters should avoid legal confrontations. On the contrary, it is very important to confront the law. However, it is equally important to consider the manner of those confrontations. First of all, the prime purpose of draft resistance is to reach out to young Americans of draft age, both inside and

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SDS DRAFT UNIONS

a report

Jeff Segal

Since the December National Council meeting in Berkeley there has been a significant increase in anti-draft activity around the country. This activity has, however, been sporadic, fragmented and lacking in any general political clarity. Programs have and are springing up all over the country with very little contact with each other, and as a result, very little cross fertilization of ideas. Draft resistance programs have been interpreted to mean anything from CO counselling and leafletting of induction centers to draft card burning and circulation of "we won't go" statements.

My purpose, at this point, is to present an account of present activity rather than to present an evaluation and criticism. At a latter date, I will deal with the substance and approach of these various programs with a mind toward fitting them into a scheme for building a revolutionary movement. In order for this to occur, however, it is necessary that as spirited and critical a dialogue go on about both the tactics and strategy of the draft resistance movement.

Here then, is what's going on in the draft resistance scene around the country that has been reported to the National Office as of this date.

The SDS chapter at Michigan State University has set up a three-part program for the implementation of the NC draft resolution.

(1) To provide counselling and information to draft-age men who oppose the war and are looking for alternatives to the draft. This includes political or religious CO's and Canada. (2) To mobilize opposition to the war through the Anti-Draft Union.

Two petitions are being circulated to get ADU members and supporters. One reads: "We, the undersigned, are young Americans of draft age opposed to U.S. intervention in Viet Nam. We hereby form an Anti-Draft Union and declare our intention to: Refuse to fight against the people of Viet Nam; refuse to be inducted into the armed forces of the U.S.; resist the draft; and aid and encourage others to do the same."

The second petition, which is being circulated among women and non-draftable males reads: "We the undersigned citizens of the U.S., declare our support and encouragement of all men who will: refuse to fight against the people of Viet Nam; refuse to be inducted into the armed forces of the U.S.; and resist the draft."

(3) To carry on a draft project for the general purpose of publicizing protest against the war.

The union has been meeting weekly and a number of committees which have been set up are either now or are in the process of working on a number of projects. Leafletting of buses taking men from Lansing (where MSU is located) to pre-induction physicals. The initiation of tables to distribute information on the draft, the war and the ADU. Initiation of counter-tables next to recruiters whenever they appear on campus. These will be coupled with other forms of activity around recruiters. Initiation of a speakers program on the campus dealing with the draft, the draft union and the war. A mass leafletting at the time of the draft tests in the spring. The running of a radical candidate in the next student government election, in order to prepare the campus for a referendum on the draft. Work is also being done in area high schools.

An anti-draft union, dedicated to spreading the word about the draft, talking about the war, and helping its own members to avoid the draft has been formed at Berkeley. With an active membership of 20, the union, springing from an SDS committee, has undertaken a number of projects.

It began with a forum which was attended by over 100 people, dealing with conscientious objection, working within the armed forces, and resistance tactics at draft boards.

At the present time, the union leaflets the Oakland Induction Center each morning, telling people about resistance, how to apply for CO status, possible tactics that would get them I-Y or IV-F classifications, and discussing the possibility

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DRAFT UNIONS

Here is a list of national and regional contacts for those interested in draft resistance work. Following that is a list of campuses where there are currently draft resistance groups. For those of you interested in contacting the groups on the list, you may do so by writing to the national office.

Jeff Segal (national draft resistance coordinator)
1608 W. Madison Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60612

Tom Bell
107 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, NY

Mark Harris
Peace and Freedom Center, 221 Xenia Ave., Yellow Springs, Ohio

Levi Kingston (national draft resistance traveller)
SDS National Office or 4319 Melrose, Los Angeles, Calif.

Mark Klieman (Northern Calif. field secretary)
1079 San Pablo #1, Albany, Calif. 94706

Morty Miller (New England draft resistance traveller)
27 Day St., New Haven, Conn.

Doug Norberg (Southern Calif. field secretary)
4319 Melrose, Los Angeles, Calif.

Bob Pardun (Texas-Oklahoma field secretary)
POB 8519, University Station, Austin, Texas

Mendy Samstein
338 E. 11th St., New York, NY

Berkeley Draft Resisters Union, Berkeley, Calif.
Coordinating Committee of Blacks Against the Racist Draft, New York, NY
Earlham College We Won't Go Group, Richmond, Ind.

Ithaca Resisters Union, Ithaca, NY

Iowa State University We Won't Go Group, Ames, Iowa

Kansas City Resisters Union, Kansas City, Mo.

Michigan State University Resisters Union, East Lansing, Mich.

New Orleans Resisters Union, New Orleans, La.

New Paltz We Won't Go Group, New Paltz, NY

Northern Illinois University Resisters Union, DeKalb, Ill.

Ohio State Draft Resisters Union, Columbus, Ohio

Penn State Freedom Union, State College, Pa.

Portland Draft Resisters Union, Portland, Oregon

San Francisco State College Resisters Union, San Francisco, Calif.

St. Olaf College Resisters Union, Northfield, Minn.

Queens College Draft Resistance Group, New York, NY

University of Chicago We Won't Go Group, Chicago, Ill.

University of Wisconsin Draft Resisters Union, Madison, Wisc.

Wooster College We Won't Go Group, Wooster, Ohio

Yellow Springs Resisters Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio

at pre-induction physicals

WHAT TO DO

by Mike Price

I am putting on paper my actions and experiences at the Fort Wayne Induction Station last Spring, in the hope that it can give others some background so they will know what to expect and, more important, to encourage others to do likewise.

The title of this piece is a bit presumptuous, since my action was based on my own thinking as to why it was important; I will try to explain my motives. The pre-induction physical is usually a young man's first experience with the military -- and what an eye-opening experience it is! He is literally treated like an object and processed as quickly as possible. The key to the operation is efficiency; it gives one the impression of a large well-oiled machine, with you on a conveyor belt being moved rapidly into the maw of induction. This impression is extremely intimidating, since each individual's fear of his impending doom is contagious. Men being processed act the part.

Given, then, this vicious cycle of intimidation and fear, I feel it is important that individual action occur in the hope that such action will break the cycle and also be contagious. Also important is the effect that an individual act of defiance has on the machine: it is temporarily stopped and those in charge usually panic, making a ridiculous spectacle of themselves and thereby add to the lifting of intimidation and fear. Our objective is to reach as many people as possible and make them think; but we must first break the cycle and stop the machine if this is to occur.

Finally, in terms of the draft and the war, these pre-inductees are a key group which we must reach. What better time than when they are all concentrated in one location (by courtesy of the Selective Slavery System)?

Following that brief rationalization let us get on with the physical and the action. First, you receive your orders to report to the Lansing Greyhound Depot around 5:30 in the morning. There, after a brief wait, a little old lady from the local board appears and calls the roll. She is usually a very motherly type and refers to the assembled group as "my boys." After this formality you all get on the waiting buses for a non-stop trip to Fort Wayne on West Fort St. in Detroit.

Upon arrival you are ushered into a basement lounge that resembles a dungeon with a T.V. set. Again roll is called and manila envelopes are passed out. These are your records. A friend of mine in New York, where they follow a similar procedure, chose this moment for his action. He had previously acquired about two hundred manila envelopes and placed a leaflet in each one. He simply passed them out at this point in the physical. Since they almost always use the pre-inductees to help pass out the records, he wasn't discovered until some of the leaflets turned up later in the physical.

From this point the group is led upstairs to the two testing-rooms which are filled with chairs with writing arms. Here you are administered the intelligence tests and loyalty forms by a sergeant who tries hard to be a comedian. Somewhere in his pat spiel he warns you not to goof off or you will be immediately inducted, "sent off on the train tonight;" everybody believes him. Either before or after the IQ tests, the loyalty forms are passed out. These forms contain the lists of subversive organizations compiled by the Attorney General. Last spring they contained without exception old CPUSA front groups that were outdated ten or twenty years ago. You are instructed to sign the form if you have never been a member of these groups. If you don't want

to sign it you are instructed to take the Fifth Amendment and so indicate on the form. If you refuse to sign the form and the Fifth Amendment you are guaranteed a trip to their security office for more fun; more on that later.

It was at this point in the operation that I had previously decided to make my move; when I went into the room I took a seat on the outside since it is impossible to pass down the rows or around the room -- the seats are too close together. After the tests had been administered the sergeant took them and left the room, leaving the whole group alone. The leaflets I was carrying with me in a briefcase were a combination of Bertrand Russell's "War and Atrocity in Vietnam," and a brief explanation of how to apply for a CO classification with addresses of contacts. I began to distribute them in stacks down the outside aisle instructing the guy on the end of each aisle in an authoritative voice to "take one and pass it on." Everybody complied immediately and I went back to my seat. After a moment of absolute silence the reactions started to come in; suppressed laughs, giggles, and open astonishment. Never have I seen a leaflet more avidly read.

At length the sergeant returned and launched into another spiel. It took him about five minutes to see the leaflets; he grabbed one, read the first few lines, and dashed out of the room. He returned shortly with some officers who all expressed astonishment except for one who scowled menacingly at the room. Finally the sergeant announced that all the leaflets should be passed in immediately. Most of the guys reluctantly complied, but I saw a few put leaflets into their pockets. After another quick trip downstairs he again addressed the room: "Who passed these out?" This was my cue to rise and say, "I did," followed by an impromptu speech about why I did, how they didn't want you to have this information, and general comments knocking the war. During my speech the sergeant and the officers stared in disbelief. When I finished I was ordered out of the room and taken to the Commander's office.

Once there I was ushered into the presence of Lt. Marvin, who tried to get me to turn over my leaflets and to dissuade me from making any more speeches. I refused, explaining that I felt the inductees needed the information and it was my duty to give it to them. The lieutenant then told me I was under military law and had to comply with his orders. I replied that I was a civilian and NOT under military law, and that he knew it as well as I did. (The law is very clear on this; you can't be under military law until you take the step forward to induction.) He then became very conciliatory and we had a good discussion.

While we discussed the war Lt. Marvin put through a call to Col. Holmes to find out what he should do with me. When he finally got Holmes on the phone a short argument ensued with Holmes' finally ordering that I be examined and the lieutenant's replying, "But Colonel, he won't stop passing out leaflets and making speeches." Finally Holmes gave a direct order that I be examined and because of the pecking order it had to be obeyed. At this point I really felt sorry for Lt. Marvin because he was in a bind and was really a nice guy.

A special detail was then assembled to take me through the physical and this proved to be another riotous scene with me in my underwear being led through with a guard

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NEW LEFT NOTES

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The Conscription Law

THE NEXT LOGICAL STEP FOR THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

Cathy Wilkerson

(To thoroughly understand aspects of this article and several others in this issue, people should read or reread Peter Henig's article on the Selective Service System in NLN - Jan. 20)

There is little likelihood that any major changes in the Selective Service System will be instituted during the war in Vietnam. Only two changes are predictable in the coming year, barring a real eruption from Congress, which seems unlikely at this point. The first is the policy of calling 19-year-olds first, though still, only those who don't have deferments. Since the calls are high enough that almost all those who are listed as "available" in each month are called (except during the summer months) this change will not affect a significant number of people. (See Henig article for SSS definition of "available")

The second change will probably be a limitation of graduate student deferments. These deferments will not be eliminated entirely, especially those for science and engineering students, but what has been up to now infrequent casualties, will become normal procedure.

These two changes do not alter the intent or the administrative processes of the current SSS. As described in detail in the Henig article, the SSS now devotes considerable attention to those millions of men who do not go into the armed forces. By its own description, the SSS serves to "channel" men into areas of the economy where they are deemed necessary to the military-industrial-defense complex. This channeling occurs through the manipulation of deferments, and the pressures which they induce.

Assuming the reestablishment of a "normal cold war situation" it is highly probable that a lottery system of conscription will be instituted after the war is "over". What values and functions will the SS maintain under a lottery system and which will it be forced to give up? Why are some functions being maintained and others discarded?

VALUES AND GOALS

As it is currently organized, the SSS's primary function is twofold: 1) to raise the manpower for the armed forces; and 2) to keep tabs on the manpower aspects of the military-industrial complex -- so that the system can manipulate the deferment network so as to help assure a steady flow of manpower into those sectors of the economy deemed essential to the national security. The startling aspect of this system is the fact that these essential activities are determined by a nebulous group of men through a closed, secretive network of communications. Leaders in government and business regularly confer, through meetings, phone calls, memos and the like to exchange and evaluate information. From this information they evaluate the economy and attempt to allocate manpower.

The decisions of these men affect the lives of all young men. The SSS uses this knowledge to channel men -- through the psychological pressures of deferments -- into various manpower areas. Thus, the government perceives the SSS as an institution which constantly surveys and controls -- from the local to the national level -- all manpower trends.

Given these goals, the basic working value of the Selective Service System is that of efficiency. The SSS must accomplish its goals in the most comprehensive fashion possible, while at the same time minimizing any conflict or disruptive effects. The operative implications of this principle are derived from the concept of efficiency as it has come to mean in our complex industrial society, the function of which is the output of massive quantities of material objects. It is efficiency as the concept relates to machines with all the implications of that derivation.

For instance, in attempting to maximize the efficiency of machines -- interrelating and intermeshing with each other in a massive industrial process -- the operator and planner do not have to consider any other values except how steel grates against steel. This involves having a thorough knowledge of the potential movements and behavior of the machine at hand and being able to compute potential future movement which would make the steel move against steel in a more rapid and frictionless manner. The ultimate concern in this business is to achieve complete control of all facets of the operation and manipulate the various parts to achieve the above ends.

We can see more clearly the implications of this combination of goals and values by viewing the SSS in the larger context of the government which created it. One of the basic functions of this government is to further the progress of the American economy. The SSS was set up during a period when men were strongly influenced by the legacy of the depression breakdown and accompanying political disruption. The government was acutely aware of the powerful affect which national planning could have -- planning, which to be thoroughly effective, necessarily had to include coercive means of application.

The SSS was set up during this period. The law empowers the SSS to do whatever is necessary to 1) raise an army according to the size prescribed by the Department of Defense, and 2) to do this in a fashion which will cause the least disruption in the society and the economy. The SSS has from the start interpreted this mandate, with the consistent encouragement of the executive branch, to mean that the SSS has a positive obligation to promote the smooth operation of the economy and society. As a result, the administrative procedures of the SSS (which are not included in the law) were drawn up so as to permit the SSS to take a very aggressive role in the guidance of the economy.

The recent proposals for a lottery seem to undermine this interpretation of the SSS but a more careful examination indicates otherwise. What must be kept in mind is the fundamental motivation of the SSS in conjunction with the governmental values -- not the specific tactics. As society and the patterns of the economy change, so much these tactics.

The fundamental fact about a lottery is that the powers have chosen to continue a cold war army with all the implications of that decision. When the Marshall Commission met, as well as other study groups on the draft, their function was to review and recommend revisions to the administrative means of implementing generally accepted goals. They accepted the "need" for a cold war army and the need for national manpower allocation, and then viewed the SSS in the context of the government as a whole to determine who could best fulfill the functions necessary to provide for these "needs".

To date, there is no consensus within the government on the answer to these questions. Despite the surface acquiescence to the lottery system, there remain powerful opponents to it behind the scenes, in the SSS itself and elsewhere. Furthermore, questions dealing with the implementation of a lottery will very likely be the cause for very heated debate in the next year.

WHY A LOTTERY

Reasons why a lottery might be preferable to the current system, given the maintenance of the same goals:

In order to direct the economy, both manpower and materials must be planned, allocated and directed. Although there are tremendous problems in the procurement and allocation of materials, the manpower component has always included

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WHAT IS A draft resistance union?

Peter Henig

It is usually best, in the interests of clarity and credibility, to avoid analogies between the contemporary U.S.A. and the society which brings to mind Adolf Hitler and the Auschwitz doctors. For one thing, such an analogy would tend to obscure one of the most redeeming facts about the behaviour of Americans -- namely, that significant numbers of them are joining together in draft resistance unions in open defiance of the state and its legal instruments. Thus, it is only in an attempt to accurately describe the present position and great promise of draft resistance unions that allusion will be made to Hannah Arendt's characterization of "the categorical imperative of the Third Reich," and of the way in which laws, a basic reference standard for human social behaviour, became perverted in their conception and use. The result was to sustain an inverted view of reality which made the immoral actions of individuals unexceptionable and the insane policies of the state unassailable:

Just as the law in civilized countries assumes that the voice of conscience tells everybody "Thou shalt not kill," even though man's natural desires and inclinations may at times be murderous, so the law of Hitler's land demanded that the voice of conscience tell everybody: "Thou shalt kill," although the organizers of the massacres knew full well that murder is against the normal desires and inclinations of most people. Evil in the Third Reich had lost the quality by which most people recognize it -- the quality of temptation. Many Germans and many Nazis, probably an overwhelming majority of them, must have been tempted *not* to murder, *not* to rob, *not* to let their neighbors go off to their doom, and *not* to become accomplices in all these crimes by benefiting from them. But, God knows, they had learned how to resist temptation.

We will return to the subject of temptation later on. For the moment, we will focus on the report of the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service for an answer to the question of whether provisions of our laws are reflective of a national state of mind that, in relation to reality, is perverted and even upside-down in much the same way that Germany's was.

The Commission concerns itself with the issue of "so-called selective pacifism" as opposed to "conscientious objection." It finds that the American legal state can tolerate the existence of a person who, in response to a "moral imperative," is "opposed to all killing of human beings under any circumstances." But, it continues, "it is another (matter) to accord a special status to a person who believes there is a moral imperative which tells him he can kill under some circumstances and not kill under others." "Selective pacifism," says the Commission, "is essentially a political question of support or non-support of a war and cannot be judged in terms of special moral imperatives." (emphasis added)

Now, students of legal history may be able to describe how such a peculiar doctrine developed, but it seems to be highly doubtful that they could defend it in ordinary argument. Killing human beings is merely a mechanical act -- one of many of which a sentient being is capable. Going a step further, the activity called war generally involves the use of organized killing in pursuit of the goal of subduing a society by force, but it is theoretically possible to accomplish this without employing the technique of killing. One of the most highly touted goals of the U. S. Army Chemical Warfare Corps is that of developing the techniques whereby the military and political benefits of war can be realized without actually causing fatalities. By allowing special legal and moral status for the person who objects to the technique

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PRAXIS MAKES PERFECT

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outside the military, with a critique of the Vietnam war, the draft, and of U. S. foreign policy and domestic policies in general.

Our second objective should be to encourage, advocate, and assist young men in getting out of the draft and/or the military. This means both legal and illegal counseling -- C.O., advice on how to get 1-Y's and 4-F's. "Section 8" discharges from the army, assisting AWOL's, encouraging and assisting in insubordination, legal and illegal emigration to Canada, going underground in America -- everything.

Finally, what about legal confrontation and arrest? I don't think we should try to get arrested as a major objective. Our main business should be going about the activities in my first two suggestions in the above, that is, building a resistance movement. However, it is likely that some of us will be arrested in the process of engaging in those primary activities. Arrests should be avoided, if possible, although fear of arrest should not curtail us from trying to achieve our main objectives. Briefly, the question of arrest should be seen only as a tactical issue, and not as a question of strategy or principle.

However, for those of us who are arrested, arraigned and/or indicted, I would suggest a strategy of political opposition, even disruption, every step of the legal process until the last possible moment. At the point where it seems clear that being swiftly sent to prison is inevitable, I think our anti-draft organizers should jump bail, cut out, and go underground, either in the U. S. or Canada, and perhaps both. Obviously, any decisions of this sort would have monumental implications for the lives and futures of those immediately involved. But so does a stretch in prison. Of course, the final decision should be up to the individuals concerned and not formalized into policy. However, I still feel that we should strongly consider this kind of action as a viable alternative.

What changes in attitude do we need other than a kind of revolutionary boldness? Traditionally, draft opposition, as I stated previously, has for the most part been the acts of individuals acting in isolation. What we should counterpose to that is solidarity -- both in spirit and in our actions. Expressing solidarity in our activities goes beyond words and songs, or even formally building an anti-draft union or We Won't Go groups. What I want to criticize here are the anti-draft unions or groups that have the level of an individual's personal commitment as a kind of exclusionary criterion for membership. What I have in mind are those groups that present their potential membership with the requirement that members give up their 2-S, become 1-A, commit themselves to 5 years in prison, be vulnerable to induction, etc. The serious mistake that I see in this kind of thinking is that these groups end up dividing themselves from other people, using the same standards used by the government to divide us from each other (2-S, 1-A, etc.) It is true that some kind of commitment is necessary to determine who is a draft resister and who isn't. But the kind of criteria we should use is whether or not one is committed to a certain set of political tactics, strategy, and principles. This would allow for all kinds of people -- students, workers, teeny-boppers, women, even grandmothers -- to participate in an anti-draft union and its activities. It is important for the criteria to be clear and strong enough to avoid co-optation and, at the same time, loose enough to allow an individual's political consciousness and commitment to grow after he or she will have been participating in the group's activities. It has been my experience that, unless anti-draft groups see themselves in this way, they tend to become involuted, personalistic, and isolated from the lives of the people they are trying to reach. Thus, it is not an abstract solidarity among ourselves that we are trying to achieve, but a sense of unity and solidarity with the millions of people in America who have the problems we are trying to solve. It is only the day-to-day experience of working together to achieve that end that will enable us to unpretentiously call each other "brother and sister."

ON DRAFT UNIONS ...

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of killing in war while denying any status to he who would judge the war itself "in terms of special moral imperatives," the American legal system has perversely exalted a *technique* into a moral issue while at the same time denying the moral relevance of the ends to which that technique and others may be applied in war. War, and the goals of war, are denied a place in the individual human conscience.

If any single phrase can characterize the people who have gathered together in draft resistance unions, surely it is that they emphatically reject the foregoing doctrine. They feel compelled to judge the technical-political act of organized war by their standards of what is moral human behaviour. And as is implied in the draft Commission's argument, the American state cannot afford to tolerate the political existence of groups of people which by-pass the phoney issue of the morality or immorality of a specific *technique* and which then go on to make a moral issue over the ends toward which techniques are employed. As the Commission says, legal recognition of the right to act according to one's personal opinion as to the morality of a war "could open the doors to a general theory of selective disobedience to law, which could quickly tear down the fabric of government."

Draft resistance unions, then, have adopted a posture which is revolutionary in its theoretical implications. In the logic of the American legal system, they are already enemies of the state, and that state can use legally sanctioned force to do away with them. That the government will actually do this if the unions turn out to be a viable way of organizing people cannot be doubted. Since it is assumed that the purpose of a draft resistance union is, in fact, the successful organization of more people it can also be safely assumed that the unions must aive attention

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FROM FRUSTRATION TO AFFIRMATION

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to survive. Although the preachments of America's policy makers frequently contain references to the broadness of this consensus, their own abhorrence of deviations from the American version of the truth defines the narrow limits of their collective tolerance. The NC delegates and all the people who constitute America suffer to varying degrees from the delimiting and frequently anti-life perspective that has been imposed from above. This general anathema of consciousness constriction is related specifically to the delegates inability to think creatively about anti-draft proposals in that the Selective Service System has become one of America's most sacred cows. To think about refuting or overturning the unjust coercion that occurs in the form of conscription has come to be regarded by most people as unthinkable and immoral. When viewed in this context, the absence of the rational counterparts to the delegates "emotional" rejection of the draft becomes understandable.

PUZZLED

At the conclusion of the December conference, all in attendance departed without any conception of how they might implement the unions of draft resisters for which they had called. The staff of the National Office, who had been charged with the responsibility of coordinating the program, had few ideas as to how they might proceed. The rather barren history of draft resistance in the United States provided little in the way of theory or practice upon which to build.

The Wobblies and other groups who have opposed the draft in this country grounded their resistance in individualized, moralistic, and ultimately demoralizing arguments. These groups failed to relate the coercion of the draft to other similarly brutal aspects of their society. In putting their bodies on the line, they did not do so in a manner that would have allowed people to see draft resistance as an act affirming man's freedom rather than an admission of defeat.

Contemporary activities related to the question of draft resistance were only a bit more instructive than past events for those persons concerned with the development of a resistance movement. With a few exceptions, discussion of draft resistance had been limited in both scope and duration. Ideas stemming primarily from the SDS Summer convention and the travels of one or two individuals had led to the formation of three or four "We Won't Go" oriented groups, whose activities were focused around holding conferences and pushing for the signing of "We Won't Go" petitions by as many people as possible. By and large, these groups were unable to involve the people who had signed their petitions in ongoing activities of a functional (facilitating development) nature.

At the beginning of this year, the only group (to the limited knowledge of the NO) which had succeeded in developing some type of member involvement via ongoing activities was the Ithaca group (see Tom Bell's report). The reports from this group were stimulating and helpful, but provided only descriptive data which as difficult to understand or apply because a theoretical perspective or sense of a broader context was still lacking.

In the time elapsed since the Berkeley NC, many new resistance groups have come into being. More and more young people have been stimulated to break the well-conditioned mental half-Nelson's that prevented them from thinking seriously about the draft and its implications. While differing in complexion and level of sophistication, each group has contributed to a still inadequate but growing accumulation of thought and activity that may become known as the theory and practice of resistance in America.

THE HARD LINE

At the present time there still exists considerable disagreement around the question of defining draft resistance and unions of draft resisters. Some people have approached the problem of definition by attempting to scale various acts of non-cooperation with the Selective Service System (SSS) according to the potential magnitude of punishments the establishment might impose. Others have attempted to use the "Doctrine of Complicity" in differentiating acts of resistance from acts of non-cooperation, super non-cooperation, and pseudo non-cooperation. Those who would use punishment as a ruler for resistance comprise a rather insignificant group of men who currently reside in federal prisons. On the other hand, the advocates of the "Doctrine of Complicity" are more vocal if not more numerous. Thus, a few words concerning the "Doctrine" might be appropriate.

Briefly, the "Doctrine" states that non-cooperation consists of acting in any manner (scrupulous or unscrupulous) which will facilitate escaping the draft. For example, bribing a draft board or faking a physical disability would be classified as an act of non-cooperation in that it removes the potential inductee's body from the jaws of SSS without raising suspicion, provoking confrontation, or providing good example. While the proponents of the "Doctrine" would secretly admire a non-cooperator for his craftiness, they would most certainly be unwilling to award such a fellow their respect.

Super non-cooperation is a label reserved for acts which involve either secret non-registration with the SSS or fleeing the country prior to a scheduled date of induction. Such acts are classified as super non-cooperation in that the risks incurred, if not the publicity generated, are greater than in instances of pure non-cooperation.

Pseudo non-cooperation states the "Doctrine", "consists of acts which at first glance appear to be not only non-cooperative but highly moral in nature." Applying for and receiving classification as a Conscientious Objector is the most infamous of the pseudo forms in that it has frequently been presented as desirable behavior by the Quakers and other groups who seem bent on condemning wars while ignoring the tacit recognition of the war-making state implied when application for C.O. is made.

The "Doctrine" holds further that the three previously mentioned forms of non-cooperation should be denounced as "compromising positions that in the final analysis constitute complicity with a state that should be disclaimed and overthrown rather than extended the courtesy of non-cooperation". This rather high-sounding formulation refers to the concept that any act which does not publically affirm the intent to non-cooperate with the coercive and unjust system of conscription in the most provoca-

RESISTANCE ACTION

(Continued from page 2)

of organizing within the army. A pamphlet is being prepared dealing with all known ways to resist and/or evade the draft. The union is experimenting with a number of new ways for evading and screwing up the draft.

On the campus level, the union is calling for a ranking referendum to be held in conjunction with student government elections in May (the SDS chapter is running a slate of candidates under the name of Voice). They have also been using rallies and leaflets to point out the increasingly insecure nature of the II-S, and to raise the possibility that active membership in the union might, in itself, be grounds for deferment. They will be taking part in Freshmen orientation week and will be sending speakers around to men's living units.

The union will soon begin to work in the high schools in the area and are considering some forms of educational action around a Job Corp center in the Berkeley area.

A draft resistance union has recently been organized in Portland, Oregon. Since the beginning of March, they have been handing out leaflets, daily, at local induction centers, high schools and colleges in Portland. The leaflets are very simple ones that ask a number of questions about the draft and then offer services on how to evade the draft. Reports from Portland indicate that there has been very good responses in the high schools and excellent responses in the college. Nearly everybody takes them without giving the leafleteers trouble and they have even gotten calls from parents complimenting the union. The union is beginning to call weekly meetings and is trying to get more in touch with the 20 or so guys who called seeking information.

The leafleting of induction centers, on the other hand, is being done mainly for harassment purposes, since it has shown little return in terms of calls. There are attempts to enter the inductions every day. In the beginning of this process, people were able to get in to the lounges for 10 minutes or so before getting thrown out; now they are used out almost as soon as they get in the door. Union members then leaflet at the door.

A couple of the union members have been called in for physical examinations, and smuggled in leaflets with them. As soon as they started to hand out the leaflets and talk to people they were read an army rule about distributing unauthorized literature on army property and were thrown out. After about 15 minutes, they were asked back, completely isolated from the rest of the guys, and were rushed through their exams. Both of the guys had undisputable IV-F's. The most successful point of contact with inductees is at lunch, where people have sneaked into the YMCA, where the inductees were eating and have been able to engage them in conversation.

A draft resisters group was recently organized at Ohio State University. (See statement in this issue.)

The union is planning to set up a permanent storefront headquarters with support from church groups, labor unions, etc. It plans to set up a four-part program of internal education, counselling of members, research, and action.

The requirements for membership are that people be "conscientiously opposed to any or all wars or the Selective Service System. Their views should be based on moral, religious, or philosophical grounds and they should be ready to accept the consequences of their actions."

A draft resisters union has been operating at the University of Wisconsin for several months. The original impetus has been around the circulation of a "we won't go" statement, for which there are now a substantial number of signatures. The statement reads: "We the undersigned men of draft age wish to announce that we refuse to be drafted into the United States Armed Forces.

"By withholding our participation, we are saying 'No' to the continuing barbarism of the Viet Nam War. We are responsible for our actions. We openly say 'No' to conscripted military service.

"Our refusal to participate in the madness of the Viet Nam War in no way implies a renunciation of our country. Our act of refusal is in fact, an act of loyalty because it aims at redeeming rather than smothering human potentiality here in the United States and around the world.

"We are taking this stand both to assert our personal integrity and self-respect, and try to stem the kind of assumptions and policies exemplified by the Viet Nam War. We urge all young men of draft age who can conscientiously do so, to assume responsibility for their lives and to join us in this stand."

The group of people who signed this statement have now formed an organization with working committees in a number of areas, including high school organizing, legal research, correspondence with other draft resistance groups, etc. They are now slowly building a program by leafleting of high schools, leafleting and picketing of induction centers and campus educational work. With the recruitment of more and more members, they also hope to increase the militancy of the activity.

The union is structurally made up of a number of program and service committees whose duties are to develop program in the areas of interest to the membership. As well as having a coordinating committee, the entire union then meets periodically to set union policy.

There have also been rumors of things going on elsewhere in the country (in this issue are reports of the group at Cornell and in the Cincinnati-Yellow Springs, Ohio area) and smatterings of reports from some of the other draft resistance unions. But as of this date, they have not sent reports to the National Office.

tive fashion possible, is a mere act of non-cooperation -- not resistance.

The "Doctrine" continues by describing draft resistance as involving actions which are not only public and provocative, but which are designed to confront, intimidate, and ultimately destroy the base of power upon which the SSS rests. Such actions necessarily preclude individual complicity with the state in that their highly visible nature either embarrasses the state or forces it to react punitively. The advocates of hard core resistance defend their rather extreme demands with the contention that "bold action builds movement for change by capturing the imagination of the oppressed and creating a sense of power and freedom in those persons who choose to resist." Some of the acts which qualify as legitimate types of draft resistance are: publically refusing to register with SSS, refusing induction, draft card burning (individual or mass), publicly urging others to resist, draft board burning, blowing up troop trains, destroying military property (particularly B52's), destroying the factories which produce military property, putting LSD in the Pentagon's water supply, etc.

*** A footnote to the "Doctrine" which appears in bold print states: "A public statement (written or verbal) of intent to resist may or may not constitute an act of resistance -- THINK IT OVER!

RESISTANCE AS SYNTHESIS

Defining draft resistance in terms of either private or public acts may in a way be legitimate, because the reaction of the government and the American people as individual citizen-slaves will be determined by the nature of the visible deed. However, for those of us interested in building a draft resistance movement in America, a more complete understanding of the nature of resistance is essential.

Draft resistance is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. An explanation of this phenomenon might be facilitated by examining resistance from several perspectives.

Individual draft resistance is probably a non-existent entity, since it seems unlikely that an individual living in a society and culture devoid of the resistance phenomenon would be capable of either conceptualizing of, or engaging in an act

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A PROTEST OF THE YOUNG

Martin Verlet

IN FRANCE, some youths refused to participate in the colonial war undertaken by their government in Algeria. Some youths: that is, a tiny minority. But the forms of protest were many. And among the means of opposing the war, noncooperation (le refus) was the one which had the widest repercussions, both on the French government and on international opinion. Possibly, this was simply because certain of the most outstanding French intellectuals issued a manifesto in favor of non-cooperation and in favor of resistance to the war. Possibly this was because this form of involvement and opposition was known to have political and psychological effects out of proportion with the numerical significance of the movement. Despite its weaknesses and its limitations, is the French experience of resistance to the Algerian war pertinent to the young Americans of today? And can it be of any use in the organization of the anti-draft movement?

At the beginning, it seems to me important to set forth two points.

(a) First of all, the opposition in France to the Algerian war was hardly exemplary in its widespreadness. The protestors of the war did not succeed in stopping it; neither did they succeed in always finding the most effective means of supporting the fight of the Algerian people. And the resistance movement hardly played a determining role in the solution of the conflict. Let us even say that it was neither the most decisive nor the most massive form of the protest of youth to the war.

(b) In the second place, it seems important to note the fundamental difference between the two possible experiences. In France, the principle of conscription was hardly an issue: anti-militarism is very widespread, but it results from an extreme mistrust of the professional army. Obligatory military service for all citizens is considered a principle attached to "republican" institutions, like a guarantee by the citizens of support for these institutions. Never during the Algerian war was the principle of conscription re-examined. In the United States, this principle is already being debated. There is more: in France the young found themselves in a situation of relative equality before the draft. The reasons for exemption were very few: physical deficiencies and support of families. Only the students were relatively privileged, benefitting by a deferment. This deferment did not entirely dispense with the completion of their service; also, the prolongation of the war involved a severe limitation of deferments, eventually, for political reasons, even the suppression of deferments. The reasons for exemption were reduced in number. That is to say, the drawn-out war in Algeria had the effect of strengthening the relative equality of youths before the service. This is far removed from the complicated and discriminatory system which exists in the U. S.

Another difference in scope is not less considerable from 1957 on, all French youths were susceptible to service in Algeria. Those who were familiar with a weapon or a specialty were made to complete a stay in Algeria. Exceptions were very rare. The choice became rather simple: either to refuse military service (to non-cooperate (*s'insoumettre*) or desert) or to accept being sent to Algeria and participating in the war. In the U. S. only a small proportion of the civilian youths recruited are sent to Vietnam.

Some more profound, more stubborn differences are also important; that is, divergent political and moral traditions. One of the principal obstacles to the success and spread of the resistance movement in France was that it was not supported -- was sometimes even fought -- by the political organizations and unions opposed to the war. From the beginning, in 1956, when a delegation was received from the other side of the Mediterranean, these organizations thought that the way to approach the war was to emphasize negotiations with the representatives of the Algerian people. At the time, these organizations were obsessed with the fascist peril and wished to see the young people assume the role of "republican" controllers within the ranks of the army. They always assigned their militants to watch closely the mass of young people in the army and, should the occasion arise, to organize them for the collective forms of resistance. Such an orientation upheld the traditional stance of the European workers' movements: the forms of collective action were opposed to individual acts; noncooperation was con-

sidered an individual act. In this respect, the fact that personal involvement -- "self-commitment" -- is a notion sufficiently implanted and established in the heart of American radicalism could represent a positive factor. Neither do there exist in America any political organizations or powerful unions inclined to propose other forms of action as alternatives to the resistance movement.

To return to the original question, that of the relevance to Americans of the experience of the resistance movement to the Algerian war, let's say that it could be rich in information precisely because of its weakness. Challenged by the organizations as a form of individual opposition, the "movement" remained a minority group but it sought to enlarge itself, to organize itself. And it is in studying the form of organization that this experience of the French youths is possibly most interesting.

I. THE FOUR STAGES

On November 1, 1954, the Algerian revolution erupted into French political life. The armed uprising in the Aures mountains and then in other parts of the territory forced the French government to dispatch to Algeria units of the C.R.S. (Compagnies Republicanes de Securite) and of professional soldiers. The government of Mendes-France had just reached a negotiated settlement in Indochina and was seeking a resolution of the conflicts in Tunisia and Morocco. A part of the old expeditionary force of Indochina was transferred early to North Africa. Algeria was a part of France (this was the French side), a gigantic police operation. It was an affair of the professionals: the police, the C.R.S., the paratroopers. The C.R.S. in the Aures felt they were at the same job as the police who manned the barriers against which the students of the Latin Quarter drove themselves.

1. The Revolt of the Rapelles

During 1955, in order to deal with the aggravated situation in North Africa, the French government was forced to recall to the colors 75,000 youths demobilized some months earlier. This meant mobilizing civilians who had had experience in the army and who now had, for the most part, a job to lose and a home to leave. In the north, in the southeast, in central France, violent revolts spontaneously burst out in the barracks. In Paris, at the Gare de Lyon, hundreds of recalled youths about to embark for Algeria confronted the police and the C.R.S. violently. The violence, the suddenness of these revolts were exceptional. The recalled men, or *rapelles*, acted individually and without the massive and direct support of political organizations and unions opposed to the war. Left to themselves, the recalled men could neither organize nor make their protest succeed. This was the first experience of this youth in resistance to the war. Some mutinies exploded locally. Lacking swift and massive support on the part of civilians, the movement did not spread and had no chance to succeed. The military machine soon had the situation in hand, formed the contingents into regiments, and sent them to Algeria.

The revolt of the *rapelles*, then, was a failure. The recalled soldiers arrived in Algeria where they joined in the war. They were caught up in the experience of violence, in the complexities of the pacification effort. Some of them let themselves be taken in by the game of brutal force, the torturing, plundering, burning: they engaged in the repression -- to defend themselves, to avenge themselves, simply to practice their profession as "pacifators." The mass of the *rapelles* joined temporarily in the colonial war.

A minority certainly tried to oppose the repression but they were dispersed and isolated individuals. The elements that might resist the war represented a tiny minority among the young soldiers who, with indifference at least, with bitterness and anguish sometimes, found themselves forced into violence. Isolated at the time of the mutinies, they no longer had any hope of resistance in Algeria where their isolation was even greater. The political perspectives had themselves changed: On January 2, 1956, the legislative elections were marked by an important success of the left opposed to the pursuit of the war. The supporters

of negotiations, the Communists and Socialists supported Guy Mollet so that he might achieve a political solution: on March 12, he saw himself entrusted with special civil and military powers, exorbitant power. But there were no negotiations; the war merely enlarged and intensified. And paradoxically, it was at this moment that youths began to confront the war massively in a direct way, personally. The contingents (for the most part youths of 20 years) had arrived in Algeria; rapidly the number on active duty reached 500,000 men and remained at this level until the peace.

To return to France, some of the recalled men had given testimony to their views. Books, articles, and brochures described the atrocities committed in Algeria -- the summary executions, the tortures. They revealed the horrors of the methods of repression. These men emphasized their powerlessness to act, to resist, to oppose, once taken inside the military machine. These witnesses of 1955-56 sowed the first grains which produced the resistance movement of 1958-60. Resistance seemed impossible inside the army; the only alternative to participation in the repression was noncooperation or desertion.

2. The Imprisoned

About thirty young people, mostly active militants from political organizations, chose prison rather than risk participation in the war. During the '50's the protest of a young sailor faced with the Indochinese war had given rise to an impressive manifestation of support and solidarity. "Free Henri Martin!" was one of the principal slogans of the anti-colonialists of the extreme left.

There was not the same reaction for those who chose prison to resist the Algerian war. Their case was hardly popular. Some support and discrete publicity was given them, but their gesture of protest did not give rise to anything widespread. It was not even praised by the organizations opposed to colonialism. It was certainly not made an important example. The position of the unions remained the same for those who knew the bitter stories reported by the recalled men: go into the army, go to Algeria, organize the contingent of youths there. The country at home seemed to be installed in the war. The idea that Algeria was part of France was widely accepted; after 1956, the Saharan oil mirages consolidated the positions of the supporters of French domination. The army worked very hard psychologically on the recruited youths. A number of them were won back to the idea that France was at home in Algeria and should remain there. Nationalism, racism, and tales of the fabulous riches of the Sahara: bit by bit, an ideology was forged -- of the war, of the role of France in Algeria -- which spread very widely. In France itself, the Socialist government undertook the intensification and extension of the war. Manifestations of opposition to the war were timid and did not rouse wide echoes.

Imprisonment seemed then like a moral act, a gesture of individual courage. It was not understood, even by those opposed to the war, as a political stance. It was choked by silence and had only a weak effect. It was a witness.

3. Noncooperation

In 1956 and 1957, the first desertions took place. The idea of noncooperation, of desertion, seemed to certain young people the only out. This attitude was founded on two past experiences, that of the *rapelles* and that of the imprisoned. The *rapelles* had learned the horror of the war of repression, the complexity of the violence, and the powerlessness of any form of resistance from within the ranks of the army in Algeria. The plight of the imprisoned, the lack of effect of their action, the silence which greeted their protest, made such forms of resistance seem meaningless. What good to let oneself be locked up, if this choice remained without echo, if it was not supported?

Powerlessness in the heart of the army, powerlessness inside the walls of a cell, produced an idea of a different form of resistance, one that would not deprive the person who had chosen it of his liberty and potential for political action. Non-cooperation or desertion kept open the possibility of fighting actively against the war and organizing more widely all the forms of

resistance.

A certain number of noncooperators and deserters only acted for personal reasons: the fear of being wounded or killed, repugnance at losing two or three years of life to the army. Noncooperation and desertion for moral and political reasons represented, however, the essential phenomenon.

The movement of noncooperation and desertion touched some three thousand youths between 1958 and 1961. It reached its high point in 1960. At this time, non-cooperation and desertion took an organized form. The vanguard of these youths, militants of the political organizations, union members, the leaders of the youth movement, took the initiative after 1958 in organizing resistance. One among them, Maurienne, related some personal experiences in a book published by Editions de Minuit, *The Deserter*. It is not without significance to note that the Editions de Minuit was the direct outgrowth of an underground press active during the Nazi suppression. "Young Resistance" was the name chosen by these youths for themselves and their movement. They regarded their own movement in the same light as the underground resistance to fascism in 1940-44. They refused to accept silence in response to the tortures, the massacres, the firing squads, and the magnetos.

In 1959, Young Resistance published a manifesto. In it, they tried to explain to young people the act of noncooperation; and especially, to reveal to them their own opportunity to protest by means of desertion or noncooperation. A receiving committee was organized in nearby countries: Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, Italy, etc. Arrangements were made so that the youths were provided for, led to seek work, and given identity papers.

In short, noncooperation and desertion existed alongside each other as forms of opposition to the war and supported each other.

4. Anti-colonialism and Anti-fascism

Within France, there were 400,000 Algerians. For the most part, they were organized by the F.L.M. Hunted by the police, they watched their escape routes destroyed, their contacts with the exterior cut off, their donated funds threatened. A number of Frenchmen aided and supported the Algerian nationalists in France concretely: by hiding and sheltering militants sought by the police, by hiding the funds collected as well as weapons, by arranging secret meetings. At first, this form of solidarity was done out of moral goodness; then it took on a fundamentally anti-colonialist nature. At the beginning of 1960, the Jeanson network was destroyed by the police. But already hundreds of Frenchmen had taken up the cause. The year 1960 was marked by the convergence of the Young Resistance movement with such concrete anti-colonialism. From then on, in a more advanced form, the resistance movement was a revolutionary alliance of the anti-colonialists and the colonized in the fight for liberation.

In June, 1960, a secret conference on noncooperation met with hundreds of youths in attendance, in the heart of Paris. The police investigated and some days later arrested several students for supporting the F.L.N. The idea of noncooperation had become more and more popular, especially among the students. During the summer of 1960, it was the subject of spirited debates in both political organizations and unions. The growing sentiment for non-cooperation. The movement of the young searching for their own form of resisting the war began to coalesce around this public support, eventually given by several hundred French intellectuals and adults. The objective thus became to move from the individual act of protest to a collective non-cooperation, such as the simultaneous refusal of a large group to go to war. But this mass action never developed. Under de Gaulle's leadership, France was moving toward peace in Algeria, thereby precipitating acts of rebellion among the colonialists and their army allies. Protest began to take the form of anti-fascist resistance.

As long as the issue was simply a colonial war, attempts to organize resistance among the young soldiers remained futile: the combat training, the isolation of those who opposed the war, the psychological effects

WE WON'T GO — A CASE STUDY

A CASE STUDY OF A DRAFT RESISTANCE UNION

I will discuss one method of organizing resistance to the draft using the case study of the "we won't go" group in Ithaca, New York. This information is intended to be useful for those who plan to organize around the issue. Section I, "The decision to organize," and Section II, "the beginning" should be generally applicable. Sections III-VI are about the Ithaca group specifically. Organizers and resistance unions can apply these sections to their own situations, but it would be dangerous to attempt to duplicate this pattern. The organizer should not have preconceptions about specific decisions to be made or steps to be taken past the initial steps. Section VII summarizes by appraisal the we won't go union as an effective model of organizing.

I. THE DECISION TO ORGANIZE

At a national meeting last August two models of draft resistance organizing were put forth and debated. The first called for a massive demonstration of non-cooperation (100-500 people burning draft cards) to be held late in the Fall. Organizing would involve finding the most "committed" people in the movement who agreed with this kind of tactic. These people would come together, probably in Washington, at a specified date and make their demonstration.

The second model called for unions or communities of draft resisters organized locally around the idea "we won't go into the U. S. military, and we will encourage others to do the same." These unions would be autonomous and locally based. Since no one at the meeting had organized such unions, their exact functioning was unclear. The general idea, however, was that 1) the individuals would support each other in meaningful ways with their common problem, the draft, 2) the unions would build local resistance and publicize in the locality the activities of other such groups, making "no" a real alternative to the question of the military, 3) the unions would spread to other localities and grow in their own locality in an "organic" manner, and 4) the publicity arising from the apparently disconnected activities of the unions would give the appearance of a sizable and growing anti-draft movement.

The consensus at this meeting was clear — "we won't go" unions. The choice was made strongly for several reasons. The unions would be a conscious organizing effort to build a movement against the draft, perhaps even reaching proportions to effect military manpower. The unions or communities could reach beyond those who would normally respond to a massive demonstration; they would not be bounded by the existing movement or by the campus. While a demonstration would rely primarily upon the mass media for its effect, the resistance communities would establish their own means of communication in the locality and would bring events directly to draft age people. Growth of the resistance unions would depend on their internal dynamic, resting only minimally on reaction to the decisions of others — within the movement or in national or international politics. The unions would provide a constantly growing visible resistance to the draft — starting at a very low level. In short, the resistance unions, if successful, offered the possibility of a solidly organized political confrontation with the system. The demonstration, even if successful, was seen at that time as a protest with doubtful possibility for continued confrontation.

II THE BEGINNING

The method of organizing actually used in Ithaca is very simple and direct. I had never done it before and had only discussed it briefly with people who have done community organizing. I feel that it could be used by anyone with a fair degree of patience.

Committed to the idea of draft resistance, I began to talk independently to three people who I felt would share my opinions. We discussed the meeting I had attended and the ideas current at that point. There was considerable difference of opinion among the four of us — especially about how to go about organizing draft resistance. We got outside help at this early point in the form of an experienced community organizer. He talked with us a great deal, raising crucial questions. We were able at this period to begin to agree on a method

of organizing and to clarify some of our other points of difference. Our experience was that this outside help was very important. People doing organizing now can get help from people with some experience in organizing around the specific issue of the draft — it is worth the time.

We continued to meet in sessions of three or four until we came to a pretty solid understanding. We had talked about our personal draft positions, our willingness and reservations about following a course of resistance, the possibilities we saw for resistance organizing, and the next step we would take. There was argument for each of the methods of organizing mentioned above, but we finally agreed that each of us would talk to one or two other people, discuss the idea with them and then all meet together in a week. In this way all four of us were now organizers and with considerable success. We managed to reach people even at this early point who had not been politically active in Ithaca before, but who were involved personally in the draft question. These people were interested in the type of resistance community which we were trying to build.

With the expanded group — now seven — we had roughly the same discussions as before. This time it did not take so long to reach a solid understanding. The new people, by chance I believe, were more turned on to the particular method of organizing. We decided to make the same move as before; each person would talk to someone new, give him an understanding of what we were about, get him to talk with some of the other people already involved, and bring him to a meeting in two weeks. We also decided to discuss the draft among ourselves outside of a specific meeting, thus getting to know each other better and developing personal communication.

Understanding the risk of prosecution under subversive control acts, seven of us had agreed that under no circumstances would we go into the U. S. military, and that we would encourage others to stay out of the military, and that we were all willing to take our stand publically upon a collective decision of the right time and means. We had had no publicity except word of mouth, and had decided to avoid publicity in any of the traditional forms for the time being. And we had decided to build our numbers for the next two weeks in the same organic manner as previously and to gain a real understanding with the new people before moving ahead. Everybody in the group had essentially taken on the job of being an organizer of the group. Our organizing had relied on long hours of soul searching discussion and a healthy rejection of the press or already organized groups. The building of the draft resistance community had in no way challenged existing groups nor did it pretend to make decisions for anyone but those people participating in the resistance community. The participation of the resisters in other groups was not threatened except that some of us may have had less time to work in the other groups.

III. GROWTH OF THE COMMUNITY AND ITS COMPOSITION

In general, a group at this point should have enough internal strength to be making its own decisions. Everyone in the group should have become an organizer, in a limited sense, and the original organizer must either become an equal participant in the group or leave the group entirely to begin organization of another. If the organizer attempts to become leader (or does not resist the pressure to become leader), he will most likely finish with a group which depends very heavily on him for its existence and which can be pressured by him into making unreal decisions. By unreal I mean decisions which do not have the full support of the individual in the group. Without this support the individuals must be harassed constantly into implementing the decisions. If, however, the group has been organized with real communication between the participants, and if the organizer becomes an equal participant or withdraws entirely, the resistance union will be able to set its own direction and implement its own decisions from this point.

The Ithaca group carried through its decision to talk to more people and then bring them into the group. We were then rather large (15) and it became difficult to have the type of searching discussions we had been having up to that time (for the previous two months). We decided to try some different things, attempting to build the community of understanding we felt was necessary. We started to get together for meals or at other times at each other's apartments. We also decided to take a room in the student "union" once a week for three weeks from 3 p.m. - 11 p.m. Several of us were to be in the room at any given time. In this way we were able to talk among ourselves in small groups. We spread the word that the room was open to people who wanted to discuss problems with the draft in a personal way. The group added some new participants and managed to give some help to several other people as well as further building a solid base.

In the process of the day-long sessions we began to feel two needs. We wanted to learn more about the draft law and the methods, legal and illegal, of evading it. This information became essential so that we could be useful to people who came seeking help, and so that we would be better informed in our own fights against the draft. Secondly, it began to be obvious that we should be talking to the people who most immediately faced induction, rather than almost exclusively talking to each other and to students. To train ourselves as draft counselors we set up three sessions with experienced men. The first was with Harrop Freeman, a Cornell law professor who now works closely with us in our counseling efforts. The second was with Ralph DiGia of the War Resisters League, and the third with Ron Young of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The need to talk with people directly facing

induction was felt strongly by the group in Ithaca. Our action in response to this need already has changed the character of our group considerably. Full discussion of this response is given in section V.

The method of organizing and the non-structured community which resulted has brought a diverse collection of individuals into close communication. Only about half of the group so far has come out of the activist peace movement, these mostly being SDS people. For others this move toward draft resistance is their first political activism. We have in this particular group a bias toward pacifism and decentralism, though there is no clear position as a group, and the individuals differ widely. Some still hold that they are non-political, meaning that they think of their activity only on the personal level and are not particularly concerned about the possibilities for confrontation with America. Others are strongly political. So far we have worked well with this variation as long as we are careful to discuss the basis of the group with each new person and as long as we give a lot of careful thought and discussion to each decision. All in the group so far are students or student types. No one, however, has a II-S deferment, although it should be possible for "we won't go" unions to work if people maintain a II-S. Four people in the group have left school since we began; one to do alternative service as a CO, two to work full time in the movement in Ithaca, and one just to be done with that silliness. Most everyone has applied for CO, with the notable exceptions of an ex-Marine and a non-registrant. One guy has terminated his CO application by destroying his draft card.

IV. DEVELOPMENT OF THINKING

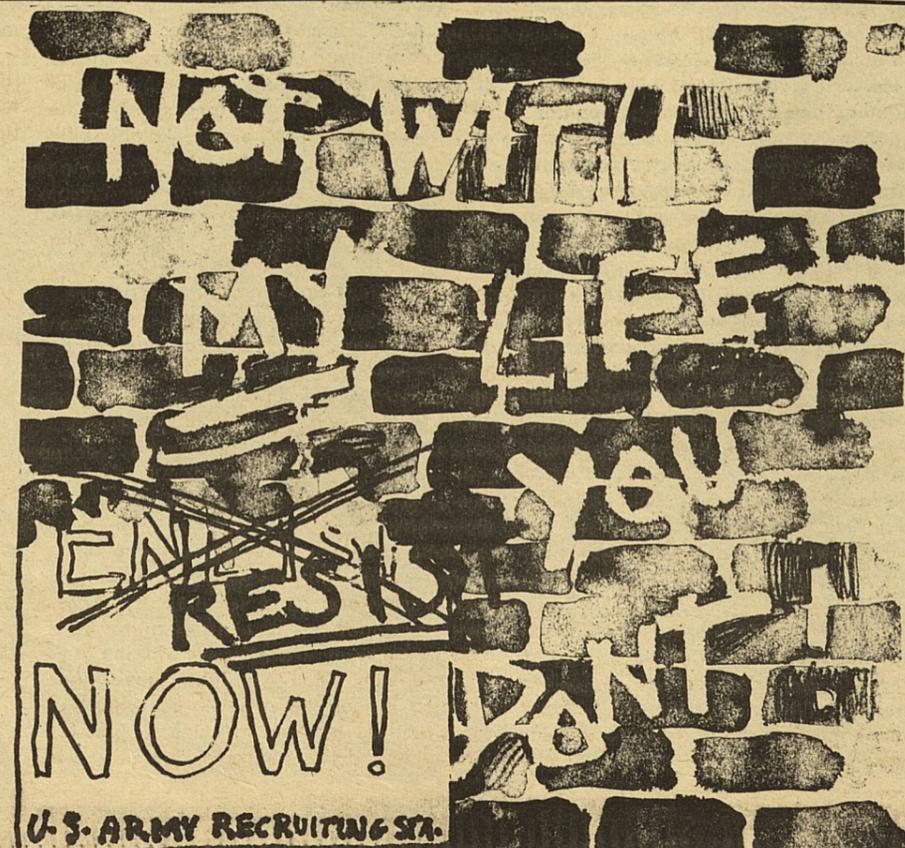
We all have different criteria of what would be a good personal position on the draft. These criteria for each of us involve a different mix of personal, political and moral considerations. We found these considerations to be part of a unity. For example, no act could be moral if it had the wrong political content. Nor could an act be political in the right direction if it put us in unacceptable personal situations. From this discussion one thing clearly emerged: in our terms, there is no "right" way to handle one's position with the Selective Service System. Each person sees himself confronted with a set of alternatives none of which are satisfactory.

One phase of thinking that the group went through collectively was the question of going to Canada. Fear and the inability to find a good position had pushed virtually all of us to the decision to flee to Canada. As we talked, we became more convinced that prison would be immoral — that is, personally damaging and a-political. As we spent long hours arguing the merits of the position, a complete change occurred. In the first place we saw flight from the draft as potentially placing restrictions on our whole lives. We could never return to this country; a problem, since some of us see our lives intimately involved in work to change America. We would have some distasteful restrictions in Canada for five years until citizenship, i.e., have to work, no subversive activity, etc. And our travel might be restricted for the rest of our lives by the possibility of extradition by the U. S. In the second place, we began to talk more seriously about prison. We talked at length with Ralph DiGia and briefly with Arlo Tatum about their experiences in prison. Both men testified that prison does not necessarily "break" a man, and both claimed it to have been a unique and in many ways valuable experience for them, e.g., a totally non-middle-class experience.

After these discussions everyone seemed to decide that they would stick it out in the U. S., and prison became a real alternative. Since that time our thinking has again come to challenge going to prison, this time because it represents a plea to the society for change; a plea, that is, which is within the system and shows a belief in prison as a democratic institution. Some of us no longer believe that America will respond to any such protest appeal. For part of the group at least, our thinking has pushed towards an understanding of where the beginnings of real resistance in America will come: rejection of the draft, and organizing without allowing ourselves to go to prison.

At a fairly early point, Dave Sternes

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A CONFRONTATION WITH THE S.S.S.

Mark Harris

My confrontation with the military could be said to have begun last summer. That is when I stepped from behind the safety of my student deferment to face openly the war and its Selective Service System. I did not drop out of college in order to confront the war machine, but my increasing concern over Vietnam and the likelihood of a final world war led me to devote my full time to these issues. My activities were not classified by the military as defensible, hence I was soon out in the open.

I refused to submit to a physical examination last September. During January, I was classified as a delinquent I-A and ordered to report for induction. Meanwhile I had been doing a lot of thinking on how best to capitalize on my non-cooperation. I was prepared to go to prison purely as an act of moral witness. However, I saw no contradiction in also trying to be as conventionally effective as possible.

During the month previous to my induction date, anti-draft unions were formed at Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana, Antioch College in Yellow Springs (where I live) and at the University of Cincinnati. Any man of draft age who signed a statement to the effect that he would refuse to fight in Vietnam was a member of a union. The word 'union' in this case is admittedly pretentious. The idea was to start with the name and experiment with methods of resistance which might make that name a reality.

In early March, Carl Davidson, S.D.S. national vice president came to Yellow Springs. Carl urged me to go through the complete physical before refusing. This would give me an opportunity to leaflet and talk to other inductees. Through my resistance, I might be able to set an example which would help men being inducted interpret and criticize the situation they would confront in Vietnam; their experiences in that war might then further radicalize them. In addition the army might classify me IV-F if I could convince them they didn't want me. This struck me as an experiment in draft resistance which might help to give substance to the idea of a draft union. The method might also save me time in prison. This last item was the deciding factor.

It was still dark when I reached the office of the local draft board. Five young men had arrived ahead of me. My attempts at conversation got nowhere. The middle age clerk tried to put us at ease, but she was even less successful than I. Then a tardy inductee arrived and the atmosphere changed. Dave, a Negro, strode right to the center of the room and asked sardonically, "Hey, is everybody ready and eager to serve Uncle Sam?" We laughed and the ice was broken. The clerk passed out ball-point pens as a gift from the Salvation Army. I am sure the Salvation Army was full of good intentions, but at the time, the pens seemed like a cruel joke. Upon request, the clerk told us who was on the local draft board and what they did for a living. I asked her how come "truck drivers or people like us were never on the draftboard." She said perhaps they never volunteered. The clerk was anxious to encourage us in a motherly way to be proud we were doing our service to the country. Our questions evidently flustered her.

The seven of us walked through the empty streets to the bus station. Dave had once enlisted in the Marines but had been kicked out because of a fight he got into with a cop while on leave. Now he was completely turned off to the whole idea of the military. There was really little I could say to him politically. He knew the hypocrisy of the system from long direct exposure. He didn't see any future in prison either, and I could hardly blame him.

I had an opportunity to talk to five of the other six inductees before we reached the induction center. The sixth was a large fellow with army shoes and a butch hair cut. Dave told him he'd make a good target but I reassured him pointing out that the average V.C. probably wouldn't reach up to his belt. When I passed out leaflets on the bus he threw his to the ground exclaiming "propaganda!" That was the only word I heard him utter the entire trip. The other men read part of their leaflet and stuck it in a pocket. I talked to Wayne at the bus stop in Dayton. He was twenty-three and had five kids, two of them by a former marriage. Wayne had been on parole for non-support of his first wife's children but his parole

officer let him off so that he could enter the army. He didn't believe the guys "up there" told the truth about the war. They were all crooks and liars. Kennedy was the best president we ever had but even he was a crook. When I told the group I was planning to refuse induction they wished me luck. I'm sure they really meant it. We parted friends.

Dave and I walked together from the Cincinnati bus stop to the federal building. There, just as I had told him, were my friends; about sixty of them, members and supporters of the anti-draft unions. I introduced Dave as some one who didn't think very much of the war. To the Antioch radio reporter he explained, "I'm just a peace lovin' guy." Six men from the demonstration rode on the elevator with us to the second floor; as we got off they began distributing leaflets.

I walked into a large waiting room and gave my name to the receptionist. At the sound of my name half the people in the room turned around. Cameras started to roll and microphones were shoved at me. I told them I planned to refuse induction. Most of the questions asked weren't especially relevant. At one point a reporter cut me off saying that he didn't come to hear a speech.

After about five minutes a short Marine sergeant led me to a hallway in back of the waiting room. There he delivered a brief talk. Evidently they already knew I was planning to put up a lot of resistance. The sergeant explained that I was not to leaflet. That if I did, my leaflets would be gathered up and only returned to me when I left. He reminded me that I might not be found qualified for induction and ended with an appeal for cooperation: "If you cooperate with us," he said, "we'll cooperate with you and the whole operation will go smoother for all of us."

"I talked to these guys coming up here on the bus," I said. "They don't want to fight in this war. You're sending a lot of them off to be killed or to have to kill someone. I don't call that very good cooperation from you."

You're entitled to your opinion the marine sergeant said as he opened the door for me. I took a seat in a small classroom containing about a dozen inductees and three proctors. The man in front began reading instructions for the mental test. His delivery, like most of the officers I was to run into, was rapid fire, as if he was giving last minute battle instructions. "Any questions," he snapped looking up from his paper.

"Yes," I said, "Why are we entering the armed forces." He grabbed the leaflets I had just distributed and tore them into small pieces. "Another question" I said, "why won't you let us read this information." "I didn't come here to argue with you," he snapped. The rest of the men seemed confused. The officer sat down and the tests were distributed.

While I didn't wish to be dishonest and deliberately mark down wrong answers, I saw no point in straining my brain. After a half hour, one of the proctors nudged me. "Mr. Harris," he said, "are you having trouble." The time is almost up and you have answered only seven out of thirty-five questions. "I'm just taking my time," I explained. "Frankly I'm not particularly anxious to do well on this test since I don't wish to qualify." "I see," he said politely and walked on.

For the next series of tests I was escorted into another small room. My companions were a marine enlistee and two proctors. The test asked such questions as, "How many object balls are there in a pool game? Which of the following would you do first to soup up a car?" How should a glass of beer be poured so that the foam does not run over the top?"

One of the questions on a personality test asked, "I always like those who agree with you."

"Who does this 'you' refer to?" I asked one of the proctors.

"It means do you like people who agree with you."

"But it doesn't say 'you', it says 'I' so it should be 'me'."

"Look," the proctor said, "don't you like people who agree with you?" I left the answer blank.

When I entered the waiting room at lunch time another squad of journalists converged upon me. This time the interview was longer and the questions more polite. A military escort took me to lunch at a nearby restaurant where other inductees were already

eating. Here I had another opportunity to leaflet and discuss the war.

Upon returning to the induction center I filled out a long medical questionnaire while an army medic looked over my shoulder. I questioned him often about the nature of the various diseases listed. Finally he said, "If you had it, you'd know what it was."

Our next step was at urine analysis. I filled the cup they gave me up to the brim and handed it to an attendant behind the counter. "My cup overfloweth!" I exclaimed.

Nobody appreciated my humor, but the area did liven up a couple minutes later. Half a dozen men crowded around my cup and stared at a strip of lithmus paper.

"Well that's a hell of a note."

"Wouldn't you know it."

"Yea, all this for nothing."

Meanwhile I wondered which was worse, diabetes or prison. When I met the doctor he informed me that sugar had been found in my urine. Not long after that, however, a medic came in and asked the doctor to please check the test; that they were having trouble. The doctor returned a couple of minutes later, a disgruntled look on his face. "You would think they'd know enough to wait the required ten seconds," he said.

The doctor was young and rather pleasant. He sat behind his desk and ran down my medical questionnaire. "Beating and palpating heart?"

"Only when I'm scared."

"If figured. Cramps in legs from lifting weights?"

"Right."

"What do you mean by homosexual tendencies?"

"Well according to Freud we've all got them; although I haven't noticed mine yet."

Our conversation was interrupted by a messenger. All I could hear at first was whispering. Then the doctor's voice became audible, "You mean I can't disqualify him." There was a long pause while the doctor looked perplexingly at the messenger. "I get it," he said at length. "They want me to hold him in abeyance."

PRE-INDUCTION PHYSICAL

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so that my ideas wouldn't infect anyone. The scene itself was so good that no further action on my part was necessary.

The special detail had another advantage. Most of the physical is spent waiting in lines and so it takes all day. I was escorted to the head of each line and "processed" at top speed. It must have set some sort of record.

After being examined I was escorted back to the head office where Lt. Marvin began the procedure of ordering me off the base never to return. He was interrupted midway through the ceremony by a medic who came hustling in with the news that "Mr. Price" had not signed the security form (the one with the organizations). This meant that I was taken upstairs again to a special office for this sort of thing where I was confronted with a nice secretary and more forms about my life and activities. These are for your impending FBI investigation. I refused to sign most of these also. Sooner or later they get around to handing you one with the question, "Are you a Communist?" so you have the chance to answer yes if you feel so inclined. If you don't go through the procedure of refusing to sign the first form (back in the test room) and refusing to take the Fifth you won't have the Communist question asked in this way.

Finally the secretary was satisfied that she had gotten everything out of me that she could and I was escorted back downstairs for the sending-off ceremony. Again the lieutenant was interrupted by a medic who informed him that Mr. Price would have to return for an interview with the shrink. (It seems the shrink was preoccupied that day.) Lt. Marvin took it all with stoic military bearing and proceeded to have me escorted off the base.

I could have remained on the base and gone back to Lansing with the other guys but the day-long confrontation had been very wearing on my nerves and I had had enough for one day. More recent experiences show that I could have been more effective if I had ridden back with the guys I came with. Many of them have since stopped me on the street to ask what had happened to me and to voice support for what I had done. Riding back on the bus

"Was that about anything that concerns me." I asked. "No," he said, "it was for my information only." He then told me I was to stay overnight in a nearby hotel. In the morning I would be interviewed by a psychiatrist.

The waiting room, where I went next, was less crowded by now. About twenty men sat in the back watching a television set. First I refilled my pockets with leaflets from my overnight bag. Then I sat down to talk awhile with the men to either side of me. They listened politely and argued their positions. After about five minutes I got up and began distributing leaflets. Most of the men took the leaflets, read them or folded them to stuff in a pocket. A few would not accept them and one threw his to the ground.

"Harris! Stop that right away," a voice boomed from the back of the room. I turned around and saw a tall man striding through the rows at top speed, collecting leaflets as he went. As I took my seat I said, "This is supposed to be a democracy. Why can't we read both sides of an issue." His reply was to step on my foot as he strode back through the row.

As result of this incident an officer escorted me to an empty room. I sat by myself for about a half hour, then the same Marine sergeant that had given me a speech that morning walked in. He began giving me another speech. In brisk military fashion, he informed me where I would spend the night, have supper and breakfast, etc. I gave him a real friendly look, like as to say, "Hey, let's cut the crap buddy. You seem like a nice guy. So why should we have to go through with this." My gaze disconcerted him and he stumbled over the last few lines.

I spent the night with friends. The next morning when I arrived at the restaurant for breakfast, my military escort was waiting. He telephoned the induction center to tell them I had arrived. Nobody even mentioned the fact that I was an hour late. I ate breakfast with a fellow who told me he would have dodged or fled the country if he didn't

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would have been the most effective way of showing them that you can confront the system and get away with it.

Several weeks later I was again ordered to report to the Greyhound depot for my interview with the shrink. This time I had to go late in the afternoon on a regular bus and they put me up overnight in the Pick-Fort-Shelby Hotel in downtown Detroit. In the morning I was picked up and taken back to Fort Wayne.

My interview wasn't scheduled until early afternoon so I spent the hours walking around the examining station talking to the guys about the war and the draft in a discreet manner. Whenever I was approached and asked what I was doing I merely had to show them my orders; upon seeing these they figured I was nuts, and left me alone.

When the time for the interview came, a group of us -- all there for the same reason -- were taken into a waiting room where we were assigned numbers and called in one at a time. Each interview lasted about three minutes. Mine went something like this: Shrink: Why do you seem to be so nervous? (I had truthfully checked some nervous-oriented disorders upon the medical form at the first physical.)

Me: Because I am very alienated from this society.

Shrink: Well . . . what do you want me to do about it?

Me: Make a revolution!

Shrink: I see . . . well, thank you very much for coming in to talk with me. Oh! before you go, how do you feel about going into the Army?

Me: I won't go into the Army!

Shrink: Yes . . . well . . . thank you very much.

I then went to the assigned station and was told that I had been rejected.

Now a word about the interview. Everything I told the shrink was what I honestly believed. Furthermore, I had a record of political activity to back it up. If it was convincing it was because it was true. Please keep this in mind if you are considering a put-on.

So end my experiences at Fort Wayne. I hope that putting this on paper will benefit individuals and the movement.

A confrontation

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already know he had a sure IV-F.

Two military escorts drove me to a nearby hospital to see the psychiatrist. They opened doors for me wherever we went, even the car door for me to get out. I was expecting a salute any minute. "Why are you guys so polite to me?" I asked.

"Nothing personal involved," said one.

"That's the trouble," I grumbled. "If you don't mean it, please don't do it." If anything doors were snapped open more briskly.

The psychiatrist pretty well fit the stereotype. He was short and balding with large compassionate eyes which he fixed on me from time to time as if to say. "Yes, we understand, go on." I spoke with him for a half an hour, trying to find circumstances in my past that would explain my present resistance. At one point he questioned me about my political beliefs. I tried to explain participatory democracy to him. "More communistic," he said sympathetically. I made a half-hearted attempt to compare our elites with bureaucratic elites of Russia, but I rather doubt that the idea penetrated.

I have some rather far out ideas which I can drag out if I need them. He seemed interested. "Do things ever seem unreal to you," he asked. I told him about certain hallucinations that appear as a result of practicing Zen meditation.

"How about LSD? Have you ever taken any?"

"No," I admitted, "but that's only because I'm getting there without it." I don't know what went on in his mind. I meant merely that my awareness was gradually expanding.

Back at the induction center I sat on a bench and fidgeted nervously while waiting for the verdict. Most federal prisons are not that bad, I reminded myself. One can read, perhaps even learn a trade. Off to my right a pretty young secretary sat at her desk. An inductee gave her his classification card. I wondered what her reaction would be when I tore mine to shreds before handing it over.

While I was debating whether or not to propagandize a nearby Negro secretary an official called me into the doctor's office. The doctor glanced over the psychiatrist's notes and in a sympathetic tone of voice told me. "You have been found medically disqualified."

"Frankly," I said, "I wasn't anxious to qualify for your organization, but thanks anyway."

"I feel it is my duty to warn you," he continued, "that you are heading for a severe psychotic breakdown."

Perhaps I had made a little too strong of an impression. I consider myself to be in excellent mental health, whatever that means, and I told him so. He only shook his head tolerantly. One can't always reason with the mentally ill.

A military official escorted me down the hall and into a small waiting room. Several inductees glanced up as we entered. The official strode to a counter in the front to get my return bus ticket. I took my last remaining leaflets out and distributed them.

"Harris! Cut that out!" In short order the leaflets were collected, some of them torn from hands.

"By the way," I said, "this reminds me, am I not supposed to get all my leaflets back?" We went to various officials. The last one on the line stared helplessly at my escort.

"The F.B.I. has them," he said at last. They looked at me.

"That's o'kay boys," I said grandly. "The F.B.I. might learn something from them." I could afford to be generous. I was a free man and our experiment had been a success.

Two of the demonstrators were arrested in an incident described elsewhere in this issue. Publicity on this affair, the demonstration, and on me was generally slanderous, as might be expected. A radio station in Dayton broadcast an editorial which contained many falsehoods. Among them, the editorial claimed that I had been disqualified for a physical defect which I knew beforehand would exempt me. The title of the editorial was "Laughing All the Way Back to College." Claude Allen, a faculty advisor to the Cincinnati S.D.S., has been on television twice to defend the anti-draft union. Last Sunday on a Cincinnati T.V. program called "Impact" Carl Oglesby debated with four panel members on conscription, Vietnam and the new left. This kind of visibility probably does us no harm but the real work lies ahead. We must create unions that are a practical as well as a moral alternative to conscription.

ITHACA - case study

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announced that he was 1-A, was not applying for CO and would refuse induction, arguing his court case on the grounds of involuntary servitude. This was it, as it seemed. We had organized realizing that non-cooperation was in the offing for many of us, and that we were together partially so that we could support each other in time of crisis. Dave, it appeared, would be the first of our group to face prison. We began to discuss with him what we might do to support him. We decided that since his position was shared by us and since it was simply a bureaucratic accident that he was to be called before the rest of us, we would not let him go alone -- we would go with him. From the point he refused induction until his arrest, one of us would be handcuffed to him at all times, and we would employ an elaborate system to inform the others of the arrest so that they could get themselves handcuffed into the chain. Fortunately, the plan never got beyond this stage. Some of us had been talking with him about his position and the reality of his decision. We found that he had not considered very seriously the possibility of going to prison (this situation arose rather early in the life of the group). He felt he would win his court case. Some checking discovered that he had very little chance of winning such a case. With this new information that the refusal of induction meant prison, Dave still felt it was the only course open to him. A number of us felt uncomfortable at this point, and began trying to bring some of Dave's feelings about this action to the surface. As we talked together Dave began to realize that going to prison would be an immoral act for him, and that he honestly could apply for CO. Being together in this experience was important to the development of our community.

In another case a month later, Bruce Dancis announced that he was planning to destroy his draft card publicly. Bruce was 1-B, and already a long-standing pacifist. He had registered only because of the provision for CO, but since that time had decided that any cooperation with Selective Service was objectionable to him. He decided to become a non-cooperator. For some of us who had known Bruce's position over a period of time his decision seemed solidly based, and we were not worried that he might be ignoring his true feelings. For others his case appeared to be very similar to Dave's, though Bruce readily acknowledged that he would have to spend some time in prison. Some tried to dissuade Bruce from his action while others simply accepted his decision. We met to decide how we might support Bruce. We found it all too obvious that the only meaningful support from us would be to destroy our draft cards with him. Not being willing to take that action at the time, we were discouraged, and could only give publicity-type support. Bruce went ahead with his decision. The effect on the group at first was disturbing. While it did raise the level of seriousness as only an action can, we found no way to be together in the action. The group

published an ad on the same day as Bruce's action saying, "WE WON'T GO. The undersigned men of draft age will not serve in the U. S. military and encourage others to do the same." This ad was effective in its own right. We were together in it. But it was an action taken independently of Bruce's action.

It seems that Bruce's action, while initially divisive, may have been crucial in the development of the group. It raised two months ago the question of draft card burning, which now has become a serious possibility for most of us. (See Section VI).

V. MOVING INTO TOWN

From the beginning the "we won't go" group had a sense that we should organize in the locality. The people who face the draft immediately with their lives are not on campus but in town. The first moves into town came independently of any group decision. Two of the people began on their own to leaflet the buses taking people from Ithaca to Syracuse for their pre-induction physicals. They wrote a leaflet which they brought to the group for criticism. The names and phone numbers of all the participants were included in the leaflet, along with a suggestion that potential inductees should call if they needed some help. Two other guys went to talk with a woman whose son had been sent to Vietnam, and who had written to the Ithaca paper criticizing the government's position. She gave them some names of friends of her son who faced induction but did not want to go.

We began to discuss how to approach the guys in town who faced induction in a more systematic manner. We needed a phone number where people could call for help and perhaps a place where we might talk with high school and working guys. We soon decided to try to open a counseling center in town. We would advertise this center in a variety of ways (newspapers, mailings to the high school juniors and seniors, leafleting certain sections of town, speaking to church and community youth groups, etc.). We would try to maintain contact with the guys we counseled and if possible organize a "we won't go" movement in town. We also saw the possibility of stimulating adult participation in the counseling center, thus building a wider base of support for potential action and focusing activity among adult peace people in Ithaca. These are difficult goals, and we are still in the beginning stages.

A store front would have been ideal for the center, but we did not have the financial resources. The Unitarian Parish House was an excellent possibility because of its location next door to the local draft board. We entered a long negotiation with the Unitarians which finally resulted in their leasing us a space at a nominal rent. The discussion within the Church was itself a valuable start toward the goal of building a base of adult support. We opened the center in mid-January for 14 hours per week. We got a full stock of literature and a telephone and began to advertise in the local papers.

AGAINST THE DRAFT IN CINCINNATI

Cincinnati SDS

On March 2, 35 people from Antioch and Cincinnati demonstrated at the Cincinnati Federal Building in support of Bill Hartzeg, an SDS anti-draft organizer who was being arraigned for draft refusal. A week later 50 or 60 people demonstrated in support of Mark Harris who was refusing induction. Mark is an anti-draft union organizer in Southern Ohio.

During the demonstration, five of the demonstrators entered the induction center proper to leaflet and talk with the inductees. After they left, Deputy U. S. Marshalls ordered them to leave the building. When someone asked the Marshalls what law was being broken -- three of the five were shoved into an elevator. One of the three was tear-gassed with one of those "lady Protectors." As another of the three was being dragged from the building, he too was gassed. When the two victims went to the infirmary in the Federal Building to have their eyes washed out, they were arrested for "assault of a federal official." The penalty can be as stiff as three years and \$5,000.

The demonstration was considered successful since 1) The inductees were friendly and receptive to the leafleters. 2) People in the picket line made a point of talking to bystanders. There were a lot of conversations

of this sort. 3) Mark reported that he got a good response from his fellow-inductees. 4) Mark was not drafted.

The demonstrations were staged by the anti-draft unions of Antioch, Cincinnati, and Earlham. The combined membership, after about a month of organizing, is 150. Now, our movement tends to look for a magic key that will unlock all the chains of oppression and brainwashing that our people bear. There is, of course, no such key. Anti-draft unions are not an "Open Sesame." But they are an effective, substantial blow against a vital part of the machinery of oppression. The experience of Mark and organizers in Chicago shows that daily, serious work among young black men, high school students in general, and college types can yield a true, not symbolic resistance and mobilization on the part of the real victims of the U. S. government and its employers.

Cincinnati will be taking the first steps in anti-draft high school organizing; we hope that those who have had such experience will use NLN to enlighten and encourage these of us toiling away in lower Ohio.

Money is urgently needed for the defense of the tear-gas victims. After you have saved SDS from bankruptcy, send your extra money to the Stanley-Wolf Defense fund, 221 Xenia Avenue, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

Since that time we have had about 30 people seek help at the center and an increasing number seek help from us as individuals. We have failed so far to follow up on the contacts made or to undertake any of our more ambitious advertising programs. We have made one unsuccessful attempt to initiate an adult supporting group.

There are two major dangers resulting from the move we are trying to make in the town. The first danger results from having been partially "institutionalized." The Unitarians required that we give them a name for the group, and the names of a president and an advisor, and that we sign an agreement with them. Up until that point we had none of these things and were not pleased to have to select "leaders." We decided to separate the counseling center from our other activity and to formalize ourselves only for that one function. To the public we became the Selective Service Counseling Committee operating the Selective Service Counseling Center. The tendency now that we are institutionalized in this partial sense is to rest on the Center and expect people to come to us. Our slowness in reaching out from the center to do organizing is at least partially the result of the ease of thinking that we are already organizing in town simply by manning a counseling service.

The second major danger is related to the first: a counseling center in itself is not a radical idea. If we use the center for contacts to begin organizing, we can do radical work. If we allow the center to be self-contained we are on the same path that the civil rights "tutorial programs" eventually took. That is, we will be in the liberal bag of simply trying to "help" people in a specific and limited way. The center eventually will repel radicals and come to be manned by people who have no desire to organize, but only to "make needed information available" and show what a democratic system the draft is because a select few can get CO.

With the reservations discussed, I think that the move into town is essential to the draft resistance movement and a very significant comment on the method of organizing. Militant resisters, if the movement grows, will and should come from among those people who normally would provide the cannon fodder. Certainly the draft comes into the lives of all young men in very real ways, but militant resistance among students is lessened by the fact that it often seems like martyrdom. The encouraging thing about the Ithaca experience is that, organized the way it was, there is a natural dynamic toward off-campus organizing. I suspect that this dynamic would occur in most similarly organized groups. All participants will gain greatly in clarification of their positions, but there is a dead end for such discussion. The move into town and into work with potentially more militant resisters is one very meaningful way to go beyond that dead end.

IV WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

The experience of the Ithaca group suggests one other way to go beyond intimate personal discussion among students. This way again is rooted in these very important personal discussions and on the real communication which leads to real decisions. At the time when Bruce destroyed his draft card there was very little interest among the group for others to follow. Since that time (mid-December) we have had little chance for the full group to discuss personal stands. What meetings we have had in the Christmas, exams, semester break period have been devoted primarily to the functioning of the counseling center and the effort to organize in town.

It seems, though, that several individuals in the group have come to an increasingly militant stand. Five individuals in the group, with the support of most of the others, have sent out a call nationally for 500 people to burn their draft cards on April 15, principally in New York City. (This call has been printed in New Left Notes).

Such action, in terms of the dynamic of our group, clearly goes beyond the potentially terminal point of personal discussion and the public statement, "WE WON'T GO." This decision on the part of most of our group seems to open the way for real draft resistance. Our discussion has centered on the question of whether such an action would be simply a protest or whether it could be useful as one of the steps in initiating a resistance movement. As a protest, the action would be one of the most militant we can

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a call

6 March 1967
Ithaca, New York

The armies of the United States have, through conscription, already oppressed or destroyed the lives and consciences of millions of Americans and Vietnamese. We have argued and demonstrated to stop this destruction. We have not succeeded. Powerful resistance is now demanded: radical, illegal, unpleasant, sustained.

In Vietnam, the war machine is directed against young and old, soldiers and civilians, without distinction. In our own country, the war machine is directed specifically against the young, against blacks more than against whites, but ultimately against all.

Body and soul, we are oppressed in common. Body and soul, we must resist in common. The undersigned believe that we should begin this mass resistance by publically destroying our draft cards at the Spring Mobilization.

WE URGE ALL PEOPLE WHO HAVE CONTEMPLATED THE ACT OF DESTROYING THEIR DRAFT CARDS TO CARRY OUT THIS ACT ON APRIL 15, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THIS PLEDGE BECOMES BINDING ONLY WHEN 500 PEOPLE HAVE MADE IT.

The climate of anti-war opinion is changing. In the last few months, student governments, church groups, and other organizations have publically expressed understanding and sympathy with the position of individuals who refuse to fight in Vietnam, who resist the draft. We are ready to put ourselves on the line for this position, and we expect that these people will come through with their support.

We are fully aware that our action makes us liable for penalties of up to five years in prison and \$10,000 in fines. We believe, however, that the more people who take part in this action, the more difficult it will be for the government to prosecute.

(Signed) Jan L. Flora
Burton Ira Weiss
Robert J. Nelson
Michael E. Rotkin
Timothy Larkin

If you decide to take part in this action, please return the following form to:

Bruce Dancis
107 Dryden Road
Ithaca, New York 14850
(607) 273-0535

(We will notify you when the minimum number of participants has been reached.)

I PLEDGE TO DESTROY MY DRAFT CARD AT THE SPRING MOBILIZATION IN NEW YORK CITY ON APRIL 15, 1967 IF THERE ARE AT LEAST 500 PEOPLE WHO WILL TAKE THIS ACTION AT THE SAME TIME.

NAME ADDRESS PHONE

WHAT IS A D.R. UNION?

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to their victory over the government when the hoped-for showdowns begin to occur. In short, the draft resistance unions must begin to give thought to the question of how to be successful in revolution.

It is perhaps understandable that at this stage of the game the groups which have had the least difficulty in working out a revolutionary political stance have been Black nationalist in orientation. The manifesto of the *Afro Americans for Survival* is a good example:

We are united in believing that this is a racist war and that Black men have nothing to gain by fighting for racist America. We intend to make a stand. We will fight it out in the courts, the streets and halls of Congress. We call upon all our brothers and sisters to support us in this struggle, for is it not better for Black men to fight for Black survival in America than for Black men to fight for white domination in Vietnam?

This manifesto is a good revolutionary appeal for three reasons. First, its assertion that Vietnam is a "racist war and that Black men have nothing to gain by fighting for racist America" is not only a true statement, but also a statement which cannot be dismissed by the Black men who are its target. Second, by calling upon Black people to unite to act in a way that is so obviously in their common interest it aims to compound the problems of the government in suppressing the movement. Finally, it spells out a change in the rules of the game in the U.S.A.: From now on the colonized Black men of this country are going to concentrate on their own liberation instead of toting a rifle in the white man's war of repression against another colonized people struggling for liberation.

Thus, we arrive at some rules of thumb for revolutionary undertakings. First of all, the basic description of how things really are must make much more sense to the people who are to be organized than does the officially favored view of how things are. Indeed, the goal should be to come up with an argument that makes so much sense that it can completely supplant the official world view and relegate it to the scrap heap reserved for "crackpot" notions. An example of an official world view that has been tossed in the "crackpot" heap is to be found in Bayard Rustin's famous "Freedom Budget for All Americans." This document, often with overtones of desperation, argues that the American social system does not provide sensible grounds for organized Black resistance to the established order. It maintains that Black men should believe that they have been the victims of an unfortunate little accident which can be easily remedied as soon as the government commits enough of its budget to the War on Poverty. It even ventures to project an ever bigger military establishment which can be supported in its accustomed style right alongside the War on Poverty -- thanks to policies which would be aimed more at expanding the absolute size of the economy than at the redistribution of wealth. As things turned out, however, the basic idea of the "Freedom Budget for All Americans" was so quickly proved to be "crackpot" that even Bayard Rustin was forced to admit that Black people who believe in it are being taken for a ride. The Rustin admission came at a Senate hearing in which War on Poverty cutbacks were being aired. According to a WASHINGTON POST report, Rustin conceded that "The people who have the power are now withdrawing the little carrot that was part of our agreement to maintain stability in the ghetto" and that as a result of this "Negro leaders cannot be held responsible for the reaction that occurs as a result of paring down the war on poverty."

The next basic rule of revolution is to get more and more people to adopt as their own the new view of reality which has replaced the "crackpot" view and to let that new view guide their actions. In other words, the revolutionary tries to make behaviour that is unsanctioned by the state more legitimate in the eyes of the people than the old way of doing things. Once the people begin to make up their own rules, it is no longer so easy for the government to use force to impose its will, because, in the eyes of the people who are effected by its actions, the government can no longer appeal to legality and morality to justify what it is doing. The people come to think of the government as an alien thing which is trying to suppress their way of life.

Unfortunately, it is much easier for Black people to sustain a revolutionary draft resistance ideology than it is for whites. The great mass of American whites do not enjoy such aids to revolutionary consciousness as rats, the welfare department, the cops, and the napalming of little colored children on the eleven o'clock news. For white draft resisters, the usual reason for forming a draft resistance

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think of. It would gain publicity, and it would demonstrate seriousness of at least a small group of people. The protest might stimulate a wave of similar action and help to communicate broadly the idea of draft refusal, especially among the non-urban poor and middle class youths who now have no notion of it.

The question in debate among us has been whether the protest should be continued by acceptance of prison, or whether we should also try to resist going to prison. The argument for going to prison stems from the long-standing belief that "public opinion" will then work to change existing conditions -- will end the war. Those arguing against such a position say that it is rooted in the false belief that America is a democratic country -- that the operative power lies with the people. People supporting imprisonment are saying that when all else has failed (rational argument, letters to Congress, appeals to conscience, and all of the milder forms of protest) finally our bodies on the line in prison will put the democratic process to work. Opponents say that America has rendered us powerless at our present level of organization, and that even by going to prison we are powerless to make change. These people say we should burn our draft cards if it will help to build a resistance movement, but that we should do everything possible to join that resistance movement ourselves -- inside the country and outside of prison. We have not been able to see clearly how such an "underground" could function, but we sense that we are at the beginning of such a movement. Just as the first freedom riders were breaking the ground for protest without a clear idea of where or how it would lead them and America, so are the first "prison refusers" setting off on a course for which they have little or no experience.

The resolution of this question of protest vs. resistance probably will come in Ithaca only a personal level. More than any other decision, this one must be made by each individual. I expect that after the demonstration some of us will mail the ashes of our cards to our local boards, taking a clear step towards prison, while others of us will not tell our boards anything and do everything we can to impede and avoid our imprisonment.

What the problems arising from the draft card burning will do to the group as such cannot be analyzed at this point. However, it is interesting to note in this case the high degree of equality of participating and influence among members of the group. Everyone, it seems to me, has turned to himself to make his decision about his own action. It is very rare in my experience where this self-reliance has occurred in a grass-roots type group. As Americans we have been systematically miseducated to rely on leaders, things, others, anything but ourselves, for our decisions.

With our proposed action still in the future and with our counseling center and attempts to organize in town still in beginning stages, I cannot say anymore completely where we go from here. I have the distinct feeling that we are heading toward resistance, but I expect many stops and starts before we reach that point. In all probability, our group will become even less formal (except for the counseling center) and perhaps some of us will move out to organize new groups or to go into an underground or both. Some of us most likely will stop working on the draft issue entirely, having derived the benefit of participating in the group, but finding other directions for our lives in the movement.

VII EVALUATION

1) As an organizing method

This technique of organizing requires two

union is the insistence upon acting in accord with a amoral judgement of the actions of the government in conducting the war. What has been lacking is a formula which works toward dissolving the government's capacity to implement legally and morally sanctioned suppression of the unions. In other words, we have not -- as yet -- used the draft resistance unions to actively propagate a view of how things really are that is so compelling that it supplants official doctrine. And we have not as yet been able to foment a process of people's common-sense rule-making that leads to the creation of a new way of life in white America.

In a very real sense, the limitations on our ability to speed the popular rule-making process are attributable to the fact that we have been restricting ourselves to an issue which is far removed from the eyes and everyday concerns of most of our organizing targets. If draft resistance unions continue to restrict their critique of official reality to something so removed and abstract as the war in Vietnam, they run the risk of being snowed under by the power-serving mass media and the other institutions which renew and refurbish the inverted American world view during every day which passes.

It would be much more realistic, and much more fun, for draft resistance unions to supplement their critique of the inverted American foreign policy reality with approaches that lend themselves more easily to appeals to the common sense and

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Ithaca

to three months of continuous effort on the part of the organizer. He must hold the group back from making unreal decisions, and he must make every effort to establish real communication among the participants. He must understand that if he is successful the group will gain its own dynamic, and that he will be unable to direct it to decisions of his own choosing. This time and effort might be seen as a weakness as compared to campus organizing techniques which form a forty-member action group in two weeks. I believe, however, that there are very important strengths possible which justify this time and effort.

The draft as an organizing issue lends itself well to the formation of groups where each person has equal participation and influence. Each person has his own experience with Selective Service, and each person's position can be respected and discussed by the whole group -- no one has the special "authority" or the greatest "experience." To organize in the way done in Ithaca realizes this possibility. It builds a solid group (call it union or community) where each person relies on himself for leadership.

An equally important strength is that a group organized in this way seems to generate its own dynamic independent of any one or two participants. This dynamic propels group thinking to a level that one leader and a number of followers can rarely achieve. The dynamic also propels implementation of decisions which come out of the real communication established and seems to inspire individuals to implement their own ideas on their own.

The radically democratic nature of the group and the self reliance which results has very important "internal education" type results. Each person in the group grows in his ability as an organizer and each person goes through a radicalizing process. So often, radicalization comes from travel -- to the third world, to Europe or to the American South -- where a view of the true nature of American society is more obvious. The draft is an issue where people are radicalized by organizing to fight their own fight. Their foe is an authoritarian American institution which they can see in a very real way without ever leaving their own home area. I feel that this model of organizing will work with most student-type anti-war people and with high school people and non-students generally.

2) In political terms

Obvious but long-range political gains are made by this method in terms of the changes in people's lives and the education as organizers. More immediate political effectiveness is not yet clear. There is no necessity within the type of organization and the dynamic established within the group that the group will move to a political confrontation with the system. A group organized in this way might well move in directions which avoid direct political confrontation and which emphasize individual morality experience, etc. The organizer has no more power than anyone else to steer this direction. There is, I believe, a natural tendency within such a group to move out to the people most directly threatened by the draft. Such a tendency, if followed, probably initiates a dynamic for political confrontation out of solidarity with those facing induction. My experience does not go as far as the results of an organizing effort within the town, so I am only speculating about its effects. I do not attribute the draft card burning decision in Ithaca to our work with the Counseling Center (which has not yet become an organizing effort), but rather to the original dynamic within the group. Our group is definitely trying to take the path of political confrontation.

CONSCRIPTION LAW

(Continued from page 3)

more variable aspects which are more difficult to control, at least explicitly. In the past, the governmental functions for dealing with manpower have been separated from those dealing with materials. (The Dept. of Agriculture is a notable exception.) The SSS has concerned itself almost entirely with the manpower aspects of planning and control. The basic operative principle of the SSS has been the "maximum utilization of available manpower." In the context of this maxim, "available" refers to all those men who are useful to the military industrial labor force, who can function as prescribed in its various sectors. In recent years, there has been more attention as well to those whose background has rendered them essentially unuseful, but who through government sponsored programs have "potential usefulness", especially in those areas that require little skill -- such as foot soldiers.

The recommendation of the lottery system to replace the current SSS is an indication that the executive branch of the government has decided that the old way is no longer feasible in maximizing the utility of available manpower. Three factors were largely responsible for this policy change, and will be discussed below. 1) The build-in inequities of the current deferment system have received very clear public visibility with the result that there has been widespread indignation. The political discrediting and conflict that result are obviously undesirable effects of a system designed to minimize visibility and conflict. 2) The last 10 years have seen the rapid growth of both public and private programs which have assumed manpower channelling functions; thus, the SSS is no longer so crucial in this field. 3) Many government and corporate leaders have come to doubt whether the SSS is the best administrative structure to oversee manpower allocation. There are indications that these leaders believe that, given the current structure of American corporate industrialism, manpower allocation could best be accomplished by departmentalizing this function in various sectors of the government and private industry.

The reevaluation of the usefulness of the manpower channeling aspect of the SSS is indicative of a current change in the government's view of how this function will be handled in the future. It indicates also a clearer articulation of the division of roles between the public and the private sectors of the economy. Although this is not the place to discuss this (a future article in NLN will carry an article on this topic) I mention it briefly as it is important to understanding the rationale behind such a major change. Briefly, the government is beginning to realize that it does not have the facilities or the mandate to become deeply involved in manpower allocation. Thus, it is heading in the direction of manpower preparation, while the private sector is preparing to assume the responsibility for assuring the availability -- in five to twenty year perspectives -- of specific groups of skilled labor. Through the job corp, education and other such programs, the government gives masses of men the basic skills needed in the economy today and teaches them to expect and want to then receive further training in a specific sector of the economy. From there, the private sector takes over and through the rapidly growing training programs trains its own men for its own future use.

There have also been many criticisms that the SSS, despite the breadth of the law setting it up, is still too isolated and separated from many aspects of the economy to really operate efficiently in manpower allocation. Currently, information is gathered and distributed from a vast number of people in federal, state and local governments and in industrial concerns. There are certain committees, such as the Interagency Committee on Essential Activities and Critical Occupations, which serve to process and analyze a lot of the information. For the most part, however, it seems that the process of information distribution and analysis is quite informal and therefore haphazard if a really thorough job is to be done. Furthermore, the general character of the SSS administration, especially the senility of the draft boards, in no way assures the efficient and sophisticated implementation that this pervasive function demands.

A SSS based on a lottery would have several advantages over the old way in minimizing disruption. By specifying and limiting the time of liability, the duration of uncertainty would be greatly reduced. Furthermore, when men are nineteen, they have not yet seriously started to train for specific careers; unions, corporations have not yet invested resources in training them, and they have not yet been entered into long term planning schedules.

In addition, there is a general feeling that those who have had military experience for at least two years and then reenter the institutions of society, such as the university, would have a beneficial affect on the prevailing attitudes of these institutions, since they would be older, and thence, more serious about the business "of getting down to business". And of course, the lottery would pacify most of the present critics of the draft because of its equalitarian trappings.

Beneath the surface of the endorsement of the lottery, however, there are some basic conflicts within the government. These will probably be manifested when the lottery system is worked out in more detail. More specifically, it is unlikely that the deferment system will be abolished as thoroughly as was advised by the Marshall Commission. The basic split comes between those who continue to think that the SSS must continue its channelling functions and those who feel that they are now dispensable. Johnson, when he endorsed the Marshall Commission recommendations, seemed to side with those who think it is no longer feasible -- though his statements on deferments indicated that he is not yet convinced that the channelling functions should be entirely eliminated. There is, at any rate, no consensus or clear feelings at this point as to how that question should be resolved. In all likelihood, when the lottery system is instituted, a skeleton deferment system, including deferments for some students, such as those in engineering, will remain. However, the new system would not classify these explicitly as deferments, but will create a more subtle structure -- i.e. perhaps it will take the form of a post-graduate tour of service for engineers, in engineering, in a fashion similar to the program outlined for doctors and dentists in the Marshall Report. It is also likely that there will be considerably more debate on how to weave in aspects of the National Service Program.

Thus, the switch to a lottery does not in any way negate the basic purpose of the U. S. Government, or the SSS -- to assure and plan for the maximum utilization of available manpower; to utilize it for the purposes prescribed by small elites, in the least disruptive way.

NO ALTERNATIVES

One final thing that it is important to look at is the way in which the change in the SSS was initiated and developed, for it is indicative of the kind of change that it will be. The impetus came both from the discontent of the American public at the inequities and from those directly involved in manpower planning as a result of inefficiencies of the operation of the current system. When these two factors became evident it was clear that some change was needed. However, all the various studies and commissions concentrated on finding ADMINISTRATIVE changes which could minimize the conflict and maintain or increase the progress towards the same predetermined goals. In other words, changes are again made with an eye to maximizing efficiency -- and conflict impairs efficiency.

In the process of evaluating programs and institutions and recommending changes, the government does not consider those positive human values which enable individuals to lead full human lives. Rather, the overriding concern is for efficiency, the efficiency of a mechanistic, atomistic society, which treats, and regards men as machines, and tries to maximize their efficiency in the same way that machine designers try to maximize the efficiency of steel moving against steel. Thus, individuality and creativity, rather than being positive forces in this system are clearly

TO AFFIRMATION

(Continued from page 4)

of resistance. Individual consciousness and action may appear to be isolated phenomena, but in fact, they grow out of and at the same time define a more general socio-cultural condition that could be labeled the "resistance gestalt" (a gestalt is a complex pattern of interacting events or conditions which cannot be defined by fewer than the sum of its parts).

Now that we all understand the impossibility of understanding anything less than the full essence of resistance, let's look in a rather artificial manner at the various ways in which an individual might come to the point of resistance.

There are currently two popular views regarding the stimulation or development of individual resistance. The first of these holds that an individual will be able to commit an act of resistance only after he has developed an intellectual (indeed, ideological) orientation that will allow him to understand his relationship to his environment. The individual's understanding of this relationship leads almost inevitably to the conclusion that he must act. In other words, when the individual comes to appreciate his subjugated relationship within a system of coercion that is supported by an inhuman society, he will choose to resist rather than remain unfree.

The second, and perhaps more popular conception of how individual resistance develops has sometimes been called the "action thesis" by those "movement" people who, during the years of their youth, gained access to the Saturday morning movies by employing the old "rush and crush" technique. The "action thesis" contends that individuals attain the psychological-behavioral status of a resister by viewing and engaging in acts of resistance. It is not necessary for the individual to have a fully developed awareness of his status in relation to the state or other people who are participating in acts of resistance. While the proponents of the "action thesis" are unclear about all the variables involved in precipitating this form of resistance, they feel that a call for action somehow stimulates the individual and allows him to break through his societally conditioned inhibitions with an act of resistance.

Both the intellectual and action models for explaining resistance have some merit in that there have been instances of individual resistance that would provide confirming data for both models. However, if one were to judge the validity of each model according to the frequency with which acts of resistance have occurred as the result of intellectual understanding vs. action induction, the action model would undoubtedly win out.

If by some abnormal assertion of will power you have managed to read thus far, you are probably beginning to wonder about what the hell draft resistance really means. No single definition or theoretical formulation will permit the understanding of the essence of resistance in America. For draft resistance is the existential stance described by the man who would die rather than be forced to kill. It is the action and awareness of a mother or young lover who hides or otherwise protects her man from the draft. It is that enthralling moment when groups of Americans stand together and express their deepest love for one another by shouting "NOT WITH OUR LIVES YOU DON'T".

UNION BEGETS LIFE

Although draft resistance in any particular place may commence with an individual expression of a rather prevalent but diffuse group concern with the draft, we have learned in the last few months that such actions become in some ways nothing more than futile gestures, unless they are supported by unified group activity. Individual resisters are easily isolated and punished, and this frequently leads to the demoralization of other potential resisters. Even if the individual resister is successful, his deed will remain unknown to all but a few people. For these and many other reasons, the development of unions of draft resisters should be regarded as essential to the development of an effective draft resistance movement in America. Great strength and an ability to endure hardship can be derived from a group of people who come together for the purpose of bargaining collectively for their freedom.

Successfully organizing or participating in the development of resisters unions is no simple matter. Although the techniques for fostering unions are still crude and unsophisticated, a few generalizations might be made concerning the organization and undertakings of resisters unions.

1. No one (with the possible exception of FBI agents) should be excluded from membership. Any attempt to initiate or maintain a group with a membership that includes only people who are willing to engage in "hard core" resistance is likely to fail. The reason for this statement is that it is very difficult to organize instant resistance. Persons interested in joining a union are likely to differ widely in their levels of sophistication and commitment. Such persons will have difficulty in coming to the point where they can openly engage in acts of resistance unless they are exposed (as members) to the educational activities and sense of solidarity that defines a draft resisters union.

2. The feeling of group solidarity and community that must be developed if a union is to endure can be generated only by open and honest gut-level talks. Educational talks, panel discussions and seminars can be utilized to elucidate the nature of a power structure which kills hundreds of people each day, and these group activities should be structured in such a way as to maximize individual participation and involvement.

3. The use of "WE WON'T GO" petitions with varying formats has been popular with nearly all of the college groups in this country. These petitions and the activity of obtaining additional signatures has been the focal undertaking of several groups. The groups who have emphasized the signing of the petition or statement as a major activity have failed to develop the ongoing programs that are necessary for the development of a union. This failure suggests the following:

- A. While the petition may be utilized as a symbol of group solidarity, union members should be encouraged to attend several educational and soul sessions before making any decision to sign the petition. If people are allowed to sign the petition as an act of initiation, they may get cold feet and withdraw from the group at some later date. Such withdrawals can have a demoralizing and fragmenting impact upon a union.

- B. Some groups have adopted two petitions, one for draft eligible males, and another for women and non-draft eligible males. The wisdom of sponsoring two petitions should be questioned, because all persons participating in union activities are equally liable under both Selective Service law and the sedition acts. Perhaps

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disruptive and must be kept outside of it.

The pervasiveness of this way of thinking is seen in the Congressional response to the issue of changing the draft law. There are indeed a number of men in Congress who are courageous enough to vote against appropriations for Vietnam and who will vote against an extension of the current draft law (which would allow the creation of the lottery by executive order) for four years. But even these men have developed no alternatives to the draft. They are voting against the draft because their liberal sensitivities are disturbed by the inequities within the system -- but they do not confront the destructiveness and manipulateness of the whole DRAFT SYSTEM. They do not deal with the intimate relationship the draft plays with our foreign policy or with the operative values and goals that have come to guide this society.

Thus, a handful of votes against the draft law, though it is an increase over previous votes, is insignificant because they have no bearing on the real problem -- they are not positive votes for some real alternative. These men are unable to ask -- why should free men who want freedom for all men unable to break away from a coercive system entirely -- to resist that system in all its facets until it is broken down.

WOMEN AND THE DRAFT MOVEMENT

Francine Silbar

With the eruption of World War II women were called on to serve their country and to implement their income by being mobilized as an extra-reserve labor force. The new image of the so-called modern woman was called forth by the masters of Wall St. and Madison Ave. to leave the stove, pots, pans and babies and to become truly independent (from punch-in till punch-out).

Since the turn of the century and the women's suffragette movement, the western woman has tried to be equal to and independent from their "small masters," the males. Her freedom has been more like the 'guided democracy' in Spain or South Vietnam modeled, shaped and dictated for her by her "small masters". Both inside and outside the radical movement our "small masters" have decided the roles we should play in society. We lie, shy, pretend, deceive, bind up, cut off, put on and erase all to please this small tyrant, himself a pawn in the hands of capitalist society. As a rule, I would say that most men are innocent of the role they play in relationship to us in this warped society.

It's time to let them know! It is bad enough that we have to put up with the egotistical shenanigans of liberals, conservatives and 'apoliticals', but to have to tolerate this jazz inside the radical movement is nauseating.

We see the revolutionary emergence of anti-war and draft movements in response to the Vietnam war starting first on campus and now beginning to spread off campus. The formation of men only "We Won't Go" groups leaves us women somewhat in the position of Whites in the Civil Rights movement in relation to the development of the nationalist spirit. When Blacks decided that Whites no longer had a positive role to play in the Black community, many Whites wrung their hands in desperation, searching for meaningful roles. Quite a few elected to become clerks, typists, fundraisers and just about everything but effective organizers for human rights. Hard experience and frustration led many towards organizing Whites or reaching Blacks inaccessible and/or not ready for the nationalist movement.

Women face a similar position. Confronted with men only draft resistance groups we can turn in several directions. Many of us think the solution lies in forming women's auxiliary groups, offering their clerical skills, moral and financial support to our courageous brothers putting themselves on the line. On the other hand, we can learn from the analogous situation of White civil rights activists; combining their experience and our own as women. Groups of women can form independent organizations with the aim of reaching other women and men who for any reason can't immediately join the We Won't Go groups. We can initiate programs relevant to our campus or community, independently or in cooperation with men's draft resistance groups.

Generally, most women past their teens are already anti-draft for subjective reasons. Small discussion groups, movies, tapes, teach-ins, debates, etc. can help such women to understand the social basis of the draft, i.e., who and what it serves. Such political education can bring many women into active opposition to the war and some to radical anti-imperialist consciousness. Our most hand and (should be) most obvious tool for getting a foot inside the door is to talk about us. All women have misdirected antagonisms to our role or lack of one in this "fucked out" society. Sex is not a beautiful union between two individuals for mutual satisfaction, but a commodity, not only for sale but especially for selling. Women's breasts can sell anything from a bottle of beer to siding for your house. As sexual garbage cans we become deposit boxes of TV and movie sex tricks and reservoirs of mechanistic lust to be tapped at the whim of our thoughtless, self-centered "small master".

We can show how society has created our problem since we aren't all blonds and can't all have more fun. We can show that when the "big masters" of the economic system no longer need us to fill jobs for men off dying in their wars, they turn off the propaganda about emancipated women and the Madison Ave. push begins about how working mothers create J.D.'s (juvenile delinquents). We can show that the military arm of American capitalism fosters arrogant egotism in men, dehumanizing those to be killed, and thus degrading the value of life and encouraging manipulation of people as things. As an oppressed majority, we have

only to use our position in society as our guide to organizing.

Some women have expressed a desire to take a third course of action with regard to the We Won't Go groups, namely to organize women's Kamikaze groups to show commitment and daring equal to that of the men. This is ridiculous. Just as a White can't feel Black, a man can't feel woman and we can't know the oppression that directly affects men in the form of the draft. So to organize along more positive lines will be more realistic and fruitful. And if all the men involved in draft resistance get thrown in jail, we'll be that much more needed as organizers capable of winning people to active opposition and resistance to the war and the system that perpetuates it. Let's define our own roles, we don't have to be secretaries to be useful. What's the matter with men's hands anyway?

SUGGESTIONS:

(A) On-campus women could canvas women's housing before military balls (i.e., dances), talking with women about what the military does to men, what kind of policies it implements and the specifics about the present war in S. E. Asia. Boycotts and picket lines could be an immediate action around the dance, choosing a queen, etc. A focal point of discussion could be women's subservient role.

(B) Speaking with high school girls thru speakers programs, contacts or leafleting about ROTC, the military, foreign policies and the justice of draft resistance could both get these women thinking and acting on their own as well as provide vital support to unsure high school guys.

(C) Neighborhood canvassing teams, getting community feeling, setting up house meetings, food boycotts, etc. with young radical women, talking with housewives about very real problems.

PROTEST OF THE YOUNG

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of the war, and latent racism combined to prevent the identification by great numbers of youths with the Algerian struggle for independence. *Fraternite avec les Algeriens* was a utopian slogan, meaningless for the vast majority of young Frenchmen.

The reaction to the fascist conduct of the "Pieds noirs" (European settlers in Algeria) and the professional army, however, was vigorous. The antipathy which most young soldiers felt towards the *Pieds noirs* and their distrust and hostility toward the military machine facilitated the organization of a resistance movement against the fascist menace. This resistance was the expression of a vigorous, massive opposition to the rise of the extreme right and the fascists. In this action, the soldiers of the expeditionary force found widespread support in France. And for the first time, at the moment of the generals' putsch, the protest of the young soldiers in Algeria coincided with the stubborn resistance of the government in the face of the military menace, and with the protest of workers, students and intellectuals against the overthrow of legal institutions by the military.

During the last years of the Algerian war, 1961-62, the student protest took three main forms: public demonstrations of support by French youth for the struggle of the Algerian people, organization of the anti-fascist movement in the schools, universities and districts, with emphasis on resistance to the O.A.S. (Organisation Armee Secrete—the colonialist secret armed group); and action within the army itself. In its various forms, the anti-fascist movement represented the most massive and determined resistance by youth against the war. Perhaps, however, it was not the form of resistance most useful as an example for the present American situation.

II. ORGANIZATION OF NON-COOPERATION AND DESERTION

In the beginning, noncooperation and desertion were individual acts. These acts were inspired by different motives: personal beliefs, moral objection to war and violence, resistance based on political ideals. The most unexpected and most important phenomenon, however, was the attempt by the young to organize these various forms of protest, to encompass and amplify this diversified movement. The success at organizing a movement based on noncooperation, explaining it, effecting it, and popularizing it, was particularly admirable.

1. The organization of the Young Resistance

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direct experience of the people who are our organizing constituencies. We object to and resist the war in Vietnam because we feel it is an immoral use of the techniques that are available to this society. But why do we restrict ourselves to this remote subject? Why do we confine our rule-making to an area which does not speak directly to the concerns of most people? Why do we persist in the notion that we can create a way of life that is tangible enough to resist government suppression by aiming at a crackpot war to the exclusion of all the other crackpot ends which technique is made to serve in our land. In other words, draft resistance unions are only going to be able to get away with a revolutionary stance if they press forward with the revolution by broadening the definition of what it is they are resisting, and by creating a way of life that lends flesh and blood to the new definitions.

Admittedly, doing this among a materially wealthy people presents some difficulties. But there is mounting evidence that even affluent social systems are not exempt from revolutionary popular inventiveness.

The best example is the *Provos* of Amsterdam. Not long ago, this band of urban subversion artists took aim at the uses of bicycles -- bicycles being the technique which most folks in Amsterdam use to get around town. It seems that the cops over there had become overworked because the people of Amsterdam kept them busy tracking down all the cycles that they robbed from one another. In retaliation, the police handed down rules of bicycle security that seriously infringed upon the utility of the machines. The *Provos* reasoned that if one were to do away with the need of people to rob bicycles from one another, you would also do away with the restrictive rules that infringed upon the utility of the bicycles. And with a common-sense revolutionary pragmatism that slashed right to the core of the world view of their respectable capitalist land, the *Provos* refurbished some thousands of old bicycles, painted them white, and gave them away to the people of Amsterdam. They explained that the rider of a white bicycle can afford to ditch it as soon as he gets where he is going, leaving it for the next guy who needs to get somewhere. Needless to say, many minds were blown and some popular rule-making took place.

Another example of revolutionary inventiveness is the *Gentle Thursday* which recently hit Texas. The SDS chapter in Austin correctly perceived that the competitive and destructive way people relate to one another in our society -- by competing with one another in draft evasion exams, for example -- is a crackpot procedure. So they marshalled their resources to create a day when everybody at the University of Texas would have to confront a decent set of procedures that people can use to help one another get along in the world. The revolutionary idea that everybody should be nice to everybody else was endowed with power because people had been organized to act in accord with the idea.

For practical reasons, if for none other, it may be that the draft resistance unions can enrich their organizing efforts by assaulting the individual struggle and competition norms of American life. It has been said that those people who are being swallowed up by the legal induction mechanism and those who are illegally resisting that induction mechanism share the common fate of isolation. It would seem reasonable for the two to get together. A draft resistance union could stand outside a local draft board or examination and induction center and issue invitations for a rock and roll party. The fact of such a party taking place would be the beginning of the effective sabotage of a legal process which is designed to remove "selected"

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was essentially effected by the youths themselves--noncooperators and deserters. Although they represented a wide ideological spectrum--Christians, Communists, Radicals--they were all disillusioned with the forms of opposition which had been prepared and organized by the political parties and the unions. They were all disgusted by colonial repression. Many moved from opposition to military pacification (tortures, scorched earth operations, plunder) to opposition to colonialism *per se*. These youths found their own forms of expression (demonstrations, pamphlets), organized or tried to organize the students in high schools and colleges, and succeeded in popularizing, to a large degree, noncooperation. Certainly, they benefited from the moral support of older intellectuals--but this support only came later. And it never came by the formation in schools and colleges of groups of students demonstrating in favor of noncooperation and spreading the idea; to remain in France, noncooperators lived secretly and organized the movement.

2. Noncooperation and desertion were not negligible. While only about three thousand youths chose exile or chose to live underground, their choice was widely publicized. Abroad, eminent personalities (Karl Barth, Pastor Niemoller, Danilo Dolci, Fenner Brockway, ...) gave their support. In France itself there was the *Manifeste des 121*. However, the most important phenomenon was that the principle of noncooperation spread with great speed among youth movements. Largely accepted, noncooperation became a real threat to the government and the military. The government, thus, reacted with great brutality, but little success.

3. The organization of noncooperation was greatly aided in France by the experiences of the underground during World War II. Having adopted an illegal line of action, the youths had to live clandestinely. They benefited by the recent experience of political organizations of the anti-Nazi Resistance. The propaganda groups in the lycées and universities were established semiclandestinely. The infrastructure (hidden printing presses, underground railroad to the border) was organized in rigid secrecy. The most active militants learned to address one another by code names, to mistrust the telephone, to write with invisible ink, to wiretap and to carry false papers.

From 1958 to 1962, youths of the left and of the extreme right experienced a brutal apprenticeship to clandestine action. Pamphlets codifying the elementary rules of

security began to circulate: What was one's behavior before the police in case of arrest? How to avoid a chain of arrests? How to escape surveillance? In spite of the risks run (arrests were, however, few--a few dozen) the attraction of the clandestine life and illegal actions was great for French youth of this time.

4. One of the most elementary problems (but one difficult to resolve) was to determine the legal aspects of noncooperation and desertion. What was the status of the deserter or the noncooperator? What were the difficulties encountered? What form of defense to take in case of arrest? Some different opinions were heard on these matters. For one thing, a collection of lawyers was organized to assure the defense of deserters or noncooperators arrested by the police.

5. Another question of major importance was reception abroad. This problem had two aspects: What governments were willing to receive and protect noncooperators and deserters? And, on the other hand, how to organize the reception of funds? In most countries reception centers were established secretly, whose role was to provide for the newly arrived youths. An important work was undertaken to win sympathies and to form in each city a committee of solidarity. Once in exile, material problems assailed the noncooperators and deserters: how to obtain a visa, identity papers, work, scholarships to continue education.

The moral and psychological problems were not least: isolated, cut off from family and homeland, rejected by a large part of their friends, the youths lived through a very difficult experience. They needed then to be able to find themselves among others who had made the same choice or to find in the new country those who would receive them with sympathy.

The principal difficulty, however, remained in organizing the reception of the youths. Providing for them, their passage to the frontier by "underground railway," posed considerable problems of security. These problems were only solved with the help of older militants engaged in the support of Algerian nationalism.

6. Finally, to give it greater effect, the noncooperation movement was publicized. Of course, some young people preferred to escape service more discretely by medical reasons (maladies feigned to obtain an exemption). But the noncooperation movement made sense only if it became widely, publicly known. By the power of books, of

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from frustration to affirmation

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more important however, is the fact that dual petitions are likely to undermine the collective aspect of a union's morale.

4. The building of a cohesive and durable union requires the active involvement of union members in a way that permits each of them to view himself as an organizer on the move. There are a number of ways in which this objective can be accomplished.

A. Union members can be trained to do draft counselling of the organizing type. The thrust of such counselling should be in the direction of involving new people in the union. However, counselors should be familiar with the numerous methods of beating the draft, and they should be prepared to offer concrete and immediate solutions to the man faced with impending induction.

B. The newer and less educated members of the union should be given the opportunity to participate in various types of confrontation activities. Some examples of this type activity are leafletting or demonstrating at pre-induction or induction centers, disrupting draft board activities, etc.

C. As union members become more sophisticated about power structures in America, they should be encouraged to undertake more difficult but exciting and revealing projects. One such activity is "hometown power structure research" (SDS is now developing an improved study guide for this purpose). An excellent way to begin such a project is to obtain the names of all draft board members in the community or area. Each union member is then given one or several board members to investigate. Every aspect of the board member's private life should be investigated. Some of the questions a union investigator might pose would be: Is the draft board member enrolled in the active reserves (this disqualifies him)? How does he make his money -- pimping, bootlegging, or gun-running? Does he derive income from defense industries, banks or corporations which support and benefit directly from war-connected contracts? etc., etc. Union members should utilize every possible source of information in gathering data which could be used to publicly discredit a board member, immobilize a draft board, or extract individual young men from the clutches of their boards.

Power structure research should not be limited to board members. Any well known or influential citizen who favors the draft and the war is a good target. Attention can be drawn to the exposed board members or citizens by picketing their homes or staging "sit-ins" at their places of business. Even the mass media can sometimes be used for the purpose of public denunciation.

Power structure work is a particularly valuable activity for resistance union members to pursue. This is true for several reasons: It places concrete and highly visible forms of pressure on liberals who talk out of both sides of their mouths; sentiment against the war generated by union activities is likely to be focused on the phony businessmen, who in turn, will pressure congressmen (for whatever that's worth); the union will maximize its visibility, and individual union members will shift from being only slightly committed moral objectors to faithful workers for basic change when they discover the cruel reality that is America.

5. A real effort by union members to organize high school people should be made. In some areas of the country, it is possible to arrange discussion groups or

ON DRAFT UNIONS

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young men from the company of their fellow human beings.

A quick reading of the draft Commission report suggests another tactic. The report, which recommends doing away with deferments for ROTC people, observes that 80% of the Army officer corps is comprised of graduates of the ROTC program. The ROTC program works by granting draft deferments to kids who, in return, obligate themselves to a stint of Army "leadership." The substitute that the draft Commission suggests involves raising an officer corps by offering "military scholarships" to impecunious youths who would commit themselves to military service upon graduating. Needless to say, both the present method of extracting officers from the youth population and the proposed new way are crackpot schemes. But if the proposed new way is implemented, it might be possible to do the following: A draft resistance union could go out and get people to buy subscriptions in support of a foundation which would provide scholarships for young men who would otherwise be forced to sell themselves to the military. These peoples' scholarships could be called "Liberty Scholarships" and the popular subscriptions that support the foundation could be called "Liberty Bonds." But the main thing is that the scheme would involve lots of real live people in helping other people to circumvent one of the government's crackpot techniques for procuring officers to lead its army in counterinsurgency wars.

The point, then, is that American life is dominated by countless interlocking and mutually reinforcing crackpot arrangements. They are legitimized in the people's minds by the inverted, crackpot world view that is continually being foisted upon them. Because of the desperation borne of an approaching newspaper deadline, only the first items that come to mind can be mentioned: The notion that resources are so limited that things like buildings have to be designed for efficiency and not for the happiness of the people who use them; that people should have to pay in order to benefit from the best that modern medicine has to offer; that new techniques of administration, communication, information handling and computation have to be used to help a handful of men control more and more; that giant private broadcasting companies have a right to use the public airwaves for private profit -- *ad infinitum*. Each of these items has intersections with issues that exist in every community. There exists a potential for revolutionary mind-blowing and rule-making in almost every aspect of American life, and creative revolutionary organizations can involve all kinds of people -- from production line workers, to computer software experts, to artists -- in developing tactics to take advantage of this potential. And because of the interlocking nature of our society's crackpot structures, we can confidently expect that once we are successful in unraveling a few of them, the rest will soon follow.

One good way for a draft resistance union to begin to develop a potential for creative rule-making is the device of a community newspaper produced on an offset press or a mimeograph machine. No matter what it says or what it looks like, a newspaper is still legitimate in America and the social activities that surround a newspaper are also legitimate. Some of these are: Sending reporters out to talk to local people; conning local newsdealers into putting it on the shelves; getting local kids down to help out with production; throwing "fund-raising" parties; soliciting ads; getting people to put their thoughts down in writing. And in addition to all that, there is the issue-creating function. A newspaper is flexible enough so that many ideas and facts can be introduced to its constituency. Such a newspaper could, for example, begin to argue in all seriousness that the only thing required for the national defense is a local militia organized along guerilla lines. In the course of arguing for a local militia to replace America's worldwide armies and strategic striking systems, all the assumptions that underlie our foreign policy could be attacked.

Whatever the specific tactics we may choose to adopt, it would be well for us to remember that most of the things going on in this country would be immoral and illegal in relation to any standard except the inverted crackpot standards that now prevail. This state of affairs makes people so unhappy -- even though they don't usually know why -- that they are becoming more and more receptive to moral, right-side-up interpretations of reality. If we are imaginative in our own interpretations, sensible in our concrete proposals, and persistent in involving people in doing new things in attractive ways, it is likely that we can tempt the American people into legalizing morality again.

lectures in the high school. Where this is not possible, organizers should concentrate on leafletting and meeting high school people at their "hangouts". Some organizers have developed contacts with coffee houses which allow them to hold discussion groups on the premises.

6. At the present time, there exists no national network of lawyers to defend draft refusers or those who encourage resistance. While it is quite apparent that no redress will be obtained in the courts, union members may feel more at ease if they know they are not going to be carted off to prison never to be heard from again. Thus, one or several union members should be assigned to find lawyers who are willing to defend draft refusers or other union members. Particular attention should be paid to finding lawyers who are willing to cooperate with union members in allowing them to use the "courtroom as a classroom." (While looking for lawyers, union members should pick up any loose change they find lying about on sidewalks or in Brink's trucks).

7. Every draft resistance union is likely to be faced at some time with the problem of deciding what to do if an individual member is either inducted or arrested for being a "criminal syndicalist", etc. This is a difficult decision to make, and it should ultimately be decided by the union members. However, there are a few points related to this question that should be made.

A. Regarding the issue of induction: At the present time, the best defense is a good offense. All of the five or six men who have staged large demonstrations and refused induction publicly have been granted 1Y's or 4F's. While this practice is currently effective, unions should be alert to top-down policy changes within the SSS, and they should modify their tactics continually in order to stay one jump ahead of the bureaucrats.

B. In instances where a union member faces imminent arrest for his activities, the decision is more difficult. The member in question has several alternatives: go to court and jail kicking and screaming all the way; go underground and continue to organize or serve other valuable functions such as information transference; leave the country and begin to organize elsewhere.

There are several tactical considerations that relate to these three potential courses of action. From a tactical point of view, an individual in consultation with his union might decide to go to jail if this action would provide helpful publicity or otherwise aid in building movement. Other reasons for going to jail might be: gaining access to the prisons for organizing purposes, or expecting to contribute to the process of filling the prisons. This last tactic would be plausible only if a large draft resistance movement existed.

Going underground or fleeing the country under duress would be consistent with the activities of resistance movements in other countries. Such activities would also add to the credibility of the resistance movement in a country where well organized and politically relevant draft resistance has to date, been unknown.

8. If unions of resisters become a reality, the time may come when well coordinated mass action will be an appropriate tactic (this is not said to discourage the use of such tactics at the present time). Union members could spend some interesting hours discussing such a possibility.

WINTER'S END

Days pass, and the grim reaper that is the American war machine sows its seeds of hardship and discontent. Will draft resistance become a movement for change? No one really knows, but the tender shoots of draft resistance have begun to poke their fine green heads through the cracks that now scar the face of America the beautiful -- and Spring is just around the corner.

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A PROTEST...

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tracts, of manifestoes, the youths explained the reasons for their protest. Certainly, for the Young Resistance, resistance was expressed as a politically determined action: a resistance to the colonial war, a manifestation of the solidarity of French youth with the Algerian people in their battle. Such a position permitted the Young Resistance to assert itself in the vast current of movements opposing colonialism and fascism.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

1. Noncooperation and desertion are rarely, in the conditions of a colonial war like that waged by France in Algeria, a massive phenomenon. But a minority who resist and meet a wide echo among the youth, quickly constitute an intolerable menace to the government. They create unrest in the ranks of those who are going to fight and the psychological and political effects can be considerable.

2. A minority movement, noncooperation must associate itself, it seems, with other forms of protest such as public manifestations of solidarity with the people fighting for their liberty and, in the United States, with all

action against the draft.

3. The organization of noncooperation poses three serious problems: it is necessary to provide the indispensable material, moral, psychological, political and legal support of the youths alone but needs the support of the older generation as well, both of sympathizers and well known individuals. The wider the support, the easier it becomes to set a not-too-weak movement on its feet.

4. The problem of a secret organization of noncooperation and desertion is probably something closer to the tradition of militancy in France than in the U. S. Illegal action, in certain particular conditions, has been the principal form of protest in France. Perhaps this type of activity is more shocking to the established traditions in the United State.

5. However, noncooperation seems clearly to be more effective than imprisonment. It could be adopted by some of the most active youth. They would not lose their potential to act, to express themselves. The non-cooperators are those who preserve the possibility of fighting against the war they resist -- possibly from abroad, or secretly within their own country.