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# **RESIST** *a call to resist illegitimate authority*

March 8, 1968 - 763 Massachusetts Avenue, Room 4, Cambridge, Mass. 02139 NEWSLETTER # 7

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## **APRIL 3: NATIONWIDE ACTION PROGRAMS SCHEDULED**

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April 3 is the date scheduled for nationwide anti-war and anti-draft activity, and card turn-in. It is hard so far to estimate numbers of resisters, or say precisely what the plans for various areas will be. New England Resistance has received tentative schedules from several cities. In Boston there will be a rally on the Common and a service of conscience at which Howard Zinn, Noam Chomsky, and Everett Mendelsohn will speak. In the evening there will be dinners for resisters at the homes of resistance supporters. A "peace ceremony" is planned at Berea Church in St. Louis, where there will be speakers from clergy and women's groups. Draft cards will be immersed in blood and turned over to the Federal Attorney the next day. In Minneapolis there will be a demonstration at the Federal Building (induction center), 4-6 PM, all-day picketing, and draft card turn-in. Ten resisters are expected. A rally is tentatively planned at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. New resisters would divide up and go with sympathetic clergy to Wednesday evening Lenten church services, and turn cards in on collection plates. In Tucson, Arizona, there will be a rally in the park with speakers, and a march to local boards where cards will be turned in. There will be a rally on the New Haven Green at 1 PM. Rev. Coffin, and members of the Resistance, will speak. Less certain plans have been made in Lawrence, Kansas; NYC; San Francisco; Chicago; Durham, N.C.; Gainesville, Fla.; and Portland, Oregon.

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## **AFTER APRIL 3**

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It is a common saying among resisters that "April 3 will be the last mass return of draft cards." Why do we say this? What lies on the other side of that decision?

One thing draft resisters are feeling is that, while draft resistance remains the heart of the anti-war movement, for any particular person draft resistance cannot be a way of life. A person must say "Yes" as well as "No." A man must have a pattern of daily life which sustains him: he cannot live for very long from one confrontation to the next.

Of course, the obvious first answer to the problem, "What do I do after turning in my draft card?" was "Organize other people to do the same thing." And this remains a fundamental and helpful answer in that few draft resistance organizations have even begun to carry their message to the plethora of off-campus communities where it may come to have meaning as draft calls rise. For instance, it is not necessarily true that the recent Selective Service decisions concerning graduate students mean that resistance organizers should turn their attention back to the campus. The students who sign "We Won't Go" pledges at Vietnam commencements will actually confront induction in the off-campus communities to which they return at the end of the academic year. Far from indicating that we were wrong in insisting that draft resistance move off campus, the new decisions create new possibilities for resistance organizing in hitherto-placid middle-class communities.

Nevertheless, in a sequence of actions beginning with step A, an individual cannot forever evade discovering what B is merely by helping others beside himself to go as far as A. This is why conferences on radical vocations, discussions concerning the "new working-class" and "radicalism in the professions," institutions seeking to offer "drop-out counselling," are appearing all over the country. Whether they leave the campus before or after graduation, young radicals want an alternative to conventional careers; in this sense we are all drop-outs. The new Selective Service decisions enforce what was already implicit in our situation: the need to learn how to be off-campus life-long



radicals. The act of draft refusal, whether in the form of returning a draft card or in some less obtrusive manner, is a necessary beginning but still only a beginning.

The problem of radical vocation ought to be stated as harshly as those who struggle with it really feel it to be. Flatly, then: very few of us have found personal answers, imitable models, in this area. All too many of us sidestep the challenge by some form of teaching, simply passing on to our students the problem we have been unable to solve (and without sufficiently realizing that they may imitate us, become teachers in their turn, and leave the hard work to their students).

The personal problem of radical vocation is immensely complicated by the fact that the movement has no idea of a strategy for fundamental social change. Had we work to do which seemed to lead rationally toward our goal, the frustrations and anxieties in our own lives would be so much easier to manage. But we do not have such a strategy. We must be honest about that, too.

I do not have an answer to the question of after April 3. I have one suggestion, which like any suggestion unproven by experience ought to be viewed skeptically. I will make it nevertheless, since I find it viscerally impossible to end on a note of despair, and since the recent decisions about graduate students (like every other form of repression) do seem to me to hold out rational hope that resistance can be broadened and strengthened.

My suggestion is this. The typical draft resistance organization raises funds from adult supporters with which it pays subsistence salaries to full-time draft resistance organizers. In Chicago, these organizers live in two communal apartments, leaflet the induction center and the office housing most of the city's draft boards, and counsel at the CADRE office. If the draft resistance operation in Chicago and other cities were radically decentralized, I believe it would spread draft resistance at the same time that it obliged organizers to begin to deal with the problem of radical vocation.

In the model I am proposing, a draft resistance organization would retain a central office at which functions continued to be performed which required a city-wide scale (printing, for example). But other functions presently performed on a city-wide basis (draft counseling, perhaps high-school organizing, possibly even fund-raising) would be decentralized. After assigning to indispensable city-wide work a few appropriate individuals, all other organizers would divide themselves into small teams to move into neighborhoods.

These neighborhood teams would support themselves by part-time work, local contributions, or otherwise as they decided. If older couples were involved, not merely as speech-makers and money-givers, but as members of a neighborhood team, then a professional's salary might provide the income base for a team which included the professional and his family, and several single young people. On the other hand, the student types would often choose to do part-time work as a method of exploring radical vocation at the same time that they organized around the draft.

At first it might seem that in leaving the city-wide communal apartment and the routine of meeting after meeting in which all the organization's members were involved, the neighborhood teams were moving away from community, toward a more lonely and calculating style of work. I think the reverse might occur. That is, that as each neighborhood team struggled to decide what it should do, how it should support itself, whether it should live under one roof or not, and so on, a more genuine experience of community might emerge than when RESIST people mail checks to sustain the city-wide activity of the RESISTANCE.

What we need in the resistance movement is to turn outward toward new constituencies at the same time that we turn toward each other, helping our brothers and sisters in the agonizing search for radical vocations. Neighborhood draft resistance work may offer a way to begin to do simultaneously these two only apparently contradictory tasks.

— Staughton Lynd

People interested in speaking or in getting speakers, and who have not been able to get in touch with Florence Howe in Washington, are asked to call Elaine Hedges for information: (301) 377-5850.



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## ACADEMIC DAY OF CONSCIENCE

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A distinguished group of university teachers has joined with RESIST in calling for an "Academic Day of Conscience" to be observed nationally on college and university campuses April 15 (April 16 for schools in recess on the 15th). The Call (which is now being mailed out to RESIST supporters) asserts that the war makes less and less possible "the free examination of ideas that is at once the life of the university and the university's necessary contribution to the health and function of American society." It states the need for an occasion on American campuses that will voice the broadest spectrum of opposition to the war. Latitude is given as to the kind of activities each campus may choose as locally appropriate; however, every campus is asked to include in its plans a commemorative service for all the men, women and children—American and Vietnamese—who have been killed in the war, and to make expressions or demonstrations of support for the five men whose trials are scheduled to begin in mid-April. It is hoped that the Academic Day of Conscience will be observed not only on those campuses where opposition to the war is already active, but also on a great number of campuses where it has up to now been only private and relatively mute. It is therefore suggested that campuses on which there is strong anti-war organization send individuals or groups to visit nearby campuses where there has been little or no organization, to offer advice and assistance in organizing. The time for this is obviously ripe, and it might be particularly effective and useful on April 15 to offer the services of trained draft counsellors on campuses where there has hitherto been little or no draft counselling.

For models of specific activities, see the flier enclosed with this copy of the Newsletter.

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## STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING NOTES

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Starting this issue the Newsletter will provide a summary of the minutes of the monthly Steering Committee meeting. In addition, we will list the organizations to which RESIST has granted funds, and include descriptions of the activities of one or two of these. The following items are taken from the minutes of the Feb. 18 meeting:

**ACTIVITIES FOR COMING MONTHS:** It was decided that the next major event would be a nationwide Day of Conscience, April 15-16, and that it would be followed in mid-May by a Vietnam Commencement. The Day will fall between The Resistance's April 3 activity and the April 20-30 events planned by SDS and the National Mobilization Committee. RESIST will seek out and help to create local groups to administer the Day, and will provide them with working models, literature and materials. Vietnam Commencement will be worked out on each campus by students and faculty working together, with RESIST coordinating.

**THE ACADEMIC DAY OF CONSCIENCE** (See article above): Paul Lauter read a draft of a letter to be sent to contact people. The letter will emphasize the need for faculties to accept their responsibility to students faced with conscription for the war and on the need for concerted opposition to the use of nuclear weapons as a response to the siege of Khesanh and the Korean crisis. In attracting large numbers, not heretofore involved, we must guard against making those students who take a strong position on April 3 appear far out and isolated.

**VIETNAM COMMENCEMENT:** Leon Wofsy and Bruce Kirmmse presented Berkeley's already far-advanced plans for their "Real Commencement" which will take place in the Greek Theater on May 17. It will not try to confront the regular commencement but to overshadow it. There will be a joint student (won't go)-faculty (supporters) procession, an Invocation by Bishop Meyer (hopefully), honorary degrees (David Harris, Mohammed Ali and possibly an administrator) and a major commencement speaker. Wofsy emphasized that the essential and significant ingredient of Vietnam Commencement is the unity between faculty and students in planning to meet the threats of the coming months. Berkeley's ground work is available to all campuses (250 letters have already been sent out). In about a month RESIST will have compiled a list of perhaps 100 "Commencement



speakers" for ceremonies over the country and also provide a structure whereby college anti-war people can keep in contact after the school year ends. Vietnam Commencement should be both a culmination of college-based anti-war activity and the beginning of a long range program.

FUTURE PROGRAMS: 1) Norm Fruchter has made two movies, one about RESIST and Resistance for general audiences, and one which gives people instruction on how to do draft organizing. They will be for sale soon, the longer, instructional movie for \$80, the shorter one for less. They will be available from the National Office.

2) Summer Institutes. We hope to set up summer institutes in fairly big cities for people from smaller places to gather during the summer (1) to do organizing in the city around the draft issue and learn techniques through doing; (2) to take part in a political institute. Model curricula are being set up. RESIST will give these institutes publicity and send money.

3) RESIST as an organization will not participate in the demonstrations planned for Chicago at the time of the Democratic Convention this summer. This is not meant to discourage individuals from doing so if they wish.

4) RESIST will support Tax Resistance Action to be organized for March 15 in Washington.

EUROPE: RESIST will be an affiliate of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace and will publicize the existence of ICDP's publication, Vietnam International.

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#### THIS MONTH'S FUNDING GRANTS

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1: Funds have been granted to the Boston Draft Resistance Group for the establishment of a national draft information service. The purpose of such a service is (1) to provide a draft counselor's kit so that the informational needs of draft counselling centers may be met from a single source, (2) to provide something analogous to an amendment service which can keep counselors abreast of new draft developments, and (3) to provide a list of informational sources such as the National Lawyers' Guild and the Toronto Anti-draft Programme, upon whose mailing list every draft counselling center might place its name; (4) to provide a continuing list of documents necessary for a comprehensive draft resistance library.

2: to the Detroit Inner City Organizing Committee for its affiliate, the Afro-American Committee Against Racist Wars. The AACARW plans to set up a draft counselling center (1) to provide materials regarding the legal rights of draft objectors, and to make known the availability of draft counselling services. These will be disseminated throughout the Detroit black community where such information has hitherto been unavailable; (2) to provide draft counselling by a lawyer at a specific time at least one evening a week. The ICOC appended a letter to its proposal in which it stated, "We have counselled black youth who were engaged in a full college program but nevertheless were not sure of their rights when warned by a volunteer recruitment officer that they had better enlist or they would be drafted. In other instances, we have counselled youth who were summoned to a recruitment center and upon telephone inquiry to these centers threatened with military police follow-up if they did not appear."

Other recipients of RESIST funds this month are as follows: SNCC Anti-Draft Group, Austin Draft Resistance Union, San Pedro Community Center, Cleveland Draft Resistance Union, New Bedford (Mass.) Draft Information Center, Washington Area Draft Resistance Project. Total grant funds this month: \$5300.



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## ARTICLES OF GENERAL INTEREST, FEBRUARY—MID-MARCH

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We would like to begin a regular listing of relevant articles for our readers' interest. It would be extremely helpful to have memos sent in to the National Office about books, magazine articles, newspaper reports that seem of general interest. It might be helpful, when possible, to have the articles themselves mailed to us. We will give "abstracts" where these seem necessary, but for this issue make known the following list without descriptive commentary:

The Nation, March 11, Jean Carper (author of Bitter Greetings); "The Real Crime of Dr. Spock"

New York Times Magazine, March 3, article on Coffin

Washington Post Parade, March 3, Lloyd Shearer, "The Baby Doctor and the Chaplain"

Washington Post, Feb. 23, Nicholas Von Hoffman, "Dissent Disturbs Ft. Jackson," p.1.

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## IN THE NAME OF VIETNAM (A correction of our description last time)

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The Newsletter printed an erroneous account last issue of IN THE NAME OF AMERICA. With apologies we print the following review from Report, # 2, Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam:

"The Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam has just published IN THE NAME OF AMERICA - a record of U.S. military behavior in Vietnam compared with the laws of war. The books were prepared under the direction of Prof. Seymour Melman, of Columbia University, who is directing a program of study on military power. Prof. Richard A. Falk, Chairman of our Consultative Council, has contributed an essay intended to assist the reader in understanding the significance of 'laws or war'.

"IN THE NAME OF AMERICA contains a wealth of data organized into categories that conform to the basic divisions traditional to the international law of war. It is available in local bookstores or directly from Clergy and Laymen Concerned, Room 547, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027; paperback, \$2.75; hardcover \$4.95 (prepaid)."

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## GENERAL NEWS

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**ACTION IDEAS:** Suggestions for local activity:

The Peace Action Committee of Delaware County, Penna., has been attempting to place conscientious-objection literature in the guidance offices of local high schools. When the principal refuses, he is asked to explain his criteria for inclusion of material; then a letter is written to the school board and to local papers pointing out inconsistencies in the school's position, and threats to academic freedom and civil liberties. The letter asks that all citizens in the community write the superintendent of schools.

At Columbia University the Faculty Support Group has distributed a pamphlet to all Columbia faculty calling on them to support Columbia students who refuse military service. For a sample CALL write Faculty Support Group, c/o Rev. John D. Cannon, Chaplain, 202 Earl Hall Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027.

Two interesting projects are underway at the University of Iowa. 40-50 NDEA (Nat'l Defense Education Act) students will each contribute \$100 of the government money to peace organizations; some will go to RESIST. Also, several veterans are



contributing 10% of their monthly G.I. Bill checks to various peace groups.

The National Student Association has urged that all students who lose their draft deferments appeal reclassification all the way up through the Selective Service system; Edward Schwartz, NSA president, said students who appeal should use personal appearances before their local boards to convey "our growing frustration with the current dangerous directions which foreign and domestic policies have taken". It has been suggested that such a flood of appeals might effectively clog Selective Service processes.

#### TRIAL NEWS:

Under strong pressure from its member groups, the national ACLU has reconsidered its earlier decision not to defend the Boston five, and other draft resisters. The national ACLU will support Spock, Coffin, Ferber, Raskin, Goodman in their trial; lawyers for the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts will prepare briefs for the defense.

Raskin and Coffin have requested separate trials; all defendants have requested dismissal of the indictments on the grounds that the defendants were exercising their rights of speech and assembly. A hearing will be held on the motions.

Dr. Spock plans to content in court that the U.S. is waging an illegal war in Vietnam. An affidavit by Prof. Richard A. Falk outlining this argument has been filed with the clerk of the U.S. District Court in Boston. It contains five main points: (1) the bombing of North Vietnam is an aggressive act and an illegal use of force; (2) U.S. failure to refer the conflict to the Security Council violates the U.N. Charter; (3) the conduct of the war violates the Hague and Geneva conventions; (4) the judgement of the Nuremberg trials held individuals responsible for planning and waging an illegal war; and (5) President Johnson has exceeded his constitutional authority by committing a large armed force to battle without proper Congressional authorization.

#### LOCAL "CONSPIRACY" CHARGES AS MEANS OF REPRESSION:

Oakland: As an outgrowth of the massive Stop the Draft demonstrations in Oakland, California last October, seven young men were indicted on "conspiracy" charges. The charge, "conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor", is a felony and carries a sentence of up to three years and a \$5000 fine. The "conspiracy" consists of acts such as "distributed and printed leaflets, opened a checking account for Stop the Draft Week, walked to the induction center, etc."

The local District Attorney, Frank Coakley, says "...the indictments should serve as a warning and notice to people who would violate the law...Technically a hundred or even a thousand of the demonstrators could have been indicted for their actions, but we simply don't have enough courts, so we have to take the most militant leaders". Leaders of the Stop the Draft Week Defense Fund believe these indictments to be a part of an attempt by the government to intimidate the anti-war movement. "The action against Spock is the first part of this effort...The government is now proceeding against younger local organizers of the fight against the war and the draft". A special draft prosecution unit has just been set up by the U.S. Attorney General, Ramsey Clark. He admits that the government is pressing local law enforcement officials to "vigorously prosecute violations of local laws which may occur in demonstrations against the Selective Service system".

The significance of the local indictment is twofold. First, committing no crime, merely advocating a demonstration, may be cause for arrest; anyone, anywhere who calls for even the most peaceful demonstration could be arrested on conspiracy charges prior to the demonstration on the grounds that some illegal acts might transpire. Second, by using local and state laws, the Federal government gains a



maximum of repression with a minimum of publicity.

The Oakland seven have declared that they will not be scared off; they intend to participate in the next Stop the Draft week in April. Money for legal defense and publicity is urgently needed. They ask that contributions be made payable to Stop the Draft Week Defense Fund and mailed to the fund at 6468 Benvenue Avenue, Oakland, California 94618.

At the University of Iowa, local authorities pressed similar charges of "conspiracy"— having "conspired and confederated...to do an injurious act to the police." According to The Movement, the police, who freely used clubs and mace have not been charged with conspiracy to do an injurious act to the demonstrators.

#### MINUTEMEN TERRORISM IN OHIO

A few hours after David Travers, organizer of the Columbus Ohio Draft Resistance Union, found a Minutemen "Traitors Beware" threat on the windshield of his car, he was shot at from the direction of a police car. Requesting an investigation, Travers was refused. Letters in his behalf were called "veiled threats" against the police, and Travers' actions were said to border on "harassing police". The shooting took place February 8; since then he has received another threat in the mail: "See the old man at the corner where you buy your papers? He may have a silencer equipped pistol under his coat. That extra fountain pen in the pocket of the insurance salesman who calls on you might be a cyanide gas gun...These patriots are not going to let you take their freedom away from them... Traitors beware. Even now the cross hairs are on the back of your neck". It is signed: "MINUTEMEN". Then, on February 23, a boy who may have been mistaken for Travers was shot in the leg. Minutemen? Travers is now free on \$500 bond for a trespassing charge during an anti-war demonstration at Ohio State University, where he is a graduate student and teaches undergraduate philosophy. Letters may be addressed to Police Chief Robert Baus.

#### TORONTO ANTI-DRAFT PROGRAMME

Mark Satin, of the Toronto Anti-Draft Programme writes that since the publication of their MANUAL FOR DRAFT-AGE IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA (\$1.00 to them at 2279 Yonge Street, Toronto 12, Ontario) they have received a minimum of 50 letters and 15 new exiles a day, as against 5 letters and 1 person a day one year ago. Free housing, legal aid, etc., is available from this group.