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Anti-War Sabotage

By William Worthy

The following article is reprinted from The Boston Globe, July 28, 1968. The Globe is a major Boston daily newspaper -- not an underground paper -- and this article appeared in the Sunday magazine section.

isolated incidents

or a growing threat?

WITHIN six months to a year, if the war in Vietnam drags on, the Selective Service conscription system in some areas of the U.S. seems likely to face serious disruption of its operations. Especially in ghetto communities and in the vicinity of militant college campuses, draft board members and clerks are probably going to find it physically unsafe to continue to serve.

This Spring, if two draft boards and three ROTC (Reserve Officers Training Corps) buildings had been bombed or burned to the ground inside North Vietnam the U.S. press would have frontpaged all the incidents and would have analyzed them endlessly as clear evidence of politically significant war resistance. But a total of at least eight separate bombings and burnings here at home--I suspect the Pentagon could tell us about even more--have been ignored by our national columnists, by the national media, and by the headline writers who do so much to set the popular mood on the top issues of the day.

The two draft boards known to have been bombed or burned down in the last several months were in Berkeley, California and in Xenia, Ohio. Xenia is a stone's throw from militant Antioch College and from Central State University, a turbulent Negro campus which was occupied by National Guard troops last November. All records in the Xenia draft board were destroyed in the fire of "undetermined origin." In Berkeley, the draft board, which is across the street from police headquarters, has undergone three pre-dawn bombing attacks in the past year--the latest on June 10.

AFTER CHICAGO

As we go to press, the Chicago Democratic follies are about to begin their brief run. While the media have been busy with news (often pseudo-news), about the convention, the administration seems to have raised its price for meaningful negotiations, and Pres. Johnson's pronouncements on Vietnam sound more hawkish every day. The two-months lull in the fighting and the withdrawal of a substantial number of North Vietnamese troops are, the State Department assures us, merely preparations for a coming offensive. The President's answers to these moves is to expand search and destroy missions into the DMZ, and to increase the bombing.

Meanwhile, men keep resisting the draft. And the convention will have precious little, if anything, to say about that. Whatever happens at the convention--including the unlikely nomination of McCarthy--we must continue to expand draft resistance in local areas. Our movement must gain a foothold wherever there are men eligible for the draft.

Many people have expended a great deal of time and emotion in the campaign for Senator McCarthy's nomination; for most, it was their first active involvement in politics. Those of us who have spent most of our energies in working to support draft resistance, should show the deepest understanding for people who, in all sincerity, put their faith in the electoral process; we must create the opportunities for their involvement now in draft resistance. The national office will be putting out a huge mailing and advertisements addressed to McCarthyites.

Cont. on p. 2

Louis Kempf
THE three ROTC buildings that were burned to the ground were at Stanford University (California) University of California at Berkeley and at A & I (Agricultural and Industrial) College in Nashville, Tennessee—the latter a Negro institution. At A & I, the students kept firemen at bay long enough to assure the complete destruction of the building.

At both Stanford and Berkeley, the police said that the fires had been the work of “skilled arsonists”. At Stanford, on May 7, the arsonists first set a diversionary fire on the opposite side of the campus. By the time that firemen reached the ROTC building, it was too late to save it. An earlier fire in the same building had caused $35,000 damage.

Aside from these widely distributed targets, anti-war saboteurs have been busy since February in northern California. In San Mateo, an electric power tower was knocked out on April 4. Two weeks earlier, a dynamite blast leveled a 115,000-volt transmission tower at the University of California at Berkeley. The explosion wiped out some key military research projects of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory. The sheriff of Contra Costa County claimed that the blast was the work of “professionals with expertise in the use of high explosives.”

THE toppling of the San Mateo electric power tower blacked out a wide area. Two days later, a former University of Colorado student, Dale Morrow, turned himself in to the police in order to make public the anti-war motivation behind the sabotage. He declared: “I had to do something ... to stop their machines ... so maybe they would listen—so that this war would be stopped.” On June 4, three huge towers of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, on hills overlooking Berkeley and Oakland, were blasted.

In three and a half years, the U.S. peace movement has progressed from moral dissent to loud opposition to non-violent resistance. Angry and frustrated by the ineffectiveness hitherto, a segment of the movement is now launching the stage of sabotage and disruption. Despite passion, deep commitment and huge expenditures of money, nonviolent protests have never achieved what one editor has called “strategic significance.” They have not paralyzed the U.S. war machine, and they have consequently been largely discounted in Washington.

But if I sense correctly a determined new ghetto and New Left mood, we are now going to witness increased disruption of the all-important draft system without which Vietnams would be impossible. Because all the organized peace groups have been thoroughly infiltrated by government agents, the successful acts of sabotage will be carried out by single individuals and by small intimate groups of long-time friends who will pause long enough between acts to avoid leaving behind a trail of clues. Until now, this seems to have been the pattern in California. A large country with a vast and dispersed war machine is peculiarly vulnerable to the isolated, hit-and-run bombing: it would be prohibitively expensive to place enough 24-hour guards around every site of military significance. More bombings and more fires at draft boards, when combined with threats of bodily harm to those doing the drafting, will help to gum up the already unpopular Selective Service system. This Spring, for example, in New York’s Greenwich Village, several members of Draft Board No. 4 quickly resigned after an underground paper, the New York Free Press, organized a “Phone-In” and published the names, addresses and telephone numbers of draft board members.

This kind of action alone won’t stop the Vietnam war in which half a million U.S. draftees are already fighting. The greater significance will lie in the political and psychological impact on the morale of war-weary and confused American civilians and troops. Clearly, the goal of the saboteurs in domestic terms is akin to what Lenin called “revolutionary defeatism” when he agitated successfully to take Kerensky’s Russia out of World War I. When viewed in a rapidly deteriorating context of military setbacks, including the U.S. withdrawal from Khe Sanh, further undermining of the U.S. dollar, and continuing racial strife on the second war front at home, anti-war sabotage on even a limited scale cannot lightly be dismissed as “extremist”, insignificant or a passing phase.

William Worthy, correspondent of the Afro-American Newspapers and a resident of Boston, has followed Viet-nam developments since his first visit to Indo-China a year before Dienbienphu.

**RESIST’S STATEMENT ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

We deplore the brutal suppression of Czech freedom by Russian-led forces. We have resisted, and will continue to resist, the American aggression in Vietnam. It is even less possible for us, therefore, to stand silently by at another exercise of criminal power directed against a small nation striving for freedom and self-determination. The picture of Russian and German soldiers once more marching together against their peaceful neighbors chills all of us. The Soviet excuse for their invasion is as flimsy as the American pretext for devastating Vietnam. There is no socialism, nor democracy, without freedom and humanity. We pledge ourselves to continue to build a movement of people to resist war, racism, and tyranny in whatever name these are carried on.
COMMUNES AND DRAFT RESISTANCE

In all areas of the United States, many communes (probably hundreds of them) and alternate communities have been springing up as a form of protest against the ordinary ways most Americans conduct their lives. Many of these communities have been helping draft resisters, giving them a home or a temporary place to rest and recover their spirits. The Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority promised to support this kind of activity. It is important for people to know about alternate communities in their areas, and to give them all the support and encouragement they can. Many of these communities find themselves harrassed by local and federal police—often on trumped-up game or fishing-law charges—and the public concern of friendly people acts as a necessary buffer against the authorities.

LATEST GRANTS

The Steering Committee met on August 15, and made grants to the following groups:

Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union for Milwaukee
Ann Arbor Resistance
Pittsburgh Resisters
Rhode Island Resistance
Phoenix Area Draft Resistance
Wilmington Anti-War Committee
Boston Freemen—for starting community house

AFTER CHICAGO, cont. from p. 1

Local groups should be setting up meetings and conferences with the senator's supporters, at which the relation of resistance to electoral politics, the extension of sanctuaries to universities and other institutions, and racism will be discussed. Some of these discussions might tax the patience of seasoned resisters, but they are necessary if we are to attract more people to our movement; they are more than necessary if we are to make resistance to illegitimate authority an effective force.

--Louis Kampf

LETTERS ON FUNDING

We have received a number of letters like the one reprinted below, and we think they are most encouraging. In addition to funding about 100 local draft-resistance groups directly in the last 9 months, we have provided mailing lists and other organizational help in building many local resistance support groups. Building such groups remains for us of fundamental importance, and we would be pleased to have many more letters like this one, because they indicate that we're helping perform one of our most important tasks.

Dear Friends—

Enclosed is payment of pledge for August. I hope you will not mind, but I am going to transfer my pledge from now on to the Long Island Resistance because I feel closer to our local group and know several of the resisters personally, attend their functions, etc.

Peace!

At the same time, we feel it is necessary to remind people of the need to maintain our central reserve, so that we can continue to make new grants (see the latest Steering Committee meeting report—LATEST GRANTS—column 1, this page). And we reprint below another letter which we also appreciate:

Dear Resist:

I'm adding a little to my pledge amount this month, because I'm so concerned about the lull in the effort of peace workers, and the apparent soft-pedalling of criticism of the Vietnam Operation in the press since the April Fool's Eve speech...It seems so obvious to me that our government is...using peace negotiations "...as a continuation of war by other means. Thank you for the valuable service you're providing in keeping the information flowing concerning peace activities throughout the country. It's very important to know what others are doing and what experience they're having in response to their efforts...

Peace—
In Newsletter #11, we printed a list of sources which are useful to consult in doing draft board research. These sources are described and their uses are explained even more fully in a brochure put out by the Boston Draft Resistance Group (102 Columbia St., Cambridge, Mass.). Many local groups have done extensive work on the composition of draft boards, and have devised effective ways of using what they found out.

The Baltimore Interfaith Peace Mission, formed to oppose the war in Vietnam, has become interested in the draft set-up in the city. They write, "The general pattern of the draft boards is this: there are 26 local boards in the city, all of which, since the blood pouring, are located in the Customs House. The majority of the draft board members, while they do live within the city, do not reside in the area which their board serves. Thus, while the letter of Selective Service law is not violated, the spirit is. In a city which is at least half black, the majority of board members are white. Few of them, judging on their places of residence, can be called "working class." As near as we can figure it, the real decision makers are not the draft board members, who meet at most once a month, but the draft board clerks. We are sure this procedure is followed by most other draft boards around the country."

Thus, one of the goals of the Baltimore group has become to "attempt to close down a draft board legally and to see to what extent popular pressure can determine a draft board's composition." They plan direct action "aimed at getting one or more of the three members of Board #8 to resign... Two of them live outside the area, one in a mansion in upper Guilford and the other in the Village of Cross Keys, an upper middle-class development." The mission plans to send letters asking for their resignations—as "civic-minded, responsible American citizens."

At present they plan only "polite, legal harassment and pressure," like picketing the homes of Board members. Another plan of the Baltimore Interfaith Peace Mission is to hold a "Hearing on the Draft." This will occur at the end of summer, when students are back in school. "We will invite the three board members—if they're still members—and give them the opportunity to defend themselves in public. We'll tell them if they don't show, we'll put an empty chair(s) on the stage with their name(s) and addresses(es) on it. This hearing will be a teach-in sort of thing. We'll try to get Sen. Joe Tydings, a strong opponent of the present draft law, and a war critic, though we really don't expect much from him even if he does show up."

Their final stroke is to demonstrate the unfairness and absurdity of the selection of draft board members by running a "candidate" for the draft board. Grenville B. Whitman, an ex-paratrooper is "undismayed by the fact that draft board members are appointed, not elected," wrote a reporter in the Evening Sun. "One of our campaign slogans is 'Election, Not Selection.' We want to show people around here once and for all exactly how undemocratic the draft system really is," Gren says. He is campaigning on a plank which includes the promise that "if a man is reluctant about going into the military, I will do everything I can to help him stay out."

Gren is taking his petition out into the streets, and has found an "overwhelmingly favorable response. Young people in particular are happy to sign the petition. They dig what we are saying almost immediately." The petitions will be presented to Spiro Agnew, presently governor of Maryland.

Resistance in Phila. is also working on the local draft boards. They have obtained the names of draft board members, published them in the newspapers, and spread their names through "know your neighbor" leaflets. They sent
telegrams to one member of the Jenkintown board on his birthday, and announced it in the paper.

In Boston, BDRG is continuing to conduct draft board research and they have put out two leaflets suggesting approaches to draft board members. One, entitled "Demoralization of Local Draft Board Members," quotes Arlo Tatum of the Central Committee of Conscientious Objectors, who reports signs of reluctance and discouragement on boards around the country (resignations, difficulty in finding replacements). The leaflets suggest that it is useful for women, especially, to make regular personal visits to members of local boards in their communities. The women do not make public exposures or urge demonstrations, but exert personal pressure in the privacy of an office or home.

BDRG suggests asking these questions: "It was not easy for me to find out that you are a board member. Why isn't it made public? Do you fear publicity? Why? Do your neighbors know you are on the board? How do they feel about your drafting their sons to die in Vietnam? Do you feel the government has a right to draft people to fight even though half the population doesn't like the war?"

LETTER TO DRAFT BOARD MEMBERS

Finally, BDRG suggest writing a letter of this type to a local board member. We reprint their sample letter verbatim, but of course, local variations are inevitable and desirable.

Dear Mr. Member:

As neighbors and citizens we are writing to you out of a deep concern over the draft and the war in Vietnam. We urge upon you the action of one of your fellow board members. Explaining his resignation after almost twenty years, Roscoe N. Coburn, chairman of the Concord, New Hampshire board, said that we are "embroiled in an Oriental civil war in which both sides are against us economically and militarily" ..."I want no further part in the conscription of our youth who, either willingly or unwillingly, will serve in the cesspool otherwise known as Vietnam."

Coburn further accuses the Johnson administration of operating "by browbeating, arm-twisting political chicanery until the concepts of constitutional government are nearly lost." This is true of the Selective Service System itself. It favors the rich over the poor, the educated over the uneducated, the influential over the powerless. Its operation is so oppressive that an SSS Appeals Agent was prompted to say before Congress, "the draft is monstrously weighted against a registrant who seeks a classification other than I-A." For years, young men have been afraid to ask about their rights because they were led to believe this might endanger their classification.

The SSS is so hopelessly entangled that none of the reforms now recommended will make it fair. But this is the least of the matter. The draft forces young men to kill and be killed in an immoral, unjust war which they neither like nor understand. You as a board member bear a heavy responsibility. To help bring an end to the destruction in Vietnam and the useless slaughter of Americans you can do no less than Coburn, and take "no further part in sending another son to service in Asia."

Therefore we ask you to resign immediately from your position on the draft board. By doing so you will better serve humanity and the best interest of our country.

INCREDIBLE, AS USUAL

Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, the 64 yr. old draft director, spoke in Washington before an audience of 300 young Federal employees, but first Hershey had to run a gauntlet of Federal pickets outside. Inside a typical Hershey-and-audience exchange went: Q. What if a young man does not oppose all wars, but opposes the Vietnam war? HERSEY: "Unfortunately, we don't have a Hitler in stock anymore."

—from the Boston Globe
TO THE BEACHES!

The New Bedford (Mass.) Draft Information Center "decided to make itself more visible to the community by bringing its services to area beaches." They carried out a folding table, pamphlets, signs, and staffed the table with members of the Center. As a result, they were harassed by the New Bedford Park Board, who ordered them off the beach, because "a city ordinance prohibits use of the beach for anything except recreation purposes."

Nonetheless, they were only temporarily kept off the beach, and in spite of legal restraints, members of the Draft Information Center have been successfully leafleting on local beaches. The storm of controversy in the New Bedford Standard-Times has probably helped them. So far they have not been stopped by the Park Board, and in fact, their own legal action against the Board now is pending.

Similar kinds of summer projects have been set up in other cities and on other beaches, including one in Maryland. As one member of the New Bedford group, Mrs. Gloria Xifaras, said, the beach program was initiated "because we want to be where the young people are. One of our problems has been that our office (at 261 Union St.) has not been visible. Some kids have said they haven't been able to find it."

GENERAL NEWS

Job for Organizer: Utica Peace Center. Will pay between $70 and $100 a week. Utica is a city of 100,000, about 50 mi. east of Syracuse, and about 1 hour from Ithaca (Cornell). The Peace Center has a store-front office. The Organizer will have considerable room for organizing, but must be able to deal with straight, middle-class types. There is a budding draft resistance group in Utica.

Call or write:
Utica Peace Center
1214 Park Ave.
Utica, New York 13501
315-724-0353

Job for Organizer: Another position is open with the Capital Area Peace Center in Albany, New York. They are looking for a year-round worker and are able to pay $5,000. Applicants should write or call:
Paul Smith
37 Parkwood East
Albany, New York 12203
518-489-1561

Boycott of Dow Chemicals: Those interested in broadening the boycott of Dow Chemical Company—producers of napalm—should write:
Dow Action Committee
619 South Bonnie Brae
Los Angeles, California 90054

Local Newsletters: The RESIST office receives dozens of newsletters from local groups of resisters and supporters all over the country. We do not have enough space to list them all, but if you are interested in finding out the name of the organization in your area (or elsewhere), write us and we will send you the local addresses. Supporting these newsletters is another way of helping resistance in your area—and of finding out what is going on near you.

New University Conference: NUC is an organization of radical academics, about which we had an article in Newsletter #13. Interested academics should write:
New University Conference
5810 Woodlawn Ave.
Chicago

Vocational Service Available: Vocations for Social Change is a nationwide center for communication about ways that people can answer (and are answering) the question: What am I going to do with my life (or summer, or next year, or next couple of months)? "The main way we try to do this is by publishing a monthly listing of currently available 'openings' in the field of stimulating social change."

Write:
Vocations for Social Change
2010 "B" Street
Hayward, Calif. 94541
GENERAL NEWS, cont.

Films Available: These three films are available for fund-raising. The rate may be half of the proceeds of the evening (if this is less than the rental fee). "Black Power: We're goin' survive America." Portrait of the struggle for black liberation, the African Heritage of American blacks, the need to form a Black United Front in order to survive threats of white racism in the U.S. 15 min, prints 16 mm, color, rental $25.00. "Peace Pickets Arrested for Disturbing the Peace." Documentary which depicts the preparations for and the development of the Oct. 1967 non-violent, anti-draft demonstration at the Oakland induction center that led to the arrest of Joan Baez and 120 pacifists. 6½ min., prints 16 mm, color, rental $25.00. "The Resistance." Members of the Resistance who seek, beyond their non-cooperation with the draft, to find a new form of society, a new attitude towards fellow people in the world. 18 min., prints 16 mm, color, rental $25.

Write:
Leonard M. Henny
3800 Scott St.
San Francisco, Cal. 94123
415-921-0347

Draft Info. Available: Women Strike for Peace is selling the following, which they mail promptly:
Surgeon General's List (Medical Fitness Standards) AR 40-501 $1.00
(Chapters 2 and 3 plus Appendix III)
Index (30 pp) to above List $1.00
Selective Service Regulations, including Amendments $3.50
Amendments alone $.50
Local Board Memoranda (selected items) $2.00

SS Regulations usually cost $5 and Local Board Memoranda usually cost $4 (from gov't).

Write: Women Strike for Peace
5899 West Pico Blvd.
Los Angeles, Calif. 90019

was ordered for induction into the army on Aug. 19. Frank received the surprise induction order as a punishment for having returned his draft card to the SSS in Oct, 1967. Frank is 27.

The order to report for induction followed the denial by both local and state boards of Conscientious Objector status. Frank's C.O. application, filed in 1966, was supported by 7 ministers, including an Episcopal bishop. The final outcome of this reclassification was that Frank was declared I-Y.

MORE ON SANCTUARY

In the past month, draft resisters, soldiers, and their supporters have been granted sanctuary in churches in several cities, including Yellow Springs, Ohio, Cambridge, Mass., and in Buffalo. Two resisters, Bruce Byers and Bruce Cline took sanctuary in Buffalo in a Unitarian church 2 weeks ago. On Thursday, August 15, a summons for them to appear in court on Monday at 10:00 was delivered to the church. A press conference was called, and the summons was publicly burned. On Monday, federal officers served a bench warrant to the church, and although resisters within the church urged the people outside not to obstruct the officers, a group linked arms outside to prevent the officers from entering.

The officers burst through the crowd, beat Byers with chains and blackjacks, dragging him out. Cline walked out. They were arrested along with 7 who blocked the church, and all taken to jail. Initially bail was set at $10,000 each for the 7 and $50,000(!) each for Cline and Byers. As we go to press, all nine are in jail; for Cline and Byers, bail is $5,000, and for the 7 it is $10,000.

Funds are urgently needed to support these people, and may be sent to:

The Buffalo Nine Defense Committee
937 West Ferry
Buffalo, New York 14209
The Northwest Resistance Notes for July 12 includes this history of the development of a local resistance movement.

**BELLINGHAM: From Apathy to Resistance**

Western Washington State College in Bellingham is not unlike most other state schools in Wash. Although it has an enrollment of 6,000 and is growing very rapidly, it was for many years a small quiet school producing secondary and elementary teachers for the public school system. Very little of a political nature occurred at Western, aside from the bi-annual campaign drives of the Young Democrats and Republicans, until about 1964 when the seriousness and importance of the war in Vietnam became apparent. Beginning in the spring of that year, students and liberal faculty members marched from the campus to the Federal Bldg. downtown to protest the war. During the spring march of 1965, 26 students were arrested for defying what they considered to be an unfair parade route. They were successful in the courts a month later, but this legal victory did not lead to the formation of a substantive and ongoing anti-war movement on campus.

Such a development had to wait until the early spring of 1968, when a significant part of the campus community rallied behind a liberal faculty member fired for alleged misconduct. The professor lost his case, but the outrage and awareness which the case generated was carried forward in a confrontation with military recruiters on campus later in the spring. Six students were committed enough to risk expulsion by sitting in at the Placement Center; they disrupted the recruitment for 3 full days during which they fasted and caught the full attention of the college and the town. The sit-in and the teach-ins to which it gave rise gave a depth and level of commitment to the movement on campus that has continued to sustain it and give it momentum. It was from this even that the draft resistance movement in Bellingham emerged.

From here, three students took the initiative in setting up a table which distributed diverse material on the war and the draft. The most effective statement was the SSS's Channeling memo, which "blew a lot of people's minds." Next they distributed "we won't go" and complicity statements, and got 60 to sign the first and over 100 to sign the second. They planned a large press conference and spaghetti dinner, and 300 people showed up. After the statement was read, four men turned in their draft cards. "The effect was electric.

The "we won't go" and complicity signers have become our mailing list, and the many who helped us pay for an add in the campus newspaper have become the movement's financial base. Many new workers have appeared, and a structure seems to have been built and a momentum begun which have carried us into the summer and which will survive beyond the presence of the original nucleus of organizers. We now have an office downtown, and during the summer we're carrying out a I-A program and an active draft counseling service.

In sum, we have learned a great deal in the last few months, and some of it may well be relevant to groups and individuals on other small college campuses. First, we have discovered that our power to influence the campus and town has been far out of proportion to our numbers, that a minimal no. of committed people can do extraordinary things to the general feeling on a campus in regard to the issues of the war and the draft. Secondly, we've discovered that once we demonstrated the seriousness of our commitment and the principles which lie behind our activities, the movement can and does grow. Finally, we learned a great deal about ourselves in the course of the spring's activities. Our personal involvement was more politically educational than reading volumes on the issues with which we were involved. We learned a great deal about the social forces and institutions involved merely because as organizers and activists we had to confront them directly...At the same time, the basis of our relationship in the movement was human and personal rather than ideological, and this may explain in part why many people were attracted to the draft resistance movement in Bellingham.

---John Sullivan