

SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

M E M O

March 21, 1967

TO: Working Committee

FROM: Bob Greenblatt

Re: Staff Directory

Enclosed are several lists of key contacts and staff people and the areas for which they are responsible. It is imperative that the appropriate people be informed and checked with about all meetings, programs and other events.

In addition:

1. Information and news for public release should also go to Mike Luckman, Public Relations Director for Spring Mobilization.
2. Events such as rallies and parades that may require police permits should be cleared with Eric Weinberger.
3. Items not under the purview of present staff members should be cleared with Paul Brooks, Dave Dellinger, or Bob Greenblatt.

The proper functioning of our already over-worked staff is dependent upon your cooperation.

SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE
857 Broadway Third Floor
New York, N. Y. 10003
212-675-4605

STAFF AND OFFICERS DIRECTORY

<u>Vice Chairmen:</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Phone</u>
Ralph Abernathy	SCLC, 334 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta, Ga.	
Dave Dellinger (Tues.-Fri.)	5 Beekman Street, New York City	(212) 267-1468
Robert Greenblatt: <u>Mon-Wed.:</u> <u>Thurs-Sun.:</u>	107 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, N.Y. 5 Beekman St., N.Y.C.	(607) 273-0535 (212) 267-3255
Edward Keating	301 Broadway, San Francisco	(415) 981-4070
Sidney Peck	3429 Milverton Shaker Heights, Ohio	h: (216) 991-6759 o: (216) 231-7700 ext. 2385
Cleveland Robinson: Al Evanoff	13 Astor Place, N.Y.C.	OR 3-5120
Dagmar Wilson: Amy Swerdlow	9 Ridge Dr., E., Gt. Neck, N.Y.	(516) 482-7612
<u>National Director</u>		
James Bevel	5 Beekman St., N.Y.C.	(212) C07-3261
<u>Assistants:</u>		
Paul Brooks	5 Beekman St., NYC	(212) C07-3261 home: (212) 594-6696
Beverly Sterner	5 Beekman St., NYC	(212) C07-3261 home: " " "
<u>Parade Committee Coordinators:</u>		
Fred Halstead	29 Park Row, N.Y.C.	off: (212) 964-0070; home 989-3067
Norma Becker		off: (212) 964-0070; home 691-5748
Student Mobilizer: Gus Horowitz	29 Park Row, N.Y.C.	off: (212) 233-4435; home 254-8889
.		
<u>WEST COAST</u> Office Address: 55 Colton Street, S. F. 94103 (415) 431-4584		
Ed Keating West Coast Chairman		(415) 981-4070
Kip Dawson West Coast Executive Director		home: (415) 564-7992
Don Rothenberg		(415) 981-4070

Intercom.

Spring Mobilization Committee	857 Broadway	675-4605(6)	7
Parade Committee	29 Park Row	964-0070	0
Student Mobilization	29 Park Row	964-0070	0

For information about:	CONTACT	OFFICE	HOME
Meeting Schedules	Carole Powell	Mob.	362-2164
East Coast Activities	Susan Sutheim	Mob.	622-4092
Harlem	Percy Gilmer	Mob.	873-5031
International Contacts	Officers		
MOBILIZER	Peter Buch	Mob.	674-7466
Leaflets & Literature (orders)	Diann Dimitri	Mob.	226-4706
Volunteers	Lora Eckert	Parade	288-2703
Housing & Hospitality	Mika Seeger	Parade	
Art and Printing	Don Newton	Mob.	362-2446
Speaker Program (Student groups)	Barry Greever (Beginning 3/25) Syd Stapleton	Parade	CA 8-1565 228-6433
Entertainment:			
Coord.	Susan Cloke	Parade	675-3298
N.Y. Area: Requests	Joan Levenson	Parade	866-0372
Liason with Angry Arts & Performers	Gloria Ackerman	Angry Arts 154 W. 4th St.:	AL 5-1341
Special Concerts	Cordell Reagan		677-4431
& Projects	Don Newton	Mob.	362-2446
Student Mobilization	Syd Stapleton	Parade	228-6433
Committee of Faith	Cliff Rugg	PL 2-5150	473-1040
Public Relations	Mike Luckman	Mob.	592-6966
Police Negotiations	Eric Weinberger	CNVA:	674-6991
Permits		227-5535	

MOBILIZER

Vol. 1, No. 3

March 18, 1967

TO END
THE WAR
IN VIETNAM

NATIONAL MASS MOBILIZATION TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM NOW!



SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 1967 NEW YORK SAN FRANCISCO

UNION LEADERS JOIN MOBILIZATION

Cleveland Robinson, Secretary-Treasurer of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Workers Union, District 65, AFL-CIO, and President of the Negro American Labor Council, has become a vice-chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Mr. Robinson views the war as morally compromising our country and wasting the resources, both human and material, which should go to provide an abundant and decent life for all Americans.

Elsewhere, significant new support for the April 15 national Mobilization and opposition to the war have been growing in the labor movement. In California the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, voted unanimously on Feb. 6 to participate in the April 15 San Francisco demonstration, and three council delegates volunteered to serve on the steering committee.

The Northern California District Council of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union voted Feb. 20 to endorse the Mobilization.

(continued on p. 2)

PROMINENT AMERICANS ISSUE CALL FOR ACTION

Addressing a "Call for action to all Americans whose lives are twisted by the war in Vietnam," a large and distinguished group of Americans from all walks of life have called for a mass march and rally on April 15 at the United Nations in New York, and in San Francisco, the birthplace of the UN. The demonstration is sponsored by the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Heading the list of the Call sponsors are many nationally eminent figures, including Dr. Benjamin Spock, Mrs. Martin Luther King, Cleveland Robinson, Secretary-Treasurer of District 65, AFL-CIO, and President of the Negro American Labor Council; Nobel Prize winners Dr. Albert Szent-Gyorgyi and Dr. Linus Pauling; Charles Hayes, a District Director of the International Packinghouse Workers Union, AFL-CIO; actor Robert Vaughn; Georgia legislator Julian Bond; James Farmer; Rev. John Swomley, Jr.; Dagmar Wilson of Women Strike for Peace; Rev. Channing E.

(continued on p. 2)

The MOBILIZER to END the WAR IN VIETNAM

is the bulletin of the
Spring Mobilization Committee to
End the War in Vietnam
857 Broadway, Third Floor
New York, N. Y. 10003
Telephone: (212) 675-4605

Founding Chairman: A. J. Muste (1885-1967)

Vice-Chairmen:

Dave Dellinger	Sidney Peck
Robert Greenblatt	Cleveland Robinson
Edward Keating	Dagmar Wilson
Ralph Abernathy	

National Director: James Bevel

Assistant to the Director: Paul Brooks

West Coast Officers:

Chairman Edward Keating

Executive Director Kipp Dawson

MOBILIZER Staff: Peter Buch, Susan Sutheim,
Don Newton

UNION LEADERS (continued from p. 1)

Charles Hayes, of Chicago, District Director of the International Packinghouse Workers Union, AFL-CIO, and Marshall Axelrod, president of the California State Federation of Teachers, AFT AFL-CIO, have also endorsed the Mobilization Call.

In Chicago, Emil Mazey, Sec'y-Treasurer of the United Automobile Workers Union, AFL-CIO, is scheduled to speak at a giant end-the-war rally on March 25. Rally sponsors include the Chicago Area Trade Union Division of SANE and the Chicago Peace Council. Other rally speakers are Rev. Martin Luther King, Dr. Benjamin Spock, and Patricia Griffith, one of four U. S. women who recently visited North Vietnam.

In New York, the Delegate Assembly of the United Federation of Teachers, Local 2, AFT AFL-CIO, the largest teachers' local in the nation with 45,000 members, voted March 11 to disassociate from the statement of the AFL-CIO Executive Council supporting the war. An overwhelming majority passed a resolution opposing further escalation of the war and asking a halt to the bombing of both North and South Vietnam.

The California Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, had previously adopted a resolution at its 1966 convention on December 29 which concluded:

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this convention oppose the present Johnson Administration policy in Vietnam. That we seek a United States withdrawal of military forces from Vietnam and end all military aid to Vietnam. Furthermore, we call for an immediate end to all bombing of North and South Vietnam."

PROMINENT AMERICANS (continued from p. 1)

Phillips; Rabbi Everett Gendler; leading Shakespearean actor Fritz Weaver; Stokely Carmichael of SNCC; Father Philip Berrigan, SSJ; Floyd McKissick of CORE; former "Green Beret" Donald Duncan; Dwight MacDonald; Prof. Harlow Shapley; Louis Untermeyer; Carl Oglesby; Ralph Abernathy, Treasurer and Vice-Chairman of SCLC; Harry Belafonte; Jesse Gray, Harlem leader; Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, President of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights; and Stewart Meacham, Peace Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee. Rev. James Bevel, of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is National Director of the Spring Mobilization Committee. (Sponsors have signed as individuals, and organizations are listed for identification only.)

Representing an unusually wide diversity of political, religious, and social outlooks and marking a significant new collaboration between the civil rights and anti-war movements in this country, the signers of the Call affirm: "WE . . . DECLARE AN END TO OUR SILENCE, WE DECLARE IT PARTICULARLY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

In eloquent language, the declaration summarizes the horrors inflicted upon the Vietnamese by U.S. bombs and napalm and the cruel denials faced by American parents, GIs, youth, Negroes, labor, farmers, professionals, and clergymen.

"We call all Americans," the signers declare, "to unite and mobilize in a movement to end the senseless slaughter of American GIs and the mass murder of Vietnamese." They warn that, "as the war continues, the ultimate danger of nuclear holocaust hangs over all."

Viewing the April 15 mobilization as a way of launching such a movement, the stirring appeal concludes: "We march to the UN to affirm our respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, acclaimed by mankind and embodied in the UN Charter, but violated by the United States. We march to dramatize the worldwide hope that the United States remove its troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese can determine their own future in their own way . . . We speak to people around the world to mobilize to stop the war in Vietnam. We declare not merely a protest but a new beginning."

The Call has been reprinted and is now available for mass distribution around the country at 8 dollars per thousand copies. Orders should be sent immediately to the Spring Mobilization Committee at 857 Broadway, Third Floor, New York, N. Y.

GIs WRITE TO GO HOME

Last November, a referendum in Dearborn, Mich., supported by Mayor Orville Hubbard received 14,124 votes, 41% of the total vote cast, in favor of withdrawing from Vietnam. We have received permission from Mayor Hubbard to reprint the following letter from U. S. servicemen in Vietnam.

Tuy Hoa, South Vietnam
Monday, Nov. 21, 1966

Dear Mr. Hubbard,

Read the article that appeared in the *Detroit News* November 9th. Myself and my entire squad (3rd squad A 3/12) agree with you and would like to thank you for your concern over the matter.

After being out in the field for over a month and then reading the article about the vote you can imagine how mad we were.

Speaking for the infantry we are the ones who go out and risk our lives. We don't sit back in a base camp nor are we stationed 15 or 20 miles off at sea. In short, we are the slaves who hump hills with 40 lbs. of equipment on our backs and then eat C-rations, pull guard all night, get up the next morning and move out again. This of course is not that bad. Getting shot at does not appeal to me in the least either.

But, the economic war goes on and on. We fight in a miserable, primitive land while others talk, argue, and sometimes vote to keep us here.

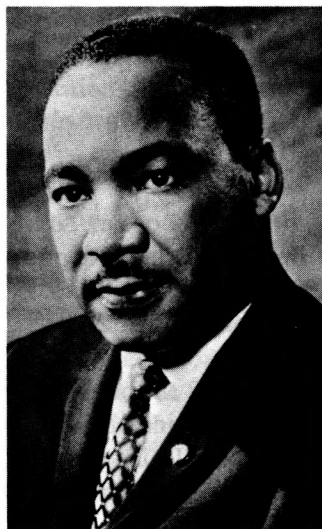
All in favor of you and the 14,124 citizens of Dearborn who voted for us, thank you.

3rd squad, 2nd Plt., A 3/12 with
wpns. attached agree,

Sgt. K. Lewandowski	Hamtramck, Mich.
Sgt. L. King	Willard, Ohio
Pfc. J. Robatchka	Allen Park, Mich.
Pfc. R. Scott	Allen Park, Mich.
Pfc. W. Pitts	River Rouge, Mich.
Pfc. G. Bojarski	Detroit, Mich.
Pvt. C. Brown	S. Amboy, N. J.
Pfc. A. Ricci	Lincoln Park, Mich.
Pfc. E. McGregor	Lincoln Park, Mich.
Pfc. F. Rogers	Watertown, N. Y.
Pfc. R. Rush	Allen Park, Mich.
Pfc. R. Hopkins	Alexandria, Ky.
Sp. 4 R. Tipton	Newport, Ky.
Pfc. R. Stulz	Newport, Ky.

Of course, the rest of the platoon feel as we do, but I am just a representative of my squad writing our thanks to you for your effort.

Sincerely,
Pfc. George J. Bojarski (US 55864877)



As we go to press, word has been received that Dr. King has accepted an invitation from the Spring Mobilization Committee to speak at the April 15 rally in front of the UN in New York. Further information about other speakers and the rally program will appear in the next issue of the MOBILIZER.

DR. KING FOR QUITTING VIETNAM

Nobel Peace Prize winner Dr. Martin Luther King was joined by four U. S. Senators late last month in demanding that the U. S. withdraw from Vietnam, according to the Feb. 25 *N. Y. Times*.

The Senators were Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota, George S. McGovern of South Dakota and Ernest Gruening of Alaska, Democrats, and Mark O. Hatfield of Oregon, a Republican.

In his speech to a conference on the war in Los Angeles sponsored by the *Nation* magazine, King accused the U. S. of "supporting a new form of colonialism covered up by certain niceties of complexity." He pointed out in addition that the war "has narrowed domestic welfare programs, making the poor white and Negro bear the heaviest burdens, both at the front and at home . . . the war budget alone is more than five times the amount committed to anti-poverty programs."

". . . We are willing," King said, "to make the Negro 100 percent of a citizen in warfare, but reduce him to 50 percent of a citizen on American soil."

FORT HOOD THREE PETITION

The Fort Hood Three Defense Committee is circulating a nation-wide petition with a clear, simple, and direct appeal.

The petition protests the imprisonment of PFC James Johnson, and Pvt. Dennis Mora and David Samas, and supports their refusal to be sent to fight in Vietnam. The petition states that it is wrong to send young men to fight in Vietnam. It declares that young men need jobs, freedom, and peace, not death on the battlefields of a country half-way around the world. It demands that President Johnson end the war now and grant clemency to the Fort Hood Three.

Petitions can be obtained from the Fort Hood Three Defense Committee, 5 Beekman Street, Tenth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10038.

The Mobilization is moving! In the roundup below, there is room to list only a small fraction of the many cities and towns all over the country where people are organizing for the biggest anti-war demonstration ever.

● **BOSTON, Mass.** There's now a Boston Area Spring Mobilization Committee. Leaflets and posters are in preparation. James Bevel goes to Boston March 19-20 to address several public meetings.

● **BUFFALO, N.Y.** An ad hoc Mobilization Committee sponsored an area conference March 4. A demonstration of about 400 people is planned for April 8, and the Committee is raising funds for transportation to New York.

● **CLEVELAND, Ohio** Cleveland Mobilization Committee hosted an Ohio Valley Regional Peace Conference Feb. 11, with 221 persons attending. A Regional Coordinating Committee with offices in Cleveland was set up. The Committee will fund field organizers and hopes to initiate local action and organizing in the region. A Campus Handbook for Vietnam Week has been published and is available from the Cleveland regional office,

Mobilization

10616 Euclid Ave., or from the Student Mobilization Committee at 29 Park Row in New York.

And a Peace Train is coming! A ten-car train leaves Cleveland April 14 at about 7:30 PM, going to New York via Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse where other cars of demonstrators may hook on.

● **DENVER, Colo.** About 200 people met with Mobilization vice-chairman Edward Keating on March 1 to make plans for the Mobilization in Denver. The group included clergy and several persons from the growing Mexican-American community in Denver.

● **DETROIT, Mich.** Another ten-car Peace Train plans to leave Detroit April 14 at about 7:30 PM, meeting the Cleveland train in Buffalo at midnight enroute to New York. A Mobilization office has been opened with fund-raising and publicity campaigns in the works.

● **FLORIDA** Statewide Days of Judgment on the War in Vietnam (March 18-26) include a People

MOBILIZATION C

Get in touch with the office in your area by April 15 Mobilization against the War. Contact the Mobilization Committee:

c/o Tony Harburgh
1620 Newport Road
Ann Arbor, Mich. 48103
(313) 761-4462

c/o Prof. Paul F. Schmidt
Dept. of Philosophy
Univ. of New Mexico
Albuquerque, NM 87106
(505) 299-7718

c/o Jody Palmour—SSOC
Box 15474
Atlanta, Ga. 30333
(404) 633-9936

c/o Steve Cagan
501 S. Woodlawn
Bloomington, Ind. 47401
(812) 339-8275

c/o Rev. Jack Zylman
110 Arlington Street
Boston, Mass. 02116

c/o Linda Sheppard
14 Howard Street
Cambridge, Mass. 02139
(617) 864-4661

c/o Peter Orris
14 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Chicago Peace Council
2552 No. Southport Ave.
Chicago, Ill. 60614
(312) 525-0195

c/o Dan Stern
5322 S. Harper
Chicago, Ill. 60615
(312) 643-2498

c/o Claude Allen
Dept. of English
Univ. of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, Ohio 45221
(513) 475-8000

10616 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44106
(212) 231-4635

c/o Norman Hodgett
245 W. 2nd Avenue
Denver, Colo. 80203
(303) 322-2835

P. O. Box 1333-A
Detroit, Mich. 48232
(313) 832-5700

c/o Rev. Serge Keleher
P.O. Box 382
East Lansing, Mich. 48823

c/o Paul Halpern
Norton Hall 29, Kenyon College
Gambier, Ohio 44022
(614) 427-9105

c/o Dartmouth College Peace Comm.
Hinman P.O. Box 825
Hanover, NH 03755
(603) 646-1110

74 Allyn Street
Hartford, Conn. 06103
(203) 247-9986

c/o Ben Levy, E
204 Braeswood
2244 W. Holcom
Houston, Texas
(713) MO 5-782

107 Dryden
Ithaca, N.Y. 14
(607) 273-7158

555 N. Wester
Los Angeles, C
(213) 467-3882

c/o Terri Daws
1341 Edgecliff
Los Angeles, C

c/o Wesley We
14 S. Orchard
Madison, Wisc.

Roundup

for Peace March in Gainesville on the 18th; march in Tampa on the 19th; Peace Walk from Ft. Lauderdale to Miami on the 25th; Easter Peace March in Miami on the 26th. Contact: Miami Peace Center, 1185 Sunset Dr., Coral Gables, Florida.

● **HOUSTON, Texas** A group of 150 key people met with Edward Keating at the end of February to discuss Mobilization activity in Houston. Plans for transportation to San Francisco are underway.

● **INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.** Mike Brand, at Purdue University, is coordinating a rally of several hundred persons April 8 as a buildup for the Mobilization.

● **ITHACA, N.Y.** Student-faculty "task forces" have been visiting men's dorms, fraternities, and sororities weekly. Result: 4 dorms and 3 fraternities are planning buses to New York. Also, a draft-card-burning pledge union is being formed. If 500 people sign up, the pledge will be considered binding. Plans are for the cards to be burned

the weekend of April 15, with exact time and place not yet set. Information can be obtained from Bruce Dancis, 107 Dryden Rd.

March 13-17 will mark a week of intense activity for building the Mobilization, with workshops to be addressed by vice-chairman Robert Greenblatt and National Director James Bevel.

● **LOS ANGELES, Calif.** Mobilization Coordinating Center plans a major fund-raising and publicity event for April 8 or 9 and a massive car caravan to San Francisco on April 15. A city-wide meeting of high school students was held March 5. The students plan information classes on the war and the history of Vietnam, and they are working to provide transportation for students to San Francisco.

● **MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.** At a conference addressed by vice-chairman Sidney Peck, George Jones, and Mulford Q. Sibley, 80 persons met February 25 and agreed unanimously to set up a Minneapolis Mobilization Committee, headed by Prof. Sibley. They plan to cover the entire city with leaflets, and have begun raising funds for the trip to New York. (continued on p. 8)

OFFICE DIRECTORY

area if you want to support the
in Vietnam. Just write to Spring

Center Bldg.
e Blvd.
7025

c/o Mrs. Hinda Larky
2805 Kenwood Blvd.
Milwaukee, Wisc. 53211

Box 14014, Univ. Station
Minneapolis, Minn. 55414
(612) 781-6311

c/o SSOC
1703 Portland Avenue
Nashville, Tenn. 37212
(615) 291-3537

857 Broadway, Third Floor
New York, NY 10003
(212) 675-4605

Student Mobilization Comm.
29 Park Row
New York, NY 10038
(212) 233-4536

c/o Suzi Montauk
1130 E. 28th Street
Oakland, Calif. 94610
(415) 536-2865

c/o Larry Moskowitz
233 Corbett Hall, Univ. of Maine
Orono, Me. 04473
(207) 866-7219

20 S. 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19107
(215) LO 7-4747

c/o Ruth Balter
510 Cedarwood Terrace
Rochester, NY 14609
(716) 482-6163

West Coast Office
55 Colton Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94103
(415) 431-4584

c/o Debby Leonard
5265 15th NE
Seattle, Wash. 98105
(206) LA 2-4325

c/o Lyle Mercer
747 21st Avenue E.
Seattle, Wash. 98102
(206) EA 4-9258

c/o St. Louis Citizens for Peace
Box 11604
St. Louis, Mo. 63105

c/o Paul Siminoff
Univ. of Syracuse
Syracuse, NY 13210
(315) HO 3-6211, ext. 465

St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church
16th and Newton Streets NW
Washington, DC 20010
(202) CO 5-1311

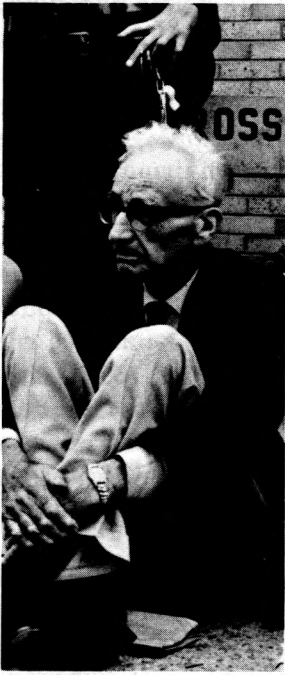
c/o Mike Brand—Purdue Peace Union
222-13 Arnold Drive
W. Lafayette, Ind. 47906

c/o Dayton Area Coord. Committee
221 Xenia Avenue
Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387
(513) 767-2421

lvd., Rm. 2
f. 90004

Drive
f. 90026

hold
reet
3715



A. J. Muste
in antiwar sit-in

A. J. MUSTE (1885 - 1967)

At his death on February 11, A. J. Muste had been devoting most of his energies to the massive Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam. As Chairman of the national Mobilization Committee, he was a central force for unity among the hundreds of groups throughout the nation opposed to American policy in Vietnam.

Leadership of the Mobilization was a logical conclusion for A. J.'s life. Over the years he had played an important role in the pacifist, radical, labor and civil rights movements, and had earned the respect of virtually every sector of the social protest movements in this country.

Newspaper obituaries often read "In lieu of flowers, friends are requested to send a donation to . . ." A. J.'s obituary should have read: In lieu of flowers, friends are requested to get out and work—for peace, for human rights, for a better world. A. J. was not a person to stop and mourn for. People rejoice that they were lucky enough to know and work with him. At the same time, they get on with the work.

A. J. had hoped that the Mobilization would result in the largest anti-war demonstrations this country had ever seen, and would mark the beginning of a serious and truly grass-roots movement to end the war. This last hope is in the process of being realized and stands as the best tribute to his memory.

— Susan Sutheim

REV. ABERNATHY OF SCLC NEW VICE-CHAIRMAN

Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Treasurer and Vice-Chairman of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and a close associate of Dr. Martin Luther King and Rev. James Bevel in the southern civil rights movement, has just announced his agreement to serve as a vice-chairman of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

"SHAME, SHAME, SHAME!"

On February 15th, 2,500 women brought by Women Strike for Peace from 13 states stormed the Pentagon!

They gathered, at first silently, with large dramatic posters of napalmed Vietnamese children. Above the photos the stark words "Stop The War" accused the Pentagon. Immediately sensing this was inadequate, they began to shout: "STOP THE WAR" and "BRING THE TROOPS HOME!" Suddenly a new cry rose from the women and 2,500 voices called out: "SHAME, SHAME, SHAME!"

Defense Secretary McNamara refused to meet with the women. About half went to picket while the large group at the front angrily laid siege to the porch calling "STOP THE WAR!" and "SEND THE TROOPS HOME!"—punctuated by loud demands of "WHERE'S MACK THE KNIFE?"

The women banged their hands vigorously against the hastily locked doors, demanding entrance, and at least a dozen women took off their shoes and pounded the heels resoundingly against the doors.

About a dozen policemen appeared and forced themselves between the women and the doors. Linking arms, they tried to push the women down the stairs. The struggle was an intense one, the women

Dagmar Wilson, a founding member of Women Strike for Peace and one of the organization's leading spokesmen, has recently joined the leadership of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam as a vice-chairman.

denouncing the napalming of children in Vietnam and McNamara's refusal to see them.

Finally, the women were forced onto the steps and down to the roadway. Immediately, a Negro woman re-ascended three of the steps, declaring, "No black soldier should fight in this war!" and decrying the far greater casualties of Negro soldiers than white. A young white woman succeeded her, denounced the war, and then told of her three children, the oldest a boy of seven of whom she declared in ringing tones, "They'll get him only over my dead body!"

McNamara finally ordered the doors reopened and sent his manpower assistant to talk to half a dozen of the women delegates. The other demonstrators separated into groups and descended upon their respective Congressmen to let them know their feelings about the war.

— Lili Solomon

MOBILIZE ON APRIL 15 TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

● NOW IS THE TIME

The dominant crisis in American life that is uppermost in the mind of every American, that creeps into every conversation, is the war in Vietnam. No event in our history has so racked our conscience, offended our sense of justice and defiled our national character as this unholy crusade. In private many of us have agreed that something must be done to end this shame. For it is a war that is being waged directly against the people of Vietnam; it is harmful to the national interests of our fellow citizens, particularly in the black communities; and it endangers the lives of millions throughout the world as it becomes escalated to the stage of nuclear confrontation with China. Now is the time to act together to end the war.

● WHAT CAN WE DO?

After all, haven't we written letters and called our Congressman; haven't we sent telegrams to the White House; haven't we signed full-page ads in the *New York Times*; haven't we joined in all the organized and unorganized protests—the parades, the silent vigils, the workshops and conferences. And haven't we found that we are still dealing with a Pentagon mentality in Washington that refuses to budge. The Presidential peace candidate of 1964 issues a new call to arms in his State of the Union message of 1967, while curbing domestic programs at home. Meanwhile, reporters confirm to Americans what we have long known or felt about the indiscriminate destruction of the Vietnamese people. The local casualty lists mount, and we can no longer hold our silence.

● TELL IT LIKE IT IS TO THE WORLD

On April 15, 1967, thousands of persons from all over the United States and Canada and Mexico will gather near the United Nations in New York and at Kezar Stadium in San Francisco to demand an end to the war in Vietnam. This will be the largest gathering in opposition to the war in the history of the American peace movement. This Mobilization for peace in Vietnam will be in response to the call for action issued by prominent Americans, from all walks of life. The Mobilization will say to humanity that millions of Americans are deeply opposed to this war and have come together in a dramatic and visible manner to express a fundamental unity of purpose; namely, that regardless of the many genuine differences which often separate and divide us, we Americans

are determined to go back to our communities and do all that we possibly can to convince our fellow citizens that this war must be stopped!

● A CRUCIAL POLITICAL ACT

The Mobilization will encourage new forms of resistance against the war. It will urge moral and political support for all young men of conscience who refuse to be drafted and to soldiers who refuse to fight an unjust war. It will assert the right of the people to make their own peaceful settlement when the Establishment is hell-bent on a military solution. It will assert that the American people reject the concept of the United States as the policeman of the world. Contacts will be made with peace groups in every capital city of the world to join in this international mobilization to end the barbarous destruction of the Vietnamese people. The Mobilization thus becomes a significant and crucial political act.

● IF NOT NOW, WHEN?

Support the Mobilization in every way that you can. For the April 15 event at the United Nations in New York and in San Francisco will constitute a new beginning for Americans who are determined to end the war in Vietnam. It will indicate that a growing segment of the American people refuse to allow this war to be carried on in their name. Join the Mobilization to end the war . . . if not now, when?

PLEASE CLIP AND MAIL TO:

National Office:
Spring Mobilization
Committee
857 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003
Phone: (212) 675-4606

West Coast Office:
Spring Mobilization
Committee
55 Colton Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94103
Phone: (415) 431-4584

- ☐ I will attend the mobilization April 15 in N.Y.
In San Francisco
- ☐ I will help mobilize against the war in my local area.
- ☐ I would like to be put in touch with a local peace group.
- ☐ Please send me literature on the Vietnam war.
- ☐ I enclose a contribution of _____ to help pay the cost of the national mobilization.

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

ROUNDUP (continued from p. 5)

● **NEW YORK, N.Y.** A huge regional conference is scheduled for March 18, to make final plans for April 15. The Universities Committee on Problems of War and Peace has agreed to organize faculty participation east of the Mississippi and will send mailings to each of the many thousand signers of their multi-page *N. Y. Times* ad. They hope to organize a cap-and-gown contingent in the N. Y. demonstration.

The American Ethical Culture Union Commission for Peace has endorsed the Mobilization, as did the FDR-Woodrow Wilson Democratic Club.

The Inter-Scholastic Council of Schools of Social Work has voted to publicize its support of the Mobilization and to set up literature tables in every School of Social Work in the city.

A Committee of Faith has been formed to encourage participation by clergymen of all faiths

throughout the country, with offices at 229 E. 59th St., New York, N. Y. 10022.

● **SAN FRANCISCO, Calif.** A Feb. 4 conference of over 500 West Coast delegates gave new spark to Bay Area activities and organizing. A Peace Fair at Golden Gate Park is being considered. The Art Committee plans a two-week art display in April. The Music Committee plans a concert at Grace Cathedral for April 14, to include a Human Rights Cantata.

● **WASHINGTON, D. C.** An ad hoc Mobilization Committee has opened offices. Supplies and help are pouring in. A regional conference of over 100 people met March 7. Speakers' and organizers' bureaus have been set up. A citywide rally, with Sidney Peck, Dagmar Wilson, and James Bevel, is set for March 31 and a Peace and Freedom Train will head for New York on April 15.

FROM THE STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

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(1)



(2)



(3)

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"The Student Mobilizer"

The
Student Mobilizer

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From the Spring Mobilization Committee
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(double issue) (quantity)



In addition, every organization should order bundles of the (free) postage-paid return envelopes, requesting housing. Included with this are special fund appeal letters. We urge each organization to send these out to their entire mailing list.



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Orders are payable in advance. Order from the Spring Mobilization Committee, 857 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003

SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

857 BROADWAY 3rd FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003
212-675-4605

FOUNDING CHAIRMAN

A.J. MUSTE
(1885-1967)

VICE CHAIRMEN

DAVE DELLINGER
ROBERT GREENBLATT
EDWARD KEATING
SIDNEY PECK
CLEVELAND ROBINSON
DAGMAR WILSON

NATIONAL DIRECTOR

JAMES BEVEL

WEST COAST OFFICERS

CHAIRMAN

EDWARD KEATING

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

KIPP DAWSON

Dear

This letter is being sent to you as one of the individuals experienced and concerned with the development of a nonviolent, direct action force as part of the movement to end the war. We are sure you agree that it is necessary that the future course of this development take on clear and coordinated direction. Enclosed you will find a proposal by Robert Greenblatt, one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Spring Mobilization Committee, which deals with future development and direction of nonviolent action and resistance, and which we hope you will read and consider.

The April 15th Mobilization, with its unprecedented outpouring of individuals prepared for deeper involvement, makes coordination of future action imperative for maximum effectiveness. The momentum of the Spring Mobilization has inspired various organizations and individuals to further action- perhaps of a more radical nature. It is important that we exchange ideas and cooperate with each other in order to develop the most strategically effective way of ending this war.

A workshop on the Strategy And Tactics Of Nonviolence will be held on May 20th as part of the Spring Mobilization conference on May 20 and 21. Resource people for that workshop will include Robert Greenblatt, John Lewis, James Bevel, Bernard Lafayette, and Barbara Demming. The confrontation at the White House by a delegation of the Spring Mobilization Committee will take place on May 17th. The evening of May 17th seems to be the opportune time for a preliminary meeting of selected and experienced individuals who are interested in developing nonviolent direct action and who would bring greater clarity and direction to the open workshop on May 20. In addition, there may be those individuals unable to attend the workshop on May 20 (or who may be attending other workshops) but who, nevertheless, would want to be involved in the development of a strategy of direct action. Those attending this preliminary meeting on May 17 could then project the

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KIPP DAWSON

direction and thinking of that meeting both to their own constituencies and to other workshops they may wish to attend (e.g. draft resistance). Details of the preliminary meeting on Nonviolent Strategy And Tactics (time and place, etc.) as well as a list of those invited are given on the enclosed sheet.

We S'rongly urge you to attend!

Sincerely,

Beverly Sterner

Beverly Sterner
(CO7-3261)

Barry Greever
Barry Greever
(675-4605)

P.S. Will you contact either of us to indicate your participation.

Preliminary Meeting on Nonviolent Strategy and Tactics

Time: 7:00 P.M., Wednesday, May 17, 1967

Place: St. Stephens and Incarnation Church
16th and Newton Streets, NW
Washington D C
(office of Washington Mobilization Committee)

People Invited:

James Bevel
Robert Greenblatt
Bernard & Colia Lafayette
John Lewis
Barbara Deming
Staughton Lynd
Jack O'Dell
Noam Chomsky
Fred Goff
Tom Bradley
Tom Hayden
Russ Johnson
C.T. Vivian
Honey Knopp (AFSC)
Metz Rollins
Vince Harding
James Lawson
Paul Potter
Jonathan Mirsky
John Dolan
Ivanhoe Donaldsen (SNCC)
Elizabeth Sutherland (SNCC)
John Mahyer
Tom Hayes
Ron Clark (CORE)
Beverly Sterner
Ross Flanagan
John Darr
Cliff Rugg
Steve Weisman
John Barber
Prathia Hall Wynn

Representatives from:

War Resisters' League
Fellowship of Reconciliation/Catholic Peace Fellowship
Committee for Non-Violent Action/WIN
Draft Denial/Support-in-Action/College drop-outs

f

FROM: SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM
857 Broadway
New York, New York 10003
675-4606

300,000-500,000 PEOPLE JOIN APRIL 15 PEACE DEMONSTRATION

The official Spring Mobilization Committee estimate of the crowd at Saturday's Peace Demonstration is between a minimum of 300,000 and perhaps half a million. The committee is now analyzing aerial photos of the crowd to obtain a closer determination of the exact size. The demonstration was the largest demonstration of any kind in the history of the United States. An estimate of 125,000 which was widely published and attributed to the New York City police, referred only to that small part of the demonstration which was able to get into the area of the United Nations Plaza that the police had set aside for the demonstrators. The police were extremely strict in not allowing any additional persons to enter this area and most of the marchers, therefore, were not able to get into the rally area and were not counted in this "police estimate".

In his remarks at the giant assembly at the United Nations, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. declared the size of the turnout to be larger than the famous 1963 Washington Civil Rights March which enlisted 250,000 people. The day after the rally, according to the April 17 New York Times, "Dr. King challenged a police estimate that between 100,000 and 125,000 people took part in the rally outside the United Nations building here Saturday. 'I have no quarrel with the police estimate,' he said, with a slight smile, 'just an absolute denial of the accuracy of it.'

"Dr. King, who said he had taken part in demonstrations for years and had had wide experience in estimating the size of crowds, 'perhaps more experience than the New York police,' declared, 'There were fully 300,000 and perhaps

400,000 people in the demonstration.

"I spoke to as many as 125,000 persons in the United Nations Plaza," he said, "and then went back to Central Park. There were that many people still marching."

Trade unionist marchers who had helped organize a Detroit demonstration of 250,000 against passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, the largest such labor action on record in this country, also testified that this demonstration was larger.

The size of this massive mobilization -- in which the combined total of all the individuals and the memberships of all the organizations directly supporting it was only a small fraction of those who marched -- indicates the broad and deep-going sentiment among the American people for an end to the war in Vietnam.

Text of speech prepared by Linda Dannenberg for delivery to April 15th rally in New York. Because of rain at the end of the rally, it was impossible to deliver the speech.

It is two years since the United States government began its insane policy of bombing north Vietnam and steadily escalating the illegal war in both north and south Vietnam. During this time there have been many viable new developments in the struggle against the war.

One of the major developments in the student anti-war movement was the formation of the Student Mobilization Committee, a national coalition of students that was born from the traditional student groups against the war and has enlisted the energy of whole new sections of the student body. From the radical left to the University Christian Movement, Newman Clubs, and YMCA and YWCA members; from pacifists to student body leaders; from high school students to interfraternity councils; students have been involved in a nationally coordinated coalition of youth groups which recognizes and deals with the concerns of youth about the war in Vietnam. We have been able to maintain and even broaden support for our anti-war activity despite red-baiting attacks by the House Un-American Activities Committee and other such groups because we are based firmly on the principle of non-exclusion. Everybody, no matter what his political beliefs, must be part of the anti-war movement.

As youth, we have dealt with the issues that most affect us: the war itself, the draft, and university complicity with the war effort.

Young men are faced most directly with the draft, and we are united on a platform of ending the draft -- period. The newly proposed lottery system, or any other draft system that the government can come up with may deal with some of the inequities of the present draft system, but these cannot solve the basic question: that no one -- student or ghetto youth, civil rights leader or playboy -- no one should be drafted to fight in the war in Vietnam or any other war like it.

As students we are concerned with how the war in Vietnam has affected our lives at the universities. The rising war-induced inflation has increased tuition and other costs, making it even harder for the poor and minority groups to receive an education. More and more of our universities are engaging in war-oriented research, perverting their purpose from institutions of learning to cogs in the war machine, where research in napalm and chemical and biological warfare is conducted. We will not be satisfied until these bloody ties of campus complicity with the war are cut.

Thirdly, we are united on a platform of bringing our GIs home from Vietnam now, a platform of immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam, which is the only decent course left to our government. We will not be satisfied with another Korea, or any other solution which leaves Vietnam divided against itself and our soldiers stationed there. We want our brothers, cousins, sweethearts, and husbands here now, where they belong, to build a truly free America.

Towards these ends, students on over 500 high school and college campuses have been working on Vietnam Week, which started April 8 with activities of all kinds on these campuses and has culminated in the participation of tens of thousands of students at the demonstrations here in New York and in San Francisco on the west coast.

From the beginning of the Spring Mobilization we have talked of launching a movement to end the war in Vietnam. To us, launching a movement has meant that the number of Americans totally engaged in antiwar activity of all kinds has to increase geometrically from its present number -- and I think that the time is ripe.

Students and youth especially must be involved, for we have been in the forefront of the movement and can continue to set the pace. Therefore, as a start, the Student Mobilization Committee proposes that we call on every high school and college student in the country to spend his summer totally engaged in radical activity to end the war. The Student Mobilization Committee will provide national coordination for a series of action programs which are imaginative, viable, and serious, and which will provide every student with a job that he can do and is ready for. Some of the projects that we are considering are the following:

(1) Peace caravans of students in each state which would travel around to small towns, resort areas, camps, etc., during the summer and leaflet extensively, hold street corner rallies about the war, and, hopefully, leave behind them a group of townspeople willing to work on antiwar activity.

(2) There are, throughout the country, a number of napalm plants, bomb production companies, and research centers connected directly with our government's war effort in Vietnam. One such shocking example is a defoliation project which is going on right now in our own New York Botanical Gardens! We would like to see these operations exposed by whatever means necessary -- intensive community education, civil disobedience, leafletting at the plant gates, or by massive demonstrations that can bring a peaceful halt to this type of war production.

(3) There is, naturally enough, a widespread feeling among the armed forces that the war is not in the interests of GIs, as symbolized by the growing numbers of cases of servicemen opposing the war in Vietnam. Some examples are Lt. Henry Howe who was court-martialed for participating in an antiwar demonstration, the courageous Fort Hood Three who are now in prison for refusing to go to Vietnam, and just this week we have learned of Pfc. Howard Petrick, a young antiwar activist who continued to speak his mind about the war after he was drafted into the army and now faces court-martial merely for maintaining his constitutional right to free speech. These GI's report that anti-war sentiment is well received within the Army. One major project would therefore be nationally coordinated leafletting of GI's with the facts about the war and the GI's right to oppose it.

(4) Draft resistance is a major area of concern for students all over the country. We-won't-go projects, draft counseling, draft card burnings, anti-draft unions and educational projects are springing up all over. The Student Mobilization Committee can tie into these projects, helping local groups to coordinate their actions with national projects and helping to keep everybody informed, thereby aiding these vital grass roots movements.

These are just a few of many possible projects for this summer. The Student Mobilization Committee will hold a national student anti-war conference in Chicago on May 13 & 14 to which we invite all those interested in working on such summer activities. The purpose of the summer projects will be to coordinate activity on all levels in a such a way that it will build the activities of all participating groups rather than conflict with any one.

We must unite and work together, whatever our differences, to end this illegal, immoral war. Let us begin! NOW!

THE FUTURE AHEAD OF
YOU HOLDS INFINITE POSSI-
BILITIES FOR ADVANCEMENT.
FURTHERMORE ... BLAH ...
BLAH... BLAH...
BLAH ... BLAH...



**HAS
IT
ALL**

BEEN A WASTE?

DON'T LET IT BE - - -

CONTACT US ABOUT YOUR
ALTERNATIVES TO THE DRAFT.

Send to: High School Student Mobilization Committee
17 East 17th Street
New York, New York 10003 Phone: 255-1076

☐ I would like more information on the war and the draft.

☐ I would like to help

☐ Enclosed is \$_____ to help end the war.

Name _____

Phone _____

Address _____

Zip _____

DIRECT ACTION TEAMS

A direct action team (DAT) is a group of people organized into a team who are committed to the idea of direct action. Composed of 15-20 persons, these teams would have a program centered around direct action and confrontation. They would be ready and able to take to the streets whenever and wherever necessary. They would develop and implement a direct action program to spearhead the peace and freedom movement.

Each team would have a program consisting of several elements. First a continuing program of direct action, initiated and planned by the team. Possibly in conjunction with other DATs or other groups. These programs would be designed to continually bring public attention to the issues of the war and the movement, on a continuing basis. Secondly they would be in a position to respond quickly to events. Experience has shown that the longer the period of time between an event (such as the arrest of Muhammad Ali, the attacking of the marchers in L.A., the bombing of Haiphong etc.) and the demonstration about the event the less coverage and attention is paid the demonstration. News medias are eager to get reaction to an event hours after it happens but are not interested in demonstrations that occur days after. DATs could be mobilized and get into the streets with-in hours of an event if they were properly set up.

In addition each DAT would have the task of organizing a base in a particular area such as Flatbush, Upper West Side, etc. With-in that area they would carry on three major, interrelated programs. 1-Organizing support for direct action in general and their team in particular among elements of the community that are sympathetic. This support would take many forms, bail, money, demonstrators, calling police & news, public expressions of support etc. 2-carrying on educational programs with-in the community to broaden the base of the movement and involve new people. 3-to recruit new members for DATs, to replace members of their team who have dropped out and to form new DATs based in other areas. These 3 programs are obviously interconnected and can often be done simultaneously. For example direct action with-in the base area can be

used to fulfill and carry out all 3 of the organizing functions. A good example of this was the setting of the the RECRUIT FOR PEACE tables.

A DAT would consist of 15-20 persons who have committed themselves, as far as possible, to be able to go into direct action anytime, anywhere. 15-20 persons is enough to man a respectable picket line and enough to have a good sizable group to go to jail yet it is small enough to develop the internal group dynamic and "esprit de corps" necessary for this type of program. These teams would have to be small enough to develop trust and confidence of the members in each other, to know each other well, their strengths and weaknesses. As more and more people are recruited ~~an~~ additional DATs would be set up, probably with a ~~a~~ "seed" group of 3 or 4 from an already established DAT. Some members of the DAT should be residents of the area where the DAT is based (I.E. Flatbush). Others should be "outsiders" that are living in homes with-in that community. At least 3 or 4 of the members of the team must be able to work full time for the team. The more full time people the better. Others of the team can and should have part or full time jobs or be students. Not all the members of a particular team would have to live with-in the area that they are based in but the majority of the team members should. The 3 or 4 full time workers would have to live with-in the area that the team is based in. (It should be noted that although a team is based in an area it would not necessarily have to do it's direct action in that area, just as an army unit is based at a fort but usually does not do it's fighting there)

One of the necessary functions of the DAT would be to build the internal group dynamic and "esprit de corps" that ~~immediately~~ can sustain the ;members of the team in times of stress. A mutual trust and confidence must be built up. Part of this can be done over the course of training together, working together etc. What really is needed is the same type of group loyalty and spirit that was present in the underground resistance movement during WWII and in;the revolutionary movement of the last 50 years. The members of the team must be mindfull of the need for this group cohesion and strive to build it. Artificial devices might be used to further that effort.

GENOCIDE!

=extermination= destruction= mass murder= a crime
against humanity

gen'o·cide: The systematic destruction
of a racial, political or culture
group... Webster's 7th New Collegiate
Dictionary

TWO CIVILIANS ARE KILLED FOR EVERY
MILITARY CASUALTY IN VIETNAM...
from a report to the House Foreign
Affairs Committee by the Hon. Clement
L. Zablocki (Wisconsin) Mar. 17, 1966.

THERE WERE 250,000 MILITARY CASUALTIES
IN VIETNAM FROM 1961-1966...Pentagon.
This means that from 1961-1966 there
were 500,000 civilian dead.

This year the National Liberation Front
casualties alone are reported to be
8,000 per month... Newsweek Mar. 27, 1967.
THIS MEANS 16,000 INNOCENT MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN KILLED EACH MONTH.
ASSUMING THAT THE WAR DOES NOT ESCALATE ANY FURTHER,
THERE WILL BE AT LEAST 200,000 CIVILIAN DEAD IN 1967.

Rusk and Westmoreland claim that the war may last another 10 years.
HOW MANY WILL BE DEAD BY 1977? 2,500,000? OR MORE?



GENOCIDE!

WORKSHOP IDEAS

Part 1 ---A discussion of "Movements" in general. Dealing with the Confrontation-education-sucking in-organizing cycle. Using as examples such things as Birmingham, Selma, Chicago, Some of the labor movement-strikes of the 30 etc. The session should provide a broad overview of the theory practice and effect of a direct action movement.

~~THE~~ Out of this (the above) presentation there should then be 3 sessions dealing with some of the details of the cycle and how they can be effective.

----Confrontation-how do you build a confrontation?-what is a confrontation, the role of non-violence- etc.

----education and sucking-in how do you use a confrontation to educate and recruit. how do you use it to involve and radicalise the more moderate members of the community.

----how do you use direct action and confrontations to organise etc.

T here ~~sh~~ould be a final session relating these ~~xxx~~ session to Brooklyn.

Bevel - #1
Bernard -

Eric -
John Lawson -
Jim Peck - X

Tom Offenberg?

"YOU AREN'T A GOOK ARE YOU?"

The following is a letter received by the Executive Director of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship. The writer is an American volunteer worker for the U. S. AID (Agency for International Development) program in South Vietnam.

Hue, Vietnam

1/23/67

Dear Friends,

This is going to be a rather emotional newsletter, I fear. The work here at the Animal Husbandry Station is going along satisfactorily and I have gone out into the countryside several times and visited some places in Hue. My work here is quite similar to any Peace Corpsman's who works in Agriculture; except for one thing. I find myself working in a country visited by war.

Do you know what that means? Can you even begin to imagine the utter horror and indescribable suffering that that word represents. WAR. The United States is fighting a war to prevent South Vietnam from being taken over by the Communists. I am here to tell you, my very dear brethren, that if I were a poor Vietnamese peasant in this day, only *death* would prevent me from being a Vietnamese Communist. Do you understand that?

Do you understand what it means to have a plane fly overhead and just stop in utter terror of what that plane might be doing? Do you understand what napalm does to people? It explodes and spreads a jelly all over everything in the vicinity. This jelly is on fire. It burns through clothing and destroys the skin with burns. It leaves the people not already dead to die a horrible death by burns. It burns trees, houses, everything. Do you understand what a phosphorus bomb does? It gets on the body and burns; and it does not stop burning until it reaches bone. What does it feel like, I wonder, to have phosphorus on your face and feel it eating away right down to the skull. Do you like that picture? Well, that is what your government and mine is doing!

Do you understand what it means to be a sustenance farmer, just growing enough rice for the family to live on for a year. And do you understand how it feels to watch a plane fly overhead spraying chemicals on your field just before harvest, and then watch that field become brown, and then black. Would you like to watch your family starve to death because of some nebulous fight that does not matter. Do you know why it does not matter? Because the very thing that the U. S. seeks to preserve (freedom and abundant life) is that which it destroys every day. Do you understand that bombs and artillery are indiscriminate and don't just cause death and suffering among Vietnamese Communists? Do you understand what it is like to be living in a village in an "insecure" area and to have a plane unload its bombs and then strafe your village without mercy because someone fired at him with a rifle? Can you even begin to imagine the utter horror of being in a village where the planes come in dropping fragmentation bombs to drive people into the open and then following with napalm and phosphorus bombs to get an effective "kill." My God, can you even imagine what it is like in the villages? Do you know that at least 5 civilians are killed or wounded for every one combatant in Vietnam?

(over)

What does it matter that I work from dawn far into the night trying to increase production so that we can distribute more chicks to the countryside when there is no way to assure the farmer of adequate feed supply, and when a simple quirk of war could wipe him or his family off the face of the earth?

Can you imagine how my Vietnamese friend felt when an American soldier stopped me and asked, in a loud voice, "You aren't a Gook, are you? Don't worry, my friend; we aren't killing persons over here, we are cleaning up the Gooks."

If you could hear me writing this letter you would know that these words are being *shouted* in desperation and anguish. No, I have never seen the effects of a napalm raid close up, but I am beginning to understand the fear, as I work more out in the villages. I sense the terror that they feel when a flight of jets go overhead. I have seen defoliated fields, and the people who were driven from their homes by the defoliation. Do you understand that almost 90% of the refugees in Vietnam are refugees of U.S. firepower? Have you ever been in a refugee camp? Sensed the hopelessness, the fear, the deep sorrow and yearning for the now destroyed home?

Many of my friends have written and asked if they could help me and my work with an offering of money. I respond to them and to you. If you have been able to grasp even a tiny fraction of the anguish and desperation of this letter, and I have been able to record a fraction of what I feel, and I feel only a fraction of what my people in the countryside feel; then you will do everything in your power and in the power that God offers you to STOP THIS WAR!!! Picket, go to jail, protest, organize politically, preach, pray, write letters, bring our bumbling giant of a nation to its knees. Do whatever is necessary but please please, in the name of everything that is sane and loving, please STOP THE WAR!

I am sure that there are any number of good reasons why we should be fighting this war, but I really can't find any good enough as I see what this war does to our brethren.

Please don't sleep well tonight, or any night until somehow a way is found to stop destroying human beings in Vietnam.

I send this letter in love and agony.

David Nesmith
IVS/USAID
Advisory Team #3
APO San Francisco
Calif. 96258

*reprints available from the
COMMITTEE OF FAITH for the April 15 Spring Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam
which will be centered in New York and San Francisco.*

COMMITTEE OF FAITH
229 East 59th St.
N. Y., N. Y. 10022
phone: (212) PL 2-5150

or

SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE
857 Broadway
N. Y., N. Y. 10003
phone: (212) 675-4605

- ☐ I will march on April 15 to end the war in Vietnam.
The March will start from Sheep Meadow, Central Park at 11 A. M.
- ☐ Call on me to help with the mobilization.
- ☐ I enclose contribution to help pay the costs.

name phone

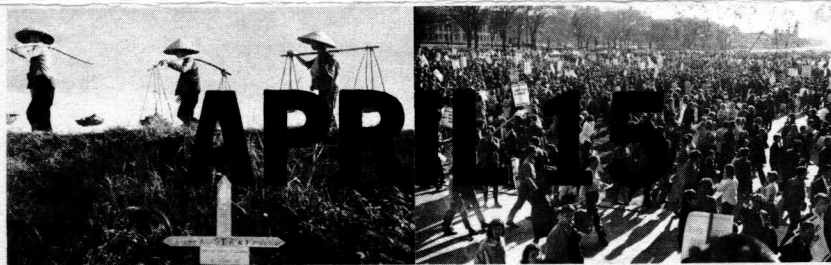
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Dr. Morton Deutsch	Dr. Linus Pauling	Dr. & Mrs. Marvin Belsky	Gus Horowitz	James Saad
Donald Duncan	Ava Helen Pauling	Bina Bernard	Rev. Arthur B. Jellis	Robert Scheer
Mrs. Ann Eaton	William Pepper	Fr. Daniel Berrigan, S.J.	Arnold Johnson	Prof. Paul F. Schmidt
James Farmer	Rev. Channing E. Phillips	Barbara Bick	Rev. & Mrs. Herman C. Johnson	Dr. Ronald A. Schneider
Jules Feiffer	Prof. John Herman Randall, Jr.	Nelson Blackstock	Lew Jones	Prof. Franz Schurman
W. H. Ferry	Prof. Anatol Rapoport	Paul Booth	Donald Kalish	Dr. Robert J. Schwartz
Prof. D. F. Fleming	Rabbi Victor E. Reichert	Rev. Eugene L. Boutilier	Werner Klugman	Dr. Philip Shapiro
Rev. Milton Galamison	Phillip Roth	Anne & Carl Braden	Frank Kofsky	Stanley K. Sheinbaum
Rabbi Everett Gendler	Muriel Rukeyser	Thompson Bradley	Bernard Lafayette	Glenn Smiley
Maxwell Geismar	Prof. Irving Sarnoff	Juan Mari Bras	Corliss Lamont	Jack Spiegel
John Gerassi	Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth	Rabbi Stanley Brav	Anthony Leeds	Beverly Sterner
Allen Ginsberg	Prof. Mulford Q. Sibley	Prof. Edwin Burt	Sandy Leigh	Elizabeth Sutherland
Paul Goodman	Prof. Stephen Smale	Maris Cakars	Jolie Lucquett	Amy Swerdlow
Jesse Gray	Dr. Benjamin Spock	Gregg Calvert	Dr. Harry Lustig	Paul M. Sweezy
Fr. Lyle Grosjean	Dr. Albert Szent-Gyorgi	Dr. Gordon Christiansen	Bradford Lyttle	Rev. John Swomley, Jr.
Charles Hayes	Louis Untermeyer	Mary Clark	Michael Maccoby	Ruth Turner
Nat Hentoff	Robert Vaughan	Dr. James Cockcroft	John Maher	Rev. Willard Uphaus
Russell Johnson	Rev. Wyatt T. Walker	Tom Cornell	Dr. Joseph Mather	Wilfred Ussery
Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.	Fritz Weaver	Barbara Deming	Henry E. McGuckin, Jr.	Gilbert Gerena Balentin
Paul Krassner	Harvey Wheeler	Ralph DiGia	M. Douglas Meeks	Eric Weinberger
	Prof. Howard Zinn	Ivanhoe Donaldson	Rev. Howard Melish	Cora Weiss
		Fr. William H. DuBay	Karl Meyer	Rosalind Wells
		Rev. C. E. Duggy	William G. Miller	Al Williams
		Robert I. Edenbaum	Stanley Millet	Dr. Ernest Wolff
		Frank Emspak	Rabbi Herbert Morris	Ron Young
		Sue Eanet	Rev. Richard Mumma	Prof. Reginald Zelnick
		Al Evanoff		

The Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam is composed of individuals from many organizations who represent a wide variety of views. There is no exclusion on political, racial or religious grounds. We invite peace, civil rights, labor, church, professional, political, veterans, farmers, youth and students and other groups and individuals all over the country to support and actively take part in the National Spring Mobilization. We solicit the closest cooperation. Organizations retain the freedom to determine the extent and manner of their activity. Those wishing to issue their own calls are free to do so. We do not wish to compete with or replace ongoing activities of existing anti-war, peace and civil rights groups. We seek to stimulate increased activity everywhere.



SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Officers:	Founding Chairman:	Vice-Chairmen:
	A. J. Muste (1885-1967)	Rev. Ralph Abernathy Dave Dellinger Robert Greenblatt Edward Keating Sidney Peck Cleveland Robinson Dagmar Wilson

National Director: James Bevel
West Coast Director: Kipp Dawson

PLEASE CLIP AND MAIL TO:

National Office:
Spring Mobilization
Committee
857 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003
Phone: (212) 675-4606

West Coast Office:
Spring Mobilization
Committee
55 Colton Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94103
Phone: (415) 431-4584

- ☐ I will attend the mobilization April 15 in N.Y.
In San Francisco
- ☐ I will help mobilize against the war in my local area.
- ☐ I would like to be put in touch with a local peace group.
- ☐ Please send me literature on the Vietnam war.
- ☐ I enclose a contribution of to help pay the cost of the national mobilization.

Name Phone

Address

City State Zip

NATIONAL MASS MOBILIZATION TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM NOW!



SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 1967 NEW YORK SAN FRANCISCO

NEW YORK

ASSEMBLE 11:00 a.m. Central Park
Sheep Meadow (66th Street)

MARCH at noon through midtown to the U.N.

RALLY at the U.N. at 3 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO

ASSEMBLE 10 a.m. Second and
Market Streets

MARCH to Kezar Stadium via Market Street

RALLY at Kezar Stadium, 1:00 p.m.

WE, PEOPLE FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE, DECLARE AN END TO
OUR SILENCE. WE DECLARE IT PARTICULARLY TO THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Men cried for justice; you mocked them with the law of guns.

Men hungered; you laid waste their fields.

*Men sought brotherhood; you answered with war against a
colored people.*

*Men searched for freedom; you imposed puppets and tyrants
upon them.*

Men tried to build; you burned with napalm.

Men voted for peace; you escalated war.

*In Vietnam, you create a wasteland and kill indiscriminately,
and call it "pacification."*

*At home, you betray the dispossessed, conscript the youth
of the nation for war, and call it "democracy."*

WE ADDRESS A CALL FOR ACTION TO ALL AMERICANS
WHOSE LIVES ARE TWISTED BY THIS WAR:

- To the mothers and fathers whose sons are taken;
- To the GIs who face death;
- To the youth, filled with the love of life, drafted to take the
lives of others;
- To the black people and other minorities, who are tired of
fighting for a "democracy" they have never enjoyed;
- To labor, facing higher taxes and prices while war profits
soar and pressures are applied against wage increases
and the right to strike;
- To the farmers caught in the "cost-price" squeeze and
being taxed off their land;
- To professionals, businessmen and others who are disturbed
about the war and are anxious to see it end;
- To the clergy who call all men to be brothers and who are
mocked by this slaughter.

We call all Americans to unite and mobilize in a movement to end the senseless slaughter of American GIs and the mass murder of Vietnamese. We call for the enlistment of the men, money and resources now being used to maintain the military machine in a fight against the real enemies of man — hunger, hopelessness, ignorance, hate, fear, discrimination and inequality.

As the war cruelly destroys in Vietnam, so it denies hope to millions in the United States. The need for decent homes, quality education, jobs and fair employment are brushed aside. Our cities smother in smoke and grime, strangle in traffic. Our slums continue to rot. Streams and rivers are polluted, and the very air we breathe is fouled. Our vast wealth could in a short time eliminate these ills. It goes instead to murder and destroy. War contracts and the draft corrupt our campuses and laboratories. And, as the war continues, the ultimate danger of nuclear holocaust hangs over all.

Therefore, to launch this movement, we call for a mass march and rally at the United Nations in New York and at the birthplace of the UN in San Francisco, on Saturday, April 15, 1967. We march to the UN to affirm our respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, acclaimed by mankind and embodied in the UN Charter, but violated by the United States. We march to dramatize the world-wide hope that the United States remove its troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese can determine their own future in their own way.

This national mobilization will affirm the will of the American people for peace in Vietnam and a new life for America and for all mankind. We speak to people around the world to mobilize to stop the war in Vietnam. We declare not merely a protest but a new beginning.

Vietnamese students' appeal to the American students

Dear American Friends,

Permit us to address this appeal to you at a time when the American escalation is accelerating its pace, gravely threatening peace in Southeast Asia and the whole world. We are certain that we voice the sentiments of thousands of Vietnamese students, scientists and engineers living in France when we affirm our solidarity with all of our people who are struggling for the sacred cause of freedom and independence.

No one could be more attached to the cause of peace than the Vietnamese people, who for more than a quarter of a century have experienced the sufferings of war. But, just as for the American people during the Revolutionary War, for our people there can be no peace if they are denied their independence. Moreover, our rights to independence and national unity were solemnly recognized in the Geneva Agreements of 1954 on Vietnam.

It goes without saying that we feel no hatred for you or for the American people. We would prefer to discuss with you our studies and the concerns shared by all youth. In the 1960's, a natural topic for our discussions might be, for example, how living standards and human welfare could be improved in the whole world through the development of science and technology.

Unfortunately, our country has been invaded by American troops who come to sow death and desolation. Unfortunately, you, too, can be required at any moment by the Johnson Administration to journey to our homeland, on the pretext that you would be fighting for the cause of liberty and for humanity.

We know that some of you have refused to go to Vietnam and that many of you are fighting courageously to have your government put an end to its policy of aggression against our country. We are addressing you today so that we may help each other mutually to make the cause of truth triumph.

The Johnson administration repeats day in and day out that American troops are in Vietnam « *to help the South Vietnamese people defend themselves against aggression from the North* ». In reality, they are there to support people - yesterday Ngo dinh Diem, today Nguyen cao Ky - who, to say the least, have no popular support whatever.

If our compatriots in the South were led to take up arms, it is because they were subjected, in the name of **anti-communism**, to the dictatorial puppet regime of Ngo dinh Diem, who refused to hold the elections which were supposed to take place in 1956 in order to reunify the country, and who declared in May 1957 in Washington that « *the frontier of the United States passes through the 17th parallel* ». **Until 1960 our people fought with all the legal means possible against the bloody dictatorship of Diem, which was supported and aided by the United States. But confronted with the massacres, the deportations and the large-scale use of American materiel and methods of war, the people of South Vietnam had no choice left but to take up arms in self-defense.**

One day you will certainly know the details of the indescribable sufferings endured by our compatriots in the South during all these terrible years ; you will know that in the period before the direct and massive intervention of American troops in the South at the beginning of 1965, 170,000 Vietnamese were killed, nearly 800,000 wounded or disabled as a result of torture, and more than 5 million peasants forced into 8,000 concentration camps camouflaged under the name of « *strategic hamlets* ». One day, you will learn of the courageous battle waged by all strata of the population, particularly the peasants, in opposing the ferocious repression. You will learn also of the no less courageous combat of professors and students in our Southern cities.

Despite this terror and the open war waged with 500,000 men of the puppet army under the command of 30,000 American « advisors », at the beginning of 1965 the Saigon army and administration were heading toward collapse. It was to try and save them that a huge American expeditionary corps was brought into South Vietnam, and that, in total defiance of legality, the decision was taken by President Johnson to bomb the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

This policy springs from the illusion that it is possible, through armed force alone, to achieve a quick military victory and impose one's ideas upon a people. This explains the origin of the war and why it has continually been expanded.

Today President Johnson has engaged in South Vietnam, a country slightly larger than the state of Ohio, « more than one half of (U.S.) air power, more than one third of (its) ground forces ready for combat, and one third of (its) Navy » (1). Already the size of the American forces in South Vietnam is greater than that engaged in the Korean War. According to Mr McNamara, in 1966 American aircraft alone dropped 637,000 tons of bombs on North and South Vietnam. Our entire country numbers around 30 million inhabitants, which means that last year, more than 40 pounds of bombs were used for every Vietnamese, not counting an enormous quantity of other projectiles fired by ground and naval forces. And the United States is now dropping an even greater quantity of bombs (2).

Moreover, when thousands of people have been deported - as in the course of operation « Cedar Falls » last January - entire villages razed by bulldozers, vast forested regions set ablaze with phosphorus, heavily populated areas designated as « free kill zones », etc..., don't you think that such methods are strangely reminiscent of those used not so long ago by the Nazis in search of their « final solution » ?

And how can one believe today the myth of an « invasion » of the South by our Northern compatriots, when the Vietnamese of the North and South are one people, engaged in a single struggle against the same aggressor ? Do not the people of North Vietnam have the right to render assistance to the people of the South, when a foreign army has invaded South Vietnam ? At the heart of this question of a northern « invasion » is the undeniable fact that the war arose out of the American-imposed dictatorship of Ngo dinh Diem ; the only invasion of Vietnam was by American troops who came to protect an American puppet against popular resistance. Even according to U.S. government figures, South Vietnamese comprise the overwhelming majority of the forces combatting American troops in South Vietnam. In reality this is an American war, carried out by Americans to conquer the Vietnamese people who are defending their right to independence and national unity. Perhaps it is surprising to you that « anti-americanism in Vietnam, particularly in the cities, is growing and becoming a matter of increasing debate in the American mission. The argument is over the effects of what one observer called the new colonialism ». (The Washington Post, January 25, 1967).

In spite of this unrestrained use of force which costs your people the enormous sum of 24 billion dollars a year, none of the American objectives has been obtained. To date more than 1700 planes have been downed in North Vietnam and hundreds of pilots captured (3). The economic and military potential of North Vietnam continues to develop despite the terrible intensity of the bombing. The bombings have obviously failed to produce the expected results, as Mr McNamara himself has implied. In the South of our country, the National Liberation Front recently announced, 270,000 enemy soldiers, including 120,000 Americans, were killed, wounded or taken prisoner in 1966 (4). The N.L.F. armed forces, far from diminishing, have appreciably increased, as General Westmoreland has acknowledged. « American

(1) Interview with Senator Stephen M. Young (Dem.), member of the Senate Armed Services Committee (U.S. News and World Report, Jan. 23, 1967).

(2) McNamara statement in Aviation Week, Jan. 30, 1967.

« During February 1967, American aircraft dropped 68,000 tons of bombs on North and South Vietnam, which compares with 80,000 tons a month during the peak year of World War II and 17,000 tons a month during the Korean War. Top U.S. officials have forecast that the bombing of North and South Vietnam, which already is approaching the bombing peaks of all previous wars, will continue to rise ». (New York Times, Intern. Edition, March 18 - 19, 1967).

(3) « The United States in the past has been losing warplanes faster than it has been producing them. This was true up to October, 1966 ». (Report by the Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee, The New York Herald Tribune, International edition, March 28, 1967).

(4) U.S. figures list a smaller number of casualties. Might it not be possible that casualties among American troops have been concealed as has been proven to be the case with U.S. aircraft losses ?

military men in Vietnam, unlike the Washington optimists, believe it would take a decade - or a generation - to pacify the country. And there is no certainty it could be done at all ». (The New York Times, December 5, 1966).

Meanwhile, the escalation has only reinforced the determination of our entire people to smash the aggression and win, whatever the sacrifices. The real choice facing the Vietnamese people is not one between peace and war, but, in fact, a choice between genuine independence and servitude.

It is not for us to judge the value of the « American way of life ». You belong to the most prosperous nation in the world and your country has made many contributions to the scientific and technological heritage of humanity, of which you can be proud. But what would you say if someone imposed on you from outside the dictatorship of a George Lincoln Rockwell who, like General Nguyen Cao Ky, is an admirer of Hitler ? (5) It is so difficult for you to understand that the National Liberation Front encompasses all the democratic forces of South Vietnam in opposition to the worst sort of fascist regime, imposed from abroad ? How would you feel about an attempt to impose on you a way of life different from your own, by killing your family and bombing your cities and villages ? You would agree with us in recognizing that ideas cannot be imposed by force.

In the opinion of the Johnson administration, this war will cause you « more cost, more loss, and more agony » (6), for one cannot conquer a united people which is conscious of its inexhaustible capacity of resistance and has given proof of it on the battlefield. Furthermore, the profoundly unjust and atrocious character of the war, the intensive use of the most murderous weapons (napalm, fragmentation bombs, poison gas and toxic chemicals, etc...) to massacre the civilian population (to which Harrison Salisbury has recently testified in the New York Times and William F. Pepper in Ramparts magazine (7)), has made international opinion rise up against its perpetrators.

All of this is enough to lead the United States towards an inevitable failure.

We are convinced that sooner or later the just cause of Vietnam will triumph. The interest of both our peoples requires that this illegal and immoral war be ended, so that Vietnamese and Americans may no longer die in battle ; so that the prestige of your country, and the democratic principles of your society in which you take such pride, may decline no further ; and so that the best conditions for friendly relations between our two peoples may be established.

The Vietnamese problem cannot and will not be settled through some sort of political deal which would leave our country divided forever and sacrifice the inalienable rights of our people. A settlement must be based on United States respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam. That is the essential content of the four-point position of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Declaration in five points of the National Liberation Front. **The United States must definitively and unconditionally halt the bombings of North Vietnam ; recognize the N.L.F., the sole genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people ; and withdraw all its troops and those of its satellites from South Vietnam. Our people are more determined than ever to fight until such a peace is realized. To claim that they are merely pawns in a conflict among the great world powers is to do them a great wrong. The program of the N.L.F. clearly shows that it intends to establish democratic institutions in South Vietnam with a government of national union, capable of grouping all the political and the religious organizations and eminent individuals, regardless of their past activities ; this government will have a foreign policy of strict neutrality and will establish relations with all countries.**

(5) According to Brian Mohayan of the London Sunday Mirror (July 4, 1965) Ky said : « People ask me who my heroes are. I have only one : Hitler... The situation is so desperate now that one man would not be enough. We need four or five Hitlers in Vietnam ».

(6) State of the Union message of President Johnson, January 10, 1967.

(7) « The horror of what we are doing to the children of Vietnam - « we » because napalm and white phosphorous are the weapons of America - is staggering... Napalm, and its more horrible companion, white phosphorous liquidize young flesh and carve it into grotesque forms. The little figures are afterward often scarcely human in appearance... At least a quarter of a million of the children of Vietnam have been killed in the war... There must be three times that many wounded - or at least a million child casualties since 1961... At least 80 % of the injuries were inflicted by American or South Vietnam (Saigon) action... » (William F. Pepper in Ramparts magazine, January 1967).
« YOU DON'T get rid of the terrorist by bombing, because if you drop a bomb and kill 20 persons, 19 of them are women and children... and there's only one terrorist... » (U.S. Ambassador Lodge, as quoted in the Boston Globe, February 28, 1965).

President Johnson has proclaimed many times that the United States is ready to undertake « unconditional discussions of peace - anywhere, any time » and « will continue to take every possible initiative ourselves to probe for peace » (8).

If he sincerely desires peace, if he really wants discussions, he can easily prove it by unconditionally ceasing the bombing raids and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Only then could conversations be held between the D.R.V. and the U.S., as was recently declared by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nguyen Duy Trinh. The bombing of territory of the D.R.V., a sovereign and independent country, constitutes an intolerable violation of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and of the basic rules of international law, and provokes the unanimous condemnation of the entire world. The United States has no right to require from the victim of aggression any counterpart whatever to the cessation of bombing. Besides, bombing and threats will never make our compatriots in the North agree to discussions. Unfortunately, we know the response of President Johnson to this gesture of good faith from the D.R.V. : an acceleration of the escalation, going so far as to mine the rivers of North Vietnam to block the movement of the sampans and junks !

Thus we find that the words of peace of the American leaders simply serve to camouflage and justify their intensification of the war. Contrary to what he has affirmed, President Johnson has blocked all the paths to negotiation ; in fact, what he wants to obtain from our people is an « unconditional surrender » (9).

Student friends, the United States has to give up its policy of force and of blackmail by force. The more of you there are who try to understand why the Vietnamese struggle so resolutely, and why you are asked to fight, the sooner this will come about. Our aim in writing to you is not to convince you of the desirability of the institutions our compatriots in the South will establish for themselves in the future. The point is to help you understand us, so that you will see why we refuse to live in slavery or to allow our fate to be dictated by a foreign government.

We would like to ask you to publish our letter in your newspapers and magazines so that it can reach American students. We know that some of you will disagree with some of our views, but we would be most willing to discuss any of these points with you further, and we hope that you will answer us, as soon and as fully as possible.

Let us all work together to establish an exchange of views and to clear up the misunderstandings that may still separate us. Your future, as well as ours, will depend a great deal on the outcome of this effort.

Please accept our sincerest feelings of friendship.

Paris, April 3, 1967

UNION OF VIETNAMESE STUDENTS IN FRANCE

The President,
Huynh Huu Nghiep

The Secretary General,
Nguyen Ngoc Giao

*The Member of the Executive Committee
in charge of International Relations*
Nguyen Van Bon

(8) State of the Union message.

(9) Arthur Schlesinger, Jr, « *The Bitter Heritage: Vietnam and American Democracy, 1941-1966* », Boston, 1967, p. 107.

Send your letters to :

Mr Nguyen Ngoc Giao

15, rue d'Arcole — Paris 4^e

France

Tidbits

Military Casualties

- A- 250,000 1961-1966 (Total Military Casualties, NLF, N.Viet, S.Viet, U.S.) Generally printed Pentagon Estimate.
- B- 158,000 1961-1966 (Est. Viet Cong Killed) Also a Pentagon est. (I think) Printed in New Republic Jan 7, 1967
- C- 55,000 1966 Viet Cong killed. Newsweek Jan March 27
- D- 8,000 per month average V.C. Killed in 1st 2 months of 1967
Newsweek March 27

All those figures more or less comes from the Pentagon.

CIVILIAN CASUALTIES

Note - There are no official statistics on Civilian Casualties. In a recent hearing Sen Fullbright asked for such statistics and was unable to get them. (He did get a runaround that evidently pissed him off. this is reported in a Times story)

- 1- 1000 per month (3,000 wounded) more or less official estimates as printed in Newsweek Washington Post (from an AP dispatch) Jan 8 1967
- 2- 6 civilian for every military casualty (V.C. S.V. U.S.) Reprot to HOUSE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE by CONG. CLEMENT ZABLOCKI -D. Wisc. (a strong "dove") March 17, 1966 This reprot was given after a study trip to Vietnam by Zablocki. He is a prominent member of the committee.
- 3- 10 Civilian for every military casualty. An article by Dr. W. Washburn in the A.M.A. News (some time in 1966) Further information and statistics (especially disease statistics can probably be gotten by contacting Physicians For Social Responsibility 416 Marlborough St. Boston Mass.)
- 4- Bubonic Plague. 8 cases in S.V., 1961, 2753 in 1966, 905 Jan & Feb. 1967. WHO. W.H.O. figures. 25,000 cases Cholera (1966?) W.H.O.

Computations. using ~~Zablocki~~ Zablocki report and Pentagon est. of military casualties.

1---1,500,000 Civilian dead from 1961-1966 (10.5% of population of S.Vietnam. According to New Statesmans Handbook the 1962 (only figure available) population of ~~Viet~~ S. Vietnam is 14,200,000)

2---~~Make this 948,000 Civilian Dead in 1966 (using the Military Casualty figures in line 9) This is only for V.C. and Zablocki reported 6x10x10x10 military casualties in 1966 civilian figures should be high~~

2- (using line D) if the war continues at the present level of 8,000 V.C. dead a month. that will mean 96,000 V.C. casualties in the year 1967. This will mean at least 576,000 civilian death this year. Actually it would be more because the U.S. and S.V. military figures are not figured in.

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR MARSHALLS

- 1- Please execute only those tasks to which your team has been assigned.
- 2- For special situations and unforeseen events ask your captain for instructions. Take instructions ONLY from Captains and officials wearing the appropriate armbands issued by the April 15 Mobilization. Do not follow orders from people without the proper armbands no matter how important they look. Marshalls take orders only from Captains. Only Captains shall talk with police. Refer the press and other inquiries to Captains.
- 3- The primary task of marshalls is to keep the line of march moving smoothly and without interruption. Marshalls shall avoid confrontations with hecklers. Marshalls assigned to contingents should stay with the contingent moving right along with it.
- 4- Before going on duty, each marshall must be completely familiar with:
 - a) Maps showing locations of headquarters, information, restroom fountains, first aid, the route of march, etc.
 - b) Your team assignment
- 5- If your team assignment is completed before the march and rally disbands at the U.N., go to the rally site and remain on the outside of the crowd.
- 6- This is a peaceful demonstration. Marshalls are to conduct themselves in a polite and courteous manner towards both their fellow marchers and observers. Captains have the authority to release any marshall who has difficulty. Remember--The success of the march and the welfare of the marchers will depend on your "keeping your cool."

Team #3 TROUBLE SHOOTERS

Captain-

Number approx 50

Sub capatin (4) ^{BKUN} Ed Smith-green 9 OAKLAND PL 284-2464

* (2) RANDY ZIMMERMAN - OL 2 2916 (

HA (3) Eric Barr ✓ 726-0783 (off TW 94445

✓ Ken Miller 242-7826

(4) ~~BRUCE HART (ORD)~~

~~203-799-2963~~

Duties-To march behind the Vets contingent (Contingent "A") to be prepared to file out of the line of march and stand between the marchers and spectators at points where heckling is exceptionally heavy. The purpose of this team is to avoid confrontation between paraders and hecklers and to keep the parade moving smoothly past the point of difficulty. These marshalls should avoid confrontation with the hecklers and should leave this spot when the police come ~~and~~ if the police tell them ~~to move on~~ ^{if} ~~to move on~~ The captain has sole authority to order a sub-captain and sub team to file off. The sub team when it has completed it's task at a particular spot should rejoin the parade. If possible attempting to catch up with their original place, though it may be necessary for some of these teams to remain at a trouble spot lined up between the paraders and the hecklers for a long period of time.

Subteam #1 Ed Smith-green 9 OAKLAND PL 284-2464

Subcaptain

Names

Phones

1. Mark Levy CY9 9540
2. Altemar Roberts 493 2844
3. Chris Howard ST8 7137
4. Glen Havenor WA7 0825
5. Joel Kline RA8 3965
6. Josh Brown EN2 8844
7. Jose Bustos HA7 1579
8. Robert Kragin 763 5065 (201)

9.

10.

11.

12.

13.

14.

15.

Subteam #2

Subcaptain

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

Subteam #2

SubCaptain

Names

Phone

1. Jonathan Moore W18 8118 OAZ 4284
2. CATHY TUCKER IN 2 8032
3. CHUCK JONES YU 8 8063
4. Kay Kandell TR 5 2109
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
- 14.
- 15.

Subteam #3

Subcaptain

names

Phones

1.

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8.

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12.

13.

14.

15.

Subteam #4

subcaptain

Bruce Hartford

203-799-2963

names

Phones

1.

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12.

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14.

15.

PROPOSED GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR MARSHALLS.

1- Please execute only those tasks to which your team has been assigned. Please assume no other jobs, not specifically assigned to your team.

2- For special situations and unforeseen events ask your captain for instructions. Take instructions ONLY from Captains and officials wearing the appropriate armbands issued by the April 15 Mobilization. Do not follow orders from people without the proper armbands no matter how important they look. Marshalls take orders only from captains not from police. Only Captains shall talk with police.

3- The primary task of marshalls is to keep the line of march moving smoothly and without interruption. When an interruption happens it is the job of the marshall to insure that the slowdown is as short as possible.

A- If hecklers from the front or sides of the line begin shouting or throwing things marshalls should keep the line moving smoothly while stationing themselves between the hecklers and the ~~rest~~ marchers until relieved by the group of marshalls with the ~~next~~ following contingent. Remember if your team ~~has~~ is assigned to a contingent stay with that contingent.

B- If persons charge the line, marshalls should place themselves between the attackers and the line of march. Do not let the march stop. Try to prevent marchers from interrupting the march to fight with hecklers or attackers.

4- Before going on duty each marshall must be completely familiar with the contents of his marshalls kit. including-

1-- Maps showing locations of headquarters, information, restroom fountains, first aid, the route of march, etc.

2- the program.

3- your teams assignment

4-




5--

5- DO NOT administer first aid. Refer medical problems to the first aid station.

6- If your team assignment is completed before the march and bally disbands at the U.N. report to the U.N. plaza and remain on the outside of the crowd.

7- This is a peacefull demonstration. Marshalls are to conduct themselves in a polite and courteous manner towards both their fellow marchers and observers. Captains have been instructed to dismiss any marchall who behaves in a discourteous, abrasive, or overbearing manner.

submitted.
bruce hartford
mark harrington

* ^{Continued} speakers & VIP & Indians
 A Vets
 B women
 C caps & gown (Prof)
 D adult 
 E NY Dem & Peace
 F  Mid West
 G Religioes
 H Pacifist
 J Political
 K New Englan
 L up state NY.
 M Harlem
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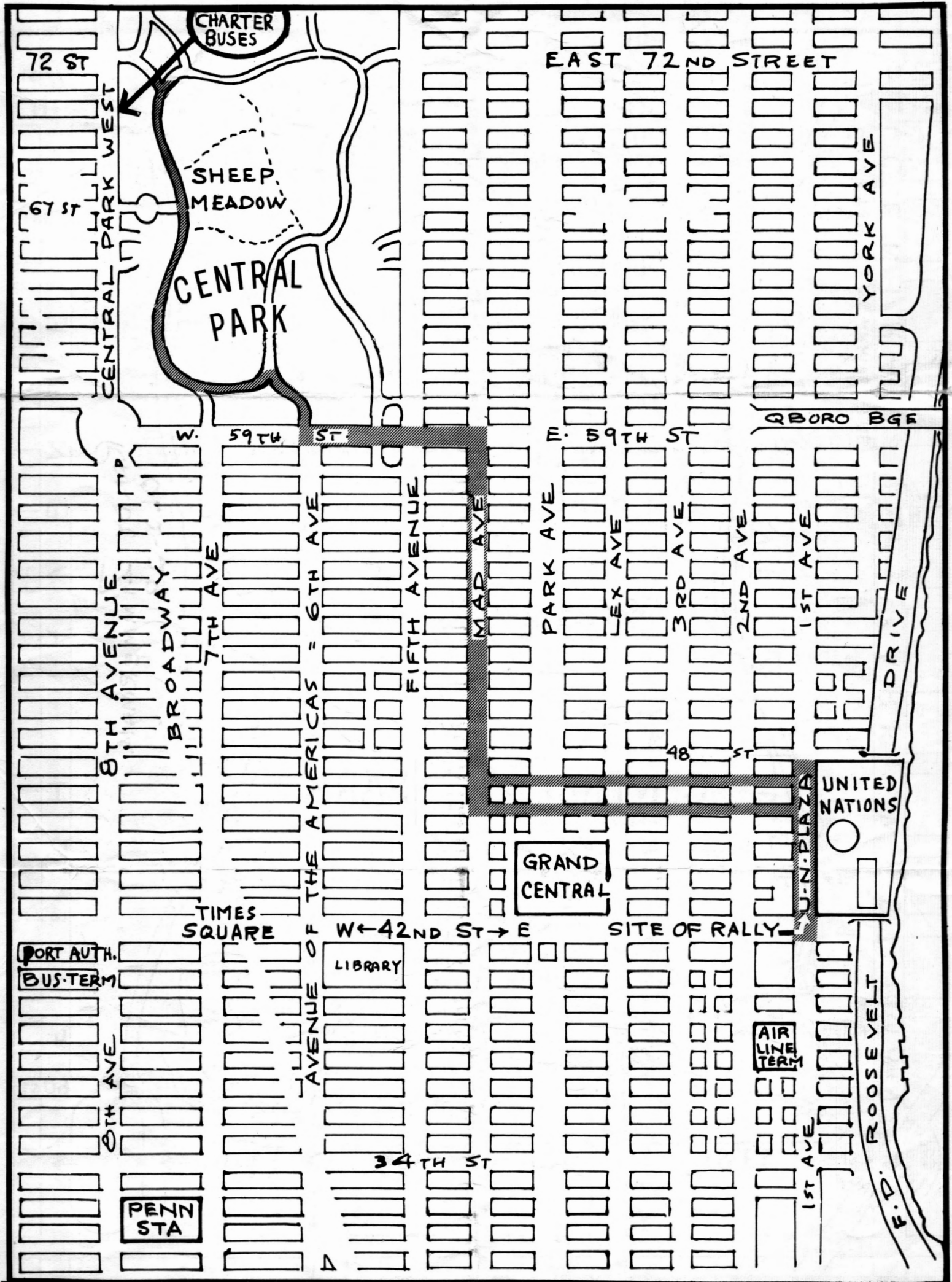
S Community
 T Nationality
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 W Marshalls & run around

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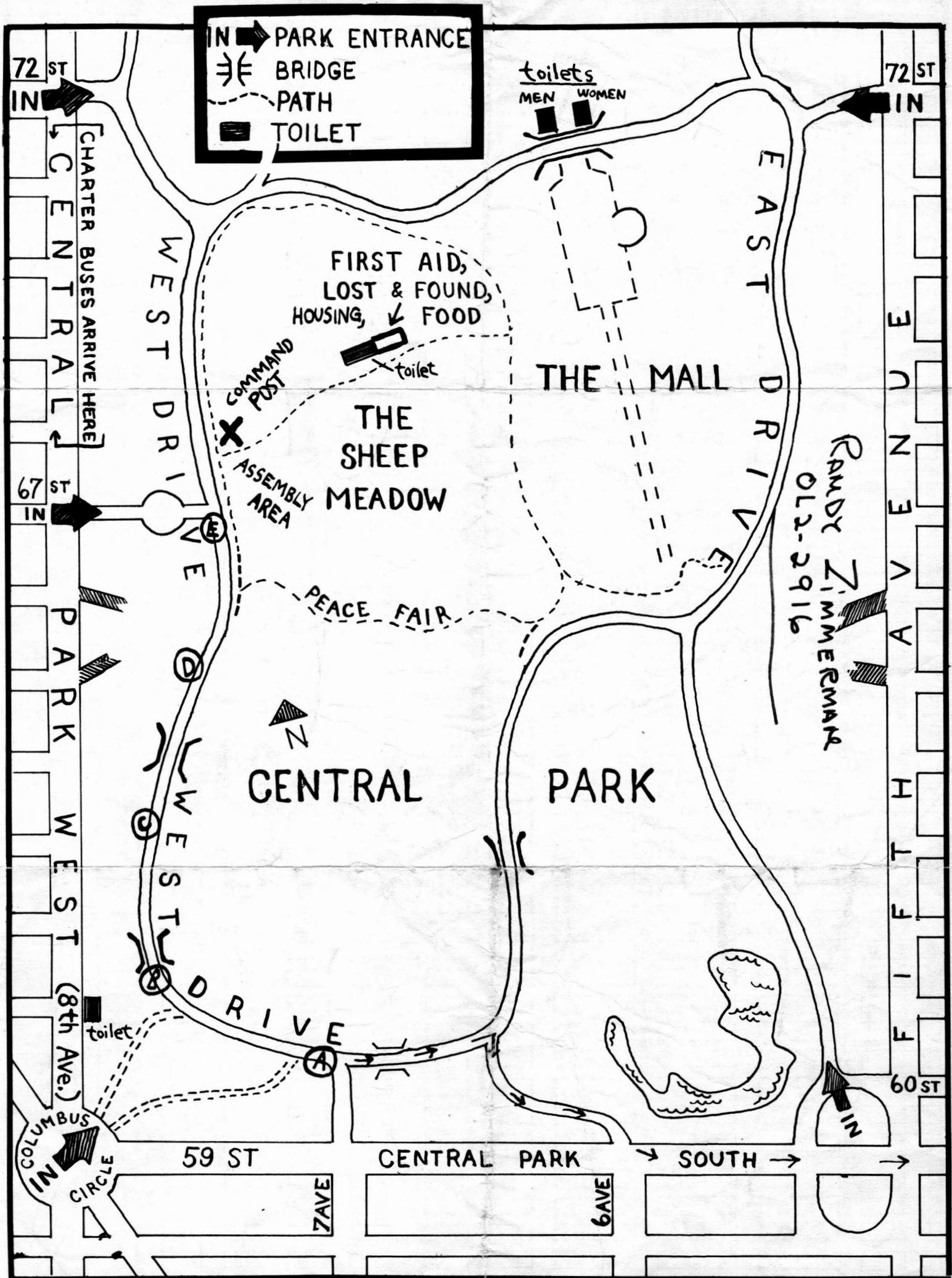
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Terminals, Assembly Area and Parade Route

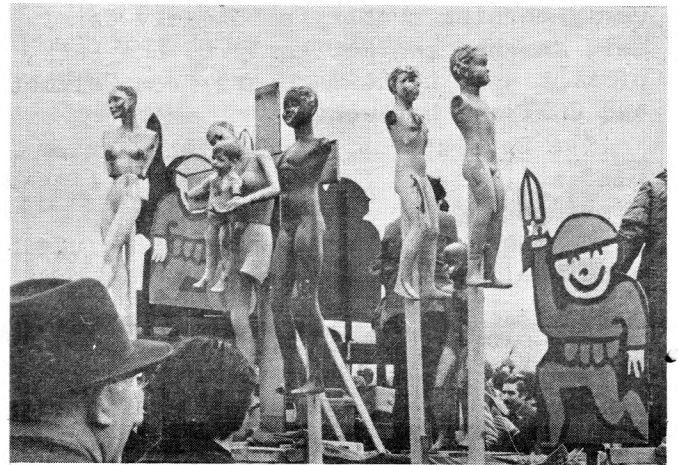


Assembly Area in Central Park





400,000 Americans - ONE WORD - *PEACE*



Official estimates were 125,000 at UN Plaza. But half never got there. Some were still waiting to begin their march when the rally ended and the rains came. Thousands of supporters clapped and carried signs along the route. It is probable that 400,000 people came in all.

They went to Central Park to meet their fellow marchers. Sheep Meadow filled slowly, but when it came time for all groups to assemble, it was hard to see where the people started and where they ended. The march began at noon, officially. King, Carmichael, Bevel, and Spock led the parade; yet hardly anyone got to see them. There were as many marchers for peace in New York as there are soldiers fighting in Vietnam; and the former was most likely a happier group.

All types of people were there: students bearded and straight; men old enough to remember the First World War and kids too young to remember the Second; young couples with infants on their shoulders; suburban women with signs like, "Middle Class Respectability Against the War"; clergy, veterans, teachers, workers, hippies, pacifists, socialists, humanists.

"Negroes in Vietnam: 53% of the dead; 2% of the bread." That's how the black people felt. A contingent left from Harlem early in the morning to march to

Central Park. They picked up groups from Columbia and City College along the way, and were joined at the Park by Negroes from all over the East. "Hell no, we won't go," they chanted, echoing the cry of Stokely Carmichael. Impatient, they broke away from the main group that had been standing for two hours, and began to make their own way down Seventh Avenue, parade permit or not.

A professor, in admiring the spirit of the Harlem group, remarked that it was amusing and perhaps a bit frightening that with 400,000 people on a march they should stop for every traffic signal and allow their progress to be slowed by policemen so that the city could conduct its business as usual.

Less than half the march had moved out of the Park when the speeches started. The UN Plaza was already filled to overflowing. Signs and banners, songs, chants, floated down Madison Avenue. The marchers called to hotel guests, secretaries, hair stylists in second story windows, and were greeted with smiles and applause.

At first everyone was tense: would there be many hecklers, uncooperative police, paint bombs, Minutemen? No one could predict. The tension mounted, until gradually, the jokes began to fly, and people relaxed. The crowd was the

continued on page 3

Harlem marchers jolt Times Sq.

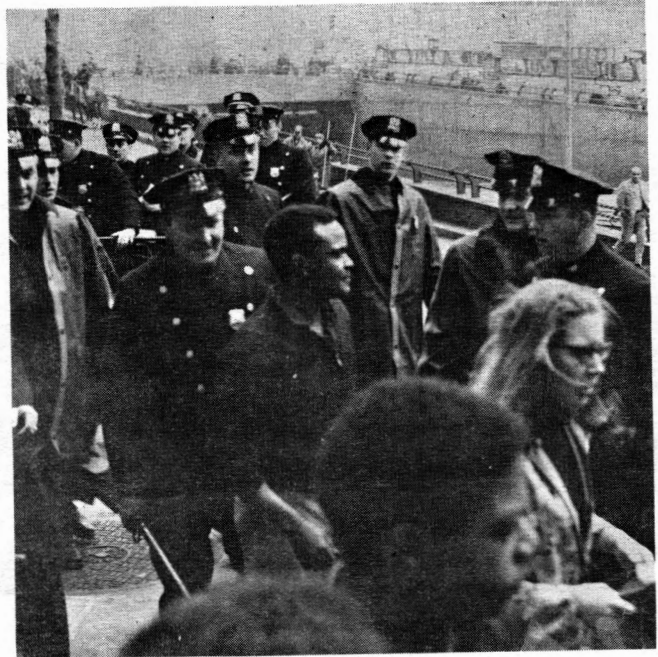
Revolutionaries Join Black Contingent

The Harlem contingent, sparked by the early-morning oratory of Stokely Carmichael, marched energetically to the Park, picking up student marchers from Columbia and CCNY as they went.

The Revolutionary Contingent assembled at 11 a.m. Saturday under flags representing those countries having active liberation movements. Included were the flags of the Republic of North Vietnam, the NLF of South Vietnam, Cuba, Peru, Colombia, Bolivia, Venezuela and the 13 star flag of our own revolution.

At 1 p.m., the contingent joined the march formation to move out of the park. As they approached the 59th Street exit, the black Harlem March passed by chanting "Hell no, We Won't Go!" The Revolutionary group broke from the parade lines and joined the marchers. With the Harlem March in the lead, both groups moved rapidly down to 59th Street, across Columbus Circle and down 7th Avenue.

Behind the international banners of the Revolutionary and Harlem Contin-

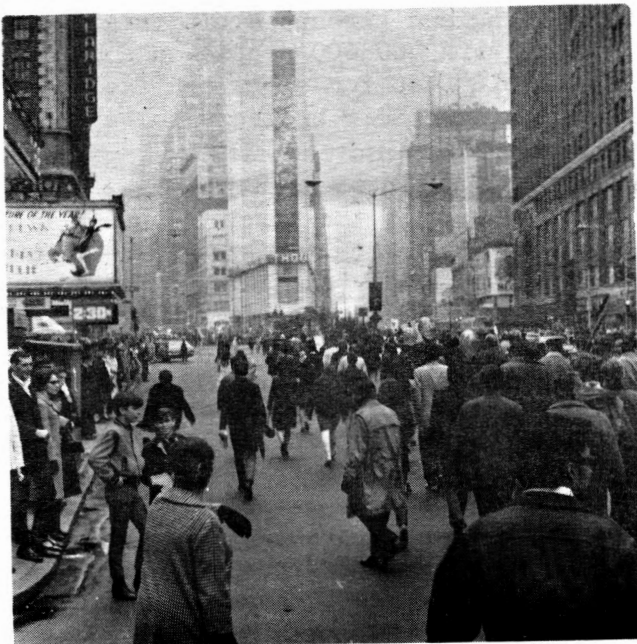


gents, the group continued down 7th Avenue to Broadway and Times Square. Shopkeepers, storekeepers, and would-be hecklers stood on the sidewalks aghast as the mass of unscheduled demonstrators moved by.

At Times Square the procession turned east on 42nd Street and moved directly across the city towards the United Nations, chanting loudly "We Won't Go" and maintaining their rapid pace. Traffic was stopped and there was not at any point an attempt by police to stop the group.

As the marchers approached 1st Avenue, they ran into a police barricade. As the group moved into the confined space between police lines on 42nd Street, police pushed in all sides, using clubs and horses to turn the vanguard. Unable to move as the marchers continued to flow into the street, some of the front marchers fell to the ground. Although there was no attempt to resist or attack police, they continued their assaults on the front marchers. A number were badly injured, including a boy beaten by police after lying down in front of a squad car that approached the crowd.

The marchers were finally directed uptown and entered the UN Plaza at 45th Street, arriving at the rally shortly after Reverend King began his address.



400,000 IN NY

(continued from page one)

friendliest and happiest most people had ever seen, caught perhaps with the same bug that had animated the hippies celebrating their be-in since dawn. As for the crowds in the street, there were only a few hecklers; only a few incidents recorded by the police; only a few signs that said Bomb Hanoi or We Cannot Tolerate Anarchy (in response to the draft card burners). These signs, so assiduously recorded by newsmen and photographers, were the only ones of their kind to be seen; while simple symbols for peace and Love numbered in the thous-



ands. The bystanders for the most part seemed relieved to see so many people marching for peace, instead of war. The marchers felt good: the parade was being welcomed, not turned away.

Veterans and teachers, scholars and laborers, young and old, black and white --and red--marched. They came from all over the East and Midwest. Some marched in designated groups--Upstate, Downstate New England, Labor, Teachers, Religious Groups, Pacifists--while others considered themselves members of too many categories, or none at all. One hundred American Indians led the parade. Everyone had in his heart the same thing: co-



rect the wrong we are doing an innocent people.

400,000 marchers: as many as the number of Americans in Vietnam; more than we ever had in Korea; the population of a large city (and what a city it would be!) Only 5% of New York's population; only 1/4% of the country's: a small figure, but growing every day. Everyone was saying to the country's leaders: We won't support your war. End it now. No, we won't go. Peace.

The treatment of the Spring Mobilization by the American press presents instance after instance of bias, misrepresentation and negligence. The most obvious case is the estimate of 100,000 to 125,000 participants, which has become more or less official with the press. Barely half the marchers could have been included in this estimate, not to mention the thousands of bystanders who stood with signs and buttons as evidence of their participation.

Many more examples could be given. After the march, follow-up stories and editorials were few and far between. Little attempt was made to understand or explain the size or purpose of the Mobilization and the whole peace movement.

If the American people are ever to know what happened on April 15, they must carry the story largely by word of mouth. This booklet is a small attempt to help set the record straight.

WRITTEN AND PRINTED BY VOLUNTEER LABOR
AT THE GLAD DAY PRESS, 107 Dryden Road,
Ithaca, N.Y. 14850.

draft card burning sparks resistance

At 11 am in the southeast corner of the Sheep Meadow, the draft card burners began to congregate on the large rock where exuberant hippies had been chanting and conducting their be-in since dawn. A crowd of about 200--no one could count--consisting of young men and a few girls, prepared a fire in a Maxwell House coffee can filled with sand and lighter fluid, while a group of Veterans for Peace formed a ring around the burners--originally to keep out the crowd and police--but as it happened, the only real aggressors were the gentlemen of the press. The Veterans held the line against photographers while 100 or so men ignited their cards, held them up to the crowd until they were completely burned, and threw the charred ashes in the can.

After everyone in the immediate area--including Gary Rader, an ex-Green Beret and Rev. Tom Hayes of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship--burned his card the crowd quieted, sat down and began to sing "We Shall Overcome" and snatches of folk songs and chants. The burning changed slowly from a chaotic mob scene into a ritual ordered almost by instinct. Men came through the crowd, approached the can and ignited their cards, each time with cheers from the crowd. More card burners, mostly men who had not previously pledged their intention to burn, continued to appear, for perhaps 15 or 20 minutes, and the man who held the can began to count, "156, 157, 158, 159..."

The exact number of burners will of course never be certain, since some men burned both Classification and Selective Service cards, while others were seen burning halves of their cards, giving halves to girlfriends or wives, so that even the closest eyewitnesses could not keep an accurate count. The estimates closest to the even range from 150-200 burners, which makes the even not only the largest draft card burning in history, but one of the most impressive acts of civil disobedience.



Soon the photographers stormed the area like the most practiced infantry, and the group broke up.

The draft card burning originated in a statement signed by five men in Ithaca, New York. It read in part:

"The armies of the United States have, through conscription, already oppressed or destroyed the lives and consciences of millions of Americans and Vietnamese. We have argued and demonstrated to stop this destruction. We have not succeeded. Powerful resistance is now demanded: radical, illegal, unpleasant, sustained..."

"WE URGE ALL PEOPLE WHO HAVE CONTEMPLATED THE ACT OF DESTROYING THEIR DRAFT CARDS TO CARRY OUT THIS ACT ON APRIL 15, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THIS PLEDGE BECOMES BINDING ONLY WHEN 500 PEOPLE HAVE MADE IT..."

"We are fully aware that our action makes us liable for penalties of up to five years in prison and \$10,000 in fines. We believe, however, that the more people who take part in this action, the more difficult it will be for the government to prosecute."

Since the 500 total was not reached, the pledge was not binding. Yet more

than 150 men burned their cards, which is indeed a substantial number; and the feeling is strong that many more than 500 will be doing the same thing in the near future, as the government continues to escalate the war and to ignore the protest of a growing number of shocked and enraged Americans.

The draft card burners do not consider their action merely another, more radical, form of protest against the war. They are refusing to comply with the whole inequitable military system which executes that war. They do not consider draft card burning a crime because they do not recognize as constitutional the Selective Service Law which prohibits it. They feel that conscription is in itself illegal, and in the case of the Vietnam war, criminal, because of the larger laws established by

the UN Charter, the Geneva Accords and the Nuremburg Judgments, which America is violating. Every man is responsible for his own actions, both legally and morally; and it is both legally and morally that the draft card burners consider their action to be right.

The FBI has not taken long to move into action. Afraid of creating a riot by arresting people on the spot, they have made extensive identifications through photographs. Gary Rader was arrested on April 18. Men in New York City, Chicago, Ithaca, and Penn State have already been questioned. Bruce Dan-cis, who coordinated the pledges, wrote in an April 18 letter to sympathizers:

"Because of the chaos surrounding the burning, it will be difficult for the FBI to accurately identify many of the people who destroyed their cards.

However, some will be identified and prosecuted for either destroying their cards or nonpossession of their cards. We have contacted a number of lawyers who are willing to take our cases. Ar-yeh Neier, Executive Secretary of the NY Civil Liberties Union...expressed interest...Ken Cloke of the National Lawyers' Guild and Mrs. Faith Seidenberg of Syracuse, New York, are organizing lawyers to defend us.

"In addition, Paul Goodman and other adults are circulating a petition to support us." This petition declares its signers are guilty of conspiracy in the draft card burning, thus making them liable to criminal prosecution. It reads in part, "We men and women who are too old to have draft cards to burn want to join in your risk...We declare that we have conspired with you and aided and abetted you before your action, and/or will do so after it."

The recent decision of Judge Aldritch of the US Court of Appeals that the law against draft card burning itself constitutes a violation of the First Amendment freedoms, throws the whole legal situation into ambiguity; and we have yet to see what charges will be pinned on what people. The FBI is attempting to stop the organization of draft card burning at its source, a task they will gradually find impossible, since there are already too many sources and too many committed people. The plans for the future include more and larger burnings to support the boys who may be in trouble and to make it increasingly difficult for the government to prosecute. Eventually, civil disobedience directed toward such a vital point in the war machinery--the induction of fighting men--can prove a meaningful and effective anti-war activity.



rev. king insists on moral imperatives

I come to participate in this significant demonstration today because my conscience leaves me no other choice. I join you in this mobilization because I cannot be a silent onlooker while evil rages. I am here because I agree with Dante, that: "The hottest places in hell are reserved for those who, in a period of moral crisis, maintain their neutrality." In these days of emotional tension, when the problems of the world are gigantic in extent and chaotic in detail, there is no greater need than for sober thinking, mature judgment, and creative dissent.

In all our history there has never been such a monumental dissent during a war by the American people. Polls reveal more than ten million explicitly oppose the war. Additional millions cannot bring themselves to support it, and millions who do assent to it are half-hearted, confused and doubt-ridden.

Tens of thousands of our deepest thinkers in the academic and intellectual community are adamantly opposed to the war; distinguished church and theological leaders of every race and religion are morally outraged by it; and many young people in all walks of life believe it a corruption of every American value they have been taught to respect. Let no one claim there is a consensus for this war -- no flag waving, no smug satisfaction with territorial conquest, no denunciation of the enemy can obscure the truth that many millions of patriotic Americans repudiate this war and refuse to take moral responsibility for it. Nor can the fact be obscured that our nation is increasingly becoming an object of scorn around the globe. The respect we won when our course was right is rapidly being lost as even our closest allies leave our side embarrassed with our pretense that we are bearers of a moral crusade.

The physical tolls of this bloody, costly and futile war literally stagger

the imagination. We see the nightmare in our living rooms in all their tragic dimensions on television screens. We see the rice fields of a small Asian country trampled at will and burned at whim. We see grief-stricken mothers with crying babies clutched in their arms as they watch their little huts burst into flames; we see fields and valleys of battle painted with mankind's blood; and the ultimate horror is that we see little children mutilated and incinerated with napalm.

Even closer to us in our own neighborhoods and in our own families we learn of American youth destroyed and maimed in savage combat. American mothers and fathers are given coffins and medals, crippled sons and pious praise. And yet, many of them are bold enough to declare their sacrifice has no meaning. They have suffered the ultimate loss and from it feel a sense of no gain. There is a quiet terror in the home of every draft-eligible boy as families contemplate possible death that waits in jungle depths for our sons and husbands.

The American people have freely given their lives in many struggles where genuine American interests were threatened. In its deepest sense the immorality of this war lies in the tragic fact that no vital American interest is in peril or in jeopardy. We are waging war in a contest that is fully capable of resolution by peaceful methods.

I am not absolving Hanoi nor the Viet Cong of their responsibilities, nor do I condone certain rigid attitudes. I am not naive enough, however, to think that they will come to a conference table while clouds of bombs are driving them into bomb shelters. As an American my duty is to speak to my government. Even if my philosophy is not welcomed in another country, I must constantly strive to make it welcomed in Washington.



Recently one of the great Buddhist leaders of Vietnam wrote these words: "Each day the war goes on the hatred increases in the hearts of the Vietnamese and in the hearts of those of humanitarian instincts. The Americans are forcing even their friends into becoming their enemies. It is curious that the Americans, who calculate so carefully on the possibility of military victory, do not realize that in the process they are incurring deep psychological and political defeat. The image of America will never again be the image of revolution, freedom and democracy, but the image of violence and militarism."

Whether we realize it or not, our attitude toward a negotiated settlement of the war in Vietnam places us in the position of obstructing the principles of self-determination. By entering a war that is little more than a domestic civil war, America has ended up supporting a new form of colonialism covered up by certain niceties of complexity.

A brief look at the background and history of this war reveals with brutal clarity the ugliness of our policy. It is a well-known fact that we participated in sabotaging the Geneva agreement calling for elections in South Vietnam and providing that the 17th parallel was

but a temporary military line. We helped install Premier Diem and watched with approval as he engaged in ruthless and bloody persecution of all opposition forces. After Diem's death, we actively supported another dozen military dictatorships, all in the name of fighting for freedom. At this very moment, we are supporting the notorious General Ky, who was a mercenary of the French against the Algerians, who acknowledges Hitler as his hero-figure, and who supervised the strangulation of the nonviolent Buddhist movement. When it became evident that these regimes could not defeat the Viet Cong, we deliberately stepped up the war, transformed advisors into soldiers, increased the soldiers from some ten thousand to a half-million and launched bombing raids upon the North on a scale as vast as that in World War II. This is no longer a small war. It is the third largest in American history and it dominates our lives with its evil consequences.

All of this reveals that we are in an untenable position morally and politically. We are left standing before the world glutted with wealth and power but morally constricted and impoverished. We are engaged in a war that seeks to turn the clock of history back and perpetuate

white colonialism. The greatest irony and tragedy of it all is that our nation which initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit of this modern world, is now cast in the mold of being an arch anti-revolutionary.

I do not suggest that there can be no progress toward equality even if the war continues, but I do believe that the struggle is made harder and more complex. I will continue my civil rights activities not with diminished vigor but with increased energy because I know the war has compounded our difficulties financially, morally and psychologically.

I might also state at this point for clarification that I have not urged a mechanical fusion of the civil rights and peace movements. There are people who have come to see the moral imperative of equality but who cannot yet see the moral imperative of world brotherhood. I would like to see the fervor of the civil rights movement imbued into the peace movement to instill it with greater strength, but I am not urging a single form.

I believe everyone has a duty to be in both the civil rights and peace movements, but for those who presently choose but one, I would hope they will finally come to see the moral roots common to both. I hope they will understand that brotherhood is indivisible, that equality of races is connected with equality of nations in a single harmonious coexistence of all human beings.

Let me say finally that I oppose the war in Vietnam because I love America. I speak out against it not in anger but with anxiety and sorrow in my heart, and above all with a passionate desire to see our beloved country stand as the moral example of the world. I speak out against this war because I am disappointed with America. There can be no great disappointment where there is no great love. I am disappointed with our failure to deal positively and forthrightly with the triple evils of racism, extreme materialism and militarism. We are presently moving down a dead-end road that can lead to national disaster.

(The preceding was excerpted from Rev. King's speech at the UN Plaza on April 15.)

CARMICHAEL:

"IF YOU ARE BEING RAPED, WOULD YOU CALL FOR NEGOTIATIONS OR FOR IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL?"

Brothers and Sisters,

I am here today not just as the Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, not just as an advocate of black power, but as a black man-- a human being who joins you in voicing opposition to the war on the Vietnamese people.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee took a stand against that war in 1965 because it is a brutal and racist war. We took our stand because we oppose the drafting of young Afro-Americans to defend a so-called democracy which they do not find at home. We took that stand because this war forms part and parcel of an American foreign policy which has repeatedly sought to impose the status quo, by force, on colored peoples struggling for liberation from tyranny and poverty. Only the white powers of the West will deny that this is a racist war. When the colored peoples of the world look at that war they see just one thing. For them, the U.S. military in Vietnam represents international white supremacy.

We black people have struggled against white supremacy here at home, we therefore understand the struggle of the Vietnamese against white supremacy abroad. We black people have struggled against U.S. aggression in the ghettos of the North and South. We therefore understand the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression abroad.

This is why there can be no question of whether a civil rights organization should involve itself with foreign issues. It must do so, if it claims to have any relevance to black people and their day-to-day needs in the United States of America. It must do so, if it lays any claim to that humanism which declares: no man is an island. We therefore fully support Dr. Martin Luther King's stand and that of CORE. We

call attention to the fact that Dr. King was once awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. It seems that at least in Sweden, the connection between ending war and ending racism is clear.

Yet there are those who would remind us that it is tactically unwise to speak out against the war. It will alienate support. It will damage our fund-raising. We have a question for these advocates of expediency: in the words of the Bible, "What would it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?"

We would remind these advocates of expediency of the Nuremberg trials, which affirmed that a man has a responsibility to speak out against murder and genocide -- no matter what the opinion and standing rule of his country might be. This nation sent hundreds of Germans to jail after World War II precisely because they did not act on their consciences. Where is the voice of conscience today?

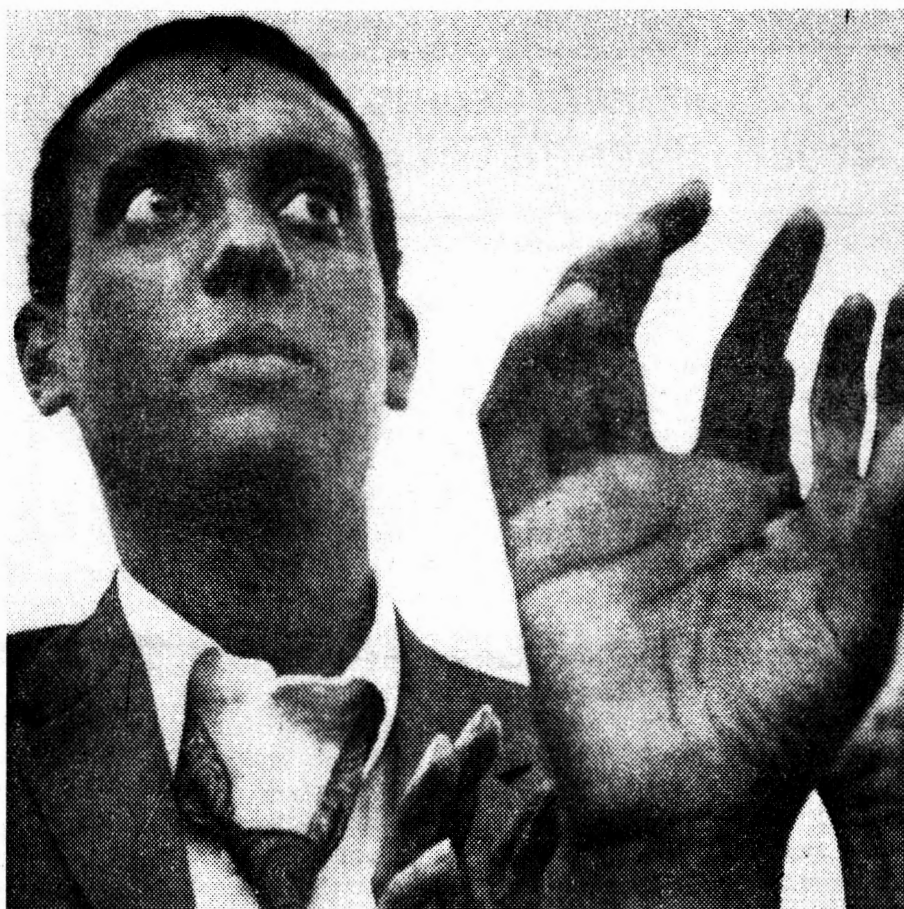
Those who attack us for opposing the bombing of mothers, the napalming of children, the wiping out of whole villages, are in fact supporting the war--whether they admit it or not. No neutralism is possible in the face of such acts. Would those same critics have advocated silence when Medgar Evers was murdered in Mississippi? Would those same critics have urged expediency when the four young girls were bombed in a Birmingham church?

To these critics, we would quote the words of Frederick Douglass: "Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its waters. Power concedes nothing without a demand--it never will."

We have not only a right to speak out -- we have an obligation. We must be involved, we must fight racism in all its manifestations. We must also look truthfully at this land of the free and home, of the brave, and remember that there is another side to that land -- a side better known to the rest of the world than to most Americans. There is another America, and it is an ugly one. It is an America whose basic policy at home and abroad can only be called genocide.

When we look at the America which brought slaves here once in ships named Jesus, we charge genocide. When we look at the America which seized land from Mexico and practically destroyed the American Indians -- we charge genocide. When we look at all the acts of racist exploitation which this nation has committed, whether in the name of manifest destiny or anti-Communism, we charge genocide.

Most Americans do not wish to look at these truths. They prefer to claim that we are a moral people, fighting a holy war against Communism. We claim that we want peace in Vietnam. Last December, the American Ambassador to the United Nations, Arthur Goldberg wrote to Secretary General U Thant: "We turn to you ... with the hope and the request that you will take whatever steps you consider necessary to bring about the necessary discussions which would lead to a cease-fire." And U Thant offered his proposals. The United States ignored them.



This nation's hypocrisy has no limits. Newspapermen speak of LBJ's credibility gap; I call it lying. President Lyndon Baines Johnson talks of peace while napalming Vietnamese children, and I can think of just one thing: he's talking trash out of season, without a reason. Let's not call it anything but that.

It is up to you -- to the people here today -- to make your fellow citizens see this other side of America. In your great numbers lies a small hope. But this mass protest must not end here. We must move from words to deeds. We must go back to our communities and organize against the war. Black people must begin to organize the ghettos for control by the people and against exploitation. Exploitation and racism do not exist only in this nation's foreign policy, but right here in the streets of New York.

It is crystal clear to me that white people, in their turn, must begin to deal with the fundamental problems of this country: racism and exploitation. You must go into the white community, where racism originates. You must go into the white community, where the Vietnam war originated. You must work there, organize there, strike against the American system at its base. You must begin to organize in the poor white community as SDS has done in Chicago. We urge you to help make the Vietnam Summer now being planned in Boston a nation wide effort.

You must raise the question: why is there a Department of War and not a Department of Peace? You must go into the churches and tell the churchmen that you heard they followed the one who wanted to bring good news to the poor. Tell them that you heard they taught love and nonviolence. Tell them that you heard they worshipped the one

who said: the world belongs to all peoples. Tell them that you wait for their answer, and that answer must be action.

We must all speak out more strongly against the draft. Our position on the draft. Our position on the draft is very simple: Hell no, we ain't going.

The draft exemplifies as much as racism the totalitarianism which prevails in this nation in the guise of consensus democracy. The President has conducted war in Vietnam without the consent of Congress or of the American people -- without the consent of anybody except maybe Luci, Linda, and Ladybird. In fact, the war itself is for the Birds -- with the omission perhaps of George and Pat. The President sends young men to die without the consent of anyone. There is nothing new about this. For years, we have seen how peacetime conscription has allowed the President to extend this nation's power without the consent of its citizens. For years we have seen the Pax Americana in operation. The United States invaded one country after another to suppress social revolution. The United States has invaded one country after another to start reactionary revolts where social progress threatened to materialize. The draft takes the enslaved black youth of this society and uses them to support enslavement abroad. The draft says that a black man must spend two years of his life learning how to kill people of his own color and people of his own kind: poor and powerless.

The draft is white people sending black people to make war on yellow people in order to defend the land they stole from red people. The draft must end: not tomorrow, not next week, but today.

N.Y. Speakers Represent Broad Base of Dissent

The platform of speakers at the New York rally was exceptional for its diversity. The major Negro leaders in the country spoke in addition to representatives of labor and academe, journalists, students, religious and minority groups.

James Bevel, National Director of the Spring Mobilization, said "The intense involvement of the black community isn't accidental...We view this war as a war against a colored people and we do not intend to stand idly by while our Vietnamese brothers are cruelly destroyed...

Pedro Juan Rua, New York organizer of the movement for Puerto Rican independence, expanded this idea in reference to colonial people all over the world:

"Vietnam, my brothers, is the stage of the most barbaric war of aggression ever waged by one big powerful country against a small one; but it epitomizes only in the most cruel contemporary form a policy which has long been characteristic of the rulers of this country. It was first the black people, the Indians the Mexicans, subjected to brutal economic, physical and racial oppression.

"At the turn of the century the Philippines and Hawaiian Islands, Guam, Cuba...and Puerto Rico were all captured...Then came Nicaragua, Korea, the Congo, Vietnam and Santo Domingo."

William Pepper of the National Conference for New Politics stated, "Vietnam...the present symptom of deep, all-pervasive sickness in our society, crystallizes and makes immediate the necessity for massive social, economic and political reconstruction of the United States."

Linda Dannenberg of the newly-formed Student Mobilization Committee expressed the direct issues that confront students because of the war. "The...war induced inflation has increased tuition and other costs, making it even harder for the poor and minority group to receive an education. More and more of our universities are engaging in war-oriented research, perverting their purpose...We will not be satisfied until these bloody ties of campus complicity with the war are cut."

Howard Zinn:

withdraw

What will happen to our prestige if we withdraw? Our prestige will immediately go up everywhere in the world--except perhaps on Formosa, in South Korea, and in Alabama. People everywhere would forget our past sins and praise our compassion. What of our commitments? True we will be breaking our commitment to Premier Ky. However, we will then be keeping our commitments to the UN charter, the Constitution and the Ten Commandments. But what of communism? Would the National Liberation Front then take over South Vietnam? Probably. But this Administration has said a social revolution is needed in this destitute and crippled country, which we have helped to make destitute and crippled. Who could better carry out such a revolution than the NLF? I have just been reading a book written by a U.S. Office of Information man in Vietnam on the history and organization of the Viet Cong, and it is quite clear from his very scholarly and careful study that the NLF can do a far more efficient, humane and democratic job of running South Vietnam than either Premier Ky or General Westmoreland or Ellsworth Bunker.

It is still not too late for Lyndon Johnson to redeem his soul before the judgment of history. At this moment, he is pursuing with fanatic ferocity one of the most brutal military operations the world has ever seen. Yet, so short is the human memory, so forgiving is the human heart, that we would happily push this ugliness into the secret chambers of our minds if only LBJ would stand up and say to the world: "We have made a mistake, and we are strong enough and courageous enough to now rectify it."

We cannot make miracles. We can protest and picket and harry and disturb and disobey, civilly and uncivilly. We can invent 1000 ways of making it, if not impossible, inconvenient to continue this war.

75,000 CROWD SAN FRANCISCO

A crowd of about 75,000 took part in the San Francisco portion of the Spring Mobilization demonstrations. Many participants had arrived the previous night in buses from as far as San Diego and Portland. They marched from the Embarcadero, spilled over into all lanes of Market Street, and at one time filled the five-mile route to Kezar Stadium in what was the largest peace demonstration in West Coast history. The marchers ranged from flower-carrying hippies to men in business suits, and included labor union groups, students and professors, ministers, and a contingent of over 200 white-coated men and women behind a banner reading "Physicians and Medical Workers for Peace."

The speakers at the stadium rally included Edward Keating, publisher of Ramparts magazine, Mrs. Martin Luther King, and Grace Newman, the sister of Dennis Mora, one of the Fort Hood Three. Among others who spoke were Julian Bond, the Georgia legislator who was elected three times before being allowed to take his seat because of his opposition to the war, and actor Robert Vaughn, better known to millions as the "Man from UNCLE."

Perhaps the highlight of the rally was an address by Gerald Hill, president of the influential California Democratic Council. Hill vowed that the California delegation to the 1968 National Democratic Convention will be pledged to oppose the war. He said that the CDC would begin its convention campaign if the war was not ended by September. "This will be no token effort," he declared. "We will be out to win." This was met by sustained applause.

Other scheduled speakers included Robert Scheer, managing editor of Ramparts, Rabbi Abraham Feinberg of Toronto, who had accompanied Rev. A.J. Muste and other clergymen to Hanoi, and Paul Schrade, Western Regional Director of the United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO.

Despite intermittent rain, small numbers of hecklers were on hand along the parade route. Some wore Nazi insignia and uniforms.

France: A hundred demonstrators calling themselves the American Committee to Stop the War in Vietnam gathered beside the statue of Tom Paine in Paris. In Chalon-on-the-Saone, more than a thousand people participated in a march with Deputy Mayor Roger Lagrange at the head.

Switzerland: Several thousand people marched 23 kilometers to Berne. Five hundred then held a service in front of the American Embassy, where they burned a portrait of President Johnson.

Sympathizers March the World Over

England: Police held back marchers who decried Prime Minister Wilson for failing to repudiate American policy.

Italy: Several hundred marchers in Turin had scuffles with the police. In Palermo, demonstrators burned an American flag at the port where U.S. ships were docked.

Australia: The archbishop of Brisbane called for an end to the escalation, and 800 people marched through Sydney.

Canada: Marches took place in Toronto, Montreal, Halifax, Regina and Vancouver, in addition to the many Canadians who marched in New York.

[Le Monde]

Japan: Newspapers reported 500 demonstrators in Tokyo, demanding an end to the war. Since demonstrations in Japan are very rarely known to have so few people, even for less earth-shattering causes, the figure may perhaps be questioned.

Mexico: American students sought to march to the U.S. Embassy, but police ordered them to break up. Earlier in the day, a similar group of Mexicans were ordered to leave the Embassy.

West Germany: A campaign is under way to hold marches by 100 Americans every week until the end of the war. The first one will follow quick on the heels of the US demonstrations.



The War Blunders On: What Do We Do ?

King, Spock Issue Call to Vietnam Summer

On Sunday, April 23, Rev. Martin Luther King and Dr. Benjamin Spock issued the call for a nationwide Vietnam Summer. Joining them in the program that will send thousands of college students into communities across the country to talk to people about the war were Carl Oglesby, Greg Craig and Robert Sheer.

King, Spock and others launched the campaign ringing doorbells to discuss the war with Cambridge, Massachusetts residents.

The Vietnam Summer, patterned after Mississippi Freedom Summer of 1963 is aimed at initiating local organizations in as many communities as possible. In addition to stimulating discussion on U.S. policy, the volunteers will urge people to sign a petition to their congressman requesting him to conduct an open hearing on the war.

There are already five experimental projects underway in the Cambridge area. Responses have been quite favorable. Two out of ten people contacted who had never before actively participated in the anti-war movement, volunteered their services and five out of ten signed the petition.

DELEGATION TO SEE LBJ

A delegation from the Spring Mobilization Committee will be in Washington on May 17 to talk to President Johnson about the war in Vietnam. A lengthy telegram has been sent to the White House, announcing this. The delegation, which will include officers of the Mobilization (the national director, James Bevel and the vice chairmen), will be prepared to wait some time in the capital if necessary.

The members of the delegation will tell Mr. Johnson that a large number of people in the country are determined to end the war and stop the murder of Vietnamese. If the President is unwilling to do so, then the people must do what is necessary to stop the war.

There may be supporting delegations from many of the communities represented at the April 15 rallies. In addition, it is likely that many individuals will be in Washington to support the action. This will be determined after consultation with the communities involved.

Protest or Resistance ?

The marches in New York and San Francisco seem to mark the end of the protest phase of the peace movement. A protest demonstration of any larger size would seem useless. The government has responded with slander, the press with slander and omission. The total lack of respect on the part of the authorities to the pleas of the peace movement is pushing the movement to a new and necessary posture: resistance. Between 150 and 200 men burned their draft cards in New York. Quakers from all over the country committed civil disobedience in crossing the Peace Bridge in Buffalo, New York on Easter Sunday to deliver funds for medical aid to all of Vietnam.

The peace movement is getting serious, recognizing what it is up against. The war must be stopped. It must be stopped now. We must do what is necessary to stop it. We must resist.

Mr. President:

On April 15th more than a half million Americans mobilized and met in New York and San Francisco to condemn the U.S. war in Vietnam. These were only a small part of the millions of Americans who reject this American intervention. On that day the Spring Mobilization Committee in the name of those millions issued a call to the President to stop the war. We received no response. The war continues. In the ensuing time since April 15th we have sent two telegrams requesting a meeting with you, Mr. President. We have received no response. Thus, today we have come to the White House to present our cause.

We are profoundly alarmed and concerned. We see the world on the brink of World War.

In the brief period of two years we have witnessed the mass conscription of our youth for war and the transformation of our factories into arsenals. We have seen our nation transformed into a military state to the exclusion of all other domestic concerns. Pluralism, criticism, and dissent have been forced to yield to unquestioning jingoism and unanimous support for U.S. pride and military honor.

Our foreign policy has come to focus exclusively on Vietnam. In two years we have witnessed the consistent, inexorable development of all-out war there and the unyielding assertion of total victory. In these ways our nation just as inexorably has created the conditions for World War III.

Mr. President, the frequent comparison of contemporary America with Nazi Germany of the 1930's is not idle. As then our nation today has eschewed an internationalist attitude and fallen into the trap of equating U.S. national interests with the interests and desires of all peoples. In so doing we have resurrected the ill-starred, discredited assertion of global dominance by a nation state and rejected international pluralism and cooperation. As in Germany then we today suffer the blindness of super-nationalism with its attendant mindless commitment to pride, honor, and chauvinism.

But, Mr. President, the epoch of military rule and political control by national states has long passed and must remain a cruel memory. Our nation played a crucial role in ending that epoch when we defeated Nazi Germany in 1945. We dare not forget.

For all the tangible alarming parallels we are not yet the Germany which brought indiscriminate death to millions through war and cursed mankind with the grotesque horror of systematic genocide. We must not repeat that ill-famed example. We must and can be different. The German peoples may have criticized and protested these atrocities done in their name for the honor and right of Germany, but they stopped short of outright disobedience and total non-cooperation. The American people have learned the lesson of that failure well. We will not acquiesce. We cannot. Our nation can and must stop this irrevocable rush to world war, this policy of American murder and devastation in the name of national honor and pride - now.

Delegation from the April 15th
Mobilization to end the war in Vietnam