

PROPOSAL ON PURPOSE, STRUCTURE, AND
TASKS FOR THE WASHINGTON SPRING MOBILIZATION
COMMITTEE

"To maintain a radical anti-war coalition is a difficult and delicate task. It is not, be it noted, an attempt to merge parties or build a political coalition but a co-operative effort of individuals covering a wide spread of opinion. It demands a high sense of responsibility on every one's part. Nor does it require slurring over differences and avoiding genuine dialogue, but rather, in a notable phrase of Buber's, 'bearing these differences in common'."

A. J. Muste

"The Cleveland Conference and After",
The Mobilizer, Vol. 1, No. 1, December
1966.

The Spring Mobilization Committee has played an important role in the development of the antiwar movement in Washington. For the first time all of the different segments of the movement have united their efforts for a common end. This has had the obvious advantage of eliminating duplication and enabling us to reach more of the Washington community than ever before. The result is impressive: three to five thousand Washington people were mobilized to participate in the April 15 demonstration in New York.

The mobilization itself is over. But the need for the Spring Mobilization Committee as a coordinating body continues. Many people have recently been attracted to the antiwar movement who before had not been connected with established peace organizations. We must provide these new people with the opportunity to participate in antiwar activities that suit their interest and composition. Student activists, for example, tend to prefer mass action and anti-draft work to door to door precinct canvassing. However, the latter activity has great appeal to young married couples and many experienced peace activists.

Different individuals have different ideas as to the kind of action they feel is most appropriate. These differing plans of action are by no means mutually exclusive or even competitive. Rather, they are best seen as complementary efforts toward building increasing public opposition to the Vietnam war. The consistent pressure of mass demonstrations keeps the peace issue in the forefront of the minds of those with authority in the government as well as in the entire body politic. This pressure enables the building of concrete opposition to the war at the precinct level.

All must recognize that limiting the scope of activity of the Spring Mobilization Committee to any one project, especially when it is accomplished by a thin majority vote, will surely lead to a

splintering and weakening of the movement. Those who are not vitally interested in the project undertaken will draft away. The way to prevent this is to have a number of projects structured as sub-committees, coordinated by the Spring Mobilization Committee, and represented on its Steering Committee.

The organizational advantages of the coordinating approach are obvious. The Spring Mobilization Committee could reduce the amount of duplication by the sub-committees. It could canvass the members on its mailing lists for their preferences and match individuals with projects that interest them. As special projects are foreseen, such as housing for participants in the May 20-21 Mobilization Conference or the anti-draft campaign proposed for the end of June, the membership of the Mobilization Committee should be informed of the project's plans and needs. All those interested in planning the project and working on it could form a special project committee which could draw on people from all of the sub-committees. The Mobilization Committee could receive reports on sub-committee and project work and inform its general membership. It could inform its members of the public activities of established peace groups. And most importantly, the Spring Mobilization Committee, with its broad representation of the Washington community, could involve many new people in the activities of the anti-war movement.

Another question of great importance is the structural relationship of the sub-committees to the broad Spring Mobilization Committee. While this is a question which will have to be answered in the day to day activity of each sub-committee, it can be stated now, as a general principle, that each sub-committee should determine for itself the degree of autonomy it desires according to its individual requirements of structure, staff and finance under the broad framework of the Spring Mobilization Committee.

Most of the potential activities of the Spring Mobilization Committee may be classified under four general headings - precinct organization, mass action, education, and defense. We propose that these be formally established as sub-committees under the Spring Mobilization Committee. Additional sub-committees should be established as the need for them is felt.

PRECINCT ORGANIZATION

The Spring Mobilization Committee has approved the formation of a precinct organization group. As outlined in Arthur Waskow's proposal which was approved at the April 25th meeting of the Washington Spring Mobilization Committee, the precinct organization group will attempt to discover those people in the Washington area who are opposed to the war but have not yet engaged in any organized antiwar activity. This program necessitates an organized door to door, precinct by precinct canvassing effort. It will require a full-time paid staff consisting minimally of a professional organizer and a secretary in addition to a large amount of printed material for the use of its neighborhood workers. Mr. Waskow also submitted a program of activity which included:

1) A series of neighborhood conferences focused on the idea of a "Peace and Freedom Budget" which would culminate in a metropolitan area conference on the same subject about Labor Day.

2) An effort to get District presidential delegates pledged to Dr. King, Benjamin Spock, Wayne Morse, or mandated to support a peace platform.

The needs of the project require that it have some autonomy from the Spring Mobilization Committee both organizationally and financially. Large donors to the Spring Mobilization Committee should be polled by those who did the fund raising work to see whether they would prefer to support the broad program of the Spring Mobilization Committee, the precinct organization group, or perhaps both.

MASS ACTION

Mass actions of the organized antiwar movement have been the visible fraction of the huge iceberg of antiwar sentiment which exists throughout the nation. The existence and growth of a visible antiwar force contradicts and embarrasses Johnson's assertion that the people of this country are unified in support of the Vietnam war and determined to see it through to military victory. The many demonstrations in the United States have inspired antiwar forces to action all over the world.

The structure of the Washington Spring Mobilization Committee should provide for a sub-committee on Mass Action. Nowhere is it more important that antiwar forces be conspicuous and growing than in the governmental seat of the nation waging this unjust, immoral war.

Two tasks of crucial importance to the development of the movement nationally must be taken up now. The National Spring Mobilization Committee has announced plans for:

1) Representative antiwar leaders to come to Washington and tell Johnson what they plan to do to make him stop the war. This activity will take place on May 17, 18, and 19. Also projected for this three-day period are demonstrations of increasing numbers of people which are to be accompanied by sympathy demonstrations in cities throughout the country. The demonstrations here in Washington can best be built by the Spring Mobilization Committee.

2) The Spring Mobilization Committee Evaluation Conference, May 20th and 21st, will take place in Washington. Hundreds of antiwar activists from all sections of the country are to attend workshops, plan the expansion of the movement, and project future activity. The obligation of our group is to work on housing arrangements and to prepare information packets for each delegate containing bus route information, maps of the Washington area, and a conference agenda.

After these two pressing obligations to the national movement are met the Mass Action sub-committee could settle down to the business of making sure that glorified war mongers receive a proper reception upon their return from the battlefield, such as the one recently given to General Westmoreland.

Those working in this committee would be responsible for initiating the work of building future national demonstrations when they are announced by the National Spring Mobilization Committee. They would be the group best prepared to organize the anti-draft demonstrations projected for late June.

EDUCATION

The antiwar movement has grown as people have learned the facts about the war. The many different groups who have joined the movement have come in as they learned how the war affected them. The need to educate people about the war and to relate the war to the interests of various segments of the population increases as the movement grows.

We propose that the Washington Spring Mobilization Committee establish a sub-committee on Education. We propose that this committee concern itself with education about the war on various levels. Some of these might include:

1. Education of the antiwar movement itself. Activists need to know the history of the Vietnam war up to the present. When we speak out against the war, we need to speak out correctly and with full knowledge of its many issues.

2. College and High School Students. Students have played a tremendous role in the movement. Their numbers must be increased in the movement and this involves getting the facts to the campuses.

3. Labor Unions. Workers must be educated so that they recognize that the war is not in their interest, that it causes increased inflation and gives the government justification to mount attacks on the right to strike. They must know that the fight for better living standards and the fight against war are identical struggles.

4. Civil Rights Movement. The war in Vietnam directly affects black people in the United States more than any other group. They must know why it is in their own interest to join the antiwar movement.

5. Church groups, business groups, neighborhood groups and on and on. People must know about this war!

We propose that the Education Committee establish various methods by which to educate. Among these could be:

1. A Speakers Bureau.

2. Movies.

3. Classes and Seminars.

4. Leafleting.

We further propose that the Education Committee concern itself with special educational projects. These might include:

1. The War Crimes Tribunal in Stockholm. The investigations and findings of the Tribunal should be given maximum publicity.

2. Antidraft Activity. We should devise projects to educate ghetto and high school youth about the draft issue.

3. Campus Complicity. Students should receive aid and encouragement in exposing war-machine projects on their campuses. Here in Washington, at American University, the Cooperative Institute for Research in the Social Sciences plots 'pacification' projects for U.S. marines to implement in Vietnam and in general studies how the impoverished of the underdeveloped world may best be kept in their places. Professors and students at American University are discussing ways to protest this demeaning CIA front on their campus.

DEFENSE

It is extremely important that the antiwar movement defend itself. The movement must become conscious of itself as a group, operate as a group, and defend itself as a group. The concept of "an attack on one is an attack on all" must be understood and practiced by everyone in the movement. As the movement becomes a force to be dealt with, it will be dealt with and not always in the kindest of ways! The U.S. government must know from the outset that we will not let them pick off our leaders or intimidate our ranks. When the government threatens one of us, it must know that all of us are prepared to fight. The people in the movement also must know that we will defend ourselves. If we do not, we will be demoralized by government threats designed to intimidate and isolate our forces. Every American must know that he can add his voice to the protest against the war and that he will not be deserted by his fellows if he should come under attack.

The antiwar movement already has before it many examples of persecution by the government. Lt. Howe, a young officer, was given a dishonorable discharge for participating in a peace demonstration although he was off duty and in civilian clothes. The Fort Hood Three, Privates Samas, Mora, and Johnson were given prison terms of three to five years for refusing an order to go to Vietnam. Private Howard Petrick, another G.I. at Fort Hood, is now facing possible court martial charges for exercising his constitutional right to free speech in voicing opposition to the war in private conversations with other G. I.'s.

Students are sometimes threatened by high school and university administrations for demonstrating their antiwar views. We have witnessed a local example of student persecution at Howard University where anti-draft demonstrators are under the threat of severe disciplinary action.

We propose that the Washington Spring Mobilization Committee establish a sub-committee - A Committee for Defense. We propose that the function of this committee be to gather the complete facts about each case and to disseminate them to the peace groups in the Washington area. This committee should work closely with the National Committees set up for the separate cases. This committee should be responsible for raising funds for local defense work in addition to funds needed by the National Committees.

We propose that this committee coordinate and direct actions appropriate to the various cases. It should use the military cases as a means of reaching the troops, educating them on the war issue and on their own civil liberties. It should use this means to let the troops know that the antiwar movement is on their side and is in their best interest. Washington, D.C. is a strategic location for leafleting the troops on these cases and this should be done in a conscientious, organized fashion.

Private Petrick's case is in the hands of the Pentagon. The committee could organize demonstrations to protest this action. If in fact Private Petrick is court martialed, a large protest demonstration should be organized.

The Howard University students should be receiving full support from the antiwar movement. This committee could organize that support in whatever way it deemed most helpful after full information was obtained - be it funds, pressure on the administration, publicity, or legal aid.

This paper is submitted as a contribution to the discussion on perspective and organization now taking place within the Spring Mobilization Committee. All those who are in essential agreement with its proposals or with questions about them should contact the undersigned.

Linda Wetter, Secretary, Spring
Mobilization Committee, (387-7955)

Paula Reimers, Chairman, American
University Committee for the Study
of Foreign Policy Alternatives (363-9728)

Some Possible Directions for the Mobilization

A Working Paper Prepared for
the Workshop Conference
May 20-21, 1967 Washington D.C.

by Robert Greenblatt

Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy
and Vice-Chairman -- Spring Mobilization Committee

The following working paper is intended to generate discussion on questions of some future directions in the peace movement and the Spring Mobilization. While wishing to acknowledge the help of other members of the Mobilization Steering Committee and staff as a source for many of the ideas presented here, I accept full responsibility for any shortcomings in the final presentation.

Part I: General Perspectives

Part II: Direct Action and Resistance

Part I: General Perspectives

From its earliest inception in July, 1966, one of the prime objectives of the Mobilization was the welding together of the widest possible grouping of people who are opposed to America's brutal and brutalizing war in Vietnam. This objective was carried out with unqualified success. Despite several attempts at red-baiting, "black power" baiting, and other attempts to split the movement, no political tendency was excluded either from planning or from participating in the April 15th Spring Mobiliza tion. The massive popular support given to the Mobilization confirmed the wisdom of this policy.

The Spring Mobiliza tion, the body which spearheaded the development of a non-exclusionary policy of participation in the peace movement, must be prepared to take the next logical step in the maturation of a serious peace movement. This next step is the development of a non-exclusionary approach to program and peace-action. The Spring Mobilization is the widest coalition of political and social forces this country has seen. Our statements have reflected this in the past, and our actions must reflect it in the future.

There are three basically distinct program areas in which elements in the peace movement have participated. These may be described for convenience as follows:

- 1) Political action (e.g. referenda, peace candidacies)
- 2) Protest action
- 3) Direct action and resistance

As with political divisions in the past, too much energy has been wasted in factional disputes over the relative "seriousness" and "responsibility" of these various forms of peace-action. It is my firm conviction that these areas can and must re-enforce one another.

People primarily interested in one or another of these program areas must be brought into close communication so that they can each make their unique contribution to a total movement for peace. The Spring Mobilization, because of its broad nature, is in a position to be the essential catalyst in such a development. For this reason, I propose that we avoid the trap of artificially selecting one of these areas as singularly appropriate for our attention. Rather, we must commit ourselves to help develop and support programs in each of these areas.

We must commit staff and resources to each of these categories. Where viable programs already exist we should co-operate with those groups which are involved. Where there is a lack, we should work in developing new programs. Always we must remain broad enough to allow for the participation of people who are first beginning to question the Administration's policy as well as those ready to refuse all participation in the war machine.

The Spring Mobilization's Washington program for the week of May 17 is the perfect time to launch such an effort. I have little doubt that the planned confrontation of our delegation with the President will make it quite clear to everyone that the Johnson Administration has no intention of stopping this war and therefore, if the war is to stop,

the American people will have to do it through means which they must develop.

Central to any such direct action must be a program for the ever-growing number of people who are ready to cease co-operating with policies of destruction and genocide and equally ready to commit themselves to building for peace and equality.

We must meet creatively the readiness of thousands of young people, who refuse induction in an army of war to serve in an organized volunteer Force for Peace. Such Forces can be recruited and set up in every community and school in the country.

It would probably be wise, in the initial stages, to select several cities where we already have maximum organization and contact. As a start, we may concentrate on New York, San Francisco, Washington, Cleveland, and Upstate New York. Properly conceived, these Forces for Peace can serve as stimuli for every other kind of community peace action. In turn, the effectiveness of such Forces is predicated on the support of the full community, ranging from housing and hospitality to supportive actions.

Recruiting can be set up near army induction centers. Parents and teachers can demand that schools that are all too ready to allow military recruiting on their grounds also allow recruiting to the Force for Peace.

It would probably be wise to have weekly mass meetings of Peace Forces from different parts of the city. At the end of the summer, before

the fall school semester, we could have several regional mass meetings at which time specific programs and targets can be jointly decided upon.

The preceding considerations have certain implications for the continuing structure of the Spring Mobilization. This structure must allow for maximum flexibility for each area of action while remaining sensitive to the sensibilities of the various tendencies already represented in the Spring Mobilization as well as the new constituencies that we must and shall bring in. (Stop here and read page 4a)

Part II. Direct Action and Resistance

There is a growing realization of people in all segments of the peace movement that we have come to the point where committed and sustained direct action must become an integral part of a multifaceted movement against the war in Vietnam. This realization is given substance by the growing readiness on the parts of many people, especially students and other young people, to fore swear participation, directly or by acquiescence, in the war making machinery of this country. The peace movement generally, and the Mobilization in particular, must meet these developments in an open and creative way.

One idea in this direction is the Force for Peace referred to earlier. The concept of such a Force for Peace emerged from numerous informal discussions and ^{reflects} ~~regiments~~ some of the thinking of people interested in full-time organizing and prepared to plan and participate in strategic confrontation as a tool in building a committed movement.

Much of the specific programs to be undertaken by Forces for Peace would have to emerge once the program is in process, but some general outlines can be sketched at this point.

STRUCTURE

The overall structure and general decision procedure must emerge from the kind of discussions and consultations which will take place at the Washington Conference. But whatever the final form and make-up of this structure, it should allow for three distinct divisions corresponding to the three program areas referred to earlier, i.e. 1) Political Action 2) Protest Action 3) Direct Action and Resistance. Each of these divisions should be viewed as an arm of the total coalition and should have its own supervisory body or Action Committee, possibly headed by an Action Director. The Action Committee should be small enough to allow for effective functioning. However, the composition of each Action Committee should include the various tendencies interested in the corresponding program areas.

It would be the function of each Action Committee to project, coordinate, and implement programs in the given area within the general guidelines established by the over-all decision-making body of the Mobilization. It would also be the responsibility of these Committees, and especially of the Action Directors, to insure that they function in a mutually supportive way. (Begin reading Part II, page 4)

The main source of volunteers for Peace Forces envisioned initially is young people already committed to draft refusal and other forms of resistance. In addition to daily activities in which they could engage, these volunteers, could serve as the core for any major non-violent confrontations which might be called for in a larger context. On an everyday level, they would work in task forces of about twenty people, each task force operating in a given community with several communities covered in any given city. Ideally, families and sympathetic groups in the community would act as hosts and provide room and board for volunteers on a rotating basis.

Each task force should operate autonomously in its day to day activities. The functions of the Direct Action Committee would include establishing task forces, providing staff for orientation workshops, coordinating the activities of task forces working in different communities, and planning larger actions involving more than one location.

Once set into motion, each task force should attempt to recruit to its own number from young people in the community. A concentrated effort must be made to pressure schools in the area to allow for Peace Forces on their grounds as they allow recruiting for Armed Forces. This kind of action, if properly planned, can get the support of local clergy and PTA members. Other strategic locations for recruiting for Peace Forces are local churches, community houses, and induction centers. If done carefully, community support can be generated to develop real alternatives for young people to pursue.

Several ideas have been suggested to emphasize the high levels of commitment that Forces for Peace can foster and stimulate. After an initial orientation period, a volunteer can join on a provisional basis during which time he or she can decide whether to become a full time volunteer. It has been suggested that at the beginning of this

trial period, male volunteers turn in their draft cards to some other member of the group. At periodic intervals, mass meetings can be held to formally accept those people who have decided to join fully in the Peace Force. This event can be marked by having the female volunteers destroy the draft cards of the men and issuing Peace Cards in their place.

Many other specific ideas can and must be developed to make this into a real Force for Peace and not merely an idea. However, the concept seems fertile enough to stimulate and accomodate new ideas and can furnish an avenue for serious and massive action against the war.

NATIONAL SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

PRE-CONFERENCE MASS MEETING

St. Stephens and Incarnation Church
16th & Newton Sts., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

May 19, 1967

8:00 P.M.

Herb Kelsey, Chairman

Executive Director of
Washington Spring Mobilization Comm.

S P E A K E R S

Sidney Peck

Vice Chairman Spring Mobilization Comm.
Prof. of Sociology, Western
Reserve University

Gilbert Batten

Veteran of Vietnam

Rev. George McSorley

Georgetown University

Henry Crow Dog

Rosebud Sioux Indian

James Bevel

National Director
Spring Mobilization Committee

Robert Burnette

Rosebud Sioux Indian
President of American Indian
Civil Rights Council

Rev. Walter Fauntory

New Bethel Baptist Church
Aide to Martin Luther King, Jr.
President, Model Inner City
Community Organization

REGISTRATION FOR WEEKEND WORKSHOP CONFERENCE IS TAKING PLACE
IN THE LOBBY OF THIS CHURCH.

PLEASE SIGN ATTENDANCE SHEET.

WASHINGTON, D. C. MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE MINUTES - MAY 30

Herb Kelsey chaired the meeting. Approximately 30 persons were in attendance.

I. Report given on the activities since May 9, the last time the main body met. These activities included: Mothers Day March, the May 17-19 confrontations at the White House, mass rallies, and the national conference on May 20-21 at Hawthorne School. It was reported that the Steering Committee had met twice since the 9th.

II. Report given on Reverend Channing Philips and his situation at Lincoln Memorial Temple. The Board of Directors of the Church had recently taken away his privilege of choosing who could speak at the church. It was felt that this was a direct result of Stokely Carmichael having spoken there. It was suggested that a letter be sent in the name of the D. C. Mobilization Committee regretting that this decision had been made and urging that it be changed. Individuals who felt so inclined could also write letters supporting Reverend Philips.

III. Buddy Tieger. A report was given of the activities centered around Buddy Tieger's refusal to be inducted and the reaction of the Army. Approximately 30 persons picketed at the induction center at 916 G Street on Monday morning, May 29. The Army answered by telling Buddy that there were administrative tie-ups with his case and that they would call him later to report.

IV. A report was given on the Quaker sit-in.

V. A Statement of Purpose and Non-Exclusion was submitted for approval by the general body. Discussion followed. It was moved and seconded that we adopt the statement of purpose and non-exclusion as prepared. An amendment was made that the title be changed from "The Washington Mobilization for Peace" to the "Washington Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam". The amendment was seconded and carried. The motion was carried.

VI. Veterans March. Mr. Ron Wolin, National Coordinator for the Veterans March on May 30, reported on the March. He gave a background summary of what the Veterans were doing and the new elements they were attracting. He pointed out that one of the main goals of the Veterans was to show the G. I.'s that the movement is supporting them. Another national action has been planned by the Veterans for July 4 in Philadelphia.

A meeting of Washington, D. C. Veterans has been called for June 8 at the home of Mr. F. W. Mitchell, 3834 Fulton Street, N. W. at 8:15.

VII. Steering Committee Report

A. Announcement made of officers that had been elected: These were Herb Kelsey, Executive Director; Marcia Kallen, Associate Director; three co-chairmen, Donna Allen, Father Wendt, John Gibson; Treasurer, Abe Bloom; Secretary, Linda Wetter.

B. It was announced that a Finance Committee had been appointed.

C. As recommended by the Steering Committee, it was moved, seconded, and carried that Vivian Moore, as Chairman of the Newsletter, be placed on the Steering Committee.

D. As recommended by the Steering Committee, it was moved, seconded and carried that whatever policy is passed on by the Steering Committee in regard to mass actions and/or policy decisions must be passed on to the main body for approval, except in the case of emergency.

E. As recommended by the Steering Committee, it was moved, seconded, and carried that all recommendations or proposals made to the Steering Committee, or to the main body, be submitted to the office secretary for reproduction in mimeographed form so that they can be distributed to members at least 24 hours in advance, where possible.

VIII. Donna Allen read a letter from Senator Edward Kennedy in response to our letter to him in regard to the draft law.

IX. Funds were raised, specifically for the purchase of a typewriter in the office. Approximately \$57.00 were collected.

It was suggested by Arthur Waskow that the Newsletter carry a request for funds from individuals on a regular basis and in large amounts.

X. Janet Andruzi asked for volunteers in the office. Volunteers are badly needed at all times.

XI. It was moved, seconded, and carried that the D. C. Mobilization Committee refuse each month to pay tax on the telephone bill and that the staff and Executive Committee issue a public statement explaining our refusal to pay the tax.

XII. Petitions in support of the Fort Hood Three were distributed and people were asked to sign them and send them in.

The meeting then broke up into the various sub-committees.

Memo on War Tax Resistance as a key element in the war resistance campaign

from John Darr

5/17/67

I. Introduction:

Growing numbers of over-draft-age adults are seeking ways to resist the Vietnam war policies and are prepared to share the risks of young men who are opposing the draft.

The proposal below seeks to speak to this situation by offering such adults an action that effectively resists the war, expresses solidarity with draft resisters by sharing the risks of war resistance, helps to enlarge war resistance by adding money power to "love" power and "body" power, and fits into and complements other elements of the resistance campaign such as a Peace Army and a committee of intellectuals to encourage conscientious resistance to the war.

The proposal, if adopted, could put war resistance on a new financial footing by providing funds for greatly expanded work and by enabling many persons who cannot or will not take part in most actions involving civil disobedience, to take effective and conscientious action against the war.

The proposed action, if it proves effective in anti-Vietnam war resistance, would be an effective part of post-war strategy to win battles against militarism, poverty and the have-have-not gap nations' gap.

II. War Tax Resistance as a mass action against the war:

Tax refusal, up to now, has been an act of individual conscientious objection or protest to involvement in war policies. I propose that it become a means of mass resistance to the war.

Because of the withholding tax, tax refusal has seemed an impractical form of mass action, being an option only for those who owe taxes over and above taxes withheld every pay day. I propose that the focus of the tax refusal - or rather, ~~tax refusal~~ war tax resistance campaign be on asking individuals to file with their employers a new tax exemption certificate (W-4 Form), claiming enough extra exemptions to hold back from the IRS, from the next pay day on, 25% of their normal withholding tax, this money (the Pax Tax) to be turned over to a central fund to help the work to end the war.

If 100,000 persons who supported the April 15th demonstrations took this action during a designated Pax Tax month, some \$1,000,000 in Pax Taxes would be made available for the war resistance campaign.

To win such a mass response, this proposed action would need to be an integral part of and related to other key elements in the anti-war campaign, as supportive of the Peace Army and supported by the "prestige" people encouraging war resistance.

III. How would the Pax Tax operation be carried out?

There would be two phases to the Pax Tax operation. The first phase would seek to achieve a dramatic mass expression of war resistance by thousands of persons becoming Pax Taxers during a designated Pax Tax Month. The second phase would include servicing Pax Taxers (see below) and extending the process of inviting new people to take the Pax Tax action ~~was~~ an effective act of war resistance and conscientious objection to compulsory support of the war one abhors.

Throughout the operation, the emphasis would be on taking an effective action of conscientious war resistance and on making a financial contribution to the anti-war movement.

After the first month of paying the Pax Tax, each Pax Taxer would decide whether to continue paying the Pax Tax until the IRS intervened, or whether to put the retained money in a special account for later IRS collection since the IRS will ultimately collect all taxes due.)

During phase one, the Pax Tax operation and target date would be announced and the recruitment of Pax Tax pledgees would be undertaken.

Pax Tax Fund
Spring Mobilization or a special committee would have responsibility for this opening phase of the project. Promotional literature, Pax Tax pledge cards, W-4 Forms and instruction sheets for Pax Taxers would be prepared and distributed. Local Pax Tax advisors would be recruited. The number of pledgees would be announced periodically.

The amount of money pledged would also be announced periodically. (If the average tax payer contributes about \$120 a year to the war effort and if each Pax Taxer sends the Pax Tax Fund 25% of one month's withholding tax and if it takes the IRS at least a month to react to new W-4 Forms, then 10,000 Pax Taxers would contribute \$100,000 to the Fund; 100,000 Pax Taxers, \$1,000,000, etc.) during Pax Tax Month.)

The promise of this immediate and visible evidence of the positive fruits of war tax resistance will add a very practical and appealing aspect to the moral justification for accepting whatever risks this form of war resistance might entail.

(These risks include the possibility of IRS action to reduce one's exemptions to zero, or facing a charge for making a false statement with a fine of \$500 and/or not more than a year in jail. The Pax Taxer has a strong basis to fight such a charge since he will have acted openly by informing the IRS of his action and thereby demonstrated his intention not to deceive the government. Up to now, the IRS has been more interested in collecting taxes than in jailing people.)

~~Part of the appeal of the Pax Tax action would be its~~

Part of the appeal of the Pax Tax action would be its offering a way to make a financial contribution to the war resistance that will give one's money triple mileage: by helping to finance anti-war work, by dramatizing ~~one's~~ one's opposition to the war, and by forcing the government to face this opposition in order to collect war taxes.

By relating the Pax Tax to helping the Peace Army, the Pax Tax action also gives non-draft age adults a way to express effective solidarity with draft resisters. Thus, the Pax Tax and the Peace Army would be mutually supportive, each helping the other to win a stronger response.

IV. Enlist and servicing Pax Taxers:

The Pax Tax Fund Committee would have the following functions:

It would launch the Pax Tax campaign and assume responsibility for it.

It would process the receipt of moneys from Pax Taxers: set up an account for each person, send back official receipts for moneys received for the records of the Pax Taxer, send payment envelopes to each Pax Taxer to facilitate payments after each pay day, put each Pax Taxer in touch with a local Pax Tax advisor.

It would allocate funds for various announced purposes: such as to help individual Pax Taxers to cope with IRS action against them, to pay living cost grants or salaries to persons in the Peace Army or in some other peace work (Pax Taxers having the option of just sending their Pax Tax to the Fund without conditions or of requesting that the money to used for a specific purpose, such as for the salary of a local person who has agreed to work full-time for peace, or for the aid of a specific war victim).

It would seek support, in Congress and by citizen groups, for legislation giving C.O. status to pax payers as in the draft law, with "alternative service", etc. (The A.C.L.U. is looking into such a possibility.)

Both employed and self-employed persons would be invited to take part in the Pax Tax action by following these steps:

1. Figure out how many exemptions need to be claimed to retain 25% of the normal withholding tax.
2. Sign the Pax Tax pledge card, indicating the expected amount of Pax Tax to be paid, and send it to the Pax Tax Fund Committee in order to get the instruction kit.

3. During Pax Tax Month (or any time thereafter):

- a) Send a letter (registered?) to the IRS Director stating what you intend to do and why. (sample letter in the kit)
- b) Send a copy of this letter to the Pax Tax Committee so as to be registered there as a Pax Taxer and to get an account number, payment envelopes and the name of a local Pax Tax advisor (if not already in touch with one).

State to the Fund whether your Pax Tax is for general use or for a specific purpose.

File a new W-4 Form (some in the kit) with your employer (or make out a new estimated tax form, if self-employed), stating the new number of exemptions being claimed and adding a note to the end of the bottom line "as per my letter of (date) to the IRS Director", before signing.

- d) After pay day, ~~xxxx~~ figure out how much less withholding tax has been ~~xxxx~~ deducted from your pay and send this amount to the Pax Tax Fund each pay day for as long as you decide to pay a Pax Tax.
- e) Save all receipts from the Fund to be able to show that the money you saved by reducing your withholding tax has been used to help end the war.
- f) If the IRS gets in touch with you about your income tax, consult your local Pax Tax advisor.

An Information Bulletin could be sent out periodically to all Pax Taxers to keep them informed about the progress of the anti-war campaign and about the ways their money is being used, and to enlist their support for other peace actions.

This bulletin would also help to answer any argument that massive tax resistance would cut back government funds for anti-poverty programs or foreign aid, by showing how the Peace Army and other projects supported by the Pax Tax Fund contribute creatively and effectively to the solution of these problems.

V. Conclusion:

Both as a specific act of war resistance and as a means to to aid the anti-war movement, the Pax Tax could be a vital element in the campaign to end the war in Vietnam.

Both the Peace Army and the Pax Tax seek to convert conscientious objection to compulsory involvement in the Vietnam atrocity into a creative force for peace.

Appendix I: Sample letter to the IRS Director

Dear Sir:

I am among the growing number of Americans who have been moved by conscience to go beyond our continuing and persistent efforts to achieve a reversal of our government's immoral and disastrous intervention in Vietnam and who are withdrawing, to the degree that we can, our support of this crime against innocent men, women and children in that distant land.

I protest the fact that the withholding tax monies available to the government a portion of the fruits of my peaceful labor, to be used in the murderous enterprise America is pursuing in Vietnam. To pay the 25% of my income tax that has been contributing to a cause I utterly oppose, so that I can devote this money instead to the work to end this hideous war, I am claiming three unknown Vietnamese children as dependents for the calculation of my income tax.

What has led me to this grave decision is my government's callous escalation of the politics of force in the face of mounting appeals to end the war and despite the mounting horror of razed villages, poisoned crops and mangled children. I shall now claim these dependents for withholding^{tax} purposes until the war has ended.

In taking this step, I am not unmindful of the essential role that our democratic processes and institutions have to play in the harnessing of our great resources for the common good and in the achievement of a more peaceable society. It is my faith that democratic government, whatever its shortcomings in some instances, provides the best means to fulfill the dreams of the individual and the aspirations of the community. When, however, the conscience of an individual tells him that these shortcomings are demanding his participation in community-approved actions that violate the fundamental principles of his life and of his sense of social responsibility, then it is his faith in democracy that commands him to obey his conscience and to face the consequences, in the hope that his refusal to go along with the majority may touch the conscience of others and thereby contribute to a redefinition of the social will.

It is in this faith and with this hope that I take this step to deny my tax money for the war in Vietnam.

Sincerely,

"DOVES"

(Position paper presented by YAWF to the)
(Spring Mobilization Conference, 5/20/67)

CAPITULATE TO THE

HAWKS

Sixteen so-called "doves" in the U.S. Senate, led by Sen. Frank Church, Robert Kennedy, J.W. Fulbright and Wayne Morse, on May 17 revealed their true hawkish character and, covering themselves with the undeserved authority of the U.S. anti-war movement, virtually gave an ultimatum to Ho Chi Minh and the National Liberation Forces of Vietnam.

The ultimatum was in the form of a call upon North Vietnam to "negotiate" its own surrender and the surrender of the overwhelming majority of its Southern compatriots. A "negotiated peace," these hypocritical "peace-seekers" declared, "is the last and only remaining alternative to a prolonged and intensified war."

Indicating that the war will indeed be intensified and proving that they themselves will support this intensification, they said that they "remain steadfastly opposed to any unilateral withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam." (Of course they must have known in advance that the marines were going to invade the Demilitarized Zone of North Vietnam two days later!)

The half million U.S. soldiers in Vietnam have now been told that they can stay there forever as far as these "anti-war" Senators are concerned. Ten thousand dead GI's are not enough for these "peace" Senators. Tens of thousands more can die (not to mention the Vietnamese who defend their country) and that will be all right. The soldiers are to be pawns in the "prolonged and intensified war" these advocates of "peace" are helping Johnson and the Pentagon to put over on the American people.

Since Johnson could not sell the war to the hostile or indifferent U.S. masses, these so-called "doves" are now doing so. "We did our best for peace," these frauds are really saying, "but since there is going to be a prolonged and intensified war, we will support it, and it's all Hanoi's fault, because the Vietnamese will not surrender to imperialism and U.S. occupation."

Doing Johnson's grisly work for him, these Senators said, "We hope the statement will come to the attention of the Government of North Vietnam." They calculated, of course, that their words will carry more weight than Johnson's, since they are supposed to represent the "opposition" to the war.

But the Vietnamese have been double-crossed by imperialism before. They will not be surprised by the hawk-talk of the "doves." And they will not surrender to them any more willingly than to Johnson, McNamara and Rusk.

It is the American people themselves who are most betrayed by the 16 Senators and who will suffer most from their duplicity, because it is they who had the most faith in them.

But the statement has one grim advantage. It has brought clarity to a confusing situation. The 16 Senators have drawn a line of blood between themselves and the suffering anti-war masses, including the wounded and dying GI's.

The statement proves that its authors are really for the war, just like the Johnson forces they have criticized. They are demagogues with at best only tactical differences with their hawk colleagues. They have given notice that even these small differences will disappear in a "prolonged and intensified war." They have also proved that "negotiations" would not be a stage on the way to withdrawal as many had hoped, but the diametrical opposite of withdrawal. Thus they have repudiated the whole U.S. anti-war movement.

are really saying, "but since there is going to be a prolonged and intensified war, we will support it, and it's all Hanoi's fault, because the Vietnamese will not surrender to imperialism and U.S. occupation."

It is now up to the anti-war movement to repudiate them and brand them as supporters of the war against Vietnam. It is necessary to condemn them as agents of Johnson, helping to advance his campaign for Vietnamese surrender and a big business victory at the expense of the Vietnamese Nation and the American working people. We hope the statement will be a turning point in the Government's policy at North Vietnam. They calculated, of course, that their words will carry more weight than Johnson's, since they are

ISSUED BY YOUTH AGAINST WAR & FASCISM

58 W. 25th St. NYC phone 212- 675-2520 Ch2-9225

The Daily News view of the 'Doves' statement

Senators' Views on War

DAILY NEWS
NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER (212) MU 2-1234

Published daily except Sunday by News Syndicate Co. Inc.
President, F. M. Elson; Vice President, R. W. Clarke; Treasurer, J. J. Lynch.
Address: 220 E. 42d St., New York, N. Y. 10017.
Mail subscription rates per year: U.S. Daily \$22.00; Daily and Sunday \$33.00.
Canada, Mexico, Central and South America Daily \$25.00; Daily and Sunday \$38.00.
Armed Forces Special Rates Daily \$14.00; Daily and Sunday \$21.25.

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SEEING THE LIGHT

Sixteen U. S. Senators frequently and loudly critical of the Johnson Administration's Vietnam policies now are twittering a somewhat different tune. In a message the flock put together yesterday for the benefit of President Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam, they warned him not to confuse their dissent at home with any thought of surrender in Vietnam.



Sen. J. W. Fulbright

Among the signers were Sens. J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.), R. F. Kennedy (D-N.Y.) and Wayne Morse (D-Ore.).

Belated as it is, the affirmation that the critics don't believe in a one-sided American pull-out is welcome word indeed.

Let's hope that Uncle Ho gets the message loud and clear. It should spill some of the gas from any cherished dreams that he can win all the marbles just by waiting for the U. S. A. to give up and go home.

Fulbright, Kennedy, Morse & Co. made it plain they were unsaying none of the nasty things they have said about the way LBJ has run things in Vietnam. But apparently even they have come to realize now that every rap at Johnson has infused Hanoi with new hope.

Too bad, though, they waited so long to see the light. The same words might have helped a lot more several months ago, when Johnson was floating peace feelers at a one-a-day rate, and various American envoys scurried about the world trying to drum up a whisper of peace interest among the Hanoi leaders.

reprinted for the National
conference of the Spring
Mobilization Committee
for informational purposes.

Special to The New York Times
Following are the texts of a statement by Senator Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho, and of a statement on Vietnam signed by 16 Senators:

Church's Statement

Some have argued that the Government of North Vietnam may be misinterpreting the meaning of the debate in the United States over our conduct of the war in Vietnam.

The catastrophe of a limitless war in Asia must be fully assessed, while there is still time. It could only bring unprecedented suffering and sorrow—a blood bath without equal in human history. With the stakes mortally high, we must not permit the stifling of dissent in the United States. We must not fall silent out of timidity or despair, whatever the political retribution. The debate must go on.

It is equally vital, however, that the purpose of the debate, in the Senate of the United States, be understood by all, particularly by the Hanoi government. Our objective is the settlement of the war at the conference table, not the repudiation of American commitments already made to South Vietnam, or the unilateral withdrawal of American forces from that embattled country.

To this end, 15 Senators, all of whom have participated to some degree, in the dissent, have joined with me in issuing the following statement.

We hope the statement will come to the attention of the Government of North Vietnam, and that it will be thoughtfully considered by all other foreign governments having influence in Hanoi.

The statement is entitled, "A Plea for Realism." It reads as follows:

16 Senators' Statement

A PLEA FOR REALISM

We, the undersigned members of the United States Senate, have expressed, from time to time, our individual reservations concerning the American involvement in Vietnam. We have advocated and supported initiatives which we felt might lead to negotiations for an honorable settlement of the war. We continue to hope that the

Hanoi government will choose to open one of the diplomatic doors available to it, which will lead both sides to the conference table.

The conflict now appears to have reached an acute phase. At this critical juncture, it would be tragic indeed if there were any misapprehension in Hanoi about the realities of the political situation in the United States. We believe it essential to a realistic quest for peace that the nature of the dissent in this country, prevailing among those who have criticized our Government's policy in Vietnam, be accurately understood and assessed by the Government of North Vietnam.

The signers of this declaration, both Democrats and Republicans, share the conviction that the tragic war in Vietnam should be ended by negotiation of a mutually acceptable settlement. However, in the absence of such a settlement, we remain steadfastly opposed to any unilateral withdrawal of American troops from South Vietnam. We hold to this position, regardless of our partisan differences, because we believe it to be right. Moreover, we are certain that the American people, in overwhelming numbers, uphold the same position.

There are no doubt many citizens of the United States who share our expressed misgivings about the growing American involvement in Vietnam. But there are many more who either give their full endorsement to our Government's policy in Vietnam, or who press for even greater military action there.

We hope this assessment will be received in the spirit in which it is written—as a good faith effort to provide factual information about the dominant views in our country concerning the war in Vietnam. Perhaps in some way this information may help contribute to a negotiated peace, which is the last and only remaining alternative to a prolonged and intensified war.

FRANK CHURCH	GAYLORD NELSON
JOHN SHERMAN	QUENTIN BIRDICK
COOPER	JOSEPH S. CLARK
GEORGE MCGOVERN	STEPHEN M. YOUNG
J. W. FULBRIGHT	ROBERT F. KENNEDY
FRANK E. MOSS	MARK O. HATFIELD
E. L. BARTLETT	WAYNE MORSE
LEE METCALF	CLAIBORNE PEEL
VANCE HARTKE	

YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM 58 W 25th St. NYC tel:242 9225

D. C. MOBILIZATION NEWSLETTER

Come to the May 9th D. C. Mobilization Committee meeting at St. Stephen's Church at 8 p.m. Election of Steering Committee. Projects to be discussed. Reverend Bevel to speak about May 17th. We need your vote and your ideas!

This is the first issue of the D. C. Mobilization Newsletter. Its purpose is to inform everyone interested in the mobilization of the Committee's activities, plans, and projects.

The D. C. Mobilization Committee now has an office of its own at St. Stephen's Church, 16th and Newton streets, N. W. Located on the third floor, the new office accommodates meetings of as many as 75 people. The only thing it lacks is adequate volunteer help. Staff is needed on week-days, week-nights, and week-ends. Contact Herb Kelsey or Marcia Kallen at 387-6607 if you can assist.

Activities of the Mobilization Committee

200 peace partisans were present at a general meeting of the Mobilization Committee held on Tuesday, April 25 at St. Stephen's church. Discussion centered around a proposal for serious organization of antiwar sentiment in Washington-area communities, submitted by Arthur Waskow, a Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies. The proposal was adopted in the form of a motion which was referred to a special committee for structural suggestions. Reverend James Bevel, National Director of the Spring Mobilization Committee spoke on the past accomplishments and future tasks of the antiwar movement nationally.

On Friday, April 28 General Westmoreland was given a proper reception by an antiwar demonstration of 200 people at the White House. The successful protest, proposed by Women Strike for Peace, received the strong support of the Mobilization Committee.

On Sunday, April 20, a representative committee met to discuss structure of the D. C. Mobilization Committee. The committee will recommend to the general committee on Tuesday night, May 9, that the D. C. Mobilization Committee be headed by a Steering Committee of 30 members. It composed a slate of 25 representative peace and community leaders for recommendation to the general Committee. It further will recommend that a staff be elected and they are recommending nomination of Herb Kelsey as Executive Director, Marcia Kallen as Associate Director. They will recommend that a full-time secretary be hired for the office to be selected by the officers.

On Tuesday, May 2, there was a meeting at the Mobilization office open to all who were interested, which discussed structure. Although some differences were expressed on this question, all agreed that we must begin on a program of action. Herb Kelsey, meeting Chairman, suggested that we get to work immediately. Those present broke up into four groups which began to outline programs for precinct organization, mass action, education, and defense of peace activists under attack.

A workshop to prepare organizers for the job of taking the Vietnam issue to Washington area communities will begin soon. Activists interested in working with this group should call the office - 387-6607.

The Mobilization Committee is involving itself in many activities. Listed below is a calendar of coming events. Call the office for further detail.

May 7 - Rally and workshops against the draft at Lafayette Park.

May 8 - Anti-draft demonstration beginning at 14th and N. N. E., marching through the ghetto to the Rayburn building. This group plans to confront the draft hearings beginning that day.

May 8 and 9 - People from the Committee for Non-Violent Action will arrive in D. C. after having walked from Boston. On the 9th they plan a march down New York Avenue to the Pentagon.

May 14 - (Mothers' Day) - Mothers are coming to D. C. from all over the nation to protest the genocide of the children of Vietnam.

MAY 16, 17, 18 and 19

National leaders and representatives of the National Spring Mobilization Committee will be in the city to talk to President Johnson. Everyone is urged to support their efforts to talk to the President and tell him to stop this war. Reverend Bevel and other representatives from the National Spring Mobilization Committee are in town now and plan to stay throughout the next two weeks making arrangements and gathering support for this confrontation. Come to the meeting on Tuesday and meet them and support the activities! The activities planned for these days are:

MAY 16 - A mass meeting at 8 p.m. at the Lincoln Memorial Temple, 11th and R streets. Reverend Bevel will speak and plans for the next few days will be outlined.

MAY 17 - The speakers and representatives will be arriving in D. C. They will congregate at the Lincoln Memorial Temple at 10 a.m., a rally will be held from 11 a.m. to 12, and at 12 noon the group will walk from the Lincoln Memorial Temple to the White House to see the President.

MAY 18 and 19 - On these days the group will probably have to go back to the White House to try to see the President. Large numbers of people are needed to support their demand to see the President. Later in the evening of the 19th there will be another mass meeting, largely in preparation for the conference to be held the next day.

May 20 and 21 - A national convention will be held here in D. C. of representative antiwar activists to discuss the future plans for the national movement. Approximately 6 to 8 hundred people will arrive from all over the nation. WE NEED HELP IN MAKING HOUSING AND FOOD ARRANGEMENTS. A meeting will be held on Monday, May 8th at St. Stephen's Church for those able to help with these arrangements.

May 30 - Memorial Day - Veterans and Reservists against the war plan a march. The march will probably be from Dupont Circle to Lafayette Square. Contact the office for further information.

COME to the meeting on Tuesday, May 9, 8 p.m. at St. Stephen's Church, 16th and Newton streets, N. W. Suggest a project, pick a project, and let's get to work!

[Proposed]

RESOLUTION ON THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

Whereas, the war in the Middle East is fundamentally the same as the war in Vietnam, differing only in form but not in essence, and,

Whereas, this war is basically an attempt by the U. S. government to crush the rising struggle of the Arab people against the domination of the Western imperialist powers and the U. S. in particular, and,

Whereas, the oil of the Mideast, which belongs to the Arab people, is owned and controlled by U. S., British, and other Western monopolies,

Therefore, be it resolved that:

The Spring Mobilization Committee denounce the U. S. sponsored Israeli invasion as an aggression against the Arab people and demand, as a first step, the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Arab territory. The U. S. Sixth fleet must immediately leave the Mediterranean area.

submitted by Youth Against War and Fascism

58 West 25th St. NYC tel: 242 9225, 675 2520

Defeated

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.

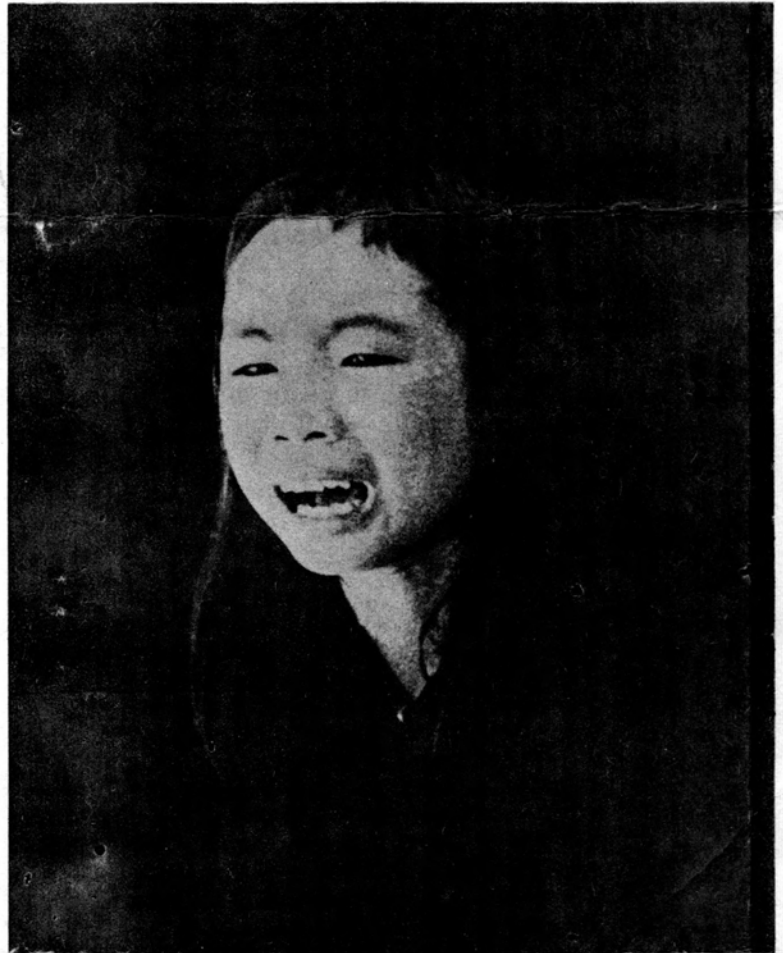
A DAT would consist of 15-20 persons who have committed themselves, as far as possible, to be able to go into direct action anytime, anywhere. 15-20 persons is enough to man a respectable picket line and enough to have a good sizable group to go to jail yet it is small enough to develop the internal 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 "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 ~~immense~~ 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.

A CALL TO CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AT THE PENTAGON

"For the individual to pit himself in holy disobedience against the war-making and conscriptive state is not an act of despair or defeatism. Rather, this individual refusal to go along is now the beginning and core of any realistic and practical movement against war and for a more peaceful and brotherly world.

"The human being must assert his humanity again. He must exercise the choice which he no longer has as something accorded him by society, which he, 'naked, weaponless, armorless, without shield or spear, but only with naked hands and open eyes' must create again."
—A.J. Muste (1885-1967)



Almost daily the war in Vietnam worsens. Bombing moves closer to the center of Hanoi. Russia pledges North Vietnam ground to ground missiles if U.S. planes hit Haiphong harbor. Troops mass near the demilitarized zone. Civilian and combatant casualty lists lengthen. U Thant sees hopes for peace distant and retreating. Talk of war with China is commonplace.

Never has uncompromising witness and resistance against violence and naked power been more needed. Never has civil disobedience and noncooperation against war been more justified, more urgently demanded.

The Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA) announces a civil disobedience protest at the Pentagon Tuesday, May 9, the day after the Boston to Pentagon Walk for Peace reaches Washington.

Monday, May 8, the Boston to Pentagon Walk for Peace will arrive in Washington and conclude in front of the White House. From 3:00 to 6:00 p.m., walkers and others who join them will distribute leaflets at the Pentagon.

Tuesday, 6:30 a.m., leaflet distribution at the Pentagon will resume. Starting about 10:00 a.m., there will be a walk from the White House to the Pentagon via the 14th St. Bridge.

At 12:30 p.m., a silent vigil in memory of Norman Morrison will form at the Pentagon's River Entrance, beneath Secretary McNamara's office.

At 1:30 p.m., those committed to civil disobedience will hold a separate, silent meeting.

At 2:00 p.m., the civil disobedients will attempt to enter the Pentagon and then the offices of the Chiefs of Staff, to remain there in nonviolent witness.

All civil disobedients will be pledged to pay no bail or fines if arrested. One motivation for this policy is the conviction that bail and fines discriminate against the poor.

The supporting vigil will continue until at least 6:00 p.m.

We call you to join us in this witness and protest at the Pentagon, as you are moved and able—to distribute leaflets, to vigil, or to commit civil disobedience.

For information write or phone:

CNVA
5 Beekman St.
NYC 10038
(212) 227-5535

or

Ted and Susan Webster
502 Constitution Ave., N.E.
Washington, D.C. 10002
(202) 547-3671

CNVA works to resolve international conflicts and achieve justice by the power of truth and love. Opposed in principle to military power, it calls for no military intervention in the affairs of others and for unilateral disarmament. Defense, when necessary, should be by nonviolent resistance. CNVA also advocates acts of personal responsibility: conscientious noncooperation with the draft, non-payment of federal taxes used for war, and refusal to work in military research and industries.

NATIONAL MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

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July 22, 1967

Memo to: Mr James Bevel
and the National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam

Subject: Individual suggestion for a national newsletter to all Americans
at the time of the October 21 March on Washington

I do not want to waste the time of our Chairman and the National Committee and it may well be that this idea has been discussed already. However, all of us tend to let our thoughts get stuck in groves and we forget possibilities and eventualities unless ^{some times} others bring them to our minds eye.

What I would like to see is a good letter to all American's distributed a few days prior to October 21. I would also like to see a follow up letter after that demonstration. Part of this letter should tell what we are, good patriotic American's who believe in the Constitution and freedom and do not want to see these things over-ridden by the military oligarchy or ended by a nuclear holocaust. Part of the letter should tell people what the National Mobilization to end the War in Vietnam is: what it stands for and how it is organized. The rest of the letter should present the issues of conscience and morality over what a great and powerful nation, our own, has done to a small and foreign country which never has and is not now the enemy of the United States, and to point out these issues we should present the facts of the war.

I advocate this idea for several reasons. First, we can begin to reach that very large percentage of American's we have been unable to reach for all our efforts this summer. Second, we need to counteract some of the effect of the conservative press which continually spreads confusion and falsehoods about the War and about the Opposition to the War. I think this is of crucial importance because the stronger the attack we make on LBJ and the Pentagon, the stronger the counterattack will be. We need not delude ourselves in thinking that the military-industrial complex will not use any and all methods at their disposal to stop our movement. To be able to counteract the lies of the press (assuming we get the same treatment we did on April 15, and June 23 in L.A.) may not only help determine how successful we are on October 21, but also may be a matter of basic survival in the face of a strong counterattack.

I believe the ~~production and distribution~~ ^{working} of these two letters, one before and one after the March, is quite feasible. We could perhaps utilize a large press such as that of Rampart's magazine and collect funds from all our organizations and members for mailing as many of the Letters to American people as we have money for. (for instance, using telephone books we could mail to one out of five or one out of ten, or whatever). Another way would be to utilize our branch organizations with their small presses and mimeograph machines.

from Phil Ackermann ^{worker} at Washington Mobilization

The National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam has been in existence since the late fall of 1966. Until May 1967 it was known as the Spring Mobilization, the sponsor of the April 15th march in New York and San Francisco. The Mobilization is a coalition of representatives of over 100 peace and freedom organizations. Its purpose is to organize National actions and programs, to provide national focus and coordination for the anti-war movement, and to provide a structure for communication and discussion of ideas nationally.

There are a number of reasons for national actions and foci in addition to local and regional programs. The first is simply that the war is a problem which affects the whole country and that in the final analysis it must be attacked on a national level. National actions demonstrate the extent of sentiment and organization against the war and thus provide the strongest voice of the anti-war movement. Secondly, national activity breaks down the sense of isolation felt by many local anti-war groups.

Local work is the most backbreaking, difficult and discouraging type of work in the movement, and a dramatic action of national focus involving thousands of people, provides psychological support and revitalization to the local movement and a sense of identification with a larger group. To the rest of the community also, national

visibility is important in order to show that the local "peaceniks" are not just an isolated bunch of nuts, but are part of a larger and stronger movement supported by nationally known and respected figures. Joining such a group is therefore less of a risk. Additionally, a loose national program of action supplies a framework within which local groups can operate more meaningfully, than if there were no broader context supplying background and continuity. (too tightly structured a national program should, of course, be avoided because of the restricting effect on local initiative and development.) A third reason for actions with national visibility is that the impetus not only revitalizes existing groups, but also stimulates the formation and development of new groups. Finally, national actions are a means of developing unity among the separate anti-war organizations that exist both nationally and locally without imposing on them any one philosophy or program. This unity is needed to prevent the dissipation of energy into factions and in-fighting instead of concentrating on fighting the war.

Local groups benefit from national actions not only psychologically but also organizationally. In order to organize people into a viable group and to develop a program of radicalizing them, it is necessary to organize them around some kind of action, instead of joining in general "discussion". The action can be of local, regional or national scope but often it is difficult to find a suitable action within a given community. A national action can provide a suitable target. Usually a national action can be used to draw people into peace activities who would not have come out otherwise. Once these people have participated in a national action it is much easier to involve them in local activities.

A national peace movement also provides defense and protection for

na 'local movement. The influence of a visible nation-wide strength has already undoubtedly deterred attacks on community peace groups, because of their association with large movements. To attack a small community peace group, at this time, is the same as attacking the entire peace movement, including the Drs. King, Spock, et.al.

At this time, the National Mobilization is engaged in three projects -- the Direct Action Project, the draft resistance project, and the OCT 21 confrontation in Washington.

The first of these projects is the Direct Action project which is designed to carry out direct action in Washington D.C. for a sustained period of time. The demonstrations will be focused around the theme "No more boys for Vietnam, we need them here". The project will concentrate on 2 targets -- the Armed services committees of the House and Senate, and the national headquarters of the Selective Service Committee. Beginning Sept 11, small (10-50 persons) teams of demonstrators will start coming to Washington from different areas on a daily schedule to take militant direct action at one of the two targets. Each group will have its own identity, either Geographical (E.G. Ithaca), programatical (e.g. draft resisters) or both (e.g. N.Y. draft resisters). It is hoped that these actions will continue until OCT 16,. For further information about the specifics of this project contact the Mobilization Direct Action Project at National Mob. headquarters, 857 Broadway N.Y.C. 675-4605

The second major program of the National Mobilization Committee is the Draft Resistance Program. Concluding that the Mobilization Committee could not directly contribute anything more to the efforts to organize draft aged young men, and to avoid duplicating the work of the existent groups who are in a position to do this more effectively, it was decided that the Mobilization Committee could fill a vital gap in this area--that of organizing adult support programs. In attempting to launch this, a brochure was developed, presenting the need for organizing these groups, and listing suggestions for activities, that would directly aid draft resisters from direct action to fund-raising. This brochure was sent to contacts across the

country. Other activities that the Mobilization's program has projected, include the development of a national newsletter to share ideas and experiences with the draft resistance groups across the country, attempt to set up a national legal defense network, endorsement and circulation of statements advocating draft refusal signed by prominent Americans, circulation of pledge cards geared toward adults, paralleling the draft resistance pledge cards raising funds, and seeking out women's peace groups to organize a mother's and women's draft resistance project. For further information contact the Draft Resistance Program at National Mobilization headquarters, 857 Broadway, N.Y.C. 675-4605

The National Mobilization sees October 21st as the culmination of activities. On this day we hope that thousands of people will come to Washington to make their presence felt against the war. With the growing opposition to the war and the growing escalation, Hundreds of Thousands of people will converge on Washington.

But this will not be just another march and rally. The theme of October 21st is, "from protest to resistance, from protest to determined action." We believe that the grassroots opposition to the war is such that if properly mobilized, the anti-war movement is capable, to some extent, of seriously impeding the war effort. We believe that the individual feeling against the war is so intense that thousands of Americans are prepared to risk arrest to express themselves against the war. The black rebellions have radicalized Americans opposed to the war. We intend to put so many people in the streets on October 21st blocking the war machine that they cannot arrest us, and they must therefore listen to us and stop this war of murder and destruction!

Thousands of people will come to Washington on October 21st to directly confront the war makers and risk arrest if necessary. And many more thousands will be there to support them and make their presence felt. The demonstration will be so planned so that only those who are willing to risk arrest will be put in that position, and the numbers will be so great that the government will be on the spot.

National, dramatic actions provide a dramatic setting for the important work of local organizing. There is, in our view, no conflict, but a complementary relationship between local ~~and~~ organizing and national demonstrations. The National Mobilization hopes that Vietnam Summer organizers will work with us on building October 21st and opposition to the war.

NATIONAL MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

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NATIONAL DIRECTOR

REV. JAMES BEVEL

NATIONAL COORDINATOR

PROF. SIDNEY PECK

Dear friend --

Well, we got busted (arrested). Which is what happens when you try to be reasonable with the Navy. But all that's covered in the newsletter. The point now is that we're broke. We used up all our money, and then some, on the bail, and it's just lucky that the Civil Liberties Union is taking the case for free, because the rock-bottom legal fee would have been \$900.00. Most of us have been living on \$15 a week (so low that even the probation officer was shocked), but we won't get even that much unless we can get some more donations. Checks can be made out to Robert Greenblatt, who's a co-chairman of the National Mobilization, vice-chairman of the Teach-in Committee, and used to teach math at Cornell, so he's trustworthy (well, at least he can probably add), and he's been keeping track of the money we've been living on so far. We'll get your contribution if you mail it to:

Ellie Dorsey
Mobilization Direct Action Project
857 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10003

Thanks so much.

Yours in peace,

Ellie Dorsey
Marathon Clark

The Paradox of Power

A Report from the Mobilization Direct Action Project

The events at the USN destroyer Newman K. Perry this Hiroshima day illustrate quite well the sort of non-violent confrontation which the Mobilization Direct Action Project has been experimenting with in Brooklyn since the beginning of June. We were lucky at the Newman K. Perry--our mistakes weren't noticed, while those of the Navy and the police were--but even so, the root of our success lay not in the accidents of the day, but in the theory.

In outline, we formulated a simple and reasonable demand, one uncomfortable for the established powers. The powers then had to decide whether to give in or to move us out. As soon as they decided to use force, they had lost, though several more moves were made before their loss became evident. ~~This technique exposes the paradox of power,~~ especially where the force on which the established powers depend is hidden behind supposed laws.

The Newman K. Perry, which had been in action off the coast of Vietnam, was opened to the public on Hiroshima day, Sunday, August 6th. We in the Direct Action Project felt that we had to counteract this attempt on the part of the government to make mass murder a Sunday-afternoon-bring-the-kids affair. In order to bring the real world to the ship's visitors, we wore ash-colored death masks as we attempted to visit the ship ourselves.

New York City has a law forbidding the wearing of masks in public. As we had expected, the police attempted to stop us with this law long before we were able to get to the ship. We had previously decided that we were not interested simply in contesting the mask law, so we removed the masks, and wore them on the backs of our heads. The police were so eager to get rid of us that they actually began to arrest us before we requested time to remove the masks.

We vigiled for about half an hour as the supporting picket line marched around us. The picketers and leafleters continued working outside the pier throughout the action, even after those wearing masks were removed, until four o'clock, when the ship closed to the public. Their presence was invaluable in informing bystanders what the ruckus was all about.

At one o'clock, when the public was allowed into the warehouse, those wearing masks got in line. To our surprise, we were let into the building.

The warehouse from which one enters the ship is a long, high building. Two ships were docked there, an Italian ship and beyond it the Newman K. Perry. It was some distance to the ship, and while we slowly marched, ringing our small bells, the police moved those behind us forward. Since very few, if any, were let inside behind us, we were soon at the very back of the line. No more than a dozen or so were let on the ship at a time, so we stood in line over an hour, while being thoroughly photographed and recorded.

Everyone ahead of us was finally let on the ship, but a chain was snapped across the gangplank when we approached. The captain of the ship came forward and announced that in view of our misconception

that a destroyer is an instrument of destruction and in order to expedite visits by the public, we would not be allowed to board. He offered to show us around the ship after the closing at four o'clock, an offer which we have learned he did not intend to keep. Our spokesman, Rod Robinson, replied that we considered ourselves a part of the public and therefore wanted no special privileges.

After we were told we could not board, we stayed in front of the gangplank. I suppose that at that point we could have been arrested for blocking, but the navy and the police had evidently decided to be cautious. Rather than clearing us away, they used as an entrance the exit gangplank, which was about ten feet away from the original entrance. After consultation, four of us moved to the other gangplank in an attempt to board. We made it quite clear that we did not wish to block navy personnel or anyone leaving the ship, but a wall of sailors was formed to separate us from the rest of the public. The sailors began pushing us back, hard enough so that we were forced to sit down to protect ourselves. The group at the original entrance also sat down. After conferring, we decided to try to join the line again. We stood up, and again the sailors, linked arm in arm, pushed us. The two girls were pushed into the paddy wagon which had by then appeared, but they quickly clambered back out. The sailors pushed us back a fair distance from the gangplank before they let up.

We held another conference and decided that Rod should request the police to restrain the navy. The police captain's reply was that his authority in the warehouse extended only to the protection of life and property in case of an actual breach of the peace. We then put on our masks, since the police apparently had no authority to stop us. A few minutes later we were arrested.

It is impossible to gauge with any accuracy our effect on the other visitors to the ship. We heard a few parents reply to their children's questions that we represented dead Vietnamese, but we also heard people calling us Communist pigs. Hopefully, the press coverage of the action will have good effects. But further, we demonstrated once again that the peace movement will not stand idle while the government tries to fool the public. I hope that the events of the day will show that the government has no compunctions about lying or locking people up when it suits their purpose. This lesson may prove of importance as we continue through resistance our drive to end the war.

Matthew Clark
Mobilization Direct
Action Project

SPECIAL NOTE: The next Administrative Committee Meeting is August 12. 11:30, YMCA. Broad and Arch Streets, PHILADELPHIA.

EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE, MINUTES
NATIONAL MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

Hotel Claridge, NYC July 30, 1967 Five-thirty p.m.
Presiding: Sid Peck. Approximately 70 persons present.

Purpose of the Meeting: The meeting is called to consider a special response by the National Mobilization (NM) to the events of the past three weeks in black American communities and other areas of our nation's cities. In particular, how do we respond to the black liberation struggle at this juncture.

Jim Bevel: reported the action of the Washington Mobilization (WM) which had prepared a statement specifically on genocide in American communities, and also, a petition to the UN for a redress of grievances, and charging misconduct of the authorities in the Black Community. Bevel said the situation required extreme sensitivity. He asked: can the nm in some way back up the WM. Bevel pointed out the importance of the white liberal-and-radical community speaking out to clarify things to white America. E.g.: it is no accident that the four Negro leaders supported federal intervention on the same day that H. Rap Brown was arrested in Alexandria, Va. Bevel proposed a Peoples Commission - already in discussion by others - to take initiative in providing a platform for nationally known scholars for interpreting the rebellions in light of the war. It was pointed out in discussion that the causes of the rebellions are in the white Community and it is therefore appropriate to endeavor to speak to that community directly. Presumably, the Investigating Commission could report within a shorter period of time than the January 1 date of the Kerner Commission.

General Discussion: Alex Chernowitz (YAWF): we should also condemn those who support this occupation as well as those who perpetrate it. Herb Kelsey (WM): reported they are sending petitions around to local groups, but await the response of NM. Abe Wadsworth (TUP) mentioned that S.N.C.C. also had a petition to the UN circulating. John Wilson (SNCC): said that their petition deals basically with situations occurring previous to the present rebellions, as in Alabama. Kelsey read the petition "Against Genocide by the United States against its Black Citizens." Weisburd then read from Floyd McKissick's letter to the N. Y. Times, 7-30-67, "we know the Man better than he knows himself... we cannot look elsewhere for help." Weisburd referred to the fact that the issue of genocide in the black American community was brought to Lake Success in 1951 and passports were lifted from those who did so. The genocide of black people must be linked to Vietnam for this is true. We should choose our path can move as best we can in coalition. The resolution or petition is helpful but we must act.

Len Levinson (CP, USA): referred again to McKissick's letter: "Our friends in the Peace Movement can see miles away to the Vietnamese but they can't see ten blocks away in their own communities." Levinson spoke of the policy of military containment which included pacification of our cities. Violence against the black peoples is also displayed against peace marchers in Los Angeles and elsewhere. The Peace Movement then must become a full partner: 1) black oppression is a 'second front' of the Vietnamese war - a deep rejection of the morality on which our country is founded; 2) there is now and will continue pressure against our peace forces; 3) the peace movement cannot have a dual morality. We should, therefore, call for: 1) an immediate end to the war in order to shift priorities among this country's poor; 2) an emergency convocation to call for an emergency session of Congress. We should, further, reconsider 10/21 as the date and relate immediately to the black struggle, and to the demands of the black liberation movement. Wilson stated the majority of white people think that 'peace people' tell black people what to do. We can't allow white people to talk about what's going on outside the country and not care about making peace here. There is a war going on - here.

Douglas Gordon (Ad Hoc Conf. on Middle East): approves black rebellion as a support of the anti-war movement. Harry Ring commented on effect on black soldiers in Vietnam and white draft boards who have to take black youth and arm them. 10/21 more important than ever. Kelsey said the discussion indicated a kind of paternalism on the part of some. The WM had a deeper realization - that we are not just talking about ending the war. We are speaking of how we stop the exploitation, of priorities, of America as the problem. This is not a new kind of civil rights movement. White America is involved and is responsible also for America. Tom Bradley (IUCDFP) "Hell is talking to ourselves about the purity of our credentials." Jose Ristorucci (duBois) spoke of the Lower East Side and East Harlem. He said we should be especially sensitive to the people of these communities in rebellion.

SPECIFIC PROPOSALS: It was urged by Al Evanoff that we keep 10/21 as our target date. A number of people wanted to get a decision but also a number wanted more discussion. Irv Beinin, Dagmar Wilson, Ruth Gage-Colby, Richard Neuhaus, Greenblatt, and Vincent Copeland all spoke generally favoring the focus and the urgency. Larry Billick pointed out how the NM Com'e had moved to a positive action stance and that this was good. After Dave Dellinger urged a Press Conference carrying our agreement (refuting use of federal troops, revolt not criminality, parallels with the Vietnam war, and self-determination in black communities as in Vietnam), Omar Ahmed (CORE) referred to the National Conference on Black Power. We now refer to the black American people who live in black American communities. There is an International Conference scheduled for Bermuda in 1968. We will also move against the war on October 31 (Hallowe'en) and ask for a change of date if possible. It was agreed by all that the mechanics of a change are now too great.

Sid Lens: said we have to recognize the problem in America is seen with a double focal point. He then moved: 1) we should go ahead with the press releases and press conference, making sure we co-ordinate signers and co-chm.; 2) we should then follow with the petition to the UN a few days later and 3) follow that with the Peoples Investigating Commission. Gage-Colby seconded. After further discussion on the Press Conference by Ring, Grunauer, Kelsey and Matty Burkleheimer, another proposal by Alex Chernowitz (not accepted), and a number of questions about who would be the drafters, Sid Peck said such authority was in the hands of the officers of NM, that they could and would speak, and there would be a statement. Individuals could respond as they were asked by the Press, but basically the statement would incorporate the main trends of the evening's discussion. Discussion continued until Dellinger called for a decision on the Press Conference in the hands of the Steering Committee. This passed unanimously. (The Press Conference was later tentatively scheduled for Thursday, August 3, one p.m.)

Clarifying the Lens motion, Peck outlined a three point motion that was on the floor: 1) Initiate the Investigating Commission; 2) Support the WM petition in principle without trying to adopt it in detail as NM, and appoint a committee immediately to implement this week; 3) Get the word out to local and regional groups for support demonstrations and implementation. More discussion followed with Bevel arguing for the importance of educating, not condemning. On the matter of the WM petition, it was agreed that we were saying as National Mob'n that we are with the approach, and that the actual petition would be worked out with Washington people. After Weisburd pointed out the necessity for all slogans to come before the Working Com. for Mass Action (meeting 7/31 at 13 Astor Place), the question was called. It passed unanimously.

Dellinger then spoke of close partnership with the black community. Bradley said the Commission should assume the why of rebellions and deal with enforcement problems and the anti-riot bill. Buch called for broad representation in the Working Com. for the 10/21 Confrontation. Adjournment: nine p.m. Respectfully submitted,

Thomas Lee Hayes, Recorder

".. I was near tears...i did not want to see my friends go to prison...
there must be another way..."

A young girl tells how she felt before being jailed as a war-protester
in front of the Pentagon ("throwing your soul against the pentagon.")

i was one of those who came
one of the few who came
we actually entered into the brain
of the great death machine
and tried to give it time to reconsider.
it did not reconsider
rather it tried to trap our bodies
(knowing full well it could not
imprison our minds & love) and
failing in this it thrust us back,
echoing lies and breaking trusts-
as is the way with death machines.

concrete, growing up into a great
heartless complex of corridors and rooms
that one might chose(sic) to call
a pentagon. or the pentagon.. called this
on account of its geometrical shape
and because it sounds nicer
than murder incorporated.

my back is against a pillar
near the river entrance
and some of the guards know my name.
norman morrison burned himself
to death a few yards from
this place. it is a lovely day.

the last 2 days have been awkward-
but I came to realize
my love for people.

i almost left them.
almost, but my place was set
among them.

walking up here the last day I was
near tears,
for dedicated and sincere as they were
i did not want to see
my friends go to prison.

there must be another way
i thought (and think)
another method that doesn't
put people in cages.
these people were not meant for cages.
no people are....

and yet they did as they must,
and walked into the brain
of the death machine.

they entered in to occupy
for peace
and halt the apparatus of war.
of course they were blocked.

but they stood still and waited-
trying again and again to enter,
again and again being blocked.
the brain police pushed them back somewhat
but staying was done.

and the night came uncertainly,
the second day----

it really blows your mind
that's washington out there,
washington, d.c.
capitol of the entire united states.
across the river you can see
the washington monument & capitol dome.
it really blows your mind.
this is the pentagon.

you are throwing your soul against it.
it really does blow your mind sometimes.
what a groovy thing to be doing.
what a vitally important, groovy thing
to be doing.

MOBILIZER TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Vol. 2, No. 1

National Mobilization Committee

September 1, 1967

CONFRONT THE WARMAKERS OCT 21-22

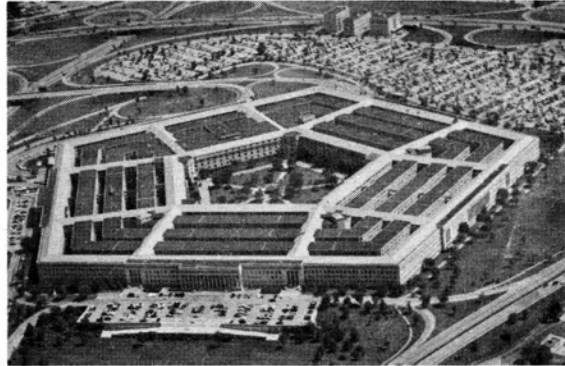
Press Statement issued Aug. 28

The American people today live in a country which has developed the world's most murderous military machine. We live in a society which trains its sons to be killers and which channels its immense wealth into the business of suppressing courageous men from Vietnam to Detroit who struggle for the simple human right to control their own lives and destinies. We Americans have no right to call ourselves human beings unless, personally and collectively, we stand up and say NO to the death and destruction perpetrated in our name.

The National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam brought a half million people into the streets of New York and San Francisco on April 15th to protest America's war in Vietnam. Yet the war escalated. We have published thousands of words and arguments to document the fact that the war violates American and international law, human standards of morality, and the national interest of the American people. Yet the war continued.

The war is continued despite the fact that no one — least of all Johnson himself — can give a sound human reason for it. The American government stands in the eyes of the world as a bully and an outlaw, lying to her own people and contemptuous of the views of the nations of the world. The military-industrial complex, a President gone mad, and an irrelevant Congress appear to the victims of their oppression as the Fourth Reich.

Meanwhile, at home we see Vietnam re-enacted before our eyes. We see Black people, and others among America's poor, seeking jobs, dignity



and control over their own lives; and in response they are offered token programs which fail to challenge the basic power relationships. When Black people rebel, they are judged "criminals" by the America of tanks, nerve gas and wanton murder. The real criminals are those who maintain racism, poverty, slums and the police tyranny in a nation which has the capacity to house, feed and clothe all of its people.

We who oppose America's war in Vietnam recognize the direct connection to the struggle in our cities. We see newspaper reports that forty per cent of the Army troops sent into Detroit had been battle-hardened in Vietnam. *We recognize that there is only one struggle — for self-determination — and we support it in Vietnam and in Black America.*

We in the anti-war movement who are moving toward massive confrontation this fall in Washington are identifying with the American boys, black and white, who are sent to Vietnam to kill and be killed. The only way to support these men is to bring them home now. The fight for freedom is in America's cities. We in the American anti-war movement are committed to building a mass

(Continued on page 7)

Where We're At

by Prof. Robert Greenblatt
National Coordinator

The National Mobilization, indeed the whole anti-war movement, faced the two most important tests of its seriousness and political maturity in the last few months. Although we seemed in want of a program after the mammoth Mobilization on April 15th and seemed even more immobilized in the face of the rebellions in Black communities throughout the country, we are now well underway to passing those tests.

The overwhelming response to our call for the April 15th Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam demonstrated the enormous extent of opposition to America's war in Vietnam. At the same time, the very size of the response (over half a million people) marked the end of simple protest as the main strategy of the anti-war movement. The magnitude of the opposition to the war and the lack of any effective political mechanism for its expression posed the first test. Where do we go now?

(Continued on page 7)

THE MORALITY OF RESISTANCE

by Rev. Thomas Lee Hayes

If a Vatican II can happen, so can a Nuremberg II. If there is another Nuremberg, we, the ordinary citizens of these United States, shall have less excuse than the "good Germans" of twenty-five years ago. We shall have known all along whether we were "good Americans" or "bad Americans" according to those in authority in our time. The moral basis of direct action against the Vietnam war seems to rest on this presupposition. We are under judgment and are driven to find a new, appropriate response.

In political terms, this means we are moving from a politics of dissent to a politics of resistance. In moral terms, it means we are moving from a morality of revulsion to a morality of situation. The situation is, the warmakers are at the end of their rope. The only remaining course is open confrontation militarily with China, and the precipitation of a nuclear holocaust. It may be that such a course will be followed by the U.S., insane as it is, for it fits the 'logic' of our Vietnam policy.

Meanwhile, the earlier mood of the Peace Movement has reached even to the chambers of Congress.

It is a mood of increasing revulsion at the stupidity and the immorality of the war. It is now openly stated that the war is not being won, cannot be won, and will not be won. Even some militarists, in and out of uniform, are displaying a strange lack of confidence in American policy.

Yet, revulsion alone toward our personal wrong will not bring repentance or change of heart. We must act against the evil we have created. And a man who pats us on the head, and says, "It's all right, just don't do it again," does us no good.

Similarly our national leaders have patted our dissenting heads, and forgiven our revulsive hearts. We have discovered how demeaning it is to be tolerated. And so, we find ourselves searching for new direction in a maze of rage.

There are signs that such a new direction is coming to pass. We now see a direct connection between the U.S. policy in Vietnam and federal policy toward the uprising of oppressed peoples at home. We don't have to look 10,000 miles away to understand the violence that lies behind the American status quo. We see a new seriousness in the whole anti-war movement. We see

young men in increasing numbers who say "we won't go" to Vietnam and an enormous reservoir of adult support of these men. In brief, we see men and women taking their destinies into their own hands in the midst of terrifying ambiguities and choices.

This is a profoundly moral occurrence. Some may see this as an essentially political event. But the political event will be grounded in a moral reality or it will not bring the change desired. It is not merely the right of a people seeking freedom and peace, but their moral responsibility to call their leaders to face that moral judgment that faces us all. We argue that direct action against inhumanity to man confirms who we are and who we hope to be. Our obligation to so act transcends other important, but lesser obligations and informs them with power and love.

This fall a series of direct actions are planned as part of the National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam. These actions will take those who participate beyond revulsion. They will create a moral situation that mirrors something of the way the world goes round, even if the United States at this moment in history is going the other way. You will find the proposals for these actions if you seek them. You may well discover some we have not dreamed of; we hope you shall. You will probably also want to remember that being part of a right action does not make an individual or a group righteous.

Agnes de Mille, the dancer, once told of her experience in WWII when she and her husband were separated by the war. "... Here I was, ringed by death, swung out in catastrophe, with another life in my keeping. ... What we were was of no account, nor in what ways we had failed; but what we had hoped to be, that was the power."

If Nuremberg II comes after it all, may we be among those who can honestly say what we feel now, "what we hope to be, that is the power."

The MOBILIZER

National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam
857 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003
Telephone: (212) 675-4605
(organizers of the massive April 15 protests)

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

Chairman: Dave Dellinger

Co-chairmen: Rev. Ralph Abernathy

Ivanhoe Donaldson

Prof. Robert Greenblatt

Al Evanoff

Prof. Donald Kalish

Edward Keating

Sidney Lens

Lincoln Lynch

Prof. Sidney Peck

Rt. Rev. Charles O. Rice

Cleveland Robinson

Mr. Dagmar Wilson

National Director: Rev. James Bevel

National Coordinator: Prof. Robert Greenblatt

Mobilizer Staff: Karen Wald, Stewart Albert, Editors

On Making a Perfect Mess

by Keith Lampe

A good new feeling in the streets of America. Feels like there's going to be a white rebellion too. The work of the black men of Newark and Detoit has freed us honkies (beep! beep!) of a few more scholarly hang-ups and we're getting down into it now.

Now, at last, we're getting past the talk and the analysis and the petitions and the protests—past the cunning white logic of the universities—and we're heading back down into ourselves. The worst trip of all finally coming to an end: "Either A or not—A" and "Men have souls, animals don't" kept us freaked out for 2500 years.

Gary Snyder says it's the neolithic that's coming to an end. He says man is transferring his best attention from objects to states of mind.

In any case, we emancipated primitives of the coming culture are free to do what we *feel* now because we understand that logic and proportion and consistency and often even perspective are part of the old control system and we're done with the old control systems.

Among the honkies the Diggers probably best understand this and they've been helpful dragging us kicking and screaming into the last third of the century.

Psychic guerrilla warfare now. Diggers raining dollar bills to the floor of the stock exchange in gleeful exorcism. Stg. Peper's Lonely

Hearts Club Hate Parade down Wall Street to hold up a mirror to the studious monkeys: Kill a Commie for Christ, Commie a Christ for Killer, Christ a Killer for Commie.

Seventy-six point two per cent of the following gigs will hit Washington last half this October:

1—Ten thousand exuberant people will clog the Pentagon and close it down. Later they'll jam the jails, take them over and turn them into communities.

2—A thousand children will stage Loot-Ins at department stores to strike at the property fetish that underlies genocidal war.

3—A hundred professors will use their bodies to close down the induction center.

4—Seven tailored fraternity boys will wrestle LBJ to the ground and take his pants down. Fotos of the fleshy seat of government will circulate freely.

5—Hey, who defoliated the White House lawn?

6—Two authentic D.C. cop impersonators will take twelve peace demonstrators to jail and the charges later will poof as the impersonators evaporate into the populace.

7—Country Joe and the Fish will make music.

8—A single elderly shaman, intoning in his belly, will drive 2600 evil spirits shrieking from the Pentagon. Fourteen key colonels will defect to the Diggers and get \$42,000 from *Life* for a piece on their earlier karmas.

9—Eight thousand hipies will pan-handle at embassies to create a certain international embarrassment for U.S. imagers.

10—A large black truck containing mysterious electronic equipment will move slowly through the streets of the city. Rumors of a Martian flag flying above the FBI building.

11—Hippie chemists will experiment nonviolently on police with anti-riot control agents. "It just makes them feel lazy, that's all."

12—Fifteen hundred mothers will hold a Smoke-In in Lafayette Park and the sweet scent in the evening air will cause Lady Bird to sigh in her sleep.

13—Nineteen thousand hippies will jam the banks, paralyze them, and proclaim the death of money.

14—As the network cameras wheel in for classic counter-demonstrator footage, the BOMB PEKING picket signs will be flipped to say "Does LBJ suck?"

(Continued on Page 8)

STOP THE DRAFT

October 16-21 — "STOP THE DRAFT" Week — initiated by a group of West Coast organizers; the aim, to close induction centers and draft boards during that week. It is hoped that those concerned with stopping the draft process, will plan actions at induction centers and draft boards in cities all over the country, to take place taht week. For further information contact: STOP THE DRAFT Week 449 14th St. San Francisco, Calif. 94103



SNCC IN WHITE AMERICA

Manchild in the Promised Land

by Karen Wald

At 2 a.m. on Saturday, August 19, H. Rap Brown, chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was arrested on charges of carrying a firearm across state lines while under indictment for "incitement to commit arson" in Cambridge, Maryland. At the time, Rap and his lawyers, William Kunstler and Florynce Kennedy, knew nothing of the Maryland indictment (which in any case is very likely an unconstitutional abridgment of the freedom of speech) and without this indictment openly carrying a rifle would be perfectly legal.

In the morning, the U.S. Commissioner set bail at \$25,000, and in the afternoon the lawyers appeared before Judge Wyatt in NYC's Federal Court. Arguing that a) No one knew of the indictment, b) The amount of bail was unconstitutionally excessive, and c) That Brown had other important speaking engagements, they sought a reduction in bail. Judge Wyatt refused.

From inside the jail, Rap issued the following statement:

In the course of any movement that seeks to promote change, be it religious, social or revolutionary, individuals because of their beliefs are unjustly made to suffer. For blacks, the historical alternatives for political dissent in America have been death, exile or imprisonment. I am no exception.

I am being held as a political prisoner. However, my confinement will not rebuild Detroit nor will it save America from its due fate. For as America has bestowed upon me in my 23 years her extreme disfavor, she has also through her inhumanity, racism, oppression and exploitation of both black and white, domestic and foreign, made herself an enemy of mankind. I am told that people across the country have recognized my imprisonment to be a sounding board which may in some way reveal their own fate. If it takes imprisonment or even death to expose America for what it is, then this is my destiny.

To all those who favor freedom I say thank you for your convictions and your contributions toward that end.

To all the black brothers and sisters across America who are caught behind enemy lines, I say the fight has not yet matured. Arm yourselves, for our freedom is yet to come.

Yours in Rebellion,
Rap Brown
BLACK POWER!

* * *

During this time, contributions were pouring in to SNCC for Rap's bail and defense fund, but a new snag arose: bail companies apparently conspired with bondsmen in an agreement to refuse bail for Brown, no matter how much collateral was offered. By the time US District Court Judge Murphy lowered bail to \$15,000 on Tuesday, August 22, every bondsman in the area had refused to post any bail for Brown, and SNCC put up the \$15,000 in cash.

Three or four hundred supporters who had crowded the courtroom Tuesday joined hundreds more outside as Rap was released from jail. To the smiling and cheering crowd, Rap said that the reduction in bail was due to "Black Power!"

On August 28, Rap Brown announced SNCC's participation in the Washington, D.C. Oct. 21-22 mass action, and on the 29th spoke at a meeting on "VIETNAM AND BLACK AMERICA" in the Village Theatre, NY. (Other scheduled speakers included Dave Dellinger, Rev. James Bevel, and representatives from many other black and white organizations.) Following the bail reduction, Judge Murphy gave permission for Rap to leave the jurisdiction of the court to speak at meetings in Detroit Aug. 27, Camden Aug. 30, Chicago Sept. 3, and St. Louis Sept. 10. He will appear in New Orleans to face charges on the gun-carrying arrest on September 13.

IN VIETNAM



IN AMERICA



National Mobilization View

Riots or Rebellions?

The Establishment news media and the politicians are consistently talking about the problem of race-riots in the cities, and what to do about them. *These so-called "riots" are, in our view, rebellions.* The Black rebellions are revolts of an oppressed people against a society which denies them jobs, decent housing and human dignity. They are responses to an unjust system. The system which still prevails in August 1967 in the United States prevents Black people from controlling conditions in their own communities.

When critics condemn certain people for defending themselves violently, they overlook the fact that Black and other poor peoples are victims of violence—the violence of the status quo. Violence is used by the police to keep Black Americans "in their places." It is used to maintain an oppressive system of poverty and exploitation. "Official" violence encourages and feeds counter violence on the part of the oppressed.

The same militaristic methods which are used to deny the people

of Vietnam their right to determine and control the social, economic and political system within their own country have been employed against the Black people in the South and the ghettos of the North. Today, the oppressed Black Americans rebel against intolerable conditions of existence imposed on them by the Structures and Institutions of the United States in the same way the Vietnamese rebel against the invasion and domination of their country, insisting on maintaining and defending their cultural and political integrity.

The National Mobilization, pointing to this "Vietnam" at home, supports the principle of self-determin-

ation for Vietnam and for Black Americans. We condemn the use of armed violence in the suppression of the just demands of these people.

We call:

- 1) For the release of all those arrested in the recent uprisings.
- 2) For the dropping of the frame-up charges against H. Rap Brown.
- 3) For support of Muhammed Ali and all who resist the draft or refuse to go to Vietnam.
- 4) For the transfer of the billions now being wasted in Vietnam, to a massive decentralized program of aid to America's poor and disinherited.



BUTTON/POSTER DESIGNS



DESIGN A



DESIGN B



POSTER #1



45 RPM RECORD

ORDER FORM

QUANTITY			ITEM	PRICE	TOTAL
(A)	(B)	(#1)	Buttons	15¢ (min. 100)	
			Posters	\$5/100	
			Oct. 21-22 leaflet	\$8/1,000	
			Mobilizer #6	\$3/100	
			Genocide Petitions	\$5/1,000	
			45 rpm Record	\$1e. (blk less)	
			Draft Resistance Brochure	\$1 per 100	
TOTAL:					

SEND TO: NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

ZIP CODE AMT. ENCL. \$

NATIONAL MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE, 857 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

FROM DISSENT TO RESISTANCE!

by Maris Cakars

For a long time now the peace movement has been picketing, rallying, petitioning and marching, marching, marching. It's all been good and important work, but with escalation of the war continuing day after day and the very fabric of the American social structure coming apart at the seams, it is time to take the movement we have built and direct it so that it actually *disrupts* the war machine. It is time to use direct action.

Direct action means actual confrontation with injustice and involves the risk of arrest. In Selma, and Birmingham the Civil Rights movement developed direct action to the point where participation was massive and the risk was death. But in the peace movement it was a tactic used by small groups. The thrust of the movement was elsewhere.

As the peace movement grows up, the necessity of developing new tactics and strategy while we continue to widen our base is becoming increasingly apparent. To neglect it means to create a movement that's a big baby without the skills and techniques needed to deal with the world. Draft resistance, new politics, the hippies and a myriad of other developments are important aspects of the progress that is taking place in that direction. The current program of the National Mobilization Committee reflects this situation.

Direct Action is growing up also and the Mobilization is making it, along with, many other activities of Oct. 21, a central part of its effort to put an end to the war in Vietnam. Carried out as a sustained effort it becomes an aspect of resistance. Involving people from many areas it becomes an important aspect of local organizing. Confronting the warmakers themselves day after day it becomes not only an educational tool, but also a dramatic demonstration of the fact that the peace movement has developed a strong backbone and means to stand and fight.

Specifically, the Mobilization Direct Action Project will confront the warmakers of the Congressional Armed Services Committees and the National Headquarters of the Selective Service on a daily basis. Beginning on Sept. 11, the day Congress reconvenes, each day a group will go to Washington from a different area to confront either of these two institutions, to attempt to talk reason to it and, very likely, to attempt to disrupt its functions. Each group will, of course, decide for itself what its demands and tactics will be. In addition to groups organized on a regional basis, there will be groups such as draft resisters which will have specific concerns. The Mobilization Direct Action Committee's role is to co-ordinate the many groups and provide services such as housing and press relations. Right now the staff is laying the groundwork for the project by contacting groups and arranging workshops in direct action.

Although the peace movement had progressed in many directions it still is behind schedule and short of time. So many things remain to be done that full and immediate co-operation is vital. Local groups should contact the Direct Action staff (Bruce Hartford, Maris Cakars, and Rod Robinson) at the National Mobilization office now rather than waiting to be contacted.

If we're serious about putting an end to the war, and about resistance, we can make this project work. Or we can do no more than we've been doing all along and wonder why it doesn't work.



You helped make April 15 a momentous success, and we hope that you will come through again. We expect to make October 21-22 the most militant and meaningful action against the War in Vietnam that our nation has ever seen.

We can contribute toward that mobilization with our time, our thoughts and our work, from now until October 20. Then it will be up to you. Until then, the expenses of housing and feeding the staff, of transportation and publicity, are enormous, and your contribution NOW is necessary to bring about that action.

We need money. Will you send some?

Individual contributors are the first necessity. We also need fund raising parties and benefits. Will you help us? We will send speakers to parties and other events.

Do you have any ideas how you can help us raise some bread? Please contact us and let us know.

Clip and mail to:

National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam
857 Broadway, Third Floor
New York, N.Y. 10003

Telephone: (212) 675-4605

- ☐ I enclose \$..... toward the work of the Oct. 21-22 activities.
- ☐ I will attempt to raise money in my area by.....
- ☐ I can't contribute money, but I will come in and do volunteer office work, or donate

NAME: (please print): phone:.....

ADDRESS ZIP.....

CONFRONT THE WARMAKERS

(Continued from page 1)

movement that can end racism and militarism no matter how long it takes and no matter how deep the sacrifices.

Today the National Mobilization Committee announces a major advance in opposition to the war: a step moving from simple protest to collective resistance; from petition which has gone unheeded to direct action which is determined to escalate the opposition. We call on all Americans who oppose our government's aggression in Vietnam to converge on that city of war, Washington, D.C., on October 21 and 22 for a direct, personal and collective confrontation with the warmakers.

We do not take this act lightly. We are now organizing for scores of thousands of Americans to come to Washington on those days, by plane, train, car and foot; from Maine to California. Americans will come to protest in whatever way they want. We will gather in a massive anti-war presence, and some will take on the most serious responsibility of direct dislocation of the war machine.

The National Mobilization Committee today announces that it is beginning to organize a confrontation in Washington on October 21-22 which will shut down the Pentagon. We will fill the hallways and block the entrances. Thousands of people will disrupt the center of the American war machine. In the name of humanity we will call the warmakers to task.

This may be the most serious anti-war protest in American history. It signals a new step. The Pentagon is already pushing for a war with China despite the risk of unleashing a thermonuclear holocaust. We Americans must communicate to all the need to build a mass movement which will disrupt such instruments of brutality as the Pentagon.

This press conference itself is a landmark. The diversity of people and movements united here today represent a new stage in the anti-war struggle. We are today a united

power force representing blacks, women, students, workers, hippies, draft resisters, clergy and political organizers. This unity will resound throughout America. It will make itself felt in Washington on October 21st.

This will be a weekend of unified activities. Individuals will act on their consciences and in their own personal styles. Not all people will take part in the massive sit-in at the Pentagon, and we are not asking people to come to Washington solely on this basis. Those who do not block the Pentagon will surround it in a massive peace-in of picketing, vigiling, music, drama and rallies. We will bring a community of protest, expressing joy and affirmation of man, to a place whose only business is wholesale murder. This confrontation will be massive, continuing, flexible and surprising.

Where We're At

(Continued from page 1)

In truth, we knew the answer and had known it for some time. We had seen individual young men refuse induction, an occasional soldier accept the grave risks inherent in refusing a direct order to go to Vietnam and numerous other isolated acts of courage and resistance. But it often takes time for a mass movement to see even the obvious. Yet, despite the pessimism of many, we have taken great strides in this direction. The action programs developed by the National Mobilization; and programs of other groups throughout the country, reflect a new awareness and seriousness.

We are moving from *dissent to resistance*, from appeals and petitions to sustained direct action against the instruments of the war machine. This new direction for the anti-war movement was explicitly stated in the recent call for a major Confrontation with the Warmakers in Washington D.C. on October 21/22. But this is no longer mere

rhetoric. It is buttressed by a solid program for Direct Action to begin on September 11 and a commitment of staff and resources to insure its execution.

The second major test for the anti-war movement was posed by the recent rebellions in Black communities in numerous cities throughout the country. Here, too, we seemed to teeter in the balance. The fate of Black Americans was something the broadly based, middle class peace movement avoided dealing with for a long time. Whether the reasons given were those of principle or political expediency, the effect was the same. While protesting the war in Vietnam, the peace movement was unable to address itself to the problems of the "Vietnamese" on its own shores. The Black Rebellions forced the issue.

While much remains to be done, we have made a swift and significant beginning. We have resisted the pressures to split the anti-war and freedom movement by concentrated and intensified attacks on those organizations and leaders in the black community most outspoken in the liberation struggle.

At an emergency meeting of the National Mobilization Committee, the Steering Committee was mandated to establish a special People's Commission to conduct hearings about the uprisings and, by all means available, keep the real issues of Governmental neglect, suppression, and provocation forcefully before the public. A second part of this program is a petition to the UN, initiated by the Mobilization, protesting the de facto genocidal policies of the American government against its Black and other impoverished citizens. Both of these projects are already moving ahead with the cooperation of other groups but more is necessary. We urge all groups in the anti-war movement to address themselves to this issue and join us in these programs.

The war in Vietnam and in the American cities is the same. The anti-war and freedom movements are indivisible. We know what we must do. What are we waiting for?

WHAT'S HAPPENING?

Sept. 11—Mobilization Committee Direct Action project begins
Wed. Sept. 20/Washington, D.C.—“Challenge the Draft Call—No More Men to Vietnam”

- 12:30—assemble at the White House
- 1 - 2—Mass rally at LaFayette Park
- 2 - 3—Picket the National Selective Service Headquarters, a delegation will enter the building to present a statement of conscience to:
 - Show that American women want our young men to build not burn
 - Show that American women support the brave young men who say NO
 - To launch an American women's resistance movement to the Vietnam war draft.

Sponsored by Women Strike for Peace, 799 Broadway, N.Y. or contact the local Women Strike office in your city.

- October 16—The Resistance
- October 16-20—“Stop the Draft Week”
- October 20—Student Mobilization Direct Action in Washington, D.C.
- October 20—FOLK ROCK CONCERT IN D.C.
- October 21-22—“Confront the War Makers”

A Perfect Mess

(Continued from page 3)

15—Forty bearded ghosts from the last revolution will rise from Arlington Cemetery and scramble the Pentagon's radar system.

16—Alice's Air Force will provide mobile civil-disobedience units any place in Washington within 45 seconds.

17—Hey, who kidnapped the guard at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier?

18—During a block party in front of the White House a lad of nine will climb the fence and piss, piss, 19—And, of course, there will be God's Intergalactic Light Show over all.

Most of these things are patiently waiting for people to do them. If you don't dig any of them, do your thing.

* * *

Afterwards, in November, how many kids will go back to school? The universities are cultural lag areas now—and in most cases it's no longer possible to advise a bright young person to pass time at one.

* * *

Jails should become voluntary. This places the government into the monastery or retreat business and we win the simple right to be fed and housed austere in a nonsectarian environment whenever we feel like meditating. Since the blacks emphatically are in no mood to meditate this season, let them out, get them out, immediately.

* * *

Because as a honkie I have a bully heritage, I dig nonviolence as my best expresison. But I know nonviolence is a faith—not a demonstrable truth—and, being ecumenically inclined, I have no desire to impose it on anybody else.

Up-to-the minute progress reports on all Washington activities can be had at any hour from (202) LI 5-6700. Call collect only.

Peace Torch Marathon

by Stew Albert, Sports Editor



A torch that was lighted in Hiroshima on the anniversary of the bombing of that city, is being carried cross country and will arrive in Washington, D.C. on October 21st. The torch, during its journey across America, will be accompanied by a peace education team which will go into communities, towns and cities along the route, where, it is hoped, rallies, greetings and peace assemblies will be organized. The torch left San Francisco August 27th, and the schedule can be obtained from: Peace Torch Marathon, 381 Sixth Street, San Francisco, Calif.



SEPTEMBER 11 - OCTOBER 21

DIRECT ACTION

IN WASHINGTON, D. C.



The American peace movement is moving from pleading to struggle, from wringing of hands to disruption, from protest to resistance. As we confront the rising tide of militarism in this country, as we resist the expanding war of genocide in Southeast Asia, our movement must move from one stage of conflict to the next. Last April 15 our movement was expanded in terms of numbers—far above its previous level. Next October 21 the peace movement will intensify in militancy when a mass “confrontation with the war-makers” will take place in Washington, D.C., a confrontation that will move from dissent to active resistance. It also has become necessary to escalate our movement in duration as well as numbers and militancy. No longer can we afford to “hit and run” with one or two-day demonstrations. We must pick a theme and organize around it for a long enough time to raise its issues and educate people about them. We must pick a battleground and stay and fight. In answer to these needs the National Mobilization has developed the Direct Action program.

NATIONAL MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

WHAT IS IT?—A program of sustained direct action in Washington, D.C., beginning September 11 with the reconvening of Congress and running through October 21. The theme: "NO MORE BOYS FOR VIETNAM; WE NEED THEM HERE TO BUILD." Action will be directed at the draft mechanisms of the House and Senate Armed Services Committees and the national headquarters of the Selective Service System. Participating groups will present these institutions with demands such as a suggested agenda of business for the committee hearing, or a demand that all men morally or politically opposed to our aggression in Vietnam or the military system be exempted from the draft. If the demands presented are not listened to or complied with, the group would attempt to block the smooth functioning of the institution and prevent it from carrying out its role in the Johnson Genocide machine. Undoubtedly, some of the demands, although quite reasonable (a request by 20 draft resisters to speak to John Stennis, Mendel Rivers or General Hershey about their resistance) will meet with adamant and unreasonable refusal.

However, it should be noted that each group is free to decide its own course of action, although it is hoped that they will remain within the framework of confrontation and resistance as outlined above.

WHO WILL DO IT?—Groups of demonstrators (10 to 75) will arrive in Washington each day. The groups will be organized in communities around the country and will each have a separate identity. Groupings may be geographic (e.g., Boston or Ithaca), programmatic (e.g., Peace Corps returnees or professional groups) or some other category.



WHY THE MOBILIZATION DIRECT ACTION PROGRAM?

1. A program organized to carry out militant direct action over a sustained period of time provides a framework for an educational program which cannot be provided by one or two day actions. By publicly hitting away day after day at the issue of the draft we can lay the educational foundation required to justify and sustain a major draft resistance program and major confrontation in October. Additionally, the fact that we will have a group of people committed to the idea of militant direct action arriving in Washington daily will give us the opportunity to seriously disrupt the smooth operation of the Armed Service Committees and Selective Service. The two parts, education and disruption, are complementary.
2. It is useful as an organizing tool on the local level. A local group can use the act of organizing a team to be sent to Washington as a means of strengthening the local movement. It has been our experience that it is generally most productive to involve and organize people around a specific project. In talking to people around the country about this program we have found that, especially in non-megopolitan areas, people who have been involved in educational work over the summer have made contact with a number of people who are interested in participating in "concrete anti-war action" often as a result of being involved in a program of educational meetings. These people have been frustrated in this desire because of the difficulty of finding a suitable target in their local community around which a small group could take meaningful action. This project will provide a focus for these energies and will help to break down the sense of isolation that grows up in a project outside the main areas of population by providing a national focus and framework of activity that can easily be plugged into by a local group. Whenever possible, parallel local actions should be organized to coincide with the action in Washington. Even after a team has been recruited there are many opportunities for additional local activity such as send off rallies and meetings, press conferences and other parallel activities. In addition, direct support in such things as bail, publicity, statements of support can be gotten from people who could be involved in no other way. Once the group is back from Washington a number of meetings can be held to report on what happened and what to do next. Each group would have to decide how many people it wants to send to Washington. A group should send only as many people as it can without hurting local program. One of the advantages of the Direct Action Program is that it does not need large numbers of people from any given area on any given day.
3. The project gives us the opportunity to begin on a long range program that the peace movement has talked about for some time. That is the "new heroes" program. We must begin to present to the American people a new image of heroism. An image directly counter to the establishment image of a hired killer for the status quo. Our heroes are those who put their life on the line in opposition to the establishment: the civil rights workers, the draft resisters, the anti-war demonstrators.

The National Mobilization

1. contacts people around the country and encourages the setting up of teams to come to Washington
2. sends staff travelers to those who need them to help form a team
3. provides direct action workshops for those who request them
4. gets out the information on this project
5. co-ordinates the scheduling of the groups

In Washington the National Mobilization will provide

1. full time public relations people to help with the press
2. housing
3. orientation to the Washington scene
4. technical assistance
5. possibly food (finances permitting)

The Mobilization will attempt to provide legal assistance for those arrested. However, groups should be prepared to make their own arrangements if we are unable to do so. We are not in a position to provide bail.

send to:



National Mobilization Committee

**857 Broadway, Third Floor
New York, N.Y. 10003
Telephone (212) 675-4605**

- ☐ I am interested in the Direct Action Program and would like to have someone contact me about it.
- ☐ I would like the name of someone working on this project in my area.
- ☐ I would like to be kept informed.
- ☐ Enclosed is my contribution (make checks payable to National Mobilization Committee).

Address.....

Name.....

City..... State..... Zip.....

Telephone.....