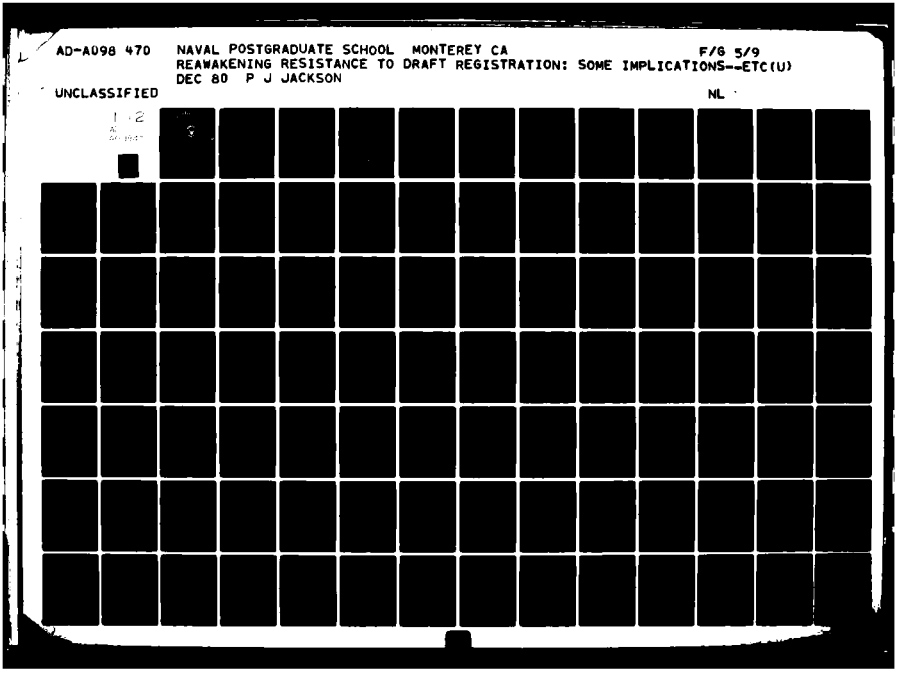
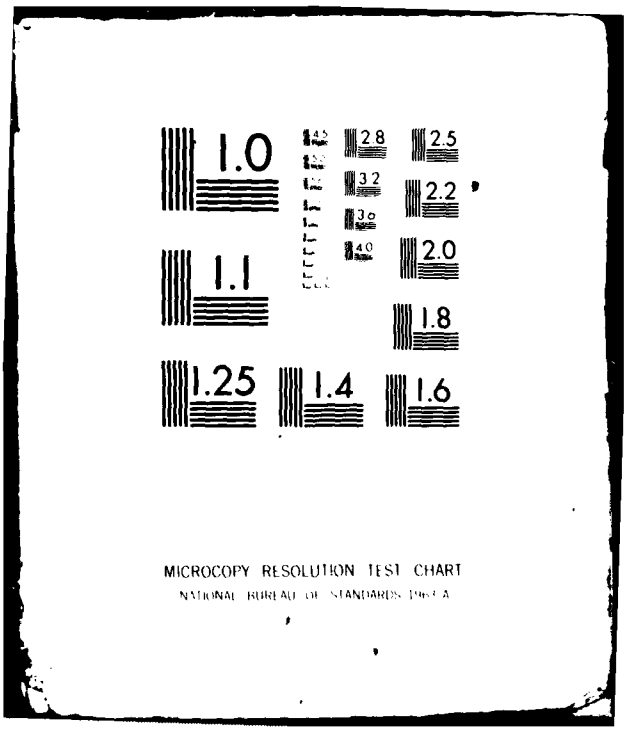
AD-A098 470 NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL MONTEREY CA F/G 5/9
REAWAKENING RESISTANCE TO DRAFT REGISTRATION: SOME IMPLICATIONS--ETC(U)
DEC 80 P J JACKSON

UNCLASSIFIED NL



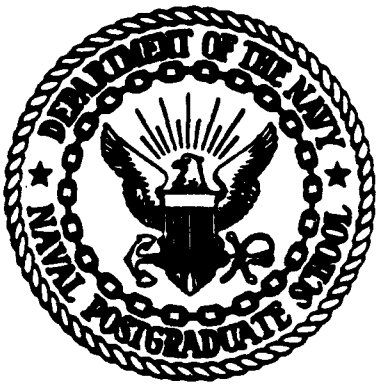

1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
1.8
2.0
2.2
2.5
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS 1963-A

LEVEL II

NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

Monterey, California

AD A098470



ELECTE
MAY 5 1981
S D
A

THESIS

REAWAKENING RESISTANCE TO DRAFT REGISTRATION:
SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR THE 1980's.

by

Paul Joseph Jackson

December 1980

Thesis Advisor: Phillip N. Butler

Approved for public release, distribution unlimited

DTIC FILE COPY

81 5 05 004

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE (When Data Entered)

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM
1. REPORT NUMBER	2. GOVT ACCESSION NO. AD-A098 470	3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER
4. TITLE (and Subtitle) REAWAKENING RESISTANCE TO DRAFT REGISTRATION: SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR THE 1980's		5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED Master's Thesis; December 1980
		6. PERFORMING ORG. REPORT NUMBER
7. AUTHOR(s) Paul Joseph Jackson		8. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s)
9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA 93940		10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS
11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA 93940		12. REPORT DATE December 1980
		13. NUMBER OF PAGES 157
14. MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS(if different from Controlling Office) Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA 93940		15. SECURITY CLASS. (of this report) Unclassified
		15a. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE

16. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of this Report)

Approved for public release, distribution unlimited

17. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)

18. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

19. KEY WORDS (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)
Draft registration, conscientious objection, U.S. Selective Service System, Conscription, Draft resistance.

20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)

On July 21, 1980, after a five year suspension, draft registration returned to the United States amid scattered protests. Men born in 1960 were to register the first of a two week registration period, filling out cards with their names, addresses, Social Security numbers and other information at local post offices Those men born in 1961 were required to register the following week. Men born in 1962 will be required to register the week beginning January 5, 1981. After that, men will register as they

DD FORM 1 JAN 73 1473 (Page 1) EDITION OF 1 NOV 65 IS OBSOLETE S/N 0102-014-6601

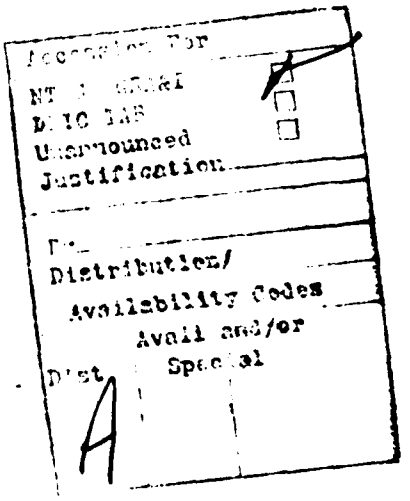
SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE (When Data Entered)

turn 18 years old.

During the initial two week draft registration period, individuals and organizations opposed to registration held rallies, leafletted and picketted the nation's post offices, conducted counseling sessions for registration-age males, and sponsored meetings to discuss and answer questions about registration and alternatives to registration.

The focus of this thesis is the reawakening resistance to President Carter's registration plans as demonstrated by meetings on registration and alternatives to registration sponsored by anti-registration groups, as well as by anti-draft literature published by national anti-draft organizations.

The objectives of this research are (1) To determine who the leaders of the local draft registration meetings are; (2) To determine the extent of their support at these meetings; (3) To gather data on the alternatives to draft registration offered at these meetings as well as in current anti-draft literature; (4) To gather data on the effectiveness of such meetings in convincing draft-age youth not to register or to register under protest; (5) To offer predictions, based on the history of draft resistance in America and on the observations made above, on the impact of such groups on future attempts to bring back the draft.



DD Form 1473
1 Jan 73
S/N 0102-014-6601

Approved for Public Release: Distribution unlimited

REAWAKENING RESISTANCE TO DRAFT REGISTRATION: SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR THE 1980's

by

Paul Joseph Jackson
Lieutenant, United States Navy
B.A., Marquette University, 1974

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirement for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN MANAGEMENT

from the

NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
December, 1980

Author: Paul Jackson

Approved by: Phillip Neal Butler
Thesis Advisor

Second Reader

Chairman, Department of Administrative Sciences

Dean of Information and Policy Sciences

ABSTRACT

On July 21, 1980, after a five year suspension, draft registration returned to the United States amid scattered protests. Men born in 1960 were to register the first of a two week registration period, filling out cards with their names, addresses, Social Security numbers and other information at local post offices. Those men born in 1961 were required to register the following week. Men born in 1962 will be required to register the week beginning January 5, 1981. After that, men will register as they turn 18 years old.

During the initial two week draft registration period, individuals and organizations opposed to registration held rallies, leafletted and picketted the nation's post offices, conducted counseling sessions for registration-age males, and sponsored meetings to discuss and answer questions about registration and alternatives to registration.

The focus of this thesis is the reawakening resistance to President Carter's registration plans as demonstrated by meetings on registration and alternatives to registration sponsored by anti-registration groups, as well as by anti-draft literature published by national anti-draft organizations.

The objectives of this research are (1) To determine who the leaders of local draft registration meetings are; (2) To determine the extent of their support at these meetings; (3) To gather data on the alternatives to draft registration offered at these meetings as well as in current anti-draft literature; (4) To gather data on the effectiveness of such meetings in convincing draft-age youth not to register or to register under protest; (5) To offer predictions, based on the history of draft resistance in America and on the observations made above, on the impact of such groups on future attempts to bring back the draft.

"We're asking a very minor demonstration of committment and participation from Americans... I will carry it out regardless of any obstacle which might arise in this country."

--President Carter defending his draft registration program July 23, 1980.

"We will not cooperate with military registration... non-cooperation is the best way to demonstrate our opposition to the draft and militarism... We do not take this position lightly. Prison, exile or the underground is hell, but war is worse."

--From a statement circulated by Rich Stryker and Mark Furman, two young men of draft age, as quoted from an American Friends Service Committee pamphlet.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION 8

A. DRAFT REGISTRATION RESUMES 8

B. BACKGROUND 9

1. Debate on the All-Volunteer Force 9

2. Public Opinion Toward Registration and the Draft 9

3. Legislative Trends Toward Registration and the Draft 10

4. President Carter's Proposal to Resume Registration 11

5. Protest Reaction to Registration Plans ... 12

C. FOCUS OF THE RESEARCH 14

D. OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH 14

E. QUESTIONS OF THE RESEARCH 15

F. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY 16

G. ORGANIZATION OF THE RESEARCH 16

II. THE AMERICAN MILITARY TRADITION 18

A. THE COLONIAL MILITARY SYSTEM 18

B. THE CONTINUING DEPENDENCE ON A VOLUNTEER MILITIA 21

C. THE BIRTH OF FEDERAL CONSCRIPTION 23

D. CONSCRIPTION COMES OF AGE IN AMERICA 27

E. CONSCRIPTION IN WAR AND PEACE 30

F. SERIOUS CHALLENGES TO CONSCRIPTION 33

III. PRESENTATION OF THE DATA 39

A. OBSERVATIONS FROM DRAFT REGISTRATION MEETINGS 39

1. Monterey, Calif., July 24, 1980 39

2. Seaside, Calif., July 30, 1980 45

3. Santa Cruz, Calif., July 31, 1980 50

4. San Diego, Calif., September 25, 1980 53

B. DATA GATHERED FROM ANTI-DRAFT LITERATURE 62

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS 71

A. WHO ARE THE LEADERS OF THE DRAFT REGISTRATION MEETINGS? 71

B. WHAT IS THE EXTENT OF THEIR SUPPORT AT THE MEETINGS? 73

C. WHAT ALTERNATIVES TO DRAFT REGISTRATION AND OTHER ADVICE ARE OFFERED AT DRAFT REGISTRATION MEETINGS AND IN THE ANTI-DRAFT LITERATURE? .. 75

D. HOW EFFECTIVE WERE THESE MEETINGS IN INFLUENCING REGISTRATION-AGE MALES NOT TO REGISTER FOR THE DRAFT? 77

E. WHAT IMPACT COULD THESE GROUPS HAVE ON FUTURE ATTEMPTS TO BRING BACK THE DRAFT? 79

F. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS 81

APPENDIX A: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE PACKET .. 84

APPENDIX B: CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS ANTI-DRAFT PACKETS 104

APPENDIX C: COMMITTEE AGAINST REGISTRATION AND THE DRAFT PACKET 125

BIBLIOGRAPHY 150

INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST 156

I. INTRODUCTION

A. DRAFT REGISTRATION RESUMES

On July 21, 1980, after a five year suspension, draft registration returned to the United States amid scattered protests. Men born in 1960 were to register the first of a two week registration period, filling out cards with their names, addresses, Social Security numbers and other information at local post offices. Those men born in 1961 were required to register the following week. Men born in 1962 will be required to register the week beginning January 5, 1981. After that, men will register as they turn 18 years old.

The demonstrations that occured during the initial two week registration period, although relatively calm and peaceful, brought back still-raw memories of Vietnam era clashes between the Selective Service System and anti-war groups intent on disrupting the draft. It is evident that the revitalization of the Selective Service System from its "deep standby status" has also resulted in a revitalization of anti-draft groups who view registration as just the first step toward a draft.

The actual induction of draftees ended in December 1972. With the signing of the Vietnam Peace Agreement, it was publicly announced in January 1973 that the draft,

legally due to expire in June, would be suspended. In 1975, President Ford issued a proclamation which ended the requirement that those subject to the Military Selective Service Act register with Selective Service.

B. BACKGROUND

1. Debate on the All-Volunteer Force

Almost since its inception, the All-Volunteer Force has been a subject of considerable debate. Looming as the central issue in this debate is the ability of the United States to fulfill its numerous and wide-ranging committments and interests around the globe. One aspect of this current controversy involves the manpower readiness of the All-Volunteer Force. Numerous hearings on military manpower have been held in recent years by committees of both the House and the Senate. These hearings have addressed such questions as the ability of the All-Volunteer Force to attract sufficient numbers of volunteers to meet its quotas, the ability of the All-Volunteer Force to attract sufficiently qualified volunteers to operate increasingly sophisticated military hardware, and the disproportionate percentage of minorities that make up the military service today.

2. Public Opinion Toward Registration and the Draft

As military manpower problems become more and more publicized. the public has become more receptive to

registration and a draft. A Gallup poll taken during the summer of 1979 indicated that the public voted 76 to 17 percent in favor of a system of universal registration. Draft-age youths favored a system of universal registration by a 73 to 20 percent margin. On a proposal to revive the military draft, the public was evenly divided while those of draft-age opposed such a proposition by a 70 to 25 percent margin. [Gallup Opinion Index, August, 1979]. Public attitudes had grown more favorable toward a draft since a March 1977 Gallup poll when 36 percent favored a return to the draft and 54 percent were opposed. [Gallup Opinion Index, May 1977].

3. Legislative Trends Toward Registration and the Draft

Proposed legislation in Congress reflected growing military manpower concerns. In 1979, a number of bills were introduced both in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives to deal with these perceived manpower shortages. Some of the possibilities offered by these bills were (1) Compulsory national service, with an option of entering a military or civilian program; (2) Compulsory registration with no draft immediately; (3) Registration with a limited draft. [Stone, 1979]. None of these bills got very far with an election year so near. In the fall of 1979, a bill to require men to register for military conscription was so badly defeated in the House that Senator

Sam Nunn, a leader in the bring-back-the-draft movement. said that there was no point in debating it in the Senate. Senator Jacob Javits of New York added that anyone who suggested a peacetime draft would be committing political suicide in an election year. [Beck, 1980]. With the passage of HR 4040, which was the defense authorization bill for fiscal year 1980, the issue was placed in the lap of President Carter. HR 4040 originally included a provision that directed the President to commence registration effective January 1, 1981 of male persons who became 18 years or older on that date. However, this section was removed and a study proposal, to be made by the President early in 1980, was substituted.

4. President Carter's Proposal to Resume Registration

Prior to his 1980 State of the Union Address, President Carter had expressed opposition to a peacetime draft and withheld his support for draft registration. Following in the wake of the Iranian hostage crisis and the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, President Carter's State of the Union message proposed the resumption of registration and the revitalization of the Selective Service System. Citing the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as a reason for the reversal of policy, the President has said, "Registration for the draft is needed to increase our preparedness and

is a further demonstration of our resolve as a nation." [Congressional Digest, April, 1980].

5. Protest Reaction to Registration Plans

President Carter's call for a resumption of draft registration reawakened opposition to the draft on college compuses. The participants included some of the leading anti-war activists of the Vietnam War years. Chants such as "Hell no! We won't go!" again rang out across the Wisconsin campus at Madison. At Stanford, veteran anti-war activist David Harris led 700 students in protests; others there burned a mock draft card. [Beck, 1980]. Daniel Ellsberg urged Stanford students to "mutiny against the draft." A thousand students rallied at Berkeley. At Harvard, Nobel Laureate George Wald urged a group of protestors to "take control of your lives...Learn to say no to what is wrong." In Philadelphia, the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors announced that it was reviving its nationwide network of draft counselors. A member of the Committee stated, "The U.S. has never had a draft registration without the draft and we have rarely had a draft without war." [Time, 11 February 80]. In the largest demonstration to protest President Carter's plans to resume draft registration, 30,000 protestors, mostly of draft-age, marched in Washington, D.C. during the weekend of March 22,

1980. They were led by anti-war activist David Harris, David Dellinger of Chicago Seven fame, black activist Stokely Carmichael, and Bella Abzug, the feminist and former representative. [New York Times, 23 March 80]. During President Carter's acceptance speech as the Democratic nominee for President, he drew a strong gutteral boo from the crowd at Madison Square Garden when he mentioned his draft registration plan.

However, there was equally strong evidence to suggest support for the draft registration plan. A poll of students at 42 colleges in November 1979 by Opinion 18, a student polling organization, found that 45 percent favored registration while 55 percent opposed it. [Beck, 1980]. Students polled by the Harvard Crimson were divided almost equally; 50 percent against draft registration, 47 percent in favor of it. [Time, 11 February 80]. In a survey taken at Berkeley, a stronghold of anti-war sentiment during the 1960's, a surprising 51 percent polled said they would serve in the military if drafted. [U.S. News, 25 February 80]. In a New York Times/CBS News poll of 1536 registered voters taken in mid-February 1980, 57 percent of the Democrats and 55 percent of the Republicans favored resuming the military draft. [New York Times, 20 February 80].

C. FOCUS OF THE RESEARCH

The focus of the research is the reawakening resistance to President Carter's draft registration plans as demonstrated by meetings on registration and alternatives to registration sponsored by anti-registration groups, as well as by literature published by national anti-draft organizations used to advise youth on registration and their alternatives to registration. The purpose of this thesis is to provide insight into anti-registration efforts being made by these groups in order to gauge their effectiveness in persuading individuals not to register and to offer some predictions on their impact on future efforts to revive the draft.

D. OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The objectives of this research are (1) To determine who the leaders of local draft registration meetings are; (2) To determine the extent of their support at these meetings; (3) To gather data on the alternatives to draft registration offered at these meetings as well as in current anti-draft literature; (4) To gather data on the effectiveness of such meetings in convincing draft-age youth not to register or to register under protest; (5) To offer predictions, based on the history of draft resistance in America and on the observations made above, on the impact of such groups on future attempts to bring back the draft.

E. QUESTIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Based on the above objectives, this thesis proposes to answer the following questions: (1) Who are the leaders of these draft registration meetings? Do they have previous experience in other activist organizations? Are they previous draft resisters or conscientious objectors? (2) What is the extent of their support at these meetings? How many people show up at the meetings? Who shows up at the meetings? Draft-age youth? Parents? Minorities? Who participates during the meetings? (3) What alternatives to draft registration and other advice do the leaders of draft registration meetings and the anti-draft literature offer? Do the leaders try to sell certain alternatives? Do the leaders engage in political rhetoric or emotional arguments with the audience? Do the leaders explain the legal ramifications of not registering? What do the leaders see as potential legal defenses for individuals who refuse to register for the draft? (4) How effective are these meetings in influencing draft-age males not to register for the draft? (5) What impact could these groups have on future attempts to bring back the draft in a limited war situation (for example, defending U.S. interests in the Persian Gulf)?

F. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The primary method of gathering data was attendance at four draft registration meetings sponsored by various organizations opposed to President Carter's draft registration plan. These meetings were open to the general public. Three meetings took place during registration, the other in September. Observed were meetings in Monterey and Seaside, California sponsored by the local chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union; one meeting in Santa Cruz, California sponsored by the Resource Center for Non-Violence; and one meeting in San Diego, California on the campus of San Diego State University sponsored by Students for Peace. Supplementing this data are draft literature from three national anti-draft organizations: the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, as well as data provided from current newspaper and magazine articles.

G. ORGANIZATION OF THE RESEARCH

Chapter One has briefly described the current events leading up to President Carter's proposal to resume draft registration and the initial reactions to it, and has outlined the focus, objectives and methodology of the research. The controversy surrounding the draft has always been a part of the American military tradition. Chapter Two will put the

current resistance efforts against registration in historical perspective, examining American attitudes and reactions to conscription from pre-colonial times through the Vietnam War. Chapter Three will display the data obtained from the four registration meetings attended and current anti-draft literature. Chapter Four will address the questions of the research previously posed, present the implications of the findings and offer some general observations of the current resistance to draft registration.

II. THE AMERICAN MILITARY TRADITION

The debate on military manpower procurement and the issues raised by the draft are not new. These questions have gone on unresolved throughout American history. Now it seems with President Carter's call for draft registration and the increasing acceptability of a draft by the American people that this debate is about to erupt again. The purpose of this chapter is to provide perspective on the current draft registration controversy in the light of American military traditions.[1]

A. THE COLONIAL MILITARY SYSTEM

The early settlers of America brought with them from England a long heritage of compulsory military service. Not only was it their heritage, but due to the dangers that these early explorers faced in the new world, it was important that every able-bodied male contribute to the defense of his settlement. This "citizen's army" met the needs of the colonists who, for the most part, hated to leave their homes and families unattended to fight in a distant or prolonged battle.

---

[1]This overview of American conscription draws heavily from the work of O'Sullivan and Mechler (1974).

The first law that provided for compulsory military service in the new world was enacted in Virginia in 1629. From this time until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War approximately two hundred separate acts affirming the principals of compulsory military service were passed in the colonies by the various political subdivisions. Despite this seemingly overwhelming embrace of compulsory military service by the colonists, in reality there was very little organization of a centralized military force or enforcement of these numerous provisions. As the level of danger that faced the colonists subsided, the number of required military training days decreased and the number of exemptions from military service granted increased. Although the tradition of universal military training remained a part of colonial life, the actual requirements placed on individuals became less and less stringent.

Briefly, the colonial military system worked in the following way. The "common militia" were responsible for the local defense. The militia consisted of men who, for the most part, spent the minimum number of days in military training as specified by the law. Men who were willing to devote more time towards military training and who were better equipped were part of a "volunteer militia" dedicated to distant or long-term military engagement. In an emergency, the various legislatures would issue a call for additional

volunteers from the common militia to serve in the volunteer militia. If none were forthcoming, a draft was issued.

Reactions to these draft calls were often violent. The foremost example of this opposition to the draft prior to the American Revolution occured in 1755 in Virginia. When voluntary methods failed to raise adequate manpower to fight the French, Governor Dinwiddie asked the Virginia legislature to enact draft legislation. Primarily due to the inequities of the subsequent draft law, a mob stormed the Fredericksburg city jail and released draftees who had been jailed as deserters in America's first draft riot. During this time, there was a high rate of desertion throughout the colonies.

The colonial military system that developed prior to the Revolutionary War would essentially be a model for the American military system up until 1940. That is, America would depend on a volunteer force for the common defense during peacetime, resorting to a draft, if needed, during an emergency.

During the American Revolution, voluntary means of providing the Continental Army with manpower failed. In order to attract long-term volunteers, substantial bounties such as clothing, land and money were offered. The practices of hiring substitutes and paying a fine to escape the draft were continued. Bounties escalated rapidly as the Continental Army bid against individual state militias for manpower. In

1776, Massachusetts enacted compulsory military service and the rest of the states followed suite within the next two years. Widespread opposition to compulsory military service was once again demonstrated by the reluctance of the state legislatures to invoke it, by the sporadic mob violence against the draft in which people were killed and wounded, and by the high desertion rate which one historian estimated to have been 50 percent.

After the Revolutionary War, the problems of defense and manpower procurement were dropped to be debated early in the War of 1812.

B. THE CONTINUING DEPENDENCE ON A VOLUNTEER MILITIA

Opposition to a large standing army, centrally controlled by the federal government was evident during the 1787 Constitutional Convention. Spending considerable time on the question of national defense, the delegates drew up a constitution which provided for civilian supremacy over the military, named the president as civilian commander in chief responsible to Congress, and relied on a professional army reinforced by the state militias.

In an attempt to regulate the militia, Congress adopted the Militia Act of 1792. This act required all able-bodied males between the ages of 18 and 45 to be enrolled in the militias of their states.

However, there were significant drawbacks to this legislation. First of all, there was no federal supervision of the state militias. This omission reflected the continuing fears that Congress had of a strong, federally controlled military force. A second weakness was that citizens were to provide their own equipment. Finally, no penalties were stipulated for nonparticipation. In effect, the states maintained a tight grip on their militias, a condition which held throughout the War of 1812 and into the Mexican War. President Washington's idea of a national militia was never realized, and Americans demonstrated once again their distrust of a large centrally controlled army and their preference for a volunteer force during peacetime.

Early in the War of 1812, Secretary of War John Armstrong suggested the use of a federal draft. His proposal was met with such opposition that it was shelved. With the fall of Washington D.C. and continued manpower shortfalls, the new Secretary of War James Monroe proposed a comprehensive draft law. The Senate version of this bill called for the drafting of 80,000 militia men for two years service. Debate on this bill in the House was intense with Daniel Webster fiercely denouncing the proposed draft legislation as unconstitutional. The draft bill was between Senate and House conferences when a turn in American military fortunes allowed the bill to die. Between the War of 1812 and the Mexican War

in 1846, attempts to strengthen the inherent weaknesses in the manpower defense posture of the United States by Secretaries of War John C. Calhoun and Joel R. Poinsett were rejected in the absence of any impending military threat. During the Mexican War the United States relied on the regular army and on the organized militia. These organized militias were mobilized by calls made to the governors from the President in a way similar to the calling up of the National Guard today.

C. THE BIRTH OF FEDERAL CONSCRIPTION

As the war between the North and the South approached, neither side made plans for manpower procurement. As before, there was a reliance on the organized militia, individual volunteers from each state, and a few troops from the small regular army. Indeed, early in the conflict there did not seem to be a need for a draft. Initially, volunteers were plentiful and enthusiastic. However, as the scope and intensity of the Civil War increased, it became apparent that reliance upon a small regular army backed by volunteers was not adequate. Conditions totally new to the American military experience forced adoption of the first American federal draft law. The South initiated a draft on April 16, 1862; the North adopted a federal draft nearly a year later on March 3, 1863.

In the North, "enrolling officers" went from door to door in an effort to enroll eligible men for the draft. This enrollment method was one of the most antagonistic features of the draft. To evade this enrollment procedure, thousands of men moved from one locality to another. The situation became so critical that President Lincoln ordered that any persons participating in draft resistance or encouraging such activity would be subject to martial law and court martial. Several newspapers were also prosecuted for attacking the draft.

There was also violent opposition to the draft in the form of full scale rioting such as that which broke out in New York City on July 13, 1863. The draft, with its built in inequities favoring the rich over the poor, sparked the outbreak which has been called the most violent insurrection in American history. Somewhere between two hundred and five hundred lives were lost with property damage running into the millions of dollars. Federal troops had to be called from the Gettysburg battlefield to help restore order.

Other riots related to the draft occured in every state of the union. None were as costly or dramatic as those in New York City, however.

The South, whose draft law was as equally unjust, did not encounter the violent reaction to the draft found in

the North. However, negative reactions to the draft by several Southern governors hindered its cause. The difficulty that these governors created in enforcing the draft laws is reflected in a statement by the Confederate superintendent of conscription, John S. Preston: "From one end of the Confederacy to the other, every constituted authority, every officer, every man and woman is engaged in opposing the enrolling officer in the execution of his duties."

All told, the Confederacy raised 300,000 soldiers to about one-third of its army by the draft. The Union's figure is less impressive: of the 2,666,999 men who served in the Union Army, only 46,347 were drafted. The total called was 776,829. [Friedman, 1971].

The draft during the Civil War failed as a direct means of producing manpower. Its principle advantage was that it encouraged men to volunteer for military service. Volunteers were given generous bounties for enlisting, and there was a stigma attached to being a "lowly conscript". As in the past, numerous loopholes were available to avoid the draft if you could afford it, either by hiring a substitute or by paying a fine. The federal draft act did not make any provisions for those who were conscientious objectors. However, on February 24, 1864 an amendment to the draft act allowed religious objectors to serve in non-combatant roles or to pay a $300 commutation fee which would be used to help wounded soldiers.

Despite the opposition to the draft during the Civil War, the Supreme Court never had cause to decide on the constitutionality of the federal draft law.

Following the end of the war, General James Oakes, the administrator of conscription in Illinois, wrote a report on Civil War conscription. In this report, Oakes recommended that the central government take over full responsibility for the draft rather than depend on the states for help, that responsibility for registration be put on the shoulders of the citizens rather than the enrolling officers, and that the practices of substitution, commutation and bounties be rejected in future drafts. These reforms, in the opinion of Oaks, would substantially reduce civil opposition to the draft and provide a more efficient system of manpower procurement. This report was not acted upon for fifty years. Enoch Crowder, Judge Advocate General of the Army, utilized Oaks' suggestions in preparing draft legislation for President Wilson, a few months before the United States entry into World War I.

One author summarized the long-term implications of the Civil War manpower policy as follows: "After reviewing the problems and anomalies of the effort to maintain the volunteer armies of the 1860's, the United States would never again attempt to raise a mass wartime army by that

method. Federal conscription would be the principle legacy of the Civil War experience to future American Armies."

After both the Civil War and the Spanish-American War, America returned to its traditional peacetime posture--a small regular army and an organized militia now called the National Guard.

D. CONSCRIPTION COMES OF AGE IN AMERICA

With the growing European conflict threatening to increase America's involvement in the war, President Wilson asked the War Department to prepare a draft law. Colonel Enoch H. Crowder, incorporating many of the suggestions proposed by General Oakes 50 years earlier, wrote the original law in February 1917. The day after war was declared in April 1917, President Wilson submitted a proposal entitled "An Act to Authorize the President to Increase Temporarily the Military Service of the United States" (Selective Service Act) to Congress. A few vocal Congressmen attacked the proposed draft legislation challenging its constitutionality, calling it "soldier slavery" and an attempt to "Prussianize" America. Despite their rhetoric, the draft measure passed by overwhelming majorities in both the Houses on April 28, 1917 and was signed into law May 18. Despite some opposition, the operation of the draft in World War I marked a major improvement over its Civil War antecedent. The payment

of bounties to encourage volunteers and the hiring of substitutes was disallowed, while the carrying out of the functions of conscription was the responsibility of local civilian boards rather than the military. On June 5, 1917 some 9.5 million men registered for the draft. After registration was accomplished, the order of selection was established by lottery in Washington, D.C. All told, this Selective Service Act of 1917 registered 24 million Americans, selecting and inducting 3 million or two thirds of the armed forces. The government initiated 51,778 prosecutions for failing to register, making false statements to a draft board, or assisting a registrant to evade service. Most men inducted subsequently agreed to serve so that only 3,748 were tried, convicted and sentenced for failing to register by January 1920. The ratio of draft resistance during World War I is estimated to be about seven percent by one writer (331,649 military deliquents plus 3,748 civil convictions, less 129,268 aliens, equalling 206,129 out of 3,000,000 males to whom a valid induction notice was issued). [Friedman, 1971].

The Selective Service Act of 1917 made no provision for those men who were consciously opposed to war and not affiliated with one of the historic peace churches such as the Mennonites, Friends and Brethern. An executive order issued by President Wilson in March 1918 allowed those who objected to war because of "conscientious scruples" to also

serve in noncombatant capacity. Some 4,000 men claimed conscientious objection under this arrangement.

A number of cases concerning the constitutionality of the 1917 Selective Service Act were contested in the federal court system and eventually in the Supreme Court. The cases were decided in January 1918 and the Court upheld the constitutionality of the Act. The draft was declared to be a legitimate exercise of Congress' war-making powers. The argument that compulsory service was in violation of the Thirteenth Amendment which prohibits involuntary servitude was rejected as was the claim that the granting of exemptions on religious grounds constituted an establishment of religion in violation of the First Amendment.

Another Supreme Court case in 1919 (Schenck vs. U.S.) upheld the conviction of Charles T. Schenck by a lower court which arose out of an attempt to obstruct the operations of the draft during World War I. The defendent argued that the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of speech and of the press protected his anti-war utterances and publications. Justice Holmes writing for the majority stated, "...The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive ends that Congress has a right to prevent...When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of

peace are such a hindrance to its effort that these utterances will not be endured so long as men fight and that no court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right." Thus, the "clear and present danger" test in regard to public utterances was given.

The World War I draft act terminated with the Armistice, and although proponents of universal military training sought to carry conscription into peacetime, it was relegated to political limbo for the next two decades.

E. CONSCRIPTION IN WAR AND PEACE

The outbreak of war in Europe in September 1939 found the United States with one of the smallest armies among the major powers. The initial thrust to revive the draft came from a civilian group, the executive committee of the Military Training Camp Association. They received little initial support from President Roosevelt, in the middle of an election year, or from the War Department. However, Henry L. Stimson, a leading supporter of this group, was subsequently appointed as Secretary of War and led the battle within the Administration to revive the draft. There was also a dramatic increase in public support of compulsory military training. A Gallup poll taken June 1940 showed that 64 percent of those questioned were in favor of compulsory military training. A similar poll

taken the previous fall indicated that only 37 percent were in favor of such legislation.

On July 10, 1940 President Roosevelt called for a revival of the draft in a message to Congress. Both Houses, by decisive majorities, accepted the necessity of implementing the first peace-time draft in American history. As one author put it, "The very fragility of the peace made most Americans willing to accept the break with long standing tradition... it could be argued that the banner headlines, the bulletins crackling over the airways, and the intimidating images flickering on the newsreel screens had decided the case for conscription." President Roosevelt signed the bill into law on September 16, 1940 and set October 16 as the first registration date. This Act extended conscientious objector status to all who, because of "religious training and belief", rejected all forms of war. Such persons could either serve in a noncombatant role in the army or in work of national importance under civilian direction.

On the basis of sheer numbers, the Selective Service Act of 1940 could be termed a resounding success. During the years of World War II, 50 million men were registered. The war enjoyed unprecedented popular support. The rate of draft resistance fell to the lowest level in the country's history. Although over ten million men were inducted, there were only 348,217 reported deliquencies through June, 1945.

Of these, 187,000 later complied with the law. There were 16,000 convictions secured for draft offenses from 1940 to 1947 and 6,000 of these were for minor derelictions such as failure to possess a registration certificate. [Friedman, 1971].

During this time, American opinion toward universal military training had changed rather dramatically. Less than 40 percent of those surveyed at the beginning of the war favored universal military training. By the war's end, between two-thirds and three-quarters favored such training. Perhaps the reasons for this change of attitude were that the draft had been very successful in mobilizing and sustaining a large fighting force. The worst fears of opponents to the draft never came about. In addition, the tensions created by the Cold War discouraged the wholesale winding down of America's military machine which so characterized previous wars.

After the war, President Truman led the fight for universal military training. The 1940 Selective Service Act was allowed to expire in the hope that universal military training legislation would replace it. With the declining volunteer rate and increasing Cold War tensions, President Truman called for the renewal of draft legislation and enactment of universal military training. Congress rejected his call for universal military training but accepted the

necessity for a draft. In June, President Truman signed into law the Selective Service Act of 1948.

In 1951, Congress put the Selective Service System on a more permanent status and accepted the concept of universal military training. Under the Universal Military Training and Service Act, the draft would continue until further notice and Presidential induction authority under this act had to be renewed every four years. However, due to much public resistance to universal military training, the provisions which specified such training in the 1951 legislation were never carried out.

Throughout the 1950's and early 1960's, the draft continued to be an accepted part of American life. There was little debate in Congress when the Selective Service Act came up for renewal every four years, and the 1956 Democratic nominee for President, Adlai Stevenson, gathered little public support for questioning the necessity of a peace-time draft. This situation was to change rapidly as opposition to the Vietnam War escalated, and the Resistance saw the Selective Service System as the target of their opposition strategy.

F. SERIOUS CHALLENGES TO CONSCRIPTION

As the Vietnam War continued, public acceptance of compulsory service was replaced by widespread doubt about the

system's fairness. In July 1966, President Johnson responded to the growing opposition by forming the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service. The results of its seven month study of the draft were published in February 1967. Some of the recommendations made were to increase the centralization of the Selective Service System in order to standardize policies on classifications, exemptions and deferments; that the order of induction be reversed so that the youngest males would go first; that no further student or occupational deferments be granted; and that the order of induction be determined by lottery.

When the draft act came up for renewal in the summer of 1967, there was little Congressional debate. Renamed the Military Selective Service Act, it was extended by overwhelming majorities in both the House and Senate. None of the recommendations of President Johnson's National Advisory Committee on Selective Service were incorporated into the act.

Throughout the war, avoidance of the draft increased. Although it is difficult to determine how many 18 year old men failed to register with their local draft board, one estimate places their number between fifty and one hundred thousand. [Ferber and Lynd, 1971]. Prosecutions for alleged violations of Selective Service laws grew from 380 prosecutions annually in fiscal year 1965 to almost 4,000 in fiscal year

1970. Many times these numbers were never prosecuted. During the late 1960's, Selective Service lodged complaints against well over 20,000 registrants annually. From 1966 to 1970, the number of complaints filed per 100 inductees tripled from a rate of 4.0 to 12.9. Draft violations increased much more rapidly than the average crime rate. By 1970, ten percent of all federal cases were draft related. [Useem, 1973]. One author estimates the percentage of those resisting or conscientiously objecting to the war at over ten percent. [Friedman, 1971].

These increases in draft resistance were in spite of renewed efforts by Congress and the Justice Department to identify and prosecute draft offenders as well as the increasingly harsh sentences handed out by the courts to convicted draft resisters.

Many youths, reluctant to risk the stiff penalties for draft evasion, sought legal deferments from the draft. Total conscientious objector strength grew from 17,900 in 1964 to 40,600 in 1970. However, even in 1970, this represented only 10 registrants out of every 10,000. There were many more applicants for conscientious objector status than were granted. An announcement in 1971 by the Selective Service stated that four to five percent of new 18 year old registrants were applying for conscientious objector status.

During the Vietnam War era, there were landmark decisions made by the Supreme Court concerning conscientious objection. In March 1965, the Supreme Court ruled that conscientious objector status did not have to be based on an explicit belief in God (U.S. vs. Seeger). Their ruling provided the following test for religious belief; "A sincere and meaningful belief which occupies in the life of its possessor a place parallel to that filled by the God of those admittedly qualifying for the exemption... Their (local boards and courts) task is to decide whether the beliefs professed by a registrant are sincerely held and whether they are, in his own scheme of things, religious." In a similar case (Welsh vs. U.S.) five years later, the court further broadened the definition of conscientious objector to include "all those whose consciences, spurred by deeply held moral, ethical or religious beliefs, would give them no rest or peace if they allowed themselves to become part of an instrument of war." Despite the broadening of the basis for conscientious objection, the Seeger and Welsh cases did not pose a significant threat to the Selective Service System. One issue that could have caused problems with the draft was that of selective conscientious objection. The law states that one much be opposed to participation in all wars to qualify for conscientious objector status. Many young men, although opposed to the Vietnam War, could not definitely

state that they would not serve in any war. On March 8, 1971, the Supreme Court ruled by an 8 to 1 margin that opposition to a particular war was not sufficient basis for exemption.

There were also those men who fled to Canada or Western Europe to avoid the draft. Estimates vary on their number from a 1970 State Department claim of 2,000 draft exiles in Canada, to a draft resistance support group in Canada estimate of 80,000.

Within the military, AWOL and desertion rates soared during the Vietnam conflict, roughly tripling between 1965 and 1970 for all branches of the service except the Navy.

Although the Resistance never gathered the membership and support required to halt the war or the draft, leaders of the movement felt that the Resistance set limits on the escalation of the Vietnam War and more importantly, limited future government efforts to wage wars by delegitimatizing conscription in the eyes of American youth. [Ferber and Lynd, 1971].

During the 1968 presidential election campaign, Nixon began discussing the feasibility of ending the draft. As President, he appointed a commission headed by former Secretary of Defense Gates to examine this possibility. Their report was issued in February of 1970 and made a strong case for ending the draft and creation of an All-Volunteer Force, which the commission stated was "consistent

with our basic national values". July 1, 1973 was set as the target date for implementation of a "zero draft" by the Nixon administration. On January 27, 1973, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird announced that zero draft would be implemented immediately. In effect, this announcement returned America to its traditional all-volunteer peace-time military.

III. PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

A. OBSERVATIONS FROM DRAFT REGISTRATION MEETINGS

The initial two week draft registration period took place from July 21, 1980 to August 2, 1980. During this time, individuals and organizations opposed to registration held rallies, leafletted and picketted the nation's post offices, conducted counseling sessions for registration-age youth, and sponsored meetings to answer questions concerning registration and alternatives to registration.

The data in this section were gathered from attendance at four such meetings, which were open to the public. Three of the four meetings attended were held within the initial two week registration period. The final meeting took place in late September and was the first event in a series of actions designed to gather and consolidate support for continued resistance to registration which starts again the week of January 5, 1981.

1. Monterey, California, July 24, 1980.

The first meeting I attended was in Monterey, California, on July 24, 1980, during the first week of draft registration. It was held at the Monterey Public Library and was billed as a discussion of draft registration and alternatives.

The meeting began when a panel of three draft-age men introduced themselves (first name only) to the audience.

They also introduced the "resident expert" of the meeting who was the chairman of the local American Civil Liberties Union draft counseling committee. Approximately fifty people were in attendance, about thirty males and twenty females. A few parents were present, but most were of draft age. Many took notes at the meeting.

The panel immediately opened the meeting to questions. A man in the audience quickly identified himself as a possible resource in answering any of the legal questions that would arise. He then spent a few minutes establishing his credentials, explaining that he had been an active draft resister during the Vietnam War and that "luckily" he was not prosecuted. As a student in law school, he counseled "about fifty" draft resisters and continued as a draft counselor after graduation. He related how, during the last years of the Vietnam War, the federal courts were so clogged with draft related cases, that most resisters got off without going to trial. He stated that if enough resisted registration, the majority would get off due to the subsequent back-log in the federal circuit courts. He explained that although most people got off "scott-free", it depended heavily on which judge was on the bench and warned that some gave the maximum sentence. Emphasizing his point, he stated that although most resisters were let off and given "amnesty", one could get "hammered" if he got a judge so inclined.

He suggested that the Northern California district courts were the best bet if one was going to be prosecuted, citing a very high rate of acquital and of cases not even going to trial for Vietnam era resisters. After this initial speech, he was quickly set up as the legal expert, and questions of a legal nature were immediately referred to him by the panel.

As the meeting evolved, the panel tried to limit the discussion and questions to technicalities of draft registration and alternatives. They also placed the responsibility of making personal decisions on the individual. For instance, one questioner asked if he should be a "vocal conscientious objector" or should "keep it quiet". The panel explained that they could not make that choice for him, but pointed out the risks in being vocal ("increased chance of prosecution").

One middle-aged woman, who had a son she was concerned about, said that she thought this battle over the draft "had already been fought and won" and that here she was again. She often became impatient with a young man who expressed a strong desire to be a vocal resister. In his opinion, some had to be vocal, had to "throw themselves in front of the draft machine", in order for the resistance to be successful. The woman responded that it wouldn't be any "bed of roses" if he did this and warned him to be aware of what he was doing, that it could ruin his whole life: He could have problems getting into school, would continually be in fear of being

arrested, even his girlfriend could turn him in. The lawyer added that he should be sure that "he was acting the way he must... Ideals were fine, but you have to build up a basis in 'fact' in creating a conscientious objector file... To find the right doctor who would exagerate an injury", etc. Undaunted, the young man stated that "registration was just a fancy name for the draft" and that he didn't care what happened to him, that he was concerned about those coming after him, especially his younger brother.

At this point, the panel clarified the difference between draft registration and an actual draft ("a draft involved actual induction which is not true of registration".) Throughout the meeting, the panel attempted to correct or clarify such statements.

More technical questions concerning medical, conscientious objector and hardship exemptions followed. The ACLU representative suggested to those who were considering the conscientious objector exemption that they write down on their registration card the exact legal wording used in applying for conscientious objector status: "I am a conscientious objector to war in any form due to my religious and/or moral and ethical training and beliefs." He also recommended, that since this statement would probably not be transcribed into the computer by the keypunch operators, the registrant make a copy of his registration card with this

statement written on it and have it notarized. This document could then be used to build the individual's conscientious objector file. He stressed that those seeking conscientious objector status start early in building their case. It would be very difficult to build a convincing case if one waited until he got his induction notice and then had only 15 days until he would have to report for induction.

Midway through the meeting, a black man, who said he was a member of the military, stated that he came to the meeting to find out their moral arguments for resisting the draft. "After all", he continued, "How would we man an army if everyone had the same attitude they (the panel and others in the audience) did?" He was well received by the crowd: there were friendly smiles from many and no hostile reactions.

After a very brief discussion, a young woman stated that although questions of morality concerning the draft were valid, many still had questions concerning the more technical aspects of registration and exemptions, and that this was the direction the meeting should continue until these questions were satisfied. She also proposed that people should raise their hands and wait to be recognized before speaking. (A few people had begun to dominate the discussion). Her proposals were immediately accepted and the panel began addressing questions of a technical nature, promising that, if time

permitted, they would discuss some of the questions raised by the black man.

After these questions were exhausted, one member of the panel suggested that the audience break up into smaller groups to discuss topics "as they saw fit". The tension in the room seemed to soar, and there was no immediate verbal reply to this suggestion. The panel member, picking up the crowd's resistance tried to raise some enthusiasm for the idea-- "We're all friends here... There's no one here from the CIA, is there?" The silence was broken by someone from the back who yelled, "No, it's good the way it is". Others in the audience readily nodded their heads in agreement. There were other indications of anxiety. Earlier in the meeting, one panel member had jokingly asked, "Does anyone here belong to the CIA?" After the meeting had ended, one of the panel members laughingly expressed concern over an individual who had "scribbled a few notes, then left".

Also discussed was the fact that the post office would be accepting registration forms after the two week registration period. The ACLU representative explained the reason as being that the Selective Service "expected a lot of late registrations". The attorney expressed the opinion that the constitutionality of the all-male draft registration would be upheld by the Supreme Court. On the topic of performing

alternative service, he stated that the type of alternate service acceptable would depend on the local draft board. Most (during Vietnam) he said, were strict, but some were very loose.

After the meeting broke up, the lawyer gave the ACLU representative his card and offered his assistance in the future. Some made appointments with draft counselors. At least two of the young men on the panel had their parents at the meeting. One mother was a draft counselor in training. The black man discussed his earlier question with some of the panel and remarked as he left, "It wasn't as wild and raging as I thought it would be". The panel member whom I spoke to after the meeting was very helpful in providing registration literature, even offering that one brochure "was a little biased".

2. Seaside, California, July 30, 1980.

The second meeting I attended was in Seaside, California at the Seaside Public Library. The meeting was conducted by the same three member panel that moderated the Monterey meeting the previous week. The ACLU draft counselor, as well as the attorney who attended the Monterey meeting were introduced. The turnout was small: About fifteen persons attended and only 5 males in the aduience were of draft-age. They sat next to each other arms folded and did not say much the entire meeting. Again, the meeting addressed mostly

technical questions of draft registration and alternatives. The ACLU representative said that he anticipated that it would be more difficult to obtain hardship and medical exemptions. He discussed a Newsweek article which concerned draft registration, pointing out that officials felt a lot of men would not register right away and that is the reason they are allowing the post office to accept late registration cards until January.

In response to a question concerning the ability to find non-registrants, the ACLU draft counselor stated that Selective Service officials would have a difficult time because, as of now, it was against the Privacy Act to use Social Security or Income Tax files to track down non-registrants. Besides, he explained, "Selective Service is interested in registrations, not convictions". Replying to a question about putting down a false Social Security number on their registration card, the attorney said that it was against federal law to falsify information on a federal form. In response to my question of whether one could conscientiously object to one war and yet be willing to fight if the U.S. were attacked, the lawyer responded that it was better to be opposed to all wars, to start building your conscientious objector record early and that the burden of proof is on the individual to establish his conscientious objector status.

Discussion switched to the statute of limitations for non-registrants. The ACLU representative stated that it was when the individual was 31 years of age (5 years past the maximum draft age of 26). Before the age of 26, the statute of limitations begins to run when the non-registrant is discovered since he is always expected to register during his elgibility period. Also, time spent evading registration outside the country does not count toward the statute of limitations period. In response to my question of how the local Congressman felt about draft registration, the ACLU representative said that the Congressman was pushing hard to have a commission study the question of alternative service in the event of a draft. He stated that the Congressman was sure that some members of Congress would push hard for a draft after the election.

The ACLU representative reiterated his advice that those who felt that they were conscientious objectors to state so in writing on the registration card, to copy it and get the copy notarized. The lawyer followed that, "it is up to you to build your record on paper... Take advantage of your legal rights and exhaust your appeals... A conscientious objector claim can take 1 1/2 years". At one point, the lawyer facetiously remarked that if one police car in every major city was burned in protest of draft

registration, that it would certainly stop government pursuit of conscientious objectors and draft resisters. (When the meeting ended, a local newspaper reporter covering the meeting asked him how he spelled his last name. He replied that he would tell her if she didn't quote him on "burning the police cars". She assured him that she would not). He continued saying that if there were over 5,000 prosecutions per year of those resisting registration, that the court system would be overtaxed for years. The attorney then asked the panel how successful the leafletting at the post offices had been. One member of the panel estimated that one day they were successful in turning away 17 out of 22 potential registrants. The attorney commented that probably most people who were resisting registration wouldn't even bother to show up to register at the post office and "were probably out somewhere smoking a joint".

One member of the panel stated that conscientious objectors and resisters to registration were facing "difficult times" because there was no war to rally around, no big issue to consolidate those who are resisting registration. In discussing the effectiveness of the draft registration resistance in the Monterey area, one of the panel members remarked that in Seaside (an area of high percentage of minorities), he felt at a disadvantage convincing blacks,

as a white person, to resist registration. It seemed, he continued, that many he talked to had family members with military experience. A female leafletter disagreed and said she had had good success in turning black people away from registering.

The opinion was expressed that draft registration was just a political act to show Carter's toughness and improve his re-election chances and that the response time in getting additional manpower from registration was only decreased by seven days which was rather insignificant. A young man in the audience, who said he was in the Army, replied that seven days would be a long time in a future war. I asked what could be done to ensure that the military was representative of the population as a whole rather than having minorities over-represented. One member of the panel suggested that the country should improve economic conditions in society sufficiently so that minorities would not have to resort to the military as a career. In response to another question of whether they approve of raising the compensation of the military to make it more attractive to potential recruits and career military personnel, perhaps avoiding the need for registration, one panel member said yes, that funds could be diverted from the MX missile to pay for such increases.

After the meeting ended, I asked one of the panel members about the lack of attendance at the meeting and if he knew of any other groups holding such meetings in the Monterey area. In his answer, he stated that Monterey was not a particularly activist area and that they probably wouldn't have any more meetings for a while. He said that they really didn't "know where to go from here". There were no blacks in attendance at the meeting.

3. Santa Cruz, California, July 31, 1980.

The third meeting I observed took place in Santa Cruz, California during the second week of draft registration. It was a vegetarian pot-luck dinner held at a private residence which was part of a three house "community". The families which comprised this community had such dinners together on a weekly basis. This week's dinner and meeting were opened to all those interested in draft registration.

Most who attended the pot-luck dinner knew each other, and many worked at the local Resource Center for Nonviolence. Many cars and trucks in the neighborhood sported anti-nuclear bumper stickers. The leader of the meeting wore an anti-Trident submarine "T" shirt. Another "T" shirt said "Question Authority". Books on nonviolence, covering the spectrum from Jesus to India's Gandhi to Martin Luther King filled the bookshelves in the livingroom where we sat

down to eat. There were about 30 people in attendance, which included some children.

During the meal, I spoke to a young woman who was active in leafletting local post offices in Santa Cruz during the two week registration period. She thought that their efforts had been very successful in turning away most potential registrants. The thrust of their approach, she explained, was to tell young men about to register that they should take more time to think about what they were doing, that registration cards would be accepted after the two week registration period, probably without penalty. Later in the meeting, concern was expressed for those men who registered, but planned to resist any future draft attempts. The leaders strongly advised those who were planning to resist a future draft not to register at all. In their opinion, the Selective Service System had to be stopped before building up any momentum.

At one point, the meal was interrupted by a young man seeking information on conscientious objection. He was referred to a draft counselor who sat nearby. He was advised to start a conscientious objector file now, to get letters supporting his position from people who knew him personally. The counselor recommended that he try to get some of these letters from persons who were not conscientious objectors

themselves since they historically have had more credibility with draft boards. The visitor mentioned that his father had served in World War II and was "gung ho about the military and all that", so he might be a good person to write him a letter.

A statement was passed around for all to read that said the community would offer assistance and support for anyone who wanted to resist registration and a draft. Although they could not offer financial assistance, they would give moral support to resisters, provide resisters with counseling assistance, and set up press conferences for them or with other resisters if they "wanted to go public". The leader, who was a conscientious objector during the Vietnam War, said that it was important that older conscientious objectors from World War II and Vietnam come forward and give support to younger conscientious objectors. One draft-aged man, who said he was resisting registration, said that the "worst thing (about resisting registration) was the feeling that you are doing it alone with no one else to support you".

A Quaker women responded by offering her home as a meeting place for those who were resisting draft registration in order to combat these feelings of aloneness. Everyone readily agreed with the idea and a date was set for such a meeting.

Discussion turned to the effectiveness of the nation-wide resistance to draft registration. It was felt that despite their apparent success in Santa Cruz in turning away potential registrants, that the government could not be expected to give truthful statistics on the draft registration and that it would be proclaimed as a success by the Selective Service. The reason, they explained, was that Selective Service wanted to discourage those who were resisting or contemplating resistance to draft registration by increasing their feelings of aloneness.

After the meal and discussion, song books were distributed and a number of peace songs were sung. Following this, everyone was asked to introduce themselves. No one refused, and there was no obvious reaction when I introduced myself as a graduate student from Naval Postgraduate School who wanted to learn more about draft registration. The Quaker woman asked, "Is that at Davis (California)?" I replied, "No, it's in Monterey."

The meeting started to break up, and the leader asked me if I had gotten what I had come for. I said, "yes", and asked him for some literature concerning draft registration. He gave some to me, and I left.

4. San Diego, California, September 25, 1980.

The fourth meeting I attended took place on September 25, 1980, on the campus of San Diego State University. It was

sponsored by San Diego Students for Peace and featured speakers from the National Lawyer's Guild. The topic of their presentation was "Rights, Options and Resistance of Draft Registration". This meeting was held during the first week of the fall semester and was the first event in a series of actions designed to prepare for the January 5, 1981 registration date. There were approximately 30 students in attendance, both male and female. Representatives of the Students for Peace opened the meeting, updating students on their resistence activities during the initial two week registration drive and on their continuing efforts at organization since that time. They then introduced two representatives from the National Lawyer's Guild Military Law Panel.

The first speaker explained that numerous proposals for registration and tne draft occured long before the Iranian and Afghanistan crises. The real reason for registration, she continued, was that it was the first critical step to the draft. She concluded that it was obvious that the Selective Service registration plans were a result of several years work rather than merely a response to the Afghanistan and Iranian crises, as the American people were led to believe.

Directing her attention to exemptions and deferments under the new registration plans, she warned that men do not

have the right to apply for conscientious objector status until they receive their induction notice. In effect, she continued, this gave an individual who receives an induction notice only 15 days, "incredibly short notice", to make fundamental decisions about his life. In her opinion, it was a conscious decision by the Selective Service to cut down on the number of deferments. On the topic of medical deferments, she pointed out that under the old system there was a pre-induction physical given at registration and, later on, an induction physical. Men wishing to qualify for a medical exemption had a double chance to present their case to the military doctors. Now, with just an induction physical, there is only one chance. It was, in her words, "a procedural railroad". She also stated that the present registration system was "aimed toward the best psychological age group, nineteen and twenty year olds, to mold into submissive soldiers". Also, the lottery system gave these men no control over when they would be inducted and in addition, no control over which service they entered or what job they would get, and that they would be faced with the threat of induction until they turned twenty-six years old. She concluded that, with the current system of draft registration, it would be too late to decide on alternatives to the draft upon receipt of an induction notice.

She urged the students to get immediate counseling on their alternatives.

The next speaker, an attorney, discussed in more detail the legal aspects of draft registration. First, he pointed out that the maximum penalty for violations of the Selective Service Act, such as refusal to register, hindering or interfering with registration or counseling evasion or resistance, was 5 years in prison and a ten-thousand dollar fine. He advised his audience "to seek wise counsel and find out the consequences of their actions" before proceeding with resistance efforts. He stated that Selective Service would have difficulty in finding non-registrants and that cost of obtaining compatible data from such sources as Department of Motor Vehicles and campus records would be prohibitive. The propensity for the Selective Service to prosecute non-registrants would depend, he continued, on the prevailing mood of the country and the number of people who refuse to register. High public support for registration and a low number of resisters would probably lead to high penalities for resisters. Likewise, low public support for registration coupled with a high number of resisters would decrease the severity of penalties. It was his guess that regardless of the number of resisters, that prosecutors will initially seek harsh penalties for non-registrants. He

added that judges were not "neutral, detached magistrates", and in cases with political overtones, were usually hostile and intent on convictions. They also respond to the public mood: As the Vietnam War became more and more unpopular to the American people, the more likely it was for judges to grant probations, second chances and dismissals to draft offenders.

In order to convict an individual for failing to register, the attorney continued, the prosecution has to prove three things beyond a resonable doubt: that the individual intended to violate the law, in fact refused to register, and that the law applied to the individual charged. He predicted one factor favorable to future defendents charged with non-registration is that prosecutors may have a difficult time proving non-registrants intended to violate the law. The government must inform one of his obligations to register. The Selective Service chose a media blitz to put out the word. Television, radio and newspapers became the agents of the Selective Service. However, so much conflicting and confusing information was put out by the Selective Service, that the press often turned to the National Lawyer's Guild for accurate information on draft registration.

The National Lawyer's Guild Military Law Panel, opposed to registration, was then faced with the dilemma of becoming agents of the Selective Service by providing accurate

information to the press for public dissemination, which could increase non-registrants' chances of conviction later on. He stated there was also confusion due to a last minute court challenge to the all-male registration. In Philadelphia, only days before registration was to begin, a three judge federal court issued an injunction against Selective Service registration plans. The injunction declared this legislation unconstitutional because it discriminated on the basis of sex. However, shortly thereafter, Justice Brennan granted a stay which allowed registration to continue as planned. (This stay is now pending in the Supreme Court). In the confusion, he continued, word got out in the press that registration was now voluntary, which was totally incorrect. This will aid the defense of non-registrants, he concluded, perhaps not at the trial level where "judges are impatient with such arguments", but may work at the appellate level.

On the possibility of FBI agents searching for non-registrants, he cautioned the audience not to talk to them at all, that agents are "inherently untrustworthy" and would write "distorted" reports on any such conversations. He advised telling agents "my lawyer told me not to talk to you". It was his opinion that individuals were likely to be given multiple chances to register as was often the case

in Vietnam. The reason was due to the problems of notification (previously discussed) and other technical considerations.

On the topic of deferments and exemptions, he explained that there have been some changes since Vietnam. Student deferments have been done away with, except for certain graduate students in specialized areas. "It is no longer enough," he continued, "to go to school to avoid induction." He then talked about hardship medical and conscientious objector exemptions.

The hardship exemption, he explained, has been tightened up considerably. Previously, one qualified for this exemption if he was married and had a child. Now, one must show extreme hardship if he only has a wife (less with children) after taking out military benefits. He emphasized that documentation was a very important part of all deferments.

Concerning the IV-F exemption, he pointed out that it is commonly thought of as only a medical exemption but in actuality includes psychological and moral problems such as homosexuality, drug use, felony record, subversive activity, etc. The difficulty he continued, will be in convincing the military doctor, "who will see 1,500 other people that day and doesn't give a shit." He warned that qualifying for a medical exemption will require increased documentation from

one's own doctors and attorneys since the pre-induction physical has been done away with.

Finally, commenting on the conscientious objector exemption, the attorney said that to qualify, one must be opposed to every war and such objections must be based on religious, moral or ethical beliefs. In his opinion, this exemption "fits a whole lot of people." However, he warned that one must begin to establish his conscientious objector status early by having a statement to that effect on file now. He said that the "short notice " would hurt many people who wish to file for conscientious objector status but waited until receiving their induction letter. He advised his audience to talk to a draft counselor or attorney now. He added that if it appeared that many individuals were applying for conscientious objector status, that there is apt to be a court fight to again restrict such exemptions to those who object to war because of religious beliefs rather than including those who cite moral and ethical reasons as a basis of their objections.

At this point, the lawyer made a plea for individuals not to just look out for themselves in their legal attempts to avoid the draft, but to be concerned about the broader political context of resisting the draft.

Discussion turned to the effectiveness of current resistance efforts. He stated that the resistance to registration during the initial two week registration period was a resounding success: There were reports that 35 percent did not bother to register in San Diego. A Boston Globe survey was cited which estimated 25 percent nationwide did not comply with draft registration requirements. The lawyer said that even if the Selective Service figure of 93 percent compliance was correct (and he did not believe it was) that they came far short of their goal of 98 percent. He concluded that the truth may never be known but that the opposition to registration was "surprisingly successful."

The meeting was then opened to questions. Asked his opinion on how the Supreme Court would finally rule on the questions of an all-male registration, the attorney said that the Court would probably uphold the constitutionality of the present Selective Service Act. Responding to another question, he said he believed the first efforts toward establishing a draft would be initiated in early 1981. Many students asked questions concerning the Selective Service use of computers to track down non-registrants, police and FBI interrogation efforts, and whether or not draft cards would be issued. Commenting on the current resistance to registration, a draft counselor in the audience commented, "We are strong now (even without a war or an actual draft."

B. DATA GATHERED FROM ANTI-DRAFT LITERATURE

There are many anti-draft organizations which provide information concerning draft registration and alternatives to registration. The data in this section were obtained from "draft packets" provided by three such organizations: the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO), and the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD).[2]

These organizations described themselves as follows:

> The American Friends Service Committee is a contemporary expression of Quaker beliefs. It was founded in 1917, during the First World War, to provide conscientious objectors with an opportunity to serve in programs of relief and reconstruction for civilian war victims. Today it is incorporated as a religious nonprofit organization to carry on a variety of educational, humanitarian and social change programs, with international headquarters in Philadelphia, regional offices across the U.S., and program offices at home and overseas.
>
> The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors is a nonprofit organization that has been working since 1948 to help individuals unable to participate in the military for reasons of conscience.
>
> CCCO is a nonprofit, non-governmental organization that aids individuals with matters of conscience, war and militarism.
>
> The Committee Against Registration and the Draft is a Coalition of over 50 national peace, civil rights, womens, students, religious, and political organizations working together against registration and the draft.

---

[2]These draft packets are included as Appendices A, B, and C.

The packets received from these organizations contained detailed information on current registration requirements, alternatives to registration, and changes in deferments and exemptions. Also included were bibliographies for further reading, histories of conscientious objection and resistance to war, and forms to assist potential conscientious objectors enunciate their beliefs and document their objections to draft registration. One writer advises readers not to depend solely on the information contained in the packet, but to contact a local qualified draft counselor before taking any action.

Much of the information studied expresses a strong belief that it is only a matter of time before actual draft legislation is passed. An AFSC statement on draft registration explains that "registration is the necessary first step for conscription into military service... we regard opposition to military registration as a vital endeavor to help take away 'the occasion of war'." A CARD questions and answers booklet states, "Powerful members of Congress and the military are already calling for a peacetime draft... If registration is a success, there will almost certainly be attempts to bring back the draft after the November elections." Most writers express a sense of urgency in preparing for such a contingency. They point out that, contrary to past registration procedures, classification and medical examinations

do not take place at registration and that registrants wishing to apply for deferments and exemptions may lack sufficient time to adequately document their claims before being required to report for induction. Therefore, they advise readers who think they might apply for an exemption or deferment to start immediately preparing their claims. To this end, CCCO recommends to those who "might be a C.O. or are inclined at all in that direction, if your conscience permits you to register... to write in bold letters in the registration form, 'I am a conscientious objector'." CCCO also provides a "conscientious objector card" which states, "because of my beliefs about war, I am opposed to participation in the military." When filled out, copies can be mailed to one's religious group or other organizations, as well as to CCCO, to keep on file. Similarly, several organizations, including CARD, are providing gummed stickers which state, "I am registering under protest" and which fit in various parts of the registration form. The intent of these actions is to establish a historical record of one's conscientious objector claim in the event of a draft. The pamphlets carefully point out, however, that such actions will not guarantee a successful claim.

The choices discussed in the draft registration and conscientious objector packets are (1) to register, (2) to

register under protest or as a C.O., or (3) not to register at all. Under this choice, one can be a "silent resister" or a "vocal resister."

In registering for the draft, a CCCO circular warns that "registration...is more than just putting your name on a card. Until age 26, you could be called into the military." Although registration is listed as an option, military life is portrayed as less-than-desireable. Addressing those individuals who are considering enlisting in the military, the same CCCO circular provides the following information that might help an individual "make a more informed choice":

> Once you are in the military, you lose many of your rights as a U.S. citizen--to say what you want, to get married when you want, to petition the government... Very often the military trains you to do work for which there is no civilian demand...The military does not have to give you the educational opportunities that were promised...If you get into trouble while in the military, the discharge you receive could seriously limit your work opportunities for the rest of your life...There is no overtime, holiday, or weekend pay. Soldiers are expected to be available for duty 24 hours a day 7 days a week... Labor unions are outlawed in the military, and attempts to organize soldiers are subject to heavy penalties...If something happens to you while you're in the military that seriously affects your health, the military may not recognize their responsibility to pay you a disability allowance.

An AFSC pamphlet, addressing the plight of minorities in the military states:

> The military has always discriminated against third world and poor people--and today is no exception.

> In the Vietnam War for example, black and brown men were typically assigned to high risk combat units where they suffered almost twice the casualties of whites, while the rich and privileged were given less hazardous assignments or were able to obtain deferments to stay home...before you decide to register you should know that: over half the people now in army stockades are Black and Hispanics, while most of the rest are poor whites...over 30 percent of the people in the army are Black but Blacks make up less than 6 percent of army officers...Black and Hispanics receive dishonorable discharges at 4 1/2 times the rate of whites... Most Blacks and Hispanics are classified E-1, E-2 (lowest levels) and thus receive the dead end lowest paying jobs in the army.

Another choice individuals have is to register under protest or as a conscientious objector. In addition to the actions cited previously, CCCO recommends that potential conscientious objectors "get their ideas on conscientious objection together", to write their responses to questions asked of Vietnam-era C.O.'s by Selective Service and to discuss these ideas with a trained draft counselor. CCCO's packet contains a reprint of Selective Service Form 150, last used in the early 1970's, which lists questions an individual applying for conscientious objector status had to answer to assist local boards in determining if such a classification was warranted. Potential objectors are encouraged to answer these questions, with the assistance of a draft counselor, and to add this to their C.O. file. They are warned that 15 days (the time between receipt of induction notice to time of induction) will not be enough

time to prepare detailed, well thought-out answers to Selective Service questions.

Concerning truthfulness in answering these questions, CCCO states, "An honest claim is the strongest claim. A dishonest one is likely to backfire not only on you, but on others claiming C.O. status." Another brochure advises, "Total honesty when dealing with your draft board usually works better than concealing facts which may be more difficult to explain if they later surface."

Implied in the literature concerning conscientious objection is the belief that many people will qualify for such an exemption. One CCCO pamphlet explains:

> An extremely wide variety of beliefs is recognized by the law as the basis for becoming a C.O. Do not be discouraged from filing a C.O. claim because you think you do not have sufficient "religious training and belief."

Elsewhere it is stated, "All branches of the military recognize conscientious objection and numerous Supreme Court decisions have substantially strengthened their rights and broadened the definition."

Another choice individuals have is to not register at all. Pamphlets point out that 250,000 men never registered during Vietnam without penalty, 210,000 were accused of violating the draft law, but less than ten percent were brought to court, and that the average number of cases never prosecuted

was 89 percent. However, on the topic of finding non-registrants, one booklet warns:

> The Selective Service and Department of Justice have access to many state-wide lists of 19 and 20 year olds...and...if non-registration is a problem... Selective Service...will ask for a change in the Privacy Act to permit cross checks between Selective Service registration lists and files of Social Security Administration and Internal Revenue Service.

In answering those who feel there is safety if a large number refuse to register, one CCCO pamphlet explains;

> If a large number publicly refuse to register, the Government may seek out the most vocal of anti-draft refusers to prosecute. However...one would act at his peril in assuming there is safety in numbers.

And, in reference to the choice of becoming a "public resister" or a "private resister", one circular advises:

> A private resister is less likely to be found out than a public resister, but, if discovered many face a harsher penalty because of the negative attitudes of prosecuters and judges.

Most of the anti-registration literature warns of the penalities involved in breaking the Selective Service Act. One writer states:

> You need to be sure enough about your beliefs that you will be able to face whatever comes as a result of them...once you have decided (to resist), remember that you can get support from your family and friends, from people who will help you in talking with your family and friends, and from the peace movement...If you oppose war, jail is not necessarily the worst thing that could happen to you.

Another pamphlet warns:

> You should never violate the law...unless you have thought about whether you could face jail...No matter what your sentence, a draft conviction is a felony. It could...affect your chances for further jobs or licensing in some professions.

Warning aside, the same circular states, "Don't be afraid to resist...Most people who have resisted the draft, war taxes, or the military do not regret what they have done."

In addressing potential legal defenses for non-registrants, one questions and answers pamphlet states, "In some cases, a non-registrant would have a good defense if he stated he did not know he was supposed to register." It also pointed out defenses that were previously rejected by the courts: that registration was unconstitutional because it excluded women, because it was involuntary servitude, or because it was inconsistent with the intent of the Farmers of the Constitution.

In the event of a draft, some resisters may choose to leave the country. The packets point out that Canadian law has been changed to make it quite difficult for U.S. citizens to seek exile there. Also, Sweden stopped providing "humanitarian asylum" for American war objectors in 1974.

Finally, challenging the Selective Service figures of 93 percent compliance and only 1.8 percent who registered under protest or as conscientious objectors during the

initial two week registration period, a CARD newsletter made the following points:

> False names and addresses were not removed from the total registrations given.
>
> The number of eligible registrants used by the SSS is too low.
>
> In the month since registration, journalists conducting independent surveys found non-registration rates ranging from 10 to 30 percent.
>
> Finally, if the 93 percent figure is accepted, it means that 250,000 men did not register.

The newsletter claims these figures indicate a "victory for the anti-draft movement."

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

A. WHO ARE THE LEADERS OF THE DRAFT REGISTRATION MEETINGS?

Some of the leading figures of the draft registration meetings I attended had previous experience as draft counselors, draft resisters, conscientious objectors or as draft law attorneys during the Vietnam War era. The attorney present at the Monterey and Seaside meetings addressed some of the legal questions surrounding draft registration and the Military Selective Service Act, as well as deferments and exemptions. Relating his experiences as a Vietnam draft resister and draft law attorney gave him a great deal of credibility among those present at these meetings. At the Santa Cruz meeting, the individual who led the discussion was a conscientious objector during the Vietnam War. He spoke knowledgeably about the Resistance movement during Vietnam and its ability to support and sustain draft law fugitives. He also spoke about the important role played by conscientious objectors of past wars in coming forward and supporting those resisting the current draft registration requirements. The attorney who spoke during the San Diego meeting did not specifically mention any previous experience in counseling draft offenders. It was clear, however, that he was very knowledgeable about the Selective Service law and the changes in exemptions and deferment regulations.

The heavy influence of attorneys at these meetings could be more than coincidental. During Vietnam, draft law attorneys played an increasingly prominent role in scrutinizing Selective Service regulations and draft board actions for errors and inconsistencies which could be challenged in the courts. Such challenges, more often than not, resulted in acquital. From July 1, 1965 to October 1, 1970, the Supreme Court decided in favor of the defendant or registrant in eight out of nine cases that were fully argued before it. At the Appellate level, more draft cases were reversed than any other type. [Friedman, 1971]. It would seem by these meetings that attorneys will continue to play a prominent role in draft-related areas.

The fact that experienced individuals are involved in renewed actions against draft registration has other implications. Such individuals could lend strength and resiliency to a large scale resistance to a future draft. Tempered by their Vietnam War experiences in fighting and resisting the draft, this group could be an important resource in terms of the collective experience they bring from earlier protest organizations. Such individuals could help by articulating political viewpoints and by lending their organizational skills to those of draft-age who were only pre-teenagers during the Vietnam conflict.

B. WHAT IS THE EXTENT OF THE SUPPORT AT THE MEETINGS?

Attendance at the draft registration meetings was less than impressive, especially among those who were primarily affected by the draft registration requirement--18, 19 and 20 year old males. There were significant numbers of young women present, perhaps concerned with future attempts at registering women. Some parents were also present. There was little minority participation in any of the meetings. Perhaps such attendance figures are not accurate indicators of the resistance to registration. Such meetings were poorly advertised and held on rather short notice during summer vacation. Perhaps a statement made by the attorney at the Seaside meeting was accurate: That most young men who planned to avoid registration decided on their own not to register. Most of the meetings attended and anti-draft literature examined pointed out that non-registrants historically have been given a second chance to register if caught. This was reinforced by the willingness of Selective Service to accept late registrations (that is, after the two week registration period was over).

Also, young men might have sought private counseling concerning draft registration and did not bother to come to the meetings. A local ACLU draft counselor stated in a local television interview that during the two week registration period, "literally hundreds of young men asked for

counseling...or...simply answers to their questions about the draft and draft registration and the possibility of a draft down the line..."

The lack of minority participation at the draft registration meetings may indicate that a future draft will continue to impose an unfair burden on those unable to obtain expert draft counseling. Much of the time at the meetings was spent discussing the complexities of establishing and documenting a conscientious objector claim. These discussions as well as information provided by the anti-draft literature implied that since the Supreme Court has broadened the definition of conscientious objection, many more people will qualify in a future draft. With the abolition of most student deferments, the conscientious objection deferment may well become a popular avenue to avoid a future draft or those who have access to expert draft counseling and coaching.

As was suggested previously, a potential resource in organizing resistance to a future draft could come from experienced Vietnam era draft resisters, counselors and conscientious objectors. Further support could come from a variety of groups active during the 1970's such as anti-nuclear and women's right groups. It was obvious at the Santa Cruz meeting that their anti-registration stand was

only one aspect of their non-violent philosophy. The Santa Cruz group was also active in anti-nuclear protests. The San Diego group advocated women's rights in addition to their anti-registration stand. The 54 organizations which comprised the CARD coalition support a variety of causes besides their anti-registration position. The importance of such support is recognized by anti-draft groups. One AFSC newsletter states, "We have the opportunity to link up with the anti-nuclear movement, the women's movement and students on high school and college campuses." Such a scenario occured on November 17, 1980, when 1,300 women circled the Pentagon and blocked some entrances in a protest against "the arms race, militarism and violence against women." The AP story described the scenes as "reminiscent of Vietnam War protests" and quoted a spokeswomen for the group as saying, "We wanted to make the link between militarism and violence against women." Such groups could be expected to lend stronger and more vocal support to anti-draft groups in the event of future attempts to bring back the draft.

C. WHAT ALTERNATIVES TO DRAFT REGISTRATION AND OTHER ADVICE ARE OFFERED AT DRAFT REGISTRATION MEETINGS AND IN THE ANTI-DRAFT LITERATURE?

The alternatives explained by the anti-draft literature and the meetings are (1) to register for the draft, (2) to

register, but as a conscientious objector or under protest or (3) to resist registration as a "vocal" resister or a "quiet" resister. The information given concerning these alternatives was very consistent among the various groups and sources. One difference noted was that the Santa Cruz group advised potential conscientious objectors not to cooperate at all with draft registration. All the other information and advice gave the alternative of registering for the draft as a conscientious objector by writing "I am a conscientious objector" on the completed registration card.

There was little political rhetoric or emotion at these meetings. Young men and women were interested in the technicalities or draft registration and changes in deferments and exemptions. A common belief mentioned at the meetings and in the draft literature was that draft registration is just a political act on President Carter's part to demonstrate U.S. toughness and resolve in the face of the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. It was also pointed out that the Director of the Selective Service advised against draft registration before President Carter's announcement of his intentions to revitalize the Selective Service; that without classification of registrants, registration is militarily useless; and that the Carter administration acknowledged that registration is a political gesture rather than a manpower procurement measure.

The leaders of the meetings did not, for the most part, try to "sell" any one particular alternative. Although military life was portrayed as a less-than-desireable intrusion into one's life (especially in the case of minorities and women), registration was still listed as an alternative and the penalities for violating the Selective Service Act were always carefully pointed out.

As far as potential deferses for non-registrants, it was explained that because of the last minute legislative confusion concerning the constitutionality of an all-male draft registration and the conflicting reports in the news media on registration requirements, it may be difficult to prove that a non-registrant knew of his responsibility to register. Besides, it was continually pointed out that those who did not register would probably be given a second chance to do so if caught.

D. HOW EFFECTIVE WERE THESE MEETINGS IN INFLUENCING REGISTRATION-AGE MALES NOT TO REGISTER FOR THE DRAFT?

On the basis of sheer numbers alone, the meetings were not very successful in influencing a large number of youths not to register. A few vocal individuals in the audience let it be known that they would refuse to register. Otherwise, there was no way to determine how many of the relatively few young men present affected by registration were persuaded

not to register. Most of the questions were not on whether to resist or not, but concerned exemptions and deferments for which they could legally qualify in the event of a future draft. It seemed that most men were willing to register and then look for an exemption later on if and when a draft comes about.

Attorney Francis Heisler, who by his estimates defended 1,500 to 2,000 men who refused military service since 1941, states that most young men have no reason to apply for conscientious exemptions until faced with military service or war. Interviewed on a local television show, Heissler explained his view in the following exchange:

> Question: At what point does someone become a conscientious objector? The governement announces draft registration, do you that day say..."I am a conscientious objector" or do you have to show proof from your past history that that has been your feeling?
>
> Heissler: Lawyers would have a much easier job if they would have a history of conscientious objection, but I defended more people who became conscientious objectors because they were faced with Vietnam. I had a great many people who were in the armed forces who were not drafted but who volunteered, but when they were facing the reality that they were going to Vietnam, then they woke up, that they had to make up their mind: are they going out to kill or be killed or are they going to take another position...
>
> Question: Do the courts accept this...?
>
> Heissler: Oh yes. And I think that it is a very logical, common sense approach when the court said (that) there is no reason to become a conscientious objector unless you are going to be faced with the choice, and that the courts, at least most of the

> courts...very often (said) that that is the time when people are really going to think about it... the courts pointed out and we lawyers pointed out that...older people sitting on the bench...must consider these deep...philosophical questions and ...are expecting 19 and 20 year olds...(to) make a decision that...older people cannot make...I'm sure that most of our older people would not know how to make this choice.

E. WHAT IMPACT COULD THESE GROUPS HAVE ON FUTURE ATTEMPTS TO BRING BACK THE DRAFT?

It is reasonable to assume that if the United States were attacked or if our Iranian hostages were harmed, that prompt military action would be supported by the vast majority of Americans. However, the United States could have a much more difficult time drafting men to support a prolonged limited war in defense of national interests in, for instance, the Persian Gulf. Such a war is perceived, both by leaders of the draft registration meetings observed, and by the anti-draft literature, as merely defending the corporate profits of major oil companies with the lives of young Americans. The strength of a future anti-draft movement will depend, in part, on the ability of such protest organizations to articulate such viewpoints to a broad base of people and convince minorities and blue collar workers of its validity. Other factors that will determine the effectiveness of anti-draft groups will be how fairly the burden of the draft is distributed among draft-age youth,

the number of men affected by the draft and the amount of anti-war sentiment present among draft-age men. [Useem, 1973].

The data gathered from the draft registration meetings and the anti-draft literature indicates that there exists a loose alliance of support groups for resisters, as well as some experienced draft counselors and attorneys who are providing consistent and indepth information concerning registration and alternatives to registration. This alliance may be short lived. The issue of the draft will not be highly visible until the next registration period beginning the week of Januray 5, 1981. Afterwards, men will register as they turn 18 years old, and protest organizations may find it difficult to arouse the support necessary to leaflet and picket post offices against an ongoing registration. Even if a peace-time draft is initiated, it is doubtful that such anti-draft organizations would have the support necessary to interfere with the draft. Relatively few men would be effected, and perhaps this added impetus for young men to enlist would make it unnecessary to draft anyone.

Although Selective Service stopped short of calling the initial two week registration period a success, anti-draft groups exaggerate when they call the 93 percent registration rate "a victory for the anti-draft movement." It is probable, based on what happened during World Wars I and II as well

as Vietnam, that most of the non-registrants, faced with the choice of registering for the draft or prosecution, will choose to register. Since there is not a draft or a war, the penalty for not registering will far outweigh the penalty suffered for simply registering in most men's minds. No doubt some non-registrants will not be caught and some who are caught will elect to be prosecuted rather than register. However, as the previously cited polls indicate, registration enjoys a great deal of support among all Americans, including students. There is also strong public sentiment for increased military spending and a strengthening of our armed forces. It seems that anti-draft groups have a long way to go in mounting an effective drive against draft registration, which will require a broadening of their base of support. As an article in a recent CARD Anti-draft newsletter stated:

> ...the greatest problem of the anti-draft movement has been the narrowness of its racial and class base and its inability to address that problem... the anti-draft movement remains largely white and middle class.

F. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

My reaction to the first meeting in Monterey closely approximates that of another military man who remarked as he left, "it wasn't as wild and raging as I thought it would be." The topic of discussion, for the most part, centered on the technicalities of registration, deferments and

exemptions. When inaccurate, emotional statements were made, they were calmly corrected. When a discussion erupted concerning the morality of draft registration resistance, a member of the audience quickly stated that she as well as others still had questions concerning the technical and legal aspects of registration.

I also expected more solidarity among those in attendance. Instead, there was much anxiety exhibited at many of the meetings. During the Monterey meeting, there were many references to CIA infiltrators and the audience refused to break up into smaller discussion groups. At the Seaside meeting, those males affected by registration sat quietly with their arms folded. The San Diego meeting was held in a large lecture hall, and the 30 or so students in attendance were mostly scattered throughout the room. Many of their questions concerned the ability of the Selective Service to track down non-registrants, what they should tell FBI agents or police if questioned about their registration status, etc. Distrust of the government was also evident at the meeting in Santa Cruz: They seriously doubted that Selective Service would release valid registration statistics. However, the meeting in Santa Cruz was very different from the other three meetings attended. Many, if not most, of the participants knew and worked with each other. Support was offered to those who, because of the conscience, could not

register. Their stand against resistration seemed consistent with their consciences and their lifestyles. This was not as evident at the other three meetings attended, where many participants seemed intent on gauging the probability of getting caught or finding out legal loopholes to escape a future draft. Flippant remarks from the attorneys at these meetings often irritated me. The attorney at the Seaside meeting, for example remarked that "anyone who didn't like the government interfering with their lives" should apply for conscientious objection.

In conclusion, anyone attending these meetings who expected visceral, emotional attacks against draft registration would have been disappointed. Instead, technical and legal questions dominated the meetings. Anxiety marked most of the meetings and there seemed to be a lack of solidarity among the participants. Most of the discussion and questions concerned the possibilities of obtaining legal deferments and exemptions in the event of a future draft. The character of these meetings suggests that those who decided not to register did so on their own rather than as a result of any coordinated anti-registration "movement".

APPENDIX A

American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry Street Philadelphia Pennsylvania 19102 • Phone 215, 241-7000

August, 1980

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your recent letter. In response I am sending you our Draft Packet. Also enclosed is a list of our regional offices; please contact the one nearest you. For additional information and advice you may also contact the following sources:

CCCO
(Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors)
2208 South Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19146

NISBCO
(National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors)
550 Washington Bldg.
15th and New York Ave., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

If I may be of further service, please contact me.

Sincerely,

Vince Cobb

cjc

Enclosures

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

The American Friends Service Committee is a contemporary expression of Quaker beliefs. It was founded in 1917, during the First World War, to provide conscientious objectors with an opportunity to serve in programs of relief and reconstruction for civilian war victims. Today it is incorporated as a religious nonprofit organization to carry on a variety of educational, humanitarian, and social change programs, with international headquarters in Philadelphia, regional offices across the U.S., and program offices at home and overseas.

American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102
(215) 241-7000

Regional Offices:

92 Piedmont Ave., N.E., Atlanta GA 30303

1022 West 6th St., Austin TX 78703

317 E. 25th St., Baltimore MD 21213

2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge MA 02140

407 S. Dearborn St., Chicago IL 60605

915 Salem Ave., Dayton OH 45406

4211 Grand Ave., Des Moines IA 50312

15 Rutherford Place, New York NY 10003

980 N. Fair Oaks Ave., Pasadena CA 91103

2160 Lake St., San Francisco CA 94121

814 N.E. 40th St., Seattle WA 98105

over -------

THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE STATEMENT ON DRAFT REGISTRATION
Approved by the Board of Directors of the AFSC

July 2, 1980

Despite widespread political misgivings and principled opposition a system of mandatory draft registration will be in operation by midsummer. Registration is the necessary first step for conscription into military service, a step that heightens preparation for war.

The American Friends Service Committee cannot approve this registration scheme. The steadfast Quaker testimony against war making and war preparation lies at the heart of our contemporary position. For over 300 years Quakers have sought to "live in that life and power that takes away the occasion of all wars." Each generation faces anew the challenge of faithfulness to this peace testimony. In January 1980 the Board of Directors of AFSC, consistent with the teachings of the Religious Society of Friends, stated its opposition to the current plan for military registration.

Reimposition of registration and the draft will result in violations of religious freedom and civil liberties. Historically the burden of service under the draft falls disproportionately upon poor and minority people. Conscription encourages militarism in national mood and government behavior. Registration is now proposed along with a Rapid Deployment Force and other elements of an interventionist policy that seeks dangerous military solutions to world problems. We reject such an approach based upon violence, coercion, and the armed power of nation states.

Our stand is strengthened by the circumstances of this particular call to register young Americans. The Carter administration acknowledges that registration in the summer of 1980 is a political gesture rather than a manpower procurement measure. The Director of Selective Service advised against starting registration. The current plan is of doubtful value to the military unless followed promptly by classification and actual draft calls. Instead the plan is presented as a necessary show of resolve and toughness in a time of crisis. We see this as a charade of readiness and belligerence.

This political posturing disturbingly adds to escalating tensions and the rising risk of hostilities between the United States and the Soviet Union. The deadly slide toward war must be stopped. The arms race must be halted. Nuclear catastrophe must be averted. In this perilous context we regard opposition to military registration as a vital endeavor to help take away "the occasion of...war."

Under the leading of our religious faith we reach out to be of service to all young people who face registration, assisting them to make informed decisions based on individual conscience wherever it leads. The American Friends Service Committee encourages young people to follow the dictates of their individual consciences, and supports both (1) conscientious refusal to register for the draft and (2) conscientious objection to military service within the law following registration. The American Friends Service Committee will do its utmost to assist nonregistrants and all conscientious objectors to participation in the military.

The goal throughout our commitment and our service associated with military registration is to oppose violence and war and to raise up the power of peace and life.

REGISTRATION is No Joke!

IF YOU ARE A YOUNG MAN BORN IN 1960, 1961 OR 1962 YOU MAY SOON BE REQUIRED TO REGISTER WITH THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM.

Would you be willing to fight in a war?
Under what circumstances?
When is it right for you to kill?

BEFORE YOU REGISTER, THINK ABOUT WHAT IT MEANS, AND THE OPTIONS OPEN TO YOU.

YOU CAN:

REGISTER by filling out a form with your name, address, birthdate and social security number at a U.S. post office, to be entered in a computer. No requests for deferments or exemptions would be considered at this time. If Congress later approves a return to the draft you could be called to report for induction into the armed forces.

SIGN UP AS A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR to war. Although Congress refused to provide a place on the registration form to indicate whether you are a C.O., you can write "I object to war" across the form. Selective Service will not consider claims of conscientious objectors until classification of registrants is resumed, but you can document your beliefs by writing a statement explaining your opposition to war and sending it to a group listed on this leaflet.

STAY HOME AND NOT REGISTER. During the Vietnam war an estimated 250,000 young men didn't register for the draft and were never identified. If identified, you may be treated as a "late registrant" and given another chance to register. Or you could be arrested and prosecuted. SEE BELOW.

RESIST the draft system by publicly refusing to register. Submit a letter in advance, or simply appear and state your refusal to cooperate. Nothing may happen right away. But you would be subject to arrest and prosecution. Maximum penalty for failure to comply with selective service law is five years in jail and/or $10,000 fine.

NEED MORE INFORMATION?

Need to talk it over before making a decision? Trained draft counselors are available to help you. Feel free to call with any questions. Keep yourself informed.

FOR MORE INFORMATION:

Produced for Survival Summer 1980 by the Peace Education Division of the American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia PA 19102.

DRAFT UPDATE

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
2160 Lake Street, San Francisco, CA 94121 (415) 752-7766

Volume 1, Number 3
March 1980

President Carter's announcement that he will ask for draft registration of young men and women ages 18-20 has brought legitimate feelings of anger and frustration. To those feelings, however, we would like to add hope.

President Carter's proposed legislation to reinstitute draft registration calls for the revival of the Selective Service System (SSS). To revive the SSS, money must by allocated by Congress in order to develop registration cards, hire new staff persons, work on the proposed computerization of registration (which would not give one the option to resist), and set up local draft boards. By recognizing that the SSS cannot be revived without money, we can stop the reinstitution of draft registration.

We are also hopeful because we see an opportunity for a new and powerful peace movement. We already have a strong anti-draft and anti-war movement without a draft and with out a war. On Feb. 11th, for instance, demonstrations against the draft took place at 15 California State Colleges and Universities with an average of more than 500 attending each one. Twenty to thirty demonstrations took place around the country that same weekend. Bay Area high school students are aroused and mobilized. The publicity and education generated by such events has encouraged others to come out in opposition. A poll taken by the Daily Californian indicates a dramatic increase in anti-draft sentiment at UC Berkeley since the end of January and Carter's first announcement on registration. We have the opportunity to link up with the anti-nuclear movement, the women's movement and students on other high school and college campuses to build on the actions of the present anti-draft movement. All of this is very encouraging.

There is much to be done but the potential is there. We must remember that we have a good chance of stopping the advancing threat of the draft and draft registration by making sure that Congress does not allocate the necessary money to revive the SSS. This gives us hope.

Andy Coe
Jim Navarro
Lee MacKinnon

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON CARTER'S CALL FOR REGISTRATION

1) Who will be affected? 18-20 year old men and women. If registration passes this spring, those born in 1960-61 would be required to register. Beginning in 1981 and in succeeding years, all young people would register in the year of their 18th birthday.

2) How will registration work? Those born in 1960 and 1961 will be asked to fill out a form at their local Post Office. The form will be filed with the SSS in Washington. Each registrant will recieve a reciept from the SSS acknowledging the registration. There will be no draft cards issued now.

3) Will I be able to apply as a conscientious objector? No! There will be no classifications or deferments granted now. There is talk that you will have to file to be a C.O. once you have recieved your induction notice in the mail. You will then have 15 days to build your case stating "why you are a C.O." It is important that those interested in becoming C.O.'s begin clarifying their beliefs, developing a file and getting counseling NOW!

4) How will they enforce registration? The government and the SSS are vague on this matter. The general feeling is that they will go easy on enforcement this year. It is an election year and they don't want to send anyone to jail for draft resistance. Remember however that the legal penalty for refusing to register is a maximum of 5 years and/or $10,000. More later!

5) Should women be registered as part of equal rights. No! No one should have to be registered or drafted in the name of equality. Registration and the draft are both unequal, imposing an unfair burden on a few at the expense of many. Women and men all have equal rights not to be drafted.

6) Can public opinion defeat registration and the draft? Yes! What is clear in Carter's call for registration is that he is very worried about large-scale opposition on the part of the general public, particularly young people. The decision to limit registration to 19-20 year olds, to have separate legislation for women, lax enforcement in an election year and eventually computerizing the whole process are very strong evidence of that worry. Every attempt is being made to divide public opinion and co-opt potential opposition. At the same time, CAMD and NISBCO report that many in Congress have not taken a definite position on the issue. They are waiting to gauge public opinion. Those of us opposed to registration and the draft must make our voices heard.

As part of the anti-draft program a group of gays against the draft is organizing. For info contact Tony at ***AFSC, 752-7766 ***

STRATEGY AND ACTION TO BE UNDERTAKEN IMMEDIATELY

1. Begin massive letter writing campaign directed toward your local Congressperson and Senator. If your Congressperson is sympathetic, let Senator Cranston know how you feel! His vote is important! (Send to 229 Russell Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D.C.20510). Set up tables at schools, shopping centers, and churches. Have one or two sentence letters prepared for signatures, envelopes to address on the spot and a cup for postage donations. Send them off immediately! Bay Area high school students are having good success with this campaign. Remember the volume of letters is most important!
2. Begin delegation visits to local Congressional offices.
3. Develop local phone networks for generating phone calls and telegrams at the time of a crucial vote. Have phone captains responsible for getting the message to ten others in your group.
4. Arrange for speakers and presentations on the draft in schools and churches. Educate yourself and others about events in the Middle East, U.S. Military spending and foreign policy and disarmament-conversion possibilities. All of these issues have a direct connection with why registration and the draft are being brought back now. See our resource list for speakers and materials.
5. Plan public rallies and demonstrations for good media coverage.
6. Begin to develop support and counseling services for young people.
7. If you have an idea for a project let us know. We will spread the word on it!

RESOURCES

AFSC-2160 Lake St, SF CA 94121-materials, speakers, organizing strategies, contact with local groups, newsletter

War Resisters League-1360 Howard, SF, CA 94103 626-6976. Materials, speakers (women and the military), library, newsletter.

Veterans for Draft Resistance, PO Box 40755 SF CA 94140 864-7583. Speakers

CCCO, 1251 2nd Ave, SF CA. 94122 566-0500. Counseling and written materials for CO's

Dick Castille, 11 16th Ave, SF CA 668-0691 Counseling for CO's. Call for next session.

FSAN-Listen for up-to-date draft info, contact them for anti-draft publicity

CALENDAR

3/2/80 Hearts and Minds Academy Award film of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Deals with racism and exploitation by U.S. on a Third World Country. Unitarian Church, Franklin and Geary, SF 7PM [illegible] 668-0691 info

3/6 and 3/20 CO and other counseling for young people with Dick Castille. AFSC, 2160 Lake St. SF 752-7766.

3/12 Community mtg "The Middle East, the Draft and You" with Ali Alyami and Andy Coe of AFSC. At La Pena, 3105 Shattuck, Berk., 849-2568 7:30 PM

3/28 Mtg on the draft in Santa Rosa. Contact Betsy 707-523-1561 for info

4/26 SAVE THE DATE West Coast Peace Demonstration, San Francisco. More later!

Resist The Draft

REFUSE TO REGISTER

06

Don't Sign Your Life Away

This is a call to all persons between the ages of 17 and 26 to resist the draft *by not registering*. Congress and the President are considering re-activating the Selective Service System which has been in "deep standby" since 1973. New legislation is also in the works.

In the House: Rep. Pete McCloskey (R-CA) has introduced a bill, H.R. 2206, calling for a National Service System and the creation of a National Youth Service Foundation. Rep. G. Montgomery (D-MS) has two bills calling for registration, classification, and induction, H.R. 1901 and H.R. 2404. Rep. Nichols (D-AL) has a registration bill, H.R. 2900. Rep. C. Wilson (D-TX) has a bill to authorize induction, H.R. 2078. Rep. Charles Bennett (D-FL) offers us "The Military Registration and Mobilization Assessment Act of 1979", H.R. 23, which exempts the SSS from the Privacy Act.

In the Senate, Sen. Robert Morgan (D-NC) has introduced a similar bill, S. 226. Sen. Harry Byrd (I-VA) and Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA) have introduced yet another bill, S. 109, requiring registration and prohibiting the President from suspending registration except for 90 days to revise the procedures.

I am not concerned with discussing the fine points of each of these bills. The Armed Services Committee will be revising them and we don't know which one they will decide on, but they all amount to conscription. We need to begin now to organize and express our *opposition to any kind of draft system*.

In the late '60s we created a nation-wide Resistance movement to bring an end to the war and the draft through *unequivocal non-cooperation with the SSS*. Thousands refused to register, sent back or burned their draft cards, or refused to submit to induction. Others destroyed draft files and disrupted Selective Service offices. For these illegal acts, yes, many of us were sent to prison, but the draft machine was brought to a grinding halt. Since then registration has been discontinued, the 3000 draft boards disbanded, and the number of SSS employees reduced to 100.

Now there is talk of cranking up the draft again, starting with registration. Once again we need to willfully, knowingly, and publicly obstruct this process. Massive resistance to registration would render the draft non-functional.

A draft age person needs to ask: "Will I kill?" But that is only one of many questions. Depending on how it is answered, other pop up, for example: "Will I hold a gun while someone else pulls the trigger? Will I obey military orders? Will I, by my actions, support a system that makes it possible for the military to wage war? Will I go along with the draft even though I might be able to get a deferment myself, knowing that others will be conscripted who can't get an exemption? Just where do I draw the line? Where can I take a stand, say NO?"

The simplest, surest way to eliminate your fear of the draft is to refuse to register. Before you do, however, be sure that you say "NO" at the very beginning. *Don't register for the draft.*

It is not necessary to know all about the war, or the world, or even what you will do the rest of your life. It is important to retain your integrity, to hold dear to right action, and if you have moral principles, to not disregard them. Make your own decisions. Make your own mistakes. This is your life. It belongs to you, not the government.

> Sec. 103 (a)(1) Except as otherwise provided in this Act, it shall be the duty of every citizen of the United States to *present himself for and* submit to registration at the local placement center which serves the area in which he resides within ten days after the seventeenth anniversary of his birth.
>
> – from bill H.R. 2206

Just what does registration entail? It is like joining a club, only involuntarily. The procedure is simple. Just give your name, address, date and place of birth, and answer a few questions. It is the consequences that are severe. Not only are you put on a list that subjects you to induction and military service, there are other effects as well.

By registering you are psychologically acknowledging the government's power and authority over you. You are giving up your independence to question, think for yourself, and act on your own. This is what submission means.

Compulsory registration is meant to intimidate you and interfere with your basic freedom of choice: how and where you will live, your plans, etc. You are required to keep the local draft board informed of your whereabouts, any changes in your job, education, marriage, etc. The draft board will classify you and keep a file on you. Registration becomes a denial of your sovereignty over your own body.

We know dogs wear collars to identify who their master is. And cattle are branded or have a metal tag clipped to an ear. Are young people cattle, too? Once you are registered you will be issued a draft registration card with your SSS number on it. You will be required to carry that card on your person and show it to the authorities on demand. The card is the symbolic chain of the Selective Slavery System. *They've got you now!* Physically, you may have the illusion that you are still free, but the government knows of your *subservience and compliance. When you are needed, you will be called.*

The Game Is Rigged

Some may feel that they can register and go along with the classification procedures and at the same time avoid being drafted. Because of a loophole in the draft or exemption that gets them out. The loopholes [illegible] to beat the system. I want to speak to this attitude as it was rampant in the early '60s before the Resistance.

The draft was grossly unfair (it always has been). The privileged and rich got out leaving the less educated and poor to be drafted. The phrase "It's a rich man's war and a poor man's fight" which was current during the Civil War again became common. But it wasn't until later that we learned that the inequity was not just the result of a badly written law, but precisely the intent desired by Selective Service. The draft existed to channel and indoctrinate young people as well as procure manpower for the Army. It controlled the domestic labor market by the granting of occupational deferments and special exemptions to some and denying them to others. This bred division and selfish cynicism among the young.

The Resistance had to confront this attitude of "self interest at the expense of others" head on. It did this by pointing out how the various classifications were there to keep the system running smoothly, to siphon off dissent and to keep draft age people individualistically pitted against each other. To play by the rules and think you can individually beat the system—*that is the system*—it is rigged that way.

The greatest harm comes not from those who can kill (or imprison) the body but from our own temptation to imprison our spirits.

—Dave Dellinger, non-registrant in WWII

If you decline to register, you do face prosecution and imprisonment. I urge you not to be intimidated by the possible penalty. We all must take moral responsibility for our actions and cannot excuse them away by saying "I was only obeying orders," or fear of punishment.

It was Carnot in France who overcame determined opposition to conscription by limiting it to men in the age range 18 to 25. He found these young people to be the most politically impotent and most easily regimented. Later Napoleon was to boast "I can use up 500,000 in a month." Today the military wants to lower the age to 18 and include women.

We see that the tyranny of conscription is deliberately aimed at young people. At age 17 what person has the maturity and breadth of experience to make so momentous a decision as refusing to register in violation of law?

What About Prison?

A boy realistically asks "The draft scares me. I don't want to register and I'm not going to register, but my parents won't understand. So I guess I'll have to leave home now. But where will I go? How will I finish school? What will prison do to me? What support is there anyway?"

Without belittling the difficulties, draft resisters need not feel they are alone or isolated. Peacemakers openly counsel non-registration. Many of us have experienced arrest, court, and prison and would be willing to give practical advice to anyone. A Peacemaker Sharing Fund has been set up to directly help resisters in prison and their families. Quaker meetings also offer support (e.g. "We support persons who, for reasons of conscience, would refuse to register for any compulsory service or who would oppose it by any other non-violent means" —approved by Palo Alto Friends Meeting on March 25, 1979). In each community, small resistance groups can be formed to provide mutual personal support and assistance.

Even so, each non-registrant needs to prepare himself or herself to endure some hardship. Look at the history of the movements to abolish slavery or to obtain women's suffrage. Keep in mind those who struggled to end the Vietnam war and the draft. Many paid a high price in time, energy, and imprisonment (as did those who were drafted. 46,000 dead. 304,000 injured). It would be a tragedy to forget the hard lessons learned—and allow the government to send conscripts off to fight another foreign war.

Peacetime Conscription Leads to WAR

Urged on by military generals, adventurist politicians can be easily tempted to involve the country in a foreign war without having to justify it to the public. Already the U.S. has used conscripts in 4 undeclared foreign wars since 1950 and won none of them (Korea, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia). A draft allows the government to bypass public discussion and debate. Yet open debate is essential for the functioning of a democracy. The American people already know enough of the military-industrial complex, the dealings of multinational corporations, and the corruption in Washington not to trust the government to stay out of war unless it is restrained. The absence of a draft offers a check on mobilization. The presence of a draft means we will easily become involved in fighting another war.

Copies of this leaflet available from:

The Peacemaker
P.O. Box 627
Garberville, CA. 95440

It is not enough that we tell Congress our opinion of the draft in words only. Our bodies and lives must also bear the testimony of our convictions and conscience. Let it be known that we will refuse to register and will advocate that others join us in openly declaring their non-cooperation with any compulsory conscription system.

Since the [illegible] was originally published the National Resistance Committee has been formed to serve the following purpose.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE
(Adopted March 1st 1980 in San Francisco)

The purpose of the National Resistance Committee is:

1. To resist the current U.S. preparations for conscription and war by encouraging those of draft age to refuse registration.

2. To sponsor and promote non-violent demonstrations and civil disobedience at U.S. Post Offices during the draft registration weeks in the summer of 1980.

3. To build a grass roots movement by collecting pledges of non-registration, distributing literature, holding public actions, forming support groups, and working with existing organizations to resist registration.

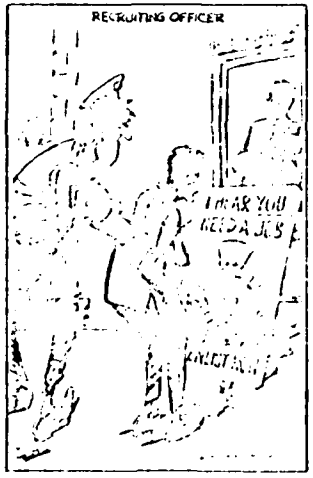
A nationwide resistance movement is now underway. For more information, contact:

National Resistance Committee
P.O. Box 42488
San Francisco, CA 94101
Temporary phone number
415 781 5819

As author of this leaflet I am responsible for the viewpoint presented. I spent 17 months in Allenwood Federal Prison for refusing the draft. I have and will continue to advocate draft resistance, refusing registration and total non-cooperation with any form of conscription. Besides considering my views, I urge you to seek other opinions (talk to those in the military or Vietnam veterans, visit a VA hospital, etc.), but above all think for yourself and make your own decisions.

Fred Moore

YOU and the DRAFT



it's your choice...

On June 17, 1980 Congress approved funding [illegible] registration for two years. [illegible] in the year you're required to register [illegible] in January 1981 that [illegible] to register. From [illegible] years old, they are required [illegible]

[illegible] a draft since 1973 [illegible] draft by [illegible] were [illegible] primarily [illegible] Vietnam [illegible]

[illegible] people join [illegible] as a way to get a job [illegible] with [illegible] people.

EMPLOYER OF LAST RESORT

[illegible] Harold Brown [illegible]

[illegible] for opportunities [illegible] and [illegible] the military [illegible] and the [illegible] Army [illegible] Black [illegible] Hispanic [illegible] that [illegible] and your [illegible] to [illegible]

[illegible] and racism [illegible] the United States [illegible] has always resulted in [illegible] unemployment in third [illegible] Black, many Black and [illegible] the military [illegible] In 1965 the [illegible] Vietnam [illegible] Black [illegible] Hispanic [illegible] prime [illegible] for [illegible] draft if you are [illegible] that [illegible] Black [illegible] you [illegible] and [illegible]

ARE YOU WILLING TO GIVE YOUR LIFE FOR A GOVERNMENT THAT TURNS ITS BACK ON YOU AT HOME?

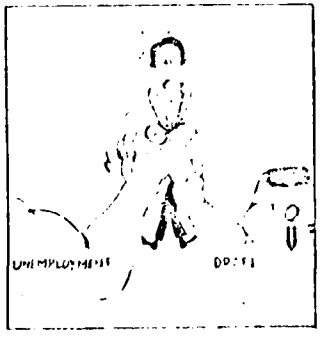
[illegible] Chicago Tribune [illegible] May 17, 1980

[illegible] and President Carter [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] Latin America [illegible] the [illegible] President [illegible] What [illegible] can the [illegible]

President Carter recommended [illegible] from [illegible] programs. [illegible] 2001(c), [illegible] And then gave $4 billion to the Pentagon. Who benefits and who gets [illegible]

[illegible] you might not be able to find a job and [illegible] Why is it that the U.S. government spends $[illegible] and then [illegible] but [illegible] jobs, [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] when [illegible] [illegible] the U.S. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] jobs, [illegible] and social services from the military wants to take you?



It all revolves around unemployment, you know the economic thing. You know. It is ironic that most of the brothers I met in the army were in the infantry. In combat units, you know--the ones who would be doing the fighting and dying. Most of them, I found out, were just like myself, they didn't have any money, jobs were tight and they had to survive so they joined the army. And then--BANG!--Vietnam. Fortunately I didn't have to go into the bush. But I noticed that most of the brothers who did go into the jungle returned to work around in a kind of mindless state. They did not know what they were doing out there, they did not want to go back out there, but most importantly they really began to realize, that for the most part, their commanding officers, and the army itself considered them expendable. Racism was rampant in Vietnam. My advice to black people, or any other people of color is to stay out of the military.

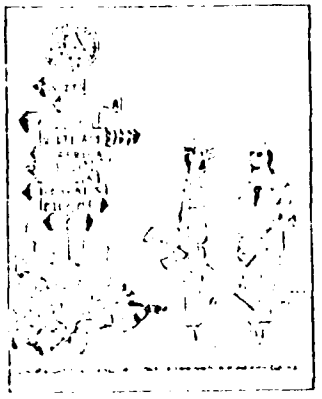
--Al Ceasar
Black Vietnam-era Veteran

IF YOU ENLIST OR ARE DRAFTED WHAT KIND OF WAR ARE YOU LIKELY TO FIGHT?

[illegible] United States [illegible] and the Soviet Union [illegible] Vietnam [illegible] But [illegible] and [illegible] Africa [illegible] outnumber [illegible] of your [illegible] Are you willing [illegible]

WHAT WILL IT REALLY BE LIKE IN THE MILITARY?

[illegible] people [illegible] Black [illegible]



WHAT ARE YOUR OPTIONS? HOW WILL YOU DECIDE?

NEED MORE INFORMATION?

I was a draft resister during the Vietnam era and spent two and a half years in jail for refusing to kill. My brother who became a marine and fought in Vietnam recently died of Agent Orange poisoning. The high school I attended, with a student body composed mostly of Black, Puerto Rican and poor white students, had the highest Vietnam casualty rate per student of any high school in America. This is the context in which I say, we have compassion with each draft resister and respect for their decision to use their opposition to the draft, to their service in Vietnam or alternative service to the context of the oppression that Black people have historically, politically, and to this day, continue to experience in this country. If we are truly opposed to the evil aspects of the draft, then our movement must attack the conditions which allow militarism and conscription to continue.

– Michael Simmons
former staff of S.N.C.C. and A.F.S.C.

Non-Registrant In World Wars I and II

by Ammon Hennacy

I was arrested when I spoke against the coming war at Broad and High in Columbus, Ohio before about 10,000 people on the evening of April 5, 1917. The next day war was declared and I was released for trial May 30. Meanwhile I distributed leaflets over Ohio for the Socialist Party, advising young men to refuse to register for the draft. When I was picked up again I asked to see a lawyer but was told I could not see one. Detective Wilson said that unless I registered for the draft by June 5th, which was registration day, I was to be shot on orders from Washington. I was shown a copy of the local paper with headlines "Extreme Penalty for Traitors." I only saw it through the bars and was not allowed to read it. The detective said that the young Socialists arrested with me for refusing to register had all given in and registered. Later I found out that he had also told them that I had registered.) I felt that if they gave in someone had to stick, and I was that one. Spike Moore, an I.W.W. (the radical union of that day, the Industrial Workers of the World, founded by Debs, Haywood and others), from Pittsburgh who was in Columbus, sneaked me a note and a clipping from the paper in which a reporter asked my mother if she was not frightened because I was to be shot soon. Her reply was that the only thing she was afraid of was that they might scare me to give in. This gave me added courage. June 5th passed and no move was made to shoot me. Detective Wilson said that the Government had postponed my execution thinking I would give the names of those who had helped me distribute the leaflets. I pled guilty for my refusal to register. My partner and I each got 2 years in Atlanta. After this term was served I was to do 9 months in Delaware, Ohio County Jail nearby for refusal to register. The two guards who accompanied us to Atlanta chained us to our Pullman berths and gave us sandwiches prepared by their women folks, kidding us that they were marking up good meals on their expense accounts.

Friday, July 13, 1917 was the date of my arrival in Atlanta. My number was 7438. I was sent to the top floor of the old cell house, to a certain cell. This was occupied by someone else at present, for pictures of chorus girls were on the wall, and magazines and cigarette stubs on the floor. This cell was 8 feet long, 8 feet high, and 4½ feet wide and was made of steel. In half an hour a large, burly, but good natured man of about 40 came in.

"Hello kid, my name's Brockman, Peter Brockman from Buffalo, doin' a six bit for writing my name on little pieces of paper. Got one to go yet. How do you like our little home? What's your name?"

The next morning after breakfast, Blackie, the runner in the block, brought me a note, saying that he knew the prisoner who had written the note, and had done time with him in Atlemaney prison years ago. I read:

"Blackie, who give you this note? O.K. See me in the yard this afternoon if it does not rain; otherwise come to the Catholic Mass tomorrow and I will talk to you there. Your cell mate had paid $8 worth of tobacco to the screw in your cell block to get the first young prisoner coming in to be his cell mate. You are the 'fuck,' one. Watch him, for he is one of the worst perverts in the prison. There is no use in using a fuss for you may 'accidentally' fall down four flights. Get $8 worth of tobacco from the store and give it to Blackie and he will give it to the guard and pull strings to have you transferred out of the cell. This will take weeks; meantime get along the best you can.

Yours for the revolution, A. B."

A note from Alexander Berkman, the great Anarchist! I read it over and over again and then destroyed it, per the first rule in prison: don't keep any unnecessary contraband. For the first time in my life when I had read a book I did not sit down at once and written to the author. This was in Warren, Ohio, in 1910, when I had read Berkman's *Memoirs*. I had not got an answer, but now I was to meet him personally. Hundreds of workers had been killed by the Pinkertons, a private detective agency, at Homestead, Pa. Frick was manager of Carnegie Steel at Homestead. Berkman, then a young anarchist, had stabbed and shot Frick, and had served 14 years and ten months actual time in Allegheny prison. Three years of this in solitary in a dark hole. He had been in prison before I was born and here he was again with a fighting spirit that jails could not kill. I had read his paper *The Blast*. I had but a faint idea of the word pervert, and I wondered how and why I could talk to Berkman in a Catholic chapel.

The sun shone brightly that afternoon on the packed ground of the prison yard. In the shadow along one prison wall Blackie had pointed out Berkman to me. I hastened to greet him. His kindly smile made me feel that I had a friend. He told me of a means of getting out letters, how to roll cigarettes and explained how to talk in your throat without moving your lips. He said that on rainy Saturdays, when we could not meet, we could see each other at the Catholic chapel, as the chaplain was an ex-prizefighter who was sympathetic to workers and did not mind those who came to visit each other. He gave me four things to remember. "(1) Don't tell a lie. (2) Don't tell on another prisoner; it's the job of the screws to find out what is going on, not yours. (3) Draw your line as to what you will do and will not do and don't budge, for if you begin to weaken they will beat you. (4) Don't curse the screws. They will try to get you to strike them and they will have the excuse to beat you up; and if one can't, two can, and if two can't, ten can. They are no good or they wouldn't take such a job. Just smile. Obey them in unimportant details but never violate an inch of principle. Don't be seen talking to me very often, for the guards are watching and will make trouble. Write to me by way of Blackie and I will do the same."

John, in my cell, was boss of the paint gang and was from Columbus, Ohio. He had me transferred to his gang, and when he left in about six months I was made boss of the gang. I had a pass to go anywhere I wanted inside except out. The editor of the prison paper, *Good Words*, asked me to give him something to print. I told him that was what I got in for, printing things in papers, and that my ideas were too radical for him. He insisted so I gave this quote which, believe it or not, appeared in a box underneath the editorial caption of the Department of Justice on April 1, 1918: "A *prison is the only house in a slave state where a free man can abide with honor.* — *Thoreau.* This had the O.K. of the warden and was not sneaked in. The ignorant official thought it praised prisons.

(excerpt from the *Book of Ammon*)

I've Always Been Glad I Did Not Register

The [illegible] refused to [illegible] for the draft came not from [illegible] or patriots but from fellow pacifists. In September 1940 [illegible] who were [illegible] at Union Theological Seminary in New York City announced jointly that we had decided not to register under the recently passed conscription law. Immediately a horde of well-known pacifist leaders descended on Union and [illegible] night in an effort to change our minds. We were told that such an irresponsible gesture on our part would destroy the cause of pacifism for twenty years. It would only [illegible] anger against conscientious objectors and thereby bring such offers of service as our pacifists, that we [illegible] stay within the new laws of democratically passed law. That if we were sent to prison we might even do there but that if we accepted our religious exemption we could continue to teach love and reconciliation.

Under this pressure, and perhaps for other more valid reasons, twelve of the twenty decided to register. It was a hard thing for young men not yet out of school suddenly to assert their own moral insight over against the insistent pressure of [illegible] whom all of us had been accustomed to look for information and [illegible] some of the [illegible] first talking that there was such a thing as pacifism.

The only well-known pacifist who encouraged us at that time was Evan Thomas. Later we learned of others who supported our stand, including Julius Eichel, Norman Thomas and A. J. Muste. But most [illegible] were not very responsive to [illegible] than from the [illegible] Thomas. [illegible] blind [illegible] sight and [illegible]

Did Not Want Exemption

In the end I decided that I could not accept a [illegible] religious exemption which [illegible] as a basis [illegible] following [illegible] could be drafted. In the same way I [illegible] to accept the offer [illegible] Peace Church [illegible] from the [illegible] for the draft. I would be [illegible] of the Civilian Public Service camps with a free [illegible] Gruntman program at [illegible].

I could see [illegible] validity of being free of [illegible] to accept government [illegible] support of the present [illegible] and the Army [illegible] provisions for [illegible] conscientious objectors would not [illegible] than [illegible] the [illegible] purpose of [illegible]

I remembered that the Emperors of Rome had [illegible] Christians and had had a [illegible] on the [illegible] in America the State is more interested in moral subservience than in the actual killing of those who would probably not make good soldiers anyway.

I knew nothing about prisons and was enough involved in the shallow activism of the Socialists that I was more regretful than I should have been at the prospect of being "cut off" from the masses. Actually the "masses" would not have understood me [illegible] now when I look back at the statement issued by the twelve prospective non-registrants, I wonder if anyone except ourselves and our professors understood it.

As it turned out, in prison I came into contact with persons and problems that made me unable even again to listen to the silver tongued Socialist orators with anything more than boredom, or in some cases with faint amusement at the cleverness of their phrases and the irrelevance of their anguished appeal to the presidents and politicians to act contrary to the nature of those who are involved in political power.

Can Feel Free Even In Jail

I was also a little nervous about what was described to me as the [illegible] spiritual and mental deterioration that would befall a prisoner. But I could not see why pacifists should compromise morally in order to avoid suffering or even death when it was obvious that the machine of war was oiled by the blood of soldiers who gave "the last full measure of devotion" whether willingly or unwillingly.

I first began to realize that those who seek peace cannot effectively challenge the forces of war until they are willing to take risks comparable to those exacted from soldiers. I [illegible] that the greatest harm comes not from those [illegible] kill or maim [illegible] but from our own [illegible] to imprison our spirits.

Finally, I had some dim understanding that there are no words that can [illegible] as significantly as our lives. Speaking and writing are themselves actions if they stem from our lives. But even what we act in such a way as to reveal that we are unwilling to live up to our words, the words become meaningless.

A Statistic With Real Meaning

[illegible] letter to work [illegible] one of [illegible] to be here. Until [illegible] from [illegible] and then [illegible] decided, if need be, at [illegible] to [illegible] such a way that [illegible] power up to [illegible] where it might [illegible] from [illegible] have now found out that it is more of a [illegible] to be a prisoner [illegible] even a [illegible] in prison for from time to time [illegible] prisoner on work or hunger [illegible] than to be an [illegible] free from that the United [illegible] speech" and no [illegible] than that of a loyal [illegible]

As I think back on [illegible] most of the older [illegible] stand the nonregistrant [illegible] beginnings of World War II [illegible] at what points I am [illegible] they were then in vested [illegible] activities which blind [illegible] insights of a younger [illegible] thing is certain, we [illegible] just as great danger [illegible] fighting the current [illegible] actions and attitudes [illegible] despair in the last one.

In our case I think [illegible] only to be sensitive [illegible] withdrawing our support [illegible] machine adding to [illegible] involvement of federal [illegible] only other actions I am [illegible] but also to develop [illegible] living in brotherhood [illegible] indispensable step forward [illegible] a conscientious objector [illegible] merely speaking against [illegible] drafted so I believe [illegible] to renounce in our own [illegible] and privileges and position [illegible] over which wars are [illegible] than merely to call [illegible] and a more just society [illegible] that the current growth [illegible] form is the development [illegible] ties of sharing and that [illegible] would attack the cause [illegible] begin in our own [illegible] community.

Finally I have always [illegible] I refused to register because [illegible] of men more experienced [illegible] In the same way, I believe that [illegible] even in communities [illegible] over humble fishermen [illegible] experienced, should learn not to depend on leadership but to share [illegible] moral decisions.

Dave Dellinger

Copies of this leaflet available from:
The Peacemaker
P.O. Box 627
Garberville, CA 95440

☐ I am not going to register.

I am returning my draft card

I am destroying my draft card

(This means that I [illegible] no longer connected [illegible] from [illegible] conscription.)

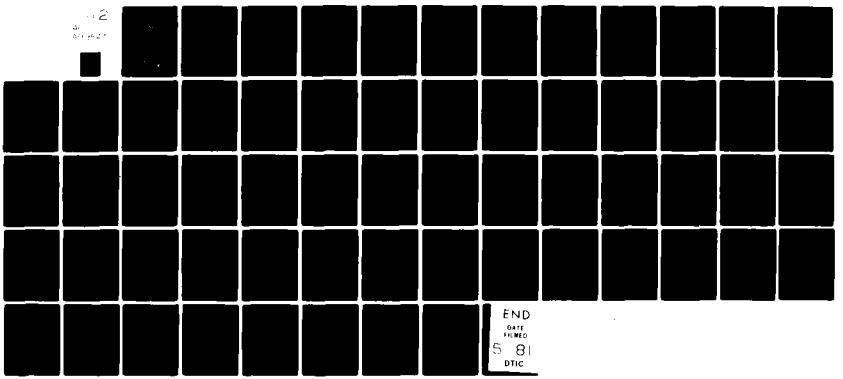
Name _____

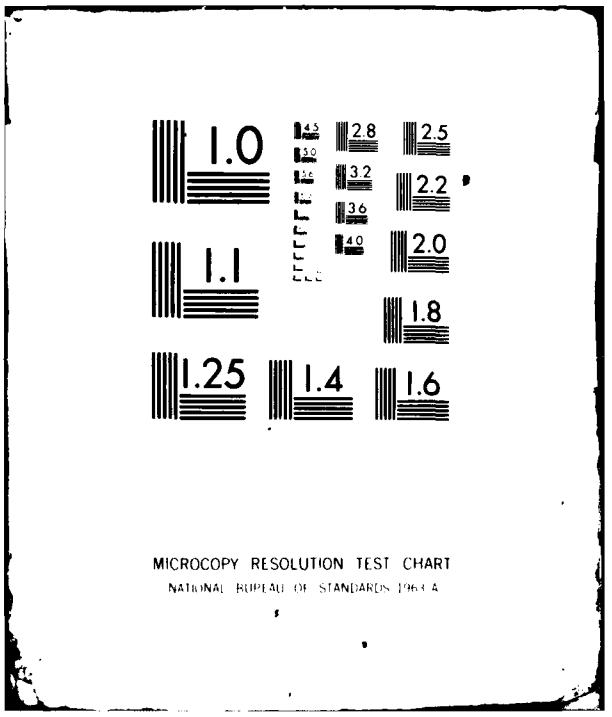
Address _____

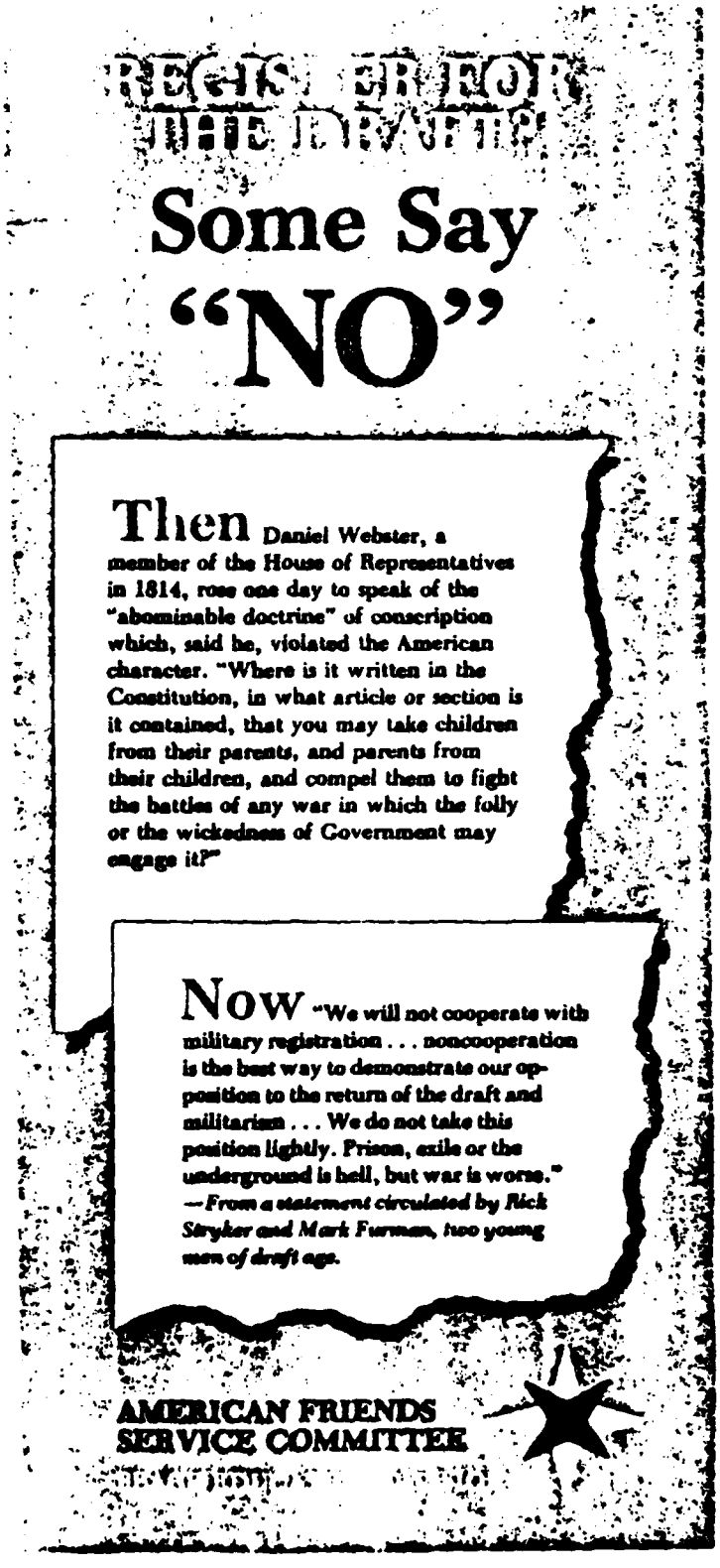
Phone(s) _____

AD-A098 470 NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL MONTEREY CA F/G 5/9
REAWAKENING RESISTANCE TO DRAFT REGISTRATION: SOME IMPLICATIONS--ETC(U)
DEC 80 P J JACKSON

UNCLASSIFIED NL




1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
1.8
2.0
2.2
2.5
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
4.5
5.0
MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS 1963 A


REGISTER FOR
THE DRAFT?
Some Say
"NO"
Then Daniel Webster, a member of the House of Representatives in 1814, rose one day to speak of the "abominable doctrine" of conscription which, said he, violated the American character. "Where is it written in the Constitution, in what article or section is it contained, that you may take children from their parents, and parents from their children, and compel them to fight the battles of any war in which the folly or the wickedness of Government may engage it?"
Now "We will not cooperate with military registration . . . noncooperation is the best way to demonstrate our opposition to the return of the draft and militarism . . . We do not take this position lightly. Prison, exile or the underground is hell, but war is worse."
—From a statement circulated by Rick Stryker and Mark Furman, two young men of draft age.
AMERICAN FRIENDS
SERVICE COMMITTEE

STATEMENT

Statement on
Military Registration and the Draft
January 26, 1980

President Carter's announcement that he plans to call for reinstitution of military registration is the first step toward the revival of the draft. The American Friends Service Committee is opposed to military registration and the draft. We call on President Carter to reconsider this decision and not reinstitute military registration. We call on Congress to reject any plans to reinstitute registration or conscription.

We believe reinstitution of registration and the draft is a violation of religious freedom. The draft encourages military intervention and militarization of society at a time when military responses to crises are as obsolete as they always have been immoral.

The idea of sending young men and possibly women to kill and die for oil in the Middle East or in a nuclear confrontation with the USSR is neither honorable nor workable. Indeed a nuclear confrontation would be the ultimate insanity. The time has come when nonviolent means of resolving conflicts are as essential as they always have been the better way.

Inasmuch as the draft is wrong and the burden of it will inevitably fall heaviest on the poor and minorities, the draft cannot be made fair. Subjecting women to the draft would make it worse not better. We support equal rights for women, including the basic right of women, as well as men, not to be drafted.

We oppose military registration and will work to stop it. If registration is reinstituted, we believe many young men and women will refuse to register or, if they register, will refuse to be drafted into the military. Based on the historic witness of the Religious Society of Friends, the American Friends Service Comittee pledges its support to those young men and young women who conscientiously refuse to be drafted or to be registered.

Board of Directors,
American Friends Service Committee

INTRODUCTION

On January 23, 1980, in his State of the Union Address, President Carter called for reinstitution of draft registration. Strong public resistance to draft registration can stop it, just as public pressure did in 1973.

Whether or not draft registration is reintroduced, people are considering what they would do if there is a draft. Some say they will register and are willing to be drafted into the armed forces; others say they will seek legal recognition as conscientious objectors. An increasing number of people are saying they will not register for the draft. This pamphlet focuses on nonregistration, and especially on the beliefs that motivate people to take this stand.

We honor and respect and feel a bond of comradeship with those who are led to claim conscientious objector status under the law. With them we are united in opposing the madness and immorality of war. We are all, we gladly stress, members of the same team, sisters and brothers in a common struggle. Compliance with the conscription system is not, however, the way that will be chosen by many young women and men. Considerable material has been prepared explaining the convictions that undergird the conscientious objector position, but little has appeared setting forth the reasons for refusal to register. We want on these pages to clarify the nonregistration position that many will choose.

The Consequences of Nonregistation

"Failure to register for the draft is a violation of federal law, punishable by up to five years imprisonment and $10,000 fine . . . .

"In the past, many resisters who chose not to register have told the government what they were doing and made a public stand. Any person who is considering this action should do so only if willing to face imprisonment, since prosecution is very likely for 'public' draft resisters. Chances of prosecution and imprisonment vary from one federal court district to another.

"If you decide not to register but do not tell the government what you are doing, you still face the same penalty as a 'public' resister. A 'private' resister is less likely to be found out than a 'public' resister, but, if discovered, may face a harsher penalty because of the

negative attitudes of prosecutors and judges. Private resisters who were discovered were usually given a chance to register . . . .

"During the late years of the Vietnam era, over half of all sentences for draft resistance were probation, usually with civilian work under court direction. There is no way to predict what sentences might be handed down in the future."—Excerpted from *You and the Draft*, a CCCO publication.

RON KOVIC, a Vietnam veteran, who as a result of the atrocity of war is paralyzed from the chest down, spoke at an anti-draft rally on the Capitol steps, Washington, D.C. on April 30, 1979, after having been rolled up the stairs to a microphone in a wheelchair. He said in part:

"When the time comes for you to march against the draft, think of me in this wheel chair. I thought I was fighting for the American dream. I know now I was cheated and tricked and lost three-fourths of my body for nothing (in Vietnam). Now, the audacity, the madness, they want to brutalize another generation. Well, I say if they try to bring back the draft, they'll reap a rebellion like they've never seen."

Only you can decide whether or not *you* should resist the draft. Most resisters who have been in prison do not regret their decision, but you should not lightly make a decision that may result in your being sent to jail. Prison is always a difficult and demanding experience; for some people it is literally traumatic. Some draft resisters bear the scars of prison for the rest of their lives (as do some veterans of war and military experience). Emotionally and spiritually crippled by their prison experience, they face a long and difficult "road back," if indeed they ever return to their earlier promise and potential.

We do not want to overemphasize this point, but it must be seriously weighed by those who are contemplating nonregistration.

Why People Refuse To Register

We are inspired and greatly encouraged by the anti-draft activities that have emerged spontaneously all over the land. Included have been much thought and action focused on nonregistration. We have brought together here several statements--some new, some old—that will help to interpret draft resistance to the reader.

—Peace Education Division, AFSC
(May, 1980)

A VIETNAM-ERA NONREGISTRANT, DRAFT RESISTER, CONVICTED FELON SPEAKS

When I turned 18 in August 1969 at the height of the Vietnam war I publicly refused to register for the draft. My statement said, in part, "Vietnam is not an isolated blemish tarnishing an otherwise noble record of American foreign policy. Vietnam is, rather, just another sore of the same disease that led us into

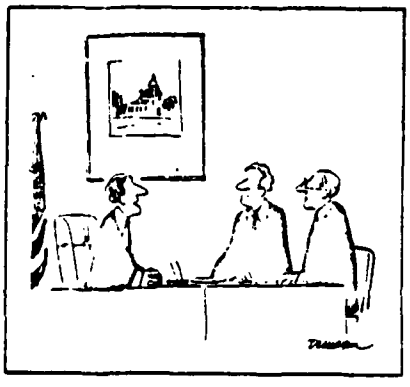
---

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom strenuously opposes the conscription of men or women for war or preparation for war and we oppose registration as the first step toward conscription . . .

. . . *"Sisterhood is international—it does not stop at international borders. If we embrace militarism and conscription as part of equality we will be declaring our sisters as enemies. That is something we as women and as feminists WILL NEVER do. We must refuse the mad rush toward military confrontation. Sisterhood is powerful. Say NO to registration; say NO to the draft."*

—Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
(January 1980)

LIKE, NOW!



"The President's call for registration has taught the Soviets a lesson . . . that they'd better not ever try to draft our young people."

DUNAGIN'S PEOPLE by Ralph Dunagin
© (1980) Field Enterprises, Inc.
Courtesy of Field Newspaper Syndicate

Guatemala in 1964 and into the Dominican Republic in 1965. *The Vietnam war could end tomorrow and the basic nature and direction of American foreign policy would remain unchanged.*" My statement proved only too true.

The first responsibility of a person conscientiously opposed to a particular institution is to refuse to cooperate with—or be a part of—that institution. If you were opposed to slavery, your first obligation would be not to own slaves. If you were opposed to beating children, the first thing for you to do would be not to beat your children. Imagine the hypocrisy of working against child-beating while being a child-beater yourself! So it is with the draft. If you are conscientiously opposed to registration and conscription, you should have nothing to do with them.

This is both a *moral* and a *practical* issue. How effective can an individual be who, while opposing registration, cooperates with it? Only by refusing to be a part of policies you oppose can you raise a clear, effective, and unequivocal voice against those policies.

What I am advocating is draft *resistance*, not draft *evasion*. People who oppose the draft because of deeply held moral or religious reasons—because they believe that war is a crime against humanity—should *publicly* refuse to register.

Refusing to register is the most *effective* way to manifest opposition to the current nature and direction of American foreign policy. I advocate this even though I realize that in so doing I may be violating the Selective Service law.

—Jerry Elmer, Field Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
Providence, Rhode Island

PERSPECTIVE OF A BLACK RESISTER

I was a draft resister during the Vietnam era and spent two and a half years in jail for draft refusal. My brother who became a marine and fought in Vietnam recently died of Agent Orange poisoning. The high school I attended, with a student body composed solely of black, Puerto Rican and poor white students, had the highest Vietnam casualty rate per student of any high school in America. This is the context in which I approach non-cooperation with the draft.

As we look at the present attempts to reinstitute the 'legal' draft, we must understand that for Third

"The National Resistance Committee is confident that a strategy of concerted resistance can bring conscription to a halt. The draft, like all forms of tyranny, depends on the compliance of people who become victims through their tacit obedience to immoral laws. By withholding our cooperation, boycotting registration, and standing in solidarity with thousands of other resisters, the SSS law will be made inoperative and unenforceable."

—National Resistance Committee,
P.O. Box 1433, Washington, D.C. 20013
(Spring 1980)

World people and white working people the draft never stopped. The so-called volunteer army has really been a form of economic conscription. As we approach a movement of non-cooperation with the draft, it cannot be a sterile, abstract opposition to the draft. The movement must link up with movements against racism and sexism, for jobs, and housing and quality education. We must recognize that America can prepare for and fight a war without a single white middle-class college student being drafted. If we are truly opposed to the military and the draft, then our movement must attack the conditions which allow militarism and conscription to continue.

—Michael Simmons,
former staff of S.N.C.C. and A.F.S.C.

NON-COMPLIANCE: WORLD WAR II

In 1941 Jim Bristol, at that time a Lutheran pastor in Camden, New Jersey, refused to complete his draft questionnaire. He was sentenced to 18 months in prison.

From the statement he read in court:

"Selfish personal interests did not prompt me to take this step. I could have claimed deferment on three grounds: (1) as a minister, (2) as a man who became 29 years of age on February 12, 1941, (3) as a married man with one child . . . I am not evading the draft; I am opposing military conscription . . . .

"I believe in democracy, and I believe in defending democracy, but the only sane way to defend it is by *making it work*. Conscription tends to destroy, not to preserve democracy. I am opposed to military conscription, not only for myself but also for my native land . . . .

"I cannot regard the draft as a census. The whole purpose of the law is to raise an army. In our highly complex and interdependent society opposition to war and the military system must content itself with relative positions . . . for James Bristol it is wrong so far to sanction military conscription as to complete his Selective Service questionnaire.

"I am sorry that I must disobey the law of the land. I have always striven to uphold it, but in this instance I feel that I am obeying a higher law than man-made law."

Reaffirmation: Thirty-nine Years Later

After 39 years I am still totally opposed to conscription. As belligerents in World War II Americans embraced the conscription of the totalitarians, their secret police and covert intelligence operations, and their practice of the saturation bombing of civilian populations, and since that war the judgment and skills of their leading nuclear scientists in perfecting a grisly arsenal of bombs and missiles.

In 1941 the Selective Service Act was a pernicious law, war-making in intent, totalitarian in concept and impact. I was compelled then to put myself outside that law, in spite of its provisions for individual conscientious objectors. I am compelled now to do everything in my power to oppose the reinstitution and operation of registration and conscription. I encourage young people of draft age to refuse registration obstinately, each one following her or his conscience), and state my readiness to aid and abet them and to be complicit in their refusal to comply with the provisions of the law.

—Jim Bristol, Coordinator
Stop the Draft Project
American Friends Service Committee
Philadelphia, PA

"Registration for a military draft is a major step toward war . . . as leaders of religious and academic communities, . . . we oppose registration and will work to stop it. We believe that many young men (and women) will refuse to register . . . . Some of us will resist the draft by wearing arm bands during any registration, by picketing places of registration, or by refusing to pay federal taxes for the draft . . . we hope to share some of the terrible burden put upon our young people by a compulsory registration and draft system that threatens once again to send them to far parts of the world to kill and be killed."

—Excerpt from *Call to Conscience*,
signed by key religious and academic leaders, and issued by the Fellowship of Reconciliation
(April 1980)

FACING THE DRAFT: CONFESSIONS OF A RELUCTANT RESISTER

"The question was this: Is registering for the draft so wrong in itself? No one was being drafted, no one was asking me to carry a weapon or make any commitment about the future. Nothing was asked of me but that I sign my name . . . .

"I must personally write my name in their book. If that was really such a little thing why was I being threatened with prison? It occurred to me that the draft was part of the quiet militarization of society, an effort to make war seem like a harmless bit of bureaucracy, a natural part of the landscape . . . .

"I know how hard it is to face this issue at 18, 19 . . . or 24. I know how much I would have given to know six years ago that I was not alone—that someone, somewhere, agreed that this was a significant issue, and that there was a community of people who would support me in whatever choice I decided to make. I want to be able to say to the young people facing this issue today that they are not alone.

"If my story has anything else to offer, I hope it is a bit of encouragement: Just because we cannot now hear our inner voice above the noise that is all around us does not mean it has gone silent, or that we shall not hear it tomorrow."

—Excerpted from Robert Ellsberg's perceptive and illuminating article in the February 1980 *Catholic Worker*

"Registration cannot be separated from a draft; it's all part of the same program. The peacetime draft is more characteristic of a totalitarian system than a free society . . . system of involuntary servitude. If we had not had the draft, we would never have been at war for the length of time we were in Vietnam. As long as each President had that unlimited supply of manpower, he could sustain that policy without a Congressional declaration of war".

—Senator Mark Hatfield
(Republican, Oregon)

"The great mass of 18-year-olds . . . are given no choice. Thus . . . the older generation immolates the younger, on the altar of Moloch. What God, centuries ago, forbade Abraham to do even to his own son, —

'Lay not thy hand upon the lad, neither do thou anything unto him'—this we do by decree to the entire youth of a nation."

—A. J. Muste, *Of Holy Disobedience*, 1952

WHY I BURNED MY DRAFT CARD IN 1967

Until I burned my draft registration card at the U.N. on April 15, 1967 I had been classified as a legally recognized conscientious objector. Three considerations motivated me to refuse further cooperation with the draft, a decision which entailed the risk of going to prison.

First, no war I could imagine being drafted to fight could be morally justified. There were—and still are today—only three types of war for which the U.S. is likely to draft people: first, a nuclear war with the Soviet Union—in my view, not only immoral, but utterly insane; second, a war of intervention in a Third World country, which the U.S. experience in Vietnam and Soviet experience in Afghanistan show is both unjust and unworkable; and third, a war against our own people, particularly poor and minority people as they struggle to demand justice at home.

Second, in counselling young people I discovered that the entire draft classification system, including the category of conscientious objector, is fundamentally unfair and discriminatory, especially against poor and minority people. I was unwilling to accept the special privilege which my background helped to provide me.

Third, I came to believe that the draft itself is immoral and inevitably leads to the greater militarization of our society.

For these reasons, I decided to refuse to cooperate with the draft and to join with others in conscientious nonviolent resistance. I believe that if today enough people take this stand the draft can be stopped and war can be prevented.

—Ron Young,
National Peace Education Secretary
American Friends Service Committee

THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS OPPOSES DRAFT REGISTRATION

"Compulsory military registration and service prior to congressional approval of war are unwarranted, dangerous and possibly illegal . . . .

"Equally as troubling is the extent to which the draft facilitates involvement in foreign conflicts. As the Vietnam War again illustrates, the burden of stopping an undeclared war through congressional action is exceptionally difficult, no matter how wrong the war; and the burden is rightfully and constitutionally placed on the President to demonstrate to Congress the need for a draft at time of war . . . .

We are equally as opposed to a system of universal registration for military service in the future as we are to the actual draft. The registration system facilitates actual conscription, and we believe that it is being offered as a first step in that direction . . . ."

—From Congressional Black Caucus Statement in Opposition to the Reinstitution of the Draft and Draft Registration (June 1979)

ONE PERSON'S COMPLICITY STATEMENT: A Suggestion for Those Not Vulnerable to Draft Registration

"I hold sacred all life and try to live in that spirit which removes all suffering. Because of my beliefs I must in all conscience work to defeat registration, the draft and the militarization of all society.

"If these efforts should prove fruitless and our government reinstitutes draft registration, I shall, with the assistance of God, encourage, aid and abet all young persons to become nonregistrants. I shall advise these same young people on the evils of compliance with a system of militarization designed to maim and kill other people because of disputes which our leaders are either incapable of or unwilling to solve.

"If we are to survive as a civilization we must not learn war any more!"

—Glenda Poole, Peace and Social Activist, Mother of two sons

THE SOJOURNERS FELLOWSHIP TAKES A STAND

"The revival of draft registration is being used to threaten war . . . .

"Refusing the call to arms is based on the fundamental moral reality that there is no longer any threat greater than war itself . . .

"The members of Sojourners Fellowship have determined to refuse the call to arms at every point, including registration for the draft. Further, we advocate that others likewise refuse. Specifically, we encourage young men and women to refuse to register for the draft and support them in that decision. We regard this as our pastoral responsibility, and would invite others who have specific pastoral care for young people to consider it their responsibility as well. For those above draft age, the present situation should occasion a fresh look at the contradiction of paying for war with our tax dollars and at the risks we are taking for peace.

"In ignoring Jesus' words, we in the church have sacrificed our vocation of being an obstacle to war. We must reclaim that vocation now."

—Jim Wallis, Editor
Sojourners Magazine (March 1980)

"If Congress votes for registration, War Resisters League supports all those who refuse to register. If one person refuses, the State will jail that person as an example. If a hundred refuse, the State will jail them as a warning. If a thousand refuse to register, the State will arrest them as a threat to public order. But IF A HUNDRED THOUSAND OPENLY REFUSE TO REGISTER, THE PRESIDENT CANNOT ENFORCE THE LAW AND NO ARRESTS WILL OCCUR."

—Statement by War Resisters League (Spring 1980)

RESISTANCE DID *NOT* START YESTERDAY

Resistance to oppression and tyranny, opposition to war and military entrapment, dedication to peace and the things that make for peace—all, thank God, have been with us for centuries. The light insists upon shining in the darkness.

A brief reference to our common heritage may be helpful at this point, and may help us to realize that resisters today take their place in a long and honorable tradition of testimony and experience. They are part of the never-ending stream of those committed to nonviolence and peace and (when it is required of us) civil disobedience.

The Judaeo-Christian community is replete with supporting insight and conviction through the years. The AFSC draws understandably upon the experience of the Society of Friends, at the same time fully conscious that the teachings of most religious communities provide a basis for resisting war and conscription.

Charles C. Walker writes in his "Quakers and the Draft":

"Friends in America have been in conflict with the draft since before the Revolutionary War. Early minutes of Friends groups reveal the issues: whether to pay fines for refusing to comply, to buy substitutes, to provide lists of male members between the ages of 16 and 60, to register as Friends in order to be granted complete exemption, to perform alternative service. Quaker history in this country provides antecedents or parallels for nearly every question now under debate.

"The resistance theme is strong and recurrent . . . . Philadelphia Yearly Meeting said in September 1776: 'It is our judgment that such who make religious profession with us, and do openly or by connivance, pay any fine, penalty or tax, in lieu of their personal services for carrying on war; or who consent to, and allow their apprentices or servants to act therein so thereby violate our Christian testimony, and by so doing manifest that they are not in religious fellowship with us.' . . . .

"Friends in the 18th and 19th centuries characteristically opposed any condition other than absolute exemption. When a requirement came into force in the early 1830's that conscientious objectors make an affirmation before the military authorities that they were unwilling to bear arms, North Carolina Yearly Meeting thereupon advised members against compliance with the regulation: "it would be best for Friends to remain quietly at home." . . .

"When Congress provided for alternative service in the 1864 conscription law, Friends took differing views about this concession. An editorial in the Orthodox *Friend* said: 'It matters not whether the commutation for military service is money or personal service in some other department; in either case it is an assumption on the part of the government of a right to oblige the subject to violate his conscience, or to exact a penalty if he elects to obey God rather than man . . . ."

A partial list of other organizations that traditionally have supported and assisted nonregistrants.

American Civil Liberties Union
600 Penn Ave., S.E., Washington DC 20002

Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors
2208 South St., Philadelphia PA 19146
and 1251 2nd Ave., San Francisco CA 94122

Church of the Brethren
1451 Dundee Ave., Elgin IL 60120

Clergy and Laity Concerned
198 Broadway, New York NY 10038

Committee Against Registration and the Draft
245 2nd Ave., N.E., Washington DC 20002

Fellowship of Reconciliation
Box 271, Nyack NY 10960

Friends Peace Committee
1515 Cherry St., Philadelphia PA 19102

Friends United Meeting
101 Quaker Hill Drive, Richmond IN 47374

Mennonite Central Committee
21 South 12th St., Akron PA 17501

National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors
550 Washington Bldg., 15th & New York Ave., N.W.
Washington DC 20005

War Resisters' League
339 Lafayette St., New York NY 10012

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
1213 Race St., Philadelphia PA 19107

Women's Strike for Peace
201 Massachusetts Ave., Washington DC 20002

APPENDIX B

CCCO Western Region
an agency for military and draft counseling
1251 2nd avenue 3rd floor
san francisco ca 94122 • (415) 566-0500

May 2, 1980

Dear Friend:

The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors is a non-profit organization that has been working since 1948 to help individuals unable to participate in the military for reasons of conscience.

Since President Carter's announcement in January that he intends to resume draft registration, we've been working overtime to keep you up-to-date about registration and draft-related issues.

Enclosed you will find information to help you think through your ideas about conscientious objection to war and alternatives available to you other than military service. There is also a memo outlining what you can expect if you don't register with the Selective Service system, as well as the latest issue of the Draft Counselor's Newsletter, to tell you what is currently happening with the President's draft registration proposal.

If you think you might be a C.O. or are inclined at all in that direction, CCCO-WR urges you to go on record as one as soon as possible. If and when registration begins, and if your conscience permits you to register, write in bold letters on the registration form, "I AM A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR."

Make xerox copies of the form and hang onto them. (Selective Service might not keep the card you send in, but you may be able to use the copies of the card you retain to reestablish that you were a C.O. at the time you registered.)

We also suggest, while you have time to do so, that you get your ideas on conscientious objection together. One good way is to write responses to the questions SSS asked C.O.'s during the Vietnam war. Discuss your ideas with a trained counselor. Read through the "Handbook for C.O.'s." But do so now. According to plans released by SSS, you'll have only 15 days to make a C.O. claim after receiving that telegram informing you of your induction into the military.

Included in this packet are the questions SSS asked of C.O.'s, as well as a detailed discussion of C.O. status and requirements.

CCCO-WR is a small organization, supported entirely by private donations. Obviously, we don't get Federal funding, and there aren't a lot of big foundations bankrolling anti-draft work. Which means we rely entirely on your generosity to survive.

We need a donation of at least $2.50 to cover the cost of the enclosed materials and postage. If you can donate more, it would be greatly appreciated, and will help keep us in business.

Pax,

Charles Rohrbacher
for the staff at CCCO

Founded in 1948 as the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors.
A non-profit organization. All contributions are tax-deductible.

DRAFT Q&A

NOTE TO COUNSELORS: *This portion of DCM is intended to be used as an aid in counseling. We urge you to detach it, reprint it, and give it as wide a distribution as possible. These most commonly asked questions are answered by Bill Smith of the Selective Service Law Panel in Los Angeles.*

On June 27, 1980, President Carter signed legislation resuming draft registration in the United States for the first time since the Vietnam war. Registration is expected to commence on July 21, 1980 with the young men born in 1960 and 1961 registering during the two weeks following that date.

Following is a list of questions most frequently asked by young men concerning their rights and responsibilities under the new draft law:

Q. Who is required to register under the new law?

A. All male U.S. citizens born inside and outside the U.S. who were born on or after January 1, 1960. All aliens residing in the U.S. in the same age groups, with the exception of aliens in the United States on temporary visas (diplomats, foreign students, foreign press representatives, etc.). All refugees in the United States (Cubans, Vietnamese boat people, etc.). All American Indians, irrespective of any treaty rights. All residents of Guam, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Alaska, Hawaii and the District of Columbia. Any resident of American Samoa or Swains Island who comes to the United States. In short, any male in the requisite age group, other than a handful of non resident aliens.

Q: If I refuse to register, when does the statute of limitations run out on my offense?

A: On your 31st birthday. However, if you are outside the US between your 26th birthday and your 31st birthday, the statute may be "tolled", meaning that you could be prosecuted at a later date. Check with a lawyer before relying on this.

Q. Does this include undocumented workers born after January 1, 1960 (so called "illegal aliens"?).

A. Yes.

Q. Why are undocumented workers required to register - can they legally be inducted into the Armed Forces?

A. At the present time, only legal permanent resident aliens are permitted to enter the Armed Forces. An undocumented worker cannot legally enter the military. Requiring such individuals to register is purely punitive - in fact, Selective Service has issued a directive requiring Selective service employees to report any person to the Immigration and Naturalization Service whom they "suspect" of being an illegal alien. (Section 603.3 of the Registrant's Processing Manual).

Q. What information must be given by the young man who registers, and where does registration occur?

A. The registrant must appear at a post office to fill out a registration form upon which he must list his date of birth, sex, social security number, full name, current mailing address, permanent residence, current phone number, signature and date. He must also indicate whether he wishes to have his name, address and telephone number given to Armed Forces recruiters. Failure to provide any of this information is punishable by a maximum sentence of five years in a Federal prison and/or a fine of $10,000.00.

Q. Doesn't it violate the Privacy Act to require all of this information - especially the Social Security number?

A: Perhaps, but in response to a letter from the ACLU, Selective Service director Bernard Rostker said that there would not be prosecutions for failing to provide the Social Security number.

Draft opponents suggest that you refuse to include the number since it will foul-up Selective Service recordkeeping. In other words, you don't really have to put it down.

Q: If I choose to register, will there be a place on the card where I can indicate that I am a consci-

entious objector?

A: No. But Selective Service, in their instructions to postal workers, emphasized that all cards must be accepted, regardless of what is written on them. Incidentally, the Social Security number box (Box 3) contains exactly the number of spaces necessary to fit the statement, "I am a CO." Also, there is a box on the card asking whether a recruiter can contact you. If you are a CO, you may want to check the box and have a chat about your conscientious objection with your recruiter.

Q. Well, then, let's get to the ultimate question - isn't the draft law unconstitutional based upon sex or age discrimination or involuntary servitude?

A. Of course! But we must remember who the ultimate arbitrator of this question is - the Supreme Court. If they decide it is constitutional, it doesn't matter what the people think, or even what makes sense. Again, any individual would be ill-advised to refuse to register because of the unconstitutionality of the draft law. We must await the out come of litigation presently being pressed by the National A.C.L.U.

Q. But what if I refuse to register because I truly believe the law is unconstitutional - doesn't that provide me with a defense in Court?

A. Probably not; if you guess wrong and the Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of the draft law, you are facing a maximum sentence of five years and/or a $10,000.00 fine. In fact, any violation of the draft law carries the same maximum penalty - it's the same whether you burn down the draft board, or burn your draft card, refuse to register, or fail to notify them of a change in your mailing address.

Q. Nevertheless, isn't it true that a large number of young men have announced that they won't register for the draft under any circumstance - how are they going to take such a large number of men to court?

A. If a large number publicly refuse to register, the Government may pick out only the most vocal of anti-draft refusers to prosecute. However, during past periods the Government prosecuted any and all non-registrants who came to their attention, and again one would act at his peril in assuming that there is safety in numbers. Also, the draft proponents have suggested curative legislation which would permit cross-checking of Social Security computer listings with Selective Service computer listings to ferret out those who failed to register. Anyone planning to refuse to register should be well aware of the potential penalties and act only after receiving accurate information.

Q. I was born in 1962. When will I have to register and when could I be drafted?

A. Individuals born in 1962 must register in January, 1981 at a time to be specified at a later date. Individuals born in 1963 and later must register at or about the time of their 18th birthdates. A person born in 1962 has his primary year of liability for the draft in the calendar year 1982 (January 1, 1982 to December 31, 1982). Under the lottery system, the primary year of liability occurs in the year in which you reach your 20th birthday. In 1983, a person born in 1963 would enter the second priority selection group. He could not be ordered to report for induction until all people born in 1963 had been ordered to report. The individual falls into successively lower priority selection groups each year thereafter, until he reaches his 26th birthday.

Q. How does the lottery system work?

A. Men are assigned lottery numbers based upon a random drawing which occurs after registration, assigning numbers from 1 to 365 to the days of the year. You receive a permanent lottery number based upon the number assigned to your birthdate. After that, if draft calls are issued the calls go first to the lowest number (number 1 is the lowest) and then progressively higher number until the quotas for a given year have been met. Men are drafted from the first priority selection group, in order of lottery numbers. If all men in the first priority selection group (those becoming age 20 in that particular calendar year) are taken, those in the second priority selection group go next, by lottery number. The idea is to take younger men first, and then take older men if necessary.

Q. When will the lottery drawing occur for men born in 1960?

A. Selective Service has not announced a lottery drawing as yet. For now, only registration is contemplated. However, they could proceed to a lottery and classifications without further Congressional approval. Only actual inductions into the Army require further Congrssional approval - all else can be accomplished under existing legislation.

Q. If I was born in 1962, could I be drafted any earlier than January 1, 1982?

A. Not under existing legislation, unless Congress gave approval and there was a serious national emergency. Men do not enter the first priority selection group until January 1, of the year in which they become age 20.

Q. What if I leave the U.S. for another country before registration commences - must I register for the draft?

A. Yes. All U.S. citizens must register, even those who live outside the U.S. or have departed the U.S. for any reason. However, only aliens who actually live in the U.S. and are otherwise eligible for registration, must register.

Q. What if I leave the U.S. and renounce my citizenship - what are the legal consequences?

A. You wouldn't have to register, but you could never return to the U.S., even for a brief visit or vacation. Under Immigration law, a citizen who leaves the U.S. to avoid military service and who renounces his citizenship to avoid registration for the draft, is permanently ineligible to enter

the U.S.

Q. Didn't most of the people who fled to Canada to avoid the Vietnam war eventually return to the U.S. without penalty?

A. Yes, but it took a Proclamation by two presidents to clear the way for their return, and we can't expect history to repeat itself. Unless an amnesty or pardon is issued, you might never be able to return. Also, your status varies depending upon whether you renounce your U.S. citizenship or simply refuse to obey Selective Service law. In the former case, you can never return without a Presidential amnesty or pardon. In the latter case, you can return, but you might have to face prosecution for draft evasion, and there is no statute of limitations while you are living outside the U.S.

Q. O.K. - I'm willing to take the risks; when is the next train to Canada?

A. The trains have stopped running! Both Canada and Sweden have changed their immigration laws and policies, and it is virtually impossible for a young man to immigrate to either country today.

Q. What about deferments? Couldn't I stay out of the Army by becoming a career student? How about occupational deferments? Could I stay out by buying a certificate in the Universal Life Church as a minister?

A. All student deferments will probably be eliminated (they already have been eliminated for undergraduates). At present only students in medical school or schools of dentistry, osteopathy, optometry, podiatry, veterinary medicine, or registered nursing are eligible for such deferments. Also, students in accredited theological, divinity or rabbinical schools. The only occupational deferments are those for ministers, priests, rabbis, etc. A certificate in the Universal Life Church will only be laughed at by Selective Service (don't believe the ads in college newspapers which claim that such certificates confer automatic eligibility for deferments). You must be a full time minister, etc., or student preparing for the ministry, etc. Selective Service frowns upon any religion which isn't at least 500 years old and oriented toward western culture. You might win in court if you are really a legitimate minister or theological student, but expect a tough fight if it isn't a traditional church. Pre-medical or pre-theological students don't get the deferments - only those actually attending the schools mentioned. Medical specialists may be subject to a special draft for medical specialists, after they finish their training.

Q. What about conscientious objection? I'm not religious, but I am opposed to war and I would refuse to fight.

A. If you are conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form you may qualify for conscientious objector status. You don't have to be religious - even atheists can qualify. See a qualified draft counselor! This exemption is quite complex, and requires extensive counseling. Nevertheless, if you are persistent you can obtain an exemption from military service. However, if your lottery number is reached for induction and you pass the physical examination, you will be required to perform two years of alternate civilian service in some occupation which contributes to the National health, safety or interest. If you can't find such a job, Selective Service will assign you to the most unpleasant one they can find.

Q. I am the only son in the family. Does this make me eligible for a deferment?

A. Not unless your father or one or more brothers or sisters died while serving on active duty with the Armed Forces of the U.S. or died as a result of a service-connected disability, leaving you as the only son in the family. That's the legal definition of a sole surviving son.

Q. I've got it made - I qualify for a medical deferment!

A. Don't be so sure! Selective Service has proposed changes to the regulations which will make it more difficult to obtain a medical deferment. Under the proposed changes, you don't receive a physical exam until the day you enter the Army - if you pass, there is no appeal. You either enter the Army or refuse induction. The legal test would then be whether <u>any</u> reasonable doctor could have found you acceptable under the Army's standards. Those standards are contained in Army Regulation 40-501, Chapter 3 - available at most draft counseling centers. Selective Service takes the position that a medical deferment is not a right or privilege - only the Army has the privilege of deciding whether to take you or not.

Q. I was born in Ireland, but I am now a U.S. citizen. I've heard that people who are citizens of both Ireland and the United States qualify for deferments. Is that true?

A. Yes! In fact, if you are a citizen of both the United States and any of the following countries you may qualify for a deferment - Argentina, Austria, Costa Rica, Formosa, Honduras, Ireland, Italy, Liberia, Norway, Paraguay, Spain, Switzerland, or Yugoslavia. Treaties between the U.S. and these countries provide that such deferments must be given, even if you have become a U.S. citizen! However, you can't become a citizen of one of the named countries now (if you attempt to do so, you may lose your U.S. citizenship and your right to be in the U.S.). Only people who are already a citizen of both the U.S. and one of the named countries are eligible.

Q. I am married and my wife is expecting. Can I get a hardship deferment?

A. Perhaps, but your right to that deferment is not absolute. Being married is certainly not enough, but having a pregnant wife might be. See a qualified draft counselor if you have <u>any</u> dependents, even a dependent who relies upon you for physical assistance, but is financially independent.

Q. I'm training to be a nuclear physicist. Could I get an occupational deferment because of my critical occupational skill?

A. NO! There are no occupational deferments, other than those previously mentioned for ministers, etc.

Q. I have been seeing a psychologist for emotional problems for ten years - surely they don't want me!

A. Don't count on it! Extensive treatment by a psychologist is not necessarily a disqualifying defect - see a draft counselor. This is one of the most common misunderstandings that many parents have - don't lure your son into complacency just because you think he is a flake. The Army may not agree. Don't rely on your psychologist for an opinion - he/she is a psychologist, not a draft specialist. Even if the psychologist insists that they had many similar cases in the Vietnam war and all of their patients received deferments, don't believe it! Repeat; see a draft counselor.

Q. O.K., but I also smoke pot. Got you now, huh?

A. Nope! The Army knows that most young people have experimented with drugs. You can't get out unless you are virtually a drug addict, and it isn't worth it to become one to stay out - there are easier ways to get a deferment.

Q. I was arrested and convicted of petty theft when I was a juvenile. Can I be drafted with a criminal record?

A. Yes! You have to have a serious criminal record to be declared ineligible for the draft. A juvenile record or even one or two misdemeanor convictions as an adult will not keep you out if the Army decides it wants you.

Q. How about gay men? Will they be drafted?

A. Under present military regulations, a gay person cannot enter the Armed Forces. However, since there is no longer a stigma attached to being gay in many communities, it remains to be seen what proof the Army is going to require. Also, the A.C.L.U. is fighting to overcome military regulations which prohibit the induction or enlistment of gay people. There is a moral dilemma here - should a person take advantage of a regulation which clearly discriminates against gay people? Get counseling from a gay counseling center if you have qualms about this one, and you should have!

Q. I entered the U.S. from Mexico 3 months ago as a permanent resident alien. I can't speak English very well yet. Could I be drafted?

A. The mental exams at all inductions centers in the U.S. are given in English. If you can't pass the test in English, you can't be drafted. Interestingly Puerto Rico the tests are given in Spanish. This probably discriminates against Puerto Ricans, but the Army claims that nobody is really taken unless they can get by in English anyway.

Q. What if I flunk the mental test on purpose? How would they know I was faking?

A. If you have a high school diploma, they will keep re-testing you until you pass, unless there is evidence of a learning deficiency. Also, some of the questions are cross-indexed to enable the Army to detect faking. Doing poorly on the test will not cause you to be rejected, but might insure that you were assigned to a combat role because you did not qualify for any technical training.

Q. If I get a draft notice while I am attending college, can I delay my induction until I graduate or finish the semester?

A. Not until you graduate, unless you are in your senior year. The regulations do permit you to finish the semester, and you might be able to finish the school year if you are taking courses that last a full year rather than a semester.

Q. How can I register as a conscientious objector now? I've been told that Selective Service is not accepting any claims for deferments now.

A. It is true that you cannot submit a claim to Selective Service now for any deferment, but you can go on record in other ways. If you are a conscientious objector you can register with many peace groups now, to prove your sincerity later. For example, the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors in Philadelphia, the Jewish Peace Fellowship, the Catholic Peace Fellowship, the Unitarian-Universalist Church, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation all accept registrations from conscientious objectors, and will provide proof of such registrations in the future, when called upon to do so. C.O.'s should fill out the Special Form For Conscientious Objectors (SSS Form 150) last published by Selective Service in 1972, and have it notarized for future reference. Copies of the form may be obtained from any draft counselor. You can do the same with any other deferment, and it would be wise to do so. There are special forms for dependency, ministerial deferments, etc.

Q. When will Selective Service begin processing individuals for deferments? When can I expect to be classified and given a physical exam?

A. At present, Selective Service denies any plans for classification, physical exams, etc. but they could initiate such action without Congressional approval. Don't wait for Selective Service to act - see a draft counselor now.

Q. Where else can I obtain counseling materials?

A. The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 1251 Second Avenue, San Francisco, California 94122 publishes an excellent newsletter for $15.00 per year. Also, the Women Strike For Peace, 5520 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90019 has many counseling aids available.

ccco western region
an agency for military and draft counseling
1251 - 2nd avenue - 3rd floor
san francisco, ca 94122 - (415) 566-5600

ARE YOU A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR?

You may be one of the many men subject to the draft or in the military who have serious questions about war. Do you know about the legal provisions for conscientious objectors? Or are you questioning whether your objection to war is covered by the law? This sheet may be helpful to you.

Conscientious Objector Provisions: The present draft law provides that no person shall "be subject to combatant training and service in the armed forces of the United States, who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form." The military provisions parallel the civilian law. A man who is opposed only to combatant duty will, if his claim is upheld, be assigned to noncombatant duty if drafted; if he is in the military, he will be transferred to noncombatant duty. If opposed to combatant and noncombatant service, he will be discharged or, if drafted, ordered to perform civilian work of national importance.

Religious Training and Belief: Although the law speaks of "religious training and belief," the Supreme Court held in 1970 that a man need not be religious in the conventional sense, or consider himself religious, to qualify as a CO. The law does not require you to be a member of a church or religious organization, nor to follow any formal creed. Formal religious training, such as received in Sunday School or church, is not necessary. What you must show is that you have religious or moral beliefs which do not allow you to participate in war.

War In Any Form: Many men strongly object to the U.S. involvement in Indochina but are unsure whether they object to participation in war in any form, as the law requires. Some will find Arlo Tatum's "So You Would Have Fought Hitler?" and "So You Would Fight If This Country were Attacked?", available from CCCO, helpful as one approach to this problem. The following paragraphs suggest another.

Although the Supreme Court held in 1971 that objection to a particular war would not be recognized by law, its decision did not seem to say that a man must know what he would do in every situation before he can qualify as a CO. A man can recognize that his beliefs might change in the future. If he does, the Court said, he is using "humble good sense." He can still be recognized as a CO if he is sure he now objects to all war.

Courts have held that Selective Service and military officials may ask a man what his position on past and future wars might be. Some courts have added that failure to answer shows that a man is insincere. Thus, a man should not ignore these questions in thinking through his claim.

Many men, however, have difficulty applying their beliefs to a situation they do not actually face. It may be helpful to realize that one is not asked to project what his beliefs might be in the future or might have been in the past. What are your beliefs now? How would those beliefs -- not beliefs changed in some way that you could not know -- apply to past or future war? Would your beliefs as they now stand allow you to fight?

By asking yourself these questions, you may find that you can honestly apply for CO status. If so, you should make application even though you do not have

answers to every question you might be asked. On the other hand, you may find you cannot honestly say you object to participation in war in any form. You may still make application (draftees can modify the wording on Form 150 to suit their own beliefs), but Selective Service, the military, and the courts almost never recognize such claims. You should consult a draft or military counselor to discuss other alternatives that might be available to you. Names of counselors are available from CCCO.

Sincerity: In addition to showing that you have a religious or moral objection to participation in war in any form, you must also demonstrate to Selective Service or the military that your beliefs are sincerely held. Supporting letters can help. Draft registrants have the right to appear before the local board and present witnesses. If this is unsuccessful, they can appear before the state appeal board and, in some cases, the national appeal board. A man applying for CO status in the military is interviewed by a chaplain, a medical officer, a hearing officer of grade O-3 or higher, and often times his commanding officer. Interviews and personal appearances may help to establish your sincerity. In any case, an honest claim is the strongest claim. A dishonest one is likely to backfire not only on you, but on others claiming CO status.

Warning: Applying for CO status to Selective Service or the military is complex. Do not rely on this sheet alone. For the name of a counselor near you, contact CCCO.

Prepared and printed by CCCO Western Region, 1251 2nd Ave., San Francisco, Ca. 94122 (415) 566-0500.

Letters in Support of CO Claim

A conscientious objector is defined by law as a man who is opposed to participation in war, because of religious, moral, ethical, or other deeply held beliefs which are central to his life. Selective Service provides for two classifications of conscientious objectors, 1-A-O and I-O, and a man may apply for one or the other. Instead of being drafted as a regular soldier if his lottery number is reached, a man classified I-A-O will be required to spend two years as a noncombatant in the military(usually as a medic); a I-O does not enter the military but must perform two years of civilian work approved by Selective Service (often in a hospital). There is no requirement that a CO be a Quaker, Brethren, Mennonite, or member of any other church. Many men who belong to no religious organization and who hold no conventional religious beliefs have been officially recognized as conscientious objectors under current court decisions.

To be recognized as a I-A-O or a I-O by Selective Service, a man must fill out SSS Form 150, explaining his beliefs. The man who submits documentation of his sincerity will have a greater chance of getting the status he seeks. Reference letters from 5 or 6 people who know him and can confirm the truth of what he says in his Form 150 are helpful. These suggestions may help you write a good letter of reference:

1) You have agreed to write such a reference letter because you believe in the sincerity, truthfulness, and good moral character of the CO, so be sure to state that.
2) Describe ways in which the CO lives in accord with his claimed beliefs. Use specific details, incidents, and exact words as much as possible, rather than merely, "He has always been a gentle person...." If you know him from his activities in church or religious organizations, it is helpful to mention these.
3) If you have been influential in his rearing and moral education, explain the ideals and beliefs you have tried to instill in him. Again, use specific incidents and exact words whenever possible.
4) State whether you are familiar with the CO's beliefs, and how you happen to know them (e.g., "We've had numerous discussions, and I've read his CO application"). Summarize briefly what you understand to be his beliefs, stressing his opposition to <u>all</u> war, and, <u>only where applicable</u>, the religious basis of his beliefs.
5) These points needn't be covered in any special order or language. Use your own words; avoid a "canned" or copied letter.

For these purposes, the CO's local draft board will want you to tell a little about <u>your</u> background:
1) What is your relationship to the CO? How long have you known him?
2) What is your occupation? If you have any background in the armed forces, it is helpful to mention it, to show your own perspective on war and the military.
3) Do you disagree with the CO's beliefs? If so, make that clear. It makes your testimony to his sincerity that much more impressive.

The letter should be typewritten, concise--usually not more than one or two pages--and addressed to "Chairman, Local Draft Board No. ____." Be sure to include the CO's Selective Service number. If you have letterhead stationery with your title and organizational affiliation, it may be helpful to use it. The letter should be given to the CO to review and send to his draft board with other papers. You should make a carbon copy or photocopy of the letter for the CO's personal records, or he should photocopy it before sending it in.

If the CO goes before his draft board in person to explain his beliefs, he may ask you to go with him as a witness. Again, you should be prepared to talk about specific details which illustrate that he tries to live consistently with his beliefs. It is useful to consult with the CO before the appearance, to be sure you understand his beliefs, and the ways your experiences with him relate to them. You may be given very little time to talk, so you should be prepared to say the most important things first.

For further information, CO's should consult CCCO's <u>Handbook for Conscientious Objectors</u>. CO's in the Armed Forces or the Reserves seeking to be discharged should see "Advice for Conscientious Objectors in the Armed Forces" (CCCO).

CCCO
AN AGENCY FOR MILITARY AND DRAFT COUNSELING

National: 2016 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Penna. 19103 (215) 568-7971
Midwest: MCDC, 111 S. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60603 (312) 427-2330
Western Region: 110 Leavenworth St., San Francisco, Cal. 94102 (415) 441-3783

Selective Service System

Form Approved
Budget Bureau No
33-R0115

SPECIAL FORM FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

The purpose of this questionnaire is to assist your local board in determining whether you qualify for classification as a conscientious objector. Before you answer the questions you may wish to read the pamphlet, "Conscientious Objector", which is available at your local board office.

Print or type, on separate sheets of paper, a statement answering the questions below. Sign both your statement and this form. Attach your statement to the form and mail or deliver them to your local board.

To be classified as a conscientious objector you must be opposed to war in any form. Your objection must be based on moral or ethical beliefs, or beliefs which are commonly accepted as religious. Your beliefs must influence your life as the belief in God influences the life of one who is a traditionally religious conscientious objector. To qualify, your conscience must be spurred by deeply held moral, ethical or religious beliefs which would give you no peace if you allowed yourself to become a combatant member of the armed forces.

Include in your statement, if possible, responses to the following. If you wish you may attach letters of reference from persons who know you or any other information you would like to bring to the attention of your local board.

1. Describe the beliefs which are the basis for your claim for classification as a conscientious objector.

2. Will your beliefs permit you to serve in a position in the armed forces where the use of weapons is not required? If not, why?

3. Explain how you acquired the beliefs which are the basis of your claim. Your answer may include such information as the influence of family members or other persons, religious training, if applicable; experiences at school, membership in organizations; books and readings which influenced you. You may wish to provide any other information which will help in explaining why you believe as you do.

4. Explain what most clearly shows that your beliefs are deeply held.

5. Do your beliefs affect the way you live? Describe how your beliefs affect the type of work you will do to earn a living or the types of activity you participate in during nonworking hours?

6. Describe any specific actions or incidents of your life that show you believe as you do.

INSURE YOUR SIGNATURE IS ON THE REVERSE AND ALL INFORMATION REQUESTED IS COMPLETE.

SSS Form 150 (Revised APR 18, 1972) Previous Printings Obsolete

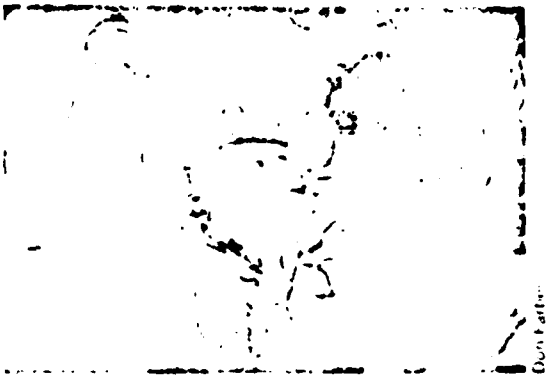
Reprinted by CCCO-WR, 1251 Second Ave., S.F. 94122, (415)566-0500

RESISTING WAR

1251 Second Avenue
San Francisco 94122
(413)-566-3500

The year was 1944. George Wilson was a bomber crewman assigned to [illegible] bombing targets such as factories and oil refineries, but many of their missions were against [illegible] with no military importance, full of innocent civilians.

One [illegible] pilot called the crew together and told them that he would refuse to fly [illegible] missions against [illegible] targets. He was [illegible] tended to [illegible] court-martial him. After hours of discussion, the crew decided, along with their pilot, to refuse to bomb cities.



This pilot and his crew did not have thought of themselves as war resisters. But they were. They refused to kill innocent civilians. They took a stand against a part of war they believed was wrong. They did not face court-martial because they were shot down over [illegible] an oil refinery and survived as prisoners of war.

When a war begins, most people, however reluctantly, go to war. But there have always been [illegible] who have refused to participate. Their refusal has many [illegible] Some refuse on religious grounds, [illegible] their belief that the draft is [illegible] their conscience. Every time [illegible] the [illegible] it has been so in the United States as [illegible].

Many soldiers, even in the heat of combat, do not fire their weapons as ordered. In one survey after World War II, Brig. Gen. S.L.A. Marshall found that as many as 75% of the soldiers in some units refused to kill by simply not shooting at the enemy. In the noise and confusion of combat, they were not discovered.

When, in the early 1970's, many thousands of people applied for conscientious objector status, demanded personal appearances before their draft boards, and appealed their classifications, the draft system began to break down. As [illegible] using all their rights, these people in effect resisted the draft law.

All of these people, by their actions, made it harder for the war system to work. If you are against war and the draft, you may also be thinking about what actions you should take to stop the war system.

You may decide to take a public stand, break the law, and risk jail. Or you may decide to resist quietly, with less risk of jail, but with the constant fear of arrest. You may choose to stay within the law, at least for now. But only you can finally decide what you must do.

This leaflet discusses war resisters who break the law because their consciences tell them that is what they must do. Some resisters refuse to register for the draft entirely. Others refuse to pay for war with their taxes. Resisters in the military some-

[illegible] these individuals risk legal sanctions and [illegible] ties because of the actions they've taken in accordance with their beliefs.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

[illegible] of the most famous essays of all time [illegible] and [illegible] on the duty of [illegible] written about a visit Thoreau spent in jail for refusing to pay a poll-tax. Thoreau defended his refusal by arguing that sometimes a person must break the government's law in order to follow a higher law. In Thoreau's case, to protest the injustice of the Mexican war.

Since Thoreau wrote his essay, men and women have committed civil disobedience to protest [illegible] wars, racial discrimination, nuclear power, and [illegible] other injustices. The early labor movement [illegible] when it called strikes, but eventually [illegible] disobedience led to laws making strike actions [illegible].

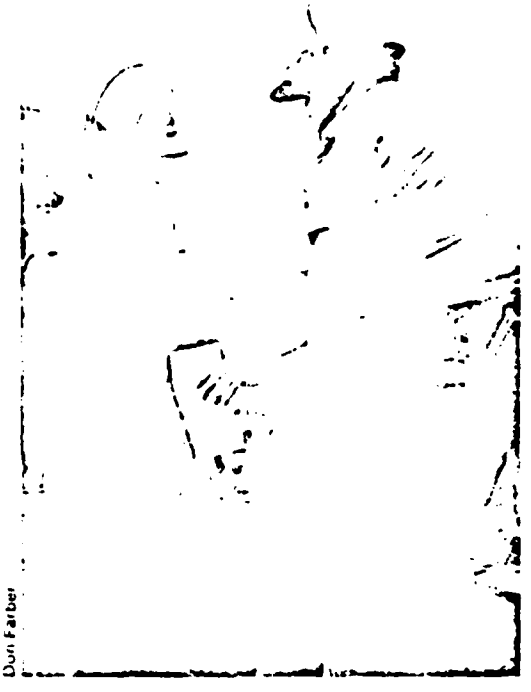
In all these cases, people who broke the law believed they would be violating their consciences if they continued to obey an unjust law. They [illegible] that simply because something is legal, it is not necessarily right or just. By going to jail, [illegible] often helped to persuade the public that change was needed.

This is also true of most war resisters. They believe that the laws which make war possible, some of the laws of war itself, are wrong. When the law commands them to do one thing, and their consciences another, they believe they must follow their consciences. Many also hope their actions will help to end war by convincing people that it is evil.

RESISTING THE DRAFT

If you are draft age, one way to resist war would be for you to refuse to register if the government requires you to do so.

In the past, draft resistance has taken two forms. Some resisters took a public stand, notifying the government that they were refusing to register in the hope that their example would help stop the draft and persuade other people to resist. Most of these resisters opposed both war and the draft system. They believed it was wrong for them to go along with either one. Some did not meet the Selective Service's criteria for conscientious objector status. Nearly all believed that the draft is part of what keeps the war system going. Many believed applying for conscientious objector status actually helped the system in its work by stifling dissent. Or they believed that the CO application process was easier for the rich and better-educated, and thus unfair. Some resisted for still other rea-



Don Farber

sons.

Many who refused to register did not take a public stand. These "private" resisters often believed that although they violated draft laws, a government engaged in an activity as immoral as war had no right to jail them. They also believed it would be wrong for them to assist the authorities to enforce an evil law, so they simply did not tell anyone what they were doing.

Under the draft law, both public and private resisters face the same penalties. Refusal to register for the draft is a felony under federal law, punishable by up to five years imprisonment and a $10,000 fine. A public resister is, of course, much more likely to be found out than a private resister. But many private resisters were discovered by the Justice Department when arrested for other activities and found without a draft card.

Although there is now no legal requirement to carry a draft card, Selective Service's new computer system would make it possible for the police or other government agencies to check whether you have registered for the draft. Cross checks between the draft system and the Social Security system or other government agencies might make it more difficult in the future for a private draft resister to remain hidden.

Most draft resisters were given a second opportunity to register by Selective Service. This is likely to be true in the future. Unless you are sure right about whether you could face jail, you should never violate the law.

During the later years of the Vietnam War, not even half of all draft sentences were prison terms. Usually two years of civilian work under court supervision. But sentences vary from court to court in different parts of the country and even within the same district. There is no way to predict what sentences would be handed down in the future.

Regardless of sentence, a draft conviction is a felony. It could very well affect your chances for future jobs or licensing in the professions. For more information on policies regarding draft resisters as they develop in the future, see a lawyer with CCCO.

RESISTING WAR TAXES

Whether or not you are subject to the draft, you may want to think about refusing to pay taxes for war and the military. Over half of the federal budget goes to the military: the defense department, the draft system, and military pensions. War tax resisters believe that is wrong for them to help pay for the war system.

Some war tax resisters refuse to pay all or part of federal income taxes. Some resisters withhold the amount of their taxes earmarked by the government for the military. Still others refuse to pay a small part of their taxes as a symbolic protest. Others refuse to pay federal telephone taxes or the excise defense surcharge.

Tax resisters violate the law by their refusal, but jail or prosecution is not the usual response of the government. Rather, the Internal Revenue Service will usually confiscate the money owed by the resister, either removing it from their bank account or by placing a lien on property, or seizing that property and selling it at auction for taxes. IRS has the power to do both. Money taken from you this way would be used not only for payment of your taxes, but to pay interest and penalties. Many tax resisters often place their money in an alternative fund to be used for community work until IRS takes it.

Tax resistance and tax laws are extremely complex. You should not resist war taxes without counseling and support. You can get more information from the tax resistance groups listed at the end of this leaflet.

RESISTANCE IN THE MILITARY

If you are in the military, you are subject to the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ), a special and separate code of law for military people. The UCMJ punishes people in the military for offenses that are not crimes in civilian life, such as absence without leave and refusing orders.

Most people in the military who find that they can no longer participate in the military and in preparation for war apply for a legal discharge. The process of applying for the conscientious objection discharge can be long and frustrating. Your chances of getting the discharge are good however, and you cannot be punished for seeking it. Other discharges and complaint procedures are available as well. CCCO has more information on all of them.

But you may find that you cannot go along with the military at all, even procedurally, or that your beliefs don't really fit the military's CO provisions. In that case, you may one day face orders which you can't follow, or you may decide that you cannot remain in the military a day longer.

If you choose to go AWOL, it is wise to know what may happen to you and what your options are. CCCO's "Guide for the AWOL GI" can help, as can counseling in person with a civilian counselor.

In the past, war resisters in the military have refused orders for many reasons. A person who has tried to get a CO discharge and failed may decide to remain on base and refuse all orders. Fliers, such as George Wilson during World War II and some B-52 pilots in Vietnam sometimes refused to bomb non-military targets. And some people in the military have refused to work with nuclear weapons. The military does not recognize any of these actions as legitimate, but if you make clear that you are acting as your conscience directs, you may get a lighter sentence or even a discharge.

Before you violate military law, you should seek counseling on discharges you might apply for, and on what could happen to you if you do refuse to cooperate with military authorities. CCCO provides literature on discharges, and we can refer you to a counselor near you. If there is no counselor in your area, we will counsel you by mail.

THINKING ABOUT WAR RESISTANCE

When Henry David Thoreau was in jail, Ralph Waldo Emerson, the famous essayist, came to visit him. "Henry, what are you doing in here?" Emerson asked. Thoreau replied, "Waldo, what are you doing out there?"

If like Thoreau, you believe that some evils are so great that you should have no part in them, you may find yourself risking jail because you follow your conscience. Deciding whether to break the law or follow legal channels is never easy. Here are some guidelines which may help you in choosing.

* *DON'T DECIDE UNTIL YOU KNOW WHAT IS WHAT YOU WANT TO DO.* Arlo Tatum, an experienced counselor and draft resister who served two sentences in federal prison, believes that no one should resist the draft until they have talked with three people who oppose their position. This insures you are sure enough about your beliefs that you will be able to face whatever comes as a result of them.

* *UNTIL YOU DECIDE, DON'T BREAK THE LAW.* You can refuse to cooperate with the law at any time. In the 1960s and 1970s, for instance, many people became draft resisters after they had already registered. They sent their draft cards back to Selective Service. If you obey the law until you are sure of what you must do, you will avoid trouble if you later decide that you should follow other options.

* *THINK ABOUT YOURSELF.* What must you do to live with yourself and your conscience? How strongly do you feel? Are you willing to face the possibility of going to jail for your beliefs? CCCO can provide you with helpful material on prison life.

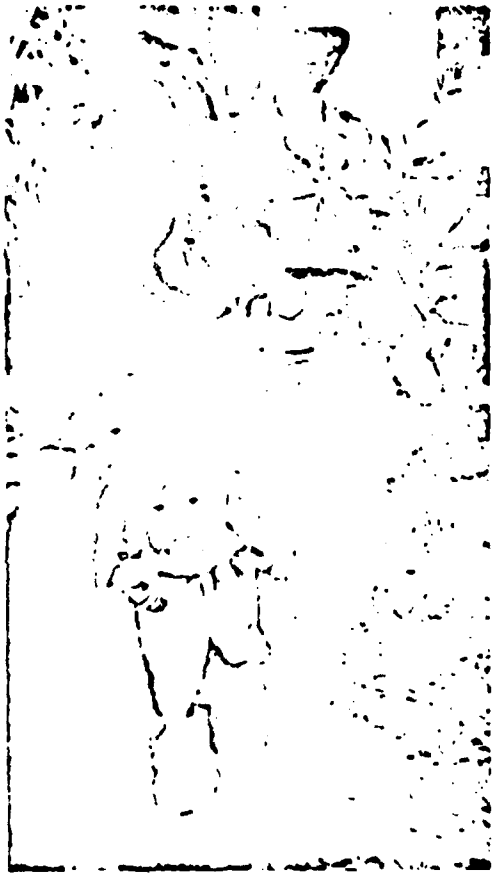
* *THINK ABOUT OTHERS.* How would resistance affect your family? Could your marriage last through a jail term? Many resisters decide to resist regardless of what the effect might be on their families, but there is nothing dishonest in worrying about your parents, your children, and your marriage and how resistance would affect them. If you decide to resist, talk with your family about what your actions might do to them.

* *THERE IS NO "RIGHT" POSITION.* Just as there are different beliefs about war, there are many different stands which can be taken against war. You

[illegible] you have no choice but resistance. [illegible] and [illegible] is a form of oppression. [illegible] the [illegible] good resistance. Resistance stand is [illegible] for [illegible] other. If you oppose war, either one could be right.

* [illegible] It is impossible to live in modern society without supporting the military in some way. A tax resister may refuse to pay federal income taxes, but may choose to pay federal gasoline taxes. Some draft resisters pay all their federal taxes. You must do what your conscience says, but no one can be perfect. Don't try to be. Draw the lines which you can and must draw, and be prepared to stick to them. That is all you can do.

* [illegible] Once you have decided, remember that you can get support from your family and friends, from the peace movement, and from CCCO. If you oppose war, jail is not necessarily the worst thing that could happen to you. Many people who have resisted the draft, war taxes, or the military do not regret what they have done.



FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

CCCO
2208 South Street
Philadelphia, PA 19146
(215)-545-4626

CCCO- R
1251 Second Avenue
San Francisco, CA 94122
(415)-566-0500

War Resisters League
1360 Howard Street
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415)-626-6976

American Friends Service Committee
317 E. 25th Street
Baltimore, MD 21218
(301)-366-7200

VISBCO
550 Washington Bldg.
15th and New York Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20005
(202)-393-4868

Conscience and Military Tax Campaign-US
44 Bellhaven Road
Bellport, NY 11713
(516)-286-8824

Ecumenical Peace Institute
944 Market Street, R. 500
San Francisco, CA 94102
(415)-391-5215

Oregon Fellowship of Reconciliation
1838 SW Jefferson
Portland, OR 97201
(503)-222-7293

FURTHER READING

"So You'd Fight If..." (one-free; 10/.75)
"Join the People Who'll Never Join Today's Military" (one-free; 10/.50)
"He is With the Prophets" (one/free; [illegible])
CCCO Draft Packet ($3.00)
"Three Hundred Years: The Struggle for Conscience" (.25)
Bibliography on Conscientious Objection (.25; 10 [illegible])

Willard Gaylin M.D., In the Service of their Country: War Resisters in Prison, Grosset and [illegible], 1970

Michael Ferber and Staughton Lynd, The Resistance, Beacon Press, 1971.

Falk, Kolko, Lifton, ed., Crimes of War, Vintage Books, 1971.

Roger Neville Williams, The New Exiles: American War Resisters in Canada, Liveright Publishing [illegible]

Written by Bob Cooley, CCCO Philadelphia, [illegible]
Designed and produced by Charles [illegible] and Kent Bellows, CCCO, San Francisco

Registration
MAKING A CHOICE

WHAT IF I DON'T REGISTER?

Anyone who evades draft registration or refuses to register could be fined $10,000 and/or sent to federal prison for five years. It's a felony offense.

Enforcement: If you fail to register and are later discovered, you'll probably be asked to register. If you refuse, you will probably be charged with violating the Selective Service Act and ordered to report for induction. If you refuse induction, you could be prosecuted and sentenced to prison.

During the Vietnam War, 209,517 draft-age men were indicted for draft violations. Of those, 8,750 were convicted and sentenced to prison. Another 25,000 were prosecuted, but received suspended sentences, were placed on probation, or were fined. Most of the rest had their cases dismissed. Of those convicted, some served only a few days in jail, while others served as long as five years. The majority served between one and two years. Most of those who were prosecuted were in New York City, San Diego, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Miami. About 4% of draft-age men were indicted for draft violations. Of those indicted, 35% were convicted. The national average of cases never prosecuted was 8%.

Note: Because the government is starting draft registration again, we don't know how many of those who simply refuse to register will be prosecuted. We don't know how many will be drafted and refuse induction. We don't know how many will be drafted and refuse induction and then be prosecuted. We don't know how many will be able to provide civilian alternative service. We don't know how many will be granted conscientious objector status. We don't know how many will be granted deferments. We don't know how many will be granted exemptions. We don't know how many will be granted waivers. We don't know how many will be granted anything. We don't know anything. We're just guessing.

Our guess is that if you refuse to register, you will face legal problems. You will have to hire a lawyer. You will have to go to court. You will have to pay fines. You will have to go to jail. You will have to do community service. You will have to do alternative service. You will have to do anything the government tells you to do. You will have to do nothing. You will have to do something. You will have to do anything. You will have to do nothing. You will have to do something. You will have to do anything. You will have to do nothing. You will have to do something. You will have to do anything

STEPS TO BECOMING A SOLDIER

WHAT BENEFITS DID PEOPLE WHO WERE DRAFTED OR ENLISTED DURING THE VIETNAM WAR

ENLISTMENT

CANADA

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Local Contacts _____

YOU AND THE DRAFT

STOPPING THE DRAFT

REGISTRATION

PROCESSING

DEFERMENTS AND EXEMPTIONS

[redacted]

RESISTANCE

[redacted]

EMIGRATION

[redacted]

ALIENS

[redacted]

PROTECT YOURSELF. FOLLOW THESE SUGGESTIONS.

[redacted]

[redacted]

DOCUMENTING YOUR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR CLAIM

[illegible]

The Dilemma

Should you register for the draft? Should you apply for conscientious objector status? These are two of the toughest [illegible] you'll ever have to decide. And once you have decided what to do, you need to know how to document your claim. Many people find that talking and writing about their feelings is a difficult [illegible] to start.

For a number of [illegible] that they must refuse to cooperate with the draft in any way. Some have gone to jail for their beliefs. Others have gone to federal courts and took federal judges and juries [illegible] that registering for the draft is a way of [illegible] a system that discriminates against people with [illegible] and [illegible]. Others feel that the government has no right to judge [illegible] for conscientious objection. Those who oppose [illegible] wars but don't object to all wars—are denied CO status by the law for [illegible] how strongly they feel.

While you don't have to [illegible] to succeed with the law, though, making your beliefs clear and getting documentation for your claim will be helpful. Nonreligious and "selective objectors" may have to take court cases. Even COs who qualify under the law are sometimes denied CO status and have to defend themselves in court. If you can express your beliefs and document them, whatever they are, you will be better off if your case comes to trial [illegible]. And written evidence can mean the difference between success and failure when you apply for CO status under the law. If you have any objection to war [illegible] "selective" or "partial" objection, you should talk to a draft counselor and file a CO claim with supporting letters.

The Process

Documenting your CO claim is not a contest to see who is more conscientious. Nor is your claim meant to convince others to be objectors. There is no perfect CO claim. This memo suggests some guidelines based on the experience of draft counselors about what has helped with many different types of CO claim.

Protect Yourself

Selective Service is not now processing CO claims. If inductions should begin in the future, however, it is important protect yourself. Here are some ways to do so:

(Keep copies of everything you send to your local board.)

(Keep everything) you receive from your local board. Staple the envelope to your local board's letter.

(Make all requests, appeals, etc., in writing.) Send letters to your local board by certified mail, return receipt requested. Staple the receipt to your copy of the letter.

(Do) not rely on oral promises from draft board clerks or members. It's best not to telephone your local board, but if you talk with the clerk or a member, write down what was said, make two copies, and send one copy to the draft board for your file.

(If in doubt, get help. CCCO can help you find a draft counselor near you.

Know Your Beliefs

Your local board will judge your claim on three criteria: 1) Are you opposed to participation in war in any form? 2) Is your claim based on your religious (moral or ethical) beliefs? 3) Are you sincere in what you claim? You may find it worthwhile to try to answer the questions on the Special Form for Conscientious Objector (SSS Form 150) which was used under the draft in the early 1970s. CCCO has helpful literature on changing the law to your CO claim. See the list of publications at the end of this letter.

You may find it helpful to "brainstorm" for possible material such as lists of support. Some COs keep a sort of journal to write down actions and feelings [illegible] or taking part in demonstrations. Whatever method you use, keep in mind that any documentation will help you make a strong claim.

Keep copies of everything—preferably two or three copies.

Make Lists

Your draft board will probably ask you about past events and factors which have made you a CO. To answer these questions, you should write out reports of specific incidents, make lists of books, teachers, television shows and other things which influenced you, note any changes in your life style such as becoming vegetarian, and note any peace activities or other than military work you have done. Letters to the editor or friends and antiwar poetry or stories are also good evidence.

Record Membership

If you are a member of a peace or humanitarian group, you should make a note of this. Contributing time and money for such advocating groups as you believe in is a strong demonstration of your feelings. Working as a [illegible] can be as valuable as helping a peace group.

You don't have to [illegible] draft board as a conscientious objector. If you aren't a member, [illegible] goals for only as long as your draft board and local [illegible] may [illegible] cause your board to think you are insincere.

If you have been a [illegible] ROTC, Junior [illegible] or other military organization, it is important for you to [illegible] that you [illegible] conscientious objection [illegible] against the military. [illegible] Many draft boards will [illegible] with your draft board [illegible] better than concealing [illegible] that will [illegible] to explain if they later surface.

CCCO
An Aid to Understanding Draft Counseling

2208 South [illegible]
Philadelphia, PA [illegible]
215-545-[illegible]

Religious Membership

Many [illegible] not [illegible] by a church. If you do it is important to show your draft board how this [illegible] and your [illegible] example. Many believe in your church, but it may still be [illegible] to [illegible] form of [illegible]. Or you may be active in the church in another town; your local board will [illegible].

No way all religious [illegible] support [illegible] who decide to be conscientious objectors. The National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors (NISBCO) at the end of May [illegible] compiled a book of church statements on conscientious objection called **Words of Conscience**. It is available from them or from CCCO.

Letters of Support

CCCO recommends that you get several letters of support from ministers, parents, teachers or other individuals with community status who know you well. Longstanding friends who know you well or family members can also write good supporting letters. These letters should give specific facts as to your character, background, and dedication to war. Your local board will probably pay special attention to persons who disagree with your position but will say you are sincere. If you belong to a church, talk to the minister or try to get a letter. You will usually get a great deal of support and sympathy.

Between five and nine letters of support should help you make a strong claim. You should collect the letters yourself and read them to see if they truly support your position. CCCO's memo on letters in support of CO claims can be helpful in gathering your letters.

Claiming CO Status at Registration

The President has proposed to register men born in 1960 and 1961 during 1980. If the needed funding passes Congress, you may have to decide whether or not to register, and, if you decide to register, you can try to claim CO status at registration.

The current registration form provides no way for you to show that you are a CO. Some objectors plan to write their own statement on the form and return it to Selective Service. Attaching a separate statement is another way to make your claim, but there is a danger that your statement will get lost in the mail.

One *bill now before Congress* would allow you to check a box on the registration form if you are a conscientious objector. If this bill passes, checking the box would get your CO claim on record with Selective Service. It would be important for you to check the box if you have any objection to war, even though you might later change your mind or [illegible] to fully [illegible] your position. You would not be required to file a complete CO application, and should you later file, your local board would want to know why you did not check the box at registration if you did not.

CCCO Services

Upon request, CCCO will send you a card that helps to supply historical documentation of your CO beliefs. This card will be kept on file when you fill it out and return it. Sending in a card will also put you on CCCO's mailing list for reports on registration and the draft. Part of the card will help you to go on record with your church if you have one.

CCCO can refer you to a draft counselor near you. Have your draft counselor go over all claims and letters before you send them to your local board. Some of your material may be dated, or you may need to add new information. You can add to your CO claim at any time before Selective Service makes its final decision.

Feel free to contact CCCO with any questions you have.

IN ADDITION TO CCCO, THE FOLLOWING GROUPS PROVIDE INFORMATION ON THE DRAFT:

American Friends Service [illegible] 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102
Committee Against Registration and the Draft, 245 [illegible] St., NE, Washington, DC 20002
Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960
National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors, 550 Washington Bldg., 15th & New York Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20005
War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012

CCCO LITERATURE ON CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION AND THE DRAFT:

- *THREE HUNDRED YEARS: The Struggle for Conscience, 20, 10/1.00
- *Conscientious Objector Counseling Packet, $2.00, [illegible]
  - (Are You a Conscientious Objector?, 20, 1.00)
  - *Conscientious Objection, 20, 10/1.00
  - §To Study War No More: A Guide to Study on War, Peace, and Conscience, 75, 10/6.00
  - *Conscientious Objector, 20, 1.00
- *Conscientious Objection, 10, 1.00
- *Why I Don't Register, 10, 10/.50
- *You and the Draft, 10, .50
- *A Nation to Stay the Murderous Hand: Resisting War in the 1930s, 50, 10/3.50
- *Letters in Support of CO Claims, 10, 1.00
- *Selective Service Form 150, 10, 10/.50

CCCO's literature list is free upon request.

WOULD YOU FIGHT IF...

The military's job is planning for wars and preparing people to fight. But what does this mean for the individual soldier or the civilians who must support the Generals' plans? If you got an order to go to war, would you obey? If you think you would only fight in "just" wars, how would you choose?

The Pentagon has listed some 150 possible future wars. Which of the following wars would you be willing to fight?

GUERRILLA WAR?

In a guerrilla war it's hard to know whose side you are on because enemies and allies all look alike. These wars are fought mainly by small bands of people who live in the country at war. Would you fire your M-16 at anything that moved and, like many Americans in Vietnam, discover you killed defenseless civilians? How would you feel if a "civilian" fired at you? If regular citizens were fighting against you, who would you be fighting for?

WAR FOR OIL OR OTHER NATURAL RESOURCES?

U.S. officials have said we might go to war if another country tried to cut off our oil supply. But if we did, what would we be fighting for? Freedom and democracy? Or EXXON, Texaco and Gulf?

Annually, the U.S. produces [illegible] of the world's oil. We consume [illegible] but we are only 6% of the world's population. Our large oil companies are the ones who profit the most from the overuse of oil. A war for oil would probably mean troops in the Middle East. It could easily become a nuclear war. Shouldn't we find ways to cut our own use of oil and other natural resources before thinking about wars to get more of them?

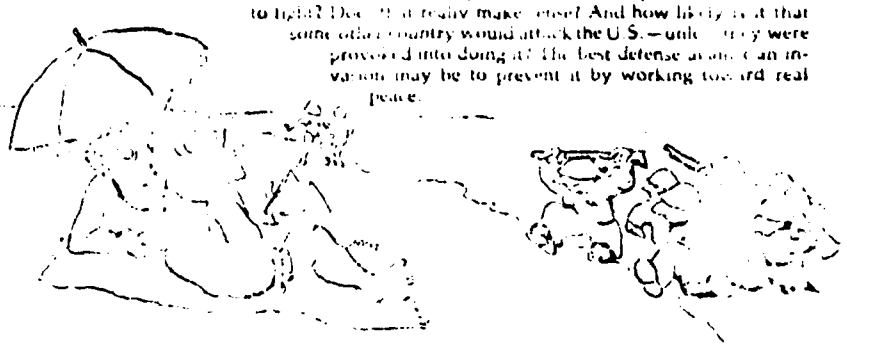
LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR?

Instead of sending troops overseas, we can now send guided nuclear missiles. Since we can aim missiles at a bridge or factory or other military target, we call their use "limited" war. But missiles don't just blow up a factory, they kill the people working there and all the people who live nearby. What's the limit to the number of people we kill?

IF THE UNITED STATES WERE INVADED?

Where is the enemy going to land without [illegible] Miami Beach? Big Sur? [illegible] Each of these areas would send a bomber fleet logistical [illegible] invasion of the U.S. could be by troops?

But even if there were an invasion, who would the invaders be? How would you feel about fighting against people who only happened to be born in a different country and were just like you, were ordered by their government to fight? Does that really make sense? And how likely is it that some other country would attack the U.S.—unless they were provoked into doing it? The best defense against an invasion may be to prevent it by working toward real peace.



ALL OUT NUCLEAR WAR?

Isn't this where it all leads? World War I was to be the war to end all wars. But today the arms race continues and the U.S. is the leading arms exporter—supplying more and more countries with expensive and dangerous weapons. Exactly what will you be doing during a nuclear war? Will it make any difference if you are in uniform? When it's all over, who will win? And what will be left?

WAR HERE AT HOME?

There's one other battlefield to remember. Whose side would you be on if you were sent to an Indian reservation, or to break a strike in a factory, or to stop a campus demonstration? In the past soldiers have been used in these and other "domestic" situations. What about war in the city streets or in the ghettos? American cities have plenty of problems, but are troops in the streets part of the solution? Or would they lead to more fear and violence than they prevent?

Some people would fight if the battle were one against injustice, poverty, and war itself. And they feel weapons will never help win a victory.

The people who put out this pamphlet work with thousands of military enlistees every year who think about these issues only after they enlist. Their experiences in the military often make them think there has to be a different way than the military way. And they want to put down their guns and help find it. What do you think?

Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors P.O. Box 15796 Philadelphia, PA 19103

APPENDIX C

COMMITTEE AGAINST REGISTRATION AND THE DRAFT

245 Second St., NE Washington, DC 20002

(202) 547-4340

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ABOUT DRAFT REGISTRATION

NOTICE: This pamphlet is provided for information only and is not designed as a substitute for legal advice.

Q: *Who must register for the draft?*

A: All male citizens and resident aliens born in 1960 or 1961 must register with the Selective Service System by filling out a form obtained at a local post office. Men born in 1960 are supposed to register on any of the six days beginning Monday, July 21; men born in 1961, on any of the six days beginning July 28. (Men born in 1962 will be required to register on any of the six days beginning January 5, 1981.) After that, persons will be continuously registered as they turn 18.

Q: *Are any 19 or 20 year old men in the U.S. exempt from having to register?*

A: The only people exempt are (1) persons already in the military on active duty, or at military academies, or (2) aliens who have not been granted immigrant status.

Q: *Do conscientious objectors and handicapped persons have to register?*

A: Yes. If a registrant feels he is a conscientious objector or has a mental or physical handicap which would keep him out of the draft, he is still obligated to register. This will preserve his chance to claim exemption at a later time.

Q: *Do draft eligible people living or travelling outside the United States have to register?*

A: Yes. Registration must be accomplished at an American embassy or consulate.

Q: *What happens if a potential registrant is hospitalized or imprisoned at the time of registration?*

A: Such a person must register within 30 days of the termination of the condition which prevented him from registering.

Q: *Newspapers have reported that the American Civil Liberties Union is filing a lawsuit to stop registration because it discriminates against men. Does this mean an individual does not have to register until this lawsuit is resolved?*

A: No. Unless a judge specifically orders that registration stop, eligible men are still obligated to register at the designated time. The Supreme Court is likely to make a final determination on this issue.

Q: *What information is required on the registration form?*

A: Selective Service is requiring that registrants provide their full name, sex, social security number, date of birth, current mailing address, permanent residence, and current phone number. There is also a box to check if one wants information to be given to Armed Forces recruiters. After completing the form, registrants must also sign a statement affirming that the information is true. Postal officials will request that registrants present some identification

Q: *Is the social security number mandatory?*

A: The government is requesting that you provide a social security number if you have one. However, the Privacy Act of 1974 will probably preclude prosecution for failure to disclose a social security number.

Q: *Newspapers recently reported that a registrant might be able to check a box stating that he is a conscientious objector. Is this possible?*

A: This provision did not pass Congress. Officially, there is no way at the time of registration in which to declare one's intention to seek conscientious objector status.

Q: *Once registered, will an individual be classified and be given mental and physical examinations?*

A: The President has the authority to begin classification and examination but has stated he will not do so at this time. Also, Congress has not appropriated any money for this purpose.

Q: *Is it a crime not to register?*

A: Yes. Section 12(a) of the Military Selective Service Act provides penalties of up to five years in prison and a $10,000 fine, or both, for failing to register. This Act is enforced by the U.S. Department of Justice.

Q: *Is it a crime to register late?*

A: Yes. Registering later than the dates set out by the President in his Proclamation can subject you to the same penalties as not registering at all.

Q: *A widely circulated article from the Associated Press quotes the new Selective Service Director, Bernard Rostker, as saying that a person who failed to register because he did not know about this program would "technically be in violation" but that post offices have been instructed to allow persons to register late. Is this statement misleading?*

A: It is misleading because there is no difference between a "technical violation" of the law and any other kind of violation. The Director does not have legal authority to "forgive" late registration unless published Selective Service regulations provide specifically for a lawful late registration period. At this time only persons hospitalized or imprisoned or unable to register on time from some "condition beyond their control" may register late. Any persons who miss registration should seek legal advise before acting.

Q: *Can't the Selective Service, or your local U.S. attorney, make informal arrangements to permit people to register late?*

A: Such arrangements might be made, but there is no obligation for the Justice Department to abide by them. In one case a man made an arrangement with his local U.S. attorney to register late in return for dismissal of his indictment. The Department of Justice in Washington overruled the agreement, ordered the case prosecuted, and obtained a 30 month prison sentence. U.S. v. Saunders 435 F. 2d 683 (5th Cir. 1970)

Q: Once registered, what else must a person do?

A: A registrant must notify Selective Service every time he changes his address. Change of address forms will also be available at the post office. Failure to notify of a change of address is also punishable by up to five years in prison and a $10,000 fine.

Q: Was anyone actually convicted for failing to notify Selective Service of an address change?

A: Yes. During the last draft period, it was often easier for a U.S. attorney to prove that someone had not reported an address change than to prove any other violation of the draft law. United States v. Baker 487 F. 2d 360 (2nd Cir., 1973)

Q: What can a registrant do if he wants to legally express his opposition to registration right on the registration form?

A: Selective Service officials have repeatedly told the news media that registrants may write anything on the card they want, or attach stickers to the cards, so long as this does not obscure pertinent information. Several groups including C.A.R.D. are providing gummed stickers which say "I am registering under protest" and which can fit in various parts of the registration form. A registrant can also write a brief statement announcing that he feels he is a conscientious objector. Such a statement, however, does not in any way guarantee that he will obtain such a classification at a later date. A microfilm version of the registration form will be retained, though, so his form would be available to use as evidence of the long-standing nature of his beliefs.

Q: Will a registrant get a draft card after he registers?

A: No. Registrants will receive a letter confirming their registration within 90 days after registration. This letter should be retained in a safe place. If possible, a registrant should make a Xerox copy of his completed registration form at the time he registers so he has proof of registration even before Selective Service mails his official letter.

Q: *It is a felony to fail to register. How will Selective Service find non-registrants?*

A: Selective Service and the Department of Justice have access to many state-wide lists of 19 and 20 years olds, such as driver license and public high school graduation lists. They will cross-check these with lists of Selective Service registrants to begin to locate those who did not register. Selective Service has also make it clear to Congress that, if non-registration is a serious problem, they will ask for a change in the Federal Privacy Act to permit cross-checks between Selective Service registration lists and files of the Social Security Administration and the Internal Revenue Service.

Q: *If a person does not register, but is not found for a year or more does he still need to worry about prosecution?*

A: Yes. Failure to register is a continuing offense. Under current law, such an individual would be liable for prosecution until he is 31 years old.

Q: *If a person does not register can he emmigrate to Canada or some other country?*

A: It is more difficult now than in the 1960s for young Americans to move to Canada and receive "landed immigrant status." The Canadian government has not yet even indicated a willingness to accept American non-registrants. The situation is even more difficult and complex in other countries. A person thinking about leaving the U.S. should (1) talk to a lawyer in the country to which he is considering moving and find out about its immigration and extradition (do they send "criminals" who fail to register for a draft back to their home countries?) policies, and (2) talk to a counselor or lawyer about exactly what a person gives up by becoming a Federal fugitive living abroad. If indicted, a person will lose his right to return to the United States (even for visits). He could be

permanently excluded as an "undesirable alien" if he obtains foreign citizenship, even if he is never formally indicted for non-registration (Section 1182 (a)(22) of the Immigration and Nationality Act).

Q: *Is it a legal defense for a person to fail to register because he says he is conscientiously opposed to war and conscription, and registration is an important part of that process?*

A: His conscientious objection to war or conscription is not a good defense under current law. In one typical case, a Quaker argued that he should be permitted not to register as a part of the freedom of religion guaranteed by the First Amendment. The Department of Justice successfully argued that the government could force a person to register before they consider his claim for conscientious objector status. U.S. v. Baechler 509 F. 2d 13 (4th Cir. 1974).

Q: *Is it a good defense that a person did not know he was supposed to register?*

A: Yes, in at least some cases. Generally speaking, the Department of Justice must prove that a person intended to violate the Military Selective Service Act before he can be convicted. For purposes of registration, this probably means that a person must specifically know of his obligation to register but decide not to do it. Toward the end of the Vietnam-era the government frequently argued that a defendent should have known of his obligation because of the Selective Service's publicity campaign which included hanging posters in many Federal buildings. Such defendents were often acquitted if the government could not prove that they specifically had seen the publicity or otherwise knew of their legal obligation. U.S. v. Klotz 500 F. 2d 580 (8th Cir. 1974.)

This issue has never reached the Supreme Court, however. The Director of Selective Service has testified before the House Judiciary Committee that because of the widespread radio, television, and newspaper advertising for July's registration, 19 and 20 year old persons will be presumed to learn of registration if they have access to the media. He is apparently willing to have the Justice Department try to have non-registrants prosecuted whether or not they actually saw or heard Selective Service announcements or other news about their obligation to register.

Q: *Although many people did not register during the last draft time registration, very few were prosecuted. Cannot the few people who ARE prosecuted claim that this is illegal because they are being singled out for prosecution?*

A: Generally, "selective prosecution" is not a valid defense. The only way it might be successful is if the defendant can prove that the prosecutor is discriminating on the basis of race or religion, or that the prosecutor is really interested in stifling political activity and is using the non-registration prosecution as an "excuse". A defendant trying to argue this "political" harrassment must prove the wrongful intent of the prosecutor and this is very difficult. It was successfully demonstrated in U.S. v. Falk 479 F. 2d 616 (7th Cir. 1973).

Q: *What major defenses for non-registration were rejected during the last draft?*

A: Arguments that registration was unconstitutional because it excluded women, because it was discriminatory on the basis of age, because it was "involuntary servitude", or because it was inconsistent with the intent of the Framers of the Constitution were rejected by lower courts. These issues have not been definitely resolved by the Supreme Court, but many Constitutional scholars consider only the exclusion of women as a viable attack.

Q: *Is there any way in which a person doing "draft counseling" could violate the Military Selective Service Act?*

A: Yes. Section 12 (a) of the Act states that "any person who...knowingly counsels, aids, or abets another to refuse or evade registration" can be punished, upon conviction, with up to five years of imprisonment and/or a $10,000 fine. The First Amendment protects political speech which merely expresses opposition to Selective Service and support for draft resisters. Bond v. Floyd 385 U.S. 116 (1966). Urging non-registration to specific individuals, however, has led to successful prosecutions under this section.

(For more detailed information on the scope of counseling, see "A.C.L.U. Memo -- Draft Registration: Counseling and Advocacy" obtainable from CARD).

Q: *Could a person not engaged in counseling and not required to register still violate the Military Selective Service Act?*

A: This is possible. Section 12 (a) of the Act states that "any person or persons who shall knowingly hinder or interfere or attempt to do so by force or violence or otherwise, with the administration of this title or rules or regulations made pursuant thereto" may be punished, upon conviction, by up to five years in prison and/or a $10,000 fine. Generally, this section was only used during the Vietnam era to prosecute the physical destruction of draft board records and property. However, the language is so broad ("or otherwise") that a zealous prosecutor might try to argue that many acts fall within its scope, including (a) blocking post offices so that clerks cannot get in to register 19 and 20 year olds, or (b) filling out registration forms while knowing that you are not 19 and 20 just to overburden the system. (For more detailed information on possible use of the Act and other Federal laws against anti-registration protestors, see "N.L.G. Memo -- Anti-Draft Demonstrations" obtainable at CARD).

Q: *How would an actual draft begin?*

A: Congress would have to pass a law giving the President the authority to begin inductions.

Q: *How long after a draft was passed would a registrant have to make his claims for deferment or exemption?*

A: Specific plans have not been announced, but it is likely that he would not have more than a few weeks to file claims. The Selective Service Act still recognizes exemptions from military service for (1) certain mental and physical disqualifications, (2) hardship, (3) conscientious objection, and (4) for "regular or duly ordained ministers of religion". If a person feels he would be qualified to receive such exemptions it is appropriate for him to start collecting evidence right now. He should see a qualified counselor or lawyer for more information. He can register his intention to claim conscientious objector status through most religious denominations, the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2208 South St., Philadelphia, PA 19146 or the National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors, 550 Washington Bldg., 15th and New York Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Prepared by: Barry W. Lynn, Esq.

Selective Service And You

What is the Selective Service System?

The Selective Service System is the government agency which drafts people into the military. It will be registering people to compile a list of names and addresses of people who could be drafted.

How Will Registration Be Done?

Between July 21, 1980 and August 1, 1980, men born in 1960 and 1961 will be required to go to their local post office and fill out a draft registration form. Men born in 1962 will be required to register between January 5 and 11, 1981. After that, men will be required to register as they become 18 years old.

Is Registration Necessary?

In January, Jimmy Carter's Selective Service Director wrote a long report which said that peacetime registration was "unnecessary" for our military preparedness. One week later, Carter decided to order the beginning of registration as a symbolic show of strength.

There are already over 2 million persons on active military duty and over a million more in the Reserves. If there was a real threat to our country, there would be more than enough volunteers. Registration and the draft are needed when the government wants to make war in foreign countries where the American people might not volunteer to fight.

Will There Be a Draft?

Powerful members of Congress and the Military are already calling for a peacetime draft. Congress has given the Selec-

tive Service money to select and train local draft board members—the people who will decide who is drafted.

If registration is a success, there will almost certainly be attempts to bring back the draft after the November elections.

What About War?

Peacetime drafts have always been followed by war. Jimmy Carter announced the beginning of registration at the same time he announced that he would go to war in the Persian Gulf over oil, if necessary. A peacetime draft gives the President the power to go to war with very little say from Congress or the American people. The war in Vietnam, which cost over 50,000 American deaths, would not have been possible without the draft.

What If You Don't Register?

Failing to register is a criminal offense. If you do not register you are subject to a possible prison sentence of five years and a possible fine of $10,000. If you do register, you could be drafted and sent to war. Thousands of young men have pledged that they will not register because they believe registration is the first step to war.

What If You Register Late?

Late registration is a criminal offense with the same penalty as not registering. In the past, late registrants have been prosecuted and convicted.

What If You Move?

The law requires you to tell the Selective Service System every time you move. If you do not, you could be prosecuted.

What If a Draft Begins?

The draft is a basic violation of freedom. It allows the government to take control of individual lives and force them into a war. If you are drafted, here is what you will lose:

- ☐ The right to live and work where you wish.

- ☐ The right to travel, or not, as you choose.
- ☐ The right to marry and raise a family or live with other individuals of your choice.
- ☐ The right to many forms of political protest and free speech.

Who Would Be Most Likely To Be Called In The Event of a Draft?

The draft has always discriminated against the poor and minorities. People who have money or power have always been able to get out of a draft. They take advantage of special loopholes in the draft system.

How Can You Make a Decision About Registration?

There are draft counselors around the country who can help you come to your own decision. To find a qualified counselor in your area, contact CARD at the address below.

How Can You Protest Registration?

CARD is asking people, young and old, men and women, to register *against* the draft. Go to the post office and buy a 10 cent postcard. On the back write, "I am registering *against* the draft." Include your name and address. Mail to CARD at the address below.

CARD will take the postcards sent from around the country and show Jimmy Carter how many Americans oppose registration and the draft.

If you are draft age and decide to register, you can also write to CARD and ask for a special "sticker" which you can put on your registration form to tell the government that you are registering under protest.

What Else Can You Do?

Join a local CARD group in your area. Form your own if there is none.

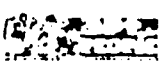
What Is CARD?

The Committee Against Registration and the Draft is a coalition of over 50 national peace, civil rights, womens, students, religious, and political organizations working together against registration and the draft.

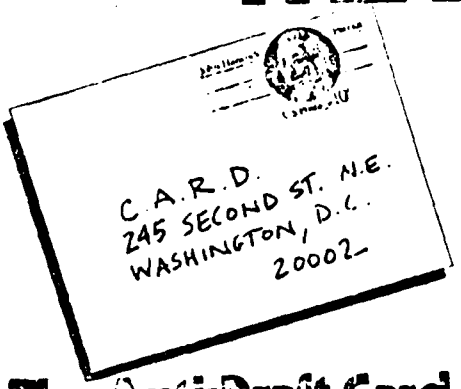
FOR FURTHER INFORMATION: **Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD)**
245 Second Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
Phone: 202/547-4340

Published by
C.A.R.D.
245 SECOND STREET, N.E.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20002

Information Brochure No. 1 July 1980



HOW TO REGISTER AGAINST THE DRAFT



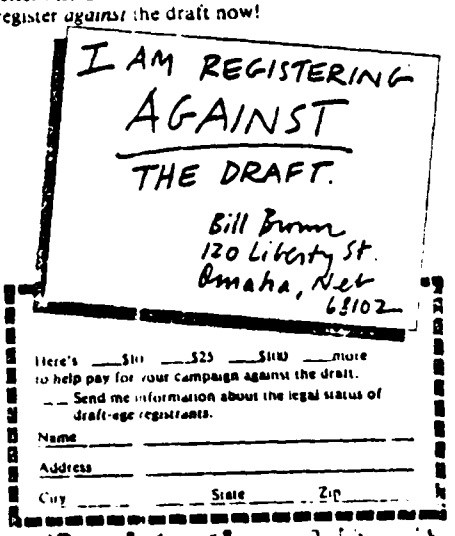
The Anti-Draft Card.

1. During the summer of 1980, every American male aged nineteen and twenty will be forced—under threat of imprisonment—to go to the local post office and register for the draft. But anyone, male or female, can register *against* the draft, no matter how old they are.

2. All you need to do is go to your local post office and buy a regular pre-stamped postcard. On the back, write "I am registering *against* the draft." Include your name and address. On the front, write "C.A.R.D., 245 Second St. NE, Washington, D.C. 20002."

3. Now drop your postcard in the mail. We'll add it to all the other anti-draft cards we've received from all across America and show President Jimmy Carter just how many Americans oppose registration and the draft. Needless to say, the more cards sent to C.A.R.D. the better.

4. When you register against the draft, urge your friends to do the same. Together, we can beat this challenge to our basic liberties and traditions. If you can't buy a postcard, write a letter instead. But whatever you do, make sure you register *against* the draft now!



Here's ___$10 ___$25 ___$100 ___more to help pay for your campaign against the draft.

___ Send me information about the legal status of draft-age registrants.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

C.A.R.D. Committee Against Registration & Draft
245 Second St. NE, Washington, D.C. 20002

C.A.R.D. is a coalition of 50 national organizations opposed to registration and the draft.
Prepared by Public Media Center, San Francisco

the DRAFT
#8
SEPT-OCT
1980

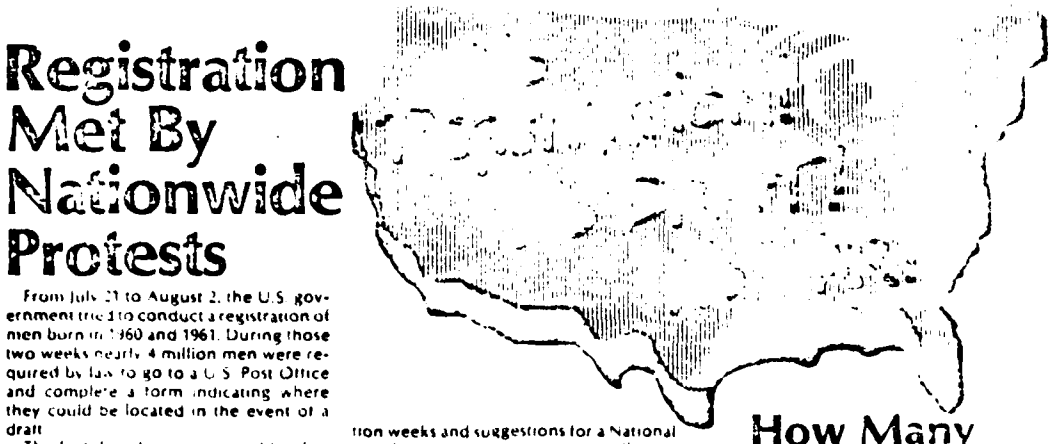
Registration Met By Nationwide Protests

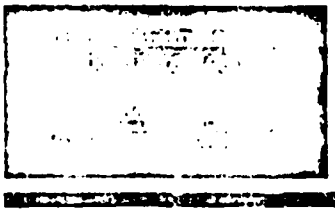
From July 21 to August 2, the U.S. government tried to conduct a registration of men born in 1960 and 1961. During those two weeks nearly 4 million men were required by law to go to a U.S. Post Office and complete a form indicating where they could be located in the event of a draft.

The first day of registration—Monday, July 21—saw protest actions of all kinds at post offices all across the country. Listed and described below are the activities CARD heard about—through reports from local anti-draft groups and newspaper articles. We make no claim that this listing is complete.

The national CARD office was kept busy during the two weeks. We distributed 750,000 brochures titled "Selective Service and You" to 78 groups in 36 states, 150,000 "I Am Registering Under Protest" stickers, and 21,600 pamphlets titled "Questions and Answers About Draft Registration." Our "Registration Against the Draft" postcard campaign has produced over 60,000 postcards with more still arriving every day.

This level of response from around the country is very exciting to us, although at times overwhelming! We hope that with this report of actions during the registration weeks and suggestions for a National Antidraft Week, the movement will grow larger and stronger. There is still much work ahead for all of us.





Northeast

Maine

Augusta: rally on Statehouse lawn.

Rhode Island

Providence: locks on the front doors of 10 area post offices were filled with glue, forcing officials to use back doors to enter. news conference held urging non-registration. rally and leafletting at main post office.

Connecticut

Hartford: 24-hour vigil outside main post office. . . 8 people arrested for allegedly trying to prevent others from entering.

Waterbury: Prayer service on post office steps followed by picketting and leafletting. . . SSS official was reported as telling the press he thought antidraft counselling was illegal.

Massachusetts

Boston: rallies at various locations on

See PROTESTS page 4

How Many Registered?

Although the Selective Service System had insisted that no statistics on registration would be available for 90 days, the growing pressure from antidraft organizations and media reports of massive non-compliance forced the SSS to say something.

On September 4 SSS Director Bernard Rostker held a press conference to claim a 93% registration rate. He used a population base of 3,880,000 men required to register and said that 3,593,187 had registered.

In addition, Rostker announced that a "random sample" of 1-in-700 from a base of 1.5 million forms had showed that only 1.8% registered as conscientious objectors or registered under protest. Although he refused to call the registration a success, he was clearly pleased with the results.

Several hours after the SSS press conference, CARD held its own press conference to respond to the announcement. Among the points made by CARD in challenging the figures:

• False names and addresses were not removed from the total registrations giv-

See HOW MANY page 4

The Committee Against Registration and the Draft

Notes from CARD . . .

Thank you's are due . . . to the many volunteers who worked hours and hours during the summer to help us do things we'd dreamed of in terms of outreach and response to the antidraft movement . . . to those who have contributed financially in appreciation for your generosity which has allowed us to continue our important work. This newsletter is a product of your support . . . and to Henry Gibson and Ben Tousley for the work they did to make the PSA's an important part of the registration period.

• • •

The monthly *meeting of the national CARD coalition* will be held Sunday, October 19, 11:00 am to 3:00 pm, Methodist Building, 100 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, DC. Although mainly involving the national organizations which are members of CARD, the meeting is open to local groups and interested individuals who wish to attend.

• • •

Speaker available: Charlie Campbell, People Against the Draft, Box 36, East Calais VT 05650, (802) 456-7456, is available to speak or assist in antidraft activities in the Northeast and mid-Atlantic states. He needs a place to sleep and motorcycle travel costs.

• • •

For materials to aid the antidraft movement in outreach and understanding of *lesbian and gay men's* issues, and for information on the draft for gays/lesbians, contact: Baltimore Lesbians and Gay Men Against the Draft, 403 East 31st Street, Baltimore MD 21218 or Gays Against the Draft, 2160 Lake Street, San Francisco CA 94121.

• • •

A summer-long effort at community organizing around peace issues, *Survival Summer* will culminate with events around the country on the weekend of October 24-26. Activities during National Antidraft Week could build toward this weekend as a way of relating the draft to broader issues of militarism and disarmament. For more information, contact: Mobilization for Survival, 3601 Locust Walk, Philadelphia PA 19104.

• • •

Speakers Bureau. Over 80 women and men from 28 states are available to speak to your group or on your campus. Topics include resistance to the draft and related peacemaking areas. For a free copy of the 1980-81 F.O.R. Speakers Bureau, write: Dan Ebener, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack NY 10960.

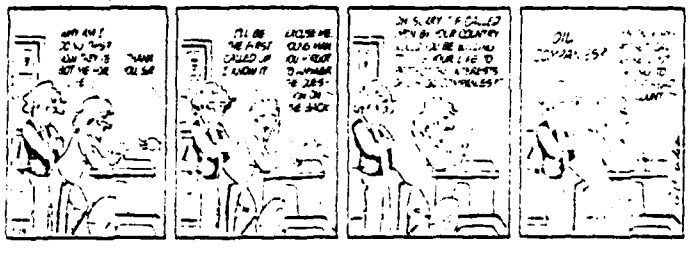
• • •

Draft counseling information. Newsletter and memos from the Selective Service Law Panel of Los Angeles, 7911 Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA 90057. . . . Newsletter from CCCO-Western Region, 1251 Second Ave., San Francisco CA 94122. . . . Manual and memos from NISBCO, 550 Washington Building, 15 and New York Ave., NW, Washington DC 20005 . . . CCCO, 2208 South St., Philadelphia PA 19146. (For specific lists of available materials and cost, contact the groups listed.)

• • •

Regional antidraft conferences. October 18-19 in Boston MA. Contact: CARD, 11 Garden St., Cambridge MA 02138. . . . October 24-25 in Pittsburgh PA. Contact Pittsburgh CARD, 4401 5th Ave., Pittsburgh PA 15213.

Doonesbury, G.B. Trudeau



Religious Leaders Oppose Registration

On Sunday, July 20, 36 national religious leaders issued "A Religious Call to Conscience" urging American young men "to consider seriously the moral implications of registration for the draft."

In an impassioned appeal the group of 7 bishops, 10 denominational heads, and 19 leaders of national religious organizations spoke out against "the continued attempts to militarize the American conscience." Their statement identified registration as the first step to a draft mobilization which brings the danger of war.

The list of signers to the statement cut widely across denominational lines and also included Black and Hispanic religious leaders. They emphasized the particular vulnerability of poor and minority youth who "serve in disproportionate numbers whether in peace or at war" while white middle-class draftees find educational and other exemptions.

The statment pledges "pastoral support" to those who opt for non-registration because of conscience. It also urges young people to consider conscientious objector status and suggests that they indicate this preference on the Selective Service registration forms.

Finally, the religious leaders call on those in positions of power to consider whether war preparations accomplish "true national security" as opposed to social or economic justice.

For further information, including the full text of the statement, contact:

Religious Task Force
Mobilization for Survival
198 Broadway
New York, NY 10038

the DRAFT

published by CARD,
the Committee Against
Registration and the Draft

245 Second Street NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 547-4340

Duane Shank, *Director*
Aida Bound, *Associate Director*

CARD was founded in 1979 in response to the growing drive in the government to bring back the draft. CARD is a coalition of 54 national organizations opposed to the draft and draft registration, working together to educate the public about this important issue. More than 400 local antidraft coalitions in all 50 states cooperate with CARD.

Card vs. SSS on Airwaves

by Ben Tousley

While Selective Service fumbled through its draft registration advertising last month, CARD was launching a successful nationwide campaign to air public service announcements advertising draft counselling and information services.

Well-known celebrities Lily Tomlin ("Nine to Five"), LeVar Burton ("Roots"), Martin Sheen ("Apocalypse Now"), Henry Gibson ("Laugh-In" and "Nashville"), Mike Farrell ("M*A*S*H"), and Susan Richardson ("Eight is Enough") contributed spots on taped PSA's which were distributed to radio stations across the country. Conceived and produced by Henry Gibson, the tapes encouraged draft-age persons to get all the facts about SSS and alternatives from a non-government source.

The campaign's success hinged on the well-organized network of CARD local contacts who urged stations in their towns and cities to use the tapes and not to cooperate with the SSS campaign. In the weeks before registration began, 228 tapes were sent to antidraft groups and radio stations in 33 states. Many community and college stations helped duplicate the tapes and many stations called CARD directly for tapes. Several stations decided to advertise neither SSS nor CARD tapes, while some ran only the CARD PSA's.

Columnist Roger Simon of the *Chicago Sun-Times* wrote an article about the CARD campaign which was syndicated in numerous other newspapers. This resulted in several thousand letters from potential registrants to CARD as well as additional interest from broadcast media.

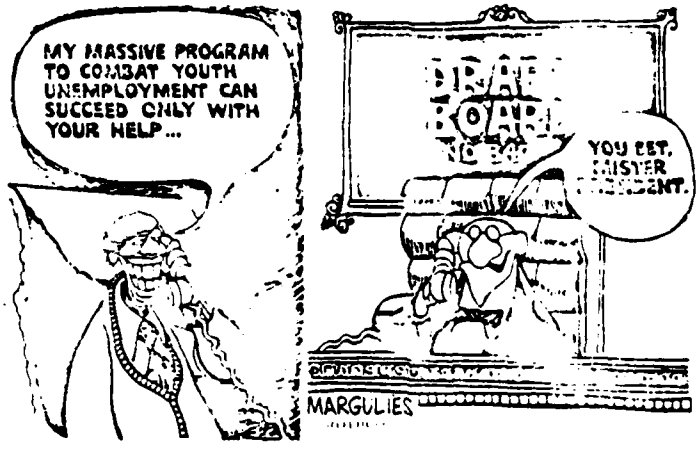
Airplay of the Selective Service ads was spotty in many parts of the country. A study done by the New York Public Interest Research Group found that only slightly more than half of the New York state radio and TV stations surveyed had even received any material from the SSS five days before registration was to begin. The study concluded that "as a result of a combination of poor publicity and hurried planning, tens of thousands of young Americans may be indictable felons through no fault of their own."

CARD's tapes (which cost a total of only $700) were part of a larger effort to counter the $200,000 SSS campaign on radio and television. Attacking the SSS ads as misleading, controversial and racially stereotyped, CARD Chair Barry Lynn and several national civil rights organizations successfully appealed to network presidents to have an especially offensive ad removed from the air. Antidraft organizers around the country sent written PSA's to local stations and asked them not to cooperate with the government's request for free time to advertise a program that could hardly be considered a "public service."

"With just a fraction of the funds Selective Service was given, we were able to mobilize our forces to prevent them from using the airwaves unchallenged," Lynn said. "Local antidraft groups have now established good media relations in many parts of the country and can expect the media's cooperation in the future."

Any groups or organizers who distributed tapes to radio stations are asked, if they have not already done so, to send a list of the stations that ran the tapes to the CARD office.

(Ben Tousley coordinated the CARD PSA campaign)



Democrats Against the Draft

The week before the Democratic National convention began in New York City, negotiators for President Jimmy Carter and Sen. Edward Kennedy reached a compromise on registration in the party platform. The amended platform continued to oppose a peacetime draft, but did not oppose registration.

In response, a number of antidraft activists within the Democratic Party decided to use the vehicle of a Vice-Presidential nomination to raise the issue at the convention. Calling themselves "Democrats Against the Draft," they began circulating nominating petitions as the convention began. The person to be nominated was Patricia Simon, a Gold Star Mother and antidraft activist from Newton, Massachusetts.

Collecting the signatures of 10 percent of the convention delegates (334 people) was difficult, but a few minutes before the deadline, the necessary number had signed and the petitions were submitted. The hard work and long hours of dedicated volunteers had paid off.

At 5:00 on Thursday, August 14, Rep. Ted Weiss (D-NY) took the podium in Madison Square Garden to place Pat's name in nomination. He was followed by Ben Meskin, a 20-year old Hampshire College student, who gave a seconding speech. Finally, Pat spoke of her experiences and belief that the draft would inevitably lead to war. She then declined the nomination.

Although the speeches took place in the afternoon, thus getting no media coverage, those who participated in the work felt it was worthwhile to let the delegates and party officials hear of draft opposition. Later that evening, when President Carter spoke of draft registration as one of his accomplishments, he was booed by the delegates—perhaps a result of the issue being brought to their attention.

Protests

from page 1

7/19, 7/21 and 7/26 . . . 7/21 demonstrations at 8 area post offices . . . 100 people sat-in at 2 post offices, 9 arrested at the main post office . . . picketting and leafletting throughout the two weeks . . . Cambridge post office closed down by 200 demonstrators on 8/1.

Greenfield: 9 men and women, including a Vietnam veteran and a Vietnam-era resister linked arms and sat down in front of post office doors . . . all were arrested.

Northampton: funeral procession led by an Uncle Sam figure with other demonstrators wearing black robes, carrying a coffin and accompanied by a slow drumbeat.

New York

Long Island: leafletting, picketting and counseling at 20 post offices.

New York City: the week before registration began, two postal clerks filed suit seeking relief from having to conduct registrations . . . picket at main post office on 7/21 with several hundred people on the steps and another 100 inside, forcing would-be registrants to step over them . . . rally Monday evening attended by over 3000 people filling part of Broadway.

Rochester: demonstrations at different post offices on 7/21, 7/26 and 8/2.

Pennsylvania

Erie: all-night vigil at main post office the night before registration began followed by demonstration 7/21.

Philadelphia: 7/21 march and rally of 500 people from main post office to JFK Plaza.

Pittsburgh: the night before registration, three post offices painted with "Don't Register for World War III" messages . . . demonstrations and information tables at several post offices . . . 8/1 teach-in at University of Pittsburgh.

New Jersey

Newark: 7/19 rally at a city park . . . antidraft demonstrators joined by a group of workers protesting the Ideal Toy Company . . . a joint program dealing with racism, the draft, unemployment and working conditions was held . . . leafletting and counselling at several post offices during two weeks.

Maryland

Baltimore: 7/21 rally and picket line at main post office . . . 4 people dragged out of the post office by postal inspectors.

In addition to the ones described, actions were held at post offices in the following cities:

Maine: Bar Harbor
Vermont: Montpelier, Burlington, Brattleboro, Plainfield
New Hampshire: Plymouth, Manchester
Connecticut: New Haven
Massachusetts: Amherst, Springfield, Holyoke, Chicopee
New York: Buffalo, Geneseo, Syracuse
Pennsylvania: Lancaster
New Jersey: Camden

The Colonies

District of Columbia

7/19 rally of several hundred people in Lafayette Park near White House . . . 7/21 civil disobedience at National Headquarters of Selective Service when 20 people sat down in front of the main entrance and began reading the names of men killed in Vietnam . . . 7/21 pickets and leafletting at 15 city post offices.

Puerto Rico

San Juan: two post offices bombed . . . group claiming responsibility called it "an operation of denunciation against the imposition of obligatory military registration on the part of the Yankee government."

South

Virginia

Harrisonburg: informational leafletting throughout two weeks . . . worship service at main post office on final day . . . several public non-registrants.

Norfolk: man on active duty in U.S. Navy joined picket line in uniform, carrying sign reading "The spirit of this country is totally adverse to a large military force. Thomas Jefferson."

West Virginia

Morgantown: 75 people picketted at main post office . . . evening forum with film "Hearts and Minds."

Georgia

Atlanta: march and rally of 200 people called "largest antiwar demonstration in Atlanta in the last 8 years" . . . leafletting, information tables and guerilla theater at post office.

Arkansas

Little Rock: picket line at main post office with protestors wearing fatigues and gas masks, carrying signs protesting "The Death Lottery."

Alabama

Mobile: picket line and leafletting at main post office.

Florida

Orlando: demonstrations at three post offices.

Miami: rally and leafletting throughout two weeks.

Kentucky

Louisville: 7/21 demonstration of 80 people outside main post office.

Lexington: 7/21 demonstration at downtown post office followed by leafletting . . . evening forum at local church.

Texas

Austin: 7/18 rally at University of Texas campus . . . 7/21 rally at Federal Plaza . . . 4 people arrested for locking arms in front of the registration counter and refusing to leave . . . draft counselling center opened.

Dallas: 7/21 demonstration at train station where President Carter arrived to address a Democratic fund-raiser . . . people with anti-registration signs also visible along the motorcade route.

Other actions across the South included:

Virginia: Charlottesville, Leesburg, Newport News, Richmond, Roanoke
West Virginia: Charleston
North Carolina: Raleigh, Winston-Salem, Chapel Hill, Durham
Tennessee: Knoxville, Nashville
Florida: Gainesville, Tampa, St. Petersburg
Alabama: Birmingham
Louisiana: New Orleans
Texas: Houston, San Antonio

Midwest

Ohio

Cincinnati: 7/18 press conference at Federal Building . . . 7/21 rally of 150 people at main post office.

Cleveland: rally of 350 people at post office . . . four men burned registration forms . . . two draft counselling sessions attended by 50 and 75 people.

Columbus: 7/19 held All Ohio Antidraft Conference . . . 7/21 protest at Federal Building . . . Mid-Ohio Life Community handcuffed themselves to coffin in lobby and poured blood on registration forms, 7 people arrested.

Michigan

Ann Arbor: 7/21 rally of 800 people on steps of Federal Building . . . 3 arrested for sit-in at post office . . . house across the street from post office used for counselling.

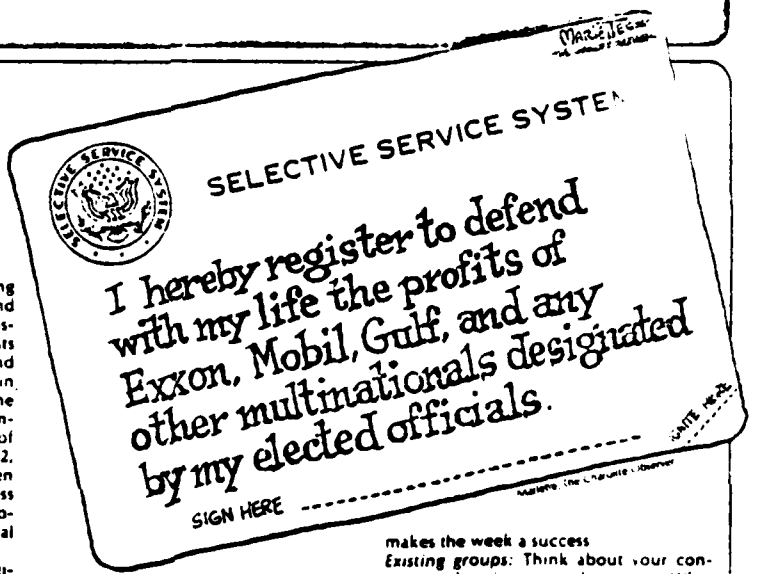
Detroit: 7/21 picket line and rally at main post office . . . two conferences held to discuss organizing against the draft . . . Rep. John Conyers gave his house for counselling sessions.

Illinois

Chicago: 7/21 rally of 300 people . . . anti-draft pickets reported to outnumber

See PROTESTS page 9

NATIONAL ANTIDRAFT WEEK
A Guide for Local Organizers



From January until the present, a strong anti-draft movement has grown up around the country. Through trying to stop registration in Congress and in the protests against the start of registration, more and more people have become involved in the struggle against registration and the draft. This struggle has just begun. In January of 1981 there will be another week of registration for young men born in 1962, registration will then take place as men become 18. As soon as the new Congress is seated, we expect bills will be introduced calling for a return to the actual draft.

With this situation in mind, local antidraft organizers met in Washington DC and San Francisco CA and called for a "National Antidraft Week." A week of coordinated actions around the country was seen as the best way to continue building a stronger movement.

The week of October 12-18 was chosen as it would be late enough for most schools to be back in session, but early enough for publicity around the election not to overshadow it. The week should provide a concrete way to reinvolve students in the ongoing movement. Elections in early November will have politicians looking to see what people are thinking about. A strong and well-publicized antidraft week will let them see what is ahead if they do try to reinstate the draft. In many places, a variety of activities will be planned during the week with a culminating event or rally on Saturday, October 18.

Several themes for activities during the week have been suggested. First, celebrate the failure of registration. The SSS is on the defensive—trying to explain why they did not reach the 98% compliance rate they had predicted. Whatever the actual figures are, it is clear that hundreds of thousands of young men refused to register. On the more serious side, militarism and preparations for war are increasing daily. The threat of a draft and U.S. military action somewhere in the world is very real. Our activities and growing strength are important in stopping this from happening.

CARD is now a coalition of 54 national organizations working with a network of over 400 local groups around the country. Our hope is that national and local organizations will organize many activities during this week. We have prepared this guide to provide suggestions of possible activities. It cannot include every possibility, but we hope the suggestions will give you some ideas. Your imagination, creativity, and determination will be what makes the week a success.

Existing groups: Think about your contacts and activities to this point. What would be a good next step for your group? What type of action will reach new people and help your group continue to grow? One of the most important points for an already functioning antidraft group is to consider the type of activities that will keep the group together while reaching out to new people in different constituencies. The key to staying together as a group is making concrete plans for new activities. An organization usually stays together over the work it does, not what it talks about.

Starting a new group: Planning and carrying out a concrete activity for National Antidraft Week is a good way to build a new group from the bottom up. The first task is educational—raise the issue of the draft in your community through a campaign of leafletting, posters, articles in local papers, broadcast media, etc. In this publicity work combine basic arguments and facts about the draft and a plan to

implement concrete activities during the week.

The next step is to call and publicize a meeting. Again, use leaflets, posters, news articles and have the meeting announced on local broadcast media. Invite local organizations including churches, unions, service clubs, women's groups, civic organizations, student groups, and others who might be interested. At the meeting explain the basics of opposing the draft. Answer and discuss whatever questions may be raised.

If you find a core group committed to ongoing work, right at the first meeting you can begin to choose and plan activities for Antidraft Week. If this meeting doesn't produce enough committed people to plan even a single, simple activity, call another for soon afterward before you break up. Then approach organizations and individuals who did not attend and try to put together a different grouping for the next meeting.

When a group of people committed to some kind of activity comes together, you can use these basic steps to decide what to do. Choose an activity realistically. Keep in mind your human and material resources. Break each activity down, for example, finding a place to hold it, publicity, gathering materials, coordination, etc. Assign these tasks to people or committees. An overall coordinator to assure that the parts do produce a whole is a good idea.

Suggestions for Activities in Your Community

It is our feeling that organizing against the threat of a new draft should have two main goals at this time—to educate the public and visibly to demonstrate opposition to the draft. Some of the ideas below emphasize one or the other of these goals. The most effective tactics will be those which accomplish both.

Community Events

☐ Organize a *petition drive*. This will help your organization by getting the names and addresses of local antidraft supporters, and can be used to apply pressure on political figures. If you get a large number of signatures, arrange for a public presentation to local or national office-holders or candidates, with the media invited to attend.

☐ Hold a *poster contest* for people to draw/create antidraft posters. Hold an exhibit of all the entries, invite viewers to vote for their favorite, and then have that poster printed. Investigate renting a billboard or other advertising space for the winning poster.

☐ Hold an *essay contest*, perhaps in a local high school, on the reasons why there should not be a draft. Publicly announce the contest, the selection of winners, and the reading (in the media and at meetings) of the winners.

☐ Create a *mobile antidraft exhibit*, including photos and materials on the draft, its relation to past and future wars, and its relation to militarism. Display the exhibit publicly during antidraft week—in libraries, churches, shopping malls, and other places where it will be seen by people. Have knowledgeable spokespeople with the exhibit.

☐ An exhibit could be the beginning of an *antidraft resource center* that would collect and make available books, periodicals, leaflets, films, etc. in your community during and after Antidraft Week. Your library or community center may be willing to accept such a collection or display. Contact CARD if you need suggestions or assistance in finding available materials.

☐ A *house-meeting* or *party* can be an informal way to get a small group of people together to talk about the draft and to get to know each other better.

Mass Events

☐ *Public meetings* can inform large numbers of people in your community about the draft. There are a variety of formats that can be used: debates, forums, teach-ins, public hearings, panel discussions, theater presentations, using audio-visual resources, music, etc. Each has its own good and bad points so try to structure a program that will best fit the audience you are trying to reach. A debate may be better when you want to attract people interested in the subject but not yet committed, a "hearing" can be used to hear about the experiences of Vietnam veterans and resisters, music and audio-visuals may be of more interest to some people than speeches. Decide on the audience you want to reach, the type of program you want to hold, and then divide the tasks within your group.

☐ *Demonstrations* get visibility for a local group and make opposition to the draft more visible to the public and the media. Put some thought into picking an appropriate tactic (picket-line, march, rally) and an appropriate location (post office, presidential or congressional campaign headquarters, Federal building, local recruiting office). If you are not familiar with local laws regarding demonstrations, contact a local office of the National Lawyers Guild or the American Civil Liberties Union for information on permits. As with organizing a meeting, divide the necessary tasks within the group to insure that all are done.

Organizations

Unions, churches, PTAs, civic groups, neighborhood groups—any group of people you know or belong to—can provide opportunities to work against the draft.

☐ Have *articles* on the draft printed in newsletters, included in membership mailings, used as inserts in church bulletins.

☐ Have the group adopt a *resolution* opposing the draft. If it does, publicize this in the media and to other groups.

☐ Invite *speakers* to a group meeting, encourage the pastors of churches to give sermons on the draft and issues of war and peace.

☐ If the the group has a social or political action committee, urge it to become part of a local anti-draft coalition for events during Antidraft Week and in the future.

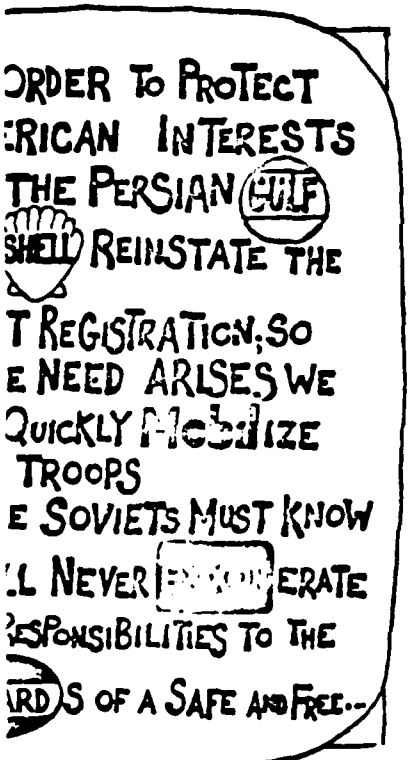
Campaign events

The fact that this is an election year provides many opportunities for reaching the public and confronting elected officials /candidates with the issue of the draft.

☐ Candidates should be asked questions about their positions at every public meeting or press conference they hold.

☐ Publicize candidate's positions with your comments or criticisms. Let the candidates know that there is real grassroots opposition to the draft and that they should adopt and publicize a position of opposition.

☐ Both the Democratic and Republican Parties adopted a position against a peacetime draft at their convention this summer—make sure local candidates know that.



Media

The goal in working with the media is to make sure the antidraft message gets to many more people than could ever be reached by leaflets or forums.

☐ Use community calendars or public service announcements to publicize your meetings, forums, demonstrations, etc.

☐ Get on local radio and TV talk shows. Many of these are anxious for guests, especially on controversial topics that will make an interesting show.

☐ Respond to events or pro-draft news with letters to the editor. Don't forget to include university and high school papers, church papers and magazines, union publications, service organization newsletters. All of these provide opportunities to reach certain groups of people.

☐ Meet with the editors of local papers or the station managers of radio and TV stations to provide them with background information on the issue and your plans. This may lead to more comprehensive coverage of your activities, as they will know the group represents a "real" constituency.

☐ Use press releases to inform the media of your events and press conferences to announce an event, to release a resistance support statement, to let people know of the formation of a local coalition. After a press conference, follow-up with the reporters who attend in order to build a working relationship.

High School Students

The registration week in January and the proposed beginning of continuous registration will affect younger men than the 1980 registration. Many of those required to register next year are now in high school. It is important to reach high school students with draft information.

☐ Contact sympathetic teachers. They may be able to invite speakers to classes or assemblies.

☐ Leaflet at schools or places where students spend time on evenings and weekends.

☐ Provide resource material to teachers, guidance counselors, libraries and student organizations.

Now It's Up to You

We hope this guide has provided useful ideas. As we said at the beginning, 1981 will be a year of intensified struggle as registration resumes and the threat of a renewed draft becomes real. The activities your group plans and carries out during National Antidraft Week can be a way to strengthen and expand in order to deal with what will happen next year.

Let us know what you're planning, let us know if there is any way we can be helpful, and after the Week please send us a report and any news clippings about your activity. Good luck to our collective efforts.

The CARD Staff

Veterans Taskforce Formed

On May 31st of this year at a conference in Washington, DC, a resolution proposed by the veterans workshop calling for the formation of a Veterans Task Force within CARD was unanimously passed. The purpose of the Task Force would be to develop a network of Vietnam era veterans who are opposed to the draft. Such a network would encourage veterans to speak at neighborhood meetings, address high school and college classes, participate in anti-draft rallies, etc.

The importance of Vietnam era veterans publically working against the draft cannot be overemphasized. The experience of ourselves and other veterans, both during and since the Vietnam war are a critical link to minority and white working-class people who have traditionally borne the brunt of military service and will do so in the future. The organizing of these groups in opposition to the draft can make the difference between a move toward or away from another war of American intervention. Because veterans come predominantly from these two groups, their natural credibility as "one who has been there" is a crucial element in convincing folks that opposition to the draft and another war is in their political and economic interest.

What we are seeking is your assistance in reaching out to those veterans and veterans groups who would be interested in becoming part of this task force. Please send the names and addresses of those individuals and groups to us at 2543 Brown Street, Philadelphia PA 19130.

Thanks for your assistance and cooperation in building a stronger antidraft movement.

—*Ken Campbell*
Lee Meyrowitz

NO REGISTRATION

NO DRAFT

NO INTERVENTION

NO WAR

Jimmy Carter's plan to register young men for the draft has failed. Hundreds of thousands of 19 and 20 year olds refused to sign up. We support this resistance and oppose the government's continuing plans for military adventurism. During National Antidraft Week—in our communities, our schools, our workplaces, and our churches—we will stand up to oppose registration, the draft, and preparations for war.

National Antidraft Week

October 12-18, 1980

Committee Against Registration and the Draft
245 Second St., NE
Washington, DC 20002
202/547-4340

For local information:

8 • ANTIDRAFT • '8 SEPT OCT

Protests

from page 4

police and registrants . . . person arrested after he refused to leave a post office window where he was filling out registration forms saying he didn't want his children to register for war . . . free weekend showings of "Hearts and Minds" at local theater.

Wisconsin

Madison: 7/21 rally of 500 people . . . picket and sit-in at post office . . . one man burned registration form during rally . . . 6 post offices covered by leafletters during two weeks.

Minnesota

Minneapolis-St. Paul: 7/21 rally of 400 people followed by picket-lines at post offices.

Iowa

Davenport: one person arrested for sitting on top of table with registration forms.

Ames: public release of statement signed by 35 persons pledging aid to resisters.

Des Moines: demonstration at main post office where four men burned registration forms after completing them . . . statewide resistance group formed with centers in 5 cities.

Kansas

Lawrence: protestors stood at a downtown post office holding an open coffin and sign, "Register for Death."

Missouri

Kansas City: rally at main post office with 200 people . . . 4 women chained themselves to registration counter inside post office . . . 6 post offices covered by leafletters during two weeks; 20 others had information placed inside . . . 8/1 concert against registration.

St. Louis: 7/21 picket line and leafletting outside main post office . . . counselling and leafletting at several post offices during two weeks . . . 8/2 march and rally in local park.

Warrensburg: information table in lobby of post office . . . group reports hostility from townspeople, but success in contracts with registrants.

Other actions in the Midwest included:

Ohio: Akron, Toledo
Michigan: Plymouth, Ypsilanti, Kalamazoo, Lansing, East Lansing
Wisconsin: Green Bay, Milwaukee
Iowa: Decorah, Dubuque, Sioux City, Waterloo
Kansas: Kansas City

California

Berkeley: 7/21 demonstration and leafletting . . . two arrested for demanding forms to register against the draft and refusing to leave post office when told there was no official form for that.

Los Angeles: rally and picket of 300 people at Federal Building . . . skits at Venice post office . . . demonstrations at UCLA . . . pickets at post offices in East Los Angeles . . . pickets and leafletting at many other post offices in area.

Santa Cruz: 100 "Register Against the Draft" cards collected by WILPF . . . anti-draft posters placed as advertising in city buses until removed by local officials.

San Diego: open letter sent to postal workers . . . 7/21 picket line of 300 people . . . other demonstrations on 7/25 and 8/1 . . . leafletting at 36 area post offices during two weeks.

Sacramento: candlelight vigil at main post office the night before registration began . . . leafletting at 18 area post offices with good local TV and newspaper coverage . . . counselling center set up across from State Capitol.

San Francisco: 7/19 demonstration and press conference . . . 7/21 demonstration of 200 people . . . 2 arrested for chaining themselves to the doors of Mission Street Post Office . . . leafletting, counselling and legal assistance throughout the two weeks.

West

Colorado

Denver: mailing list of 19 and 20 year old men in state purchased from state driver's license bureau and letter from American Friends Service Committee and Vietnam Veterans Against the War sent . . . leafletting at 15 area post offices during two weeks.

Oregon

Ashland: picket lines and leafletting throughout the two weeks . . . evening counselling sessions.

Eugene: 200 rally at main post office.

Portland: 7/19 march and rally of 600 people.

Washington

Seattle: 7/21 picket line of 300 people at downtown post office . . . leafletting throughout the two weeks . . . three educational forums held.

Hawaii

Honolulu: 7/21 demonstration and leafletting at post office . . . counseling sessions three days a week . . . 23 people publicly released "Call to Draft Resistance" . . . tape cassette and transcript on registration placed in public libraries.

Other places with anti-registration activities in the western part of the country included:

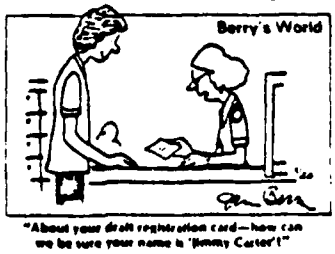
Montana: Billings
New Mexico: Albuquerque
Arizona: Flagstaff
California: San Mateo, Palo Alto, Oakland, Marin County, Corvallis, Salem
Washington: Bellingham
Alaska: Anchorage
Hawaii: Hilo

How Many

from page 1

en. In many parts of the country there were registrations by Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck, in some places contests were held to see who could register the most times under the most different names. When these registration forms are removed, the total count will be lower.

• The number of eligible registrants used by the SSS is too low. "Illegal" aliens in the U.S., residents of Puerto Rico and Americans living abroad were not included. In addition, the eligible number was calculated from U.S. Census figures—which notoriously undercount minorities, people living in urban areas and young people.



"About your draft registration card—how can we be sure your name is 'Jimmy Carter'?"

• In the month since registration, a number of journalists have conducted detailed statistical surveys of a variety of cities and found non-registration rates ranging from 10 to 30 percent.

• Finally, even if one does accept the SSS figures as valid, it still leaves over 250,000 young men who did not register. This is considerably higher than the 98% compliance rate the SSS has been claiming all year. In other words, the SSS admitted that their program was a failure; we can claim it as a victory for the antidraft movement.

For purposes of comparison with the SSS announced compliance rate of 93%, listed below are numbers of interest from various places around the country as reported in various news media: Atlanta GA—56% compliance, Richmond VA—75%, Greater Boston—70%, Greater Dallas—67%, San Diego County CA—80%, Greater Seattle—78%, St. Louis MO—78%, Greater Baltimore MD—68%, Greater Kansas City MO—73%, Middle Tennessee—68%, Chicago IL—66%.

Directory of Local Antidraft Groups

This is not a complete list—there are over 400 groups—but a compilation of groups from each state who are the most active at this time.

Mobile CARD, Box 6414, Mobile, AL 36606
Students for Peace, 6 Glen Iris Pl, Birmingham, AL 35205
Arizona CARD, 1429 N. First St., Phoenix, AZ 85004
Flagstaff CARD, Box 1589, Flagstaff, AZ 86002
Draft Info Center, 715 N. Park, Tucson, AZ 85719
ACLU, Box 2832, Little Rock AR 72203
SCARED, Rt. 8, Box 188, Fayetteville, AR 72701
S CA CARD 633 S. Shatto Pl Los Angeles, CA 90005
RTD, 607-C Westminster Ave., Venice, CA 90291
San Diego CARD, Box 15195, San Diego, CA 92115
Ventura Co CAD, Box 392, Pt. Hueneme, CA 93401
Cltn to Stop the Draft, Box 13805, UCSB, Santa B, CA 93107
Fresno CARD, Box 864, Fresno, CA 93714
People Against the Draft, 318 Pope St., Menlo Park, CA 94025
Bay Area Network, 85 Carl St., San Francisco, CA 94117
People for Peace, 8 N. Rafael Rd., San Rafael, CA 94903
Santa Cruz PAD, Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063
San Jose Peace Center, 300 S. 10th St., San Jose, CA 95112
Peace Center, 1917-A 16th St. Sacramento, CA 95814
Anti-Draft Cltn, 12585 Jones Bar Rd., Nevada City, CA 95959
AFSC, 1428 Lafayette, Denver, CO 80218
CAD, 267 Princeton St., Hartford, CT 06106
Peace Ed & Action, 64 Edgewood Ave., New Haven, CT 06511
Committee of Conscience, 617 Cooke St., Waterbury CT 06710
Pacem in Terris, 1106 N. Adams St., Wilmington, DE 19801
DE Draft Info Ctr., Box 4684, Newark, DE 19711
WACARD, 2111 Decatur Pl, NW, Washington, D C 20008
CAD, Box 13028, Gainesville, FL 32004
Peace Fellowship, Box 2763, Jacksonville, FL 32203
CAD, Box 2523, Orlando, FL 32802
AFSC, 1205 Sunset Dr., S. Miami, FL 33143
AFSC, 130 19th Ave., SE, St. Petersburg, FL 33705
Atlanta CARD 528 W. College Ave., Decatur, GA 30030
Georgians Against Draft, 1384 Fairview Rd, Atlanta, GA 30306
HI CARD, 2526 Oahu Ave., Honolulu, HI 96822
ACLU, Richards, 1041 S. Capitol Blvd., Boise, ID 83702
LEX-CARD, Box 718 Univ. Sta. U. Ky., Lexington, KY 40506
ACCORD, 14 Roosevelt Ave., Waterville, ME 04901
CARD, 24 Pierce St., Orno, ME 04473
Maryland CARD, 317 E 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218
Chicago CARD, MidCARD, 53 W. Jackson, Rm 801, Chicago, IL 60604
PARD, 343 S. Dearborn, #305, Chicago, IL 60605
DeKalb Alliance for Peace, 451 College, #8, DeKalb, IL 60115
Cmte to Stop Draft, 297 Illinois Union, Urbana, IL 61801
MAD, 54655 Irish Way, South Bend, IN 46637
Indiana CARD, 4850 N. College, Indianapolis, IN 46205
Draft Opposition, Box E-659 Earlham College, Richmond, IN 47374
FOR, Box 25, North Manchester, IN 46962
BAD, MRC, Box 103, IU, Bloomington, IN 47401
Ft. Wayne CARD, 3305 Central Dr., Ft Wayne, IN 46806
Taskforce Against Conscription, 4211 Grand Ave., Des Moines, IN 50312
Ames CARD, Box 245, Ames, IA 50010
Dubuque CARD, 809 Dodge, Dubuque, IA 52001
Johnson Co CARD Box 924, Iowa City, IA 52244
Quad Cities CARD, 1909 Jersey Ridge Rd., Davenport, IA 52803
Kansas Anti-Draft Org, 110-B Kansas Union, Lawrence, KS 66045
Kansans for Peace/Justice, 2606 E 45th N, Wichita, KS 67219
NO CARD, 916 St Andrews St., New Orleans, LA 70130
BAARD, 11 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138
Worchester CARD, 339 Main St., Worchester, MA 01068
CORD, 3 Langworthy Rd. Northampton, MA 01060
Stop the Draft Comte., 175 Wendell Ave., Pittsfield, MA 01201
Detroit CARD, 683 Prentice, #4-C, Detroit, MI 48201
Washtenaw Co. CARD, 1005 Grant, Ypsilanti, MI 48197
Tri-CARD, 2219 Marshall Ct., Saginaw, MI 48602
PIRGIM, 22 Student Srvcs Bldg., MSU, E. Lansing, MI 48824
SCAD, Box 287, Otc Stdnt Actvs, Kalamazoo, MI 49008
Minnesota CARD, 628 Central Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55414
Twin Cities Stop the Draft, Box 14529, Univ. Sta. Minn., MN 55414
Duluth CARD, Star Rte Box 146-B, Alborn, MN 55702
PAM, Hobson Memorial BSU, Bemidji, MN 56601
ACLU, 513 N. State St Jackson, MI 39201
St. Louis CARD, 438 N Skinker, St Louis, MO 63130
Greater KC Cmte, 3910 Locust Kansas City, MO 64110
Columbia Draft Info 1507 Atkinson Columbia, MO 65201
Peace Advocates, 2419 Ave Billings MT 59101
Nebraskans for Peace 430 S 38th St Lincoln NE 68608
ACLU, 400 W Jackson Ave #202 Las Vegas, NV 89106
NH-CARD, 11 South Main St Concord, NH 03301
Upper Valley CARD Box 264 Hanover, NH 03755
NJ CARD, 324 Bloomfield Ave Montclair, NJ 07042
S. Jersey Coalition 1302 Nelson Ave., Mays Landing, NJ 08330
Draft Info Srvc, 106 Girard SE #121-C Albuquerque, NM 87106
NY MAD, 853 Broadway #617 NYC, NY 10003
Coalition Against Conscription 135W 4th St., NYC, NY 10012
WESPAC, 255 Grove St White Plains, NY 10601
Mothers and Others Against Draft 6 Carey Rd., Great Neck, NY 11021
Albany Peace Coalition 727 Madison, Albany, NY 12208
AFSC, 821 Euclid Ave., Syracuse, NY 13210
Buffalo CARD, 440 Leroy Ave Buffalo NY 14215
Ithaca Peace Council, 140 W State St., Ithaca, NY 14850
Peace & Justice Center 733 Monroe Ave, Rochester, NY 14607
WRL-SE, 604 W. Chapel Hill St Durham, NC 27701
Greenville Peace Center 630 Elm St No., Greenville, NC 27834
WRL-SE, 108 Purefoy Rd Chapel Hill NC 27514
ACLU, Box 5502, Univ Sta Fargo ND 58105
Toledo CARD, 410 Victoria Pl Toledo, OH 43610
Akron CARD, 475 Market St Akron OH 44303
Greater Dayton CARD, 915 Salem Dayton 45406
Cleveland CARD, Box 390 CC 701 CSU, 2121 Euclid, Cleveland OH 44115
People for Peace, 18 N College St Athens, OH 45701

Anti-Draft Campaign, 148 W. Weber St., Columbus, OH 43202
ACLU of Ohio, 411 Oak St., #102, Cincinnati, OH 45219
OCAWR, 1301 E. Eufaula, Norman, OK 73069
Center for Peace Justice, 2839 E. 5th St., Tulsa, OK 74104
OCAD, 215 SE 9th, 3rd fl, Portland, OR 97214
CORD, 1414 Kincaid, Eugene, Or 97403
SORD, 265 19th St., SE, Salem, OR 97301
S. OR Stop Draft Committee, 215 Sherman St., Ashland, OR 97520
Pittsburgh CARD, 4401 5th Ave., Pittsburgh, PA 15213
LEPOCO, 55 Main St., Bethlehem, PA 18018
WILPF, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107
NW PA CARD, 219 Student Union, ESC, Edinboro, PA 16444
RICARD, 2 Stimson Ave., Providence, RI 02906
ACLU, Box 362, Vermillion, SD 57069
ACLU, Box 95, Sioux Falls, SD 57101
Nashville CARD, Box 120574, Nashville, TN 37212
Austin CARD, 4600 Ave. B, Austin, TX 78751
San Antonio CARD, Box 12831, San Antonio, TX 78212
Utah CAD, 363 S 900 W, Salt Lake City, UT 84104
People Against Draft, 15 Brooks Ave., Burlington, VT 05401
VCARD, 5 Kent St., Montpelier, VT 05602
NVAIS, 1236 S. Taylor St., #A, Arlington, VA 22204
Central VA CARD, 1001 E. Main St., #710, Richmond, VA 23219
Tidewater CARD, 2909 Pinewood Dr., VA Beach, VA 23452
Plowshare Peace Center, Box 1623, Roanoke, VA 24008
New River CARD, Box 94, Newport, VA 24128
SCARD, 4001 9th NE, Seattle, WA 98102
Olympia CARD, 1121 Cora SE, Lacey, WA 98503
SCAD, WWU, Viking Union 227, Bellingham, WA 98225
Citizens Against Registration, Box 1163, Spokane, WA 99210
Charleston CARD, 1105 Quarrier, Rm. 226, Charleston, W VA 25304
Morgantown CARD, 328 Stewart St., #3, Morgantown, W VA 26505
Wisc. Committee Against the Draft, UWM Union Box 82, 2200 E. Kenwood Blvd, Milwaukee, WI 53201
Madison CARD, 731 State St., Madison, MI 53703
NAM, Box 238, Laramie, WY 82070

Legal Update

Three days before the scheduled start of registration, a three-judge federal court in Philadelphia issued a ruling declaring the Military Selective Service Act unconstitutional because it did not include women. The judges ordered that registration not go on as planned.

On Saturday, July 19, Supreme Court Justice William Brennan stayed the order, allowing registration to proceed. The ruling of unconstitutionality will have to be decided by the full Supreme Court, but stands as law for now.

The Supreme Court will decide in October whether or not to hear the case. If it does (which is virtually certain), arguments would probably be heard in December or January with a decision following.

Until the Supreme Court rules, the status of possible prosecutions for non-registration is unclear. The government insists it can and will enforce the law, while constitutional experts find that highly questionable.

In another case, the Selective Service requirement that registrants provide their Social Security number will be challenged in a D.C. Federal Court in October or November.

We Need Your Help

In the one-and-one-half years of its existence, CARD has responded to thousands of requests from local groups and individuals. We are constantly answering questions about Selective Service, responding to calls from concerned individuals and the press. Our printing and mailing costs, especially during the registration period, have been extraordinary, but the effort has been more than worthwhile! In order to continue this work we need your continued financial support. Please send whatever you can today or consider making a monthly pledge to CARD. Every dollar helps!

Thank you in advance for your generosity. We hope you will understand that we appreciate your contribution but have limited time and resources to spend on individual thank you's.

Here's ☐ $10 ☐ $25 ☐ $100 ☐ other _____

I will pledge $ _____ per month.

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

COMMITTEE AGAINST REGISTRATION AND THE DRAFT

245 Second Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 547-4340

The Committee Against Registration and the Draft

. . . was founded in 1979 in response to the growing drive in the government to bring back the draft. CARD is a coalition of 54 national organizations opposed to the draft and draft registration, working together to educate the public about this important issue. More than 400 local anti-draft coalitions in all 50 states cooperate with CARD.

American Civil Liberties Union
Americans for Democratic Action
American Friends Service Committee
Association of Libertarian Feminists
Catholic Peace Fellowship
Center for National Security Studies
Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors
Church of the Brethren, Washington Office
Citizen Soldier
Clergy & Laity Concerned
Coalition of Independent College and University Students
Committee on Militarism in Education
Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Youth Section
Division of Homeland Ministries, The Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)
Episcopal Peace Fellowship
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Friends Committee on National Legislation
Friends of the Filipino People
Friends Peace Committee
Gray Panthers
Jewish Peace Fellowship
Libertarian Party
Mennonite Central Committee, Peace Section (US)
National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression
National Antidraft Network of Youth Against War and Fascism
National Council Against Compulsory Service
National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors
National Lawyers Guild
National Resistance Committee
National Taxpayers Union
National Youth Work Alliance
New American Movement
Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee
Resist
SANE
Socialist Party, USA
Society for Individual Liberty
Students for a Libertarian Society
Taskforce on Recruitment and Militarism
Unitarian-Universalist Association
United Church of Christ, Office for Church in Society
United Presbyterian Church USA, Program Agency
U.S. Peace Council
United States Student Association
Veterans Education Project
Vietnam Veterans Against War
War Resisters League
Washington Peace Center
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Women Strike for Peace
Women USA
Young Libertarian Alliance
Young Socialist Alliance

Committee Against Registration and the Draft
245 Second Street N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

First Class
U.S. Postage
PAID
Washington, DC
Permit No. 2559

BIBLIOGRAPHY

American Friends Service Committee. The Draft? New York: Hill and Wang, 1968.

Anderson, Martin, ed. Conscription. Hoover Bibliographical Series 57. Stanford: The Hoover Institution Press, 1976.

"Antidraft Youths Think of Canada." Newsweek. 10 March, 1980, p. 17.

Arnold, Walter. "Selective Objection and the Public Interest." The Christian Century, vol. 84, no. 39, p. 1218-1221, 27 September 1967.

Beck, Melinda, Ma, Christopher, and Lindsay, John J. "Is the Draft Really Needed." Newsweek, 4 February 1980, p. 29.

"Behind Drive to Bring Back the Draft." U.S. News, 11 June 1979, p. 62.

Beiser, Edward N. "God and the Draft." Commonweal, vol. 83, no. 21, p. 631-633, 4 March 1966.

"Bring Back the Draft?" U.S. News, 14 February 1977, p. 55-58.

Brock, Peter. Twentieth-Century Pacifism. New York; Van Nostrand Reinjold Company, 1970.

Cain, Edward R. "Conscientious Objection in France, Britain, and the United States." Comparative Politics, vol. 2, no. 2, p. 225-307, January 1970.

Cameron, Juan. "It's Time to Bite the Bullet on the Draft." Fortune, vol. 101, p. 52-55, 7 April 1980.

"Carter's Draft Plan Loses a Skirmish." Newsweek, 10 March 1980, p. 40.

"Carter's Draft Proposals " Time, 25 February 1980, p. 18.

Church, William W. "Only the Weapons are Missing." Army Digest, vol. 23, p. 20-24, September 1968.

Coffey, Kenneth J., Manpower for Military Mobilization. Washington D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1978.

Conrad, Tom. "The Draft: Is it Coming Back?" The Christian Century, vol. 96, no. 14, p. 430-431, 18 April 1979.

"Controversy Over Proposed Draft Registration." The Congressional Digest, vol. 58, no. 1, April 1980.

Cooney, Robert and Michalowski, Helen, eds. The Power of the People. Culver City, CA.: Peace Press, Inc., 1977.

"The Draft: Both Sides of the Debate." U.S. News, p. 59-60, 14 February 1977.

"Draft Dodger. The Nation, vol. 230, p.132-133, 9 February 1980.

"Draft Sign-Up." Time, 15 September 1980, p. 20.

Dubay, Robert W. "The Opposition to Selective Service, 1916-1918". Southern Quarterly, vol. 7, no. 3, p. 310-322, 1969.

Durnbaugh, Donald. "Enlarging the Circle; The Historic Peace Churches and Militarism." Mennonite Life, vol 33, no. 3, p. 16-18, 1978.

Fager, Chuck. "The Draft is Coming". The Christian Century, vol. 97, p. 62-63, 23 January 1980.

Ferber, Michael and Lynd,Staughton. The Resistance. Boston: Beacon Press, 1971.

"Foes on Proposal On Draft Signup Rally in Capital." The New York Times, 23 March 1980, p. 24.

Fox, Catherine. "Carter Trips Over the Draft." Maclean's, vol. 93, no. 13, 31 March 1980.

Friedman, Leon. The Wise Minority. New York: The Dial Press, 1971.

Friedman, Milton. "Draft Registration," Newsweek, 11 February 1980, p. 79.

Gales, Robert Robinson, "Conscience Vis-A-Vis Contract; The Dilemma Confronting Citizen and System, Airman and Air Force: An Analysis of the Most Recent AFR 35-24, Disposition of Conscientious Objectors." Air Force Judge Advocate General Law Review, vol. 14, no. 4, p. 239-258, July 1973.

Gaylin, Willard, M.D. In the Service of Their Country. New York: The Viking Press, 1970.

Gerhardt, James M. The Draft and Public Policy, Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971.

Goldman, Nancy L. and Segal, David R. eds. The Social Psychology of Military Service. Sage Research Progress Series on War, Revolution, and Peacekeeping, vol. 6. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1976.

Graham, John Remington. A Constitutional History of the Military Draft. Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, Inc., 1971.

Gross, Bertram. "The Citizen's Guide to Draft Deterrence." The Nation, p. 359-362, 29 March 1980.

Gross, Bertram M., "The Drive to Revive the Draft." The Nation, 20 October 1979, p.1.

Harris, Richard and Ward, William A. "A Different Kind of Courage." Army Digest, vol. 26, p. 30-32, May 1971.

"In U.S. Colleges: The Draft Again is Topic A." U.S. News, 25 February 1980, p. 28.

Little, Roger W. ed. Selective Service and American Society, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969.

Lofgren, Charles A. "Compulsory Military Service under the Constitution: The Original Understanding." William and Mary Quarterly, vol. 33, no. 1, 1976.

"Majority Rejects Draft As Way to Fill Military Ranks." The Gallup Opinion Index, no. 142, p. 15, May 1977.

Markham, Walter Gray. "Draft Offenders in the Federal Courts: A search for the Social Correlates of Justice." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1972. (Micro-film xerography in 1974 by Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor Michigan.)

Marion, Harry A., Selective Service: Conflict and Compromise. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1968.

Mayer, Milton. "Hell, No." The Progressive, vol. 44 p. 44-49, June 1980.

Monkres, Peter. "Just-War Theology: Rejected by the Court." The Christian Century, vol. 92, no. 20, p. 547-549, 28 May 1975.

National Advisory Commission on Selective Service. In Pursuit of Equity: Who Serves When Not All Serve? Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

"The New York Times/CBS News Poll." The New York Times, 20 February, 1980, p. 18.

O'Sullivan, John and Meckler, Alan M. eds. The Draft and its Enemies. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1974.

Pemberton, John De J., Jr. "The War Protestor." Current History, vol. 55, no. 323, p. 23, July 1968.

Pines, Burton. "Who'll Fight for America?" Time, vol. 115, no. 23, p. 24, 9 June 1980.

Polner, Murray. "Opening Pandora's Box." Commonweal, vol. 106, p. 553-555, 12 October 1979.

"Public Divided on Draft, but Favors Universal Registration." The Gallup Opinion Index, no. 169, p. 4, August 1979.

"The Question of an All-Volunteer U.S. Armed Force." Congressional Digest, vol. 50, no. 5, May 1971.

Reeves, Richard. "Suppose There Was a War..." Esquire, vol. 93, no. 5, p. 11-12, May 1980.

Reeves, Thomas and Hess, Karl. The End of the Draft. Foreward by Senators Mark O. Hatfield and George McGovern, New York: Random House, 1970.

"Reopening an Old Debate." Time, 11 February 1980, p. 32.

Rohr, John A. "Just Wars and Selective Objectors." The Review of Politics, vol. 33, no. 2, p. 185-201, April 1971.

Seeley, Robert A. "A Question of Conscience." The Progressive, vol. 42, p. 26-27, December 1978.

Shapiro, Andrew O. and Striker, John M. Mastering the Draft. Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1970.

Sherk, J. Harold. "The Position of the Conscientious Objector." Current History, vol. 55, no. 323, p. 18-20, July 1968.

Showalter, Stuart Wesley, "Coverage of Conscientious Objectors to the Vietnam War: An Analysis of the Editorial Content of American Magazines, 1964-1972." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1975.

Sibley, Mulford Q., and Jacob, Philip E., Conscription of Conscience. New York: Cornell University Press, 1952; reprint ed., New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1965.

"Sign-Up, but No Call-Up." Time, 4 February 1980, p. 16.

Stafford, Robert T., Horton, Frank J., Schweiker, Richard S., Shriver, Garner E., and Whalen, Charles W., Jr. How to End the Draft. Washington D.C.: The National Press Inc., 1967.

Stone, Marvin. "Debate over the Draft." U.S. News, 2 April 1979, p. 76.

Suttler, David. IV-F. New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1970.

Tatum, Arlo and Tuchinsky, Joseph S. Guide to the Draft. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.

Tax, Sol ed. The Draft. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Thorne, Barrie. "Protest and the Problem of Credibility: Uses of Knowledge and Risk-Taking in the Draft Resistance Movement of the 1960's." Social Problems, vol. 23, no. 2, p. 111-123, 1975.

Thorne, Barrie. "Resisting the Draft: An Ethnography of the Draft Resistance Movement." Ph.D. dissertation, Bradeis University, 1971.

Thorne, Barrie. "Women in the Draft Resistance Movement: A Case Study of Sex Roles and Social Movements." Sex Roles, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 179-195, 1975.

U.S. Draft Policy and its Impact. Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1968.

U.S. Selective Service System. Conscientious Objection. Special Monograph No. 11, Volume I. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1950.

U.S. Selective Service System. Selective Service in Peacetime. First Report of the Director of Selective Service 1940-41. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942.

U.S. Selective Service System. Selective Service in Wartime. (Second Report of the Director of Selective Service 1941-1942.) Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943.

Useem, Michael. Conscription, Protest, and Social Conflict: The Life and Death of a Draft Resistance Movement. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973.

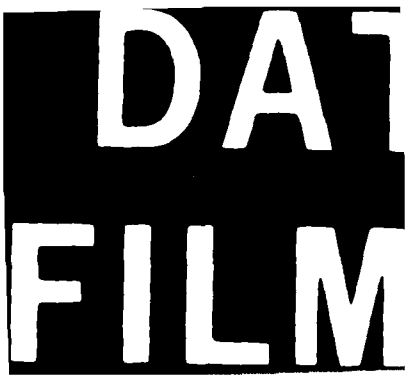
Useem, Michael. "Ideological and Interpersonal Change in the Radical Protest Movement." Social Problems, vol. 19, no. 4 p. 451-469, Spring 1972.

Walters, LeRoy. "A Historical Perspective on Selective Conscientious Objection." American Academy of Religion. vol. 41, no. 2, p. 201-211, June 1973.

INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST

		No. Copies
1.	Defense Technical Information Center Cameron Station Alexandria, Virginia 22314	2
2.	Library, Code 0142 Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93940	2
3.	Department Chairman, Code 54Js Department of Administrative Sciences Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA 93940	1
4.	Dr. Phillip N. Butler, Code 542n Department of Adminsitrative Sciences Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93940	1
5.	Dr. Richard A. McGonigal, Code 54Mb Department of Administrative Sciences Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA 93940	1
6.	LT Paul J. Jackson 4841 Goldeneye Drive ~~Corp~~us Christi, Texas 78413	2
7.	Defense Logistic Studies Information Exchange U.S. Army Logistics Management Center Fort Lee, Virginia 23801	1
8.	Assistant for Analysis, Evaluation (NMPC-6C) Human Resource Management & Personal Affairs Dept. Navy Military Personnel Command Washington, D.C. 20370	1
9.	Director, Human Resource Management Division (NMPC-62) Human Resource Management & Personal Affairs Dept. Navy Military Personnel Command Washington, D.C. 20370	1
10.	Director for HRM Plans and Policy (OP-150) Human Resource Management Division Deputy Chief of Naval Operations (Manpower, Personnel & Training) Washington, D.C. 20370	1

		No. Copies
11.	Commanding Officer Human Resource Management School Naval Air Station Memphis Millington, Tennessee 38054	1
12.	Commanding Officer Human Resource Management Center London Box 23 FPO, New York 09510	1
13.	Commanding Officer Human Resource Management Center 5621-23 Tidewater Dr. Norfolk, Virginia 23509	1
14.	Commanding Officer Human Resource Management Center Pearl Harbor, Hawaii 96860	1
15.	Commanding Officer Human Resource Management Center Naval Training Center San Diego, CA 92133	1
16.	Commanding Officer Human Resource Management Center Commonwealth Building, Room 1144 1300 Wilson Blvd. Arlington, VA 22209	1
17.	Professor Chester Wright, Code 54Wv Department of Administrative Sciences Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA 93940	1


DAT
FILM