

The Daily Tar Heel

76 Years of Editorial Freedom

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America's Anti-Draft Legacy

By GEORGE VLASITS
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During most of the history of this country military conscription has been considered antithetical to the principles of freedom. Speaking during the War of 1812 Daniel Webster said of a proposed draft "The people of this country have not established for themselves such a fabric of despotism. . . have not purchased at a vast expense of their own . . . blood a Magna Charta to be slaves."

During the period prior to the Civil War, ancestors of many thousands of Americans fled European military conscription and came to America, believing that conscription was oppressive and fostered tyranny and war. When a limited draft law was adopted for the Civil War, it led to draft riots in New York, in Boston, in Rutland, Vt., in Portsmouth, N.H. and in Wooster, Ohio. Even as late as 1917, when Congress debated the proposal to adopt conscription as a means of providing troops for WW I, there was extensive and significant opposition. Congressman John Nicholls of N.C. said: "In my state they have the feeling that a conscript is a slave." Rep. George Huddleston from Alabama observed: "Conscription is state slavery". Congressman Carl Hayden from Arizona confessed: "Much as I dislike to believe it, yet I am convinced that most of the propaganda in favor of selective conscription is founded not so much upon a desire to win the war as it is to accustom the people to this method of raising armies and thereby to establish it as a permanent system in this country." And Senator Charles Thomas of Colorado said, "Opposition to compulsory military service is characteristic of every government fit to be called a democracy."

That opposition to the draft was widespread among the people, is indicated by the fact that eight per cent of those called, failed to appear at all and succeeded in escaping arrest. And so many men left the country to escape the draft that an order was issued prohibiting this.

In the period between the two World Wars, the Soviet Union, Italy and Nazi Germany instituted compulsory military training. When the United States' turn came there was again strong opposition to conscription on the grounds that it would enable the President and the

military leaders to involve the U.S. in foreign wars without Congressional approval. Even under the conditions in 1941 the Selective Service Extension Act was adopted in the House by a one-vote margin of 203 to 202.

During the Second World War, 14 million men were procured for the Armed Forces through the Selective Service System under the direction of General Lewis Hershey. In 1944 a group of top officers of the U.S. Army, with support of the American Legion and a coalition of business and financial leaders launched a campaign for a postwar peacetime universal military conscription. Congress turned down this idea but retained the idea of selective conscription.

Since then the law has been renewed, in essentially the same form in 1948, 1950, 1951, 1955, 1959, 1963 and 1967. Several attempts by the army to extend the term of service and to broaden the draft to a universal basis have been defeated in Congress.

The present Draft Law requires that all male citizens and resident aliens register with the Selective Service System within a five day period after their 18th birthday. Failure to register carries a maximum penalty of 5 years in jail and/or \$10,000 fine.

Once registered an individual goes into the pool of those eligible for induction, unless he has a deferment. He remains in this pool (which includes 1-A, 1-A-0, and 1-0) until he is drafted or reaches the age of 26 (for those who have held any deferments, the age limit is extended to 35). Once he has served or passed the age of liability for military service, he is classified either IV-A or V-A and is no longer eligible for induction.

The present order of call takes delinquents first, then volunteers, then men in the 18 1-2 to 26 age group, oldest first. Unless there is a national emergency, this means that an individual, once passed his 26th birthday, will not be called since it is unlikely that the pool of 18 1-2 to 26 year olds will be exhausted.

Classifications are determined by the local draft boards, composed of volunteers who are appointed by the President. Deferments are granted by these boards on the basis of information submitted by the registrant or in his behalf by interested parties, and on the basis of

the board members' interpretations of the Selective Service Law and the directives of the National Director. Some deferments are mandatory (although it is still up to the local board to determine if the individual qualifies) and other are left up to the discretion of the local boards.

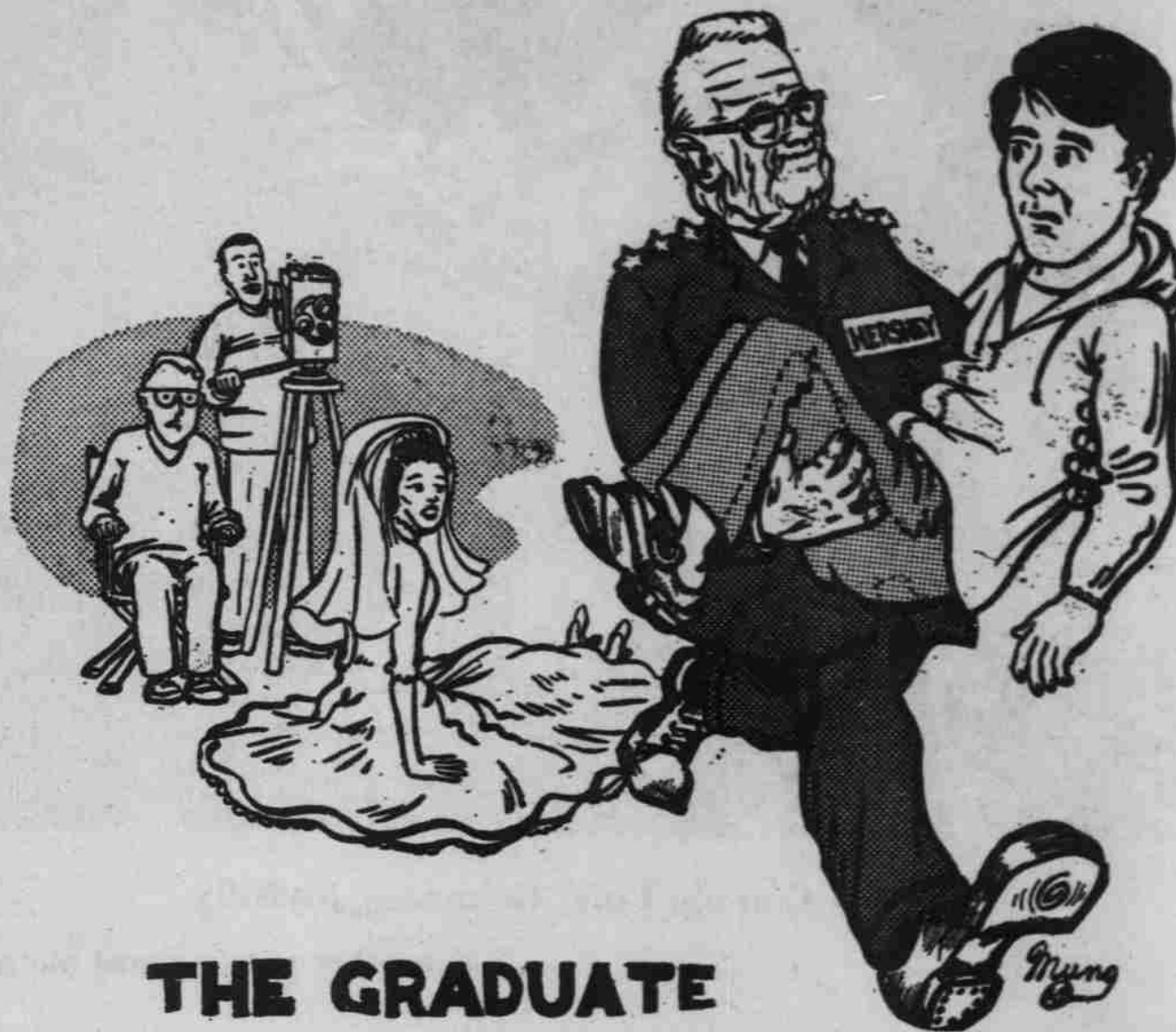
Under the 1967 draft law a few changes in the restrictions for board membership were made. No person may now serve on a draft board for more than 25 years or after his 75th birthday. Sexual restrictions for board membership were lifted. However, there was no attempt to make boards more representative of the community. (One of the major criticisms of the board make-up has been systematic exclusion of certain groups—negroes, the poor, and dissenters).

Every registrant is entitled to the lowest classification for which he is eligible (for example, a conscientious objector, who is also a student, is entitled to a II-S since that classification is

lower than a I-S.) Appeals for change in status can be made anytime a new classification is assigned to a registrant or when the registrant experiences a change in status which would affect his classification.

Under the new draft law, an attempt has been made to reduce the possibility of a registrant obtaining deferments all the way through until age 26. This has been accomplished by limiting graduate deferments to the health fields and putting occupational deferments at the direction of local board. There is no way to tell at this point, what effect this change will have on local board decisions.

There are three basic alternatives to military service for the individual who is not eligible for a deferment: Conscientious Objection, immigration to Canada, and non-cooperation. All involve consequences intended as deterrents—but are being chosen by increasing numbers of individuals as objection to the draft and the Vietnamese war increases.



THE GRADUATE

From The University of Alabama

Maddox Brand Racism: Well-Meaning Ignorance

It isn't easy to just come right out and damn Lester Maddox.

Sure, it's justified to condemn him as a racist. Further, he's so paranoid about communism that he sees subversives under every bed. And he's just about as simplistic and politically unsophisticated as one man can get.

But there's more to Lester Maddox than that.

For the Georgia governor, who spoke to 1,000 students in Carroll to the Carolina Political Union, Hall Wednesday night and later isn't all bad—as much as we'd like to say he is.

Indeed, Maddox embodies most of the qualities we find despicable in Deep South politicians.

But he also has a deep-felt and rather apparent conviction that his way is the right way, and that he is going to use this way to do all he can to help the people of his state.

And this prevents him from being simply an evil man.

INSTEAD, LESTER MADDOX fancies himself a latter-day Horatio Alger hero who rose from Depression poverty, through middle-class comfort, to the Georgia governor's mansion.

And he doesn't think there's any reason that anybody else—black or white—can't do the same.

For example, when asked at the CPU session about the extreme poverty of Southern Negroes, Maddox responded by citing the success story of James Brown, the millionaire soul singer who rose from being a shoe shine boy, and of a Negro corporation president who told him that the lack of civil rights hadn't hindered him in building up a \$14 million-a-year plastics firm.

And from the look on his face, the tone of his voice, it is quite believe that: he really doesn't see any intrinsic disability in being born black, in being socially and politically discriminated against.

IT WAS THE same way when Maddox told the CPU meeting that he was convinced that the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was if not a full fledged Red, at least a Communist dupe, and that the non-violent civil rights movement was indeed the spawning grounds for riots and communist-inspired revolution.

Once again, you could tell by looking at him, by listening to him, that Lester Maddox really, sincerely believes that stuff.

He was as obviously sincere, as sure of his ground on these points as he was when he spoke of how Georgia prisons had needed reform and were getting it, of how education had needed and was getting a larger share of the state budget, of how the state government of Georgia was really being cleaned-up and made into an agency that would serve its constituents.

And Lester Maddox has done these things: his administration—only 15 months old—has made rather notable strides in all these areas, plus others.

HE HAS BEEN, all things considered, probably one of the best governors Georgia has had—in terms of benefitting the state. He has been honest, sincere and dedicated.

All the while, though, there loom the questions of Maddox's Horatio Alger orientation to economics, his paranoid suspicions of communists' being in the hierarchy of every liberal, humanistic movement; and, of course, his history of opposing integration of his Atlanta chicken restaurant, axe-handle-in-hand.

These things are not put aside, forgotten—easily nor should they be.

For it is this facet of Lester Maddox which today must stand paramount in any assessment of him.

Lester Maddox is, in his heart, a good and sincere man, we feel, somewhat loathe to condemn him.

BUT CONDEMN him we must.

For Lester Maddox—as sincere and benevolent as he might be—lacks the understanding of those problems peculiar to black Americans today, and therefore is refusing to attack them specifically.

And it is this crucial stance on the part of white America in general—and her elected officials in particular—that is causing the black ghettoes to fester into riot areas—is causing them to do so by not treating their peculiar problems intelligently.

It is the Lester Maddoxes—not the Martin Luther Kings—who are breeding violence, and courting the possibility of racial warfare in this nation.

And for this we must damn him.

UNC Peons vs. CPU Elite

The real Lester Maddox finally stood up Wednesday night, called the late Dr. Martin Luther King a communist and accused the non-violent civil rights movement of being a mock-front for riot and rebellion.

But only about 75 of the 1,000 or so persons, who crowded Carroll Hall to hear him got a chance to see and hear the real Maddox, freed from his prepared speech text.

The statements all came as replies to questions asked of him at a session with the Carolina when any questions were allowed.

Gov. Maddox was whisked away from the Carroll Hall stage to 011 Peabody, immediately after he finished his speech and before he had time to answer any questions from the audience.

THIS DOES NOT seem at all in keeping with the spirit of a University whose main purpose is to be a place where all of its students—not just a select few members of the CPU—can participate fully in the learning process.

Although the CPU's closed meeting with visiting speakers, following their public addresses, are usually defended as back-stage meetings where interested (i.e., chosen) students can discuss matters with the speakers, off the record, they generally serve to deny the student body at large the chance of a longer audience with the speaker.

Wednesday night's incident—during which no question-and-answer period whatsoever was provided in Carroll Hall—seems to be the most flagrant demonstration of the elite CPU's "privilege."

Something good did come out of it, though: Student Body President Bob Travis recognized the absurdity and unfairness of the situation, and sent a letter to Carolina Forum director Scott Goodfellow directing that in the future no speaker is to be removed from the stage for an audience with any single group.

In other words, the peasants are finally getting in their licks.

(Editor's Note: The following letter and accompanying statement have been sent to Congressmen, Senators, the President, and the Justice Department.)

we wish to call your attention to the enclosed statement, now signed by more than 500 faculty members, teaching assistants, instructors, campus chaplains, and others at colleges in North Carolina in support of your men whose conscience and convictions have left them no choice but to refuse to serve in a war they consider terribly misguided, immoral and inhumane, if not also illegal. There are now some 10 or 12 men in North Carolina who in recent months have neither turned in their draft cards or have refused induction. Those of us who know them (most of them are students) can testify that they are among the brightest, best informed, most socially concerned, and idealistic young men of their generation; many of them are also the natural leaders of today's youth.

It is entirely possible that many of you in Congress, not having close contact

with the college population, are not yet aware of the depth of the problem or of its extent, for as yet the number of young men who have, for conscientious reasons, returned their draft cards or refused induction is quite small — only a few thousand throughout the country, so far as is known to us. It may also seem that, with President Johnson's recent decision not to seek another term and with what may be the beginning of serious negotiations to end the war in Vietnam now taking place, that the problem is being resolved by the course of events. We believe that such a view might be dangerously in error. For every man who has already refused military service, there are a number who have signed statements pledging that they will do so if that choice is confronted.

As you are all aware, up until recently the college population has not been heavily drawn upon to fill the country's draft quotas. That situation has already changed, of course, and the effects of the new policy will begin to be felt this summer and in the fall, when large

seniors or first-year graduate students will be called for the draft. The war which so many find so preposterous and so out of keeping with the true ideals of America will in all likelihood still be with us then, and may even numbers of the men who are now college last for another year or more.

Of course it is the present war, a war which has been denounced by many from its onset and by an ever greater number as it has continued, that has been the immediate cause of the problem now brought to our attention. But the fault which brings so many young men into a serious conflict between the demands of conscience and common-sense, on the one hand, ad duty to country, on the other, resides in the terms of the Selective Service System itself, which makes completely inadequate provision for the rights of individual conscience and belief. That law must be changed. Perhaps we can give up the draft altogether, as some have argued. But if the draft is continued, the least that can be done is to make some form of alternative service — completely divorced from the military — available to men whose profound beliefs must lead them to refuse military service or to accept that duty at serious cost to their moral integrity and their faith in our society and form of government.

The most tragic consequence of the present situation is not that a few thousand young men will spend years in jail that might be so much better spent in other uses of their time and talents; both they and the country can bear this loss. But neither we nor any nation can bear the widespread disrespect for law itself that must come when laws are felt by many to be stupid and unjust; no nation can well afford to have a sizable segment of its most capable young people brought to cynicism and despair and alienation from society. It is up to you who have been elected to positions of responsibility to take quick steps to eliminate this needless injustice which poses such a threat to our nation.

A STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF STUDENT CONSCIENTIOUSLY REFUSING MILITARY SERVICE
By Concerned Faculty and Staff Members at Colleges in North Carolina

We are shocked and dismayed that young men of conscience must either serve in a war they believe is unjust or face jail. The young men who turned in their draft cards to the Department of Justice on October 20 have brought it to our attention that young men face such a choice right now; many, including some in North Carolina, have already chosen to follow their consciences and risk jail.

It is not a failing in the seriousness of these young men, but a failing in our laws, that forces them to make this choice. They would gladly serve their country in ways that do not involve what seems to them needless killing and destruction. The Selective Service Law, as amended last summer, denies them such an alternative. It had been hoped that the law would be modified to recognize the validity of conscientious objection to war on grounds of profound personal and philosophical belief. Instead, however, amendments to the law seek to restrict even further the recognized grounds for conscientious objection. The law permits exemption from military service only to those who conscientiously oppose participation in war of any form and under all circumstances; there is no provision whatever for those who object to a particular war as unjust, illegal, or inhumane. Moreover, the only recognized opposition to war must stem from "religious training and belief"; it must not be based on "political, sociological, or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code."

We believe that all men, regardless of their views about the war in Vietnam, should uphold the right of an individual not to serve in a war he believes is unjust. We hold with Robert Lowell: "I would not undertake to advise any young man to resist the draft — that's too terrible a responsibility. But if one did, I would feel a coward if I didn't support him."

We shall work to change a law that is neither compatible with individual conscience nor shows sufficient respect for it. But until the law is changed, we must support those who can maintain their self-respect and moral integrity only by refusing to serve in a war they must condemn. We believe that in conscientiously refusing, these young men are behaving as morally committed citizens who cannot absolve themselves of complicity in a war they see as unjust, even though their government would absolve them.

Finally, we believe that our statement is the sort of speech that under the First Amendment must be free. We must fulfill our obligations to the men and women we teach and to our country and its freedoms. We call upon others to join us.

Signatures accumulated in support of the statement include from UNC; 162 full-time faculty members, four campus chaplains and 104 part-time instructors, teaching assistants and others.

Other area school totals include, Duke, 63; Davidson, 23; Shaw University, 7; Salem College, 10; East Carolina University, 18; UNC-C, 17; and Wake Forest University, 16, plus others totaling overall 495.



From The Greensboro Daily News