

Alternative

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CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE CAMPAIGNS PLANNED

Against Jim Crow

A CAMPAIGN for mass civil disobedience has recently been launched by Negro leaders against jimcrow in the Army. A. Philip Randolph and Grant Reynolds have begun urging Negroes and whites to refuse to be drafted. Randolph has said that thousands will go to jail before they will enter a segregated Army again.

A Committee Against Jimcrow in Military Service and Training has been set up at 217 West 125th Street, New York City, and is circulating pledge cards, together with "Don't Join a Jimcrow Army" buttons. Randolph started a Congressional committee by declaring: "Negroes are just sick and tired of being pushed around and we just don't propose to take it, and we do not care what happens."

Meaningless Concessions

Although the government so far has taken no action, there appears some likelihood that it may attempt to undercut the Committee's stand by making minor, meaningless concessions such as establishing voluntary "mixed" regiments. Randolph and Reynolds, however, have said that they will be satisfied with nothing less than complete abolition of military segregation (which they point out would mean among other things the closing of all Army camps in the South).

A more serious weakness in the campaign is that Negroes may be driven to try to prove that they can be just as good soldiers as whites, and in this way militarism may be indirectly promoted. There is a great deal of resentment among Negroes against Eisenhower's recent testimony in favor of segregation on the grounds that they are too uneducated to "serve" with whites. Reynolds was in the last war as a chaplain, and is ready to re-enlist if the campaign is successful.

Wide Negro Support

The support which the movement is receiving, particularly in the Negro press, indicates mounting discontent and a trend toward revolt. The only sound aim for such civil disobedience, however, is total abolition of the Army. What the

To Resist Draft

A GROUP of 86 men and women, including veterans of both world wars, is calling on everyone of draft age to join them in refusing to register under any conscription law. The appeal is part of a campaign for civil disobedience against militarism which was begun at Chicago, April 2-5, by 300 persons who had gathered to plan for "a more revolutionary pacifist movement". This is one of the "teeth" in a campaign which is to be brought to the American people through direct action projects, through street and other meetings, and through leaflets and flyers. The campaign as a whole is a broad, Gandhi-like program which is directed towards workers' control of industry, and the substitution of non-violent resistance for the traditional and unsuccessful forms of military resistance to totalitarianism.

New Rebels

It is still too early to tell whether this campaign will win enough people to make a significant attack on American militarism. But the conference at Chicago was the first real sign of hope in the past ten years. Previous anti-war conferences have been pretty well limited to specialists, with little sign of popular interest. But this time the conveners of the conference put out a few copies of a single mimeographed statement and expected 50 or 75 of the faithful to appear. Instead 300 persons turned up at Chicago. Many of them were rank-and-filers who had never attended an anti-war conference before. A lot of the thinking was confused and undeveloped, but the spirit of revolt and of daring was there. Apparently the administration's drive to war is beginning to arouse a reaction. When the three days were over, a few of the more timid conveners had been left behind, and the rest scratched their heads and found themselves, for the first time in their lives, with the beginnings of a movement on their hands. The ex-G.I.'s, the "rebellious youths", and most of the skeptics discovered that a majority of the old-line leaders present had been serious when they called for a new, more vigorous program which can be carried directly to the American people.

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Alternative

Successor to *Pacifica Views and Direct Action*

P.O. Box 827, Church St. Sta., N. Y. 8, N. Y.

Editors: Robert Auerbach, David Dellinger, Ralph DiGlia, Albert Eichel, Roy Finch, Sander Katz, Wm. Kuenning, John Mack, J. H. McCandless, Anne Mof-fett, Andrew Osgood, Margaret Rockwell, Igal Roodenko

LIVE YOUR OWN LIFE

MANY PEOPLE have the idea that the way to go about improving the world is to draw up a "constructive" program, being careful at all points to avoid being "negative". What they really want is to get all the benefits of a new society without making a decisive break with the old one which has brought us into our present mess. They do not realize the extent of the disease against which they are fighting.

The first really positive thing we can do is to break off our allegiance to the forces of destruction. The big political parties, the Army, and big business are poisoned through and through. They tell us that it is necessary to go on developing atom bombs and lethal germs while they discourage attempts to strike at the roots of the trouble.

Disobey

We must learn to disobey these voices of hate and fear, and to do so without guilt or rancor. We are all imbued with obedience to authority—the authority of parent, teacher, boss and officer—so that this is much harder than it seems. Disobedience, we are told from the cradle, is "negative" and "wrong". But today it is often the most positive thing we can do.

What can we put in place of these negative forces to which we must say NO? In a time of general insanity we have the obligation to lead unfettered, responsible lives. This means finding a place for the natural expression and companionships which are squeezed out by our centralized, artificial, money economy. It means practicing mutual aid and learning to live simply. Many of those who believe they are compelled to work for big corporations have never investigated the possibilities of getting together and forming a co-operative workshop. People who are deteriorating in sub-human slums or in standardized, de-humanized suburbs will find new meanings in life as they are able to organize self-help communities.

Worker Control

Equally important, however, with individual and small group attempts to recover the sanity and the naturalness of life is thinking through a new social program and carrying it into action. It is possible to achieve full democracy and equality if people can be roused from their dope dreams. Control of economic life which is now centralized in Washington and New York must be spread among all the people by direct ownership of local

plants and factories. Workers must select their own managers and enjoy full equality of income and privilege. Ultimately all idea of one person being set above another must be utterly eradicated.

What people need today is the realization that what they want can be had. It is our job now to break out of the defeatism in which we have been held fast too long.

Letters

To the Editors—

Alternative is against Wallace, atom bombs, Joshua Liebman and the army. It is published by libertarian individuals.

Resistance, *Retort*, and *Politics* are against Wallace, atom bombs, Joshua Liebman and the army. They are also published by libertarian individuals.

The three magazines I mention are representative, among them, of just about all possible levels of libertarian writing. Each of them, moreover, does a particular job in a particular field, and does it passably well. None of them is so mighty that it can afford to sneeze at thirteen libertarian individuals who might want to help put out and distribute one of these magazines.

Any of these three magazines has as broad a policy on articles as that of *Alternative*. All three have proved themselves serious and capable of continued—if irregular—publication.

Why *Alternative*?

—Clif Bennett

We distribute *Alternative* in the streets, and we expect it to be of interest to many people who have never heard of the three magazines referred to by our correspondent. We think all three of them are excellent, and we recommend them to our readers*. But they are more for "intellectuals" than we intend to be.

The reason we have started a new magazine and the reason we distribute it in the streets is that we believe there are millions of men and women who don't ordinarily go in for heavy reading and idealistic movements, but who are fed up with war, high prices, and "keeping up with the Joneses".

These are the people who will fight the next war—or whose non-violent resistance will prevent it. These are the people who will decide whether or not the human race ever does away with the divisions into haves and have-nots, bosses and bossed, leaders and led. These are the people we want to read *Alternative*.

**Resistance*, Box 208, Cooper Station, New York 3, N. Y., Monthly, free on request.

Retort, Box 7, Bearsville, N. Y., Quarterly, \$3.00 a year.

Politics, 45 Astor Place, New York 3, N. Y., Quarterly, \$3.00 a year.

PEACE, IT'S WONDERFUL!

ACCORDING TO A news dispatch in the *N. Y. Times* for May 3, General MacArthur warned the Japanese people to "guard their constitutional freedom against despotic forces." Speaking in commemoration of the first anniversary of Japan's new constitution, he bade the Japanese beware of yielding to controls "superimposed upon representative government by any minority groups whatsoever."

This Japanese constitution is unique in the world because of the explicit provision which forbids the nation to engage in war, and commits it to a theoretically "pacifist" mode of government, without arms or armies.

Curiously enough, an adjoining column of the same *N. Y. Times* carried an equally interesting and stimulating dispatch from Misawa, Japan, which informs us that the U. S. is busily engaged in the construction of a large air base in northern Japan. This is one of a chain of bases being built throughout the islands. They are described as "capable of taking the heaviest long-range bombers."

Presumably the "forces of despotism" against which MacArthur warned the Japanese bear no relation to this kind of military preparation by the kindly, peace-loving American military. Personally we are not very clear on the relation between a "pacifist" constitution and a chain of air bases suitable for long-range heavy bombers (with most of the runways probably aimed directly toward Siberia) but the Supreme Commander and ex-candidate apparently has this all worked out to the satisfaction of his subordinates and the Hearst newspapers.

The "New Look"

These two conflicting dispatches point up the foolishness of considering the new Japanese government as a "pacifist" institution. It is really just a military occupation. Naturally it is to the advantage of any occupying nation to take all arms away from the conquered people. This extra build-up for the Japanese "new look" as a peace-loving nation is merely an attempt to conciliate

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Please make money orders and checks payable to John Mack, treasurer, **Alternative**, Box 827, Church Street Station, New York 8, N. Y.

Letters and articles are welcome. They should be kept brief, if for publication.

THE U. S. ARMY*

has switched to atom bombs,
because atom bombs can
kill more people faster.

Join the switch to **CLEAR HEADS**
by refusing to support this slaughter.

THE ARMY NEEDS MEN
BUT MEN DON'T NEED THE ARMY!

* Present address: Greece, China, Turkey, Iceland,
and the American railroads.

those in this country who still harbor ill feeling toward the former national enemy.

The military has given MacArthur the job of transforming the American idea of the Japanese from "enemies" to "allies" again, as they were in the First World War. Japan is now looked upon as an American outpost for the war with Russia, and the "pacifist" Japanese people (now busy constructing air fields for the U. S. Army) will be called on to join the U. S. in the fighting when the "shooting war" begins.

What will happen to MacArthur's "anti-war" constitution when that day comes is a question, but the Brass probably has that all worked out, too. The only Important Persons who haven't been consulted in this glorious scheme are the war-weary Japanese people, the war-weary Russian people, and the war-weary American people. But when there are high-sounding constitutions to be written, and long-range bomber bases to be built, who cares about us?

Military Camouflage

There is no doubt that, in the period immediately following the surrender, a majority of the Japanese people and some of their new leaders were serious about wanting to make a contribution to the peace of the world. They made a start by throwing off the leadership that had taken them into two world wars, but since that time many have been deluded by the oratory of MacArthur and his Japanese Quislings. The task before them now is to get rid of Double-talk Doug, his Army and his air fields, and to join the rest of us in making the phrases of the "pacifist" constitution a world reality instead of a camouflage for American military operations.

Who knows? Maybe the Japanese will take a lesson from the voters of Wisconsin.

—Roy Kepler
J. H. McCandless

TO RESIST DRAFT

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The program decided upon includes the following three points:

The threat of a third World War can be stopped once and for all only if the United States proves its desire to build world community by completely disarming now, regardless of whether other nations join us. This would calm the fears of the Russian people who are frightened by American stockpiling of atomic bombs and by the presence of American battleships and bombers in every region of the earth. It would knock the props from under the war propaganda of the Russian leaders. We are convinced that this would make war impossible. Even if, in the face of such a policy, the U.S.S.R. should invade the United States, we should not prolong the mutual suicide by launching vicious atomic and bacteriological warfare against the Russian people. Instead we should meet the invading armies with non-violent resistance, treating each individual with personal good-will and steadfastly using strikes, boycotts, and non-cooperation to resist every totalitarian decree or act.

Refuse Support

So long as our government is promoting war, we will withdraw our support from it by:

- 1) Refusing to serve in any branch of the armed forces, either in peace or war.
- 2) Refusing to make, handle, or transport the weapons of war.
- 3) Refusing to be conscripted.
- 4) Spreading the idea of peace-making, with the aim of being able to organize nation-wide, non-violent strikes and non-cooperation movements to back up the program of non-violence, unilateral disarmament, and economic democracy.

Human Equality

While extending our present civil liberties, we must bring into the economic and social order the same principles of human equality and brotherly love that we must apply to international relations. Class divisions dominate Communist Russia, Capitalist United States, and all regions today. In place of these, we would give every person an equal voice in the decisions which affect his work and life, and an equal share, in accordance with need, in the material products of industry.

* * *

One significant aspect of the conference was the alliance between the so-called "religious" and "non-religious" pacifists. At times the conference threatened to split wide open on this issue, and to become the exclusive property of one or the other of the two groups. This would have killed the movement from the start. But several days of working together brought an amazing harmony among persons whose attitudes toward formal religion are as far apart as the poles. The question now is whether the committee members will be

HARRY S. TRUMAN*

has switched to strike-breaking injunctions because injunctions are smoother.

WHEN THE WORKERS SWITCH TO injunction-breaking strikes, we will be one step closer to controlling our own lives.

* Temporary address: White House, Washington, D. C.

able to preserve this tolerance back home, where they will be under pressure from their various associates, and whether new members will be able to achieve the same objectivity in the interests of the specific program.

At Chicago the formally religious put aside the temptation to try to evangelize everyone for some specific religious terminology and the "anti-religious" had no trouble in endorsing the need for "an inner transformation into the new men who are alone capable of building a new society".

A mailing address for the new organization will be announced in a few days. Meanwhile *Alternative* readers may address enquiries to Peacemakers, c/o *Alternative*, P. O. Box 827, Church Street Station, New York 8, N. Y.

—D. D.

AGAINST JIM CROW

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mass of people want is to be free entirely from the fear and burden of the military. But the people have not as yet found that the simplest way to that freedom is to refuse to be drafted. If thousands of people are willing to go to jail rather than "serve" in a jimcrow Army, thousands may be willing to go rather than "serve" in any Army.

The only thing to do with the Army is to do away with it before it does away with us.

—M. R. & R. A.

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