WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

At the last Steering Committee meeting, Dick Flacks drafted the following as a summary of our discussion and a statement of perspective:

"The current situation, defined by the increasing possibility of peace negotiations and the development of anti-war opposition within the conventional political system, presents both new dangers and new possibilities for the movement against the war. On the one hand, the situation appears to under cut the immediate constituencies for the movement as many place their hopes in a negotiated settlement and in the Kennedy-McCarthy campaigns. On the other hand, it is clear that the fighting will continue, that draft calls and reserve callups will go on, that hundreds of thousands of American young men will continue to be forced to kill and die in Vietnam. Neither the peace negotiations nor the presidential candidates offer any possibility for changing the fate of these young men in the immediate future. Moreover, the danger of escalation and new mobilization for the war remains clear.

In the draft resistance movement, the situation appears to be as follows:

1. Hundreds of young men have refused induction or cooperation with Selective Service and an even larger number have indicated their intentions not to go.
2. Thousands have already taken up exile in Canada or elsewhere.
3. The hope of an early end to the war reduces the likelihood in many cases that potential resisters will actively take steps leading to jail at the present time.
4. Thousands of such resisters now on campus will nevertheless face induction in eight weeks.

The draft resistance movement ought to consider the following as necessary to our current perspective:

First, the need to continue support of resisters and to facilitate their ability to make full use of the law to protect their futures. The likelihood of further draft refusal depends in part on the availability of legal and other resources and the credibility of support.

Second, the need to mobilize widespread popular sentiment for an immediate end to the Vietnam draft, and to bring the boys home from Vietnam. The best way for young men to pro-
tect themselves and their brothers from the battlefield, jail, or exile, is to help generate such popular sentiment, especially in communities which have up to now not been organized against the war. Such sentiment is now possible because of the collapse of the administration's rationale for the war and the existence of negotiations."

In terms of programs for the late spring and summer, we anticipate these developments:

1. On many campuses the focus of organizing will be Vietnam Commencements aimed primarily at the seniors and graduate students who will face the draft (probably in fewer numbers than some people now anticipate, but in far larger numbers than the students hope.)

2. People in the Resistance plan a national conference in early May. They expect to follow their white, middle-class constituency off the campus and into the suburbs and resorts to press on them the challenge of non-cooperation.

3. Community-based draft resistance unions and others will probably concentrate on working with men going into or already in the army or the national guard. No one yet knows precisely the character or implications of such work. It may provide an opportunity for whites to support the black community not in the "Friends of SNCC" fashion, but by directly challenging other white Americans to decide whether they will fight a war against poverty and racism or against the Vietnamese.

4. Discussions are now proceeding with people from the Resistance, SDS, and other draft resistance groups about cooperative work during the summer. We may help to coordinate recruitment of volunteers for a variety of summer draft-resistance organizing projects. Other elements of summer programs which we may help with and finances include: organizing training workshops, mainly in June, and in some places summer-long organize-study programs; preparation of organizing materials (leaflets, pamphlets, etc.), regular exchange of information among local groups; placement of law students with local organizing projects; development of a system to keep track of resisters so that they know where to get help, so local groups can know where they are, and so we can have a picture of developments with respect to reclassifications, induction refusals, etc.

We are anxious to know what your local work looks like. Is there a group of The Resistance or a draft resistance union? Could you help a young draft-resistance organizer get started in your locality (with finances, contacts, and general support)? Will you personally be available for work during the summer? When and where?

My own feeling is that up to now we have had a relatively easy task, with an obvious target to shoot at and some obvious goals to pursue. What we do in the next months will establish whether we have developed a movement or a passing fanfare.

-Paul Lauter-

A PROPOSAL

(The following was submitted to the Department of Sociology at Wisconsin by Charles Perrow. We reprint it here as an action proposal for the faculties of other universities):

"The imminent departure of many of our graduate students because of changes in the draft law raises the question of what we and other departments can do for the students, rather than just the impact it will have upon enrollment and labor resources. I propose
that the Sociology Department, and hopefully others, arrange to offer graduate correspondence courses through University Extension on a credit basis. The course would be open to those who have been admitted to, or have been attending, recognized graduate programs in this and other universities, and who have the consent of the instructor. While these would be credit courses, the graduate department has to accept them as such in each individual case. The courses would be drawn up by Wisconsin faculty members or persons of recognized stature in other universities or institutions, who have been approved by the department in question. Few of those who are drafted will presumably have the time and the facilities to avail themselves of these courses. More of those who are granted CO status may find it feasible, but the demand here is not likely to be large. Most of those who elect to serve prison terms will find it feasible. This latter group might also be the one which would benefit the most from sustained intellectual contacts and tasks, and would benefit most from the sense of concern with their fate that such a program would manifest. There are currently about 1,000 non-cooperators in prison, 4,000 cases still in the courts, probably over half of these are Jehovah's Witnesses. The number of non-cooperating students is expected to be substantial next year.

Writing the courses would not be as difficult as writing undergraduate courses, because, at least in Sociology, they would depend heavily upon assigned readings and a commentary which suggests questions the students should raise about the readings in his assigned papers. There are provisions for monitored examinations in federal prisons, incidentally, and no restrictions on mail in connection with correspondence courses. Reading and grading papers would involve most of the work, but also most of the moral and intellectual rewards to the faculty members. Presumably, for some of the students, this sustained contact would make a great deal of difference during the years they are away from graduate school; even the access to scholarly reading material provided by the course would be a boon.

I have talked with three people at the University Extension, who would be involved in such a program, and they welcome the idea.

Much work would have to go into planning the courses, getting departmental approval, approval from the graduate school, and setting up the system with University Extension."

If you think such a program might be feasible at your university, please fill out the form to the right and return it to RESIST, 763 Mass. Ave., Cambridge 02139, Mass.

For Vietnam Commencement speakers, write or call now: Florence Howe, 1940 Biltmore N.W., Washington, D.C. (202)483-4845, or Elaine Hedges, English Dep't., Towson State College, Towson, Md., or 6309 Pinehurst Rd., Balto., Md. (301)377-5850

SUPPORT - LOCAL AND NATIONAL

At the last Steering Committee meeting we had a long and fruitful discussion with representatives of the Resistance from all over the country. Part of that discussion concerned the problem of developing continued support for local groups of the Resistance. In large measure the limited national RESIST funds have gone to seed new projects developed by the Resistance and others, or to sustain projects with very little prospect of achieving local support (like the SNCC anti-draft program). While we have funded most requests from groups of the Resistance, it obviously makes more sense for such
groups to have a strong local base of support if they are to continue to grow once they do get underway. Indeed, one of the primary reasons that RESIST has devoted so much energy to helping organize local RESIST groups has been to assure that local base.

It seemed to us that people in local RESIST groups have a double commitment. Groups of the Resistance and Draft Resistance Unions must be supported, and the primary responsibility of local groups is to provide that support. At the same time, to insure the growth of the movement into new areas and through new projects, and to insure availability of emergency aid, funds must continue to come to national RESIST. We didn't feel there was any reason for conflict between these complementary goals developing so long as people assumed local priority and remembered that National Resist does not simply and automatically channel whatever money comes in from an area right back to it. Almost all funds sent to us go directly into organizing projects, but as the monthly list of projects we support will indicate, these are located all over the country and involve about every kind of work in resistance to the draft and the military. We would, incidentally, very much appreciate your sharing with us any information you have about projects we are helping, and also having your reactions to the kinds of work we are trying to aid.

-Paul Leuter-

**THIS MONTH'S FUNDING GRANTS**

AACD, Birmingham, Ala.: counselling and peace center and regional Resist office.

L.A. Resistance; SDS; South Illinois Resist project (multi-issue, poor area); Detroit Draft Resistance Comm.; Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union; Racine Draft Info. Center; Louisville Peace Council; Lake View Organizing project; Syracuse Community Union.

**READERS' LETTERS**

Dear Sir:

Please send me any legal information on how to resist the draft. My son will be called up for his physical, April 17th; and he is very confused about it all....

I live in a "hawkish" rural community and have much difficulty speaking out as an individual against the "Crime of Silence."

I am a sustaining member of the World Peace Broadcasting Foundation and try to pass on the views of the information I receive against this war as best I can....Having only a ninth grade education, I guess I'm what George Wallace calls a "pseudo-intellectual," I've read Edgar Snow...and a good many other writers' views on the "History of Vietnam," and the military-industrial complex....I suppose I shall end up in "Concentration Camps," USA; but a lot of my fellow citizens will be there too....Sincerely yours, Warren E. White (Ridgeley, W. Va.)

Dear Friends:

.... Thank Dr. Spock especially for his courage and integrity. I washed my first child's diapers to the sound of his radio talks twenty-six years ago, and that boy has known nothing but hot and cold war ever since. The current snide attempts to blame Spock "permissiveness" (whatever that means) for the ills of our youth make me furious. An entire generation has not known the feel of a country at

(cont.)

The Romans martyred the Christians.
The medieval church burned heretics.
The Puritans destroyed witches.
The Nazis tried to "solve the Jewish Problem."
The USSR crushed Hungary.
And now the United States wages war against the people of Vietnam.

All the above were sanctioned by law.

-from a statement by Alfred Wallace, induction refuser and instructor in German at U. of Ill.
peace, they live with the threat of annihilation, and their desperate actions are blamed on Spook! . . .

In my circle, Spock and others are seen as saints. It's rough, but we have no alternative other than to fight back. This is indeed an immoral war.

Sincerely,
Dorothy H. Cohen (New York City)

ACTION IDEAS: SUGGESTIONS FOR LOCAL ACTIVITIES

The American Friends Service Committee suggests checking into the legality of the constitution of draft boards. If a board is not legally constituted its decisions are not binding. The board must number at least three members; they must live in the county over which it has jurisdiction; they must be over 30 years of age and under 75 years of age; they may not have served over twenty five years; and they may not be members of the armed forces or the reserves. To determine the legality of the board, talk to the clerk of the board in person. If the clerk fails to give the pertinent information, request it in writing from the clerk and chairman of the board. If that fails, write to the State Selective Service Director. If the State Director refuses the information, request it by writing to David Easter (AFSC, Box 181, University Station, Syracuse, New York 13210) so that a coordinated plan of action can be worked out with the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, which is willing to take the case to court.

AFSC also suggests checking into the procedure of board meetings; 1) a quorum must be present to render decisions; 2) an unreasonable number of decisions for the time they meet constitutes cause for due process arguments in court.

The Philadelphia Women Strike for Peace Committee in support of Draft Resistance has begun a program of "Adoption" of young resisters—providing funds for housing, food and office expenses; criticizing;

CAMPUS NEWS: --ACTION and Support--

Faculty members at Cornell are providing legal advice, character witnesses, money, and moral support. They are asking individual teachers to become advisers to one or two students "whose careers as draft resisters he could then follow with more concentrated attention than he could if he were simply supporting the movement in general." Such direct "support action" might be taken up on other campuses.

At Ohio State University, a weekly newspaper, the Faculty Peace News (c/o Faculty Peace Committee, Ohio State U., Columbus, Ohio) disseminates information about the war in Vietnam and its impact at home and abroad. "Although we are overwhelmed with detail by the public media, good analyses and interpretation are rare and scattered...Outside the government, only in a university can such information be assembled."

Concerned faculty members at City College in New York have followed Columbia faculty in publishing a statement of support for resisters in the college paper.

The Quincy House Chapter of the Harvard Draft Union has written to parents of Quincy's students asking for "moral, legal, and financial support...to find opportunities for draft resisters after jail, in the business, academic, and professional communities.

Johns Hopkins University is among the many schools announcing that any students imprisoned as resisters will be readmitted to the university without penalty after serving their jail terms.

Reed College (Portland, Oregon) organized a new draft union which proposes to circulate both "we won't go" pledges and support
encouraging and listening to the resisters; raising money for court costs and fines. The program also includes creating a permanent bail and defense fund, supporting demonstrations, mailing information on alternatives to the draft to parents of high school seniors, and attempting to eliminate military recruitment assemblies in high schools. (For information write WSP, 2140 P Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036)

David Bartlett at Princeton reports that the Princeton Alumni Magazine carried a story on Resist activities. This is a good medium for gathering new supporters and money.

The Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam (475 Riverside Drive, Room 547, New York, N.Y. 10027) proposes that the clergy assist those men who, because of the war in Vietnam, have refused military service. Clergy can help provide for their families in their time of conscience and imprisonment. They suggest that the clergy invite resisters into church and synagogue meetings to discuss their beliefs, possibly to share a meal and talk about their problems and their week's activities.

Also, they see inexpensive advertising in the form of thirty second and one minute spot advertisements on local radio stations to be effective, as well as advertisements on busses.

OTHER AREA PROGRAMS

Canadian resistance groups have an ambitious program to supply legal aid, information, and psychological support to resisters immigrating to Canada. They will house and feed immigrants, help them find jobs, and in some cases help finance their expenses. Contact The Southern Ontario Committee on War Immigrants O/O Jim Cairns, 1 Mountain Avenue, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada; or The Toronto Anti-Draft Programme, 2279 Yonge Street North, 1 Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

pledges for non-draftables. 66% of the male seniors at Reed have declared their refusal to serve in the armed forces. A joint student-faculty committee has been established to defray legal expenses in connection with draft resistance.

AREA PROGRAMS (cont.)

The Prisoners' Information and Support Service (P.I.S.S.) provides factual information about serving in prisons. Their newsletter is published by former prisoners and deals with non-cooperation, prison routine, prisoners' rights, etc. For information, write P.I.S.S., P.O. Box 367, Boston University Station, Boston, Mass. 02215.

New Unions—A Detroit area RESIST (2631 Woodward, Room 212, Detroit, Michigan 48201) is being formed. Also, the "grand opening" of the New Bedford (Mass.) Draft Information Center (261 Union Street, Room 13) was held March 28. The center will be open weekdays 2-5 p.m. and 7-9:30 p.m., Saturdays 10-5. Six resisters in Berkeley are organizing Spanish-speaking young men into resisting the draft and preparing a leaflet for them. Aid is urgently needed: food, clothing, and mimeograph paper. For further information, write Orlando Ortiz, 2611 McGee Street, Berkeley, California.

NEWS ABROAD

A new group, Council for Democratic Alternatives, has formed in Oxford, England. They are collecting and demonstrating Pledges to Refuse Induction by contacting the expatriate American student population in England and throughout Europe. They are in need of information, "all kinds and lots of it." Write to them at 46 Lockford Road, Oxford, England.

Meeting of the Intellectuals: On March 23rd, Paris' huge Parc des Expositions was filled with 8000 university and professional people carrying on the program of the founders (François Mauriac, Sartre, Picasso, Laurent Schwartz, and Vercors) in opposition to the American aggression in Vietnam. American Resistance was well represented, and Hoaing Minh Giam (North Vietnam's Minister of Culture) and Che Van Lien (Vietnam's most famous poet) attended. In addition, messages of support came in from Arthur Miller and other leaders of the world's intellectual community. It was one of the largest indoor meetings since the beginning of the Vietnam crisis and the largest held in Paris since the Spanish War.
DRAFT CARD CASE DISMISSED

In Littleton, Colorado, the Federal Government's dismissal of a draft card case against Allen Dale Haifley seems to indicate a shift in policy. Haifley's lawyers said in response to the motion for dismissal made by U.S. Attorney, Milton Branch, apparently acting on instructions from Washington: "The Justice Department will no longer focus on the question of failure to have a draft card in one's possession. While eliminating prosecution for not possessing cards, the government may now reclassify the dissenters and prosecute them if they refuse induction into the armed services.

THE BALTIMORE FOUR: Little Publicity Given, Much Support Needed

On Friday, October 27, 1967, four Baltimoreans entered Selective Service Headquarters in the Customs House and poured blood on files as an act of resistance against the war in Vietnam and the draft.

These men—Father Philip Berrigan, Rev. James Mengel, Thomas Lewis and David Eberhardt—willingly shed their own blood in an act that was, in their own words, "sacrificial and hopefully constructive."

The four men are under indictment for conspiracy against the United States for obstruction of the Selective Service system and for willful destruction of government property. If convicted, they could receive maximum penalties of 23 years in prison.

This information is, by now, general. But what is at present most important in the case is the general news blackout in relation to it since its initial stages. Not even in the Baltimore press has there been coverage. The trial is now going on, and defense funds are needed. Please send o/o RESIST.

(It should be noted that Father Berrigan has been speaking for RESIST, contributing all the proceeds to the movement, and has asked nothing for himself.)