

RESIST

december 1967 -- .50



RESIST:

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★ Resist is published by Peace and Liberation
Commune, Resistance, 2269 Cooley St. East Palo
Alto, California.

Santa Rita Waltz

DAVID HARRIS

Santa Rita Rehabilitation Center has a main street. Like the stem of some new half plant, half machine, it branches pods of barracks in late summer wire and early winter denimed men. Not new at all, it is an old prison. The army and the navy had it first and then they gave it to the convicts and wardens and judges and county trucks. They all move in immediate, excavated patterns that keep lunch near time and the sirens pitched to stampede the tufts of sparrows roosting on the wires: singing, with their minds to the south. If we might see it from the far side of the egg that purples and pinks towards darkness beyond our aspired heavenly perch, I am sure it would take form as a man, fingers in desperation clenched to a last final edge of the American continent with his body and legs wrapped in terrible, unwanted, clarifying space.

On the morning of Wednesday, October 18th, I was arrested on the sidewalk in front of the Oakland Induction Center. On the following morning I plead nolo contendere to a charge of disturbing the peace and entered jail for ten days.

In imprisonment, one sees; ones senses move toward their center with their tenacles chopped from handholds on the outside world. A world is created in the sphere of your movement and rapidly becomes a cosmos as the fences are no more limiting or imprisoning than the sky. It would not be honest to say I saw something in jail I had not known before. But not watered and diffuse as in our attempt to penetrate the notion of giving life to a bloody nation of 200 million and embrace its countless victims: a world.

In an immediate reality that denies the haze of time and numbers, distance between man and world dies.

Oddly enough, and far from the minds of the judges and presidents and dentists and machine operators that built a world with such a notion as prison in its essentialities, it is a liberation.

As I drove through Oakland on San Pablo and the lamps gave form to the shell of the city, dead and dormant as its sap, the people and their sun, lay hiding at home in sleep; in sleep, trying to deny the city and its setting and their lives so hopelessly enmeshed between its steady churn and the walls around it. Driving, I thought of my own movement from the circle's edge to the center and knew that I would be arrested and pass through that center and out into a new circumstance and impelled by that energy, build the next day and the day after and on.

A liberation not that I had broken the chains of men or built for them a house in which they might be free (for that is always moved toward and never found), but a liberation in that the convergence of a new physical fact with a long understood vision generated a clarity for which one must always struggle on the outside. In that clarity, the thoughts stopped bouncing and seemed still in graceful flow and held themselves as ripples in a river, fresh in constant form. A liberation from was and will be: a seed perhaps of a broader liberation, the foundation of a new house.



And as San Pablo became Broadway and the lamps seemed bees with a buzz of light in the silence of dark, I knew the police waiting yesterday at Clay Street had advanced on the girls in sandals, the revolutionaries in anger, the old women in despair, the frightened, the young, the enemy, without mercy, without faces and had beaten them not in fury, but in the pursuit of their employment.

A man must work.

A new power was claimed in Santa Rita. It begins with the initial impetus that what is relevant about the problem power poses is not its content or direction, but the larger context of its form. In dealing with power as a problem of form, we immediately move beyond the notion of overthrow and the massing of coercion into bodies potent enough to possess the means of direction and the manipulation of a situation of white weakness and red strength. Revolution is the birth of new forms. Those means and their accompanying ideology that for its strength rests on the framework of an existing social logic, have no grasp on the problem of redefinition. Such means of action are irrelevant to the notion of revolution because their enactment, dependent as it is on the assumptions of the state being fought, is inevitably trapped in the construct of that state. The location of power means relatively nothing if the nature of power remains the same. Accepting the nature of power as a given most readily visible in the present seats of governmental control and acting with that accepted definition may possibly lead to a rearrangement of America, but never a form to replace the consciousness of a liberal, capitalistically-motivated, military state. In focusing on those people considered to be the enemy and their fears and from that observation intuiting their weaknesses and acting on that understanding of the situation is to do battle within their terms. They may be defeated, but their terms remain. And once again, that form will define the reality of the situation.

Form is at its base a setting of the mind. It is context. Its point of final visibility in a culture is language and in the understood meaning of words. In the social logic that network of definitions creates, we see the spring from which flows the

energy of a civilization. It is the real and true of a culture. Our revolution must mean a fresh real and true.)

As Ira and I walked the compound, we watched the sun move west like a fisherman dragging his nets of light off to a new sea beyond our horizon. We walked in constant rhythm the edge of a rectangular, rotting set of boundaries that framed our lives in jail. Once in the path of our unnumbered rounds Ira told me that the roots of the english word freedom were in the combination of the two norse words meaning "peace" and "love". From where we stopped to acknowledge the presence of dark, we could see the compound officer slumped in the guard box with an eye to the far gate where a crowd squatted on its haunches and exchanged the items of their lives in a primitive barter to pass the time.

A simpler way to understand it is to say a society is a model of consciousness; a society controls its members in that it defines their terms and thereby their action in any particular situation. The totalitarian nature of the modern corporate state is not that it rules on what the men of it may do, it rather controls their understanding of how it is to be done. It educates its citizens to a process, to a way. And in that sphere of how, in that way of life, the lives of countless Americans are trapped beyond and regardless of some posited destruction of power elites. They are trapped not in the arrangement of pawns and kings, but in the fact that such an arrangement of pawns and kings in the parameter of their imagination and action; it is the stuff in which they must daily live and as they act on the acceptance of that reality, it is what they constantly reinforce and further. And so many see a new life in America to mean a rearrangement with the right people and books on top and there is little talk that a new power and a new energy for the progression of a society of lives must be found and built.

After sentencing, we smoked in the waiting cell on the edge of the court. There is nothing but the light of lamps in the Oakland jail. No windows and nothing but pale green walls and bars and doors. From that cell to another and then another until our tributary entered a larger flow of prisoners collecting in a large white tank. The drunks hacked and shook in the corners. The guards sat at desks beyond a plexiglass wall and completed the paper on each of us. First us, then the spades up to their neck in a burglary beef, then the drunks; one by one we sat in front of the typewriter and gave our facts for the twentieth time to the twentieth cop who cared less when we were born. The drunks were familiar fixtures to all the deputies. One was called Musclehead. A neckless, five foot being that shuffled and had teeth that seemed to have washed up on his gums like pebbles on a beach. His speech was trapped somewhere far beneath the large nob of his head and when he talked it was with the intonation of a cross country rig heading into a grade. "In trouble again, Musclehead?" said the guard poking in the door. "No sir. No trouble. I just fucked up. That's all. I just fucked up."

In jail, that new power was us. Not us as necessarily a key instrumental force on the outside, for by that time there was in reality no outside. But us as in each of us; us as the seeds of liberation from which forms might grow. In that context, one

looks and sees one's life and the understanding is quickly gained that what matters is how a life is lived from day to day; how in the embodiment of our aspirations we create a field of human energy with which, life by life, we can talk of men experiencing liberation both from and in America. We are the revolution; not we in the explicit particular but the we that men speak of and mean everything and everyone in a singular being without the loss of one minute particular in that immense collection (but in that process of redefining our vision with the understanding of "we", amplifying all those specified points). It was the discovery of an immense yes and we soon possessed arms that embraced the highest All we could envision. An All stripped of covers and camouflage; an All ignoring badges, titles, desks and guns, saying that beyond their ruses and the doors to their secret hiding places, we shall find men.

John was the weekend trusty. He was big and laughed a lot. When we talked on Saturday night, the compound was preparing for the weekend movie. John laughed and talked of the women prisoners and how the guards cut the hot dogs up in pieces before they were served and how a guard had shown him a tenderly carved wooden dingus confiscated in the women's barracks. John had a plan for when he got out. He was going to wait in his car near the door where the women prisoners are released in Oakland and keep himself in steady supply of steaming women. We all laughed and John began to talk of the movie. At one time, he explained, the women sat openly in the balcony to see the movie and the men sat on the main floor. In the light before the film, the two masses would glance hungrily up and down. Now the women sit behind curtains until the lights are out and the movie begins. John had on his own established that condition. On what turned out to be the last night of free exchange of sight, he lept standing to his chair, dropped his pants and waving his penis, began shouting, "Here it is. Here's your John. Come and get it honey. Here I am." John did a lot of time in the hole for that one.

It would not be honest to say this discovery of ours was new in the path of history. We can now see it dotting the past. but it was new in its appearance to us as something possessed not by history but found in our own hands. We didn't feel we possessed it now as history had seemed to possess it before, but that we had entered it. We had simply half fallen, half walked into something so immense and so beautiful that in our full affirmation in it, we were denied. Out of that condition we began to see that power is a matter of generation not possession. The power we might seize or possess in America is exactly the enemy. No more than we would take the rest of the arrangement America as given can we take the society's understanding of power as a definition of our action. We are in the constant process of giving birth to new power. That new power is our revolution. (To admit possession as one of the conditions of power is to admit dispossession; if there are oppressors, by definition there are oppressed.) The power we seek is the exercise of a vision, not in the manipulation of others but in the extension of oneself to the point where there are no recognizable boundaries of self. we become brothers and in brotherhood build in the name of all men. Like Christians in Rome we engage in absolute conflict with the state and its mentality from a position of acting under an independent and self-contained set of assumptions. The revolution gradually widens, grows, and

blossoms as long as those new forms remain intact. When those forms are compromised, the revolution is dead. Yet those forms are also in the process of continual extension as our understanding grows. When those new forms cease to extend themselves, the revolution is dead.

Such a power has much less to do with our manifestos than it does with our lives and how those lives construct a context of affirmation for all life. That exercise put us in Santa Rita after confronting a systematic American mind arranged on the denial of our essential brotherhood. But we were imprisoned in an attempt to destroy that effort with "punishment" and in punishment we built because our power was carried with us in there and everywhere. Our power blossoms in the light and dark.

The power we exercised was that of a community whose essential base was a set of assumptions based on approaching a love of man and man's life and as that has eternal presence

Past the hog farm workers and the bakers and the cooks; and past the chaplain's office where he pieces together the jail's newspaper with advice on going straight and the handsome fag outside doing one year for grand theft auto after finishing ten flat for shooting his father and past the guards peddling the compound on balloon-tired Schwinn's, we sit. Sometimes thirty, sometimes seventy, sometimes twenty political prisoners visiting Santa Rita on the pretext of disturbing Oakland's peace. As we sit in the sun, the air is occasionally rocked with jets breaking sound out of Alameda. Disturbing the peace. Disturbing. Peace. Jets. Guards. Cops. We are some millions of political prisoners with us few chained only on the face of what we might know.

And what we understand is so little and what we hope is so heavy.

Oakland Week *

Stuart McRae

The recent events of Stop the Draft Week in Oakland have generated a great deal of controversy and questioning within the peace movement. It seems clear that we have moved into a critical stage of development in terms of both tactics and overall goals. The week was heralded with announcements of the movement "from dissent to resistance," a progression to which few objected. The unanimity broke down, however, when it came to the question of what constitutes resistance and what forms it should take.

Much of the planning and organizing for STDW was spent in strife over the issue of non-violence. The argument polarized into a debate between the traditional pacifists who envisioned the usual kind of sit-in (which they conducted on Monday) and radicals, mainly SDS people, vicariously intoxicated by the summer riots, who spoke at first clearly, but with increasing vagueness of violent confrontation with the power structure, i.e. cops. This debate, perpetuated in great heat, put people off, broke the demonstration into two groups and made the bulk of organizing time a sorrowful waste. Many, including myself, felt left out-somewhere in between the rigidity and near righteousness of the old-line pacifists and the irresponsibility and shrillness of the STDW organizers.

The actual events of the week convinced me that violence was not the central issue. This is not to say that the STDW organizers had not created a context provocative of violence from the police. Many meetings were liberally sprinkled with talk of karate and arming against police. The meetings were open and obviously spies were present, the police at best could not know what to expect on Tuesday. This rhetoric of "armed struggle" represents a fantasy that is dangerously removed from reality. It springs from the frustration that young white radicals have been feeling for a while now-- it seems to be an attempt to identify with those who are in more direct and total confrontation with the United States government. I feel that it is fantasy based on a deep sense of impotence, as such it is irrelevant in speaking to where people are really at, and giving them a sense of where they can go.

How far armed struggle is from the minds of even those who spoke of it was clear on Tuesday. Though the damage of creating an atmosphere in which violence was anticipated had been done, the STDW organizers were little prepared to do violence on Tuesday or even to cope with it. The disparity between rhetoric and actuality meant that several people were needlessly hurt when the police charged the crowd, a crowd from which they expected violent resistance. Not only were the STDW organizers unprepared to deal with violence, but the large majority of the people that they had managed to bring out were even less inclined toward violence.

Thus many unsuspecting people were viciously driven away from the induction center. It was remarkable, however, that although angered and shocked by the brutalities of the police, most of the people kept their cool. Unlike the similar case in Los Angeles, they were even able to respond creatively. Some time after the clubbing cops had cleared the area around the induction center, groups of demonstrators began to obstruct traffic outside the police lines, in some hope of blocking the buses which would eventually come, but also to generally impede the functioning of the city in that area. It was done for the most part in what I thought to be an expansive, happy, and surprisingly considerate spirit. It could be defined as non-violent in that it was not aimed at either harming or frightening people as far as I could see. In this type of action lay the seed of some of the tactics to develop on Friday, the last day of the demonstration.

The first reaction of the STDW committee to the beatings and other lessons of Tuesday, however, was to collapse. By Thursday, they had pulled themselves back together, but their organizing energy seemed to be based on a hate-the-cops-because-they-beat-us and let's-make-them-pay-for-it spirit. They simply wanted to repeat Tuesday, wearing a little more armor, and moving a little more quickly. Some argued that struggling with the police and being beaten increased the participant's revolutionary consciousness. I don't think so. What this mobilizes is negative emotional energy directed at the pawns of an oppressive system, rather than focusing on understanding, and changing that system. Most of the rhetoric preceding the return to the induction center on Friday was concerned with defying the cops, not with capitalizing on the new approaches which we had begun to explore toward the end of Tuesday's demonstration.

It appeared that the STDW organizers were again creating a context of violence. Unfortunately the major response to this was an attempt by many who consider themselves pacifists to obstruct the STDW leadership in producing another slaughter of the innocents. Their tactic was to form a legal picket line around the induction center before the other people arrived, in hope of heading off a confrontation.

By Friday morning it was obvious that this strategy appealed to only a few people and things looked much as they had before the cops had charged on Tuesday.

The stage was set for the competition of these two approaches to demonstration. The distance between either of these theories and what actually happened during the Friday action, testifies to the spontaneity of a mass of people whose first coming together was on that day itself. The people did not rely on the direction of their leaders: using some of the ideas generated on Tuesday, they developed a form of resistance which no one had planned. The action consisted of rapidly clearing the area around the induction center as the police advanced, and then joining together to cut off the induction center by blocking intersections outside the police lines. This prevented the buses, filled with inductees, from arriving for about three hours, and effectively tied up a significant portion of downtown Oakland.

There was no business as usual on the blocks adjacent to the induction center. It is clear that the Friday demonstration in Oakland was quite different from the anti-war actions that had gone

on before it. It has had great effect on many different levels, each of which must be considered. Many feared that the unruly aspects of the demonstration would alienate public opinion from our cause in some sort of backlash reaction. But, as with the riots of the summer, increasing public confusion and bewilderment, rather than a hardening of attitudes were the primary result. This is valuable if the concrete psyche of America is to be shaken up so there can be cracks for the grass to grow in.


It is more difficult to evaluate the effects of the uncommitted members of the public who were directly touched by the demonstration. It must be admitted that many "innocent" people were inconvenienced and that a few were victims of isolated acts of rather pointless destruction of property. While agreeing that there is every reason to avoid and discourage this sort of activity in the future, I think it characteristic of the general mood and actions * of the demonstrators. Most of the inconveniencing that was done was carried out in a friendly, but firm manner. It may well be that much of the American public will have to be pushed out of shape just a little bit before it can start going through the changes that must be made if life is to be possible in this country, and the rest of the world. Personally, I observed remarkably few incidences of fearful or hateful reaction from the people who worked in the area, or whose cars were being blocked (many of these were allowed to pass after some discussion with demonstrators on what it was all about). On the contrary, there were not a few who seemed responsive to the spirit of liberation flowing freely through the streets of Oakland.

I think the most important effect of the demonstration took place among the ranks of the demonstrators themselves. At a time when morale was sagging, when the movement was uncertain of where it could go, and when a deep feeling of impotence was beginning to still the sources of action, Oakland opened a door to the future. It was not so much that we could physically obstruct the government's systematic violence, to a critical extent, (we couldn't) but that we discovered a source of power in the community of our commitment. If we take further steps to establish this community of resistance on a day to day basis to make it a continuing immediate reality, we may find a weapon in our own solidarity and brotherhood to deal with the violence and injustice of an America which requires for its exploitative, imperialist operations fear, loneliness and sickness throughout its population.

THE RESISTANCE NEEDS FUNDS. ONE OF THE THINGS INVOLVED IN BUILDING A NATION WIDE MOVEMENT OF NONCO-OPERATION IS MONEY AND IN THAT AREA WE ARE MOST LACKING. HELP US. IT'S YOUR LIFE TOO.

Send checks to: The Resistance
2269 Cooley Ave.
* East Palo Alto, Calif.

ERRATA:

 MR. McRAE MEANS TO SAY THAT HE DID NOT THINK VIOLENCE CHARACTERISTIC OF THE GENERAL MOOD OF THE DEMONSTRATORS. 9

One Telegram



CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

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2269 COOLEY AVE E. PALO ALTO 323-0529
CALIFORNIA/U.S.A. ;

DAZIMINA HANOI ENTRUSTED TRANSMIT CABLE QUOTE VERY
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SCALE DRAFT RESISTANCE DRIVE OCTOBER 16 TO 21 1967 BURNING
OR RETURNING DRAFT CARDS STRONGLY PROTESTING AGAINST US
UNJUST WAR IN SOUTHVIETNAM PARA SVN YOUTHS PEOPLE STRUGGLE
P2

FORNATIONAL INDEPENDANCE PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS
AS DID HEROICALLY AMERICAN PEOPLE TWO CENTURIES AGO PARA
US YOUTHS SHOULD NOT GROUNDLESSLY GO KILLING SVN PEOPLE
WOMEN CHILDREN AND DIE IGNOMINIOUSLY THERE PARA UTTERLY MOVED
BY DRAFT RESISTANCE ACTIVITES CONFORM JUSTICE CONSCIENCE
LEGALITY PARA YOUR VALIANT ACTIONS ENJOYING SURELY SYMPATHY
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P3

AMERICAN AND PEACE LOVING WORLD PEOPLE GREATLY
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STUDENT YOUTH LIBERATION "

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by	At	
La Sam		

- three poems -

Do not fear a place for lack of air,
flowers live there,
and though few, are well tended.
Water is there, but is not kept,
we call it Water Gathers In.
For young men it is an endless pit,
he learns his proper name.

Penitentiary is quiet place,
being last and closest to Death.
Its thoughts are timeless,
like a clock without a voice.
The convict Penitent at night,
drifts among the blue shadows
harboring no malice.

The flower has no shame,
it never blinks its eyes,
not even in the face of the fire.

Jeffrey Shurtleff

Two (2) Letters



The Selective Service System
Local Board No. 1
Hyannis, Mass.

Gentlemen:

I write because I can no longer accept classification with your system: I have left the ashes of my registration card on the Pentagon steps. To continue to be registered and to carry a divinity student's deferment is morally intolerable: it would imply my acceptance of conscription and the brutal military system it serves at a time when those forms of dealing with men are morally and politically both bankrupt and odious.

Last week-end I joined with my young brothers and sisters at the Pentagon to express our opposition to the war in Vietnam and to the draft which feeds that war. Young, naive and scared we sat singing at the feet of young, naive and scared brothers who were in uniform. We spoke with them and offered them food and coffee, but they could neither speak nor move. For four hours we sat before these troops while federal marshalls clubbed and arrested us one-by-one. Then at a sudden order, the same troops who were so young and scared began using their rifle-butts to beat young girls and men to the pavement; then they held their guns by the muzzles and smashed those skulls into the concrete as if they were tamping asphalt -- little anger, just a job to be done. At the sound of those crushing skulls and the sight of smashed faces that were once human, I left the Pentagon, sickened and crying. Vietnam, Detroit, Newark, Watts, Oakland, Madison, Brooklyn, Los Angeles, Selma, and on and on.

I will not now -- or at any future time -- submit to induction. There will be no peace until we have dismantled the machine which allows and thrives on war, on the transformation of men into obedient killers in spite of their wishes. There will be no American brotherhood until we cease training brothers to fight each other in the streets of America. And there can be no approximation of democracy until men are free to develop their lives as they choose in sensitive communities.

It is to join in the building of such a community that I reject your claim to my life. We are trying to create a community of teachers and students, of ministers and seminarians, of culture and peace where our lives will be learning and teaching. I wish we did not have to speak against your draft, that we would not have to spend those years in jail, that I did not have to write this letter. But we cannot grow while your institution molds and ends lives that must be free; it is the embodiment and creator of much of the sickness in America today, and it shall end.

If you decide to arrest me, I will be here teaching. Join us if you can, for there is much to do and so little time.

For peace,

Paul E. Rupert



SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

Local Board No. 405
Montgomery County
Rm 302, 3rd Flr., Knott Bldg
40 South Main Street
Dayton, Ohio 45402
(LOCAL BOARD STAMP)

IN REPLY, REFER TO:

October 19, 1967

Ian Redmon,
350 DeNeve Circle, #696
Los Angeles, California.

Dear Mr. Redmon,

We have received your letter of October 14, 1967 and the enclosed draft card you have returned.

We have read your comments concerning the Selective Service System and how you are affected by it and we are not entirely without sympathy to your cause. We are aware that these are very trying times for young men of draft age. We are aware also that the situation in Viet Nam is not an easy issue to understand. I would suppose that one could best explain it by citing the example which was forced upon our country by the Japanese that involved us in the second world war. That little bit of history taught us not to sit around and complacently wait until we were attacked before we drew our heads out of the sand and took a good look at the world situation the way it really was and not as we wished it to be. I think in Viet Nam we are desperately trying to get one jump ahead of the Red Chinese whose main philosophy in life seems to be turning the world into one big communist camp. We know the communists in China and in Russia are instigating this war in Viet Nam. The saddest thing about the whole mess is the fact that they have picked another country other than their own in which to battle. The fact that the Vietnamese people themselves seem to care very little about waging this war is another difficult aspect that is hard to take. But in the final analysis, it is not too difficult to understand when you realize how long these people have lived with this situation. They must be pretty tired of it by now and they do what they have to do to survive, even if it means aiding the Viet Cong. But, this situation in Viet Nam is a fact of life, one which we cannot ignore in hopes it will go away because it won't go away. If this country allows communism to take over the Vietnamese, the next battle ground will be in Cambodia or Laos or Thailand and it will keep right on spreading until the Communist line of Government is spread over all the world. We cannot allow that to happen. As bad as this war in Viet Nam is, it would be far worse if we allowed the Communist countries to swallow up the Middle East entirely because Communism is never satiated. It must be fed daily and before too many years had passed it would be at our door, trying to swallow us up and then it would be far too late.

Every generation of Americans have had to defend our Democracy and our freedom in one way or another. Democracy and freedom are not cheap, and the price, we as Americans, have to pay to keep our freedom is very high and the price, my friend, is going up. Our way of life is always going to take defending as long as it exists. My generation defended our way of life in Korea and your generation is defending it in Viet Nam. The next generation is going to defend it in some other remote little country that we never think about, and it will go on until the end of time. That is a fact of life, one which it will do no

earthly good to ignore. It's the price we pay for living in the greatest form of government ever devised by mankind. We do not pretend our way of life is perfect. All we say is that it's better than any other that have come to light so far. Selective Service is a fact of life also and it won't go away just because you choose to ignore it. I could wish that it were not necessary but as long as it is necessary to defend our way of life, Selective Service is a necessity. This government of the people, by the people and for the people have voted the selective service law into existence and until they rescind it, it is your duty, as an American citizen, to obey that law just like you obey the other laws in this country. That too is a fact of life.

We are returning your registration card to you. We do not ask that you keep it and carry it as is required by law. We simply want ^{you} to think long and hard about it, before you make a decision that might very well affect the rest of your life.

By Direction of the Board,

Lonna B. Summerfield
(Mrs.) Lonna B. Summerfield,
Clark, Local Board No. 405

Another Telegram



CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

345P PST DEC 4 67 LB223

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DRAFT RESIDANCE 2269 COOLEY AVE EAST PALO ALTO CALIFFORNIA
USA

DAZIMINA ENTRUSTED TRANSMIT CABLE QUOTE SOUTHVIETNAM YOUTH
WARMLY WELCOME DECEMBER 4 ANTIDRAFT CAMPAIGN STOP FOLLOWING
OCTOBER 16 THESE ARE NEW BRAVE DEEDS AGAINST UUSS GOVERNMENT
WAR INVIENTAM DOR AMERICAN PEOPLES INTERESTS DOR PEACE AND
JUSTICE STOP WISH YOU FURTHER SUCCESSES
STOP WITH SUPPORT AND DOLIDARITY SOUTHVIETNAM NOVMO 30 LEPHUONG
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notes on Washington march

Joel Kugelmass

It is not possible within the confines of a short article to clarify the many distortions of the March presented by the American press. Nor can I hope to explore all of its ramifications for the radical movement. As a compromise, let me consider only certain singular aspects of the demonstration at the Pentagon with an eye for their implications for our future activities.

Without doubt, the operative mood of the demonstration was non-violent; excepting certain isolated rushes of the troop lines the demonstrators intended to hold the Mall area (in front of the main entrance) and to engender non-violent responses from the soldiers. Thus, the defections (one of which I saw myself) of three soldiers gave courage to many who otherwise would have been betrayed by their fears of clubbings and arrest. In consequence of this non-violent mood, many held fast to a very important logic.

That is, the demonstrators believed that violence itself is, within American society, only caused by violence. Many said that "if we do not provoke the troops, they will not beat us." Thus violence is produced by violence, and assumedly, non-violence. Many were shocked to realize that their mere presence was sufficiently provoking to authority. The destruction of that logic is an important lesson of the March and its subsequent demonstration.

I wonder, however, how well this lesson was learned. That is the demonstrators saw clearly that the Establishment can initiate violence without justification except its fear both at the Pentagon and in Vietnam. What is necessary, however, is for the Movement to see that non-violence as thus far understood, fails to recognize this. One must realize that the American system is essentially a system of violence. Non-violent responses from American political authority (the military, the president, the police, and legal-legislative structure in general) reflect only tactical decisions. Non-violence from the viewpoint of the Establishment is not moral position.

Hence, whenever appropriate, the authorities will respond to threats with repressive tactics, and these tactics are often will be violent.

Traditionally, non-violent resistance to political authority assumes that the system has a potential for moral, non-violent reaction. "If we resist non-violently, we may encounter a little violence from the police, but the general reaction of 1) the public and 2) the political powers will be non-violent, cooperative

and positive." How dangerous this assumption is! How many young co-eds, full of care for others and full of love of peace, will suffer to show its untruth!

Those who learned this lesson could understand why on Saturday evening heads were beaten into a pulp, and why on Sunday these very same heads were free to leave Washington on the next train, without arrest or sanction.

One might well ask that if sitting-in at the Pentagon is sufficiently wrong to require 10,000 troops to be on hand, why those arrested were merely sentenced to a \$25.00 fine? The reason is, I think, simple. The Federal authority is not concerned with punishment because it is not concerned with morality. It is concerned with the completion of its own business, and with the removal of obstructions to that complete.

I do not want to bore you with familiar generalities. However, it was clear at the Pentagon demonstration that so many people, many of whom had burned their draft cards, failed to confront the meaning of non-violent resistance fully.

Nor am I suggesting, as already others have, that resistance move from its non-violent form to an aggressive, violent form. Rather, it is defeating altogether to operate within those categories, to separate violence from non-violence, and exalt either method to an ideology.

While the demonstrators were often confused about the meaning of nonviolence in this society, the demonstration itself was not very confused. It was, in fact, possessed of a very beautiful and remarkable coherence.

Partly because of the universal anti-war sentiment of the marchers, partly because of fear of violence, and partly because the demonstrators allowed their humanity to express itself, the protestors developed a remarkable sense of community.

It was this sense of community which alone caused such fear and concern in the press and in the Pentagon troops. Now everyone knows that in times of crisis, people tend to cooperate and care about one another to a remarkable extent. This field of cooperation and mutual concern is not, however, community. In community one identifies so strongly with one's fellows, that the fate of the first is the fate of the other. "When you are cold, I am cold." This sense of community is not, as some suppose, an ideal or a utopian notion. It is, rather, a differing concept of man, a new attitude towards the self and towards others.

At the Pentagon, people did not merely link arms in order to resist the troops. They slept upon strangers, fed each other, and tried to know one another. To some this is merely frosting on the cake. To others it is merely the way people behave when they face common fears.

Instead, this positive development of community at the demonstration made it possible for participants on the one hand to resist the troops with might, while on the other, to encourage defection, and to talk to the soldiers with a recognition of their enslaved humanity.

Both the military and the mass media attempted to conceal the community of resistance. But the soldiers found that when they arrested the front line, a new line was formed exactly as persistent and courageous as the one before it.

It is this fact which has major implications for our movement and which is a source of great strength for us.

The Establishment cannot understand community. It believes that a few arrests, a few murders, will destroy communities of resistance. Arrest the leaders and everything will fall. It is afraid to see that in a community of resistance, all must be arrested, all must be killed.

It is the development of community at the march and at the demonstration which made the entire Mobilization an important success for the movement. Of course, the Mobilization did not originate the concrete connexion between community and resistance. It did, though, affirm that connexion to the thousands there, and teach many the power of the resisting community.

Of final importance to this discussion is mention of the relation between the mass media and the events at the Pentagon. One could list endlessly the distortions constructed by the newspapers. For example, the Pentagon denied that its troops, except perhaps for one or two "isolated cases" used tear gas. However, no less than fifteen people that I talked with saw soldiers don gas masks, march forward, and watched a can of gas fly into the ranks of the demonstrators at the South end of the Mall. Numerous persons saw the defections of three soldiers. Several medical students reporting the beating of fifteen absolutely limp demonstrators by a band of twelve federal marshalls. When a lawyer approached the arrest van to help, he was beaten as well.

It is no longer necessary, I think, to record too many of the perversions of fact so typical today. Two observations may be useful. First, that the changes, the emphasis, and the assertions of the media were directed by managing editors and such. Overwhelmingly, reporters and cameramen were sympathetic and honest. But when they came back to their offices with their stories, their bosses rewrote, censored, and concealed the truth. Reporters repeatedly emphasized this when I spoke with them on Sunday, October 22. A Washington Post writer told me, after a three hour interview, "I'm sorry, but there is no one I can give this to." BBC News alone carried the use of rifle butts and the unprovoked attacks on demonstrators Saturday evening. One suspects that the fairer coverage of October 17 demonstrations in Oakland was possible only because pressmen were beaten along with protestors.

Thus, the Movement must itself assume responsibility for coverage of activities. It must make contact with reporters and cameramen, and through its own organs spread information. Too, there should be increasing consciousness of the ways in which the Movement will encounter the economic structure of this society. It must relate in its theory of resistance the connexions between ownership and power.

CONCL. PAGE 23

channeling



(This is an unedited, official Selective Service System memorandum.)

One of the major products of the Selective Service classification process is the channeling of manpower into many endeavors, and occupations; activities that are in the national interest. This function is a counterpart and amplification of the System's responsibility to deliver manpower to the armed forces in such a manner as to reduce to a minimum any adverse effect upon the national health, safety, interest, and progress. By identifying and applying this process intelligently, the System is able not only to minimize any adverse effect, but to exert an effect beneficial to the national health, safety and interest.

The line dividing the primary function of armed forces manpower procurement from the process of channeling manpower into civilian support is often finely drawn. The process of channeling by not taking men from certain activities who are otherwise liable for service, or by giving deferment to qualified men in certain occupations, is actual procurement by inducement of manpower for civilian activities which are manifestly in the national interest.

While the best known purpose of Selective Service is to procure manpower for the armed forces, a variety of related processes takes place outside delivery of manpower to the active armed forces. Many of these may be put under the heading of "channeling manpower." Many young men would not have pursued a higher education if there had not been a program of student deferment. Many young scientists, engineers, tool and die makers, and other possessors of scarce skills would not remain in their jobs in the defense effort if it were not for a program of occupational deferment. Even though the salary of a teacher has historically been meager, many young men remain in that job seeking the reward of deferment. The process of channeling manpower by deferment is entitled to much credit for the large amount of graduate students in technical fields and for the fact that there is not a greater shortage of teachers, engineers, and other scientists working in activities which are essential to the national interest.

More than ten years ago, it became evident that something additional had to be done to permit and encourage development of young scientists and trained people in all fields. A million

and a half registrants are now deferred as students. One reason the Nation is not in shorter supply of engineers today is that they were among the students deferred by Selective Service in previous years. Similarly, Selective Service student deferments reduced what otherwise would have developed into more serious shortages in teaching, medicine, dentistry, and every field requiring advanced study. The System has also induced needed people to remain in these professions and in industry engaged in defense activities or in support of national health, safety, or interest.

The opportunity to enhance the national well-being by inducing more registrants to participate in fields which relate directly to the national interest came about as a consequence, soon after the close of the Korean episode, of the knowledge within the System that there was enough registrant personnel to allow stringent deferment practices employed during war time to be relaxed or tightened as the situation might require. Circumstances had become favorable to induce registrants, by the attraction of deferment, to matriculate in schools and pursue subjects in which there was beginning to be a national shortage of personnel. These were particularly in the engineering, scientific, and teaching professions.

This was coupled with a growing public recognition that the complexities of future wars would diminish further the distinction between what constitutes military service in uniform and a comparable contribution to the national interest out of uniform. Wars have always been conducted in various ways, but appreciation of this fact and its relationship to preparation for war has never been so sharp in the public mind as it is now becoming. The meaning of the word "service", with its former restricted application to the armed forces, is certain to become widened much more in the future. This brings with it the ever increasing problem of how to control effectively the service of individuals who are not in the armed forces.

In the Selective Service System, the term "deferment" has been used millions of times to describe the method and means used to attract to the kind of service considered to be the most important, the individuals who were not compelled to do it. The club of induction has been used to drive out of areas considered to be less important to the areas of greater importance in which deferments were given, the individuals who did not or could not participate in activities which were considered essential to the Nation. The Selective Service System anticipates evolution in this area. It is promoting the process by the granting of deferments in liberal numbers where the national need clearly would benefit.

Soon after Sputnik I was launched it became popular to reappraise critically our educational, scientific, and technicological inventory. Many deplored our shortage of scientific and technical personnel, inadequacies of our schools, and shortage of teachers. Since any analysis having any connection with manpower and its relation to the Nation's survival vitally involves the Selective Service System, it is well to point out that for quite some time the System had been following a policy of deferring instructors who were engaged in the teaching of mathematics and physical and biological sciences. It is appropriate also to recall the System's previously invoked practice of deferring students to prepare

themselves for work in some essential activity and the established program of deferring engineers, scientists, and other critically skilled persons who were working in essential fields.

The Congress, in enacting the Universal Military Training and Service legislation declared that adequate provisions for national security required maximum effort in the fields of scientific research and development, and the fullest possible utilization of the Nation's technological, scientific, and other critical manpower resources. To give effect to this philosophy, the classifying boards of the Selective Service System defer registrants determined by them to be necessary in the national health, safety, or interest. This is accomplished on the basis of evidence of record in each individual case. No group deferments are permitted. Deferments are granted, however, in a realistic atmosphere so that the fullest effect of channeling will be felt, rather than be terminated by military service at too early a time.

Registrants and their employers are encouraged and required to make available to the classifying authorities detailed evidence as to the occupations and activities in which the registrants are engaged. It is not necessary for any registrant to specifically request deferment, but his selective service file must contain sufficient current evidence on which can be based a proper determination as to whether he should remain where he is or be made available for service. Since occupational deferments are granted for no more than a year at a time, a process of periodically receiving current information and repeated review assures that every deferred registrant continues to contribute to the overall national good. This reminds him of the basis of his deferment. The skills as well as the activities are periodically reevaluated. A critical skill that is not employed in an essential activity does not qualify for deferment.

Patriotism is defined as "devotion to the welfare of one's country." It has been interpreted to mean many different things. Men have always been exhorted to do their duty. But what that duty is depends upon a variety of variables, most important being the nature of the threat to the national welfare and the capacity and opportunity of the individual. Take, for example, the boy who saved the Netherlands by plugging the dike with his finger.

At the time of the American Revolution the patriot was the so-called "embattled farmer" who joined General Washington to fight the British. The concept that patriotism is best exemplified by service in uniform has always been under some degree of challenge, but never to the extent that it is today. In today's complicated warfare when the man in uniform may be suffering far less than the civilians at home, patriotism must be interpreted far more broadly than ever before.

This is not a new thought, but it has had new emphasis since the development of nuclear and rocket warfare. Educators, scientists, engineers, and their professional organizations, during the last ten years particularly, have been convincing the American public that for the mentally qualified man there is a special order of patriotism other than service in uniform -- that for the man having the capacity, dedicated service as a civilian in such fields, as engineering, the sciences, and teaching constitute the ultimate in their

expression of patriotism. A large segment of the American public has been convinced that this is true.

It is in this atmosphere that the young man registers at age 18 and pressure begins to force his choice. He does not have the inhibitions that a philosophy of universal service in uniform would engender. The door is open for him as a student to qualify if capable in a skill needed by his nation. He has many choices and he is prodded to make a decision.

The psychological effect of this circumstantial climate depends upon the individual, his sense of good citizenship, his love of country and its way of life. He can obtain a sense of well being and satisfaction that he is doing as a civilian what will help his country most. This process encourages him to put forth his best effort and removes to some degree the stigma that has been attached to being out of uniform.

In the less patriotic and more selfish individual it engenders a sense of fear, uncertainty, and dissatisfaction which motivates him, nevertheless, in the same direction. He complains of the uncertainty which he must endure; he would like to be able to do as he pleases; he would appreciate a certain future with no prospect of military service or civilian contribution, but he complies with the needs of the national health, safety, or interest -- or he is denied deferment.

Throughout his career as a student, the pressure -- the threat of loss of deferment -- continues. It continues with equal intensity after graduation. His local board requires periodic reports to find out what he is up to. He is impelled to pursue his skill rather than embark upon some less important enterprise and is encouraged to apply his skill in an essential activity in the national interest. The loss of deferred status is the consequence for the individual who has acquired the skill and either does not use it, or uses it in a nonessential activity.

The psychology of granting wide choice under pressure to take action is the American or indirect way of achieving what is done by direction in foreign countries where choice is not allowed. Here, choice is limited but not denied, and it is fundamental that an individual generally applies himself better to something he has decided to do rather than something he has been told to do.

The effects of channeling are manifested among student physicians they are deferred to complete their education through school and internship. This permits them to serve in the armed forces in their skills rather than in an unskilled as enlisted men.

The device of pressurized guidance, or channeling, is employed on Standby Reservists of which more than 2 1/2 million have been referred by all services for availability determinations. The appeal to the Reservists who knows he is subject to recall to active duty unless he is determined to be unavailable is virtually identical to that extended to other registrants.

The psychological impact of being rejected for service in uniform is severe. The earlier this occurs in a young man's life, the sooner the beneficial effects of pressured motivation by the Selective Service System are lost. He is labeled unwanted. His patriotism is not desired. Once the label of "rejectee" is

upon him all efforts at guidance by persuasion are futile. If he attempts to enlist at 17 or 18 and is rejected, then he receives virtually none of the impulsion the System is capable of giving him. If he makes no effort to enlist and as a result is not rejected until delivered for examination by the Selective Service System at about age 23, he has felt some of the pressure but thereafter is a free agent.

This contributed to establishment of a new classification of I-Y (registrant qualified for military service only in time of war or national emergency). That classification reminds the registrant of his ultimate qualification to serve and preserves some of the benefit of what we call channeling. Without it or any other similar method of categorizing men in degrees of acceptability, men rejected for military service would be left with the understanding that they are unfit to defend their country, even in war time.

An unprejudiced choice between alternative routes in civilian skills can be offered only by an agency which is not a user of manpower and is, therefore, not a competitor. In the absence of such an agency, bright young men would be importuned with bounties and pirated like potential college football players until eventually a system of arbitration would have to be established.

From the individual's viewpoint, he is standing in a room which has been made uncomfortably warm. Several doors are open, but they all lead to various forms of recognized, patriotic service to the Nation. Some accept the alternatives gladly -- some with reluctance. The consequence is approximately the same.

The so-called Doctor Draft was set up during the Korean episode to insure sufficient physicians, dentists, and veterinarians in the armed forces as officers. The objective of that law was to exert sufficient pressure to furnish an incentive for application for commission. However, the indirect effect was to induce many physicians, dentists, and veterinarians to specialize in areas of medical personnel shortage and to seek outlets for their skills in areas of greatest demand and national need rather than of greatest financial return.

Selective Service processes do not compel people by edict as in foreign systems to enter pursuits having to do with essentiality and progress. They go because they know that by going they will be deferred.

The application of direct methods to effect the policy of every man doing his duty in support of national interest involves considerably more capacity than the current use of indirection as a method of allocation of personnel. The problem, however, of what is every man's duty when each individual case is approached is not simple. The question of whether he can do one duty better than another is a problem of considerable proportions and the complications of logistics in attempting to control parts of an operation without controlling all of it (in other words, to control allocation

of personnel without controlling where people eat, where they live, and how they are to be transported) adds to the administrative difficulties of direct administration. The organization necessary to make the decisions, even poor decisions, would, of necessity, extract a large segment of population from productive work. If the members of the organization are conceived to be reasonably qualified to exercise judgment and control over skilled personnel, the impact of their withdrawal from war production work would be severe. The number of decisions would extend into billions.

A quarter billion classification actions were needed in World War II for the comparatively limited function of the Selective Service System at that time. Deciding what people should do, rather than letting them do something of national importance of their own choosing, introduces many problems that are at least partially avoided when indirect methods, the kind currently invoked by the Selective Service System, are used.

Delivery of manpower for induction, the process of providing a few thousand men with transportation to a reception center, is not much of an administrative or financial challenge. It is in dealing with the other millions of registrants that the system is heavily occupied, developing more effective human beings in the national interest. If there is to be any survival after disaster, it will take people, and not machines, to restore the Nation.

Washington cont.

Second, we cannot assume that dramatic confrontations will occasion "free" dissimulation of our point of view. We cannot expect that our point of view will be reported to the American people by the media except in the coarsest and most perverted of ways. White-washing goes hand in hand with back-lashing.

Resistance is to many of us already a reality, and familiar form of political activity. Because of the March on Washington, it has become even more familiar to the American radical.

With Peace and Liberation

Joel Kugelmass



Editor's note:

We welcome both manuscripts and letters to the editors. Address all communications to RESIST magazine, 2269 Cooley Ave. East Palo Alto, California.

DUE TO THE FACT THAT WE ARE ENGAGED IN OTHER RESISTANCE WORK AND WILL BE SPENDING SOME TIME IN JAIL, WE CANNOT GUARANTEE FOR HOW MANY MONTHS IN THE FUTURE THAT RESIST WILL BE PUBLISHED. HOWEVER, WE WILL ACCEPT SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE NEXT FIVE (5) ISSUES.

THE EDITORS

The Resistance :

OCT. 16 → DEC. 4 → APRIL 2 *

RODNEY GAGE

From the beginning of The Resistance we have tried to convey the fact that our initial act of non-cooperation was only "step A" in a progression of acts pursuant to new, and fresh life in America. Having now carried two successful national returns of draft cards, we must now look to what programs can be initiated to give more meaning to that act of non-cooperation.

In the summer of 1966, Dennis Sweeney, of the Palo Alto Resistance, and a friend, traveled up and down the West Coast in search of people, especially draft-age men who might have reached, or were considering a position of non-cooperation in regards to the Selective Service System. They returned to Palo Alto from a dismally fruitless quest. It seemed that there was no one at that time who was even near considering non-cooperation. However, the following spring when several people from Berkeley and Stanford again went out to speak to people about The Resistance, there was daylight to be found in numerous places throughout the country, and even in England. The Resistance's national action on October 16th is proof that non-cooperation is a concrete alternative to a good number of men in this country.

Several important things have happened since the 16th that must be mentioned. In Los Angeles it has been reported that of the 60 people who returned their draft cards in October, some 20% of those who immediately received delinquency notices from their draft boards, reapplied for deferments. This phenomenon implies that some of the basic premises to which these people concluded non-cooperation were not sound. Undoubtedly the reasons for these individuals return to the safety of deferment vary, but there is indication of a failure of the Resistance to make these people feel as essential parts of our struggle.

There are now people, draft-age men, and a good many women who are ready to leave school, and work full time with Resistance, but there looms the question of what does one do? It is careless to assume that every fellow who returns his draft card, is to become a political organizer. Yet it remains of great importance to find meaningful work for non-cooperators who want to give more meaning to their act. It is time that we, once and for all, bring women into essential areas of Resistance. We must speak to and act against a growing feeling of impotence, and stagnation on the part of our sisters in the movement. Clerical work, and secretarial work does not suffice as meaningful work for women anymore than it would for a man.

It is a matter of months now before some of us will be paying the price of jail for wanting to live in peace (No Blame). It behooves us to intensify the meaning of the act of non-cooperation. In Palo Alto, we intend to initiate several programs, one which embraces a "free high school" in which non-cooperators and women in the Resistance can make it possible for young people to meet and discuss the realities of life in America, and how to bring about change. By affording for younger people the opportunity to discuss subjects relevant to their lives, we can perhaps make real that phenomenon of young people feeling their lives to be their own. When high school age men become aware of what registration with Selective Service means, and the values of peace and liberation in one's life, we can perhaps make non-cooperation not an agonizing decision, but an understood reality to one who must live in accord with himself.

For each man busted by the government, he must make that act a meaningful event to as many people as possible. To be incarcerated from one's home is one thing, but to be taken from a group of 50 young people whom you are close to, and discussed one another's lives, is indeed another thing.

At a conference in Berkeley on the 25th and 26th of November, it was decided that the third date for a national Resistance action will be in the spring; April 2nd. This date affords us time to establish some of the programs that many around the country have expressed a great desire to begin. It is important to realize that non-cooperation in America must be organized on a deep feeling of community and solidarity.

For Resistance brothers around the country, it is time for us to initiate an exchange of what is on one another's minds, what kind of additional programs we can coordinate between our communities. We hope to have extensive traveling by brothers (a sort of Red Guard fashion) where we can spend some time with each other and enhance and nourish our feeling of community. For example, the brothers in Boston would come to Palo Alto and Berkeley and spend several weeks or a month, while the brothers in Los Angeles would be at Yellow Springs, just merely to establish and realize our common ground in life style. We really have no choice; the government has forced us. We are a community by default, so let it be, and let it indeed grow.



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