

END ALL WARS
LIKE VIETNAM!



UPI PHOTO 10/18/69 SR

END
THE
DRAFT!

VIETNAM: SYMPTOM OF A DEEPER DISEASE

Sometimes, opponents of the war in Vietnam seem to believe that a simple end to American murder there will bring about world peace. Most evidence indicates that the United States has already recognized the need to end hostilities in Vietnam, to limit domestic dissent, and to extricate our military from a quagmire. In fact, the American military, government, and industrial leaders have already reaped about as much benefit as possible out of Vietnam. They have gained giant military budgets, huge increases in the manpower and physical plant of the bureaucracy, and excellent practice in counter-guerilla warfare. The latter has already paid off in Latin America and may be valuable at home later on.

The war in Vietnam as we know it is going to end, sooner or later. Certainly our greatest task is to make it end *now*, so no more men, women, or children will die cruelly and needlessly, and so a first step can be taken to get America out of the bloody imperialism business. The Pentagon would like to continue the "American presence" there in many ways even after the war. Since that really means a continuation of the war by less visible means, we must pressure Congress and educate the people to demand nothing less than an absolute withdrawal.

But to stop there—with an end to the war in Vietnam—would be naive; it would be to forget that the war is universal and that the war machine, fed and fattened by Vietnam, is today of unimaginable proportions and power. That machine will go on long after Vietnam, persistently expanding its influence into every corner of American life, and soon more Vietnams will be needed for its continued growth. These will materialize with appalling speed in Thailand, Guatemala, or Greece.

THE DRAFT: KEY TO MILITARISM

While we attack the war in Vietnam and try to spread the word of its horror to every American, we must begin to attack the basis of U.S. militarism. One institution central to militarism is the draft. We know that conscription is an affront to individual freedom, that it has exploited primarily the poor and the black, and that it is the very opposite of the American principle of voluntarism. But it has also been one of the chief causes of the rise to power of the American military complex. By using the mechanism of peacetime conscription, the military and the President have been able to escalate American military involvements in Vietnam and elsewhere without the consent of the people—and often without their knowledge as to the degree and ramifications of the commitment. The draft has led America into actions which would have required a Declaration of War by the Congress in any previous time. Repeal of the draft, important to correct an evil which robs men of their basic freedom, is doubly important because it will help restore to Congress rightful powers of foreign policy making. We must strike not only at symptoms but at the disease.

FROM RESISTANCE TO REPEAL

The draft generally strengthens the power of the state and encroaches on the freedom and privacy of the individual. Only outright repeal will do away with the broad powers of general surveillance and control of the population inherent in the registration system. Universal peacetime registration really means that identity papers are required of all males in the draft age group, that their personal lives are subject to investigation, and that their movement is monitored and in some cases controlled. This registration is a great help to those who would create an

all-knowing, all-powerful central government. The draft has been from the start a major tool in the increase of power for the modern state. Napoleon first introduced it, and it was Napoleon who first sought to create a truly modern and efficient state based on a nation. Kenneth Boulding points out that the draft is a primary weak point of the system today and that attacks on its legitimacy are attacks on the legitimacy of the warfare state itself.

Those young men who have courageously resisted the draft have long felt its illegitimate authority and been persuaded for all its evils. Now is the time to support them by working for repeal.

REFORM OR REPEAL?

There is more talk today about changing the Selective Service than there has been since 1948, yet most of it is aimed not at repeal but at reform. None of the reform proposals—including the substantial changes in the Kennedy and Thompson bills—will erase the basic evils of the draft. Reform is sought to make the draft more efficient and less immediately onerous—and efficiency and the end of dissent will make a real change in the system less and less likely. The fanfare of Nixon's proposals and the appointment of yet another committee—the Gates Commission—to study the possibilities of a volunteer army seem now to have been more to placate the strong public feelings on the draft than to correct basic injustice. The lottery has actually increased the problems surrounding conscription. It is primarily a device to silence dissent without significant change. The idea of taking 19-year-olds first—in the name of fairness—has actually been long supported by the military who speak in cold terms of fighting efficiency.

THE PROSPECTS

Prospects for outright repeal are not good, but they are better than in the past 20 years and

probably much better than they will be after 1971 when the inductive authority of the Selective Service Act expires. Sen. Hatfield has introduced S 503 with the support of Senators Goldwater, Cook, Dole, McGovern, Nelson, Packwood, Prouty and Schweiker—and his bill goes further toward repeal than any other Senate bill yet introduced. Still, it leaves intact registration (and, by implication, classification) as now practiced under Selective Service. Rep. Lowenstein, Rep. Chisholm, Rep. Steiger, and others have now introduced similar legislation. Rep. Farbstain attempted to introduce an ammendment to the Selective Service Act which would ban the draft except after formal declaration of war. The Senate and House Armed Services Committees will hold hearings in February or March. That will be a crucial time to stress repeal over reform.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

TO REPEAL THE DRAFT

The National Council To Repeal the Draft has been established by unofficial representatives from nearly 43 organizations spanning the spectrum of labor, politics, religion, youth, women and business, and including radicals, liberals, moderates and conservatives who agree on the issue of draft repeal. NCRD has literature available on all aspects of the draft. NCRD is working actively to get draft repeal legislation introduced and passed.

YOU ARE NEEDED to begin a massive educational campaign across the country so that pressure can be applied on Congress. Regional organizations are being set up and national action is planned. Please fill out the form below if you can help with time or money. Your CONTRIBUTIONS ARE ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT NOW as the campaign gets underway.

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National Council To Repeal the Draft*

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101 D Street S.E., Suite 4
Washington, D. C. 20003 — Tel: 202/544-2041**

(Please fill in and mail) to:

Name _____ Contribution: _____

Address _____ Interested in regional organizing

Interested in action projects

Interested in newsletter
(*Enclose \$5*)

NCRD is also hoping for organizational support. Please contact groups to which you belong and get resolutions of endorsement for draft repeal as well as contributions for NCRD. List here any groups you wish to contact, using your name as an introduction:

NOW IS THE TIME: REPEAL THE DRAFT AND END THE WAR!!!