

Defending Democracy  
Government Responsibility vs. Individual Rights

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Senior Division

Individual Documentary

Process Paper: 479 words

Both of my grandfathers served in Vietnam during the time draft and war protests occurred across America. I was curious about why some people joined the military or were drafted while others refused to serve. The protests seemed like a perfect topic for the theme of *rights and responsibilities*, but too much information existed to cover in a ten minute video. To narrow my topic, I decided to cover anti-draft movements throughout American history, focusing especially on the impact of those in the Vietnam Era.

I started my research by getting a basic understanding of my topic from Internet articles and university websites. I discovered the Texas Tech Vietnam War Archives, but many of their sources are copyrighted material, so I traveled to Lubbock and spent two days researching in their archives. The posters, letters, petitions, and photos helped me understand the protesters' point of view. I found copies of radio transcripts from Ho Chi Minh and other North Vietnamese leaders that showed the impact the draft protests had on our enemy and on American troops. I also conducted interviews with Vietnam Veterans, both officers and enlisted men, and anti-draft protesters. Through those interviews, I discovered that many minorities protested the draft because of the Civil Rights movement at home. They directed me to new sources, like *Raza Si Gara No*. Alan Pogue, a photo journalist and anti-draft activist, allowed me to use several of his photos from the time to show how some Hispanics, African-Americans, and Vietnam Veterans protested the draft and the war.

I wanted to produce a documentary because I enjoy working with computers, and I learned to use an editing program last year. Since I conducted interviews as part of my primary source research, I thought a documentary would be the perfect way to include

their voices in my presentation. After I created transcripts of the interviews, I chose specific parts from each of them so they could tell the story. I also felt that a visual presentation of my research would be the best way to appeal to an audience.

My topic fits the NHD theme, *Rights and Responsibilities*, perfectly because the draft remains the greatest topic for debate over rights and responsibility in American History. This topic has touched the lives of every American over time: those who felt it was their responsibility to serve, those who protested because they felt it violated their rights, and those government leaders who were responsible for defending both democracy and individual rights. When the word “draft” enters a conversation, every listener has a visceral reaction. For those who lived through the Vietnam Era, like my grandfathers, that is particularly true because it divided America like no other time in American History. The draft is still one of the most controversial topics domestically and around the world because of the conflict it stirs over rights versus responsibilities.

## Annotated Bibliography

### Primary Sources

#### Interviews and Oral Histories

Bonilla, Ruben. Interview by author. Nov. 26, 2013.

Ruben Bonilla is an attorney and past national president of the League of Latin American Citizens. He attended college during the Vietnam War and lost many of his friends there, which made him very angry because America did not seem to be making any progress in the war. He explained that the majority of Hispanics are very patriotic. Organizations like the G. I. Forum and L.U.L.A.C. never promoted any type of protests because they both stand for American values, which in their minds includes military obligation to one's country. I used part of his interview to explain that the Civil Rights Movement in America affected many minorities' opinions about the draft. He remembered when Cassius Clay lost his heavy weight title because he was a conscientious objector and refused to serve. This interview developed understanding the individual rights observed by the Latino community.

Coffin, William Sloan. Interview by *Playboy* Magazine. Dec. 1, 1970. 45-140. *Texas Tech University*. Vietnam Archives, Douglas Pike Collection: Unit 03 – Antiwar Activities. #2150811036. <http://www.virtual.vietnam.ttu.edu/cgi-bin/starfetch.exe?WtoXLMKUYpfPoJyU7d2YfU2N8ZpO5gQxFOC8YBfoRqIE89mj@b3KlXgNybrV1wwm0D.7Hq0PT3sxF6jcqfOiYcnFnUXRwp.eFRsUehPPFr8/2150811036.pdf> (accessed Sept. 15, 2013).

William Sloan Coffin was a chaplain at Yale University who was tried with Dr. Benjamin Spock for counseling young men to violate the draft laws. This interview occurred shortly after President Lyndon Johnson declared that he would not run for office again. Coffin had served in World War II and then worked for the CIA during the Korean Conflict. After that, he became a chaplain and was arrested several times for protesting racial discrimination during the Civil Rights Movement. His anti-draft, anti-war protests started in 1966. Coffin's perspective revealed that protesters did not feel that the United States had the right or the responsibility to go into Vietnam.

Faiers, Chris. "35 Years Later: An Interview with a Vietnam Draft Resister." Dec. 2002. [www.eelpie.org/cricket/vietnam.htm](http://www.eelpie.org/cricket/vietnam.htm) (accessed June 27, 2013).

Chris Faiers was born in Ontario, Canada in 1948, but he was eligible for the draft for the Vietnam War as a resident alien. Chris became an anti-war activist in Miami, Florida, attending demonstrations, organizing a campus group and publishing an underground newsletter. He eventually went back to Canada to avoid the draft, but he had a difficult time finding a job. I used this interview to understand some of the difficulties draft dodgers faced when they left America to avoid military service.

Green, Jim B. "Memoir – My Vietnam War Experiences." Aug. 2010. *Texas Tech University*. Vietnam Archives. Jim B. Green Collection. #22440107001.



Jim Green served in Vietnam from 1968 to 1971. Although he disagreed with the war, he could not bring himself to avoid serving his country. His reflections on the Vietnam War helped me understand some of the lessons he hoped America learned. I used information from Green's memoirs to establish that Americans were not willing to fight a war over a political ideology when they could not connect that war to any real vital interest that served America.

Nixon, Robert. Interview by author. Dec. 7, 2013.

Robert Nixon is my grandfather. He joined the Navy in 1965 to avoid being drafted by the army and served during the Vietnam War. He felt it was his responsibility to serve his country in Vietnam, even though he did not agree with everything that was going on there. I used parts of his interview to explain that if he traveled in uniform, protesters would spit on him, curse at him, so he had to fly in civilian clothes so no one would know he was serving his country. I used parts of his interview to show how the anti-draft movements and protests directly affected the people who were in the military. The interview established the importance personal responsibility to his government was, but it also revealed how important individual rights were to some people.

Piwetz, Richard. Interview by author. Dec. 7, 2013.

Richard Piwetz is my grandfather. He was drafted in 1965 and served in Vietnam in the infantry. He explained that because of the draft, young men could not acquire a good job after high school because employers would not hire them until they had their military obligation behind them. I used parts of his interview to explain that the draft during Vietnam was totally different from the draft in World War II. People flocked to the draft boards during World War II because America had been attacked. He was drafted and served his time knowing this was the best way to complete his responsibility to his government then he could return home to find a job and start a family.

Pogue, Alan. Interview by author. Nov. 8, 2013.

Alan Pogue is a Texas photo journalist who served in Vietnam and then returned to Texas and started anti-draft movements. He photographed and participated in many of those movements and gave me permission to use several of his documentary photos from that time period. Pogue was drafted in 1966 and became a combat medic with the infantry. He said that until then he had been insulated from the reality of Vietnam, but as a combat medic he saw innocent people being shot in the back, people being blown up. That inspired him to speak out against the draft and the war, and as soon as he got back, he joined Vietnam Vets Against the War and became involved with the Austin Underground Press and Community United Front. I used parts of this interview and some of his photos to show what motivated some activists to speak out against the draft. Pogue's perspective also reflected motivations of the people that chose their individual rights over government responsibility.

Vasquez, Mario. Interview by author. Nov. 26, 2014.

Mario Vasquez served as a sniper in Vietnam. Although he had an opportunity to avoid the draft by moving to Canada to play football, his father convinced him to stay in America. If

he had to lose his son, he would rather lose him fighting for his country than to Canada as a draft dodger. I used a portion of this interview to demonstrate how anti-communism was being taught in schools and to show that American soldiers were fighting for an ideology in Vietnam rather than in defense of their own country. Additionally, Vasquez showed how some felt that the draft was an undeniable responsibility; even if a man had a way out he needed to serve his country.

Wax, Charles J. Interview by author. Nov. 14, 2013.

C. J. Wax is a retired Air Force Major General. During the early portions of his career up to and including the late 1970s, members of the military were advised not to travel in their military uniforms off base because of the protesters. Several of his personal friends were spit on. He was stationed at the Pentagon when a group of antiwar protestors threw pig's blood on the steps of the Pentagon and marched into the building carrying coffins and wearing shrouds. He said the anti-draft movement led to the draft bill in 1972 that cancelled the draft and led to an all-volunteer armed forces. Wax's interview revealed how the draft protests affected members of the military. He also highlighted the wide gap between those who chose to respond to the government's responsibilities and those who chose individual rights.

Zamora, Emilio, Ph.D. Interview by author. Nov. 8, 2013.

Dr. Zamora is a professor of history at the University of Texas in Austin, specializing in Mexican American history. He was in college when the college draft deferments were discontinued and joined the National Guard to avoid being drafted. As the television coverage got more graphic about what was happening in Vietnam, he also joined some of the anti-draft protests in Austin. Although he feels that the government is justified in using the draft to maintain security, he saw implementation of the draft as biased because the majority of the men going to Vietnam represented the poor and the working class. For many Hispanics his age, they were being asked to meet military obligations at the same time they were being denied right. I used parts of his interview to represent the Hispanic perspective on anti-draft protests and to tie the protests to the Civil Rights Movement in America.

## Transcripts

Eisenhower, Dwight D. "Statement by the President on the Need for Maintaining the Draft," October 7, 1956. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. [www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10630](http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10630) (accessed June 26, 2013).

This statement by President Eisenhower says that the draft is necessary for America to stand "firm against the Communist push." He justifies his position by saying that the military must keep the American people safe in their homes, defend against attacks at home and overseas, and encourage world peace. He also claims that the draft stimulates voluntary enlistment. I used information from this statement to discuss the draft during the Korean Conflict.

Johnson, Lyndon B. "Remarks to the State Directors of the Selective Service System," May 3, 1967. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*.

[www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=28234](http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=28234) (accessed June 26, 2013).

In his remarks, President Johnson says that the draft was “founded on the conviction that qualified men should share equally the responsibility of service.” Using the Marshall Commission findings, Johnson says he wants to investigate the effectiveness of revising the current Selective Service in order to make it fair to all Americans. I used information from these remarks to address the discrimination in the Selective Service during the Vietnam Conflict.

Minh, Ho Chi, Transcript of Radio Broadcast to American Friends. Dec. 30, 1967. Hanoi, VNA, International Service in English. *Texas Tech University*. Vietnam Archives, Douglas Pike Collection, Unit 03 – Antiwar. #2150705056.

Ho Chi Minh was the leader of North Vietnamese Communism. He compliments all of the protesters in America who are fighting to remove American troops from Vietnam. He explains that Americans have dropped over 800,000 tons of bombs on North Vietnam, killing civilians and destroying non-military installations. He claims that America, the imperialist aggressor, has committed crimes against the North Vietnamese people. This transcript helped me understand how the leader of North Vietnam capitalized on the protests in America to put pressure on the American government to leave Vietnam.

Nixon, Richard. “Special Message to Congress on Reforming the Military Draft,” May 13, 1969. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. [www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=2046](http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=2046) (accessed June 26, 2013).

This message on reforming the military draft presented a list of changes Nixon proposed to satisfy his campaign promise to end the draft. One specific target was to replace the current procedure for selecting draftees with “a random selection system” because so many protesters argued that the draft disproportionately fell on minorities and working class men. I used information from this message to discuss the changes in the draft after Nixon took office.

Roosevelt, Franklin D. “Statement on Peacetime Universal Selective Service,” September 16, 1940. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. [www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=105859](http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=105859) (accessed June 26, 2013).

This is a copy of President Franklin Roosevelt’s statement on establishing a peacetime draft. He calls it “a new and uncharted trail in the history of our democratic institutions.” Roosevelt felt that the peacetime draft would enable the American military to prepare for the threat of war. I used information from this document to discuss implementation of the first American peacetime draft before World War II.

Thu, Ho, Transcript of Radio Broadcast to the American People. Dec. 21, 1967. Hanoi, VNA, International Service in English. *Texas Tech University*. Vietnam Archives, Douglas Pike Collection, 03 – Antiwar. #2150705055.

Ho Thu was the chairman of the South Vietnam People’s Committee for Solidarity with



the American People. In this New Year's Eve address, he compliments all of the American people who are involved in draft and war resistance. He says the South Vietnamese people want the Americans to honor their self-determination and to respect their national independence by leaving Vietnam. This radio address helped me understand the impact that the anti-war and anti-draft movements in America had on some groups in South Vietnam.

#### Government Documents

"An Act for Enrolling and Calling Out the National Forces, and for Other Purposes."  
*Congressional Record*. 37<sup>th</sup> Cong. 3d. Sess. Ch. 74, 75. 1863. March 3, 1863.  
[www.yale.edu/glc/archive/962.htm](http://www.yale.edu/glc/archive/962.htm) (accessed June 27, 2013).

This is a copy of the act that established the Civil War draft to "suppress insurrection and rebellion." It applied to all men between the ages of 20 – 45 and required them to serve a minimum of two years but not more than three. However, section 13 gave them the option to "furnish an acceptable substitute" to meet their draft obligation. I used this information to discuss the draft during the Civil War.

Carter, Jimmy. "Proclamation 4483 – Granting Pardon for Violations of the Selective Service Act, August 4, 1964 to March 28, 1973," January 21, 1977. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. [www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=7255](http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=7255) (accessed June 26, 2013).

This proclamation restored the political and civil rights of all people who had violated the Selective Service Act between August 4, 1964 and March 28, 1973. The only exceptions were for people who had committed acts of violence or were military deserters. I used this information to discuss the amnesty President Carter offered former draft evaders in order to heal the divide that the Vietnam Conflict had created between Americans.

U. S. Congress. House. *Recommendation for the Assistance to Greece and Turkey*. 80<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, March 12, 1947. H Doc. 171. [http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study\\_collections/doctrine/large/documents/pdfs/5-9.pdf#zoom=100](http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/doctrine/large/documents/pdfs/5-9.pdf#zoom=100) (accessed Sept. 13, 2013).

This recommendation for assistance became known as the "Truman Doctrine." It helped me understand Truman's reasons for wanting to contain communism and his belief that the United States had to take responsibility for that containment. I used this document to explain why America entered into the Vietnam conflict.

Wilson, Woodrow. "Proclamation 1370 – Conscription," May 18, 1917. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=65403> (accessed June 16, 2013).

This proclamation requires all men ages 21 – 30 to register for the draft. Punishment for failure to appear is a misdemeanor that carries a one year jail term. The rationale for the draft is



that the nation needs men to “serve the common good.” I used this information to discuss the draft enacted for World War I.

#### Letters, Memos, and Flyers

Berkeley Anti-Draft Union. Flyer, Feb. 1967. *Texas Tech University*. Vietnam Archives, Douglas Pike Collection: Unit 03 – Antiwar Activities. #2150705030.

This flyer is a call to draft-aged men to build a mass anti-draft movement based on the position that all American troops should be withdrawn from Vietnam because the war was based on “shaky rationalizations.” It gives information on why and how to avoid the draft and offers assistance to anyone hoping to avoid military service. I used this to explain the mission of anti-draft organizations that existed all over America in the late 1960s.

Giltian, Dave. Letter to college students from Charlottesville Draft Resistance. 1969. *Texas Tech University*. Vietnam Archives, Social Movements. #14511040013.

This letter is urging students to bring their draft cards to the Charlottesville Draft Resistance organization so they can take them to Congress as the “largest gesture of concerted civil contempt in America’s history.” They have also distributed 102,000 pledge cards for potential draftees to sign. Their hope is that a mass demonstration will force Congress to repeal the draft. I used this information to talk about movements to repeal the draft during the Nixon administration.

“How You Can Help Stop the Draft.” *Committee Against Registration and the Draft*. *Texas Tech University*, Vietnam Archives. Social Movements, #145113200001.

This is a copy of a flyer published by the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, an organization founded in 1979 in response to the government’s drive to bring back the draft. This organization counseled and provided information on the implications of registering for the draft and the consequences of non-compliance. This flyer helped me understand that the anti-draft movements during the Vietnam conflict had a lasting impact on Americans. I used this to explain one of the lessons America learned from the anti-draft demonstrations during Vietnam.

Letter from Susan Ikenberry (NCUUA) and Heidi Kuglin (Friendshipment) to Amnesty, Reconstruction, and Recognition Key Contacts. July 1976. *Texas Tech University*, Vietnam Archives, Social Movements #14512937035.

This letter from the National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty is promoting a joint regional campaign with Friendshipment to promote amnesty for people who evaded the draft by fleeing the country. The objective is for the widespread coordinated action to put pressure on political candidates, Carter in particular, to take action toward amnesty as soon as he takes office. This letter reflects the pressure President Carter felt for giving amnesty to draft evaders after the Vietnam War ended.

Letter to Draft Resisters from Unknown Organization. *Texas Tech University, Vietnam Archives. Social Movements, #14511662005.*

This letter is from an organization dedicated to counseling young men on how to avoid the draft. It provides the names of several sources that people can use to prepare themselves and gives a list of possible consequences they may face. This letter helped me understand that one goal by draft counseling organizations was to urge people to become active participants in promoting the repeal of the draft, including letters to Congressmen and organized resistance rallies. It also gives a list of medical issues that would cause the draft board to reject men from service so they could stay informed on possible medical conditions that would prevent them from being drafted. I used this information to show how some people resisted the draft.

Memo from Tom Reeves, National Council to Repeal the Draft – Congressional Draft Resistance. Sept. 1, 1972. “Peace Happenings.” *Texas Tech University. Vietnam Archives, Social Movements, #14512943006.*

This memo is a list of activities and meetings available to people interested in protesting the draft and the war in Vietnam. The events include workshops, information and counseling, trials, and demonstrations. This memo helped me understand how organized draft and war resistance by 1972. I used this information to show that powerful resistance caused Congress to repeal the draft in 1971.

NCRD Staff to Draft Repeal Councils. May 7, 1971. *Texas Tech University, Vietnam Archives. Social Movements, #14512943028.* <http://www.virtual.vietnam.ttu.edu/cgi-bin/starfetch.exe?4imYdvX5IRI2udfv07Rufc.JAxmDRM3wUilwBeGSaEd@cpHQB11AXp49mMFIfljclU9IYEXKLBeOfKBxT61zoHtFvTdoQ@df6F1NYpdmG8/14512943028.pdf> (accessed Oct. 24, 2013).

This document is a copy of a memo to Draft Repeal Councils from the National Council to Repeal the Draft, informing them that the Selective Service Act of 1971 had been introduced. It lists the senators who intend to filibuster an extension of the draft or who will debate the issue vigorously. It helped me understand that these senators hoped to get the press involved in their debate because the public would then pressure their opposition. I used this document to show that the anti-draft movement was gaining momentum and their chief weapon was the press.

“Saigon Area Alliance Asks Draft Resistance.” June 12, 1968. *Texas Tech University. Vietnam Archives, Douglas Pike Collection: Unit 05 – National Liberation Front, #2311502030.* <http://www.virtual.vietnam.ttu.edu/cgi-bin/starfetch.exe?L@z.lg7cBbAP@QB8G636TFZlyml60ZcFYW0U7N84gaswi5SznFlopTdgF.CjhQU0ewYKSi34baEER@TTdKE21@7ZxQSf7X@HxT16.rVGmww/2311502030.pdf> (accessed Oct. 23, 2013).

These are two messages from the Saigon Area Allegiance in which they give their point of view on the draft. It helped me understand that Americans were training South Vietnamese youth to fight, and this organization says to give the weapons back. Their reasoning is that America is a foreign government forcing its will on the Vietnamese people. I used this information to understand both sides of the conflict from the Vietnamese perspective.



"Showdown." *Texas Tech University*. Vietnam Archives, Social Movements Collection, #145107111001. <http://www.virtual.vietnam.ttu.edu/cgi-bin/starfetch.exe?ujWGtEJnh159q91NYOCdfGxTnOcM85JKN6vePuCDJFiZjwkkE.ZXRai2ruZrbujbElqHfjK.rVZYdyu2XKGzfuwQPmwgv6HfFzsHXDhmYEM/145107111001.pdf> (accessed Sept 15, 2013).

This document is a pledge to refuse to cooperate with the selective service system. The signers are agreeing not to register for the draft or carry a draft card and that they will refuse to be inducted even as conscientious objectors. It helped me understand that the anti-draft organizers felt that the more people they had, the better their chances were of avoiding prosecution, but they were willing to take the chance in case that did not work. I used this information to show the anti-draft protests side of the conflict.

#### Pamphlets

Cloke, Ken. *A Pocket Manual on Draft Resistance*. New York: A Guardian Pamphlet, 1968. *Texas Tech University*. Vietnam Archives. Social Movements Collection. Folder 82, Box 19. #14511982005 (accessed Oct. 24, 2013).

This pamphlet covers different types of deferments and laws that benefit draft evaders. This pamphlet also touches on the consequences that come along with evading the draft. I used the pamphlet to gain a greater understanding of draft law and how draft evaders interpreted those laws. This pamphlet also gave me detailed information regarding the variety of ways that one could avoid the draft choosing individual rights over government responsibility.

Morris, Mark. *Why Draft Repeal?* Philadelphia: National Peace Literature Service. Not copyrighted. *Texas Tech University*. Vietnam Archives, Social Movements Collection, #14512943012. <http://www.virtual.vietnam.ttu.edu/cgi-bin/starfetch.exe?EdH04o2534QwCAWaF6qNdf9YtdY.Pgheem7SM75Ap8upF9HrnRfrVJpYWmXqiAEtC95gqz5NYCjqeXnG9qFPFeqbyLn5CBgjo.dDYCXMcA/14512943012.pdf> (accessed Sept. 15, 2013).

This pamphlet contains a series of questions and answers about the draft. The answers that helped me the most were about why the draft needed to be repealed instead of just letting it go away after the deadline. Morris explained that without repeal, men will still be required to register for the draft when they turn 18. If it was repealed, registration would no longer be required because the law would be void. I used this information to explain anti-draft protesters' point of view.



*Legal Pamphlet on Draft Resistance.* Texas Tech University. Vietnam Achieves, Social Movement Collection. Folder 62, Box 16 #14511662026 (accessed Oct. 24, 2013).

This pamphlet, prepared by lawyers and law students, gives a collection of draft law post-1967. I used this pamphlet to learn more about the draft laws which helped me throughout my video. This record of how the government enforced the draft clearly denotes the government's responsibilities regarding enforcement of the draft.

## Newspapers

"Another Day of Rioting." *New York Times*, v. 12, July 16, 1863. Numbers 3680-3685.

This article describes the anti-draft riots taking place in New York in July 1863. Mobs of people attacked houses in which black people lived and set buildings on fire. The article calls their actions a "reign of terror." New York Governor Horatio Seymour has called for an end to the draft, saying that New York can furnish its quota with volunteer. As a result of the riots, the draft was suspended in New York and Brooklyn on July 15, 1863. I used this information to describe the reaction to the Civil War draft in New York.

"Conscription a Great National Benefit." *New York Times*, v. 12, Monday, July 13, 1863. [www.yale.edu/glc/archive/961.htm](http://www.yale.edu/glc/archive/961.htm) (accessed June 27, 2013).

This article says that conscription is a "national blessing" because it will determine the Republic's durability. It also states that there are factions that will try to influence the majorities to repeal the draft, but they will not succeed. I used this information to discuss implementation of the draft during the Civil War.

"Incidents of the Riot." *New York Times*, v. 12, 17. July 1863. Numbers 3680-3685. [www.yale.edu/glc/archive/967.htm](http://www.yale.edu/glc/archive/967.htm) (accessed June 27, 2013).

This article describes the demonstrations and riotous behavior of the demonstrators. Several people were killed, and many "negroes" were the victims of unprovoked attacks. This article helped me understand that the African-Americans were victims in the riot because people who were angry about the draft blamed them as the cause for the Civil War. I used this information to discuss the New York riots as a response to the Civil War draft.

"The Mob in New York." *New York Times*, v. 12, July 15, 1863. Numbers 3680-3685. [www.yale.edu/glc/archive/964.htm](http://www.yale.edu/glc/archive/964.htm) (accessed June 27, 2013).

This article explained that the draft was initiated in the Ninth Congressional District. Although officials expected some resistance to the draft, none of them anticipated the riots that occurred so quickly after the draft was implemented; therefore, they were totally unprepared to respond. This helped me understand why the New York riot was so difficult to stop. I used information from this article to discuss the New York riot as a response to the dra

## Magazines

Duff, Edward. "Bearing the Burden of the Berrigan Brothers." *The New Republic*, Mar. 6, 1971. *Indo-China Archive*, Univeristy of California. Held in *Texas Tech University, Vietnam Archives*. Douglas Pike Collection, Unit 03 – Antiwar Activity, #2150815053.

Edward Duff is a Jesuit priest. This article is about his associates, the Berrigan Brothers, two other priests who broke into a draft board on May 17, 1968, and burned over 200 files. Both brothers were indicted and facing federal prosecution. Their action was filmed by local television and covered in newspaper articles, so their story quickly spread around America. This article helped me understand that the protest staged by the Berrigans inspired other clergymen to protest the Vietnam conflict. Duff had a difficult time with Vietnam, also, because of the discrimination he witnessed in America. I used this article to show that people all over America were part of the Vietnam conflict protests.

Efaw, Fritz. "Chickenhawks, Draft Dodgers, and War Resisters." *The Veteran*, Spring 2003, vol.33, 1. *Vietnam Veterans Against the War*. [www.vvaw.org/veteran/article/?id=351](http://www.vvaw.org/veteran/article/?id=351) (accessed Oct. 9, 2013).

In this article, Efaw explained that during the Vietnam War Era, resistance began with draft card burning, refusing induction, and demonstrating. He also distinguished the difference this organization sees between draft dodging and resisting. He says draft dodging is "an act of avoiding personal responsibility" while resistance is "an act of embracing responsibility." This article helped me understand how Vietnam veterans who returned from the war and joined resistance movements justified their actions.

Mager, Andy. "We Ain't Marching Anymore." *Nonviolent Action*, March –April, 2002. [www.warresisters.org/nva/nva0300-3.htm](http://www.warresisters.org/nva/nva0300-3.htm) (accessed June 26, 2013).

*Nonviolent Action* is a magazine published by the War Resisters League. This article explained that the government estimated that more than a half a million men were classified as deserters. Many of the 2 million men who refused to register were African American because they felt that their rights at home were being violated. Draft resistance began in New York, but quickly spread all over the United States as the number of draftees increased. Members of the military also started protesting the draft and the war because of their experiences in combat. I used this information to show how the resistance movement grew in proportion to the number of men being drafted.

Miller, David. "Memoirs of a Draft-Card Burner." *Reclaiming Quarterly*. <http://www.reclaimingquarterly.org/82/rq-82-draftcard.html> (accessed June 17, 2013).

David Miller joined the civil rights and peace movements during the early 1960s while he was in college. In 1965, Congress passed legislation to stop protesters from burning their draft cards as a symbol of resistance. Miller refused to enter the induction office when he got his draft notice and then joined in anti-draft demonstrations and burned his draft card at the 1965 Days of



Protest rally. This article explained that David Miller was the first person to publicly burn his draft card after the new legislation passed to make draft card burning illegal. He served 22 months in federal prison. I used this information to understand the consequences that applied to draft card burning after Congress passed the 1965 act to prohibit such actions.

## Video

*The Bombing of Pearl Harbor*. Castle Films Newsreel. YouTube. Uploaded December 7, 2011. <http://www.humanevents.com/2011/12/07/castle-films-newsreel-the-bombing-of-pearl-harbor/> (accessed January 3, 2014).

This is an original newsreel about the bombing of Pearl Harbor. I used clips of the harbor to show to the damage the Japanese attack did to Pearl Harbor.

"FDR at the Selective Service Draft Lottery, October 1940." October 30, 1940. *Robert Jackson Center*. Dec. 7, 2009. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=19-8TY0LUdo> (accessed Dec. 16, 2013).

This clip is newsreel footage showing President Franklin Roosevelt announcing the first number pulled in the peace time draft lottery. I used this footage to show the first peace time draft program in the United States.

"Inaugural Address, 20 January 1961." *John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum*. USG-17. WO#30806, RG274, records of the White House Signal Agency. <http://www.jfklibrary.org/Asset-Viewer/BqXIEM9F4024ntF17SVAjA.aspx> (accessed Jan. 16, 2014).

This video shows President John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address in Washington, D.C. In his speech President Kennedy urges American citizens to participate in public service and "ask not what your country can do for you--ask what you can do for your country." I used parts of his speech in my introduction to show Kennedy's motivation for sending troops into Vietnam.

"Lyndon Johnson: Remarks on Decision to not Seek Reelection." March 31, 1968. *Miller Center Public Affairs*. Sept. 11, 2008. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2-FibDxpkb0Images> (accessed Jan. 4, 2014).

This video shows President Lyndon Johnson announcing to the American public that he will not seek reelection. I used this clip to show how the Vietnam draft protests impacted the President of the United States.

"The Trials of Muhammad Ali." *Democracy Now*. Apr. 26, 2013. <http://www.democracynow.org> (accessed Jan. 16, 2014).

This documentary has clips of interviews with Muhammad Ali when he converted to Islam and refused to fight in Vietnam. When he refused to be drafted into the military and filed as a conscientious objector, he was sentenced to prison and stripped of his heavyweight title. He



appealed his case all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court and did not go to prison, but he was forced to wait four years before he regained his boxing license. I used a clip from this documentary to show that draft protests during the Vietnam War were tied to the civil rights movement in America.

## Images

Bellows, George. "Blessed are the Peacemakers." *The Masses*, 1917. Republished in *When Jesus was Left: Christians, Socialists and the Masses* by Mike Mosher. Feb. 2005. <http://bad.eserver.org/issues/2005/72/mosher.html> (accessed Dec. 29, 2013).

This is an anti-war cartoon showing Jesus in a striped prison uniform with a halo. I used this to show what happened to some conscientious objectors in World War I.

"Casualties at Gettysburg." <http://www.history.com/images/media/slideshow/civil-war-gettysburg/battlefield-casualties-gettysburg.jpg> (accessed Jan. 17, 2014).

This is a photo of dead soldiers lying on the ground after the battle of Gettysburg. I used this photo when I discussed that the draft during the Civil War fell mainly on the poor.

"Colonial Regiment." <http://www.veteranstoday.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/07/revolutionary-war-042.jpg> (accessed Dec. 16, 2013).

This is a painting of George Washington with troops standing in the snow. I used it to discuss the state militias during the Revolutionary War.

"Continental Congress." *U. S. History*. <http://ushistory.org/declaration/images/trumbull-large1.jpg> (accessed Dec. 16, 2013).

This is a painting that shows America's founding fathers signing the Declaration of Independence. I used this picture when I discuss the Revolutionary War and the assignment of responsibility for the military to state militias and the executive branch of the government.

Dennison, S. M. "Civil War Confederate Enlistment Poster." June 30, 1869. Charlenton, Tenn. <http://www.ohwy.com/history%20pictures/condraft.gif> (accessed Dec. 15, 2013).

This is a Confederate enlistment poster telling free men to avoid conscription by joining a militia unit. I used this photo to show how men avoided the draft during the Civil War.

"Enlist Now and Get Your \$100 Bounty." <http://2.bp.blogspot.com/-rgodQLaCJmQ/T1PpkOocrEI/AAAAAAAAAtE/9OTN2kNeGFE/s1600/Draft%2BPoster%2BCivil%2BWar%2B01.jpg> (accessed Dec. 15, 2013).

This is a photo of a Civil War poster inviting men to join the Union cavalry in order to avoid conscription. I used this photo to show how Union men could avoid the draft.

Flagg, James Montgomery. "I Want You For U. S. Army." Lithograph, 1917. *American Treasures of the Library of Congress*. Prints and Photographs Division. <http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/treasures/trm015.html> (accessed Dec. 8, 2013).

This poster was originally published as the cover for the July 6, 1916, issue of *Leslie's Weekly* with the title "What Are You Doing for Preparedness?" It became the most famous poster in America and was used to recruit men into the military in both World War I and World War II. I used this photo to show propaganda posters that encourage military enlistment.

"Forcing the Draft." The Civil War Daily Gazette. <http://civilwardailygazette.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/mar4draft.jpeg> (accessed Jan. 17, 2014).

This is a political cartoon from the Civil War showing a soldier forcing a draftee into the service. I used this image to show conscription during the Civil War.

Franklin, Benjamin. "Join or Die." *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), May 9, 1754. *Library of Congress*. Copy at *Colonial Williamsburg*. <http://www.history.org/history/teaching/ newsletter/volume5/november06/primsources.cfm> (accessed Dec. 16, 2013).

This is a copy of the first political cartoon published in an American newspaper, which shows a snake cut into many pieces. Ben Franklin considered the American colonies to be dangerously fragmented and, through this cartoon and its accompanying article, hoped to convince the American colonies that they would have great power if they united against the threat of French expansion in North America. I used this cartoon to show how one of America's founding fathers tried to encourage the Revolutionary War.

"It's V-E Day!" <http://www.history.com/images/media/slideshow/end-of-world-war-ii/VE-day-newspaper.jpg> (accessed Jan. 17, 2014).

This is a photo of American soldiers holding a newspaper showing the end of World War II. I used this photo to show the reaction to the end of World War II.

King, Stoddard. "World War I Era Draft Card." 1917. United States, Selective Service System. World War I Selective Service System Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration. M1509, 4,5Dr82 rolls. [www.archives.gov](http://www.archives.gov) (accessed Dec. 29, 2013).

This is a photo of Stoddard King's World War I draft card. I used this image to discuss the draft during World War I.

"Nixon Campaign Button." [http://www.jaredmobarak.com/wpcontent/filmstills/posterized-propaganda/2012\\_08/pp082012\\_nixon.jpg](http://www.jaredmobarak.com/wpcontent/filmstills/posterized-propaganda/2012_08/pp082012_nixon.jpg) (accessed Jan. 17, 2014).

This is a photo of a Nixon campaign button used during his run for office 1972. I used this photo when I discussed Nixon fulfilling his campaign promise to end the draft.

“Nixon Campaigning.” *Nixon Foundation*. <http://nixonfoundation.org/files/2013/01/Screen-Shot-2013-01-09-at-4.14.18-AM.png> (accessed Jan. 17, 2014).

This is a photo of Richard Nixon campaigning during the 1972 election. I used this photo when I discussed Nixon’s campaign strategy during this campaign.

“Patriots Tearing Down Statue of King George.” *The Connecticut Society of the Sons of the American Revolution*. [http://www.connecticutsar.org/articles/king\\_georges\\_head.htm](http://www.connecticutsar.org/articles/king_georges_head.htm) (accessed Dec. 16, 2013).

This is a painting of patriots pulling down a statue of England’s King George III that was standing on Bowling Green in New York City. This took place on July 9, 1776. I used this photo to show support for the Revolution during the Revolutionary War.

“Roosevelt Signing the Peacetime Draft.” September 16, 1940. *FDR Library*, Photograph Collection. <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/daybyday/resource/september-1940/> (accessed Jan. 17, 2014).

This is a photo of President Franklin Roosevelt in Washington, D.C. signing the Burke-Wadsworth conscription act to establish selective service. I used this photo to show the establishment of the peacetime draft before World War II.

Takacs, Andre D. “America, Here’s My Boy.” *Wolfsonian*. #XC2005.03.2.3. [http://libimages.wolfsonian.org/XC2005.03.2.3\\_001.jpg](http://libimages.wolfsonian.org/XC2005.03.2.3_001.jpg) (accessed Dec. 5, 2013).

This is a picture of a World War I mother handing her son over to the military. The photo is on the cover of the patriotic song with the same name. I used this photo to show patriotism during World War I.

“Truman Orders U. S. Air, Navy Units to Fight in Aid of Korea.” *The New York Times*. <http://www.conservapedia.com/images/thumb/9/93/KOREA50.JPG/380px-KOREA50.JPG> (accessed Jan. 17, 2014).

This is a photo of the front page of *The New York Times* announcing that America is sending troops to Korea. I used this photo to show America’s entry into the Cold War.

“Wanted – 1000 Substitutes.” <http://www.civilwar-pictures.com/articles/wp-content/uploads/2008/10/substitute.jpg> (accessed Jan. 17, 2014).

This is a photo of a Civil War poster announcing the need for 1,000 substitutes to take the place of men who were drafted. I used this image to show the practice of draft substitutes during the Civil War.

“World War I Draft Protest Silent March.” [http://images2.dailykos.com/i/user/152086/Silent\\_March\\_1917.jpg](http://images2.dailykos.com/i/user/152086/Silent_March_1917.jpg) (accessed Jan. 17, 2014).



This is a photo of draft protesters marching in World War I. I used this photo to show public reaction to the draft in World War I.

## Secondary Sources

### Books

Baskir, Lawrence M., and William A. Strauss. *Chance and Circumstance: The Draft, The War and the Vietnam Generation*. New York: Vintage Books, 1978.

Baskir and Strauss were senior officials in President Ford's Clemency Board. They used case histories to give different points of view on the Vietnam War. They also explain the differences between the drafts implemented in World War I, World War II, Korea, and Vietnam.

One interesting point was that deferments caused a significant rise in marriages and births because men could avoid being drafted for those reasons. It also helped me understand that amnesty became more acceptable to both the American people and the exiles because of a new point of view established by amnesty organizations. Exiles did not want to admit they were guilty of a crime. The new view was that they were making a "moral point" that the government was wrong. I used this information to discuss President Carter's amnesty program to bring home exiled Americans and to heal the country from the divide that occurred during the Vietnam War.

Chambers, John W. *The Oxford Companion to American Military History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

This book contains extensive information on the Revolutionary War, Civil War, World War II and Vietnam. It helped me analyze how the requirements in American military draft changed over time, including the legislation that was passed to regulate draftees. I used information from this book to document the acts that established the first draft and the legislation that was passed in subsequent wars to show draft requirements in each of these time frames.

Foley, Michael S. *Confronting the War Machine: Draft Resistance During the Vietnam War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

This book focuses on points of view from both draft resisters, especially those in Boston, and pro-draft supporters. What helped me the most was the timeline because I was able to follow the movement from its beginning and look at how it changed over time. I used this information to look understand why the resistance in Boston began and to get an idea of their point of view on the Vietnam Conflict.

Haskins, James. *The War and the Protest: Vietnam*. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1971.

This book gives a brief history of protests against war or the draft in America and then focuses on Vietnam. As the war escalated, protesters staged teach-ins, marches, and

demonstrations. It helped me understand that countries like Vietnam were more interested in nationalism and wanted to make their own decisions. They wanted to be free from foreign influence and supported the Viet Cong because they were fighting against foreign troops. I used this information to understand the Vietnamese perspective of the war.

Oropeza, Lorena. *Raza Si! Guerra No! Chicano Protest and Patriotism During the Viet Nam War Era*. Berkley: University of California Press, 2005.

This book gives the history of the Chicano movement in America during the Vietnam War. Many Hispanics joined the movement because they felt that they were being denied their rights at home, and therefore did not want to fight for someone else's freedom overseas until they had the same freedoms in America. This book helped me understand how the Civil Rights Movement in America impacted draft and war resistance during the Vietnam War.

Walker, Charles C., ed. *Quakers and the Draft*. Philadelphia, Friends Coordinating Committee on Peace, 1968. *Texas State University, Vietnam Archives*. Social Movement, #14510318011.

This book was published as a result of the Friends National Conference on the Draft and Conscription, held in Richmond, Indiana on October 11-13, 1968. This book helped me understand that within various Quaker organizations, views on the Vietnam conflict varied, so Quakers in general would not issue a unified statement against the draft, even though Quakers have been in conflict with the draft since the Revolutionary War. I used this information to demonstrate the role of conscientious objectors when they are drafted into service.

Westheider, James E. *Fighting on Two Fronts: African Americans and the Vietnam War*. New York: New York University Press, 1997.

James Westheider is a lecturer in African American History at Northern Kentucky University. He interviewed Vietnam veterans, both black and white, and included Pentagon documents to support his research on African Americans during the Vietnam War. Ethnic differences often separated African American and Anglo soldiers and resentment between the two groups reflected some of the conflicts both groups experienced at home during the Civil Rights Movement. He gives evidence of racism in the military and explained that military leaders did not respond to that racism until it became disruptive or created violence among the troops. This book helped me understand why groups of African Americans formed anti-draft and anti-war resistance organizations.

## Articles

Swomley, John M., Jr. "Conscription and National Policy." *Texas Tech University, Vietnam Archives, Social Movements*. #14510318011.

This article is a summary of John Swomley's speech at the Richmond Conference. Swomley was a former Director of the National Council Against Conscription. It provided a chart of the number of draftees from 1961 – 1968, showing an increase from 1,650 to 53,000.



He also gives information on draft repeal, stating that only Congress can repeal it. The major issues most groups concerned about draft repeal have are draft inequities, its violation of individual rights, the effect it has on American life, and its role in foreign policy. This article helped me understand why draft resistance movements were growing around the United States in the late 1960s.

Tinnelly, Joseph T. "The Conscientious Objector Under the Selective Service Act of 1940. *St. John's Law Review*: Vol. 15: Iss. 2, Article 6; 1941. <http://scholarship.law.stjohns.edu/lawreview/vol15/iss2/6> (accessed on Aug. 6, 2013).

This article explained that although conscientious objectors have not been exempt from paying war taxes, they have been exempt from military service from the beginning of America. What helped me was the explanation that the Selective Service Act of 1917 provided exemptions only for people belonging to recognized religious organizations. The 1940 Act included exemptions for people in religious training or who were conscientiously opposed to participation in war. I used this to show the difference between the two acts.

## Images

"Cold War." <http://img.talkandroid.com/uploads/2011/08/cold-war.gif> (accessed Jan. 17, 2014).

This is a cartoon image of the Soviet Union and the United States arm wrestling while sitting on bombs. I used this image to show a visual of the Cold War.

"Conscientious Objector Poster." <http://www.writinglives.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/conscientiousobjector.jpg> (accessed Dec. 22, 2013).

This is a poster for conscientious objectors during World War I. I used this photo to show the change in draft procedures between the Civil War and World War I.

"Containing Communism." <http://www.sjsapush.com/resources/image002.jpg> (accessed Jan. 17, 2014).

This is a cartoon of Uncle Sam and the globe. He's pushing back all of the countries that would spread communism. I used this photo to show a visual image of America's containment policy in the Cold War.

"Domino Theory." *University of Texas*. [http://ows.edb.utexas.edu/sites/default/files/users/sharris/domino\\_theory.jpg](http://ows.edb.utexas.edu/sites/default/files/users/sharris/domino_theory.jpg) (accessed Jan. 17, 2017).

This is a cartoon image showing the Domino Theory. I used this photo to show the reason the United States became involved in the Vietnam Conflict.

"Harry Truman." *PBS*. [http://www-tc.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/media/uploads/films/heroImages/truman\\_film\\_landing.jpg](http://www-tc.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/media/uploads/films/heroImages/truman_film_landing.jpg) (accessed Jan. 17, 2017).



This is a photo of President Truman at a microphone. I used this photo to provide a visual of the presidents speech on the Truman Doctrine.

## Videos

*Civil War 360: Civil War Draft Brings Chaos to New York City.* Smithsonian Channel, Oct. 7, 2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TAWu2cPAsjo> (accessed Dec. 15, 2013).

This video explains that when Union forces did not have enough volunteers, Congress instituted a military draft. When the draft wheels arrived in New York City on July 11, 1863, the poor revolted and started rioting. I used several images of the New York riot to show reaction to the draft during the Civil War.

*Vietnam: America's Conflict.* Mill Creek Entertainment, 2009.

This documentary included eyewitness accounts of the war and a chronology of events that helped me understand how the war evolved from a small military mission into a war that divided America. I used clips from this video to show wounded soldiers and America's evacuation from Vietnam at the end of the war.

*Vietnam in HD.* Prod. Lou Reda Productions for History. A&E Television Networks, LLC, 2011.

This documentary includes interviews with thirteen people who served during the Vietnam Conflict. Their recollections are combined with archival footage of the war and helped me understand some of the issues soldiers faced as the war escalated. I used clips from the archival footage to show soldiers arriving in Vietnam during the escalation of the war and shots of the Tet Offensive when the U. S. Embassy was attacked.

## Music

Fogerty, John. "Fortunate Son." Performed by Creedence Clearwater Revival. Fantasy Records, 1969.

I used "Fortunate Son" because it is one of the most iconic songs from the Vietnam Era. This song embodies my topic and was perfect for the prelude of my documentary.

Mann, Barry; Weil, Cynthia. "We Gotta Get out of This Place." Performed by The Animals. MGM, 1965.

I used "We Gotta Get out of This Place" due to its prominent bass line and the link between the lyrics to the anti-draft and civil rights movement in America.

The Guess Who. "American Woman." Performed by The Guess Who. RCA, 1970.

I used "American Woman" to make a transition from the Vietnam Era to the Post-Vietnam Era by changing the tone to one that is semi-patriotic.

Iron Butterfly. "In-A-Gadda-Da-Vida." Performed by Iron Butterfly. Atco Records, 1968.

I used "In-A-Gadda-Da-Vida" for my introduction to produce an emotional reaction in audience members who lived during the Vietnam Era. This song with its deep bass line grabs the audience's attention and sets a mood of anticipation in the beginning of my documentary.

"The British Grenadiers March." 1770. Performed by Moodus Drum and Fife Corps. Hits Anthems Back Sound Effects, 2010.

I used "The British Grenadiers March" during the Revolutionary and Civil War Eras in my documentary because drum and fife represents music of that time period.

Price, Alan. "House of the Rising Sun." Performed by The Animals. MGM, 1964.

I used "House of the Rising Sun" to support the tone and mood in my documentary when referring to the Vietnam draft protests. This song reflects the angst of the time period.

Sousa, John Philip. "Semper Fidelis." 1888. Performed by the United States Marine Band. Universal Classics Group, a Division of UMG Recordings Inc., 2002.

I used "Semper Fidelis" for the World War I and II Eras in my documentary to show the patriotic atmosphere during these time periods.

Stills, Stephen. "For What It's Worth." Performed by Buffalo Springfield. Atco Records, 1967.

I used "For What It's Worth" to change the tone and mood of my documentary. I transition from the World Wars into the Vietnam era; from a patriotic up beat tune to a more subdued rhythm that was popular in the era.