

(5)

SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

M E M O

March 21, 1967

TO: Working Committee

FROM: Bob Greenblatt

Re: Staff Directory

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

In addition:

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

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

# SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

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

## STAFF AND OFFICERS DIRECTORY

<u>Vice Chairmen:</u>	<u>Address</u>	<u>Phone</u>
Ralph Abernathy	SCLC, 334 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta, Ga.	
Dave Dellinger (Tues.-Fri.)	5 Beekman Street, New York City	(212) 267-1468
Robert Greenblatt: <u>Mon-Wed.:</u> <u>Thurs-Sun.:</u>	107 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, N.Y. 5 Beekman St., N.Y.C.	(607) 273-0535 (212) 267-3255
Edward Keating	301 Broadway, San Francisco	(415) 981-4070
Sidney Peck	3429 Milverton Shaker Heights, Ohio	h: (216) 991-6759 o: (216) 231-7700 ext. 2385
Cleveland Robinson: Al Evanoff	13 Astor Place, N.Y.C.	OR 3-5120
Dagmar Wilson: Amy Swerdlow	9 Ridge Dr., E., Gt. Neck, N.Y.	(516) 482-7612

### National Director

James Bevel	5 Beekman St., N.Y.C.	(212) C07-3261
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### Assistants:

Paul Brooks	5 Beekman St., NYC	(212) C07-3261 home: (212) 594-6696
Beverly Sterner	5 Beekman St., NYC	(212) C07-3261 home: " " "

### Parade Committee Coordinators:

Tred Halstead	29 Park Row, N.Y.C.	off: (212) 964-0070; home 989-3067
Norma Becker		off: (212) 964-0070; home 691-5748
Student Mobilizer: Gus Horowitz	29 Park Row, N.Y.C.	off: (212) 233-4435; home 254-8889

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### WEST COAST

Office Address: 55 Colton Street, S. F. 94103 (415) 431-4584

Ed Keating West Coast Chairman	(415) 981-4070
Kip Dawson West Coast Executive Director	home: (415) 564-7992
Don Rothenberg	(415) 981-4070

## Intercom.

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

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

PROPOSAL ON PURPOSE, STRUCTURE, AND TASKS FOR THE  
WASHINGTON SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE - A WORKING PAPER

"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 cooperative 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. I, No. 1, December 19, 1966.

The Spring Mobilization Committee has played a very important roll in the development of the anti-war movement in Washington. For the first time all of the different segments of the movement have united their efforts for a common end. This had 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 Washingtonians to New York on April 15.

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 anti-war movement, who have not before been connected with any traditional peace organization.

Different individuals have different ideas as to the kind of action they would like to take up - this is only right and natural. But these different plans of action are by no means mutually exclusive. In fact, the Spring Mobilization Committee may perhaps best be viewed as an "umbrella committee" embracing different projects of action as sub-committees.

But why shouldn't the Spring Mobilization Committee pick one plan (like electoral politics or mass action) and concentrate all its resources on that one project? Wouldn't this be more efficient? Perhaps it would, but there are very serious problems with that approach. To begin with, it would be very difficult to get agreement on one specific project. As it was pointed out before, each individual has his own preference as to what he would like to do. It would be very difficult to get unanimous agreement on one project. But why unanimous agreement? The obvious goal of the anti-war movement is to involve as many people as possible as actively as possible. It is well known that people work hardest on things



they are interested in. Therefore, to narrow the scope of activity of the Spring Mobilization Committee to one project, even by majority vote, will lead to a splintering and relative weakening of the movement. Those who are not vitally interested in the project undertaken will gradually drift away, and the movement will lose potential activists. The way to prevent this, of course, is to have a number of projects represented as sub-committees coordinated by the Spring Mobilization 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 interests and match individuals with the projects that interest them. It could channel new projects into the proper sub-committees. It could receive reports on sub-committee 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.

#### Structure

Another question of great importance is the structural relationship of the sub-committees to the broad Spring Mobilization Committee. We do not feel that this question can be fully answered now. It is a question which will have to be answered in the day to day activity of each sub-committee. What can be stated now, as a general principle, is that each sub-committee should determine for itself its own need for autonomy according to its individual needs of structure, staff and financing, 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.

## 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 Tuesday, 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 anti-war 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. In addition to this general outline, Mr. Waskow submitted a three stage program of activity which included:

- 1) A Washington area anti-draft campaign towards the end of June consisting of a mass demonstration, perhaps acts of civil disobedience, and lobbying on the Hill.
- 2) 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.
- 3) An effort to get District presidential delegates pledged to King, Spock, Morse, or a peace platform.

This project means that it will need 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 Spring Mobilization Committee's broad program, the precinct organization group, or perhaps both.

## MASS ACTION

Mass actions of the organized anti-war 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 anti-war 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 anti-war forces to action all over the world.

The structure of the Washington Spring Mobilization Committee should provide for a sub-committee on Mass Action because 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 immediately.

The National Spring Mobilization Committee has announced plans for:

- 1) Representative anti-war leaders to come to Washington and tell Johnson what they plan to do to make him stop the war. This is to take place on May 17, 18, and 19. Also projected for this three day period are demonstrations of mounting numbers of people to be accompanied by sympathy demonstrations in cities all over the country. The demonstrations here in Washington must be built by the Spring Mobilization Committee.

- 2) The Spring Mobilization Committee Evaluation Conference, May 20th and 21st, which will take place at Hawthorne School, 6th and I Streets, S. W. Hundreds of anti-war activists from all sections of the country to attend workshops, plan the expansion of the movement, and project future activity are to attend. 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 Committee can settle down to the mundane business of making sure glorified war mongers receive a proper reception upon their return from the battlefield, such as the one recently given to General Westmoreland.

## EDUCATION

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

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

1. Education of the anti-war 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 roll in the movement. Their numbers must be increased in our movement and this involves getting the facts to the campuses.

3. Labor Unions. Workers must be educated so 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.

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 anti-war 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. This is coming up soon. It needs to be publicized and the facts should be gotten to everyone.

2. 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 anti-war 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 anti-war movement grows, so will threats against it. 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 members. 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 they do not, they will be demoralized by government threats designed to intimidate and isolate us. 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 anti-war 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 his 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 anti-war 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. Then to disseminate these facts to the various 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 anti-war movement is on their side and is in their best interest. Washington, D. C. is a strategic location for leafletting the troops on these cases and this should be done in a consciencous, organized fashion.

Private Petrick's case is in the hands of the Pentagon. The committee could organize pickets and 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 anti-war 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, and legal aid.

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'."

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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.

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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.



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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.

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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!

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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.

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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.

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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)



**PROPOSED GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR MARSHALLS.**

[For April 15 march]

- 1- Please execute only those tasks to which your team has been assigned. Please assume no other jobs, not specifically assigned to your team.
- 2- For special situations and unforeseen events ask your captain for instructions. Take instructions ONLY from Captains and officials wearing the appropriate armbands issued by the April 15 Mobilization. Do not follow orders from people without the proper armbands no matter how important they look. Marshalls take orders only from captains not from police. Only Captains shall talk with police.
- 3- The primary task of marshalls is to keep the line of march moving smoothly and without interruption. When an interruption happens it is the job of the marshall to insure that the slowdown is as short as possible.
  - A- If hecklers from the front or sides of the line begin shouting or throwing things marshalls should keep the line moving smoothly while stationing themselves between the hecklers and the ~~rest~~ marchers until relieved by the group of marshalls with the ~~first~~ following contingent. Remember if your team ~~has~~ is assigned to a contingent stay with that contingent.
  - B- If persons charge the line, marshalls should place themselves between the attackers and the line of march. Do not let the march stop. Try to prevent marchers from interrupting the march to fight with hecklers or attackers.
- 4- Before going on duty each marshall must be completely familiar with the contents of his marshalls kit. including-

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

2- the program.

3- your teams assignment

4-

5--

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

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

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

submitted.  
bruce hartford  
mark harrington



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

Subcaptain

Names

Phones

1. Mark Levy CY9 9540
2. Altemar Roberts 493 2844
3. Chris Howard 3T8 7137
4. Glen Havenor WA7 0825
5. Joel Kline RA8 3965
6. Josh Brown EN2 8844
7. Jose Bustos HA7 1579
8. Robert Kragin 763 5065 (201)

9.

10.

11.

12.

13.

14.

15.

Subteam #2

Subcaptain

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

Subteam #2

SubCaptain

Names

Phone

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

Team #3 TROUBLE SHOOTERS

Captain-

Number approx 50

Sub captain (4)

Ed Smith-green 9 OAKLAND PLN 284-2464 <sup>BKLN</sup>

\* (2) RANDY ZIMMERMAN - OL2 2916

HA (3) Eric Barr ✓ 226-0783 (off TW 94445)

✓ Ken Miller 242-7826

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

~~223-799-2963~~

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



## MOBILIZATION DIRECT ACTION PROJECT

### PART I

The National Mobilization has, on several occasions, reaffirmed its commitment to develop a strategy of sustained confrontation with the warmakers. The central long term assessments which underly such a strategy are threefold. 1) The grass-roots opposition to the war is sufficiently widespread that, if properly mobilized, it is capable of seriously impeding the war effort, not merely protesting it. 2) If an arena of action, alternative to Johnson's "dance of death", is properly placed before the American people, a sufficiently large segment will choose such an arena of life so as to make continuation of the war impossible. 3) Any program capable of moving people in this direction will, by its very nature, also educate people in the directions of social change and acceptance of increased responsibility for such change. That power of confrontation strategy as a means of educating people about issues and moving them to action has been amply demonstrated by the Freedom movement. This educational function must remain central in all of our thinking and planning.

When an attempt is made to translate this commitment to a strategy of confrontation into more immediate, programmatic terms a number of short term considerations and goals emerge which impose natural boundary lines within which such a program must lie. I shall attempt to summarize the major points that have so emerged after several weeks of consultation with various individuals and groupings within the peace and freedom movement, and to outline a program of actions which fall within these boundaries.

The theme must be so defined that a maximum number of people can relate to it emotionally or intellectually even if they cannot participate programmatically. It must be as simple as possible for ease of communication.

The physical target or targets must be chosen so that a small group of people can execute a significant action. At the same time, the targets must also be relevant to groups from different regions, draft resisters, veterans, professionals, Black Americans, etc.

The most stringent requirements apply to the possible program of action themselves.

- 1) The program must be of sufficient militancy to reflect the growing strength and commitment of the movement and to capture the attention of the country. As much as possible, it must be oriented around demands rather than requests or protests.
- 2) The actions must be easily explainable and easily repeatable. The possibility of establishing a simple pattern of action is essential if we hope to be able to sustain it and build on it for October 21 and after.
- 3) The actions should be a stimulant to local and regional activity. For this, and other reasons, the actions should not make large manpower demands for their effective execution.
- 4) The action must be conceived and executed as an integral part of an over-all program of which the October 21 confrontation is a key part.

### PART II

One of the most impressively dynamic parts of the peace movement in the past several months has been the resistance to the draft, despite the great personal risks involved for participants and organizers. The rest of the peace community, however, has been at a loss for a strategy other than support of resisters (when possible) and the circulation of "advocacy and complicity" statements. The organized efforts of adult support groups are absolutely essential so long as young draftable men are allowed to carry the major burden of the struggle. However, it is not surprising that these efforts lack the



dynamism and directness of the draft resistance movement itself. It seems completely obvious that a logical and necessary position for the entire peace community to take is: "no more boys for Vietnam. We need them at home." We must be willing to say to the congress and the Johnson Administration, with as much force and commitment as shown by the draft resister: We will not let you take our boys to fight in this stupid, barbarous, illegal war. Until we take this position, we are pursuing the same policy as the government. We place our young men, the draft resisters, on the front line of our battle and cheer them on safely from the sidelines.

The natural targets for such a campaign are those instruments of government directly responsible for creating and executing manpower procurement policy.

A) The Armed Services Committees of the House and Senate.

B) The Selective Service Headquarters

It is a fortunate circumstance that, due to the physical set-up of each of these places, a small group of people willing to risk arrest can impede their proper functioning.

I propose that the action in Washington, D.C. begin when Congress reconvenes on September 11, following the Labor Day recess. At that time, and for a period of about two weeks, small groups should begin to visit both Armed Services Committees with specific proposals centered on abolishing the draft. These groups should be prepared to demand that they be heard and given priority over all other business of the committee. Assuming, as will certainly be the case, that the groups will not even receive an opportunity to present their case, we would be compelled to move to the second phase of our action. Namely; to disrupt and, if possible, to close down the Selective Service Headquarters. The timetable here suggested would involve about two weeks of activity at the Congressional Committees and a maximum of three weeks at Selective Service Headquarters prior to October 16 when the large draft resistance demonstrations are planned.

As this action gains visibility, it will serve as an impetus for local actions aimed at closing down draft boards, induction centers, recruiting stations, and so on. It will also set the national stage for the October 16 action of draft resisters as well as the October 21 confrontation in Washington, D.C.

If this program is to be adopted, a great deal of preparation can and should be started as soon as possible.

1) Organizing the groups that will be willing to go to Washington and establishing tentative dates.

2) Preparations can be made to visit the local offices of Senators and Congressmen when they come home for their Labor Day recess (Sept. 1 - Sept. 11). The confrontation can start at that time.

3) Special groups may draw up specific demands and courses of action particular to their own interests, eg.; a) Parents of sons between 18 and 21 years of age might be prepared to exercise their responsibilities as legal guardians in creative ways. This could include the stand that they will not permit any communications from the S.S. Boards to reach their sons, as well as the demand that the Boards cease all communication with their sons. This could become an issue for signature gathering as well as delegations to Washington. b) Vietnam Veterans opposed to the war might demand that they be allowed to send a statement of their own to all draftable men on the S.S. rolls.

Much more work can be done to develop other creative actions for young women, professionals, Black Americans and other groupings. I believe that with proper planning such a program designed to physically stop the induction of our young men into the armed forces can become the "freedom rides" of the Peace movement. The Armed Services Committee rooms, the Selective Service offices in Washington and locally can become the counterparts of the "lunch counters" of the South.

Submitted by Robert Greenblatt  
Mobilization Co-Chairman  
Project Director - Direct Action



## Preliminary Draft

### THE PEACE FORCE: A PROGRAM FOR DIRECT ACTION AND RADICAL EDUCATION

Submitted to the Spring Mobilization Committee by Robert Greenblatt

It is an ever more widely recognized fact that the unilateral U.S. intervention in Vietnam is not an aberration in an otherwise acceptable U.S. foreign policy. Rather, it is an outgrowth and extreme example of an American foreign policy which, over a long period of time and under a variety of administrations, has been ready and willing to rely on the full destructive capabilities of an unprecedented and unmatched military might to enforce a narrowly defined national interest. Adopting the ostrich-like posture that social revolutions anywhere in the world constitute a threat to U.S. national security and acting unilaterally as self-appointed policemen of the world, this country has moved swiftly since World War II to replace and surpass Germany as the unprecedented threat to world peace and social progress.

Both in the formulation and execution of these policies in Vietnam and elsewhere, we have exhibited the same kind of blindness to the real problems and needs of the peoples of the world as we have to the problems and needs of segments of our own people at home. There is an alarming parallel between our policies towards the underdeveloped non-white nations of the world and the economically and politically disenfranchised non-white population at home. Cloaked in empty pieties and the rhetoric of freedom and democracy, this country is quickly becoming the Mississippi of the world. It becomes crucial, therefore, to see how well we have learned the moral and strategic lessons taught us by the civil rights movement and how capable we in the peace movement are of applying them on this larger and more critical scale.

The decision taken by the Spring Mobilization at its Workshop Conference in Washington D.C. to advocate and develop organized resistance and nonviolent direct action as part of its program was one which was forced upon the peace movement by existing political realities and not taken lightly. It is a decision absolutely necessary when the elected and appointed members of our national government violate and erode the very social contracts upon which their authority rests. For this is the true meaning of such a euphemism as "the credibility gap," the palatable name given to the structured practice of evasions, distortions and lies by public officials. Evidences of breaches in this social contract are exposed everyday in our public media. Stories of CIA subversion of our academic institutions, jingoist venom pouring forth from public officials at all levels, hysterical calls by legislators that we do away with the first amendment and similar calls by the President that we do away with both dissent and dissenters, the list could go indefinitely. But the most fundamental breach of the social contract upon which representative democracy rests took place in 1964 when we watched an incumbent President, with war maps in his pocket, cynically manipulate our earnest desires for peace by campaigning successfully on a peace platform.

The peace movement can no longer confine its program to traditional protests or electoral politics. It is foolish and may well be disastrous to confine ourselves to rules which are rejected by the political leadership of both parties and when these rejections are being institutionalized and legalized by these same leaders.

The peace movement must address itself to the task of challenging and confronting the political leadership of this country and thereby make people so fully aware of the real dangers confronting us that change will become possible. Massive nonviolent confrontation as the civil rights struggle in the South has shown, is the potential instrument for bringing about such a radical awareness. It is a strategy which is consistent with the principles of a total peace movement and may well be the ingredient without which such a movement may fail.

The basic strategic objective of massive nonviolent confrontation or structured conflict is to bring the struggles for peace and against militarism within the functioning reality of the people we are trying to reach so forcefully and so constantly that they must deal with them and make decisions about them. This effort must be accompanied by more traditional methods of political education so that the decisions are not made in a vacuum. For some, an unjust and illegal war 10,000 miles from our shores is close enough to break into our reality. Others will not take positive action until someone close is threatened by induction. Still others are awakened by a local confrontation such as the demand that the neighborhood school offer "peace assemblies" in lieu of the military assemblies which is often the practice.

The "Peace Force", the "cutting edge" of such a movement, can only be recruited from among the young people of high school and college age. Not alone because, in the case of males, their lives are more immediately threatened, but because they are not yet cynical, because they are more impatient with sham and hypocrisy, and because they do not yet have a vested interest in preserving the status quo or defending past mistakes. It is to the youth, therefore, that a good deal of our energy and resources must be directed. At the same time, the nature of nonviolent struggle demands that this Peace Force be rooted in a wider base of support and not become isolated and cut off from the rest of the community.

It would be presumptuous to attempt to set down a detailed program for mobilizing a Peace Force. Our experience is too limited and the communities where such programs would have to start vary drastically. However, it is possible to set down some guidelines of strategy and organization to initiate the program.

#### A) Task Forces

A task force should consist of about a dozen or more young people and at least one experienced organizer, all working full time in a fixed neighborhood or community. This fact and the inexperience of most members of the task force in community organization sets one of the immediate ground rules.

The community selected should be one in which a peace oriented constituency already exists and to which the task force members can readily adjust (i.e. don't send an all white group of middle class college students into a non-white ghetto.). The first several weeks should be devoted to making contacts and establishing ties in the community and with existing peace groups in particular. It has been our experience with several areas of Brooklyn that these groups can be very receptive.

Another key part of this stage of the program is to solicit hosts for each worker who will furnish lodging and, where possible, meals as well. We have met with complete cooperation thus far in each of these areas and some of the women's groups are initiating small fund raising functions for us.

We are now in a position to hold meetings and begin the recruiting process. Whenever possible, we work through existing groups and help in their programs but with the clear and open understanding that we are not general purpose volunteers but a group for the intensification of peace activity to a stage of structured confrontation.

In addition to the general public meetings referred to earlier, we hold our own workshops in nonviolent strategy and tactics, organizational problems and so on. We also hold periodic meetings with our hosts and other sympathetic adults to keep them informed of our activities and allied with us. Indeed such meetings are central mechanisms for radicalizing the community and extending our base of support.



The next phase of organization should consist of orientation sessions and workshops for young people who are potential members of the task force and those who, while ready to work with the group and take part in actions that may come up, are not yet willing or able to work full time. At the same time, having gained some first hand knowledge of the community, the selection of a focal point for confrontation should begin, which must be a logical one in the local context. During all of this, there must be a continuous program of activity aimed at heightening visibility and to serve as a source of recruiting. These can range from saturation leafleting to recruiting and signature collection in "restricted" areas (e.g., schools, playgrounds), marches, picketing, sit-ins, etc. The specifics can only be determined by the strategic demands of the situation and the support built up at any given point. One fundamental guideline should be stressed: confrontations with police or other authorities should not be pursued without the presence of a sufficient number of people who have participated in non-violent orientation sessions and who are able to react as a group. While this is often the only real element of control one has once a demonstration is underway, a surprisingly small group of people can set the tone of a relatively large demonstration.

It is this last observation which forms one of the main arguments for putting a number of task forces into the field. In addition to establishing a constituency with strong community support and ready for direct action, the very existence of such a constituency becomes a political lever in itself while also making it possible to organize truly massive nonviolent direct actions that can be sustained for long periods of time.

#### ROLE OF SPRING MOBILIZATION

The coalition nature of the Spring Mobilization makes it, in effect, the visible national adult peace community. As such, its minimal relation to the Peace Force should be similar in spirit to that outlined between a task force and a local peace committee. But more is necessary since Mobilization is the only group that is in a position to bring such a program into existence and foster its growth by providing facilities, initial visibility, supporting cover, and technical and financial resources. At the same time, the fund raising capabilities of an organization such as Spring Mobilization is itself dependent on a visible action program. In light of this, it is more than likely that Mobilization's fund raising potential will be enhanced by its initiation and support of such a program.

At the early stages, the basic demands of any single task force would be for minimal space (phone and desk), a small literature budget for each project, and salaries for the core organizers. The group now working in Brooklyn already has eight young people fully committed to this project and receiving no salaries at all. It is also important to point out that their commitment is completely open-ended. They have taken leaves of absence from school and are prepared to work as long as it seems necessary and fruitful. In addition to this initial group, there are several other young people who are working very closely with us but who also have other commitments. Still others have expressed interest in working with us or establishing new task forces but we do not have sufficient supervisory personnel.

If the project proves as successful as is so far indicated, larger financial commitments by Mobilization would become necessary in order to encourage implementation on a much wider scale.

## DRAFT PROSPECTUS -- OCTOBER 21st ACTION

The mobilization in Washington this October must avoid being a carbon copy of past activities. Previous actions have concentrated on protest and petition, seeking to gather the largest numbers possible to indicate the widespread character of opposition. The present action should concentrate on a new tack, should add a qualitatively new dimension. The reasons for this are obvious: no movement can repeat mechanically what it has done before without appearing to be stale and ineffectual; and no movement can afford to bypass the current thinking in its ranks. It seems indisputable that there is a shift in the minds of thousands of our adherents away from general opposition, toward resistance and non-cooperation. Protest is still essential, but it is no longer enough. "Support Our Boys in Vietnam--Bring Them Home" is still a good central theme, but it should be tied to the mood of resistance and non-cooperation.

The October Mobilization therefore should:

1. Move toward a more militant confrontation.
2. Develop around a groundswell of local non-cooperation, feeding into the national project.

That groundswell, now in incipency, seems to be developing in two milieus, amongst the youth opposed to the draft and anxious to act directly against the military system, and amongst ghetto inhabitants disillusioned with continuing poverty and federal unconcern.

The energies of these forces, as well as women, academics, radical pacifists, and other elements of the movement that can relate to them, can be mobilized around a campaign of militant action, including civil disobedience, turning in draft cards, sit-ins and sit-downs of various kinds, etc., on the most massive scale in U.S. history. This would constitute a qualitative transformation of our activity.

With the slogan "Support our boys in Vietnam--bring them home" as the overall theme, women would be asked to congregate at one entrance of the Pentagon around slogans such as:

"Close the Pentagon, liquidate the war machine."  
"No sons or sweethearts for the war effort."  
"End the War--Disarm now."

Young men of draft age would be asked to congregate at another entrance of the Pentagon around the slogans:

"Hell, no, we won't go."  
"Close the draft boards."  
"Let the soldiers themselves decide on war and peace, life and death."

The participants in this contingent will turn in their draft cards en masse.

The civil rights and ghetto contingent would be asked to congregate in front of Capitol Hill around the central slogan:

"War money for the poor."

Each city would carry banners to show how much of the \$30 billion now spent on the war would accrue to their city for real anti-poverty activity if the war money were spent on the poor. Chicago's share, for instance, would be \$600 million.



A vigil should be placed around the CIA offices, out of town, with a central slogan:

"Close this institution of murder, intrigue and assassination."

The participants who cannot partake in any of the other activities will congregate in front of the White House for an all-day picket line around general slogans such as the ones carried in the April 15th mobilization.

In the late afternoon a giant rally will be held at Lafayette Park, for one hour, with two speakers representing the two main constituencies mobilized, and two men of international prominence.

Those who wish to remain for a second day of activity will either sleep out in the park, in the manner of the bonus marchers of the 1930's, or be given housing accommodations by the Washington committee. Each group will plan its own actions for Sunday.

Internationally, we will urge people in foreign countries to hold demonstrations in front of their parliaments demanding withdrawal of recognition from the United States, South Korea, Australia, Thailand, New Zealand and the Philippines, and the severance of all commerce and communication until they withdraw from the war.

One of the primary needs for the October Mobilization will be the establishment of a legal committee and a bail fund of \$200,000.

The call for the Mobilization should be couched in defensive terms: our government has subverted the tradition of democracy and the principles on which this nation was built; it has refused to act in conformance with constitutional provisions and the U.N. Charter; it has lied and deceived its people; it has taxed our lives and our earnings without representing us; our only alternative is to refuse to cooperate with a regime that is illegal as well as immoral, in the same way that Sam Adams and the Sons of Liberty refused to cooperate with the illegal and immoral British government. A week before there might be a demonstration in Boston where "bags of tea" will be thrown into Boston Harbor.

Sid Lens  
Chicago, Illinois

## ON THE NEED FOR A NATIONAL WORK LIST

a working paper submitted to the National Workshop Conference of the Spring Mobilization Committee, Washington, DC, May 20-21, 1967, by

Ann Peery, Dayton Area Coordinating Committee, 221 Xenia Avenue, Yellow Springs, Ohio

This paper is written from my experience in working with local groups and publishing a regional newsletter. The movement that has grown into the Spring Mobilization, and is searching for ways of facilitating more growth in both numbers and depth of understanding and commitment, must now try to develop as open, simple and efficient means of communication and coordination as possible. At the same time, we must realize that there is an extremely complex variety of approaches and levels of individuals and organizations on both the local and national levels. The national work list I am proposing helps fill some needs I see on a local level, and should also be useful to national organizations; it should also serve to help the growth of the movement. Naturally it is only one of many possible means which can and should be used.

### Local committees need:

1. to know the experiences of other groups--projects they have tried, nitty-gritty information about how they went about it, evaluations, discussions of strategy and tactics.
2. to know what resources and services are available (literature, factual information, tapes, films, speakers) and exact information about how to get these.
3. to know about programs and actions of all national organizations, so they can decide what they want to make a part of their programs (this forms an ongoing "vote" between national meetings).
4. a forum where ideas can be brought up by anyone for consideration, and where continual discussion can be carried on.
5. regular contact with the national scene and other local groups.

### Characteristics of the work list:

1. Nonexclusion: It should go out of its way to get material from a wide range of organizations so all concerned people can accept it, not feeling it is pushing a particular "line," so people can be confronted with positions different from their own, so most groups can find something useful to them "where they are at", so the movement can select from a wide range of alternatives. Of course, the Spring Mobilization (or whatever group published it) should have a place to promote and emphasize those actions decided in national and regional meetings or by a national board. Naturally, this sort of nonexclusion will never be perfectly achieved due to limitations of space and the biases of whoever has the difficult job of selecting material, but it should be striven for. As a part of this policy, there should be a forum section where signed opinions can be presented and debate can be carried on about the relative merits of proposals or strategies.
2. Inter-organizational: This is largely covered above, but it should be emphasized that most people receive either information only from their own particular organization or from too many to possibly read and digest them all, so a publication covering them all briefly would be useful to keep in mind all that's going on.
3. Broad issue: Though the major emphasis would be on this particular war, naturally there should be information about other issues and causes (which most people know are closely related to what Vietnam means in our society).
4. Brief: This is very difficult, but vastly important, as there is far too much printed matter for anyone to read already. Most items can be covered with a sentence or two and an address for further information. "How to" articles would be longer, but should be written as tersely as possible. It could be assumed that most people who would use it are already somewhat aware, and details do not need to be spelled out (other publications do this anyway--people could be referred to these). Might include a glossary of initials for new people (WSP, WILPF, YAWF, FOR, DACC, IUC, etc.).

5. Well organized: It is important that people can pick out as quickly as possible what interests them, so items should be carefully categorized. Suggested sections are:
- a. calendar of national actions.
  - b. brief descriptions of projects of various local, regional and national organizations that might be useful for local groups, and reports about the current state of existing projects.
  - c. resource page (which should be clipped and kept, so repetition is not necessary) listing all kinds of resource materials and where to get them.
  - d. "How to" articles which should be very specific, about such things as: how to find out what war work your local factory is doing; how to get equal time on radio and TV; how one committee started a draft counseling program; how we got a housewives' boycott group concerned with the relation of food prices and the war, etc. etc.
  - e. a forum: ideas and suggestions from individuals and groups, debate and controversy and opinions, possibly answers from a number of different people to a set question.
  - f. news from the Mobilization (or the group publishing the work list).
  - g. selected useful information for local groups: statistics, facts, statements of groups, quotes, sample leaflets, etc.
  - h. want ads: positions open for movement jobs and listings from people who want jobs.
  - i. other materials: perhaps organizations and companies would pay extra postage if their brochures, literature lists, statements, petitions, etc., were stapled in.
6. Naturally the work list should be readable, well laid out and well printed.

Distribution: As I see this as less of a propaganda organ than a service to people already involved (or on the margins), it would be distributed within the movement. One way would be to send bulk amounts to local groups to include with their own newsletters. To cut down on duplications and incorrect addresses (and to broaden local lists), perhaps name tapes could be sent occasionally to responsible local people for checking. (I can pass tapes on to suitable people in our area.) A subscription should be set for those who can pay, but it should mainly be supported by contributions to be sure that everyone that wants it will receive it.



## ON REGIONAL COMMUNICATION AND COORDINATION

a working paper submitted to the National Workshop Conference of the Spring Mobilization Committee, Washington, DC, May 20-21, 1967 by

Ann Peery, Dayton Area Coordinating Committee, 221 Xenia Avenue, Yellow Springs, Ohio

This is a brief paper about one form of regional communication and coordination which, I believe, is most useful for an area with few organized groups. When DACC began (fall '65), there were almost no anti-war groups in Southwest Ohio; the previous February a Dayton Area CEWVN had been formed. By fall, a few of us decided that if we became a coordinating committee to facilitate communication among groups and individuals already active and to help people in other communities get their own groups started, this would be the best way to help the movement grow in this area. The necessity for people not to feel "pushed", "controlled" or such by the wild radicals in Yellow Springs dictated a very open, non-positional viewpoint. I also believe a real respect for "where people are at" is necessary for working with them and keeping them open, so they can learn from their actions (and results, or lack of them). Besides, a group can carry out well only those projects which it feels are most valid for it to do. We tried to make this decision democratically by calling a meeting of people from around the Dayton area, but there was poor attendance because no one cared particularly then.

What evolved was a service organization usually run by two people. One important aspect of it was our collection of names; many people who had been active in the past knew people in other places (we gave out questionnaires listing colleges and towns--an afternoon with Lovejoy and a map is very useful--to such people). We also wrote to national organizations for contact lists and talked to people who worked for various organizations for names they could give us personally (even if we couldn't use their mailing list). Often we would write people who were suggested to us in other towns asking them for names; this is best done after they have received several copies of your newsletter so they know what you are doing. Last fall we sent copies of our mailing list for each town in our area to someone in that town asking them for additions and corrections. Always in this process we were seeking people who would serve as contacts, responsible, active people who would reach out to new people; the number needed in a given place depends on how good communication is between, say, students and faculty, or political groups and religiously oriented groups. We made a great effort to communicate with people of as many orientations as possible.

These names enabled us to be useful in many ways. We have been able to give individuals who have wanted to start a group in a town a list of concerned people to contact. We have given national organizations contact lists and mailing lists for particular projects. And probably most important, we have been able to give these lists to many groups in our area for use in publicizing their demonstrations or events, and we can suggest to people who contact us who we feel would be best for them to get in touch with on any particular issue.

Our second main service has been our newsletter (many of my ideas on what a newsletter should be are included in the paper "On a National Work List") in which we have a calendar of regional and national events, information about what groups are doing, as wide a resource list as possible, and other items we feel are particularly helpful to groups we serve. This has always gone out free to every name on our list, because we want to reach as many people as possible. It is important to emphasize that the editor has to really work at getting information as it takes a long time for local groups to learn to think of the newsletter and feel it is useful and relevant, and sometimes to trust you. Naturally, you must try to balance the newsletter so people can't write it off as pushing only one "line."

Other services: These have varied from time to time, depending on who was working with DACC, and what local and national groups have asked of us. Generally we have had some literature and other resources available for groups and individuals. We have communicated "feedback" from local groups to national groups. We have helped run workshops and training sessions. We have set up speaking tours. We've run a Peace and Freedom Center in Yellow Springs which has also served as our office.



Finances: A regional, non-positional organization has neither the drawing power of a local group carrying on locally-decided activities or a national organization with a single focus. Contributions from groups and individuals, together with what we make from sales at the Center and what we make from stickers and bookmarks printed by local volunteer labor have enabled us to function without being seriously in debt.

What has happened: As many of you know, because no one else was doing regional communication, the area DACC was covering grew to a ridiculous size (West Lafayette, Ind. and Youngstown, Ohio are not really in the Dayton area). In the last 6 months, our name list has grown all out of hand, and the activities that should be reported on would require a 20-page newsletter; active people across the state know each other much better now, and many local groups have their own newsletters. In addition, the kind of growth that led to the Mobilization has led to a greater interest in communication and cooperation on a regional level. So with the much greater facilities available in Cleveland, DACC can return to concentrating on Southwest Ohio. Precisely where we go from here we haven't decided yet.

I describe the above process because I think it shows why a DACC-type operation can be a useful part of the growth of the movement in a particular area. As activity proliferates over the country, I feel that small-scale operations such as ours could be very useful in some of the less-organized cities or in an area such as ours where groups are geographically scattered.

Evaluation: The advantages of the DACC-type are that it can be started by a few concerned people at the point when groups are not ready to get together and set up their own communication system. It can make decisions easily without factionalism (though naturally these are pragmatically subject to the approval of the constituents involved; wrong decisions will mean it will no longer be trusted or used); and it can keep communications going between all concerned people as they will not fear it is imposing a line or action they are not ready for.

The disadvantages are that it is difficult to get many people involved in the necessary work and support and some groups feel they do not have an adequate say in its operation. Therefore it would seem to me that an organization such as ours should try to get groups and individuals within its area to participate as soon as possible (as long as no one group dominates) in whatever ways they can, and to encourage them to work directly with other groups and relate directly to national organizations. What is ultimately most important is what a group does in its own place to educate its members and to reach the people around it. Regional communication and coordination are primarily aids to this, and should not take too many resources away from this.

One variation on our operation which could be very valuable at this point is for concerned groups and individuals in a town or area to get together and hire a person or persons to carry on this type of activity for them and other people.

Because I have wanted to describe what I personally know about, I have not tried to discuss the alternative method of communication and coordination which would be a body made up of representatives of each group within an area.

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The regional coordination workshop needs to include an exchange of ideas about mechanics, programs and projects, techniques of helping new groups to organize, etc.



# "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.

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.

ISSUED BY YOUTH AGAINST WAR & FASCISM

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



## The Daily News view of the 'Doves' statement

## Senators' Views on War

**DAILY NEWS**  
220 East 42d St. NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER (212) MU 2-1234

Published daily except Sunday by News Syndicate Co. Inc.  
President, F. M. Elmer; 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 misconception 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 BUCK
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 PELL
VANCE HARTKE	

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



## DRAFT RESISTANCE PROGRAM - NATIONAL MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

In discussions with people involved in organizing draft resistance projects, it was concluded that the Mobilization could not directly contribute anything more to the efforts to organize draft age young men than are already being carried out by various groups throughout the country. Furthermore, it was conceded that any attempt by the Mobilization to undertake such an effort would simply duplicate the work of groups that are in a position to operate much more effectively.

There was a very strong feeling, however, that the Mobilization is in a unique position to fill a very vital gap in this area - that of organizing adult support programs (similar to N.Y.C.'s Support in Action) on a national level. We therefore adopted the following program:

1. Organizing adult support groups in the cities where draft resister groups are already operating - and continuing wherever such groups develop.
2. Endorsing the statement advocating draft refusal now being circulated by Resist. (Faculty and professionals)
3. Maintaining liaison with all draft resistance groups and circulating a newsletter that will keep other segments of the movement informed of the developments in draft resistance and adult support actions throughout the country.
4. Circulating pledge cards, geared toward adults, which would parallel the draft resistance pledge cards being circulated among pre-draft and draft age youth.
5. Seeking out womens peace organizations and other interested groups for the purpose of trying to organize a Mothers and Womens draft resistance project. (Clergy and Laity has begun to develop such a project within their constituency.)
6. Raising funds to finance the foregoing as well as for subsidizing draft resistance organizers.
7. Seeking out interested lawyers and lawyers groups to discuss ways of organizing a national legal defense network.
8. Establishing a committee to organize this project which will be initially made up of:

- |  |                                     |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Ron Young (FOR) - liaison with draft resisters      |                                     |
| 2. Rev. Thomas Hayes, or someone from Clergy and Laity |                                     |
| 3. Karl Bissinger )                                    | 8. Bob Zevin (Resist)               |
| 4. Grace Paley ) Support                               | 9. Moxie Schell (SANE)              |
| 5. Keith Lampe ) in                                    | 10. Fred Rosen (Resistance, N.Y.C.) |
| 6. Bette Fried ) Action                                | 11. Igai Roodenko (VRL)             |
| 7. Norma Becker )                                      | 12. Don Newton (SDS)                |

### National Organizations working in Draft Resistance:

SDS	YAWF	Mobilization Committee
ATAC	CNVA	Clergy & Laity Concerned
FOR	DuBois Clubs	Student Mobilization
WRL	The Resistance	Episcopal Peace Fellowship
SNCC	CCCO	Catholic Peace Fellowship
CORE	Resist	



For additional information -

National Organizations working on various aspects of draft resistance:

American Friends Service Committee  
15 Rutherford Pl.  
New York City

Resist  
166 Fifth Ave.  
New York City

Catholic Peace Fellowship  
5 Beekman St.  
New York City

Students for a Democratic Society  
1608 West Madison St.  
Chicago, Illinois

Central Committee for Conscientious  
Objectors (CCCO)  
2006 Walnut St.  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Student Mobilization  
17 East 17 St.  
New York City

Clergy & Laymen Concerned About  
Vietnam  
475 Riverside Dr.  
New York City

Student Nonviolent Coordinating  
Committee (SNCC)  
360 Nelson St. SW  
Atlanta, Georgia

Committee for Nonviolent Action  
5 Beekman St.  
New York City

The Resistance  
224 West 4 St.  
New York City

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)  
200 West 135 St.  
New York City

War Resisters League  
5 Beekman St.  
New York City

Episcopal Peace Fellowship  
229 East 59th St.  
New York City

W.E.B. DuBois Clubs  
862 Sixth Ave.  
New York City

Fellowship of Reconciliation  
Box 271  
Nyack, N.Y.

Youth Against War & Fascism  
58 West 25 St.  
New York City

\*\*\*\*\*

#### DRAFT RESISTANCE PROJECT

National Mobilization Committee  
857 Broadway  
New York, N.Y. 10003

- ☐ I am interested in working in an adult support program in my area.  
☐ I would like a speaker to address an interested group in my area.  
☐ Please send me additional information.  
☐ Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to help organize draft resistance.

NAME.....PHONE.....

ADDRESS.....

CITY.....STATE.....ZIP.....

## Tidbits

### Military Casualties

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

All those figures more or less comes from the Pentagon.

### CIVILIAN CASUALTIES

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

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

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

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

2--- ~~1,500,000 Civilian dead from 1961-1966 (10.5% of population of S.Vietnam. According to New Statesmans Handbook the 1962 (only figure available) population of S. Vietnam is 14,200,000)~~

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

5

## 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. 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!

Spring Mobilization Committee  
NATIONAL WORKSHOP CONFERENCE  
The Hawthorne School  
Washington, DC 20-21 May 1967

CONFERENCE AGENDA

Saturday 20 May 8 AM-?? Registration and housing arrangements  
(Main Entrance; after 10 AM, Gymnasium)

10 AM-1 PM Plenary Session (ground floor lobby)  
Welcome: Dagmar Wilson  
Opening Remarks: Sid Peck  
West Coast Report: Ed Keating  
National Report: James Bevel  
Student Mobilization Report: Linda Dannenberg  
Discussion  
Summation and Closing Remarks: Robert Greenblatt

1 PM-2PM Lunch (cafeteria)

2 PM-4 PM Workshop Series I (see detailed list below)

4 PM-6 PM Workshop Series II (see detailed list below)

6 PM-7:30 PM Dinner (cafeteria)

7:45-10:45 Workshop Series III (see detailed list below)

11 PM Mobile Theater Group  
Films: Sons and Daughters  
Time of the Locust  
For Life, Against the War (Angry Arts collage)  
(rooms for films and theater to be announced)

Midnight Deadline for submitting proposals to presiding committee

Sunday 21 May 9:30 AM Breakfast (cafeteria)

10AM-3PM Plenary Session  
Reports from the workshops  
Discussion and decisions

3 PM Adjournment  
-----

WORKSHOP SERIES I (2PM-4PM)

Literature and Publications--Balcony I

Barbara Bick, chairman  
Stan Cohen  
Don Newton Ann Peery  
John Heckman

Fund Raising--Balcony III

Jack O'Dell, chairman  
Marie Runyon Michael Galazan

Regional and International Coordination

Staff Room; overflow--Poetry & Music  
Sid Peck, chairman  
Jack Speigel Karen Talbot  
Arthur Tuden Mike McCabe  
Peggy Duff

Mass Media and Public Relations--Balcony II

Paula Weinstein, chairman  
Amy Swerdlow Cora Weiss  
Larry Bensky Jerry Stoll



WORKSHOP SERIES I, cont. (2PM-4PM)

Strategy and Tactics of Nonviolence

Monument I; overflow--Capitol II

James Bevel, chairman  
Robert Greenblatt  
Bernard Lafayette  
Barbara Deming  
Beverly Sterner

Mass Demonstrations--Monument II;

overflow--Capitol I  
resource people to be announced



WORKSHOP SERIES II (4 PM-6PM)

Draft Resistance--Monument I; overflow--  
Capitol II

Norma Becker, chairman  
Ron Clark Tom Hayden  
Ralph DiGia Ivanhoe Donaldson  
Bruce Dancis

War Crimes and International Law--  
Staff Room

Leonard Liggio, chairman  
Gabrielle Edgcomb Conrad Lynn

Defeating Attacks on Dissent--Balcony II;  
overflow--Balcony I and III

Donna Allen, chairman  
William Kunstler Franklin Alexander  
Ken Cloke Thomas Emerson

Political Action--Monument II; overflow--  
Capitol I

Arthur Waskow, chairman  
Julian Bond Jerry Grossman  
Robert Scheer John Anderson

Non-Payment of Taxes for War--Poetry  
and Music Library

Maurice McCracken, chairman  
Eric Weinberger Ernest Bromley

WORKSHOP SERIES III (7:45PM-10:45 PM)

Draft Resistance, cont. (same rooms)

Trade Unions and Labor Youth--Balcony I

Al Evanoff, chairman  
Sid Peck Jack Spiegel  
Sumner Rosen Archie Brown

Political Action, cont. (same rooms)

GIs and Veterans--Balcony 4

Fred Halstead, chairman  
LeRoy Wolins Jan Crumb  
Reuben Butler Ron Wolin

Ghetto and Poverty-Area People--Balcony 2;  
overflow--Balcony 3

Herb Kelsey, chairman  
Ron Clark Tom Hayden  
Mike James Ivanhoe Donaldson  
Paul Brooks

Neighborhood Groups--Poetry and Music  
Library; overflow--Balcony 5

J. Michael Bopp, chairman  
Dick Krooth Stephen Holden  
John Maher Bob Morris

Artists Against the War--Capitol I

Carol Grosberg, chairman  
Jules Rabin Sam Abrams  
Irving Petlin Karl Bissinger

Students and Faculty--Staff Room

Robert Greenblatt, chairman  
Patti Miller GarAlperowitz  
AJane Adams Robert Gibson  
Don Gurewitz Deborah Weisburd

Professionals and Middle Class People--  
Capitol II

Eric Holtzman, chairman  
Ken Cloke  
Dr. Philip Shapiro Michael Arons  
Dr. David Dubnau



# SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

## TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

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

### FOUNDING CHAIRMAN

A.J. MUSTE  
(1885-1967)

### VICE CHAIRMEN

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

### NATIONAL DIRECTOR

JAMES BEVEL

### WEST COAST OFFICERS

### CHAIRMAN

EDWARD KEATING

### EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

KIPP DAWSON

Dear

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

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

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

# SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

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KIPP DAWSON

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

We S'rongly urge you to attend!

Sincerely,

*Beverly Sterner*

Beverly Sterner  
(CO7-3261)

*Barry Greever*  
Barry Greever  
(675-4605)

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



(5)

## 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



5

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 Mobilization. The massive popular support given to the Mobilization confirmed the wisdom of this policy.

The Spring Mobilization, 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 forswear 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 <sup>reflects</sup> ~~regards~~ 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.



PROPOSAL submitted to the National Workshop Conference of the Spring Mobilization Committee, Washington, DC, May 20-21, 1967 by

Long Island United for Peace, Box 382, Westbury, NY 11500:

The Executive Board of this organization, representing roughly 7000 votes in 1966 Congressional elections in the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th Districts, Long Island, passed the following resolution on May 10, 1967:

"The United for Peace Movement of Nassau and Suffolk counties, Long Island, recommends that the assembled delegates to the National Conference of Protest, Politics and Resistance DECLARE THEIR INDEPENDENCE from the war in Vietnam, from the major parties supporting that war, and from the government waging that war, BY ESTABLISHING A PEACE CONGRESS, to be composed by one representative of the peace forces from each Congressional District in the United States."

"The United for Peace movement of Nassau and Suffolk counties urges the Conference to go about setting up an independent National Political Party in order to insure that the 1968 voter will have a "Peace Alternative."

submitted May 15, 1967  
Karl Bernhard, Chairman



NATIONAL MOBILIZATION TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Administrative Committee Meeting

Saturday, July 22, 1967, Washington, D.C.

TENTATIVE AGENDA

- A. Expansion of Co-Chairman group - Sid Peck
- B. Program Development
  - 1. Direct Action (Target City) - Bob Greenblatt
  - 2. Draft Resistance - Norma Becker
  - 3. Peace Torch Marathon - Sid Peck
  - 4. October 21 Confrontation - Dave Dellinger
  - 5. Political Action - Sid Peck
- C. Report of Stockholm Peace Conference - Jim Bevel
- D. Finance Committee Report - Otto Nathan
- E. Coordinator's Report - Sid Peck
  - 1. Office
  - 2. Coordination
  - 3. Staff
  - 4. West Coast
- F. Local Area Reports - Announcements
- G. Good and Welfare

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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.

SPRING MOBILIZATION FINANCIAL REPORT  
AS OF 6/2/67

BILLS PAYABLE \$6646.81 —  
LOANS PAYABLE 4900.00 —  
TOTAL DEBT 11546.81  
less funds on hand 602.51

CURRENT DEFICIT \$10944.30

LIST OF PRESSING BILLS	AMOUNT (approx.)	Maximum time
Phones	\$1000.00	3 weeks
New deposit on phone	1000.00	4 "
Photo Comp Press	350.00	none
Mimeo paper	275.00	225 now
Telegrams	125.00	now
Typewriter rent	50.00	none
Poster Board	450.00	4 weeks
Mimeo Supplies	125.00	3 "
Star Printing	225.00	3 "
Travel bills	350.00	none
Typewriters (rented)	125.00	2 weeks
ads	100.00	3 "
<b>TOTAL NEEDED AT ONCE</b>	<b>\$4175.00</b>	
Weekly expenses \$700.00 X 4 *	2800.00	
Misc. - - - - -	1000.00	
<b>TOTAL NEEDED WITHIN . .</b>	<b>7975.00</b>	
<b>30 DAYS IF WE ARE</b>	<b>7975.00</b>	
<b>TO SURVIVE - - - - -</b>	<b>(\$8000.00)</b>	



(5)

[Regarding Third Arab-Israeli War, June 1967]

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*

15

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 15<sup>th</sup> 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.

TENTATIVE AGENDA

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE JUNE 17, 1967

SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

1. Co-Chairman's meeting  
→ NAME
2. Report on staff
3. Report on funding
4. Expansion of Co-Chairmanships  
→ ANNOUNCEMENT
5. Program proposals
  - a. Direct Action
  - b. Draft Resistance
  - c. Mass Action OCT 21
  - d. Political Action
6. Proposal on Working Committee
7. Public Relations



(5)

Preliminary Meeting on Nonviolent Strategy and Tactics

c

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

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

People Invited:

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

Representatives from:

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

f

National Mobilization Committee

Administrative Committee - Saturday, July 8, NYC

TENTATIVE AGENDA

(Offering)

1. Minutes

2. Announcements

3. Report from North Vietnam - Dave Dellinger

4. Local Area Reports

5. Mid-East Resolution - David Axel

6. New Co-Chairmen

7. Rev. Martin Luther King Meeting

8. Program Development

a. Mass Action - Al Evanoff  
(October 21)

b. Draft Resistance - Norma Becker  
(Adult Support)

c. Political Action - Carole Powell  
(Labor Day Conference)

d. Direct Action - Robt. Greenblatt, Jack O'Dell  
(Target City)

9. Office

10. Treasurers Report - Eric Weinberger  
Finance Committee Report - Otto Nathan

GOOD & WELFARE.....SUNSHINE CLUB

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## A REPORT ON THE MOBILIZATION DIRECT ACTION PROJECT

Since late May, the Mobilization Direct Action Project, which consists of ten full-time volunteer staff, one field advisor, and two part-time adult advisors, has been experimenting in building a direct action movement in the Flatbush area of Brooklyn. We have used direct action as a tool not only to reach those not yet organized, but also to increase the commitment of those already involved in local peace work.

We feel that without relevance to the community, no direct action program can be effective. Therefore, our first effort was to get to know the community as well as possible. The volunteers have lived with families in the area, and members of the project have regularly attended meetings of local peace groups to discuss reciprocal cooperation in program and activity. This cooperation has been to a large extent achieved.

During this first period of our work, we held a number of public meetings to discuss the war and actions against it. We have experimented in publicity and program depending on the audience expected.

A great number of contacts were made through our cooperation with other groups and through our meetings. These have become vital in communicating to the community our outlook and program.

We learned a great deal during the initial period of our work about the response of various groups in the community -- the organized anti-war groups, the police, minor officials, pro-war groups, etc. In particular, we found that many people in the community who considered themselves part of the peace movement were not, during the summer, stimulating visible anti-war activity. There was little adhesiveness or communication among the separate groups, and there was a general unwillingness to initiate action outside the standard peace activities.

Direct action confronts the individual with his own responsibility to either oppose evil or to tolerate it. The direct action workers place themselves in a position such that the evil will react if present. Those who observe the reaction are then forced to decide what to do. Those who decide to oppose the evil are brought into a close communication with others who have made the same decision. New forces are created, which may last after the specific action which creates them. Patterns of behavior are established which make it easier for an individual to oppose evil afterwards.

The direct action we took in Flatbush was simply to establish a peace information and recruiting table beside military recruiting stations. We made careful preparations to make our action as reasonable as possible. We informed the police and the recruiting stations in advance. We attempted to explain to the officers in the stations our reasons for the action. These preparations and others prevent the stupidity and evil of the military and the police to become lost in a mass of technicalities. We informed the community of our action in advance and invited their suggestions. It was not our intention to fool, but to expose.

As the action turned out, the major evil was most evident in the reaction of the pro-war elements in the community, rather than the police. A large crowd gathered which heckled our action and which eventually attacked several members of the Project. Two members of the Project were hit, one was dragged around a corner, and down half a block before rescued. One was shoved to the ground and kicked in the face. He spent several days in the hospital, where he was operated on for a broken nose. The police, though present, did not act in time to prevent the violence.

An emergency public meeting was called to inform the community of the violence on their streets to those exercising the rights supposedly being defended in Vietnam. A woman from the community whose son was working with the Project expressed her anger that the police could not protect her son only four blocks from his home.

From the meeting a supporting picket line was called. Eighty people marched for two hours in a light rain to protest the loss of liberties during war-time. In addition a telephone campaign was arranged to complain to the police about their inaction.

The support we received is now growing into much greater community involvement in peace activity. A new group has been formed to continue the table which led to the attacks. This group is also interested in setting up a peace school. In addition, people in the community have, since our action, come to us with their own proposals for action. But a major part of the work remains to be done. The new interest and activity must be consolidated and focused.

The program we have used can be used in various forms in many communities, for the evil most dramatically expressed by the war is subtly widespread. If direct action movements can be created in many places, two important tasks become possible -- each community can increase the effect of its activities in its own area, and a constituency is built for mass actions in national targets.



National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam

MINUTES: Administrative Committee Meeting -- Saturday, July 8, 1967 (in New York)

PRESENT: Sidney Peck (chairman), David Dellinger, Robert Greenblatt, Al Evanoff, Abner Grunauer, Barbara Webster, Myron Shapiro, Eric Weinberger, Steve Finkelstein, Matthew Clark, Jill Boskey, Rodney Robinson, Jo Eisenhandler, Key Martin, Deirdre Griswold, Dave Axel, Douglas Gordon, Rita Freed, Jack Atlee, Fred Halstead, Barry Johnson, James G. Holland, Deborah D. Weisburd, Abe Weisburd, Karl Bissinger, Ed Hoffmans, Ellen Hawley, David Zimmerman, Lenny Brody, Carol Grosberg, Hinda C. Larkey, Monroe Rapaport, George Small, Bette Small, Herbert Hoover, Leonard Levenson, Jose Ristorucci, Larry Bilick, Irving Beinin, Richard Neuhaus, Ron Young, Jim Estes, Bob Kirkman, Jeff Jones, Carl Edelman, Herb Kelsey, Sam Marcy, Carl Marcus, Ives Loyer, Peter Kiger, Jo Leigh Luckett, Rose Mary Gordon, Carole Powell, Norma Becker, Peter Buch, Ruth Gallo, Jose A. Stevens, Harriet Tanzman, Henry Platsky, Bruce Hartford, Leslie Cagan, Kipp Dawson, Linda Morse, Clark Lobenstine, Susan Cloke, Mark Harrington, Nini Hough, Mike Stein, Ruth Gage-Colby, Otto Nathan.

AGENDA: (1) Report from North Vietnam (2) Local Area Reports (3) Mid-East Resolution (4) Expansion of Co-Chairmen (5) Martin Luther King Meeting (6) Mass Action/October 21 (7) Treasurer's Report (8) Finance Committee Report (9) Office (10) Draft Resistance (11) Political Action Conference (12) Direct Action

1. REPORT FROM NORTH VIETNAM: Dave Dellinger began his report by mentioning that previous to going to North Vietnam he had been at the War Crimes Tribunal in Stockholm and that he felt there was unimpeachable evidence presented at the Tribunal of U.S. war crimes, which the U.S. press gave not only small but biased coverage.

Dave reported that the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front are now convinced that they have won the war. The escalation has been worse and there are greater losses on both sides, but it is worse for the U.S., as their major campaigns have not succeeded. He referred to one such campaign called Operation Junction City which the U.S. would have won if this were a war of position; but since it is a people's war, the NLF reversed the initiative and won a political and military victory. The underground and dispersal programs have been successful in saving lives in the North, although the escalated bombing has been very devastating...They emphasize that they are fighting for their independence and, consequently, they do not understand the recent emphasis on negotiations in the U.S. peace movement. The repeatedly told Dave how encouraged and inspired they were by the April 15th Mobilization but also stressed that they do not depend on the peace movement to end the war...Dellinger's report was necessarily brief and he referred people to his full report on the trip which will be in the upcoming (May-June) issue of LIBERATION.

2. LOCAL AREA REPORTS: George Small from Atlanta, Jim Holland from Pittsburgh, Hinda Larkey from Milwaukee, Ellen Hawley from Minnesota, and Herb Kelsey from Washington, D.C., reported on developments in their areas.

3. MID-EAST RESOLUTION: Dave Axel and Deirdre Griswold spoke in favor of passing the Youth Against War and Fascism resolution on the Mid East which was circulated with the last set of minutes. After some discussion, the consensus was that the subject was an important one and needed to be more fully discussed but that the YAWF resolution was not acceptable to many and that the matter could not be resolved at this meeting. It was, therefore, tabled.

4. Expansion of Co-Chairmen: The co-chairmen made the following recommendations to be added: Prof. Donald Kalish, chairman of the Southern California Peace Action Council; Sidney Lens, nominated by the Chicago Peace Council; and Father Charles O. Rice, from Pittsburgh. Sidney Peck pointed out that they were

trying to develop more national representation among the co-chairmen. Harry Ring and Fred Halstead raised questions and concerns about the tendency of the co-chairmen to act as an executive committee, their relation to the Administrative Committee, the limit to and basis on which new co-chairmen are to be added, and their particular concern that "moderates" were being added and the "radical left" excluded. After a little discussion, Al Evanoff suggested that we hold off on deciding on the above three recommendations and that the present co-chairmen be directed to consult with others on the concerns raised, and to come back with a report after full discussions. The subject was tabled.

5. MARTIN LUTHER KING MEETING: Dave Dellinger reported on a meeting called by Rev. Martin Luther King to which he and Sid Peck had gone on July 5. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss a march on Washington, and an attempt on King's part to encourage discussion and exploration between Mobilization people and moderate groups which had not sponsored the April 15th Mobilization. At the last minute King was unable to come but Andy Young represented him. The groups represented were AFSC, FOR, Clergy Concerned, SANE, National Conference for New Politics, Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Catholic Peace Fellowship. It was purely an exploratory meeting with no conclusions arrived at, but the weight of the meeting was that the Mobilization is here to stay and that other groups can become part of as opposed to starting another organization. There was an interest, particularly on the part of the clergy, in playing some role in the Mobilization now. Andy Young reported that King is interested in October 21 but he needs to be part of a broad coalition. Dellinger also noted that there was a considerable emphasis on the need for civil disobedience and more radical action than just a march, particularly among the clergy. The group decided to meet again the following week, this time to include all the Mobilization co-chairmen who can attend. Dellinger pointed out that the co-chairmen realize they are not empowered to make policy decisions and will bring back any proposals to the Administrative Committee. He recommended that his report be accepted as an informational one and that any ideas or comments be conveyed to the co-chairmen. The report was accepted as information.

6. MASS ACTION/OCTOBER 21: Ideas and opinions about plans for October 21 were voiced by several people, with considerable discussion concerning the need and relative emphasis for civil disobedience. Kipp Dawson reported on Student Mobilization Committee plans for building the fall action, including a coast-to-coast flatbed truck tour. The matter was referred to a working committee which will be convened by Al Evanoff on July 19 (see enclosed announcement), and to which everyone on the Administrative Committee is invited.

7. TREASURER'S REPORT: Eric Weinberger reported that we have bills totaling \$7,157, loans of \$5000, and \$893 on hand. Total indebtedness: \$11,264.

8. FINANCE COMMITTEE REPORT: Otto Nathan reported on the formation of a Finance Committee which has begun work on raising the much needed funds through individuals and participating organizations.

9. OFFICE: Sidney Peck noted briefly that the present office rent is too high and there has been some thought of relocating the office, possibly to another city, but no proposals have been worked out yet.

10. DRAFT RESISTANCE: Norma Becker reported that the draft resistance working committee is working on organizing adult support groups across the country. One mailing has been sent to individuals involved in draft resistance; a brochure is set.

11. POLITICAL ACTION CONFERENCE: Carole Powell reported that the NCNP conference is set for Aug 31-Sept 4 in Chicago and proposed the Mobiliza-



tion conference be reconvened on Sept. 2 in Chicago as agreed in Washington DC to take up the question of political action. Sidney Peck reported that this date would not mean a conflict with the NCNP conference because consultation with the NCNP conference organizers indicated that their agenda could be worked out to leave Sunday Sept 2 free during the time of the Mobilization conference, if it were scheduled at that time. Dave Dellinger and Robert Greenblatt raised objections to tying the Mobilization conference in so closely with the NCNP meeting out of a concern that only those interested in electoral politics would attend and it would not be representative of the Mobilization. The hour was late and it was agreed that a committee be set up to further discuss date and details.

12. DIRECT ACTION: Tabled due to lateness of the hour.

NEXT MEETING: Saturday, July 22, 11 AM

SPECIAL NOTE: This meeting will be in WASHINGTON, D. C.

at the office of the Washington Mobilization

DINING HALL St Stephan and the Incarnation Church  
16th and Newton Streets NW  
Washington, D.C.

7/10/67

to: Jo Leigh Lockett	Colia Lafayette	James Bevel	Rod Robinson
Ruth Gallo	Mark Harrington	Lilly Solomon	Matt Clark
Carole Powell	Bbb Greenblatt	Ivanhoe Donaldson	Ed Fields
Peter Buch	Al Evanoff	Ron Clark	Elli Dorsey
Susan Cloke	Dave Dellinger	Harriet Tanzman	Sue Straight
Jack O'Dell	Barbara Webster	Susan Sutheim	Jill Boskey
Gwen Patton	Don Newton	Lora Eckhart	Bruce Dancis
Keith Lampe	Paula Weinstein	Nini Hough	Alan Snitow
Norma Becker	Linda Morse	Fred Halstead	Larry Kraven
Abe Weisburd	Kipp Dawson	Bruce Hartford	Steve Finkelstein
		Eric Weinberger	Lenny Brody

At a Staff Meeting held on July 17th, the problem of excessive and unauthorized use of our office telephones for long distance calls was raised.

The financial burden that this situation produces is particularly critical in that we just don't have any money. In addition, it is a careless and irresponsible way for an organization such as ours to operate.

Therefore, we are calling upon everyone to observe the following guidelines in regard to use of the phones:

1. Please do not make any personal long distance phone calls.
2. Long distance calls on Mobilization business should be made only when absolutely necessary.
3. Long distance calls being charged to our phone by persons in N.Y.C. will not be accepted unless the person first calls in to the office.
4. Everyone should keep a record of dates and telephone numbers of long distance calls that are made. These should be given to Carole Powell who will turn them over to Eric Weinberger with the monthly telephone bill.

SP/nb



SUMMER '67: Confrontation with the Military Machinery Responsible for the War

During 1967, the peace movement in our country has reached a nodal point - a qualitative change in the size and breadth of participation. Despite this, the war in Vietnam continues and as a result the world moves ever closer to the danger of a third world war.

It is important that the National Mobilization make an evaluation of what this dual reality means to those who are involved from the standpoint of developing creative programs.

The escalation of the American military presence in Vietnam, which began during the Kennedy Administration in 1963, took a qualitative leap in a matter of months after Johnson's election in 1964. By August 1965, a hundred thousand American troops had been sent to Vietnam and largely in response to this the peace movement was able to mobilize 25,000 people in a protest march on Washington the following November. From this point on we all know the facts. The growth of the military presence in Vietnam on the one hand and the growth of the opposition to the war on the other. However it is important to underscore that the growth of the peace movement has largely been in response to the escalation.

After a year of teach-ins, which had great educational value across the country, 1967 was marked by various forms of protest, from an increasingly large and representative cross-section of the American people. It was the designed purpose of the April 15th Mobilization to involve as broad a cross-section of this population into one, huge protest march to the United Nations in New York City, and in San Francisco, the birth-place of the UN. For this purpose a Spring Mobilization Committee was formed to give day to day leadership to this effort. And the effort was successful far beyond the expectations of the leadership.

This, the largest protest march in American history, was answered by Secretary of State Dean Rusk the following day on a nationwide TV program with the tart comment that it would have absolutely no influence on the Johnson Administration's conduct of the war. Five days later the Administration confirmed that attitude by a further escalation of the war in the bombing of Haiphong.

If one were to attempt to make a broad characterization of the net results of the last 7 years of peace activity, it could be said that it is marked by two things, namely - the growing national and international prestige of the anti-Vietnam war movement in our country on the one hand and a corresponding decline in the national popularity of the Johnson Administration and its isolation in the international arena on the other. The latest example of the latter are the complete disaffection of the DeGaulle government, one of the big three in the NATO alliance; the repeated attacks on U.S. Foreign Policy by delegates to the Pacem et Terris conference in Geneva in May of this year; the growing opposition to the war in such NATO countries as Denmark and the current World Conference Against the War in Vietnam, meeting in Stockholm this week.

So far the work of the Spring Mobilization Committee has deep roots among the American people and has generated great confidence among the activists of the peace movement that they are not isolated from the mainstream of American public opinion. However this initial confidence is being subjected to severe stresses and strains. It is important to this evaluation to note the systematic and feverish efforts of the Johnson Administration to cancel out the effects of the work that has been done by the peace movement. This response takes several major forms, each of which is worthy to note.

We have already mentioned the reckless escalation of the war as represented by the bombing of Haiphong and the broadening of targets of both military and civilian character. Secondly, there are the official efforts to mobilize support for the Vietnamese war. These include General Westmoreland's address to the Joint Session of Congress calling for more troops to Vietnam; a rash of military parades organized by professional veterans groups as an "answer" to the peace marchers; and the precipitation of crises in other parts of the world (i.e., the Middle East), which diverts public attention from the Vietnamese war, preoccupies the UN as a world forum, and as a matter of expediency seeks to win over to the Johnson Administration those sections of the anti-Vietnam war movement who are sympathetic to the Israeli state.

A third major area of response by the Johnson Administration has been the beginning of a counter-offensive against the Negro community. The daily barrage in the Congressional Record against Dr. Martin Luther King after his Riverside Church speech, a barrage in which liberals and segregationists united in attacking Dr. King's anti-war position; the summary stripping of the heavy weight boxing title from Muhammad Ali, who now faces five years in jail and a \$10,000 fine for his anti-draft stand. Then there are the reprisals against students and faculty at Howard University, being dismissed from the university for their participation in the demonstration that occurred when Selective Service's General Hershey spoke there. And finally in this regard, the recent Supreme Court decision that upheld the conviction of Dr. Martin Luther King and seven of his aides in the Birmingham demonstration; a decision which upholds and gives license to the use of state injunctions against any form of protest demonstrations.

We must also take note of the military conviction of Capt. Edward Levy and the refusal to grant him bail under the guise that "he plans to defect to some communist country," and the June 23rd beatings by the Los Angeles police of demonstrators protesting the war during Johnson's visit to that city on a fund-raising tour for the Democratic Party. These and many other developments point to the growing pace of fascization of the governmental machinery in our country as the Johnson Administration's response to the growing movement against the war.

### Define the Mandate

What then is the mandate which the growing peace movement and the response to that movement imposes upon the National Mobilization Committee? In my opinion we would define it as a mandate to build a grass roots anti-war movement capable of stopping the war in Vietnam in the shortest time possible.

The founder of Spring Mobilization, A. J. Muste, placed the question very well when he stated in a memorandum last November, "Our task is to disarm them, not to be morally and politically disarmed by them."

### The Strategy of Confrontation

In my opinion, implementing this concept requires that the National Mobilization Committee further develop the strategy of direct action. The essence of this strategy is to appeal to the American people through confrontation with those institutions of government responsible for conducting the war.

As a follow-up to April 15th, the National Mobilization Committee has already adopted and is currently implementing programs in support of draft resistance activity and the development of a grass roots Peace Army. Such programs are designed to heighten the visibility of the peace movement in many parts of the country. The Mobilization Committee has also designated October 21st for another national demonstration against the war, this time in Washington, D.C. The link between these two programmatic arms



of this strategy is the "Target City" project which we are proposing in this memorandum... The purpose of the Target City project would be to develop a confrontation style of activity which would demonstrate the consistency and durability of the movement to end the war and would focus national attention on that city which is functionally the heart of the war program, namely our nation's capital, Washington, D.C. Just as we and other peace organizations have selected targets in many cities (such as recruitment centers, factories manufacturing napalm and other weapons of destruction used in Vietnam, military bases, etc) for non-violent direct action, so it is with our Target City we would confront the war-making machinery (the Pentagon, recruitment centers, the White House, etc.).

In implementing this program, we seek to involve in participation the whole spectrum of organizations who participated in the April 15th mobilization and even reach beyond to those organizations who for one reason or another did not participate on April 15th, but who are now prepared to work with the National Mobilization. This means that we would be able to look forward to the participation of peace activists from as many as forty states across the country.

In this context it is reasonable to anticipate that we could sustain activity in Washington for a period of about forty days. An important point to be made in this regard is that we are drawing upon the nationwide strength of the peace movement and are not dependent solely on what the city of Washington can provide in the way of shock troops for this confrontation. This is an important distinction if our program of confrontation is to be carried out under a summer time table.

#### Requirements and Summary

1. Using the next month to organize across the country, the confrontation at the Target City battleground would begin August 6th, the anniversary of Hiroshima. (We are reminded of the international respect which the peace movement in our country enjoys by the fact that more than 28 countries on five continents sent greetings to the April 15th Mobilization.) So from approximately August 6th to September 15th, the period of sustained peace action in Washington would be carried out.
2. We would strive to involve as many as 10,000 people from approximately 40 states in coming in to Washington for these confrontations. (The slogans would be essentially the same as we have used all along.)
3. We propose that the delegations from the various states in size would be a minimum of 20 and a maximum of 150.
4. The length of the confrontation that each state would participate in would vary from one day to one week (maximum).
5. We would distribute as many as one million leaflets during this period in the city of Washington interpreting the significance of this activity. In this regard, special attention should be given to reaching a national audience in leafleting various conventions that would be meeting in Washington during this period and reaching tourists.
6. We need to structure an effective public relations operation with the Washington press and TV as well as maintain a skeleton p.r. operation in New York City. (This should include two Mobilization staff photographers to cover demonstrations.)
7. We need a working committee of approximately 60 lawyers, each of whom will be scheduled to spend three days in Washington this summer to service the movement with legal assistance.

Finally, the political significance of carrying out this program which would help create the climate for a successful October 21st event rests in the fact that we would be laying the groundwork for serious, independent political action organizing work by the anti-war movement. People who go to jail together from one state because they were engaged in a common action against the war will certainly prove to be people who will be prepared to help build independent political organization for 1968. Pursuant to this prospective, a few hours of lobbying by each delegation with their respective Senators and Congressmen would be part of the agenda of activity while in Washington for a confrontation. In my opinion these are the people who will build an independent political movement in this country in the next year.

Every movement for social change which relies upon winning public opinion to its side assumes it will be allowed by the institutions of government to project its ideas to the public. Since this involves certain' universally recognized norms and rights, the anti-Vietnam War movement in our country also assumes the present government will respect these rights and respond in a positive way to the changing public opinion regarding the war in Vietnam. If, however, this assumption proves to be untenable because of governmental repression, then the anti-war movement would be compelled to reappraise the situation, taking into account that it was faced with a new situation in our country and would have to develop new strategies and tactics corresponding to the new reality.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT CAN STOP THE WAR!

Submitted to the July 8th Administrative  
Committee meeting by:

Jack O'Dell, Associate Editor, Freedomways  
Magazine; Member, Administrative  
Committee, National Mobilization Commit-  
tee to End the War in Vietnam



The FIRST meeting of the Working Committee for the

OCTOBER 21 MASS ACTION

will be on

WEDNESDAY

JULY 19

7:30 PM

District 65  
13 Astor Place  
New York City

near Broadway and 8th St.

(Check bulletin board in building for room assignment)

Convenor: Al Evanoff, Co-Chairman, National Mobilization Committee

I M P O R T A N T   N O T I C E ! !

The next meeting of the ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE National Mobilization  
Committee to End the War in Vietnam will be in WASHINGTON, D. C.

Saturday   July 22   11 AM

in the Dining Hall of   St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church  
Washington Mobilization office  
16th and Newton Streets NW  
Washington, D.C.

Phone In Washington: 387-7374



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 grooves and we forget possibilities  
and eventualities unless <sup>sometimes</sup> 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~~ <sup>worker</sup> 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 Achermann <sup>worker</sup> of Washington Mobilization



The following nine scouting maps of major federal buildings in Washington DC were used in the initial planning sessions for nonviolent civil disobedience during the Oct 1967 mass mobilization against the Vietnam War. Eventually it was decided to focus on the Pentagon rather than multiple locations.

COURTYARD

SECURITY  
DESK  
(2 GUARDS)

SECURITY  
FENCE  
CHIN HIGH

WAITING  
PEN

INFO  
DESK

BUILDING

BLDG.  
OVERHANG  
POSTS

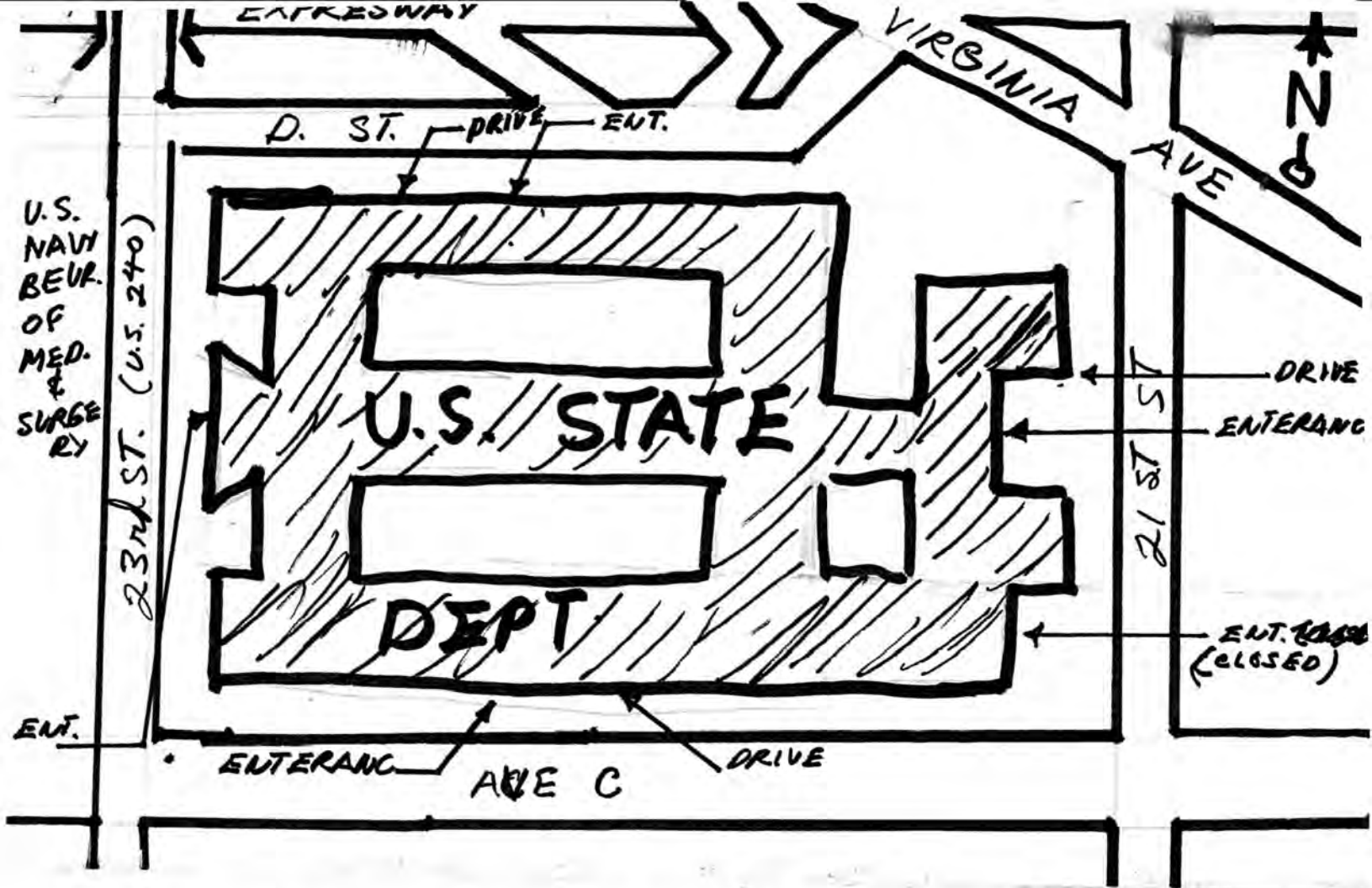
SIDWALKS

DRIVE.

UNDERGROUND  
DRIVEWAY

DETAIL NORTH & SOUTH  
ENTRANCES. (E & W)  
PROBABLY SIMILAR

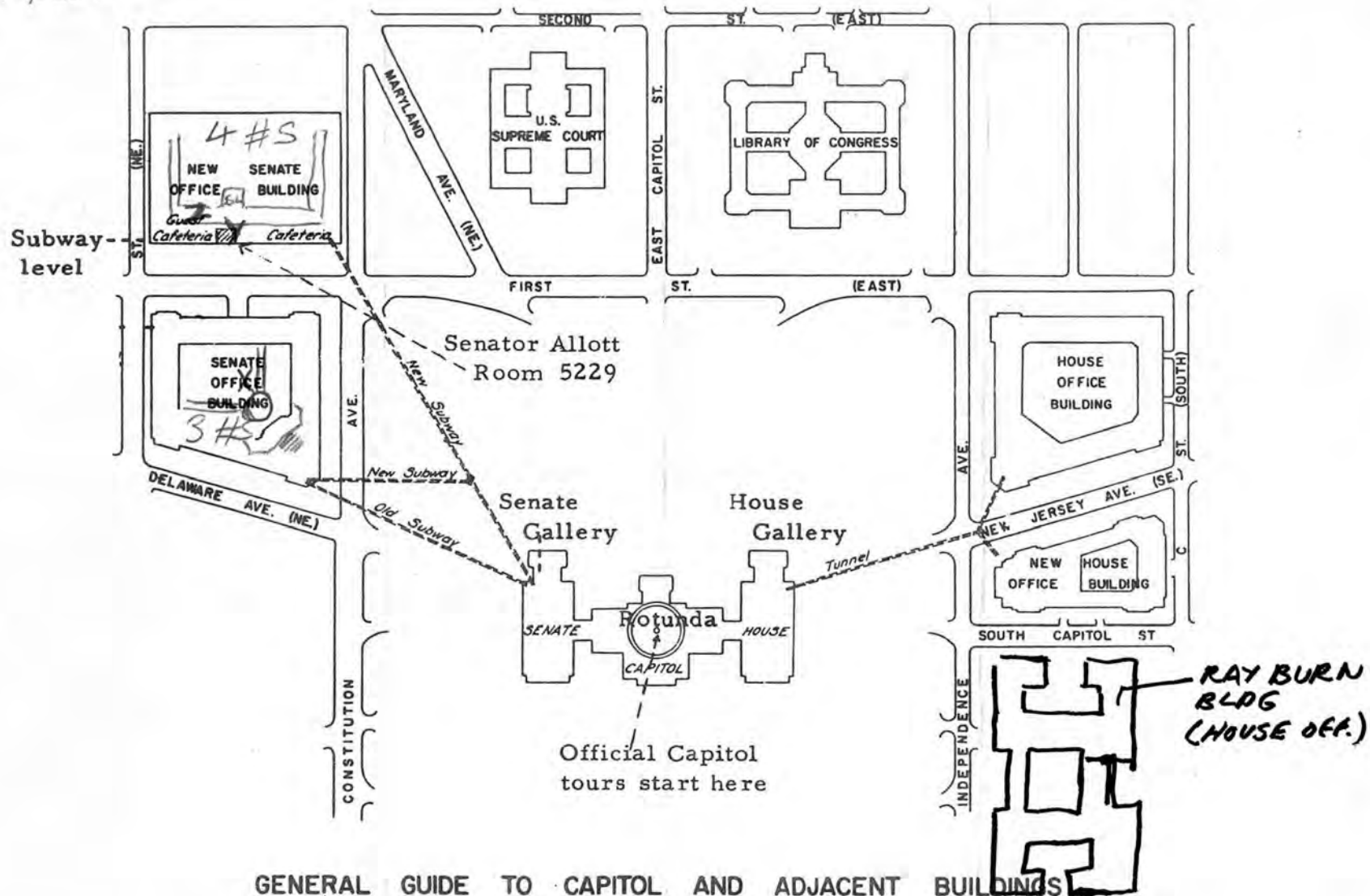




1. 4 MAIN ENTERANCES (SEE DIAGRAM AND DETAIL DRAWING) AND 1 SECONDARY ENT KEPT CLOSED
2. 3 DRIVE WAY TO UNDERGROUND PARKING LOT WITH INTERIOR ACCESS TO BLDG
3. ALL ENTERANCES TO INTERIOR OF BLDG GAURDED BY SECURITY CHECKPOINTS (SEE DETAIL)
4. ABOUT 25% CHANCE OF CONNECTING TUNNELS TO OTHER BUILDINGS
5. DRIVEWAYS ~~WIDE~~ ABOUT 15-20 SIT-INS WIDE. 100 SIT-IN WITH LOCKED ARMS COULD BLOCK FOR MIN OF ~~45 MIN~~ 1 1/2 HOUR PROBABLY LONGER (ASSUMING STANDARD POLICE - SIT-IN PROCEDURE)
6. DOORWAYS - 300-400 FOR 1 HOUR BLOCK (IF OUTSIDE DOOR)
7. 100 SIT-INS COULD BLOCK SECURITY CHECKPOINT FOR 1 1/2 Hr. (IF THEY COULD GET BETWEEN CHECKPOINT AND DOORS, INSIDE BLDG.)

X - Armed Service  
Y - app 1235  
Z - F.R. 4-229

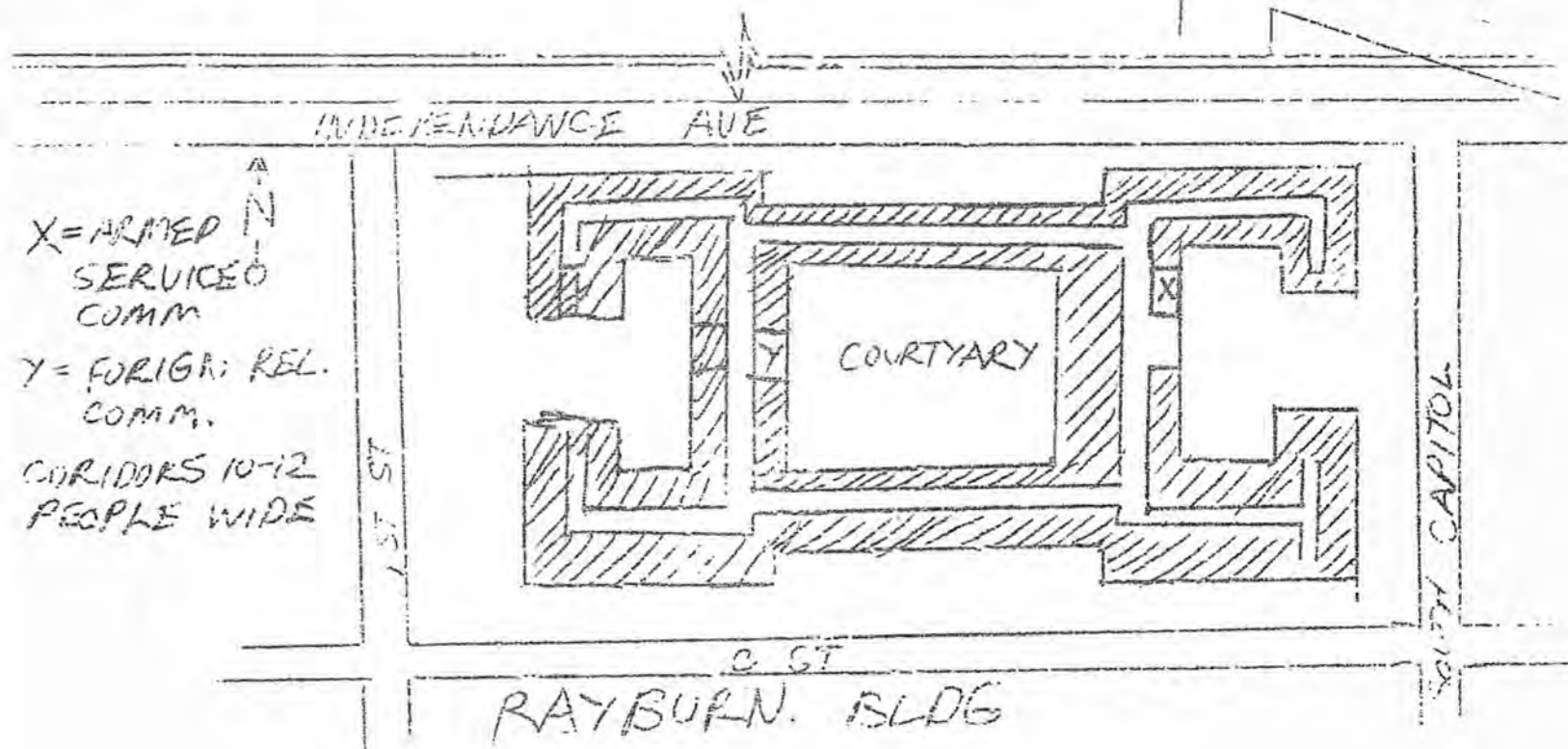
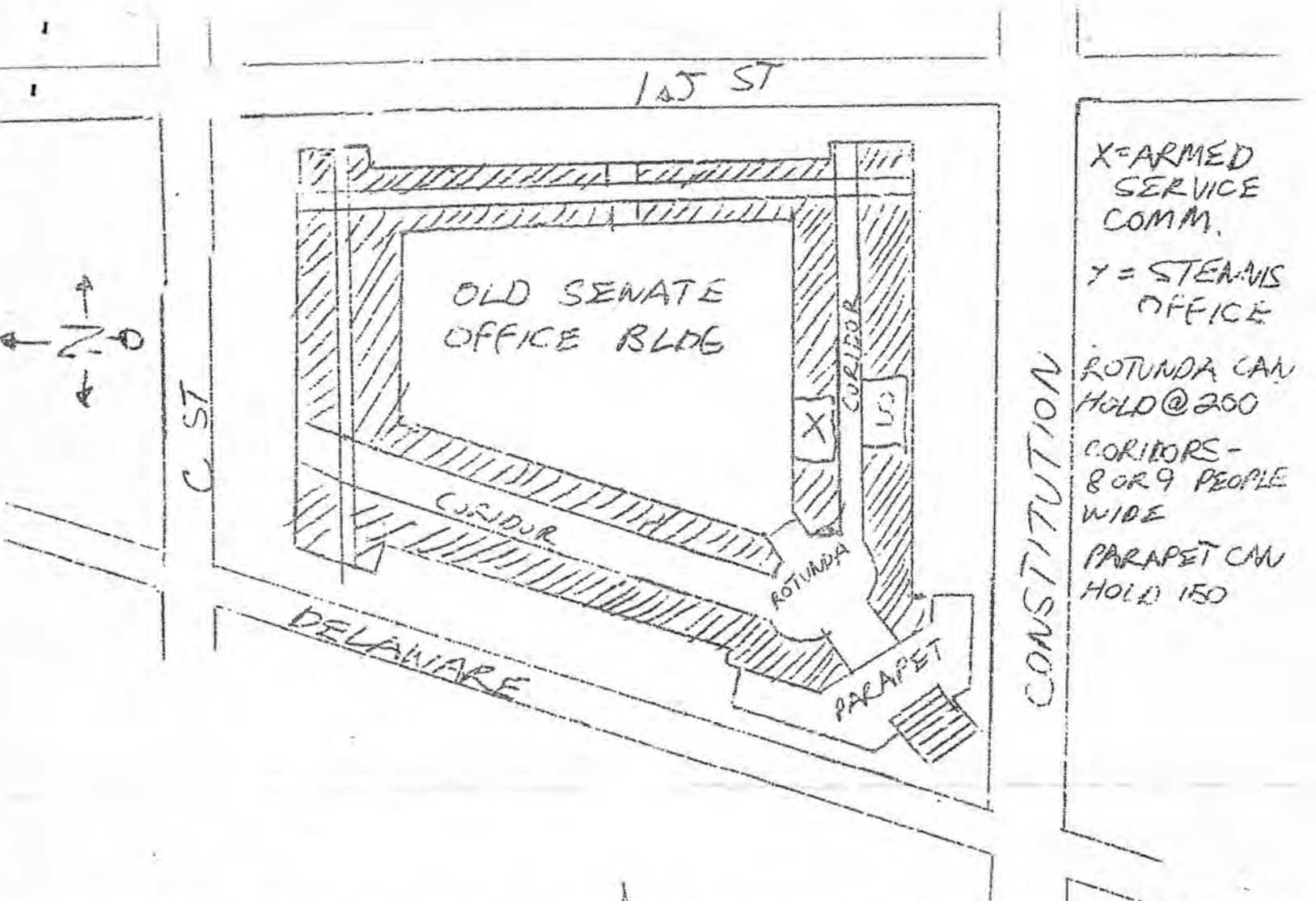
old B corridor 8-10  
N B 10-15



GENERAL GUIDE TO CAPITOL AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS

Compliments of Senator Gordon Allott





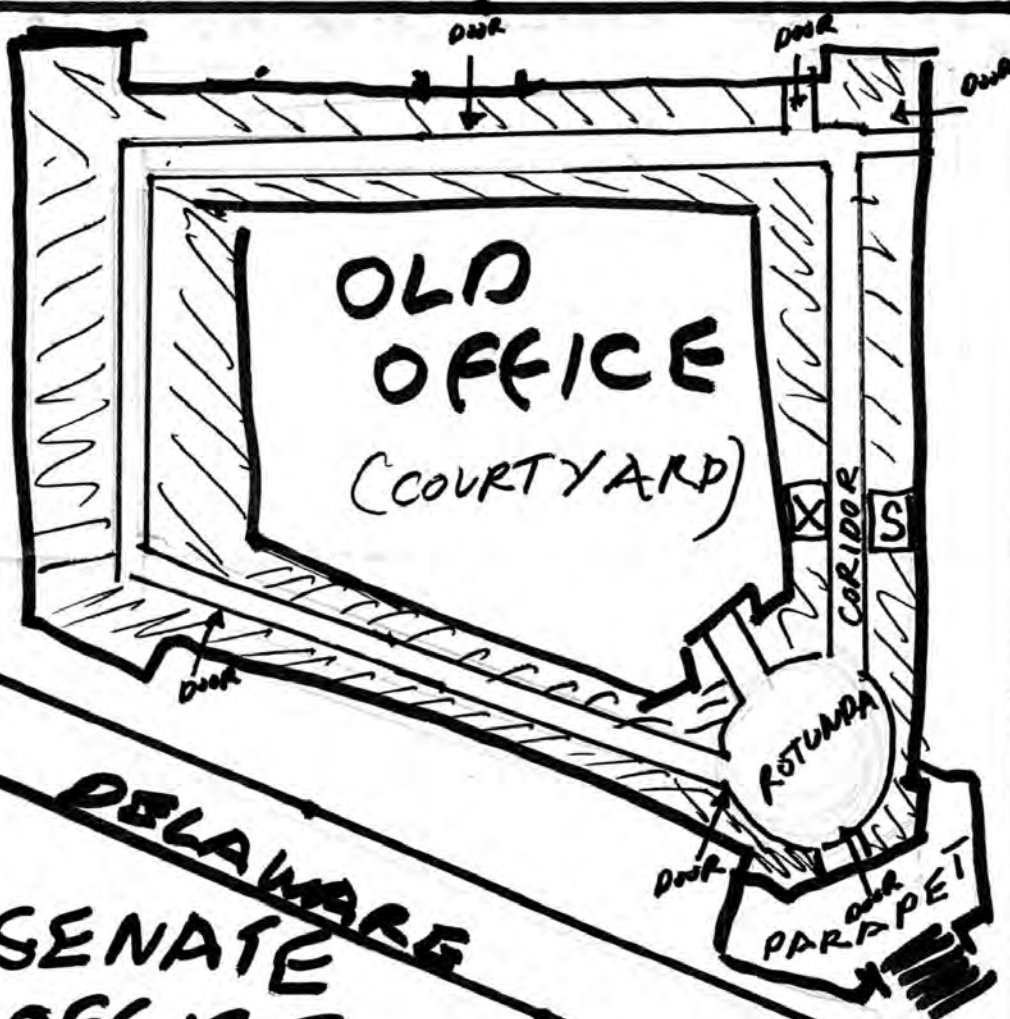
2ND ST E.



- ☒ APPROPR COMM 1ST FLOOR
- ☒ FOREIGN RELATIO 4TH FLOOR

EL = ELEVA  
(NOT ALL MARKED)

1ST ST



- ☒ ARMED SERVICE COMM (1ST FLOOR MAIN)

[S] STENNIS OFFICE ACROSS HALL

N ↑

DELAWARE  
SENATE  
OFFICE  
BLDGS  
SEE NOTES ON BACK

CONSTITUTION



EAST  
MAIN  
ENTRANCE  
~~(COURT)~~

RAYBURN  
BLDG

COURTYARD

☒ = ARMED  
SERVICE

☒ = FOREIGN  
AFFAIRS

APPROPRIATION  
IS IN CAPITOL.  
BOTH ☒ & ☒ are  
on same Floor

SEE NOTES ON BACK

SELECTIVE SERVICE

F ST

MAIN ENT

BASEMENT DOOR(?)

DOWN

SELECTIVE  
SERVICE

FEDERAL  
DEPOSIT  
INS.  
BLDG

SIDE  
DOOR  
BASEMENT

DOOR  
BASEMENT

DOOR(?)

BASEMENT  
DOOR?

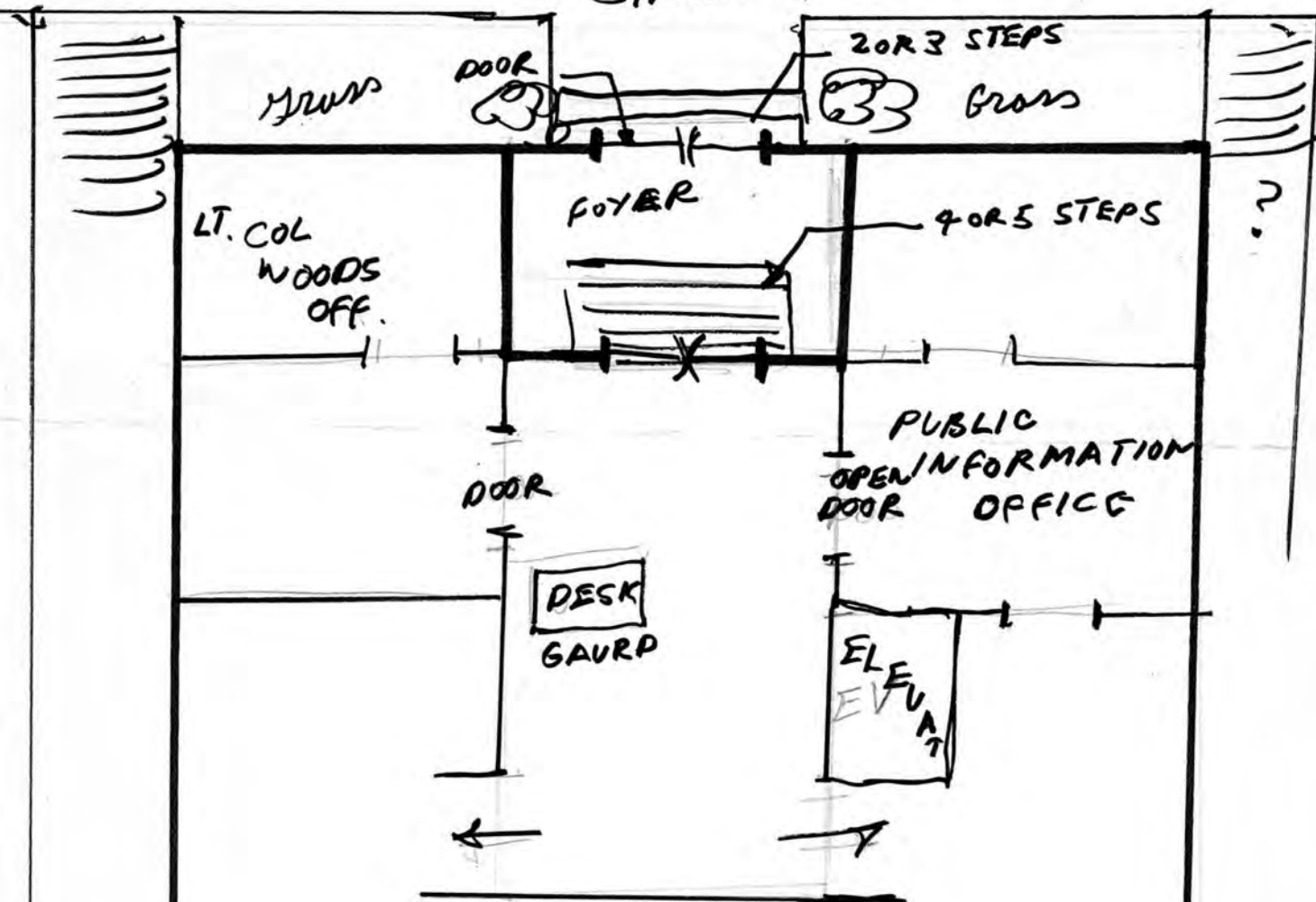
PARKING  
P&R LOT

17th ST

EXECUTIVE  
OFFICES  
OF WHITE  
HOUSE

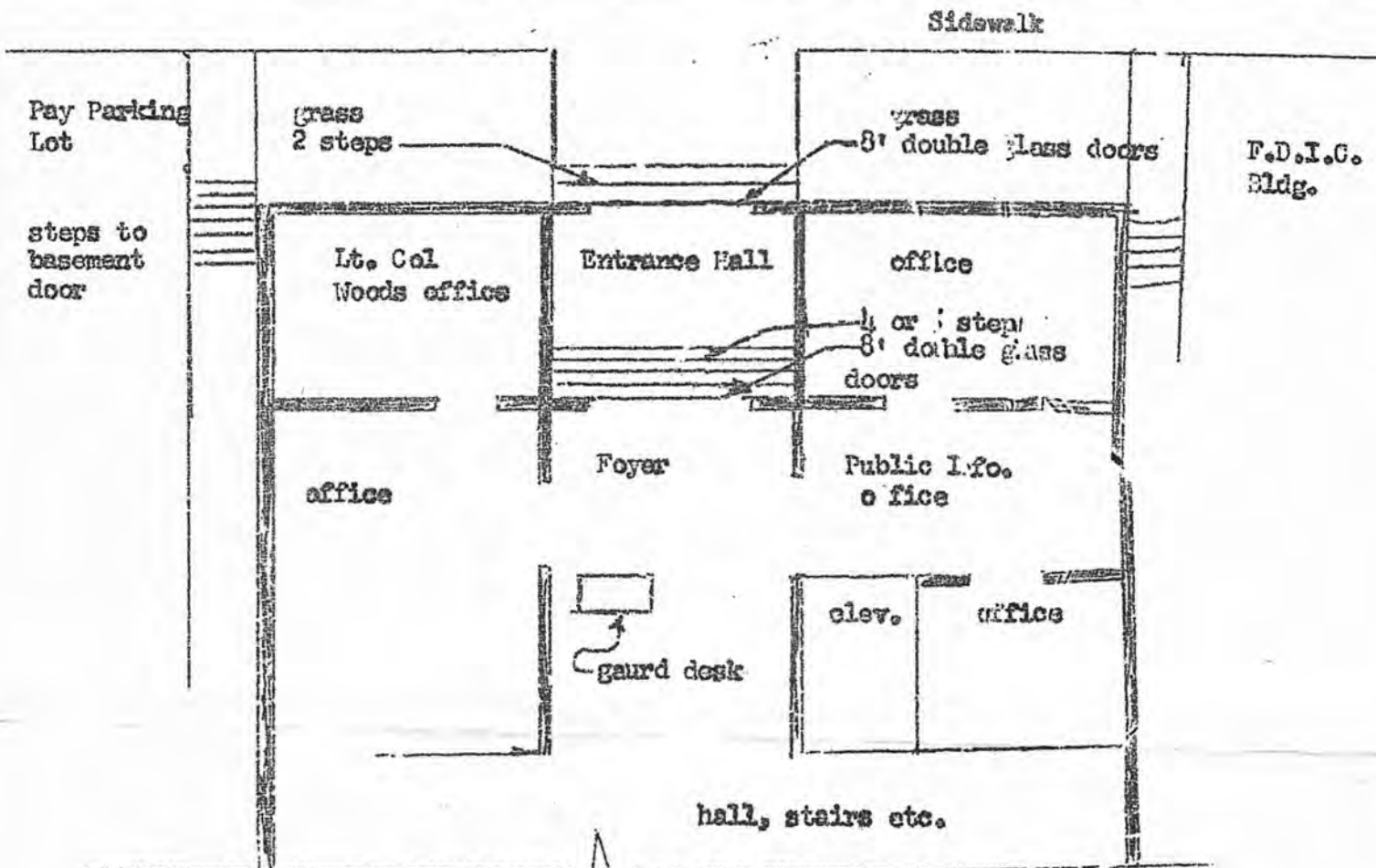


SIDWALK



1. BLDG NOT BIG.
2. COULDN'T CASE IT VERY WELL, GAURDS VERY SUSPICIOUS
3. 1. MAIN ENT. 8' DOORS
4. ~~25-30~~ 25-30 ~~PEOPLE~~ SITTING COULD COMPLETELY BLOCK FOYER AND INTERIOR STEPS
5. HERSHEY OFFICE ON TOP FLOOR, (1/4) SIXTH. 610 R 612

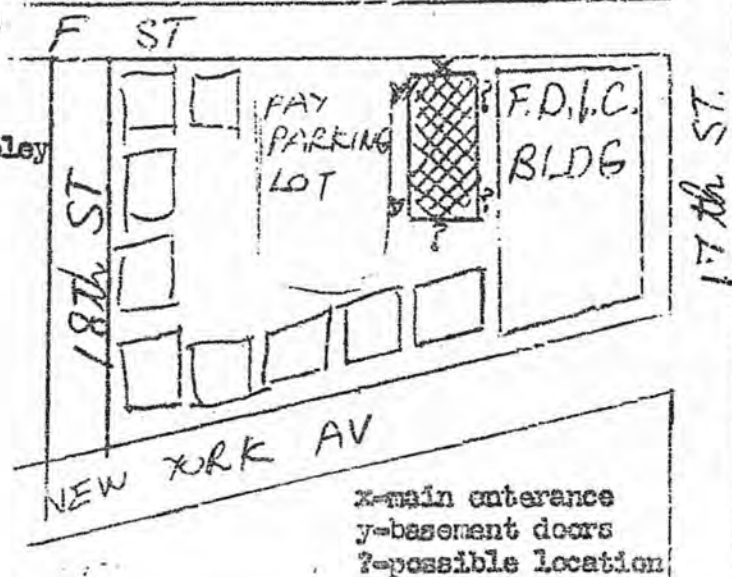
7 STREET



## NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS SELECTIVE SERVICE

### NOTES

- 1-small building
- 2-probably no tunnels
- 3-entrance hall could hold no more than 25 ~~men~~ sit-ins.
- 4-foyer area could hold no more than 100 (possibly no more than 75)
- 5-Hersheys office is on 6th (top) floor



EXEC.  
OFFICE  
OF  
THE  
WHITE  
HOUSE



5

## WORKSHOP IDEAS

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bevel - #1  
Bernard -

Eric -  
John Lawson -  
Jim Peck - x

Tom Offenberg?

## Context

The following document reports on the National Mobilization's leadership meeting of August 12, 1967. This meeting took place in the context of, and in response to, the "*Long Hot Summer*" of 150 urban rebellions in Black ghettos across the nation including, Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Newark, and New York.

Most of these uprisings were triggered by police brutality against Black citizens and were characterized by street violence, urban arson, looting, massive police violence, and deployment of heavily armed National Guard troops on to the streets of many American cities. More than 80 people were killed, thousands injured, and over 10,000 arrested.

President Johnson formed a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, known as the "Kerner Commission," to investigate the causes of ghetto revolts. The Commission summed up the conclusion of its 426 page report that the violence was a response to decades of, "*pervasive discrimination and segregation.*" And that, "*White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II,*" and, "*What white Americans have never fully understood -- but what the Black can never forget, is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.*"



(5)

**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 Wdsburd (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.

Ion 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 (IUCBFP) "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 Burkheimer, 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



# 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-metropolitan 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.....

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Strategy Paper  
Presented 2 Admin Comm  
Meeting Aug 26?

The American people are war-weary. The cost of the war has destroyed the chances for aid to our cities and is threatening the entire economy. The Republican party is maneuvering to project a "peace" (i.e. non-escalation) candidate. Congress is getting continually more suspicious of executive and Pentagon usurpation of authority but seems unable to stop it. The Administration has insulated itself from protest. By its militaristic policies, it is turning the Black communities of America into domestic versions of Vietnam. The peace and freedom movements are eager to move from dissent to resistance, from criticism to sustained struggle in opposition to America's militarism.

This fall will be the turning point for the peace and freedom movement, and the month of October may be its focus. It will be a time when Women's groups will confront the men and institutions in Washington who are turning their sons, husbands, and lovers into cannon fodder. It will be a time when young men throughout the country directly, personally, and collectively will say "no" to the draft. October will be a month that the peace movement masses in the hundreds of thousands to make its presence felt in that city of war, Washington, D.C. It will be the month that the peace movement goes beyond marching and speech making and moves toward massive civil disobedience and the direct obstruction of the war machine.

October 21 and 22 are the dates selected by the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam for a massive mobilization of peace forces around the country to Confront the Warmakers in Washington, D.C. We expect scores of thousands of people to march with us to the Pentagon and to take part in a day of unified activities to dramatize opposition to the war. In addition, several thousand people will close down the Pentagon for as long as they can by trying to enter the building itself and by blocking the doors.

The primary goal of this demonstration is to communicate to the American people the need to continue to build a mass movement to end the war and capable of closing down such instruments of brutality and militarism as the Pentagon not for a day but for all time. The American government is conducting an immoral and illegal war in Vietnam and is handling the rebellions in the Black communities of America with the same inhumanity and militarism. The American people have no control over the rampant forces of the Pentagon and the military. Faced with immorality and murder, a moral movement must take direct action to stop this madness.

The still developing plans for the Confrontation on October 21-22 and the week leading up to it are as follows:

A dramatic national draft refusal action on October 16 by the Resistance. Diversified activities in Washington and elsewhere organized by individual groups from around the country. Several peace caravans have already been organized and plan to arrive in Washington during this period.

A major rock-folk concert on Friday night, October 20, at the D.C. stadium (capacity 50,000) in Washington, D.C.



STAFF MEETING Sept 7 1967

- 1 - Wherever the steering committee is held we should be wise.
- 2 - Next steering committee will be held tomorrow at 323 E. 9th st. Apt 2B (Stern)
- 3\*\* - Call people for steering committee (especially Amy, Abner, Al)
- 4 - Mobilizer mailing- addresses started. draft resistance brochure ready, Rxxx direct action brochure at printer should be ready tomorrow
- 5\*\* - Check WSP and CORE about their mailings
- 6 - Oct 21 leaflet will be on front page of New Patriot
- 7\*\* - rxx/ get full page in New Left Notes. Check about using their mailing list for mailing
- 8\*\* - check on NCNP contact list
- 9\*\* - Check on Sing Out Magazine-Erwin Silver. Suzy Cloke
- 10\*\* - Check National and N.Y. SANE, Sandra Wilson
- 11\*\* - special mailing to Viet summer organizers
- 12 - suggestion made by Jerry that part of the office be organized around geographical areas and part by function. An organizational Committee was formed to develop a Table of Organization. committee consists of Jerry, Carol, Beverly, and Bob. committee should also consider-2 full time fund raisers, order filling, correspondence answering, office schedule, volunteers, logistics D.C. (Ivanhoe) among other things.
- 13 - current staff responsibilities  
Sue-James Bevel, and setting up speakers schedules  
Karen-Mobilizer, posters, buttons, etc.  
Matthew-petition  
Bruce-direct action  
Maris-direct action  
Ruth-Draft resistance, contact list, maintaining sanity of other staff members.  
Nancy- new, has been helping with press  
Beverly-petition, speakers schedules, finances  
Jerry- Oct 21  
Stew-Mobilizer, Oct 21, wants to be speaker  
Carol-office in general, mailings, finances  
Marjory- new  
Sue Orrin was mentioned as possible office co-ordinator for Wash. D.C.
- 14 - Tom and staff approve button & poster designs. Tom wants cost breakdown on item to be approved.
- 15 - Direct Action Project. There has been a very poor response, it is not "Clicking". The literature is still at printer. Do we have enough resources to carry the project out? Question raised as to whether we should not drop project and throw energies into developing the pre-Oct 21 actions. A study committee set up to make report and recommendation to steering committee. Tom, Bob, Maris, and Jerry on study committee.
- 16 - staff house and office in D.C. to be brought up at steering committee meeting.
- 17\*\* - check out the Penn. Rail Road and the trains, consult with Fred Halstead and Keith Lamp in regards to some sort of action about refusal to let us have trains.
- 18 - Carol pointed out that we really need staff meetings to discuss what needs to be done on a day to day basis, not strategy meetings., like this one.
- 19 - anyone who has criticisms about the spelling, grammar, syntax, or other technical points, of these notes should bring them up to Tom Hayes who should have known what he was doing.

Bruce Hartford

\*\* means something to do or check on in the next day or two.