REAWAKENING RESISTANCE TO DRAFT REGISTRATION: SOME IMPLICATIONS--ETC(U)

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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
### Draft Registration, Conscientious Objection, U.S. Selective Service System, Conscription, Draft Resistance.

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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.
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SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR THE 1980's

by

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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.

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"We're asking a very minor demonstration of commitment 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 occurred 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 commitments 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 23 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 campuses. 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.

¹This 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 occurred 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 occurred 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 Oakes, 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 Oakes' 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 delinquents 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 Brethren. 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 defendant 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 delinquencies 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 must 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 delegitimizing 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 peacetime 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 picketed 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 acquittal 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 exaggerate 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 audience 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 eligibility 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 block 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 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 nationwide 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.


The fourth meeting I attended took place on September 23, 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 resistance 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 the draft occurred 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 penalties 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 reasonable 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 defendants 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 non-profit 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.

²These 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-desirable. 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 130, 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 prosecutors and judges.

Most of the anti-registration literature warns of the penalties 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 acquittal. 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 S4 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 occurred on November 17, 1980, when 1,500 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 spokesperson 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.

76
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-desirable intrusion into one's life (especially in the case of minorities and women), registration was still listed as an alternative and the penalties for violating the Selective Service Act were always carefully pointed out.

As far as potential defenses 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 con-
scientious objector? The government 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 January 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 re-
gistration. 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 registration 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, 247-7000

August, 1960

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:

CCCC
(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

ccc

Enclosures
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 21212
2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge MA 02139
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 94110
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 200 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 alarmingly adds to escalating tensions and the rising risk of hostilities between the United States and the Soviet Union. The steady 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 objects 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 750,000 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. 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.
President Carter's announcement that he will ask for draft registration of young men and women 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 revise the SSS. Money must by all means be used in order to develop registration cards, hire new draft personnel, work on the proposed computerization of registration (which would not relieve the option to resist), and set up local draft boards. By recognizing that the SSS cannot be revived without money, we can stop the reinstatement 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 without 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 300 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 latest 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 at 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? In 1970 year old men and women, if registration were to proceed as this spring, those born in 1964-69 would be required to register beginning in 1961 and in succeeding years, all young people would register in the year of their 18th birthday.

2) How will registration work? Those born 1949-51 will be called to fill out a form at their local draft office. The form will be filled with the SSS in Washington. Each registrant will receive a receipt from the SSS acknowledging the registration. There will be no draft cards issued now.

3) Why don't we have all been able to delay as conscientious objectors? There will be no classifications or deferments printed now. There is talk that you will have to file to be a C.O. once you have received 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 start clarifying their beliefs, developing a file and getting counseling now.

4) How will they enforce registration? The government and the SSS are very serious about this matter. They have begun an 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 returning to re-register is a maximum of 3 years in jail and/or $10,000. More later.
5) Should women be considered as part of
equal rights? If so, they should have to
be registered or drafted in the near at-
tract. Registration and the draft are
both unfair. Women are burdened
task of the many. Women
and men all have equal rights not to be
drafted.
6) Can public opinion defeat registration
and the draft? If what is clear in Car-
ter's call for registration is that he
is very worried about large-scale op-
opposition on the part of the general pub-
ic, particularly young people. The
decision to limit registration to 18-20
year olds is to have separate legisla-
tion for women. Law 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 po-
tential opposition. At the same time,
CAF and NISHCO report that many in Con-
gress have taken a definite position
on the issue. They are waiting to raise
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
**APSC, 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 Durenberger know
how you feel. His vote is 'important' (Send to 329 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 distribution, envelopes to address
on the spot and a cup for no-cost donations. Send these off immediately! Bay Area
High school students are having good success with this campaign. In some
areas 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 the crucial vote. Have phone captains responsible for getting the message to ten
other 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 or a project let us know. We will spread the word on it!

**RESOURCES**

AFSC-2160 Lake St, SF CA 94134-materials, speakers, organizing strategies, contact
with local groups, newsletter

War Resisters League-1300 Howard, SF CA 94103 626-976. Materials, speakers
(women and the military), library, newsletter.

Veterans for Draft Resistance, 70 Box
40755 SF CA 94134 804-7743. Speakers

CEC, 350 1st Ave, SF CA 94122 566-
0500. Counseling and written materials
for CO's

Dick Castille, 11 16th Ave, SF CA
666-0696 Counseling for CO's. Call
for next session.

FCAM—Listen for up-to-the-draft info,
contact them for anti-draft publicity

**CALENDAR**

3/18-80 Marty and Media 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 767-7391. Info
3/9 and 3/15. CO and other counseling for
young people with Dick Castille. AFSC,
2160 Lake St, SF 752-7766.

3/12 Community meeting: "The Middle East, the
Draft and You" with Alli Ayem and Andy
Cor of AFSC. At La Pena, 3105 Shattuck,
Berk. 845-2353. 7:30 PM

3/20 Meeting on the draft in Santa Rosa. Con-
tact S. Saw 437-3331 for info

4/26 SAVE THE NAACP West Coast Peace Demo-
stration, San Francisco. More later!
Don't Sign Your Life Away

This is a call to all persons between the ages of 18 and 26 to resist the draft in no uncertain terms. Congress and the President are considering reactivating the Selective Service System which has been dormant since 1973. New legislation is also in the works.


In the Senate, Sen. Robert Morgan (D-NC) has introduced a similar bill. S. 226. Sen. Harry Byrd (D-VA) and Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA) have introduced yet another bill, S. 2109, requiring registration and prohibiting the President from suspending or releasing except for 90 days to receive the procedures.

I am not concerned with discussing the finer points of each of these bills. The Armed Services Committee will be discussing them and we don't know which one they will do or how, but they all amount to conscription. We need to be very clear in our purpose and express our opposition to any kind of draft system.

In the last few years, we created a nationwide resistance movement to bring an end to the war and the draft through a national non-cooperation with the NSS. Thousands refused to register, sent back or burned their draft cards, refused to submit to induction. Others destroyed draft files and disrupted selective service offices. For those who did not, the army conscripted. Now, many of us went to prison. But the draft machine was brought to a grinding halt. Since then registration has been discontinued, the 3,000 draft boards dismantled, and the number of NSR employees reduced to 100.

Now there is a talk of cracking up the draft again, starting with registration. Once again, we need to resist passively, knowing that others will be more militant. But we can't get an excision without doing. But where do I draw the line?

How you go about it is up to you. I suggest you write to your legislators and tell them you will not register. If you wish to register, you can go to the nearest registration center and register. The important thing is to be involved in the decision and not be passive.

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 us to right action, and you can have moral principles and act accordingly.

Make your own decision. Make your own contribution. This is your life. It belongs to you, not the government.

Just what does registration entail? It is like being a slave only without wages. The procedure is as follows: Just give your name, address, date and place of birth, and answer a few questions. The consequences that are severe. Not only are you put on a list that calls you to induction and military service, but there are other effects, as well.

The registration is psychologically undermining the government's power and authority over you. You are giving up your independence to question, think, act on your own. This is what submission means.

Conscription registration is meant to intimidate you and interfere with your personal 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 that war dollars go to identify and destroy people. And cattle are branded with a metal tag, clip them, etc. Are we going to be clipped? Once you are conscripted, you will be required to wear a draft registration card and with your SSN number on it. You will be required to carry it with you at all times and show it to the authorities on demand. The card is the symbol of your subjection to the Selective Service System. They've got you now. Physically, you may have the illusion that you are still free, but the government knows your subjection and compliance. When you are needed, you will be called.
It is not enough that we tell Congress our opinion of the draft in words only. Our lives must 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.

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

— Dave Dellinger, non-registrant in WW II

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

It was in London, France, who overcame determined opposition to conscription by letting it be known by age 18 to 25. He found them young people to be the most politically sensitive and least easy to control. Later Napoleon was the least. It was up to us to defeat it a month. Today the citizens want to know how the age of 18 and women.

We see that the tyranny of conscription is deliberately aimed at young people. At age 18 what person has the maturity and breadth of experience to make an intelligent decision as to whether or not to register?..Our fights and lives must 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.

The Peace Movement

Philip B. Boll
t

Garberville, CA 95440

What About Prison?

A boy (realistically) asks: "The draft wants 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 go to jail. 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-registrations. Many of us have experienced arrest, court, and prison and would be willing to give practical advice to anyone. A Peacemaker mailing list 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 April 10, 1970. In each situation, 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 (and those who were drafted 40,000 dead 300,000 wounded). It would be a tragedy to forget the hard lessons learned and allow the government to wind conscripts all to fight another foreign war.

Peace and Conscription Leads to WAR

Lured on by military generals, adventurous 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 word concepts in undeclared foreign wars since 1950 and completed them (Korea, Viet Nam, 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 to trust the government to stay out of war unless it is justified. The absence of a draft offers a check on militarization. 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 427
Garberville, CA 95440

As author of this leaflet I am responsible for the views presented. I spent 17 months in Menominee 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 containing my views, I urge you to look over options (for those in the military or Vietnam veterans, visit a VA hospital, etc.). Above all think for yourself and make your own decisions.

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

It all revolves around unemployment. You know, it is basic that most of the brothers I met in the army were in the infantry. In combat unit, you know the area who would be doing the fighting and killing. Most of them, I found out, were just like myself; they didn't have any money, jobs were tight, and they had to survive as they could. So my... And then I heard, because I wanted to...I didn't have to go into the fight, but I noticed that most of the brothers who did go into the fight, it turned to us as it turned in a kind of madness. They didn't know what they were doing, and they didn't know what they were doing. And then, most importantly, they really did it for their own, and for the most part, their commanding officer, and the army itself, considered them expendable. But that is to point in Vietnam, and for black people, or any other people of color to stay out of the military.

—Al Capone
Black Vietnam and Korean

IF YOU FIGHT OR ARE DRAFTED: WHAT KIND OF WAR ARE YOU FIGHTING FOR?

Not just in Vietnam, but all over the world, there are wars going on. In Africa, in the Sudan, in the Middle East, in the Himalayas, in the Far East, in Asia, and in the Caribbean, there are wars going on. In Africa, for example, there is a war going on in Ethiopia, and in the Sudan, there is a war going on. In the Middle East, there is a war going on in Iraq, and in Asia, there is a war going on in Korea. In the Caribbean, there is a war going on in Cuba, and in Africa, there is a war going on in South Africa. So, not just in Vietnam, but all over the world, there are wars going on.

WHAT WILL THE REALITY BRING TO THE MILITARY?

In Vietnam, the military is a business and a way of life. It is a place where you can make a good living, and it is a place where you can make a lot of money. In the military, you can make a lot of money, and you can make a lot of money, and you can make a lot of money. So, the military is a business and a way of life.
Non-Register In
World Wars I and II

by Ammon Hennacy

I was arrested when I spoke against the coming war at
Bread and Hillel in Columbus, Ohio where about 10,000
people were listening. April 5, 1917. The next day war was
declared and I was released, but not for long. Meanwhile,
I distributed 5,000 copies of Truth to the Second Party, advising
young men to refuse to register for the draft. When I was
picked up again I asked to see Dr. Lawyer who told me I could
not see him. Dr. Lawyer, Wilson and that must be registered
for the draft in June 2nd, which is registration day. I was to be
shot on orders from Washington. It was shown a copy of the
local paper with subscription rate, 5 cents for 10 papers. I
only saw it through the bars and was not allowed to read it.
The detective said that the young social was attached to the
registration and I was to refuse our registration as far as we
had it. I also found out that he had always told me that he had
treated me not that if I gave in someone who had to ask, and I was that
one. Spike Monroe, an E.W. (the radical union) of that day,
the Industrial Workers of the World, bounded by Debs, Hay-
wood and others, from Pittsburgh who was in Columbus,
sneaked me a note and a clipping from the paper in which a
reporter asked my number if she was not threatened because I
was to be shot. She replied that that is the only thing she
was afraid of was that they might scare me to give in. I
gave me address, courage. June 2nd passed and no move
was made to charge me. Detective Wilson said that the
Government had颇urpised me, so I should give up the names of those who had helped me distribute the
leaflets. I pled guilty for my refusal to register. My partner and I each
lost 2 years in Atlanta. After this term was served I was to do
9 months in Baltimore, Ohio County Jail nearby for refusal to register.
The two guards who accompanied us to Atlanta chambered us in our Pullman berths and gave us sandwiches
prepared by other women folks, telling us that they were
marking up good meals on our expenses accounts.

Friday, July 11, 1917: As the date of my arrival in Atlanta.
My number was T-135. I was sent to the top floor of the old
cell house in a certain cell. This was occupied by someone
else that seems to have a picture of a clutter of books in the wall
and newspapers and some stuff on the floor. This cell was
8 feet long, 6 feet high, and 4 feet wide and was made of
steel. Imprisonment a lawyer, but good natured man of
about 40 or so.

"Hello lad, my name's Blackie, Peter Brockman from
Buffalo, don't ask me why I'm here. My number is on little pieces of
paper, but one to get. How 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 he was the prisoner who had written the note, and had done time with
him in Atlanta prisoner years 10 years. I read:

"Blackie, who gave you this note. I see me in the yard
this morning, but not that often, others come to the
Cathol. Massa and I'll talk to you later. Your cell
mate had put a 50 worth of tobacco in the room at the
next cell block so get the first thing you want coming in to be less cell
mate. You are the luck one. Watch him for me. Pack the
wants perfect in the prison. There is 400 in for a day
for you and you don't have the space to catch, it's worth
off tobacco from the store and give it to "Blacks" in the
jail. It was passed over and pulled strings so Blackie could
get it to the guard and pull strings for others to come through
out of the cell. I could take weeks. If you are among the
best you can.

Yours for the revolution. A.B."
I've Always Been Glad
I Did Not Register

The most difficult decision is to decide to refuse to register, for the lack of knowledge of what the decision could be and the consequences that might result. As an individual's right to vote and participate in the democratic process is a fundamental right, it is crucial to make an informed decision regarding registration.

As a country, we have a responsibility to ensure that our citizens are informed about the importance of registering to vote. The lack of awareness and education about this fundamental right can lead to a decline in voter turnout and participation in the democratic process.

To help address this issue, the government has taken steps to increase voter registration awareness. These efforts have been successful in increasing voter turnout during elections, which is crucial for a healthy democracy.

In conclusion, it is essential to make an informed decision regarding registration. The lack of knowledge and awareness can lead to a decline in voter turnout and participation in the democratic process. It is crucial to ensure that our citizens are informed about this fundamental right and encouraged to participate in the democratic process.

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Did Not Want Exception

I did not want to register as an exception to the law. I believed that the law was unjust and that registering would not change the system. I wanted to use my voice to oppose the system and to show that I was not willing to comply with it.

I also did not want to register because it was difficult to make a decision about something that I did not fully understand. The process of registering was confusing, and I did not want to be a part of it.

I wanted to make a decision based on my own values and beliefs, and I did not want to be forced to register. I believed that I was doing the right thing by refusing to register, and I was willing to face the consequences of my decision.

In conclusion, I did not want to register as an exception to the law. I believed that it was important to make a decision based on my own values and beliefs, and I was willing to face the consequences of my decision. I did not want to be forced to register and I did not want to be a part of a system that I did not support.

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I am not going to register.

I am returning to the tradition of not registering. I believe that this is the best way to live my life and to participate in the democratic process.

I respect the rights of others to register and to participate in the democratic process. I believe that everyone should be able to make their own decision about registration, and I respect their choices.

In conclusion, I am not going to register. I believe that this is the best way to live my life and to participate in the democratic process. I respect the rights of others to register and to participate in the democratic process, and I respect their choices.

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Name ____________________________

Address ____________________________

Phone ____________________________
REAWAKENING RESISTANCE TO DRAFT REGISTRATION: SOME IMPLICATIONS--ETC(U)

P J JACKSON

DEC 80
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 Nick Stryker and Mark Furman, two young men of draft age.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

96
STATEMENT

Statement on Military Registration and the Draft
January 26, 1980

President Carter's announcement that he plans to call for reinstatement 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 Congress to reject any plans to reinstate registration or conscription.

We believe reinstatement 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 heavier 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 reinstated, 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 Committee pledges its support to those young men and 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 reinstatement 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. Competitive 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 conveniences that underlie the conscientious objector position, but little has appeared setting forth the reasons for refusal to register. We want to make these pages to clarify the nonregistration position that many will choose.

The Consequences of Nonregistration

"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 may have 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 wheelchair. 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."

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 women 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 1970)
What I am advocating is draft resistance, not draft evasion. People who oppose the draft by reason 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 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 approach noncooperation with the draft.

As we look at the present attempts to reinstate the 'legal' draft, we must remember that for

"The National Resistance Committee is confident that a strategy of concerted resistance can bring conscription to a halt. The draft, like all forms of turmity, depends on the compliance of people who become victims through their tacit obedience to immoral laws. By withholding 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 20 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 passivity . . . . 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 totalitarian states' 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 perpetuating a grim 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 was compelled now to do everything in my power to oppose the re-institution and operation of registration and conscription. I encourage young people of draft age to refuse registration and conscription, each one following their conscience, and state my readiness to aid and abet them and to be co-implicated in their refusal to comply with the provisions of the law.

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

"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 . . . ."

"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 Alter'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 present system is more characteristic of a totalitarian system than a free society . . . system of mandatory service. 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 maintain a 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 condemns the young, 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 desire 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 justifiable. 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 objectors, is fundamentally unfair and discriminatory, especially against poor and minority people. I was unwilling to accept the special privilege which my background helped to make 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 it 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 COMPPLICITY 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 reinstates 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 mass 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 1990)
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 non-violence and peace and (when it is required of us) civil disobedience.

The Judeo-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 1778: 'It is our judgment that such who make religious profession with us, and do openly or by consentance, 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 therewith, 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 and a right to obligate the subject to violate his conscience, or exact a penalty if he elects to obey God rather than man.' . . ."

A partial list of other organizations that traditionally have supported and assisted conscientious objectors:

American Civil Liberties Union
800 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
1513 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 Hl., 19th & New York Ave., N.W.
Washington DC 20005

War Resisters' League
330 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

14
APPENDIX B

CCCO WESTERN REGION
An agency for military and draft counseling
1251 2nd avenue
3rd floor
San Francisco CA 94122 * (415) 566-0360

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 CAROLINA: This portion of DWM is intended to be read aloud and is not suitable for you to
read aloud, print out, and give it as part of a distribution or presentation. Those materials from which questions are
unpublished by Bill Smith of the Selective Service Law Panel in Los Angeles.

On June 27, 1969, President Carter signed legislation renewing 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 women born in 1946 and 1947 reg-
istering during the two weeks following that date.

Following is a list of questions most frequently
asked by young men concerning their rights and re-
sponsibilities 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 (dipломats, foreign stu-
dents, foreign press representatives, etc.). all
refugees in the United States (Cambodians, Vietnamese
boat people, etc.). all American Indians, irrespec-
tive of any treaty rights. All residents of Guam,
Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Alaska, Hawaii
and the District of Columbia. Any resi-
dent of American Samoa or Swains Island who comes
to the United States. In short, any male in the
respective 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 out-
side the U.S. 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 al-
liens")?

A: Yes.

Q: Why are undocumented workers required to re-
ister - 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 Se-
lective service employees to refrain any person to
the induction and naturalization service when
they "suspect" of being an illegal alien. (Sec-
tion 603.3 of the registrant's processing manual).

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

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 resi-

dence, 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.

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 Skolnik
said that there would not be prosecutions for fail-
ing to provide the Social Security number.

Draft opponents suggest that you refuse to include
the number since it will fool-up Selective Service
recruitment. 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-
enthusiastic objection? At no time in selective service, in their instructions to postal officers, did they say that the card must be accepted, regardless of what is written on it. Indeed, under the Selective Service Act, if the card contained any of the following: 1) contained exactly the number of spaces necessary to fit the statement, "I am 3-G." Also, there is a box on the draft card where the registrant can contact you. If you are 3-D, you may want to check the box and have a chat about your conscientious objections with your recruiter.

Q. Well, then, let's get to the ultimate question: Is the draft law unconstitutional based upon age discrimination or involuntary servitude?

A. Of course! But we must remember the ultimate determinator of this question is - the draft determination or the draft law. First, the Supreme Court of the United States has held it to be constitutional. Second, there are no statutory or constitutional requirements that indicate that the draft law is unconstitutional. In fact, the draft law is the same whether you burn down the draft station, 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 don'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 registrants who came to their attention, and again, I would ask at this point in assuming that there is safety in numbers. Also, the draft proponents have suggested constitutive 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 on January 1, 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 birthdays. 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 the person's 20th birthday is in the year 1983, a person born in 1962, would enter the second priority selection group, he could not be ordered to report for induction until all people born in 1963 and 1964 are ordered to report. The individual falls into successively lower priority selection groups each year thereafter, until he reaches his 35th birthday.

Q. How does the lottery system work?

A. Men are assigned lottery numbers based upon a random drawing. Each age group is subdivided into subgroups based upon the number assigned to each individual. After that, if draft calls are issued, the initial number in the lowest number in the lowest and then progressively higher number until all the quotas for a given year have been filled. 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 me born in 1960?

A. Selective Service has not announced a lottery 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 Congressional 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, without Congressional approval. 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 some people who fled to Canada in avoiding selective service return to the U.S. without judicial
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. We might refuse to honor Selective Service law. If 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 being a student 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 deferment). You must be a full time minister, etc., or student preparing for the ministry, etc. Selective Service forms upon any religion which isn't at least 50 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. Use a qualified draft counselor! This exception is quite complex, and requires extensive counseling. Nevertheless, if you are persistent, you may obtain an exemption from military service. However, if your lottery number is reached for induction and you pass the physical examinations, you will be required to perform two years of alternate civilian service in some occupation which contributes to the nation's 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 fail, there is no appeal. You either enter the army for selective induction. The legal test would then be whether any reasonable doctor could have found, under our standards. Those standards are contained in Army Regulation 40-501, Chapter 5 - 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 quality 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, Brazil, Cuba, France, Formosa, Honduras, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Panama, Spain, Switzerland, or United Arab Emirates. Between the U.S. and these countries a special treaty permits such deferments. If you become a U.S. citizen, however, you cannot have 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 citizens 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 sufficient, but having a pregnant wife might be. See a qualified draft counselor if you have any dependent, even a dependent who relies upon you for physical assistance, but is financially independent.
Q. I'm thinking to be a nuclear physicist. Would 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 lose your son into complacency just because you think he is a case. The Army was not agreeable. Don't rely on your psychologist for an opinion - he's a psychologist, not a draft counselor. Even if the psychologist insists that they had any similar cases in the Vietnam war and all of their patients received deferments, don't believe it! Repeat, see a draft counselor.

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

A. I hope! 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 doubts 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 induction 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 retesting you until you pass, while, there is evidence of a learning deficit. Also, one of the questions are cross-referenced to enable the time to detect faking. Doing poorly on the test will not cause you to be rejected, but might indicate that you were assigned to a combat role because you didn't 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 not allow to finish the semester, and you might be forced 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.

A. It is true that you cannot submit a claim to Selective Service now for any deferment. If 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. For example, the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors in Philadelphia, the Jewish Peace Fellowship, the Quakers-Mennonite Peace Fellowship, the Unitarian Universalists, etc., publish the Special Form for Conscientious Objectors now for (SO) last published by Selective Service in 1972, and have it copyrighted 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 social funds 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 needs any plans for classification, physical exams, etc. but they could initiate such examinations without unilateral 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 94112 publishes an excellent newsletter for SOs. Also, the Women Strike for Peace, 2244 Fiero Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90019 has many counseling aids available.
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 1964 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 in past and future wars might be. Some courts have ruled 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. Sup-
porting letters can help. Draft registrants have the right to appear before the
local board and present witnesses. If this is unsuccessful, they can appear be-
fore the state appeal board and, in some cases, the national appeal board. A
man applying for 20 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 sincer-
ity. 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.
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 1-D, and a man may apply for one or the other. Instead of being drafted as a regular soldier if his lottery number is called, a man classified 1-A-O will be required to spend two years as a noncombatant in the military (usually as a medic); a 1-D 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 or who hold no conventional religious beliefs have been officially recognized as conscientious objectors under current court decisions.

To be recognized as a 1-A-O or 1-D by Selective Service, a man must fill out 555 Form 150, explaining his beliefs. The man who submits documentation of his sincerity will have a greater chance of getting the status he desires. 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 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 was always 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 religious 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 CC application"). Be brief in what you understand of his beliefs, stressing his opposition to all war, and, only where applicable, the religious basis of his beliefs.
5) These points aren'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 your 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 much more impressive.

The letter should be typewritten, unless--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 returned 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 microcopy 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 lives in line 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 "Handbook for Conscientious Objectors" and "Advice for Conscientious Objectors in the Armed Forces" (CCCO).

CCCO
AN AGENCY FOR MILITARY AND DRAFT COUNSELING
National: 2001 Market Street, Philadelphia, Penna 19103
Philadelphia: MDCO, 111 S. 14th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107
Pittsburgh: CCCO, 501 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15222
New York: CCCO, 140 West St., New York, N.Y. 10013
Los Angeles: CCCO, 400 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif. 90013
San Francisco: CCCO, 1493 Sutter St., San Francisco, Calif. 94109
(215) 922-1771
(212) 867-1950
(213) 681-3350
(415) 441-3285

111
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 in such a way that your 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 organisations; 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 type 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-RR, 1251 Second Ave., S.F. 74122, (415) 56-0500

112
RESISTING WAR

The draft was first of all a state sponsored means of enforcing war against a country with no military importance. All of these people have been drafted against their will and have not fared well. They have now seen the error of their ways and have been torn apart by those who have not. They have been subjected to brutal treatment, and have been used as tools against their will. These people have been used as tools to further the state's interests. They have been used to further the state's interests.

This is not to say that everyone who has been drafted has been treated poorly. There have been some who have been treated well. However, the majority have not. They have been treated with brutality and inhumanity. The state has been using these methods to further its own interests. They have been used to further the state's interests.

These methods are not acceptable. They are not just. They are not fair. They are not based on any principles of justice or fairness. They are simply a means to an end. They are a means to further the state's interests. They are a means to further the state's interests.

We must resist the draft. We must resist the state's methods. We must resist the state's interests. We must resist the state's methods to further the state's interests. We must resist the state's methods to further the state's interests.
In the past, draft resistance has taken two forms: nonregistration and tax resistance. Although the government has long denied that there were any draft refusals, the people refused to register for Selective Service or the draft. In fact, draft sentences and Selective Service cards were never issued to resist the Selective Service registration form. One of the Selective Service forms asked for consensual conscription status. Nearly all believed that the draft was part of a conspiracy to keep the system using their beliefs in drafting for consensual conscription status actually helped the system to work by stalling dissent. When they believed that the Selective Service system was unfair and inefficient, they refused to register for Selective Service. Thus, draft resisters were able to register for Selective Service, but not for the draft. 

Draft resisters were given a second chance to register for Selective Service, while they refused to do so. The Selective Service registration form was not used to register for Selective Service, but for the draft. 

During the later years of the Vietnam war, over half of all draft sentences were from conscripts. This was an example of how the Selective Service registration form was used to register for Selective Service, while the draft was used to register for Selective Service. 

Regardless of sentence, a draft conviction is for sure. It can be very hard to keep from future jobs of licensing in the private sector. More information on policies regarding draft resisters as they develop in the future, even in the 2000s. 

**RESISTING WAR TAXES**

Whether you pay or not you are subject to the draft. You may want to think about resisting war, but not the draft. The military, in half of the budget, is used to defend the draft system. The draft, and military personnel and draft resisters believe that is wrong for them to pay for the war. 

Some war tax resisters refuse to pay the federal income tax. Some resisters believe the amount of their tax was not paid for the military. Others refuse to pay the military income tax in defense, and defense surcharge. 

War tax resisters violate the law by their nonpayment of a draft. In other cases, they do not pay, in other cases, it is not the usual reason of the government. Either the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) will collect the money from the resister, either removing it from their income, or by placing it in an account, or by selling it in order to collect power to do so. Some people may choose not to pay, and the IRS may choose not to pay interest and penalties. But war taxes are often paid, or the IRS may choose not to pay interest and penalties. 

War tax resistance and tax law are extremely complex. You should not resist war taxes without an attorney to support you. You can get more information from the tax resistance groups listed at the bottom of the list.
RESISTANCE IN THE MILITARY

If you are in the military, you are subject to the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ), a special code for military offenses. The UCMJ makes people in the military war offenders that are not states in civilian life, such as absence without leave and desertion.

Most people in the military who find that they cannot no longer continue to serve in the military and in preparation for an honorable discharge, the process of seeking the discharge is voluntary, and you cannot be punished for seeking it. After discharge and complaint procedures are outlined as well as some more information on all of them.

But you may find that you cannot go alone with the military at a trial, even though, or that your beliefs don't meet the military's legal standards. In that case, you may seek the advice of those who can't follow, so you may decide that you cannot remain in the military any longer.

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

In the past, war resisters in the military have refused for moral reasons. A person who has tried to get a DD discharge and fail will decide to remain in the service if refused all others. Others, such as George Peabody during World War II and some in the Vietnam war, sometimes refused to serve, and they were subsequently sentenced to prison.

In the military, there is no appeal, so these actions are legitimate, but if you have belief that you are acting on your conscience, 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. UCMJ provides literature on discharges, and we can refer you to a counselor near you. If there is no counselor in your area, we will consult 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 here?" Emerson asked.

Thoreau replied, "Ralph, what are you doing out there?"

If this were true, you believe that some evils are so great that you should have no part in them. You may find yourself facing jail because you follow your conscience, including whether to break the law or follow legal channels in meeting our needs. Here are some guidelines which may help you in choosing.

- *THINK ABOUT YOUR WIFE AND KID.* To illustrate, 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 refuse to pose their position. This insured you are enough about your beliefs that you will be able to face whatever comes as a result of them.

- *THINK ABOUT YOUR SITUATION.* You can refuse to cooperate with the law at any time. In the 1960s and 1970s, for instance, many peace groups became draft resisters after they had already registered. They sent their draft cards back to selective service. If you obey the law and are sure of what you must do, you will need to decide if you later decide that you should follow other options.

- *THINK ABOUT YOUR FAMILY.* If you are married or have children, you may have to consider their safety. How do you feel? Are you willing to face the possibility of going to jail for your beliefs? UCMJ 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? How resistant decide to your will regardless of what the effect might be in their families, but there is nothing dishonest in working about your parents, your children, and your family and how resistance would affect them. If you decide to resist, talk with your family about what your actions might do to them.

- *THINK ABOUT YOUR POSITION.* Just as there are different beliefs about war, there are many different stands which can be taken against war.
It is possible to lose in modern society without supporting the military, in some way. A tax resister may elect not to pay federal gasoline taxes. A unit which resists can all these federal taxes you pay to what your conscience tells you, and the men can do you can resist, try to win the times which they can and must draw, and be prepared to stick to them. That is all you can do.

... as long as you have money, remember that you can get support from your family and relatives, from the peace movement, and from CCC. If you impose war, it is not necessarily the worst thing that could happen to you. Many people who have resisted, lost their lives, or the military do not forget what they have done.

FURTHER INFORMATION

CCCD
2208 South Street
Philadelphia, PA 19146
(215) 925-4228

CCCD: A
1551 Second Avenue
San Francisco, CA 94112
(415) 673-5500

War Resisters League
1500 Howard Street
San Francisco, CA 94112
(415) 426-8936

American Friends Service Committee
37 E. 13th Street
Baltimore, MD 21218
(301) 838-2200

VISCO
550 Washington Blvd.
15th and New York Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20008
(202) 332-4864

Conscience and Military Tax Campaign
44 Belhaven Road
Bellingham, WA 98225
(206) 252-6824

Ecumenical Peace Institute
44 Varick Street, 5th Floor
San Francisco, CA 94107
(415) 391-2335

Oregon Fellowship of Reconciliation
1815 SW Jefferson
Portland, OR 97201
(503) 223-7323

FURTHER READING

"So You'd Fight If..." (free): 10.00
"Join the People Who'll Never Join Troops" (free): 10.00
"The Life of the Prophet" (free): 10.00
CCCD Draft Packet (free): 10.00
"Three Hundred Years: The Struggle for Conscience" (free): 2.50

Bibliography on Conscientious Objection (free): 2.00

Millard Gaylor M.D., in the Service of God, Conscience and Country
Resisters in Prison: Uprooted and Abandoned, 1945-1950


"... and..." (free): 10.00

116
Registration
MAKING A CHOICE

COUNSELORS QUESTION

The accompanying statement from the regional counselor may be interesting, but the question is the key. Do you have enough information to make an informed decision?

DEFERMENTS

Military service is a complex and emotionally taxing decision. For the army, deferment requests are examined carefully, but the decision rests with the individual. Your counselor can provide guidance and support, but the final decision is yours. Consider the impacts on your education, career goals, and personal life. Ultimately, this is a personal choice that should reflect your values and priorities.

DIRECT RESISTANCE

Military service is a requirement for many. It is an important part of our country's defense. However, there are ways to resist or contest your service, such as applying for conscientious objector status. This process involves demonstrating a sincere belief that participation in armed conflict is a moral obligation and that your conscience cannot allow you to engage in such actions. Counselors can provide information on this process and help you navigate the complexities involved.

I WANT TO THINK!

Your personal choice is a significant one. Take the time to reflect on your decisions and consider all the implications. Remember, you are responsible for your actions and their consequences.
YOU AND THE DRAFT

STOPPING THE DRAFT

Ask Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. about the draft. If he has not received his draft notice, he is considering his options. He wants to know what you can do to help stop the war in Vietnam.

REGISTRATION

Unemployed youth are all too eager to register for the draft. The President insists on registering all men in 1963 and 1964, regardless of age. This is a test of the nation's conscience.

WARNING

If you are not registered, you are not subject to selective service. This includes all men over 18 years of age. The President has ordered all men to register immediately. Failure to register is a violation of Federal law.

PROCESSING

If you are registered, you will be required to report for physical examination. The examination includes a blood test, a medical examination, and a psychological test.

WARNING

Any information given during the physical examination will be kept confidential. However, your registration will be public knowledge.

GOVERNMENTS AND EXEMPTIONS

Draftees may apply for conscientious objector status. These applications must be filed with the local draft board within 30 days of your draft notice.
RESISTANCE

Resistance is the key to survival. In order to resist, you must first understand the situation and the threats that you face. Resistance involves careful planning and execution of actions that can help you to overcome the obstacles and challenges that you face.

Resistance requires a strong will and determination. It requires the ability to think critically and creatively in order to find solutions to problems. Resistance also involves the ability to work with others in order to achieve common goals.

EMISSION

Emission is a process of spreading information and ideas to others. It is important to understand the different strategies and techniques that are available for emission.

Emission involves the use of various channels and mediums in order to reach a wide audience. It requires the ability to communicate effectively and to persuade others to take action.

ALIENS

Aliens are a threat to our way of life. They are a constant threat to our safety and security. It is important to protect ourselves and our loved ones from the dangers that they pose.

PROTECT YOURSELF - FOLLOW THESE SUGGESTIONS

- Keep informed. CCC provides information on aliens and their activities.
- Be aware of your surroundings. Aliens may be lurking in unexpected places.
- Keep your doors and windows locked. Aliens may try to gain entry into your home.
- Be prepared to defend yourself. CCC provides information on self-defense techniques.
- Trust no one. Aliens may be posing as friends or family members.

120
DOCUMENTING YOUR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR CLAIM

The Dilemma

Should you claim CO status? Should you serve for conscientious objector status? There are two sides to the debate, but ultimately it's a matter of personal choice. Many people find that talking to others who have made similar decisions can be helpful in making up your mind. For some, the decision is clear-cut; others may need more time to consider all possibilities. Many people find that working with other individuals who have similar beliefs can also be beneficial. Persuading others to join you in your decision can be helpful in gaining support and understanding from those who disagree with your position. If you decide toGs you can help others see your point of view and may even be able to influence them to change their minds.

The Process

Documenting your CO claim is a process that requires time and effort. It is important to understand the process of documenting your CO claim and to have a solid understanding of the different steps involved. Here are some of the key steps you should take:

1. Identify the reasons why you believe you should be a CO. This will help you determine the type of documentation you need to provide.
2. Research the CO claim process in your state. This will help you understand the process and the requirements for filing a CO claim.
3. Gather all the necessary documents. This may include a letter from a religious leader, medical records, and other relevant documents.
4. Fill out the necessary forms. This may include a CO claim form and other forms required by your state.
5. Submit your CO claim. This will be sent to the appropriate authorities for review.

The Process of Documenting Your CO Claim

The process of documenting your CO claim is a critical step in the process of gaining conscientious objector status. It is important to understand the process and the requirements for filing a CO claim. Here are some key steps to consider:

1. Identify the reasons why you believe you should be a CO. This will help you determine the type of documentation you need to provide.
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The Importance of Documenting Your CO Claim

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5. Submit your CO claim. This will be sent to the appropriate authorities for review.

Make Lists

Your draft board and probably ask you about past events and factors which make you a CO. To answer these questions, you should write down all the significant events in your life which led you to this decision. These events could include your religious beliefs, your experiences in the military, and other factors that have influenced you. If you are unable to write down all the important information, you can talk to a mental health professional or other individuals who were involved in your decision-making process.

Record Membership

If you are a member of a group or organization, you should make a note of this. Contributing to a cause that is important to you is an essential part of the CO claim process. You may want to join a group or organization that is working on issues related to conscientious objectors. If you are not, you may want to consider joining a group or organization that is working on issues related to conscientious objectors.
Religious Membership

In your portfolio, it is important to show your draft status. Do not use language that is religious or that suggests a religious affiliation. Instead, refer to your status as "religious minority." If you are a religious minority, it is important to include your draft status in a way that is respectful and non-promotional.

Letters of Support

CCCO recommends that you get several letters of support from ministers, parents, teachers, or other individuals who know you well. These letters should be from people who support your position and can attest to your religious beliefs.

Claiming CO Status at Registration

The President has introduced a new form that allows you to claim CO status at the time of registration. This form is available at COC's website and can be downloaded for free.

COCC Services

Upon request, COCC will send you a card that includes helpful information on how to access COCC's resources. This card is available online and can be downloaded for free.
SO YOU'D RIGH IT...?

The military's job is planning for wars and preparing people to fight. But what does this mean for the individual soldier of the two.

If you were 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 of the 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 where war you are on because enemies and allies all look alike. These wars are fought mainly by small groups of people who live in the countryside. Would you fire on a civilian who is not moving? Would you defend a civilian that is not moving? It's a war between fighting against you. Who would you be fighting for?

WAR FOR OIL OR OTHER NATURAL RESOURCES?

U.S. officials say we might go to war if another country took our oil or gold. But if we don't, should we be worried about freedom and democracy? Or Exxon? Exxon is right!

An oil company called Exxon is in charge of much of the world's oil. We consume 95% of the world's oil. Exxon makes $8 billion every year. This money is used to buy the world's oil. Our large oil companies are the ones who profit the most from the overuse of oil. A war for oil and probably mean troops in the Middle East. It could mean a nuclear war. Should the U.S. find ways to cut our oil use, or should we check with other natural resources before thinking about ways to get more of them?

LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR?

Instead of sending troops overseas, we can use guided nuclear missiles. Since we can use nuclear 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 is the limit to the number of people we kill?
IF THE UNITED STATES WERE INVADED?

Whereas the United States and a number of other nations own nuclear weapons, the fact that a foe would send a bomber that long ago an invasion of the U.S. might not be revealed.

But even if a war were to start, what would the results be? How much damage would be done to cities in the way? How much would the colossus spread, and how many would be destroyed by the government to laugh? How much would they make? And how likely is it that other countries would attack the U.S. with their own weapons, or be joined in attacking us? Is it not the way to prevent it by working toward real peace?

ALL OUT NUCLEAR WAR?

Is this where it all leads? World War II 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 arms to countries with expensive and dangerous weapons. Exactly what will you be doing during a nuclear war? What makes any difference if you are in uniform and sitting on the back defense area, or in your home? And what will be lost?

WAR HERE AT HOME?

There's one other battlefront to remember. Where would you be if you were sent to an Indian reservation, or if you were a strike on a factory, or to stop a campus demonstration? In the past, militaries 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 there any 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 a better way. What do you think?

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

124
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 incapacitated 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 advice 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?

-4-
A: Registants 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 made 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 emigrate 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 defendant should have known of his obligation because of the Selective Service's publicity campaign which included hanging posters in many Federal buildings. Such defendants 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" harassment 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.C. 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. 20002.

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 Select-
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
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 meet 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!

I am registering AGAINST THE DRAFT.

Bill Dunn
120 Liberty St.
Omaha, Ne. 68102

Here's $1. __ $2. __ $5. __ $10. __ more to help pay for our 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.N.E., Washington, D.C.20002

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

137
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 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 at all kinds of post offices 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 16 states. 150,000 "I Am Registering" bumper stickers, and 100,000 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 Anti-draft Week, the movement will grow larger and stronger. There is still much work ahead for all of us.

Maine
Augusta rally on Statehouse lawn

Rhode Island
Providence:locks on the front doors of 10 area post offices were filled with glue. Stopping official to use back doors to enter.

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

Massachusetts
Boston: rallies at various locations on the 25th.

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 anti-draft organizations and media reports on massive non-compliance forced the SSS to publish something.

On September 4, SSS Director Berard Routier held a press conference to announce a 93% registration rate. He used a population base of 2,600,000 men required to register and said that 2,493,157 had registered.

In addition, Routier announced that a "random sample" of 45,000 from a base of 1.5 million forms had shown that only 1.8% of registrants were non-compliant. 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 registration rolls.
- No real effort was made to verify the names and addresses.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms rejected.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with errors.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with missing information.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with no information.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect information.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect signatures.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect dates.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect zip codes.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect social security numbers.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect occupations.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect addresses.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect ages.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect weights.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect heights.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect eye colors.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect hair colors.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect blood types.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect education levels.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect religions.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect nationalities.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect political affiliations.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect marital statuses.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' addresses.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' phone numbers.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' zip codes.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' cities.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' states.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' countries.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' occupations.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' titles.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of education.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of military service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of civilian service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of foreign service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of missionary service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of political service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of social service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of religious service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of educational service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of medical service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of legal service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of engineering service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of architectural service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of architectural service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of electrical service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of mechanical service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of chemical service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of biological service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of agricultural service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of forestry service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of veterinary service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of nursing service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of medical service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of dental service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of optometric service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of podiatric service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of chiropractic service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of osteopathic service.
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- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of osteopathic service.
- No effort was made to count the number of forms returned with incorrect employers' years of veterinary service.
Notes from CARD

A summer-long effort at community organizing around peace issues. Several September workshops will be held in the Washington, D.C. area, with more planned for the fall. The workshops will be held on weekends and will include discussion of peace issues, strategy, and skill building.

The monthly meeting of the national CARD Coalition will be held Sunday, October 16th, 11:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m., at the National Catholic Student Center, 2000 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. The meeting will be open to local groups and interested individuals who wish to attend.

Speaker available: Charlie Campbell, People Against the Draft, Box 36, East Canton, OH 44720. (216) 456-7458. Available to speak or assist in anti-draft activities in the Northeast and mid-Atlantic states. He needs a place to sleep and motorcycle travel costs.

For materials to aid the anti-draft movement in outreach and understanding of lesbian and gay men's issues, and for information on the draft for gay and 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.

Religious Leaders Oppose Registration

On Sunday, July 20, 16 national religious leaders issued a statement opposing the draft. The statement was issued by the National Religious Task Force, which includes 16 national religious leaders from a variety of denominations. The statement expresses concern about the draft's impact on the American conscience and the potential for abuse of human rights. It calls for a moratorium on the draft and for the drafting of policies that protect the rights of all individuals.
Card vs. SSS on Airwaves

by Ben Touley

While Selective Service stumbled through its draft registration advertising last month. CARD was launching a successful nationwide campaign to air public service announcements attacking draft counseling and information services.

Well-known celebrities Lily Tomlin ("Nora zylofin."). Levar Burton ('"Roots.'), Martin Sheen ("Apocalypse Now"), Henry Gibson ("Laughlin and Nashville") Mike Farrell ("M*A*S*H") and Susan Dricthy "Fight in Enough" contributed spots to taped PSA's which were distributed to radio stations across the country. CARD, as endorsed by Senator Edward Kennedy, 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 cards were sent to anti-draft groups and radio stations in 33 states. Many communities 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 haphazard planning, tens of thousands of young Americans may be inadmissible for induction through no fault of their own.

CARD's PSA's (which cost a total of only $700!) were part of a larger effort to counter the $200,000 SSS campaign on radio and television. Attacks on the SSS ads as misleading, controversial and socially irresponsible. CARD Chair Barry Lynn and several national civil rights organizations successfully appealed to network presidents to have an especially strict ad removal policy. Amtrak organizers around the country sent written PSAs 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 until challenged," Lynn said. "Local anti-draft groups have now established good media relations in many parts of the country and can expect the media's cooperation in the future.

Any group of organizers who distributed tapes to radio stations were asked if they had not already done so to send a list of the stations that ran the tapes to the CARD office.

Ben Touley 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 peace-time draft but did not oppose registration.

In response, a number of anti-draft activists within the Democratic Party decided to use the vehicle of the 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 anti-draft activist from Newham, 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 been obtained and the petitions were submitted. The hard work and long hours of dedicated volunteers had paid off.

At 9:00 on Thursday, August 14, Rep. Ted Weiss (D-NY) took the podium in Madison Square Garden to place Patricia Simon's name in nomination. He was followed by Ben Meslin, a 20-year-old Franklin College student, who gave a searching 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 media coverage, those who participated in the work felt it was worthwhile to let the delegates and party officials hear an anti-draft opposition. Later that evening, when President Carter spoke of draft registration among his accomplishments, he was asked by a delegate perhaps a result of the issue being brought to their attention.

#8 SPOT ON 30/AJL DRAFT #8
Protests

from page 1
7/19, 7/21 and 7/26

7/21 demonstrations at 20 post offices; 9 arrested at the main post office... picketing and leafletting through two weeks... Cambridge post office closed down by 200 demonstrators on 8/1.

Greenfield: 9 men and women, including a Vietnamese 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, picketing 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.

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... demonstrators and information tables at several post offices... 8/1 teaching at University of Pittsburgh.

New Jersey

Newark: 7/19 rally at a city park... anti-draft 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, Canesee, 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 13 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

Hampton: informational leafletting throughout two weeks... worship service at main post office on final day... several public non-registrants.

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 250-300 people at post office... four men burned registration forms... two draft counseling sessions attended by 50 and 75 people.

Columbus: 7/19 held All-Bruin Antiwar Conference... 7/21 protest at Federal Building... Mod-Ohio Life Community handcuffed themselves to columns 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... rally attended by post office... house across the street from post office used for counseling.

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 counseling sessions.

Illinois

Chicago: 7/21 rally of 100 people... anti-draft pickets reported to outnumber... See PROTESTS, page 3
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 selective service system. With this situation in mind, local anti-draft 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 revitalize 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 reimplement 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 US 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 34 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. How would you 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 anti-draft 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 leafleting, 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 letters, 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, listing 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 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 of 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 weeks—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 audiovisual resources, music, etc. Each has its own good and bad points to try to structure a program that will best reach 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 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.

- Mass events are needed to make opposition to the draft more visible to the public and the media. Put some thought into picking an appropriate tactic (picketing, march, rally, and 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 ensure that all are done.

Organizations

- Unions, churches, PTAs, civic groups, neighborhood groups—any group of people you know of who 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 encouraging the pastors of churches to give sermons on the draft and issues of war and peace.

- If the group has a social or political action committee, urge it to become part of a local antidraft coalition for events during Antidraft Week and in the future.
Campagne Events

The fact that this is an election year provides many opportunities for reaching the public and confronting elected officials and candidates with the issues of the draft.

1. Candidates should be asked questions about their positions at every public meeting or press conference they hold.

2. Publicize candidate's positions with your comments or criticisms. Let the candidates know that their real grassroots opposition to the draft and that they should adopt and publicize a position of opposition.

3. 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.

1. Use community calendars or public service announcements to publicize your meetings, forums, demonstrations, etc.

2. 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.

3. 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 these provide opportunities to reach certain groups of people.

4. Meet with the editors of local papers or the station manager 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.

5. Use press releases to inform the media of your events and press conferences to announce an event, to release a position 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 promised beginning of a continuous registration will affect younger men than the 1961 registration. Hence we must let the media 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 Vietnamera 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 Vietnamera veterans publically working against the draft cannot be overemphasized. The experience of ourselves and other veterans, both during and since the Vietnam war is a crucial 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 is one who has been there in a crucial moment in convincing folks that opposition to the draft and another war is in their political and economic interest.

What we are asking is your assistance in reaching out to these veterans and veterans groups who would be interested in becoming part of this task force. Please send the names and addresses of these individuals and groups to us at 343 Brown Street, Philadelphia PA 19130.

Thanks for your assistance and cooperation in building a stronger antidraft movement.

—Ken Campbell
Lee Kington

ORDER TO PROTECT AMERICAN INTERESTS IN THE PERSIAN GULF

THE PERSIAN GULF

SHELTER REINSTATE THE

REGISTRATION; SO IT NEEDS THAT WE QUICKLY MOBILIZE TROOPS SOVIETS MUST KNOW THAT NEVER EXPUNCE RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE

ENDS OF A SAFE AND FREE...
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
202/947-3340

For local information:
Protests

from page 6

Police and registrants person arrested alter he refused to leave post office window - forms saying he didn't want his children to register for war - free weekend showings at "Hearts and Minds" at local theater.

Wisconsin

Madison: 7/21 rally of 500 people - picket lines at post offices - 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.

New Mexico: public release of statement signed by 15 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 call-in and sign, "Register for Death!"

Missouri

Kansas City: rally at main post office with 100 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 - counseling 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 legal form for that.

Los Angeles: rally and picket of 100 people at Federal Building - skins at Venice post office - demonstrations at UCLA - picket at post offices in L.A. Los Angeles - picket and leafletting at many other post offices in area.

Santa Cruz: 100 "Reister Against the Draft" cards collected by WLFP anti-draft posters placed at advertising in city buses until removed by local officials.

San Diego: open letter sent to postal workers - 7/21 picket line at 100 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 - counseling 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 doors of Oakland Street Post Office - leafletting, counseling 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 sent to American friends between 14 and 24 - Vietnam veterans against the draft - leafletting at 15 area post offices during two weeks.

Oregon

Portland: picket lines and leafletting throughout the two weeks - evening counseling sessions.

Washington

Seattle: 7/21 picket line of 300 people at downtown post office - picketing throughout the two weeks - more educational forums held.

Hawaii

Honolulu: 7/21 demonstration and leafletting at post office - counseling sessions three days a week - 21 people publicly released "Call to Draft Resistance" tape cassette and pamphlet 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, California, San Francisco

Washington: Bellingham

Alaska: Anchorage

Hawaii: Honolulu

How Many

from page 1

In many parts of the country there were registrations by Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck, in some places conscripts 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.

In the month since registration, a number of journalistic and sociological detailed statistical surveys of a variety of cities and found non-registration rates ranging from 10 to 10 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 38 percent 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 anti-draft 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 CA - 56% compliance, Richmond VA - 75%, Greater Boston - 70%, Greater Dallas - 65%, San Diego County - 80%, Greater Seattle - 76%, St. Louis MO - 78%, Greater Baltimore MD - 80%, Greater Kansas City MO - 75%, Midland, Texas - 66%, Chicago IL - 56%.
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 644, Mobile, AL 36606
Students for Peace, 6 Clarkcrest Dr., Birmingham, AL 35205

Arizona CARD. 1429 N. First St., Phoenix, AZ 85004
Flagstaff CARD. Box 1589, Flagstaff, AZ 86002

Drafflivor Center. 715 N. Park, Tucson, AZ 85719

ACLU. Box 2332, Little Rock AR 72203
SC. AED. Rt. 6, Box 188, Fayetteville, AR 72701

5 CA CARD. 633 S. Shutri, Los Angeles, CA 90005
RD. 607 C Westminster Ave., Venice, CA 90291

San Diego CARD. Box 15195, San Diego, CA 92115
Ventura CARD. Box 392, Pt. Hueneme, CA 93041

Cien to Stop the Draft, Box 13005, UC SB, Santa Barbara, CA 93107

Fresno CARD. Box 264, Fresno, CA 93724
People Against the Draft, 318 Pope St., Menlo Park, CA 94025

Bay Area Network 85, 601 S Francisco, CA 94117
People for Peace. 3 N. Rafael Rd., San Rafael, CA 94903
Santa Cruz CARD. Box 2224, Santa Cruz, CA 95063

San Jose Peace Center. 200 S. 10th St., San Jose, CA 95112

Peace Center, 1917 A 16th St., Sacramento, CA 95814
Anti-Draft Clin. 12588 Joes Bar Rd., Nevada City, CA 95959

AFSC. 1426 Lafayette, Denver, CO 80218
CARD. 227 Princeton St., Trenton, NJ 08619

Peace Ed Action 64, Edgewood Ave., New Haven, CT 06513
Committee of Concern 517 Cook Ave., Waterbury, CT 06702
Pacem in Terris. 3108 N. Adams St., Wilmington, DE 19801

DE Draft Info Ctr., Box 6884, Newark, DE 19711

WACARD. 2111 Derature Pl., NW, Washington, D.C. 20008
CARD. Box 1028, Gainesville, FL 32604

Peace Fellowship, Box 2761, Jacksonville, FL 32203
CARD. Box 2133, Orlando, FL 32802
AFSC. 1205 Sunset Dr., S. Miami, FL 33143
AFSC. 519 19th Ave., SE, St. Petersburg, FL 33705

Atlanta CARD. 528 W. College Ave., Decatur, GA 30059
Georgia Against Draft. 1104 Fairview Rd., Atlanta, GA 30316

HI CARD. 2516 Oahu Ave., Honolulu, HI 96822
ACLU. Richards, 104 S. Capitol Blvd., Boise, ID 83702
LEX CARD. Box 118, Univ. Sta. U, KY., Lexington, KY 40506

ACCORD. 14 Roosevelt Ave., Watervliet, NY 12188
CARD. 24 Pierce St. One, ME 04447
Maryland CARD. 317 E 25th St., Baltimore, MD 21218
Chicago CARD. 58 W. Jackson, Km 501, Chicago, IL 60604
PARD. 334 S. Dearborn, #305, Chicago, IL 60605

DeKalb Alliance for Peace, #51 College Dr., DeKalb, IL 60115
Come to Stop Draft. 297 Illinois Union, Urbana, IL 61801
MAD. 50455 Irish Way, South Bend, IN 46717

Indiana CARD. 4850 N. College, Indianapolis, IN 46205
Draft Opposition, Box E-559, Earlham College, Richmond, IN 47374

FOR, Box 25, W. Manchester, IN 46062
BAD WRC, Box 183, IU, Bloomington, IN 47401
Fr. Wayne CARD. 3305 Central Dr., Ft. Wayne, IN 46806
Tax Forces Against Concription, 4211 Grand Ave., Des Moines, IA 50312
Ames CARD. Box 245, Ames, IA 50010
Dubuque CARD. #099 Dodge, Dubuque, IA 52001

Johnson CARD. Box 924, Iowa City, IA 52244
Quad Cities CARD. 1999 Jersie Road, Davenport, IA 52801
Kansas Anti-Draft Org, 118A Kansas Union, Lawrence, KS 66045
Kansans for Peace Justice, 2506 E 45th St., Wichita, KS 67219

NO CARD. 918 S Andrews St., New Orleans, LA 70123
BADARD. 11 Carolin St., Cambridge, MA 02138
Wachusett CARD. 119 Main St., Wachusett, MA 01656
CORD. 3 Langworthy Rd. Northampton, MA 01060

Stop the Draft Ctr. 175 Wendell Ave., Pittsfield, MA 01201
Detroit CARD. 687 Prentice, 44-24 Detroit, MI 48201
Warhenow CARD. 1005 Grant, Youngstown, OH 44517

Tri-CARD. 2219 Haskell Ave., Saginaw, MI 48638
WHRG. 22 Student Sttves Blvd., Muskegon, MI 49444

SACD. Box 287, Urbana, IL 61801

Minnesota CARD. 930 Central Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55414
Twin Cities Stop the Draft Box 5429, Minneapolis, MN 55414

Duluth CARD. 4th Ave. Box 146. Duluth, MN 55702
PAM. Hobson Mem. House 12, Grand Rapids, MI 49501

ACLU. 513 N. State St., Springfield, Ill 62701
St. Louis CARD. 418 S. Skinker Blvd., St. Louis, MO 63105
Greater KC CE, 1910 South Kansas City, MO 64110

Columbus Draft Into. 1567 Aumon Columbus, MO 65201

Peace Advocates. 2419 4th Street. Seattle, WA 98109
Nebokans for Peace. 413 5th Avenue. Omaha, NE 68102

ACLL. 400 W. Blooming Ave., Milwaukee, WI 53204
S. Jersey Coalition. 5102 Western Ave., Mass. Landing, N.H. 03250

Draft Into. 106 Gerald St. #223-24, Albuquerque, NM 87106

Coalition Against Concription 1514 4th St. W. NYC, NY 10012

N Long. 1S1 Broadway 2017, NY 10003

Mother and Others Against Draft 241, Great Neck, NY 11024
Albany Peace Coalition 77 Madison, Albany, NY 12208

AFSC. 821 Euclid Ave., Syracuse, NY 13210
Butler CARD, 440 Lone Ave. Butler NY 14215

Ithaca Peace Council, 140 W. State St., Ithaca, NY 14850

Peace & Justice Center. 1 St James Ave., Rochester, NY 14607

WRL-SE. 204 W. Chappaquiddick St., New York, NC 27205

Greenville Peace Center 98 Elm St., Greenville, SC 29614

WRL-RS. 108 Cureton Rd., Charleston, SC 29401

WRL-SE. 108 Cureton Rd., Charleston, SC 29401

ACLU. Box 1500, Univ. Sta., Stanford, CA 94305

Toledo CARD. 40 Victoria Dr., Toledo, OH 43610

Akron CARD. 475 Market St. Akron, OH 44303

Greater Dayton CARD. 915 Salem-Hawkin Rd., Cincinnati, OH 45419

Cleveland CARD. Box 190, PO Box 1130, Cleveland, OH 44115

People for Peace, 15 N. College, Athens, OH 45701
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.

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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 pending the ruling of unconstitutionality. Whether or not cards will be issued is 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 and what such an eventual decision would have on the Selective Service Act, if any.

Until the Supreme Court rules the status of possible prosecutions for those registering is unclear. The government insists it can and will enforce the law while constitutional experts find it 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.

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(202) 547-4340

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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 & Lay 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)

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National Anti-Draft Network of Young Americans for Peace
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National Youth Work Alliance
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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 the World
United Presbyterian Church, USA, Program Agency
U.S. Peace Council
United States Student Association
Veterans Educational Project
Vietnam Veterans Against War
War Resisters League
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Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Women Strike for Peace
Women USA
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153


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