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RESIST

A Call To Resist Illegitimate Authority

December 18, 1967 - 763 Massachusetts Avenue, Room 4 - Newsletter # 2
Cambridge, Mass. 02139

The RESIST Newsletter is designed to inform people about events and plans throughout the country and to provide a forum for discussion of ideas and programs. To be useful, the newsletter must receive information from your area. Please tell us what is going on. I suggest that one person in your area take responsibility for providing us with a bi-monthly report. Next newsletter deadline is December 30.

One primary function of RESIST is to provide a means of responding to the needs of resisters for support; we can help organize support only if we know where and when it is needed. One of our priorities, therefore, is to find out who has returned or burned draft cards, who has signed "We Won't Go" statements, who has been ordered for induction, indicted, tried. We need whatever information you can supply so that a support network can begin to function.

If you have not returned your monthly pledge card, we urge you to do so. Most of the money RESIST collects goes to fund new organizing projects. To spread the work, we must be able to respond to the needs of organizers, and our ability to do so depends on your financial pledges.

Paul Lauter
National Director

NEWS ITEMS: Dartmouth faculty steering committee voted 28-1 to ban military recruiting on campus until General Hershey's letter is rescinded or clarified. Similar action has been taken at Columbia, George Washington, Yale, Princeton, and Cornell. If you know of other campuses, please write us.* * * A Brown University Assistant Professor of Psychology has been suspended from teaching duties for the rest of the term because he participated in an anti-CIA recruiting sit-in.* * * The "Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority" has been published as an ad with local signatures at Brooklyn College, Columbia University, Haverford College, Portland State College, SUNY-Stony Brook, and at Amherst. If your local group has printed the Call or a similar document, please send us a tear sheet and the list of local signatories with addresses. (We can directly send this newsletter only to people we have in our files.) If your group has not printed the Call in local or college papers, it might wish to do so.* * * The St. Louis Committee to Support Resistance has 167 signers in their area. They are planning a strong letter to the Attorney-General and a broad counselling program. Local Chairman is Jerome Schiller, Assoc. Prof. of Philosophy, Washington University.* * * Teach-ins on draft resistance have been held in a number of places, including Chicago and Hofstra Universities.* * * At Dartmouth two deans and 27 other faculty members signed a local ad. About 30 students have signed we-won't-go pledges. They have established a dependable communications system and a student-run counselling center.* * * At a December 4 resistance ceremony in Pittsburgh 12 draft cards and 128 support statements were turned in. Most of the draft resisters and three of the adult supporters have been approached by the FBI.

SPEAKERS FOR RESIST AND A REPORT FROM DENISE LEVERTOV

One hundred letters have gone out to poets, writers, academics, activists, asking that they add appearances for RESIST to their scheduled speaking engagements or that they offer to speak at RESIST-sponsored functions. In this way, we hope to help local groups to grow, to raise funds, and to stay in touch with each other and with the national office. In this way, too, we hope to be able to reach more people than local groups could ordinarily manage.

We have asked that potential speakers send to us a list of their engagements for the next six months so that we may make all necessary arrangements with local RESIST groups for additional meetings where feasible and agreeable to all concerned. Florence Howe will manage this project with the assistance of two Goucher students, Barbara Danish and Judeth Mensh. After January 1, they can be reached at Goucher College, Towson, Maryland, 21204, phone: Valley 5-3300.

Between December 4 and 15, Denise Levertov was on a reading tour. On her own, Miss Levertov had made arrangements to meet with RESIST and RESISTANCE groups wherever she could. At our request, she has written a full report of her experiences at the University of Arizona where she spent three days; at Union College in Barbourville, Kentucky; at the University of Kentucky; in Chicago; and at St. Teresa's College, Winona, Minnesota. The following are excerpts from that report. The full report will be available on request from our Cambridge office.

From Denise Levertov's report: ...On the evening of the 4th, an informal meeting was arranged at the home of Byrd Schweitzer....Members of the community peace groups and the Student Peace Association (University of Arizona) were there. Those who had been at the induction center in the afternoon described what had happened ...I was able to tell them about the Justice Department action of October 20th; about the history and intentions of RESIST and The RESISTANCE; and about the Pentagon action....People in New York, San Francisco, or Boston have little idea, I came to realize, of the degree of isolation in which their brothers and sisters in places like Arizona exist and try to work. Rather than criticizing them for not doing more, I think we who live mainly in larger centers of action should respect them for doing as much as they do in places where there is so much ignorance, inertia, and hostility. The Tucson 'peace people'--both adults and students--are touchingly modest and apologetic about their relatively small numbers, and often wonder if what they are doing is of use. I was able to encourage them simply by telling them they were not alone....They would like also to have a list of signers of the RESIST and Conscientious Resistance statements (with professional fields and status of signers included) with which to urge on still-timid faculty and other professionals.

Next day I had another newspaper interview...and various conferences with student and faculty poets. In all these I was able to refer to the war and the draft quite naturally in the course of conversation. I also addressed several English classes, and in these I was able to read some of my own anti-war poems and to mention the phenomenon of the large amount of anti-war poems being written now....

...on the night of the 6th....I dedicated the reading to the students who had demonstrated a week or so earlier against CIA recruiters there and to those who had blocked the induction center on the 4th....

...Tucson is a peacenik's paradise in comparison with my next stop, Union College....In such a place I think a visiting writer (or other lecturer) has to begin with basic moral issues....I tried to tell people a little about napalm. They need to know about the history of the war, the definition of war crimes, the nature and history of dissent....A foundation of basic anti-war feeling and protest must be laid before any kind of resistance can be built....

...On the 12th I flew to Chicago where I had arranged to give a benefit reading for the Chicago CADRE (Chicago Area Draft Resistance). This is something else people might think about doing when on a tour....Often there is a free evening or afternoon that can be used in this way...as a part of one's contribution to the peace effort....Next day I arranged to go to the studios of WFMT with Dennis Riordan and Chuck Matthei, who are two of the most articulate,

Amherst: The RESIST group met December 11 at the Valley Peace Center, Amherst. About 35 people attended, including several resisters, faculty members from Univ. of Mass, Smith, Mt. Holyoke, and Amherst, concerned students and individuals from the area, and my wife and me from Cambridge. Marjory Senechal of Amherst had called the meeting in order to organize support for draft resistance in the area. Since about 75 local people have signed the RESIST statement, plans were made to circulate to them and others information forms, in order to learn what kinds of aid supporters were willing to give.

Thad Danielson, of the department of Philosophy, Univ. of Mass., a resister, also announced that he and others will hold discussions on the draft and resistance in Univ. of Mass. dormitory lounges after the first of the year. A number of faculty members have volunteered to participate in these discussions. A planning session is scheduled to take place before the Christmas truce.

Resistance support seems strong in Amherst; it will certainly be strengthened by the actions the local RESIST group plans to take.
Wayne O'Neil

Washington: About 40 people meet in Washington on December 6 to exchange experiences and to plan future actions. In attendance were faculty and students from Georgetown, Maryland, George Washington, American, Howard, and Catholic Universities, Antioch College, the Institute for Policy Studies and a number of area public schools. Father McSorley reported on the December 4 turn-in of draft cards, which took place at Georgetown after it had been excluded from an Episcopal church. An angry group of students gathered at the chapel and disrupted the service, but after the ceremony participants (many of them students) engaged in a spirited and useful discussion. McSorley also reported that plans at Georgetown to block CIA recruiters helped lead to the decision of the CIA not to recruit on Washington area campuses.

At Maryland a Faculty Committee for Legal Alternatives has been formed to provide counselling. In four sessions it has already helped some 30 students. At George Washington people are generally against the draft, but inactive. There was, however, a strong demonstration when General Hershey came down from his office a few blocks away. Catholic University is planning a series of lectures on the war and American foreign policy as a kind of non-credit course. Sixty-five people at American University walked out when an honorary degree was presented to Lodge. People from Blair High School in Silver Spring reported that a student organizing committee is planning some activity in connection with the High School career day, at which armed forces recruiters appear.

The group set up a committee to extend draft counselling to colleges where it is not taking place, and perhaps to hold a city-wide conference. It also established a group to find ways to bring information on the draft to Washington High School students, especially because most black students in Washington are enrolled in a "cadet sorps." The first step may be a petition to be presented to the Board of Education at a public meeting, but more direct action may follow. Other committees to explore fund raising and ministerial responses were also established.

Paul Lauter

Chicago: I arrived in Chicago on December 1, and spent the next three days as the guest of the Chicago Area Draft Resistance (CADRE). The purpose of the visit was to discuss, help organize, and coordinate support for draft resisters. I was informed by members of CADRE that although there were many supporters, little had been done by way of organizing them. No formal ties had been formed between supporters and resisters.

On the evening of December 1 there was a meeting of a large group of supporters. I described the character of the Boston area support, and discussed the functions of RESIST's national office. After these preliminaries, the meeting proceeded to map out the following support activities:

1. Since little support had been organized; on Chicago-area campuses, it was hoped that a series of meetings and teach-ins might stimulate future activity. Richard Flacks, of the University of Chicago, agreed to coordinate these activities.
2. Support groups are to be formed in Hyde Park and the South Shore. These groups will form close ties with CADRE, and work with the resisters on future events.
3. A series of house meetings are to be held for the purpose of fund raising.
4. The group took on the responsibility for coordinating support activities in the state of Illinois.
5. Dan Stern of CADRE is to be the general coordinator for support in Chicago.

On December 4, 36 young men turned in their draft cards in front of the Federal Building. I addressed the rally in their support as the representative of RESIST. It was a deeply moving event, leaving one full of hope for the possibilities of a fruitful collaboration between resisters and their supporters.

Louis Kampf

Lenox: On the evening of December 14 resistant Paul Garver and I addressed a meeting of Berkshire Action Committee for Peace on the subject of draft resistance. The group expressed its deep interest in the subject, and many individuals expressed their desire to help.

Some people promised to raise funds; some to organize draft resistance in high schools; yet others to do counselling.. A local support statement is being circulated. The Stockbridge Book Store will keep a supply of draft resistance literature on hand, as well as copies of the "Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority." Fred Lord agreed to be the area's contact for RESIST.

Louis Kampf

Los Angeles: A Service of Conscience was sponsored by the Los Angeles Resistance on December 4 at the First Unitarian Church. Rev. Richard Weston, Rev. Ray A. Ockert, Rev. Harlan Weitzel, and Rev. Wayne C. Hartmire, Jr. addressed the Congregation. The offering was draft cards.

The next Resistance Day has been set for April 2, 1968. Anyone interested in information should contact The Resistance, 1093 Broxton Street, Room 238, Los Angeles, Calif., 90024

Two publications that might be of interest to you:

OUT OF THE WAR SHADOW, the 1968 War Resisters League calendar, which is a collection of poems edited by Denise Levertov, one of the most active participants in RESIST.

RITTER GREETINGS, a book on the draft by Jean Carper (Grossman Publishers). Though it came out late during the debate over revision of the law last spring, the book has assumed new relevance because of General Hershey's misuse of the law against protesters and the new regulations regarding graduate student deferments.

unshakeable, and deeply humane young men of the RESISTANCE, to tape an interview with Studs Terkel....This suggests another possibility: wherever one goes, one could try to locate a sympathetic radio or TV interviewer and get them to do a program...on draft resistance and if possible bring in a local resister to be included in the program.

...To sum up, there are many of us professional people who have opportunities to influence others which we do not use as fully as we could. There is not really a conflict between one's responsibility to the people who invite one to read or speak about poetry, fiction or whatever, and one's responsibility to the peace effort. I know I can say truly that I honorably fulfilled all my official commitments in each place I went. And I did not, for instance, read only war poems, by any means. But the fact is, if one's life is a whole, and not compartmentalized, one cannot speak of one's art without speaking of one's moral convictions. In the case of some 'fields of endeavor'--say music, or some branches of science--it would, I can see, be harder to introduce a 'political' note into one's talks. But for people in such fields there remain the 'free time,' the informal talks with students (and faculty) and the possibility of contacting local peace groups and speaking for them.

I received no criticism or disapproval from faculty anywhere for using my visits in this way....wherever I went I was thanked by faculty for 'stirring things up.' At the U. of Arizona the head of the English department offered me a job after witnessing the openair forum session and hearing my anti-war pitch at my poetry reading. This should encourage those who fear they might seem to be abusing their position....

THE "CONDITIONAL PLEDGE" PLAN: A Suggestion for Action

In response to a request from New York RESIST, the National Steering Committee asked a group of Columbia professors, including Robert Zevin, to meet with New York RESISTANCE (the local student group) to test out the "conditional pledge" in their area. After a good deal of discussion the Steering Committee decided that if RESISTANCE nationally supports the plan and if local RESIST groups think it desirable, we will help to support it in whatever ways we can. The Steering Committee would therefore appreciate having reactions to the following plan so that we can have guidance in making further decisions about working with it.

The plan: The key to the strategy of massive mobilization of thousands of students who would renounce their 2-S status and refuse conscription for the war in Vietnam is the "Conditional Pledge." Students opposed to the war will be asked to sign a conditional pledge stating the minimum number of students (along a scale, from 1000 to 50,000) they would join in refusing the draft. The conditional pledge permits each student to establish for himself the "cost" he is ready to pay for risking a possible jail sentence. Those who need the reassurance of great numbers can set a high quota for their participating. Those, who for whatever reason are ready to incur greater risk, can set a low quota.

A similar conditional pledge will be used to recruit over draft-age adults. Each adult will assume the responsibility for aiding and abetting a specific draft resister in several ways, including writing to his draft board and making a direct financial contribution to him for the express purpose of aiding his resistance.

The success of the plan would depend upon communication to the would-be participants. It is hoped that local chapters will have the responsibility for distributing the conditional pledges, processing them, reporting the tallies to national headquarters, as well as matching resisters with specific adults and establishing communication between them.

Should the results of the tallies show that large numbers of students and adults are ready to participate, a massive demonstration would be planned for a particular week in late April or early May.

New York: Approximately 50 people, including Grace Paley and other representatives of Support-in-Action, met at the home of Mrs. Eva Newmark on December 12 and decided to establish themselves as the New York RESIST group. They heard, first, a series of reports that sketched the range of local anti-draft activities. Fred Rosen reported for The Resistance on the returning of draft cards, and the organizing of legal and other support for those who refused induction. A group has also begun draft counseling and "quasi-community organizing in Chelsea and on the lower East Side, through University Settlement House." The need here, he said, is for jobs to replace the kind of "career" that the Army offers to poor people. A member of the new West Side Project, which will serve a Puerto-Rican community in upper Manhattan, also described efforts at draft-counseling, especially with reference to 3A deferments, but urged the need for political organization. "These people really don't know what the war is about," Jeannie said, "They just know that they don't want to go over there and get killed." And finally, Grace Paley described the work that Support-in-Action has been doing (mainly out of the Village Peace Center) that ranges from organizing a telephone tree that gets 20 women in Brooklyn to a courtroom where a draft resister is being prosecuted, to the distribution of "anti-draft" cards, over 700 of which have been turned in to the Justice Department. Their most recent activity was a Women's Walk on Draft Resistance: about 100 women walked through the Village, followed by reporters and TV cameramen. Grace feels that press conferences are relatively useless compared to "action---a bunch of women...beautiful, even a bit gloomy, but visual, something to photograph."

The second part of the meeting was devoted to projects. Mitchell Goodman announced that he is organizing a fund-raising event for RESIST on Sunday evening, January 14, at Town Hall. Noam Chomsky, Norman Mailer, Robert Lowell, and others, have already agreed to appear. (Save the evening; details will follow in the next newsletter.) Mitch also announced "the Christmas Mill-in" (see leaflet at back of the Newsletter), and proposed that the New York group support this action. A group of professors brought to the meeting a proposal for "a conditional pledge"--a strategy aimed at getting a very large number of college students and adult supporters to resist the draft. A description of the proposal appears elsewhere in the Newsletter.

Florence Howe

Wesleyan: On December 8 there was a protest at the New Haven induction center, attended by about 100 students and faculty. The accent was on non-violence, in reaction against the fringe incidents at the Pentagon. Meanwhile students have been leaf-letting twice a week at the Induction center, and plan to continue. It seems to reach a number of interested or confused inductees, some of whom ask for counseling. Police have cooperated throughout.

A group of trained draft-counselors are permitted to use the interviewing rooms in the Counseling office.

Five students have turned in or burned their draft cards; and 64 signed a we-won't-go statement last spring, of which perhaps about half might seriously resist. About 50 faculty have signed a statement in support of these students, and three or four faculty have turned in their draft cards.

The FBI followed up swiftly on people who turned in cards in October, but did not persist. One faculty member, Dan Tompkins, has been notified by his draft board that he is to be reclassified 1A delinquent. He is 27 years old.

Richard Ohmann

Since the contents of his October 26 letter to local draft boards were made public--the letter in which he recommended conscripting men involved in illegal demonstrations against Selective Service and military recruiters--General Lewis B. Hershey has met vigorous attack from all sides. In Congress, from the universities, in the courts, he has been harshly criticized for overstepping the bounds of his authority. Hershey has responded only by insisting repeatedly that his original recommendations stand as promulgated.

Hershey's letter, accompanied by Local Board Memorandum concerning action to be taken against men who return or burn draft cards, was his reaction to two different kinds of anti-war protest: to the mass disaffiliation of October 16 and to militant demonstrations at induction centers or against campus recruiters. Both kinds of protest Hershey regards as violation of S.S. law; and for both kinds of protesters he suggested that local boards revoke deferments, make them 1-A, declare them delinquent, and call them for immediate induction. Although such recommendations from the National Director do not have the force of law, Selective Service personnel generally respond to Hershey's suggestions as directives.

Because public criticism of the October 26 memo has been represented largely as attack on its entire substance, the two distinct aspects of Hershey's recommendation are often confused. While S.S. Regulations provide for reclassification of men who do not possess their draft cards, there is no corresponding provision for reclassification and conscription of men who otherwise interfere with Selective Service functions or military recruitment. This distinction has been made by Attorney General Ramsey Clark: shortly after Hershey's memo was made public, the Justice Department announced that delinquency was appropriate status for men who had taken action directly affecting their own draft status but that the Justice Department considered local board retaliation against demonstrators unenforceable.

Although many of the October 16 demonstrators have since been reclassified according to Hershey's recommendation, it now appears that few local boards are processing campus or induction center protestors in the same way. On December 17 the New York Times reported that only three men across the country had been declared delinquent for their parts in anti-war protest. The Times speculated that the boards' reluctance to act may reflect the difficulty they encounter in distinguishing "legal" from "illegal" demonstrations.

Public outrage has focused largely on the threat to First and Sixth Amendment guarantees that is represented in Hershey's directive. With apparent disdain for historic guarantees of freedom of speech or due process, Hershey wrote, "Demonstrations, when they become illegal, have produced and will continue to produce much evidence that relates to the basis for classification." He then reminded Selective Service personnel that a deferment is a privilege granted in the national interest and that a registrant acting in a manner definitely contrary to the national interest ought to be given a choice between induction or jail. His suggestion that induction be used as a punishment is strange in light of General Hershey's previous insistence that induction into the army should be viewed as a privilege itself.

It is the retaliatory use of conscription that has been widely questioned. The presidents or faculties of several universities--including Dartmouth, Columbia, Yale, Princeton, Cornell, and George Washington--have barred military recruiters from their campuses until Hershey rescinds the recommendation that could prevent students from freely demonstrating against their presence. The A.A.U.P. also sent Hershey a telegram demanding that he rescind his memo and pointing out that the General's letter leaves standards for judging the legality of protest action so vague that a registrant might easily face induction as a result of exercising his constitutional rights. Seven Democratic Representatives in Congress called Hershey's

move a denial of due process; Representative John Moss of California called for the General's resignation as Director of Selective Service. Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz and Justice Abe Fortas have publicly reprimanded Hershey. Senator Edward Kennedy recently introduced a bill to prohibit local boards from inducting men who interfere with recruitment or Selective Service procedure.

Court action to forestall inductions based on the October 26 memo has taken two forms: attack on the constitutionality of the specific recommendations and challenge to the constitutionality of the delinquency proceedings themselves. On December 1, the A.C.L.U. announced that it had filed suits in four cities on behalf of six men who had been reclassified for protest activity. In two cases the National Council of Churches joined the suit on behalf of two clergymen reclassified for returning their draft cards in symbolic protest. One plaintiff is an M.I.T. student who has served six years with the Marines and was reclassified 1-A from 4-A. Two men were processed for their part in demonstrations. A.C.L.U. seeks a temporary restraining order to prevent local boards from inducting these men on the grounds that such procedure would be a violation of the First, Fifth, and Sixth Amendments. Since the original suit was announced, Civil Liberties Unions in several other states have filed similar complaints in other Federal Courts.

National Student Association subsequently filed suit on December 4, in D.C. Federal Court, on behalf of its entire membership and all other draft-age men similarly situated. This "class" suit, also being handled by A.C.L.U., differs from the original complaints made by the Civil Liberties Union in that it makes a wholesale attack on the assumptions behind Selective Service delinquency procedure. The N.S.A. suit seeks not only a temporary injunction against local board action, but also a declaratory judgment on the constitutionality of Hershey's recommendation and S.S. delinquency procedures and a permanent injunction. Their argument is that induction is used as punishment of a man who has no right to a public hearing of his case, to a jury trial, to present witnesses, or be represented by counsel.

The challenge to delinquency procedures may have been aided by a recent ruling of Federal Court Judge Wyzanski in Boston. Wyzanski directed acquittal for a man who had been declared delinquent, then denied a 3-A deferment. The Judge said that although there is no provision for a hearing in the regulations, the fact that the man had not been given opportunity to be present at the local board meeting in which his claim for a 3-A was denied was a denial of his constitutional right to due process under the law.

Harvard Law Students Support Group

URGENT REQUEST:

Harry Nier, counselor for draft resisters in Denver, needs witnesses who can help establish that the war in Vietnam is illegal. Anyone who can provide such direct testimony, especially former armed forces personnel from Vietnam, should call him at 303-534-6923.

RESIST

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FIRST CLASS