

What we are here to do is not a natural, easy thing for any of us. We are writers, professors, clergy, and this is not our "thing". But it must have been with precisely such people as we in mind that the poet Péguy wrote: "The worst of particularities is to withhold oneself, the worst ignorance is not to act, the worst lie is to steal away."

So we ~~are~~ ^{have come} here to be with conscientious men in their hour of conscience; and because like them we cannot stand around with dry feet while ~~human~~ ^{human} ~~agency~~ ^{agency} goes ~~down~~ ^{down} for the third time in ~~Vietnam~~.

But in
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mean
while

This week ~~our~~ ^{our} ~~best~~ ^{best} ~~professors~~ ^{professors} against the war ~~condemned~~ ^{condemned} high government officials as "naive", "wild-eyed idealists". ~~On the contrary, it is~~ ^{On the contrary, it is} ~~naive~~ ^{naive} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~idealism~~ ^{idealism} but clear-eyed realism that brings us ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~remember~~ ^{remember} put it: "If what the United States is doing in Vietnam is right, what is there left to be called wrong?"

Many of us are veterans, and all of us have the highest sympathy for our boys in Vietnam. They know what a dirty, bloody war it is. But they have been told that the ends justify the means, and that the cleansing water of victory will wash clean their hands of all the blood and dirt. No wonder they hate ~~those~~ ^{those} who say "There must be no cleansing water." But what they must strive to understand, hard as it is, is that there can be no cleansing water if military victory spells moral defeat.

We have the highest sympathy also for those who back the war because their sons or lovers or husbands are fighting or have died in Vietnam. But they too must understand a very basic thing - that sacrifice in and of itself confers no sanctity. Even if half a million of our boys were to die in Vietnam that would not make the cause one whit more sacred. Yet we realize how hard that knowledge is to appreciate when one's husband is numbered among the sacrificed.

The mother of a son lost in Vietnam once told me "My son used to write how much he and his company were doing for the orphans. But I used to answer "if you want to help the orphans, son, you must stop killing their fathers and mothers."²²

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Like this mother we do not dispute the good intentions, the good works of endless good Americans in Vietnam. But we do insist that no amount of good intention or good work, nor certainly government rhetoric to the contrary, can offset the fact that American policy in Vietnam is a policy run amuck. ~~It is~~ ^{It is} ~~immoral~~ ^{immoral}, and if that is true then it is not we who are demoralizing our boys in Vietnam but the government, which asks them to immoral things.

As the war to us is immoral so also is the draft. For the National Selective Service Act not only places a major burden of the war on the backs of the poor; it also confronts thousands

of men with a choice of either violating their consciences or going to jail.

As the law now stands, for a man to qualify as a conscientious objector he must state a belief in God.

Could anything be more ethically absurd? Have humanists no consciences? Why, - and I say this with contrition - some of the most outstanding humanists I know would think they were slipping from their high ideals were they to take steps towards conversion. ~~As a Christian I am convinced it is a gross misfortune not to believe in God, but not automatically an ethical default.~~

with

Then despite numerous appeals by numerous religious bodies, Congress last spring chose to provide alternative service only for the absolute pacifist. This too is absurd, for the rights of a man whose conscience forbids him to participate in a particular war are as deserving of respect as the rights of a man whose conscience forbids him to participate in any war at all. This is the ancient Jewish and Christian tradition we honor. Yet the tradition we honor the government steadfastly refuses to honor.

So both the war and the draft are issues of conscience. And ~~we are here because~~ an issue of conscience is one a man may not seek but hardly one he can properly avoid.

We admire the way these young men who could safely have hidden behind exemptions and deferments have elected instead to ~~take a firm stand on these two issues of conscience.~~ We admire them and believe theirs is the true voice of America, the vision that will prevail beyond the distortions of the moment.

standing by for something good

We cannot shield them. We can only expose ourselves as they have done. The law of the land is clear. Section 12 of the National Selective Service Act declares that anyone "who knowingly counsels, aids, or abets another to refuse or evade registration or service in the armed forces... shall be liable to imprisonment for not more than five years or a fine of ten thousand dollars or both."

We hereby publicly counsel these young men to continue in their refusal to serve in the armed forces as long as the war in Vietnam continues, and we pledge ourselves to aid and abet them in all the ways we can. This means that if they are now arrested for failing to comply with ~~the~~ law that violates their consciences, we too must be arrested, for in the sight of that law we are now as guilty as they. ~~We cannot see one of them and not to expect us would be to expect yet a further robbery of American justice.~~

To stand in this fashion against the law and before our fellow Americans is a difficult and even fearful thing. But in the face of ~~the situation~~ we cannot fall silent nor serve; ~~nor~~ can we educate young men to be conscientious only to desert them in their hour of conscience. So we are resolved, as they are resolved, to speak out clearly and to pay up personally.

What if it comes to a human

Michael...