

**The Good War and Those Who Refused to Fight It**  
**Paradigm Productions / Independent Television Service**  
**Script**

<p><b>Graphic:</b></p> <p><b>War will exist until that distant day when the conscientious objector enjoys the same reputation and prestige that the warrior does today</b>  <b>John F. Kennedy</b></p>	
<p><b>Singer</b></p>	<p>Lets all back the attack,  Lets stand by the ones  who are manning the guns and pushing the foe on back,  Lets all back the attack,  Lets really get tough and give them the stuff  For making the axis crack...</p>
<p><b>Combat</b></p>	<p><b>Narration 1A:</b> There are many times and places where this American story could begin. It could begin in the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, or the Vietnam war. In all of these wars there have been men who refused to fight because conscience would not allow them to kill another human being. We call them conscientious objectors.</p>
	<p><b>Watkins:</b> Sometimes I think those of us who believe in non-violence believe ourselves to be a separate breed, and we are wondering if somehow or other we are not fully human beings, or something or other...</p>
<p><b>Combat</b></p>	<p><b>Singer:</b> Lets all be good soldiers, and back, back the attack...</p>
	<p><b>Narration 1B:</b> Of all the wars that America has fought, World War Two posed the greatest challenge to conscientious objectors. To most Americans, the choice was clear — democracy or fascism.</p>
	<p><b>Cortez:</b> for instance, I was asked, what's a matter, you like Hitler. I says, look, if you guaranteed me a shot at Hitler, you wouldn't have to draft me. But to shoot at another draftee, one who I don't even know, one that I have nothing against, no. the heck with that.</p>
<p><b>Combat</b></p>	<p><b>Narration 1C:</b> When their country called, over 16 million</p>

	Americans served in the armed forces. A small number, only 42,000 men, decided that the menace of Hitler was not enough for them to betray their most fundamental value, “thou shalt not kill.”
	<b>Yoder:</b> People say what would happen if everybody would do what you did? Well I say, if everybody would do that there would be no problem.
	<b>Cary:</b> the problem of Hitler was infinitely more difficult than the problem of Vietnam for a person who was wondering about what to do. There’s no question that Hitler was a terrible problem. In a certain real degree in 1941, you were a CO knowing that you didn’t have another answer.
	<b>Narration 1D:</b> But not all heroes fight on the battlefield. In the face of criticism and scorn, these men challenged the limits of democracy in wartime, and went on to lead the social movements that transformed America in the years that followed. This is their story.

**MAIN TITLE:**

**The Good War  
and Those Who Refused to Fight It**

<b>Troop Ship sails by women wave flags soldiers march Dellinger</b>	<b>Dellinger:</b> I was 3 years old when World War One ended... I remember the sigh of relief in my town, because they wouldn’t have to go to war and kill people.
<b>Steve Cary  Newsreel of exiting Versailles INFLATION images, Hitler at podium Nazis march Steve Cary</b>	<b>Steve Cary:</b> You take a picture of history in 1939, and you say to me Steve Cary, what are you gonna’ do about it, they’re marching into Poland, and I say, “Well, I don’t have an answer. I’ll take my photograph in 1919.. The Quakers in 1919 were, were pressing for a generous peace towards the Germans // but there was a vindictive peace made, and out of that resentment, that soil, Hitler emerged. And I would argue that if we had followed a more generous policy towards the Germas, as indeed we did in 1946 and 1947, Hitler never would have arisen.

<b>War montage</b>	<b>Narration 2:</b> But Hitler did... and others like him, committed to force and conquest. As the 1930s drew to an end, the fragile peace in Europe and Asia was crumbling.
<b>PEACE DEMONSTRATIONS</b>	<b>STUDENT LEADER:</b> Today, 1 million American students strike for peace, today we stand out and declare that we will not be fooled again. We want a world of peace, we want a world of freedom.
<b>Anti- war signs and rallies FDR at mics</b>	<b>FDR:</b> There are some timid ones among us who say that we must preserve peace at any price, To them I say this -- Our freedom has shown its ability to survive war, but our freedom would never survive surrender.
<b>Peace Rallies, pickets</b>	<b>Narration 3:</b> For pacifists, it wasn't a question of victory or surrender. Their faith in the power of non violence, and it was a form of faith, had evolved from many different experiences.
<b>Pickets in front of White House Jim Crow images Klan marches with torches</b>	<b>Sutherland:</b> We felt that if violence and killing was a way to solve the problem, that those of us who were African Americans or Black, as we called ourselves then, and would go to Mississippi and fight or we would go to Alabama or Georgia to fight because our experience of fear and humiliation and totalitarianism really and, and, and, hatred was in this country. But we felt that there must be another way to come to a society where everybody could live with dignity. In the Gandhian concept there is a spiritual power which men can use in political and social ways which can overcome any kind of weaponry that men can devise.
	<b>Watkins:</b> Presbyterians were fighting people, really, believe me, but my father, when I was very young, I detected didn't seem to be interested in guns. All my buddies, particularly if you were a guy in the south, you had to have a gun, you had to shoot rabbits and squirrels and things, you know, and go frog geeking. So I was a little concerned about this, and I asked my father one day, "Papa, do you have a gun"? And my father said, "Son, I never had a gun, and I never will own a gun." And I, you know, I was both pleased and a little disturbed because then I'd have to tell my friends that my father didn't have a gun.
<b>Amish country roads</b>	<b>Narration 4:</b> There were others in America's heartland

	<p>who drew their pacifism from the Christian tradition. Their voices were not loud, but their convictions were strong.</p>
<b>Yoder (place of birth)</b>	<p><b>Yoder:</b> you see, Amish and Mennonites come from a long history of pacifism, in fact 400 years or more. In the New Testament, you have in Romans, Chapter 12, it says, “Be ye not conformed to this world but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind.” In fact Amish and Mennonites came to America mainly to escape military service.</p>
<b>Amish buggy</b>	<p><b>Narration 5:</b> War resistance, like war itself, has been with us since our nation’s founding.</p> <p>In 1776, George Washington exempted those with ‘scruples against war’ from the revolutionary army</p> <p>In 1863, Quaker pacifists who escaped a firing squad, were forced to sit through the battle of Gettysburg, with soldiers dying all around them.</p> <p>In 1918, seventeen resisters to World War One died in Alcatraz Prison from mistreatment.</p>
<b>War Film, Action Now!, America Gets Going, American Rearming</b> soldiers march	<p><b>Narration 6:</b> Now, in 1939, as war began in Europe, Franklin Delano Roosevelt would also have to balance the rights of pacifists against the needs of the country.</p>
<b>FDR- signing bill</b>	<p><b>Narration 7:</b> In July 1940, after a heated debate, Congress passed America’s first peace time draft by just one vote.</p>
<b>Draft Lottery Newreel Story</b>	<p><b>Newsreel:</b> Number day and America’s first peace time compulsory military service program...</p> <p><b>FDR:</b> The first number is serial number 158.</p> <p><b>Newsreel:</b> The first number and a mother’s scream flash across the nation. In every walk of life the muster has begun, and as the lottery goes on for 17 hrs, a mighty manpower is created.... Number 158 in Oakland, CA, laundry worker Weng Fong Foo, SF senior class president William Bernard Fadiman, in Palo Alto, John Kennedy, the Ambassador’s son, got the 18<sup>th</sup> number drawn.</p>
<b>Lottery story continues</b>	<p><b>Cortez V/O singing:</b> It was on a Saturday night, when the moon was shining bright, that they passed a conscription bill. And for many miles around, the people they would</p>

	say, 'It's Franklin and his boys on Capitol Hill.' Well, President Roosevelt told the people how he felt, and they damn near believed what he'd say. (O/C) 'I hate war, so does Eleanor,' and the farmer hauled another load away."
<b>Men sign up</b>	<b>Newsreel Announcer:</b> America's most ethical call to arms and preparedness. Millions of men from 21 to 36 line up and sign up throughout the nation.
<i>(Steve Cary Conscientious objector)</i>	<b>CARY:</b> And my father said after dinner that last week, we were given a contract to develop particular component of the Norton bomb site, which was one of the great advances in bombing technique of the Second World War, and he said, "I really don't feel that I ought to stay with the company // And of course, we told him he should do what he ought to do but the thing that really grabbed me was that here was a man whose whole life was his company. He'd been with that company for 35 years and he had risen with it and it was his meat and drink and yet he didn't hesitate one minute to quit cold because of his own conscience and I said to myself, "Steve Carey, where is your conscience?"
<b>Soldiers take oath Men arrive at first CO camp</b>	<b>Narration 8:</b> In previous wars, there had only been two choices for pacifists -- join the army or go to jail. Now there was a third option that would allow many to serve their country and still follow their principles. The peace churches, the Quakers, Brethren and Mennonites, had negotiated a historic provision in the draft law that would allow conscientious objectors to perform work of "national importance" in civilian public service camps to be run by the churches.
<b>Inductees parade</b>	<b>Narration 9:</b> Most Americans cooperated with the new law... but a group of seminary students in New York refused to register, even though as ministers, they were exempt from the draft.**
<b>Civilian parade with women – and kiss</b>	<b>HOUSER</b> It was still peacetime, this was a year and some months before Pearl Harbor. Possibility of war was there, but this was a peacetime conscription act.  And the most effective way, many of us figured, of protesting against it was to refuse to register under the law. It was an act of civil disobedience.  the seminary , sent telegrams to all of our folks saying,

	<p>“Your son, despite all of our efforts, has decided that he will disobey the law.” ... “Can you stop this tragedy ?”</p>
<p><i>(Dave dellinger, Union Seminary Student NYC)</i>  <b>Union 8 walk down steps</b></p>	<p><b>DELLINGER:</b> Immediately, I got a call from my father, saying that I was ruining my future, that I had to register, and if I did not assure him that I would register, he would hang up immediately and commit suicide.</p>
<p><b>Pan Union 8 photo</b>  <b>Montage of clippings</b></p>	<p><b>Letter:</b> “Dear Sir, I have never been more shocked and amazed in my life as when I read about the rebellion you are leading in your school against the draft. You and your followers are a disgrace, not only to your school and calling but to America as well. I am ashamed that my country has produced such men, if you can be called men. I certainly hope you don’t call yourself Americans, because you are not Americans.” Angrily and sincerely, Mrs. John Hayes.”</p>
<p><b>CO pickets</b></p>	<p><b>Newsreel Narrator:</b> In New York, registration day found some protest, but they attracted little notice as the nation’s 17 million registrants signed up. A group of divinity students who refused to register have a hearing in federal court and await rulings.</p>
	<p><b>HOUSER:</b> I was nervous, and I think I probably had a shaky hand, as I washed my face and shaved in the morning. Outside the courtroom there were picket lines... Benedict told me somebody spat in his face as we were going up the steps to the courtroom there in Foley Square.</p>
<p><b>Paddy wagon</b></p>	<p><b>Narration 10:</b> The Union 8, as they were now known, would serve their year sentence in the federal prison at Danbury, Connecticut.</p>
<p><b>Prison gates,</b>  <b>Prison cell tilt up bars</b></p> <p><b>Guard walks on prison wall with gun,</b>  <b>Guard in tower with tommygun</b></p>	<p><b>Dellinger:</b> You can hurt yourself by giving up, you can hurt yourself by saying, “Oh, I don’t want to go to prison.” Or “I don’t want to be killed.” But you learn that there are worse things than death and there are worse things than getting beaten up. That the worst thing is if you can’t respect yourself because you’re not really expressing the love you feel for other human beings, including both the oppressors and the oppressed.</p>
<p><b>George Houser,</b>  <b>Federal prisoner,</b>  <b>Danbury, Connecticut</b></p>	<p><b>Houser:</b> The following April, came along the annual Peace Strike Against War. So we decided, We’re gonna participate in that student strike, and, of course, this is something which the prison authorities cannot abide by.</p>

<b>Jail footage</b>	Prisoners going on strike? No, no, no. You can't do that. So what happened was that we were given 30 days in isolation ... but during that period, it being April, the softball season started.
<b>PAN - BASEBALL GAME,</b>	<b>Narration 11:</b> The prison team was tied for first place going into a crucial game, and one of the Union 8, Don Benedict, was one of the best softball pitchers in the country.
<b>Baseball game</b>	<b>HOUSER:</b> And the prisoners started putting up a chant, "We want Benedict, we want Benedict."
<i>Dave Dellinger, Federal prisoner, Danbury, Connecticut</i>	<b>DELLINGER:</b> So they came to him and wanted to release him from solitary to pitch in that game. But he refused unless the rest of us got out, too.
<b>Guards walk down hall</b>	
<b>Guards walk on catwalk</b>	<b>HOUSER:</b> So we were all let out. Benedict pitched the game, Danbury won. The warden then lifted the penalty against us.
<b>PAN - BASEBALL GAME</b>	<b>DELLINGER:</b> And it was the loudest ovation I've ever gotten in my life from all the other prisoners (laughs).
	<b>Narration 12:</b> In Europe, the war was entering its third year. Still, Americans hoped to avoid being drawn into the conflict.
<b>Pearl Harbor footage</b>	<b>SUTHERLAND:</b> The latest Gallup poll, I think, showed 83% of the people against war just at the time that Pearl Harbor came.... ... I was so upset that I actually started to cry about this and I was home with my mother, and my mother kind of laughed at me and she said, you know, did you think that you could stop the war all by yourself? Did you really think that your efforts would be the decisive factor?
<b>Sutherland</b>	
<b>Soldiers, sailors march</b>	<b>Narration 13:</b> In one moment, the mood of the country had shifted, from isolationism to total support for war.
<b>Men listen</b>	
<b>FDR talks</b>	<b>FDR:</b> The facts speak for themselves. With confidence in our armed forces, with the unbounding determination of our people, we will gain the inevitable triumph, so help us God.
<b>"Why we fight"</b>	<b>Archival film-</b> This isn't just a war, this is a free people's life and death struggle against those who would put them back into slavery. That is the cause in which we fight.//

	We lose it and we lose everything. Our homes, the books we read, the hopes we have for our kids, the kids themselves. That's what's at stake. It's us or them.
<b>Yoder Amish conscientious Objector soldiers on train</b>	<b>Yoder:</b> Hitler was running wild in Europe and Pearl Harbor came along, what do you do? Well, in this community and with my background, and when you bring 400 years of pacifism, do you throw it overboard? World War II was a hard war to be a CO in.
<b>More train, embarcation,Af. Am. Soldiers, Kiss at window, Eating orange Helmets hang, Trains round bend</b>	<b>Music</b>
<b>Bus comes around corner</b>	<b>Narrator 14:</b> Leaving to serve their country, each in their own way... most as warriors..... and some who could not kill... 12,000 draftees agreed to serve their country in CPS, Civilian Public Service.
<b>people get off, walk to camp</b>	<b>CARY:</b> We had Ph.D.s, we had winners of Fulbright prizes, we had guys who had a third-grade education. We had stockbrokers, we had ballet dancers, we had atheists, we had fundamentalists. Every possible kind of human being was there.
<b>African American CO</b>	The teachings of Jesus Christ and my own beliefs that pacifism can bring about an enduring peace have caused me to become a conscientious objector to war.
<b>Men arrive at Camp</b>	<b>Sat. Eve. Post:</b> About the only thing these men have in common is their intense conviction that it is wrong to kill a fellow man. And they are building for themselves, in a Chinese Wall of the human spirit, what to most Americans must seem a never-never land, an impossible mirage of peace and brotherly love in a world of war and hate.
<b>Writing letters, super (letter from CO Bill Stafford)?? war footage</b>	<b>Letter:</b> Dear Dwight and Rene, It disturbs all of us to know that there are men out in the ocean 1000 miles ready to die for us, but we are helpless with things as they are. We are ready and willing to meet the enemy in our way, but the nation and the world is not prepared to believe in our method. Affectionately yours, Bill
<b>Sam Yoder</b>	<b>Yoder:</b> I was inducted two days after Pearl Harbor. There



<p><b>CPS 1941-1946</b> <b>Camp #79 North Forks, CA</b></p>	<p>were five of us that left our community on the same day, all of us were Amish. We entered these camps not knowing clearly what lay in the future, but in such a camp, where you have some time to study, and you have some interaction with others, your horizons broaden, and and your convictions deepen.</p>
<p><b>Steve Cary</b> <b>CPS 1942-1946</b> <b>Director Big Flats, NY Camp #101</b></p>	<p><b>Cary:</b> If you are in something for four years, you haven't got any money, all you can do is argue, and we would discuss every possible angle. Sometimes we would argue about Hitler, sometimes we would argue about whether we should put a lock on the refrigerator. What do you do when somebody's going to rape your grandmother? These kind of questions come up all the time. /And out of that crucible came people who really knew why they were pacifists.</p>
	<p><b>Letter:</b> Danny please, why did you desert this country what has given you everything. Danny its not wrong to kill a few so that many may live in peace and freedom. Sincerely yours in friendship, Kitty</p>
	<p><b>Letter:</b> Dear Bill, Before Pearl Harbor anyone had the right to be an objector, or pacifist, but on that day we all were bound in duty and conscience to relinquish it. You profess to have brotherly love - but I say you have not any, compared with the love you would have if you were on the battlefield. Affectionately yours...</p>
<p><b>CUs, man with pipe, men walk by</b></p>	<p><b>Narration 15:</b> As the war dragged on, with no meaningful work, no pay, and no support for their families, frustration was building.</p>
<p><b>Men in truck arrive, unload, shoveling, planting a tree</b></p>	<p><b>CARY:</b> The churches paid all the bills. The men did all the work and selective service called all the shots. Yes, they can have alternative service, it's in the law, and we're perfectly willing to provide work for them, but we ought to get them out of sight and keep them out of sight.</p> <p>You had half the camp who were guys like me, who were trying to do a good job, you know, and impress the government so we'd get something better to do, so we'd work hard. The other half of the camp were guys who said you can't make a slave work, and we're going to show the United States government that you cannot conscript labor without pay, and we're going to do as little as we can do. And like Penelope and Odysseus, you know, where she knitted all day and unraveled all night, that's what we were</p>

	doing. We were knitting all day and unraveling all night and nobody was happy
<b>War bond posters</b>	<b>Beechy letter:</b> I want my witness to be more than a negative stand. I want my witness not only to be against war, but to stand for a constructive aggressive witness to the nonresistant overcoming position. Sincerely yours, Atlee Beechy
<b>Dionne quints try on gas mask, wounded soldiers</b>	<b>music</b>
<b>wounded soldiers smoke jumpers</b>  <b>Men walk up stairs, Frankenstein #2, kick test, weighing Slides of starvation</b>	<b>Narration 16:</b> On the battlefield and on the homefront, Americans were doing their part. COs wanted to prove their courage and patriotism as well. They competed for dangerous jobs like smoke jumping and firefighting... and volunteered for risky medical experiments. The most dramatic of these was a starvation experiment. A severe diet and continuous exercise would make the conscientious objectors resemble the starving survivors of war. The results would contribute to post-war relief efforts.
<b>Treadmill sequence</b>	<b>NISBRO Film Narration:</b> Most dreaded and hated of all the testing routines was the treadmill walking, the endless grinding of the mill and the rubbery feeling in their legs stretched the minutes into hours of mental torture. They became more and more depressed. They were inclined to become hysterical over many things, and they grew more and more concerned over every little ache and pain.
<b>Combat footage, medics carry wounded soldier</b>  Giving jaundice injection	<b>NARRATION 17:</b> Overseas, casualties were mounting, but combat was not the only cause of death. Many soldiers were dying from diseases like typhus and hepatitis. Conscientious objectors volunteered to be infected with live hepatitis virus, to develop new treatments for the disease.
<b>Neil Hartmann</b>	<b>NEIL HARTMAN:</b> We were very concerned of course that we had been called all kinds of names, yellow bellies, and things like that. I had volunteered for an ambulance driver and got turned down, American Field Service, they said they didn't want any more COs, they had too many, but I was young and I wanted to show that I was not a coward, so when they offered me this chance of being a guinea pig, it fit right in with my scheme of things of proving that I was willing to take risks on my own body

	but I just did not want to kill someone else.
<b>*need Koop photos</b>	<b>C. EVERETT KOOP:</b> And the first time I was introduced to this whole program when I as a young surgeon, was asked to do serial biopsies on their livers to see what the effect of the virus was in the production of the changes in the liver. And in that way, I got to know that a lot of these young men had no idea that the risk they were taking also included death. And some of those youngsters did die and it was a very difficult thing for me to be part of, because you know, you're powerless, when you're part of the big team.
<b>Patient gets injection, CU injection in arm</b>	<b>NEIL HARTMAN:</b> Just recently Koop wrote his autobiography and I read it and was rather surprised that he only mentioned this project I think one sentence. I wrote him a fan letter and said he'd given me a scar. He answered right away and said that scar is probably the only thing I'd get from him, but he also went on to tell me something that rather surprised me. He said the reason he didn't talk about that in his book is one thing he was not proud of.
<i>C. Everett Koop Former Surgeon General of the U.S.</i>	<b>C. EVERETT KOOP:</b> it couldn't happen today. Internal Review Boards would not permit the use of a live virus in human subjects unless they really understood what was going to happen to them. And I doubt that even if they knew what the risk was, that an Internal Review Board in any academic institution would consent to that kind of experimental work.
<b>Starvation experiment, then back to CPS</b>	<b>Narration 18:</b> For those who participated in the experiments, it was a chance to do something important. But most CO's were still in work camps. Finally, in late 1942, they would be offered a new way to serve.
<b>CPS continues Asa Watkins 1942 Buck Creek NC #41</b>	<b>Watkins:</b> we were so disturbed about what we were doing that seemed irrelevant, and we told Selective Service we don't feel that were doing anything that's helpful to the country this way, so we'd like to do something else. And that's when they opened up the Williamsburg Hospital. It was the first mental hospital to be opened up in the United States for Conscientious objectors to work at.
<b>Key Photos by CO Charles Lord</b>	<b>Narration 19:</b> Over 3000 conscientious objectors volunteered to work in mental hospitals to replace staff who had left for better jobs on the homefront. The CO's

	found a brutal system of care in which beatings and neglect were common.
<b>men eat in dining room, pan empty corridor</b>	<b>Asa Watkins:</b> October 14, 1942. It is sort of like a perpetual bad dream. The smells, the sounds of the insane voices, the bad equipment. The long, dark corridors... I tell you, it is all very much like a medieval fairytale of the nether regions.
<b>Asa Watkins</b>	<b>Asa Watkins:</b> we'd heard about how these patients had been treated by the attendants, beat with rods, you know, do all kind of things, We took a vow before we left the camp, we decided that we would not assault or in any way, strike a patient.
<b>CU Wire mesh on window</b>	<b>ASA WATKINS:</b> I opened one of those rooms, and there was a man lying on the floor. I leaned over to try to see what I could do to minister to him in some way, do something for him, he was on a, he may have been on a mattress or he may have been on the bare floor, no he was on the bare floor, because when I tried to move him, his skin came off. His skin was bloody and stuck to the floor and when I tried to lift him up it just peeled his skin off. He was in the last stages of Syphilis. He died less than a week afterwards. Now that was my first, sort of introduction to what was that badly needed in that institution.
<b>Women work in hospital</b>	<b>Narration 20:</b> Many women joined their husbands in the mental hospitals. Hundreds of other young women, who <u>also</u> defined themselves as conscientious objectors, volunteered for this difficult work.
<b>Newspaper headlines, PM magazine</b>	<b>Narration 21:</b> COs documented abuses and contacted the press.
	<b>Watkins:</b> And the governor came in and they cleaned out the hospital. I mean, they had hearings. We all had to appear in court and all that kind of stuff. And within a month or so, the hospital was completely changed. The superintendent was fired and the new superintendent was put in, and not only did they do our hospital, they did all the hospitals, mental hospitals in Virginia.
<b>Life Magazine Key Life, date</b>	<b>Narration 22:</b> COs contributed to a Life magazine expose after the war, would found the American Mental Health

	Foundation and build a successful movement to reform the care of the mentally ill.
<b>War Bond Announcer</b>	<b>Announcer:</b> If you're like I am, if you have the same reactions that have bothered me, this war is so big that you have had a hard time finding your personal place in the picture.
<b>Carlos Cortez</b>	<b>Cortez:</b> There are a number of cases where the guys just walked out of the conscientious objector camps because they couldn't stand it any longer, and because many of these camps were located in a small rural area where the people were intensely patriotic and some would prove their patriotism by harrasing, or even beating up on the guys from CPS. And I realized that at the time of war, the only place for a draft resister is to be in prison.
<b>Zoom out prison tower pan walls, prison gate</b>	<b>Narration 23:</b> Over 7,000 conscientious objectors were jailed during World War II... some because they refused alternative service in CPS, and some because they opposed the very idea of the draft.
	<b>Sutherland:</b> In Newark, New Jersey, there happened to be a visiting federal judge from Tallahassee, Florida. And he said, young man, "what is moah impotan' than fighting fo' yo country?" and then he looked at my record against race segregation, against uh, against war and then he just said well, young man, your education has been your undoing. I give you four years.
	<b>Cortez:</b> A Federal judge said to me I have more respect for a murderer. He can pay his debt to society. But your debt to society will never be paid.
<b>Prison Report Men march</b>	<b>(From Prison Report)</b> "Of the Selective Service Act violators who claim conscientious objections to war... the most difficult group is the political or philosophical objector. He is primarily the reformer with a zeal for changing the social, political, economic and cultural order. His motivation frequently stems from an overly-protective home or a mother fixation. He is a problem child — whether at home, at school, or in prison."

<p><b>Bill Sutherland</b> Federal Prisoner, Lewisburg, PA 1941-1944?</p>	<p><b>Sutherland</b> We followed A.J. Muste, who was known as number one pacifist of the United States, had said that there is no way to peace, peace is the way. And on that philosophy, no matter where you were, if you found out that there was something wrong, you took a position against it. And we started off our protest against racial segregation in the prison system simply by refusing to eat in a segregated dining hall.</p>
	<p><b>Narrator 24:</b> He was joined by Dave Dellinger, now serving a second prison sentence for war resistance.</p>

<p><b>Trsvelling shot along cells</b></p>	<p><b>Dellinger</b> When I arrived, there was already a strike in process. Bill Sutherland had sat down at a table with some of his white comrades. I asked to see them, and the warden said No, I can't see them. And so I immediately went on strike, and then I was put in with them.</p>
	<p><b>Sutherland:</b> We who were on strike who were C.O.'s filled up the whole punishment block, and they had to do something else with us, because they didn't know what to do with the other racelcitrants, so then they decided that what they would do with us was to actually um, uh, put us in a dormitory together so that in a sense, we did integrate the prison system by being in this, in this dormitory together, black and white.</p>
	<p><b>Narrator 25:</b> Their example led to other strikes, in other prisons, and eventually, to the desegregation of the federal prison system.</p>
	<p><b>Dellinger:</b> I was in solitary confinement. And I felt scared that not just that I would be killed, but that if I went on with the way of life that I was trying to live up to, in the nonviolent action, that I would be in trouble always, and I went through some agony for I don't know how long. At then I felt like I was facing my own death and that I should triumph over it, and in a sense I died. For years after that I called it my 'bonus years.' Any months that I lived after that were just bonus years, because I'd already faced my death.</p>
<p><b>Guard with rifle walks along prison wall Sutherland</b></p>	<p><b>Sutherland:</b> The captain of the guards came into our dormitory. He came over to Levett's bed and in the sternest manner said, what are you doing here? And Leavitt said, well, I have a headache and a fever. I don't feel like going out- and the Captain Warming looked at him for a moment and then he took off his hat and he sat down on the bed and he said, Bill, you know, I'll be so glad when this war is over and we have here some genuine murderers and bank robbers and kidnappers and people I really understand he said, because you guys are driving me out of my mind.</p>
<p><b>War Bond Announcer</b></p>	<p><b>Announcer:</b> If you're like I am, if you have the same reactions that have bothered me, this war is so big that you have had a hard time finding your personal place in the picture.</p>

	<p><b>Newsreel Announcer:</b> Here's a very personal question. Have you killed a Jap soldier today?  Every tank kills a Jap.  Every truck kills a Jap.  Every plane kills a Jap.</p>
<b>War sequence, singer</b>	<p>Keep punching the clock until you knock out the foe,  Don't stay away or you'll be missing the show,  If you want your country free,  Don't be an absentee!</p>
<b>Jimmy Stewart goes to war</b>	<p><b>Newsreel Announcer:</b> Yes, in democratic America, everybody is doing his bit. There goes Jimmy Stewart, on his way to enlist. Today he's Lieutenant Stewart, U.S.A.</p>
<b>Headline: 29% of Film Men in Armed Forces</b>	<p><b>Narration 26:</b> Hollywood went to war in a big way, producing soldiers and propaganda. But one movie star went against the tide, and became the most famous conscientious objector of World War II.</p>
<b>All Quiet clip</b>	<p><b>Narration 27</b> Lew Ayres had starred in <i>All Quiet on the Western Front</i>, the powerful anti-war film that influenced a generation of pacifists. In it he played Paul, a young German soldier.</p>
<b>Paul OC</b>	<p><b>Paul:</b> I tell you, I didn't want to kill you, I tried to keep you alive. If you jumped in here again I wouldn't do it. You see, when you jumped in here, you were my enemy, and I was afraid of you. But you're just a man like me, and I killed you. Forgive me comrade. Say that for me, say you'll forgive me...</p>
<b>Dr. Kildare poster</b>	<p><b>Narration 28:</b> By the time the U.S. entered the war, Ayres was star of the popular Dr. Kildare films. When he received his induction notice, the man who America knew as Dr. Kildare, announced that he was a conscientious objector.</p>
<b>Newspaper articles</b>	<p><b>Ayres V/O:</b> I came to the conclusion that I couldn't.... no longer kill things, I just couldn't do that.</p>



<p><b>Daily Variety front page</b></p> <p><b>Other critical newspaper headlines</b></p>	<p><b>Newspaper stories:</b> We don't know what is behind Ayres' sudden impulsive decision not to serve his country...</p> <p>...movies in which Lew Ayres appears were banned yesterday in 100 theatres...</p> <p>...it has ruined him. His film life is dead, because a fellow can't live down the fact that he has refused to bear arms in defense of his country...</p>
<p><b>All Quiet dream sequence</b></p>	<p><b>Ayres audio:</b> I thought, well, this may mean the end of a career. As far as I was concerned that was all right, I was ready. // I said I don't mind working with the army because you do have a tremendous problem with the Hitler situation, I can't deny these things // but I said as far as I'm concerned I couldn't kill, and I couldn't go into the army even on your side unless I did what I considered to be constructive work. // They said no you may not make that choice, you have to go where we will put you, and I said well then, I won't go at all.</p>
<p><b>Ayres on way to army</b></p>	<p><b>Narration 29:</b> Finally the army relented, and Ayres was inducted as a medic. From then on other conscientious objectors would be allowed to make that choice. Most World War II COs, 25,000 in all, would enter the armed forces as non combatants.</p>
<p><b>Ambulance drives by, tents</b></p>	<p><b>Narration 30:</b> Ayres and his friend Lewis Markovich were both assigned to a field hospital unit in the South Pacific.</p>
<p><b>Lewis Markovich, WWII Army Medic</b></p> <p><b>War in the Pacific</b></p>	<p><b>Markovich</b> The only difference between he and every other person in the unit, when we went overseas, he is the only one that didn't carry a weapon. // Areas where they had Japanese wounded soldiers, he was the first one in the tent to see what kind of help they needed. // Although they were the enemy and although they would have killed him, had they been able, right now, but he didn't look at it that way. He saw that another human being needs help.</p>

	<b>Narration 31:</b> Ayres' unit participated in some of the bloodiest campaigns of the Pacific theatre.
<b>Pacific Battlefield</b>	<b>Markovich</b> -nobody really likes to kill people in a war, although they use it as an excuse to "thou shalt not murder." It's war. It's not murder. Well, he didn't know the difference and I don't know the difference. And nobody knows the difference.
<b>Closeups of soldiers</b> <b>Soldiers being transported</b>  <b>Combat hospital in church</b>  <b>Tanks and devastation</b>	<b>Ayres V/O:</b> It's not just well, I'm anti-war, not just that, it can't be just that I think. It has to be more. I think mankind must find a higher sensitivity himself.
<b>Enola Gay at night, taking off, drop bomb, explosions, flying over ruins of Hiroshima</b>	<b>Narration 32:</b> The war was over... It was a bittersweet moment.... Like all Americans, conscientious objectors welcomed the end of the war, but they were deeply troubled by the way that it ended.
<b>VJ celebrations in U.S., intercut with Hiroshima aftermath</b>	<b>Kim Stafford:</b> what will be victory for a CO? I think the only sure victory is to be true to your beliefs and your witness. But you're going to be alone, almost always.
<b>Post war celebration</b>	<b>Sam Yoder:</b> After the war I got on the train in NY, Grand Central station, took one of those overnight trains gave me a lot of time to reflect on what I had learned. I arrived in Goshen midmorning and I stepped off the train and I looked out and there was no band to welcome me back, the mayor hadn't planned on a parade, we didn't have any yellow ribbons around those old maple trees.
<b>Troops come home</b>  <b>Europe in ruins</b>	<b>Narration 33:</b> As the soldiers came home and picked up the pieces of their lives, thousands of conscientious objectors replaced them in Europe and Asia, to begin healing the wounds of war.
<b>Refugees</b> <i>Steve Cary, Quaker Relief Services Europe, 1945-47???</i>	<b>Cary:</b> God, the suffering of human suffering that follows in the wake of war. // making sometimes decisions to who got food... do we give food to the kid or do we give it to the tubercular patients, and there was a particular meeting in Amsterdam in the fall of 1947. // Just seemed like it was a catalog of disaster in the face of overwhelming(...

	<p>we just weren't cutting it // And into that scene, a Dutch Quaker came in holding aloft a newspaper, and it said, "Quakers Win Nobel Peace Prize. Honored For Relief Services." ." And after 10 minutes or so one young woman got up, only thing that was said in that meeting, this woman she got up and said: "All I can say is, a little love goes a long way." Boy, I've remembered that for 50 years.</p>
<b>Stills</b>	<b>Narration 34:</b> The story of World War II conscientious objectors was not over. Their principles would bear fruit in the activism of the decades that followed.
<b>Stills</b> Bill Sutherland, Director AFSC South Africa 1950-???  <b>King marches, anti-nuke still</b>	<b>Sutherland:</b> you can't tell the time and place, you can't sort of designate that we must have success in my country in my lifetime. Because even Gandhi felt that he had failed in 1948 when there was a partition of India, and then, of course, he was assassinated. But the fact that a few years later, along comes Martin Luther King and you have this great movement in the United States and then the campaign for nuclear disarmament all done by people who, who explicitly said they owed their own strategy and so on to Gandhi and what Gandhi represented.
<b>Civil Rights march</b>	<b>Houser:</b> You plan something, and you pursue it, and you take one step at a time. You're not exactly sure what it's going to lead to.
<b>Civil Rights march continues</b>  <b>Houser and Rustin Pan group photo, pamphlet We Challenged Jim Crow</b>  <b>63 march</b>	<b>Narration 35:</b> Non violence would become the guiding principle of the civil rights movement. COs George Houser and James Farmer had founded CORE, the Congress of Racial Equality, during the war. In 1947, almost a decade before Rosa Parks refused to sit at the back of the bus, Houser and fellow CO Bayard Rustin organized an interracial bus trip through the South. The Journey of Reconciliation was the first Freedom Ride.  Song: "You don't have to ride Jim Crow, you don't have to ride Jim Crow...  Rustin would later organize the historic 1963 March on Washington.

<p><b>Africa slides</b></p>	<p><b>Narration 36:</b> Thirty years before most Americans took an interest in the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, Bill Sutherland and George Houser organized the first American opposition to that unjust system.</p> <p>Both continued to devote their lives to promoting non violence in African liberation struggles.</p> <p>Sutherland stayed in Africa, living in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Houser became part of an intentional community in upstate New York.</p> <p>Carlos Cortez moved to Chicago, and became an artist and poet, creating works that celebrate labor... and the Chicano movement.</p>
	<p><b>Watkins:</b> ... and I'm almost 80 years old now. And it has become more and more important to me to try to put into practice this attention to non-violence, love, as an instrument of dealing with every venue of society.</p>
	<p><b>Narration 37:</b> Asa Watkins applied those principles as a Special Ed teacher, artist, and peace activist in New Jersey.</p> <p>Lew Ayres went back to a successful career in Hollywood, was nominated for an academy award, and went on to produce documentaries on world religions.</p>
	<p><b>Yoder:</b> Our own two sons had to register, and they both registered as COs, so the song goes on, and on, and on.</p>
	<p><b>Narration 38:</b> Sam Yoder left the family farm, but remained in Goshen, Indiana. He became a Mennonite, and spent 28 years as a college professor.</p>
<p><b>Vietnam march</b></p>	<p><b>Nar 39:</b> In the 1960s, for the first time, millions marched against war.</p>
<p><b>Rally</b></p>	<p><b>Announcer:</b> The national chairman of the national mobilization committee, Dave Dellinger...</p>
<p><b>Still, bloody Dellinger marches Dellinger on bullhorn</b></p>	<p><b>Nar 39A:</b> World War II COs were leaders in the anti-Vietnam movement, and Dave Dellinger stood trial as one of the Chicago 7 for organizing the anti-war demonstrations at the 1968 Democratic convention.</p>

	<b>Dellinger:</b> The anti-Vietnam war movement developed very slowly, and I would have done it anyway, regardless of whether it was just a tiny group or it was a mass movement.
	<b>Narration 40:</b> Dave Dellinger continued his work as one of America's leading advocates for peace and justice, and settled in northern Vermont.
<b>Still montage...</b>	<b>Cary:</b> I have no illusions that my pacifist views are going to prevail, none at all, but, I think that almost every great change in expanding the dimensions of human freedom, have come from very small original beginning, somebody said no.
	<b>Narration 41:</b> Steve Cary dedicated himself to Quaker service, as staff, and then chair of the American Friends Service Committee for over 20 years, and as president of Haverford College.
<b>Peace march- slo mo</b>	<b>Letter:</b> Was our protest and our witness of any benefit to society? Perhaps the answer to that lies in the findings of the new science of chaos and complexity, which has discovered that something as apparently insignificant as the fluttering of a butterfly's wings can trigger a cascade of events that in due time drastically affect the weather halfway around the globe. We flapped our butterfly wings. Who can know their effect in our interconnected world?

## CREDITS