At this point it seems clear that the war in Vietnam will continue to escalate, extending American strength to the point that a settlement with China is not possible. At the same time, we should recognize the importance of the fact that the U.S. military has already become directly involved in the suppression of guerrilla movements in several countries. The U.S. military presence in Peru, for example, is already having a significant impact on the political situation in that country. The U.S. military is also playing a role in the conflict in Vietnam, where the U.S. military is actively supporting the Vietnamese government.

How do we stop it? I think we all know only too well that there is no single answer to that overwhelming question. We should continue demonstrations and teach-ins. Organize for the highest possible student power in the working class. Resist the draft. Run radical candidates in the elections. Turn the Hippies into Provos? The answer to all of these questions is "Yes." No little doubt remains that America is losing the military contest, and we need to move from passive resistance to direct action. To do this for the long haul, to become full-time, radical, sustained, relevant. In short, we need to make a revolution. But again, how do we go about it? How do we decide how violent, how much pressure we put on, so that we arrive at a set of strategic criteria to help us answer these questions and make the relevant decisions?

1. Any issue around which we organize a national program should be seen and felt as a critical problem by a great number of ordinary people.
2. Issues should be chosen which demand direct action.
3. The issues should enable us to broaden and deepen our base in the student poor, and/or working class communities.
4. The issue and action should be one that is not readily co-opted by the powers-that-be.
5. The issue and action around which we should: force a confrontation of the power of America.
6. In addition to teaching people the moral sensibilities, the issue should have a significant impact on our political powerlessness.

This list is not meant to be exhaustive or definitive. These are only the rough rules-of-thumb that guide my political thinking. What I would like to do now is look at two examples: draft and Vietnam.

(1) There is no doubt that the draft is a national issue. The draft itself was never popular, and the war in Vietnam is making it increasingly unpopular. A whole range of people-from people in college to students in high school-are beginning to understand that the draft is a direct assault on their freedom and the freedom of their friends. The draft is a direct assault on the powerlessness of our communities and on our ability to influence the decisions that are made about us.

(2) Vietnam is a national issue. The war in Vietnam is making it increasingly unpopular. A whole range of people-from people in college to students in high school-are beginning to understand that the war in Vietnam is a direct assault on their freedom and the freedom of their friends. The war in Vietnam is a direct assault on the powerlessness of our communities and on our ability to influence the decisions that are made about us.

From frustration to affirmation: Developing draft resistance unions in parts of the United States

The wars in Vietnam, Guatemala, and Nicaragua have created a climate which can only be compared to the climate of the 1930's. These wars have reached young people who are growing up in a world that is sickening and stultifying. The pressing problem of the day is the need for a coherent, integrated, and complete political mobilization in a more rapid and more effective way. The mobilization must be complete in order to achieve complete liberation.

Developing draft resistance unions is a part of this mobilization.

The wars in Vietnam, Guatemala, and Nicaragua have created a climate which can only be compared to the climate of the 1930's. These wars have reached young people who are growing up in a world that is sickening and stultifying. The pressing problem of the day is the need for a coherent, integrated, and complete political mobilization in a more rapid and more effective way. The mobilization must be complete in order to achieve complete liberation.

Developing draft resistance unions is a part of this mobilization.

From frustration to affirmation: Developing draft resistance unions in parts of the United States

The wars in Vietnam, Guatemala, and Nicaragua have created a climate which can only be compared to the climate of the 1930's. These wars have reached young people who are growing up in a world that is sickening and stultifying. The pressing problem of the day is the need for a coherent, integrated, and complete political mobilization in a more rapid and more effective way. The mobilization must be complete in order to achieve complete liberation.

Developing draft resistance unions is a part of this mobilization.

The wars in Vietnam, Guatemala, and Nicaragua have created a climate which can only be compared to the climate of the 1930's. These wars have reached young people who are growing up in a world that is sickening and stultifying. The pressing problem of the day is the need for a coherent, integrated, and complete political mobilization in a more rapid and more effective way. The mobilization must be complete in order to achieve complete liberation.

Developing draft resistance unions is a part of this mobilization.

From frustration to affirmation: Developing draft resistance unions in parts of the United States

The wars in Vietnam, Guatemala, and Nicaragua have created a climate which can only be compared to the climate of the 1930's. These wars have reached young people who are growing up in a world that is sickening and stultifying. The pressing problem of the day is the need for a coherent, integrated, and complete political mobilization in a more rapid and more effective way. The mobilization must be complete in order to achieve complete liberation.

Developing draft resistance unions is a part of this mobilization.

The wars in Vietnam, Guatemala, and Nicaragua have created a climate which can only be compared to the climate of the 1930's. These wars have reached young people who are growing up in a world that is sickening and stultifying. The pressing problem of the day is the need for a coherent, integrated, and complete political mobilization in a more rapid and more effective way. The mobilization must be complete in order to achieve complete liberation.

Developing draft resistance unions is a part of this mobilization.

The wars in Vietnam, Guatemala, and Nicaragua have created a climate which can only be compared to the climate of the 1930's. These wars have reached young people who are growing up in a world that is sickening and stultifying. The pressing problem of the day is the need for a coherent, integrated, and complete political mobilization in a more rapid and more effective way. The mobilization must be complete in order to achieve complete liberation.

Developing draft resistance unions is a part of this mobilization.

The wars in Vietnam, Guatemala, and Nicaragua have created a climate which can only be compared to the climate of the 1930's. These wars have reached young people who are growing up in a world that is sickening and stultifying. The pressing problem of the day is the need for a coherent, integrated, and complete political mobilization in a more rapid and more effective way. The mobilization must be complete in order to achieve complete liberation.

Developing draft resistance unions is a part of this mobilization.

The wars in Vietnam, Guatemala, and Nicaragua have created a climate which can only be compared to the climate of the 1930's. These wars have reached young people who are growing up in a world that is sickening and stultifying. The pressing problem of the day is the need for a coherent, integrated, and complete political mobilization in a more rapid and more effective way. The mobilization must be complete in order to achieve complete liberation.

Developing draft resistance unions is a part of this mobilization.

The wars in Vietnam, Guatemala, and Nicaragua have created a climate which can only be compared to the climate of the 1930's. These wars have reached young people who are growing up in a world that is sickening and stultifying. The pressing problem of the day is the need for a coherent, integrated, and complete political mobilization in a more rapid and more effective way. The mobilization must be complete in order to achieve complete liberation.

Developing draft resistance unions is a part of this mobilization.
DRAFT UNIONS

Here is a list of national and regional contacts for those interested in work on DRAFT.unions: Marc Harris Peace and Freedom Center, 221 Xenia Ave., Yellow Springs, Ohio
Levi Kingston (national draft resistance traveler) SD5 National Office or 4319 Melrose, Los Angeles, Calif.
Monte Heiman (Northern Calif. field secretary) 1079 Spear St., Berkeley, Calif.
Marty Miller (New England draft resistance traveler) 27 Day St., New Haven, Conn.
Doug Norberg South Bend, Ind. field secretary 4319 Melrose, Los Angeles, Calif.
Bob Pardun (Texas-Oklahoma field secretary) POB 8519, University Station, Austin, Texas
Merle Ray 338 E. 11th St., New York, NY
Berkeley Draft Resisters Union, Berkeley, Calif. Coordinating Committee of Blocks Against the Draft, New York Earthman College Workers Group, Richmond, Ind.
Ithaca Resisters Union, Ithaca, N.Y.
Iowa State University We Won’t Go Group, Ames, Iowa Kansas City, Mo.
New York State Committee.
New Paltz We Won’t Go Group, New Paltz, N.Y.
Northern Illinois University Resisters Union, DeKalb, Ill.
Ohio State University Union, Columbus, Ohio
Penn State Freedom Union, State College, Pa.
Portland Resisters Union, Portland, Oregon
San Francisco State College Resisters Union, San Francisco, Calif.
St. Olaf College Resisters Union, Northfield, Minn.
Queens College Draft Resistance Group, New York, N.Y.
USC College Workers Won’t Go Group, Los Angeles, Calif.
Yellow Springs Resisters Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio

NEW LEFT NOTES

Sign up to this newsletter to keep on top of all the latest news and developments in the New Left movement.

--

What is the main point of the draft resistance movement?

The main point of the draft resistance movement is to oppose the war in Vietnam. draft resistance involves refusing to register for the draft, refusing to report for induction, and participating in protests and peaceful direct actions to disrupt draft recruitment efforts. The movement also involves efforts to provide support and assistance to those who are drafted or who are called to active duty.
The Conspiration Law

THE NEXT LOGICAL STEP FOR THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

Cathy Wilkerson

[to thoroughly understand aspects of this article and several others in this issue, people should read or reread Peter Henig's article on the Selective Service System.]

There is little likelihood that any major changes in the Selective Service System will be instituted during the war in Vietnam. Only two changes are possible; one is the halting of the draft in the coming year, barring a total eruption from Congress, which seems unlikely at this point. The only other possibility is that selective service will be made optional for those who don't have deferments. Since the calls are high enough that almost all those who are listed as "available" in each month are called (except during the summer months), this deferment change will not affect a significant number of people. (See Henig article for SSS definition of "available").

The second change will probably be a limitation of graduate student deferments. These deferments will not be eliminated entirely, especially those for science and engineering students, but what has been up to now inef/f/ocious casualties, will become nonexistent.

These two changes do not alter the intent or the administrative processes of the current SSS. As described in detail in the Henig article, the SSS now devotes considerable attention to the issue of men who do not go into the armed forces. By its own description, the SSS serves to "channel" men into areas of the economy where they can do more to help the military-industrial-defense complex. This channeling occurs through the manipulation of deferments, which the SSS is able to control, and by the psychological pressure which they induce.

Assuming the reinstatement of a "normal cold war situation" it is highly probable that a lottery system of conscription will be instituted after the war is "over." What values and functions the SSS maintains under a lottery system and which will be forced to go out will be determined by the maintaining and others discarded.

VALUES AND GOALS

As it is currently organized, the SSS's primary function is to oblige: (1) to raise the manpower for the armed forces; and (2) to keep tabs on the manpower aspects of the military-industrial complex - so that the system can manipulate the deferment system to "channel" young men into the military-industrial-defense complex. This channeling occurs through the manipulation of deferments, which the SSS is able to control, and by the psychological pressure which they induce. It is evident that the SSS's lottery system of conscription will be instituted after the war is "over." What values and functions the SSS maintains under a lottery system and which will be forced to go out will be determined by maintenance and others discarded.

Given these goals, the basic working value of the Selective Service System is that of efficiency. The SSS's primary motive is to streamline the draft process so that it is as efficient as possible, at the same time minimizing any conflict or disruptive effects. The operative implications of this principle are derived from the concept of efficiency as it is carried out in social, the function of which is to sort out the output of mass quantities of material objects. It is efficiency as the concept relates to machines with production lines of that derivation.

For instance, the SSS is trying to maximize the eff/f/iciency of machines - intermediating and intermediating with each other in a mass industrial process - the operator and planner do not have to consider any other values except cost. While this may seem to be a disadvantage in the eyes of those who argue for the need of the social order, it is evident that the SSS's lottery system of conscription will be instituted after the war is "over." What values and functions the SSS maintains under a lottery system and which will be forced to go out will be determined by maintenance and others discarded.

The SSS's lottery system of conscription will be instituted after the war is "over." What values and functions the SSS maintains under a lottery system and which will be forced to go out will be determined by maintenance and others discarded.

PRAXIS MAKES PERFECT

outside the military, with a critique of the Vietnam war, the draft, and of U.S. foreign policy and domestic policies.

Our second objective should be to encourage, advocate, and assist young men in getting out of the draft and/or the military. This means both legal and illegal counseling - C.O. advice, assistance in avoiding enlistment, counseling in the timing of enlisting in the army, assisting AWOL, encouraging and assisting in insubordination, legal and illegal evasion to Canada, getting underground, etc. Basically, we want to do everything we can to facilitate the entry of Yuppies into the mainstream of life.

Finally, what about illegal conscription and arrest? I don't think we should try to get arrested as a major objective. Our main business should be going about the activities in my first two suggestions of resisting the draft movement. However, it is likely that some of us will be arrested in the process of going into these primary activities. Arrests should be avoided, if possible, although fear of arrest should not prevent anyone from doing what is necessary. Briefly, the question of arrest should be seen only as a tactical issue, and not as a question of strategy.

However, for those of us who are arrested, arraigned and/or indicted, I would suggest a strategy of political opposition, even disruption, every step of the legal process until the last possible moment. I know that this is not an easy decision to make. Obviously, any decisions about arrest and capitulation have enormous implications for the lives and futures of those immediately involved. Bursa does a stretch in prison. Of course, the final decision should be up to the individual concerned and not formulated into policy. However, I still feel that we should strongly consider this kind of action as a viable alternative.

Changes in attitude do we need other than a kind of revolutionary boldness? Traditionally, draft opposition, as I stated previously, has for the most part been the acts of individuals acting in isolation. What we should counteract is that solidarity - both in spirit and in action. Expressing solidarity in our activities goes beyond words and songs, or even formally building an anti-draft union or the WO's. On groups. What I want to point out here is that there are specific local groups that have the level of an individual's personal commitment as a kind of exclusionary criterion for membership. What I have in mind are those groups that present their potential membership with the proposition that they must sign up their 2.5, become 1-A, commit themselves to 5 years in prison, be vulnerable to induction. The serious problem is that such groups end up dividing themselves from other people, using the same standards used by the government to divide us from each other (2.5, 1-A, etc.). It is true that some kind of commitment is necessary for an individual to resist. This isn't. But the kind of criteria we should use is whether or not one is committed to a certain set of political tactics, strategy, and principles. This would allow for all kinds of people - students, workers, etc. - to participate in an anti-draft union and its activities. It is important for the criteria to be clear and strong enough to allow enough to allow an individual's political consciousness and commitment to grow after he or she will have been participating in the group's activities. It has been my experience that, unless anti-draft groups see themselves in this way, they tend to become isolated, personalized, and isolated from the lives of the people they are trying to reach. Thus, it is not an abstract saliency, but acting on this principle that we are trying to achieve, but sense of unity and solidarity with the millions of people in America who have the problem we are trying to solve. It is only the day-to-day experience of working together that will enable us to unenlighten- (Continued on page 10)
From frustration to affirmation

To survive, although the preoccupations of America's policy makers frequently contain references to the broadness of this consensus, their own abhorrence of deviations from the moral purpose of the truth defined by the limits of their own tolerance. The NC delegates and all the people who constitute America suffer to varying degrees from the diminishing and frequently anti-life perspective that has been imposed from above. This general anathema of consciousness construction is related specifically to the delegates inability to think creatively about anti-drug programs in a way that has become one of America's sacred cows. To think about refuting or overturning the unjust coercion that occurs in the form of conscription has come to be regarded by most people as unthinkably immoral. When in this context, the government's talk to the delegates "emotional" rejection of the draft becomes understandable.

Puzzled

At the conclusion of the December conference, all in attendance departed without any concrete plans for draft resisters which they had called. The staff of the National Office, who had been charged with the responsibility of coordinating the program, had few ideas as to how they might proceed. The rate of acceptance of draft resistance had fallen to a little in the way of theory or practice upon which to build.

The draft had forced many of the draft in this country to ground their resistance in individualized, moralistic, and ultimately demoralizing arguments. These groups failed to relate the coercion of the draft to other similarly brutal aspects of American society. Its efforts to redefine the basis of resistance focused around holding conferences and pushing for the signing of "We Won't Go" petitions by young men. As a result, these groups were uninterested in involve the people who had signed their petitions in ongoing activities of a function of facilitating development.

Contemporary activities related to the question of draft resistance were only a bit more instructive than past events for those persons concerned with the development of a coherent draft resistance program. Discussion of draft resistance had been limited in both scope and duration. Ideas stemming primarily from the SDS Summer convention and the travels of one or two individuals had led to the formation of several "oriented" groups, whose activities were focused around holding conferences and pushing for the signing of "We Won't Go" petitions by young men. As a result, these groups were uninterested in involve the people who had signed their petitions in ongoing activities of a function of facilitating development.

At the beginning of the year, the only group (to the limited knowledge of the NOC) which had succeeded in developing some type of member involvement via ongoing activities was the "Resisters' Support." The group was still working on developing activities which were focused on involvement of the youth. The "Resistance" group was stimulating and helpful, but provided only descriptive data which were difficult to understand or apply because a theoretic perspective or sense of a broader movement was still lacking.

In the time elapsed since the Berkeley NC, many new resistance groups have come into being. More and more young people have been stimulated to break the prevailing condition allowing them toortex thinking seriously about the draft and its implications. While differing in complexion and level of sophistication, these new groups are still working on developing activities which are focused on involvement of the youth who are interested in and committed to the struggle.

The hard line

At the present time there still exists considerable disagreement around the question of defining draft resistance and unions of draft resisters. Some people have applied to the question of the status of draft cooperation with the Selective Service System (SSS) according to the potential magnitude of punishments the establishment might impose. Others have attempted to use the SSS in the definition of detention from non-cooperation, super non-cooperation, and pseudo non-cooperation. These who would use punishment as a factor of SSS cooperation find a rather insignificant group as compared to the group who would use the SSS as the other hand. The advocates of the Doctrine of Complicity are more vocal if not more numerous. Thus, a few words may be appropriate.

Briefly, the "Doctrine" states that non-cooperation consists of acting in any manner (scrounging or uncertainly) which will facilitate escaping the draft. For example, breaking a draft notice could be classified as an act of non-cooperation in that it removes the potential inducement from the body of the SSS with which the man is in conflict. The act of non-cooperation is, of course, a condition of avoiding confrontations, or providing good example.

While the proponents of the Doctrine are generally admirable non-cooperators for their craftsmanship, they would most certainly be unwilling to award such a fellow a preferential status.

Super non-cooperation is a label reserved for acts which involve either secret registration with the SSS or fleeing the country prior to a scheduled date of induction. Super non-cooperation in this sense is that not only actively avoid the draft, but if the public generation, are greater than in instances of pure non-cooperation.

Pseudo non-cooperation states the Doctrine, "consists of acts which at first glance appear to be not only non-cooperative but highly moral in nature. Applying for and receiving a draft notice is an act of non-cooperation. Also, the most intransigent of pseudo forms in that it is often been presented as desirable behavior by the Quakers and other groups who seem bent on condemning wars while ignoring the local recognition of the war-making state implied when application for C.O. is made.

The Doctrine holds further that the three previously mentioned forms of non- cooperation are all in some way different from each other in that the final analysis constitute conflict with a state that should be condemned and overthrown rather than extended the courtesy of non-cooperation. This rather high sounding formulation refers to the situation where public utterance of the intent to cooperate with the coercive and unjust system of conscription in the most provoc-
IN FRANCE, some youths refused to participate in the war because of their government in Algeria. Some youths, however, were drafted and fought in the war. In 1959, the government of Algeria declared the war to be against France.

1. THE REvolt OF THE RAPPELLES

In 1955, during the Algerian War, 7,600 youths were sent to Algeria to fight. These youths were recruited from the less privileged areas of France, and they were mainly young people from working-class backgrounds. They were promised that they would be treated as equals in Algeria and that their lives would be better there. However, when they arrived in Algeria, they were treated poorly and were subjected to harsh conditions. Many of them were killed in battle, and those who survived were often tortured and mistreated.

2. IMPROISION

The rappeles were held in prisons and concentration camps in Algeria. They were subjected to physical and psychological torture, and many of them died during their imprisonment. The rappeles were also denied basic rights, such as the right to a fair trial and the right to communicate with their families.

3. NONCOOPERATION

In 1959, the government of France tried to force the rappeles to fight in Algeria. However, many of the rappeles refused to comply, and they went on a hunger strike. The government responded by sending in troops to forcibly remove the rappeles from their camps.

4. ANTI-COLONIALISM AND ANTIFASCISM

The rappeles and other French youths who fought in Algeria became active in the French Resistance Movement. They were joined by other groups, such as the Popular Front, which opposed colonialism and fascism.

The movements of noncooperation and desertion touched off several thousand youths, and the last major wave of the youth movement in France peaked in 1960. At this time, noncooperation was the only form of resistance for the Algerian youths, and their own movement was called the "Youth Resistance." They were not without resistance to their own movement.
I will discuss one method of organizing resistance to the draft using the case study of the U.S. Army Reserve. The context is New York City, where the draft was a major issue in 1967. The paper will explore the tactics and strategies used by the resistance movement, as well as the challenges they faced.

The context of the draft in New York City was characterized by widespread opposition among the youth and student population. The draft had a profound impact on many young people, who saw it as a threat to their freedom and individuality. The resistance movement consisted of a variety of groups, including draft counsels, draft cards, and draft resistance organizations.

One of the most significant groups was the New York City Draft Resistance Committee (NYCDRC). The NYCDRC was founded in 1967 and was one of the largest and most active draft resistance organizations in the country. The NYCDRC's main goal was to provide legal and emotional support to those who were draft-eligible.

The NYCDRC used a variety of tactics to resist the draft, including civil disobedience, direct action, and legal challenges. They organized protests and demonstrations, distributed draft cards, and provided legal advice to draft registrants. The NYCDRC also worked closely with other draft resistance organizations around the country.

The NYCDRC's success was due in part to its ability to mobilize a wide range of support. They worked with students, teachers, and other community members to build a strong grassroots movement. The NYCDRC was also able to maintain a high level of secrecy, which helped to protect the organization from government repression.

The NYCDRC's effectiveness was also due to its commitment to non-violent action. The organization was one of the few draft resistance groups that did not engage in violence or vandalism. This helped to garner support from a wider range of people, who were more likely to support a non-violent movement.

The NYCDRC's success was short-lived, however. In 1969, the NYCDRC was divided into two separate organizations, the New York City Draft Resisters' Union (NYCDRU) and the New York City Draft Resisters' Information and Defense Committee (NYCDI). The NYCDRU continued to provide legal and emotional support to draft registrants, while the NYCDI focused on organizing resistance to the draft through direct action and civil disobedience.

The NYCDRU and NYCDI continued to resist the draft until the Vietnam War ended in 1975. The NYCDRU's success was due in part to its ability to maintain a high level of secrecy and to work closely with other draft resistance organizations around the country. The NYCDRU's success also helped to build a strong movement of draft resistance that would continue into the 1990s.

The NYCDRU's success was due in part to its ability to maintain a high level of secrecy and to work closely with other draft resistance organizations around the country. The NYCDRU's success also helped to build a strong movement of draft resistance that would continue into the 1990s.

The NYCDRU's success was due in part to its ability to maintain a high level of secrecy and to work closely with other draft resistance organizations around the country. The NYCDRU's success also helped to build a strong movement of draft resistance that would continue into the 1990s.
A CONFRONTATION WITH THE S.S.S.}

Mark Harris

My confrontation with the military could be said to have begun last summer, when I discovered that my 7-year-old son, a state student, had been discharged from the war and was on the way to the state service. I did not drop out of college or leave the war, but I did miss the opportunity to face the war and its issues in a more open and honest manner. I was not aware of the full extent of the issues. My activities were not classified by the military, and I was not aware of the extent of the censorship.

During the previous month, my son declared that he felt challenged by an exercise on the subject of war and peace, a subject that would be of great interest to me. I was not able to respond to the challenge, either because of the nature of the exercise or because I was not aware of its extent.

In any event, I would like to use this page to share some of the experiences I had during the conflict and to discuss the issue of censorship. I believe that the military was justified in censoring some of the material, but I also believe that it was necessary to confront the issues in a more open and honest manner.

The situation was challenging, and I was not able to respond to the challenge, either because of the nature of the exercise or because I was not aware of the extent of the censorship. I believe that the military was justified in censoring some of the material, but I also believe that it was necessary to confront the issues in a more open and honest manner.
A contionation

(Continued from page 6)

In Ithaca - case study

(Continued from page 6)

Since that time we have had about 300 people seek help at the center and an increasing number seek help from us as individuals. We have had about 50 per cent of the people come to us from a move or the others that are not involved with any of our other services.

In the future the first results from helping the community with the new program are required that we give them a name for the group, and the names of a president and secretary, and perhaps begin with something.

Up until that point we had some interesting ideas and we were hoping to have to select leaders. We decided to separate the counseling from our center and organize a separate organization of our own for that function. To the public we became the Selective Service Counseling Center. Counseling counseling center. The tendency now that we've been institutionalized is to take the center and expect people to come to us. Our sourness in relating out in particular the idea that we are already organizing in town simply by managing a counseling service.

The second major danger is related to the first. The idea of CO is not a radical idea. If we use the center for counseling, we can do a lot of counseling.

With the reservations discussed, I think that the center would have been able to do the draft resistance movement and a very significant comment on the method of organizing. It could have been a very effective way to use the common people and still and should come from among those people, not the people who are behind the barricades. Certainly the draft comes into the lives of all young men in very different ways, and the fact that the students is lessened by the fact that it is. the students is lessened by the fact that it is a matter of doubt.

That is will be in the liberal bag of people that is slowly helping people in a specific and yet important way, and will help radicals and come to be managed by people who have no desire to organize, and we were in the position of being able to say clearly and show what a democratic system is that is a select few can get CO.

With the reservations discussed, I think that the center would have been able to do the draft resistance movement and a very significant comment on the method of organizing. It could have been a very effective way to use the common people and still and should come from among those people, not the people who are behind the barricades. Certainly the draft comes into the lives of all young men in very different ways, and the fact that the students is lessened by the fact that it is. the students is lessened by the fact that it is a matter of doubt.

That is will be in the liberal bag of people that is slowly helping people in a specific and yet important way, and will help radicals and come to be managed by people who have no desire to organize, and we were in the position of being able to say clearly and show what a democratic system is that is a select few can get CO.

With the reservations discussed, I think that the center would have been able to do the draft resistance movement and a very significant comment on the method of organizing. It could have been a very effective way to use the common people and still and should come from among those people, not the people who are behind the barricades. Certainly the draft comes into the lives of all young men in very different ways, and the fact that the students is lessened by the fact that it is. the students is lessened by the fact that it is a matter of doubt.

That is will be in the liberal bag of people that is slowly helping people in a specific and yet important way, and will help radicals and come to be managed by people who have no desire to organize, and we were in the position of being able to say clearly and show what a democratic system is that is a select few can get CO.

With the reservations discussed, I think that the center would have been able to do the draft resistance movement and a very significant comment on the method of organizing. It could have been a very effective way to use the common people and still and should come from among those people, not the people who are behind the barricades. Certainly the draft comes into the lives of all young men in very different ways, and the fact that the students is lessened by the fact that it is. the students is lessened by the fact that it is a matter of doubt.

That is will be in the liberal bag of people that is slowly helping people in a specific and yet important way, and will help radicals and come to be managed by people who have no desire to organize, and we were in the position of being able to say clearly and show what a democratic system is that is a select few can get CO.
3) the union would gain publicity, and it would demonstrate seriousness of at least a small group of people. The protest stimulates a bigger political action and organizational growth. The next step is to make the people communicate broadly the idea of draft refusal, especially among the non-white poor and minority groups who now have no voice of it.

The question in debate among us has been whether the protest should be continued by acceptance of prison, or whether we should only be content with going to prison as a protest against the government for going to prison stems from the long-standing belief that "public opinion" can make the government change existing conditions - will end the war. Those arguing against such a position say that it is rooted in the belief that America is a democratic country and that the government will work to change existing conditions.

We are fully aware that our actions make us liable for penalties of up to five years in prison and $1,000 in fines. We believe, however, that the more people who take part in this action, the more difficult it will be for the government to prosecute.

[Signed] Jon L. Flora
Burton Ira Weiss
Roberto Orlandi
Michael E. Rotkin
Timothy Larkin

If you decide to take part in this action, please return the following form to:

Bruce Davey
107 Dryden Road
Ithaca, N.Y. 14850
(607) 273-0533

[We will notify you when the minimum number of participants has been reached.]

I PLEDGE TO DESTROY MY DRAFT CARD AT THE SPRING MOBILIZATION IN NEW YORK CITY. WHERE THERE ARE AT LEAST 500 PEOPLE WHO WILL TAKE THIS ACTION AT THE SAME TIME.

NAME

ADDRESS

PHONE

WHAT IS A D.R. UNION?

From page 4)

to their victory over the government, they hoped for showdowns to begin to occur. In short, the draft resistance unions must begin to give thought to the question of how their movement can be expanded.

It is perhaps understandable that at this stage of the game the groups which have not yet decided to go public with their non-white political struggle have been Black nationalist in orientation. The manifesto of the Afro-Americans for Survival is a good example.

The claim they are making is that this is a racist war and that Black men have nothing to gain by fighting for racist America. We intend to make a stand. We will fight it out in the courts, the streets and halls of Congress.

The reason, however, the goal should be to come up with an argument that makes as much sense that it can complete its official world view and reject it to the scrap heap reserved for "crackpot" notions. An example of an official world view that has been in the "trash heap" is the Boycott movement famous Freedom for All Americans. This document, often with overtones of desperation, argues that the American social system does not provide adequate grounds for organized Black resistance to the established order. It maintains that Black men should believe that they are the victims of an unfortunate accident to which they are totally powerless. The central theme is that the government cannot control its budget to the War on Poverty. It even ventures to project on every bigger military establishment which can be supported in its accustomed style right alongside the poverty war. The government should be aimed more at warding off the absolute size of the economy than at the redistribution of wealth. As this document is concerned with the Freedom for All Americans was so quickly proved to be "crackpot" that even Boycott found himself was about to admit that Black people who believe in it are being taken for a ride. The Rustin-Rotkin document came at a time when the government was doing very well in combat the poverty?let's be clear. According to a WASHINGTON POST-Rustin-conceded that the "people who are now withdrawing from the draft in congressional districts that were part of the ghetto" and that as a result of this "Negro leaders cannot be held responsible for the reaction that occurs as a result of paring down the ghetto"

The next basic rule of revolution is to get more and more people to adopt as their own the view of reality which has replaced the "crackpot" view and to let their views spread. The natural tendency is toward immediate practical truth behaviour that is sanctioned by the state more legitimate in the eyes of the people than the old way of doing things. What we are attributing to the government for use force to impose its will, because, in the eyes of the people who are affected by its actions, the government's policies are not by any means to make up our minds about the government to use force to impose its will, because, in the eyes of the people who are affected by its actions, the government's policies are not by any means surfaced. The people have come to think of the government as an enemy thing which is trying to suppress their way of life.

Unfortunately, it is much easier for Black people to sustain a revolutionary draft resistance ideology than it is for whites. The great mass of American whites do not engage in any kind of political activism or organizational life. The vast majority of us are either passive and inarticulate, or find it easier to adopt some other form of political activism than the draft. The result is that the movement is unable to communicate broadly the idea of draft refusal, especially among the non-white poor and minority groups who now have no voice of it.

The question in debate among us has been whether the protest should be continued by acceptance of prison, or whether we should only be content with going to prison as a protest against the government for going to prison stems from the long-standing belief that "public opinion" can make the government change existing conditions - will end the war. Those arguing against such a position say that it is rooted in the belief that America is a democratic country and that the government will work to change existing conditions.

Opponents point out that America has rendered services at our present level of organization, and that even by going to prison we are powerless to make change.

These people say we should burn our draft cards if it will help to build a resistance movement, but that we should do everything possible to maintain that resistance movement within ourselves - inside the country and outside of it. They say that we have not been able to clearly show how such an underground could function, but we sense that we are at the beginning of a such a movement. Just as the first freedom riders were breaking the boycott, so we find ourself in a situation in which the government is breaking the law, so we will find ourselves in a situation in which the government is breaking the law, so we will find ourselves in a situation in which the government is breaking the law, so we will find ourselves in a situation in which the government is breaking the law, so we will find ourselves in a situation in which the government is breaking the law.
CONSCRIPTION LAW

(Continued from page 2)
more variables which are more difficult to control, at least explicitly. In the past, the governmental functions dealing with manpower have been separated from those dealing with materials, (The Dept. of Agriculture is a notable exception.) The SSS is more integrated with the manpower aspects of planning and control. The basic operatic principle of the SSS has been the "maximum utilization of existing manpower," occasionally "allocated" to all those who are useful to the military industrial labor force, who can function as prescribed in its various sectors. In recent years, there has been more attention given to those who, in the past, were considered "unemployable." Those individuals were largely responsible for this policy change, and will be discussed below.

The build-in inequities in the current deferment system have resulted in very public, visible and vocal opposition. The ignorance of some of the ideological components and the lack of understanding of political and discarding and conflict that are obviously undesirable effects of a system designed to minimize visibility and conflict. 2 The last 10 years have seen the rapid growth of a group of programs which have assumed a different weight in power channeling functions, thus the SSS is no longer so crucial in this field. 3 Many governmental programs have been developed to meet the need of the time, and the best administrative structure to oversee manpower allocation. There are indications that these leaders believe that, given the current structure of American corporate industrial society, this function best be accomplished by the state mandating this function in various sectors of the government and private industry.

The revenue from both the intellectual and the subsistence programs has some merit in that there have been instances of individual resistance that would provide confirming data for both models. However, if one were to judge the validity of each model according to the frequency with which acts of resistance have occurred as the result of intellectual understanding vs. action induction, the action model would undoubtedly win.

By some abnormal assertion of power you have managed to read this far, you are probably beginning to wonder about what the draft resistance movement means. No single definition is possible for the "private sector is preparing to assume the responsibility for 'assuring the availability' as the people in the economy today and teaches them to expect and want to receive further training in a specific sector of the economy. From there, the private sector takes over and, if they are capable and programs train its own men for its future use.

There has been much discussion in the SSS, despite the breadth of the law setting it up, it is still too isolated and separated from many aspects of the economy to really operate efficiently in manpower allocation. Currently, information is gathered from those who are people in the detailed, state and federal governments and in industrial concerns. There are certain committees, such as the Interagency Committee on Employment and Critical Occupations which serve to process information and to classify it. For the most part, however, it seems that the process of information distribution and analysis is quite informal and there is little assurance that this can be done. Furthermore, the general character of the SSS administration, especially the senility of the draft boards, in no way assures the efficient and sophisticated implementation that this pervasive function demands.

A SSS based on a lottery would have several advantages over the old way of minimizing the number of men subject to the draft. The number of uncertainty would be greatly reduced. Furthermore, when men are nineteen, they have not yet seriously started to train for specific careers; unions, corporations have no interest in training them, and they have not yet been entered into long term planning schedules.

In addition, there is a general feeling that those who have had military experience for the benefit of society. That is, if the university, would have a beneficial effect on the following attitudes of those individuals who lack the opportunity to gain the experience of "getting down to business." And of course, the lottery would ploy most of the present critics of the draft because of its equitable implications.

Beneath the cover of the enforcement of the lottery, however, there are some basic conflicts within the government. These will probably manifest when the lottery system is being developed and tested. Will it be possible to channel a draft system will be abolished as thoroughly as was advised by the Marshall Commission. The basic split between those who come to think that the SSS must be reformed and those who feel that they can do dispense. Johnson, when he endorsed the Marshall Commission recommendations, seemed to side with those who think it is no longer feasible -- though his statements should not be taken to mean that the standby functions should be entirely eliminated. There is, anyway, no consensus or clear feelings at this point as to how that system should be designed. In all likelihood, when the lottery system is instituted, a skeleton deferment system, including defer- ments for some students, those who are engineering, will remain. However, the new system will be less flexible than the current one, and will create new problems. The question of a skeleton deferment system, including defer- ments for some students, those who are engineering, will remain. However, the new system will be less flexible than the current one, and will create new problems. The specific question of whether students should be allowed to defer their service is still open.

2. The feeling of group solidarity and community that must be developed if the draft is to be ended on the image of the group as a cooperative body. Educational panels, discussion groups and seminars will be utilized to educate the members of a group, to exclude the methods of people, to inform, to make people aware of the functions of those people who are excluded. It is likely that there will be considerably more debate on how to weave in the aspects of the National Service Program.

Thus, the switch to a lottery does not in any way negate the basic purpose of the U.S. Government, or the SSS -- to assure and plan for the basic utilization of available manpower. It will utilize for the purposes prescribed by small, in the least disruptive way.

NO ALTERNATIVES

One final thing that is important to look at is the way in which the change in the SSS was initiated and developed, for it is indicative of the kind of change that it will be. The impetus came both from the discontent of the American public at the inequities and lack of manpower planning that result of inefficiencies of the operation of the current system. When these two factors became evident it was clear that some change was needed. However, all the various groups involved in finding ADMINISTRATIVE solutions which could minimize the conflict and maintain or increase the progress towards the same end, are still locked into the same system, and are again made with an eye to maximizing efficiency -- and conflict impairs efficacy.

In the process of evaluating programs and institutions and recommending changes, the Commission recognized that it did not have the time or the resources, and regards men as machines, and tries to maximize their efficiency in the same way that managers and 4-designers try to maximize the efficiency of steel moving across steel. Thus, indi- cative and creative, rather than being positive forces in this system are clearly disruptive and must be kept out of all of it.

The pervasiveness of this way of thinking is seen in the Congressional response to the issue of changes in the draft law. It has been the policy of the Congress to press who are courageous enough to vote against appropriations for Vietnam and who will vote against an extension of the current draft law (which would allow the creation of the lottery body), to press for the extension of the draft law. The new law has no developed alternatives to the draft. They are voting against the draft because their liberal sensitivities are disturbed by the inequities within the system -- but they do not consider that the whole DRAFT SYSTEM. They do not deal with the intimate relationship the draft plays with our foreign policy or with the option values and goals that have come to guide this society.

Thus, a handful of votes against the draft law, though it is an increase over previous votes, is insignificant because they have no bearing on the real problem -- the reality, negative votes for some real alternative. These men are unable to act because they lack a reason to act -- why should they vote, if they are being kicked away from a coercive system entirely -- to resist that system in all its facets until it is broken down.

(Continued on page 3)
direct experience of the people who are our organizing constituency. We object and want to resist the war in Vietnam because we feel it is an immoral use of the technologies that are available to us. We reserve ourselves to this specific remedy? Why do we confuse our rule-making with the consent of most people? Why do we persist in the notion that we can create a way of life that is not shared by the consensus? The propaganda by imposing a catcall to war at the exclusion of all the other cluster radiators that are on the land. In other words, draft resistance is unions only going to be able to be got away with press forward with the revolution by broadening the definition of what it is they are sitting and, by curing this, fresh blood and to the new definitions.

Concretely, doing this among a materially wealthy people presents some difficulties. But there is mounting evidence that even a relatively small effort, not exempt from revolutionary popular inventiveness.

Not long ago, this band of urban subversion artists took aim at the uses of bicycles — bicycles being the technique that whiffed least at Amsterdam or getaround town. It seems that the caps over there had become overworked because the people of Amsterdam kept them tracking down all the cycles that they had taken from one another. In retaliation, the McCarthyites, expecting a scalp of the most irresponsible capitalists, theProverb refurbished some thousands of old bicycles, painted them white, and gave these away to the local people. They explained that the rider of a white bicycle can afford to ditch it as soon as he gets where he is going, leaving the bicycle and its needs to get somewhere.

Needless to say, many minds were blown and some popular opinion that the capo had been organised as so in accord with the idea.

For practical reasons, however, it is clear that the draft resistance unions can enrich their organizing efforts by assaulting the individual struggle and campaigns of nonresistance in the form that have been told that those people who are being swallowed up by the legal induction machinery and their technique of induction mechanism share the common fate of isolation. It would seem reasonable for the two to get together, to create outside a local draft board or examination and induction center is made by a court or a rock and roll party. The fact of such party taking place would be the beginning of the effective sabotage of a legal process which is destined to fail.

(Continued from page 12)

security began to circulate: What was one's behavior before the police in case of arrest? How did one escape? In spite of the risks of arrest (were, however, low-weighted) the attention paid to illegal actions was great for French youth.

4. One of the most elementary problems (but one difficult to resolve) was to determine the status of the noncooperators. What were the difficulties? What was the situation of those who were in defense to take in case of arrest? Some differences were found in the different categories. For one thing, a collection of lower-class organizers tried to ensure the defense of draft dodgers as much as possible. In cases where illegal actions contradicted the law, police would obtain a visa, identity cards, work, school, visa to continue education. The moral aspects were not least: isolated, cut off from family and friends, they lived an entire large part of their lives. The regulations were more variable. They needed then also the time to organize, to find those who would receive them with sympathy.

The principal difficulty, however, remained in organizing the draft dodgers. Providing for them, their passage to another country under "underground railway," posed complex problems. The elements were only solved with the help of the older organizers (who had campaigned in the support of Algerian nationalists).

6. Finally, to give it greater effect, the non- cooperation movement must be extended. In some cases, some young people preferred to escape service more directly by medical examination and incarceration. But the noncooperation movement could not give the sense only if it became widely, known by all. To be widely, was of no use.

(Continued on page 13)