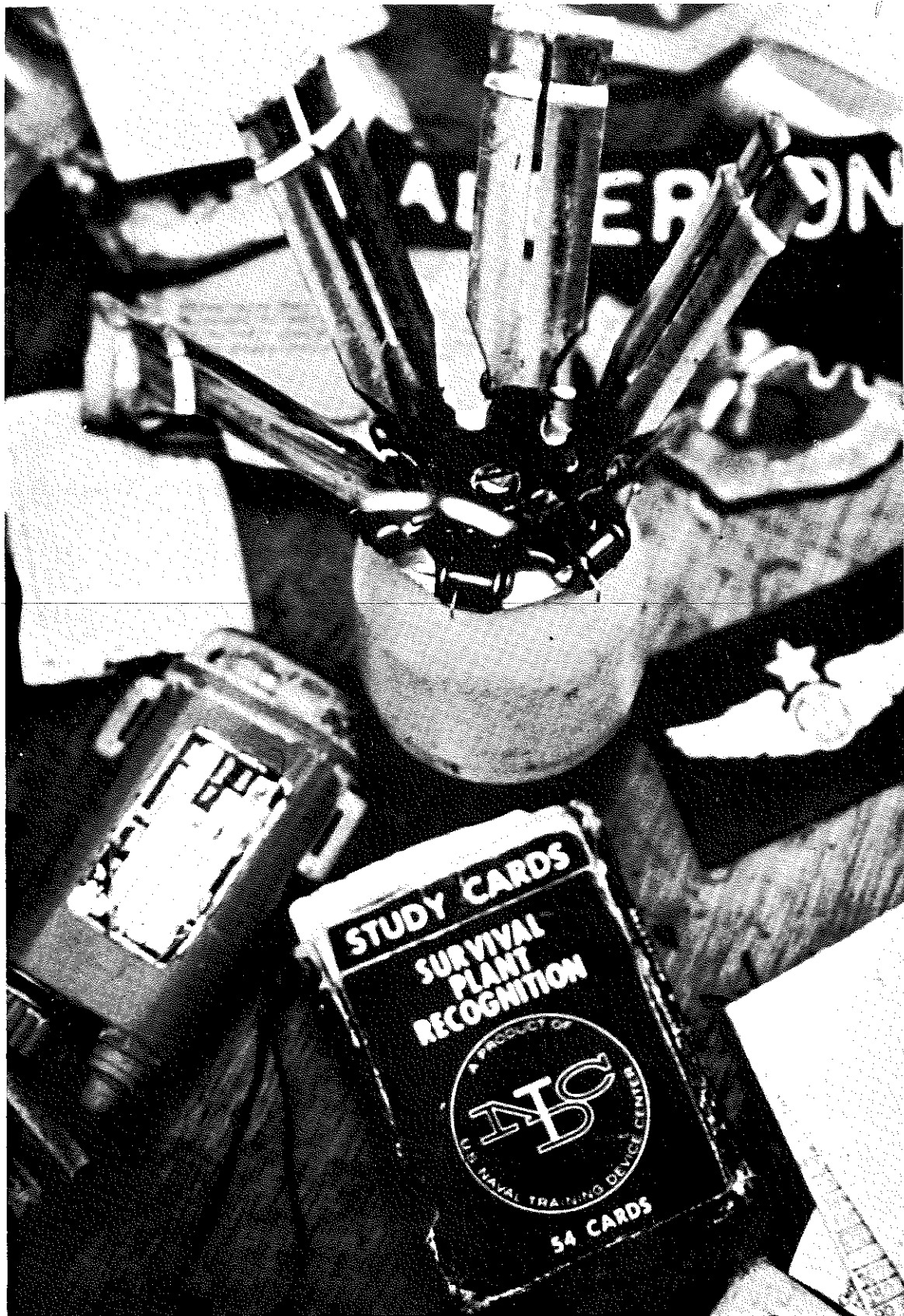


Vietnam Summer

ORGANIZERS' MANUAL

RED Adm
Vietnam Proj
Vietnam Summer
Action Organizers'
Guide



(Survival Kit -- U.S. Navy)

VIETNAM SUMMER

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INTRODUCTION

Anti-war organizing is largely an uncharted field. Unlike organizing against discrimination in hiring or against inequities in the educational system, anti-war work does not center on a matter of direct and immediate economic or social concern to the organized. VIETNAM SUMMER has set as a principal objective the task of addressing itself to the many questions about anti-war organizing and of conducting analysis of organizing approaches and techniques.

This first edition of the Organizing Manual, like the Project Profiles which should be read in conjunction with it, represents present levels of information. Sections of the manual dealing with matters such as publicity or work with labor unions are more thorough than chapters on matters about which far less is known, such as block work in local neighborhoods. In coming weeks, revised and enlarged editions of the manual and the profiles pamphlet will keep pace with rising levels of expertise and knowledge generated by VIETNAM SUMMER projects across the country.

To this end, organizers with information about particular projects, or ideas about organizing techniques should communicate with the National Office. Inquiries and information should be directed to:

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COMMUNITY PEACE ORGANIZING:

An Overview

Community peace organizing is different in three ways from community organizing around other problems:

(1) In most instances the war in Vietnam or peace in general is not felt to be the same pressing issue as police brutality, jobs, wages, prices, etc. Hence there are no immediate targets. A series of anti-escalation programs and demonstrations, while affecting the Johnson Administration, do not produce visible gains for the participants. A relatively sophisticated view of the world is required, unless the individuals can strongly relate the war to immediate problems.

(2) The peace movement must challenge and overcome the various mythologies surrounding American foreign policy (anti-communism as the fight for "freedom", the pristine "purity" of America's past record as an "anti-colonial" nation, my country right or wrong, etc.). This means the development of an atmosphere in which the discussion of Vietnam is viewed as a respectable form of political action. It is especially hard to develop this atmosphere without the possibility of immediate targets and immediate victories.

(3) Peace is, however, a community-wide issue. It effects more people and on some class levels is more easily perceived than immediate local issues. Hence it is a problem that can be approached with wider appeals and coalitions. There is enormous potential in the 20% of the American people who the polls say are in favor of withdrawal and in the other 30 to 40% who are in some way opposed to the war or its conduct. To take advantage of this potential cooperation with many different groups is vital; it is not "fragmentation" but recognition of political realities.

THE PROGRAM

To begin to meet the demands posed by the above situation, a two stage campaign is necessary.

A. Working with existing groups and individuals in the liberal-left community to create a healthy climate and a financial base.

B. From this base, beginning a program to reach out to other elements in the community to create new groups and to foster conscious opposition to the war.

A. The first stage requires an examination of the forces already

active in the community and of the orientation of these forces. Because of the mythology of "my country right or wrong" and the general feeling that an individual cannot do anything to change foreign policy these forces will primarily be centered in the liberal-left community, which has a feeling of some political efficacy. Since this community is not directly threatened by the war and since it does not believe a basic flaw in the system to be responsible, its level of commitment is not high.

The attitude is much more one of "these are reasonable men, of liberal conviction; by demonstrating our loyal opposition in a dignified manner we can make changes."

On the other hand, one should recognize the feeling of political efficacy which allows people in this class to work when others hold back, and the resultant political and financial staying power, not to speak of the fact that the above attitudes are much more widespread than any radical perspective. The task is to build up from this position, by activating these forces and expanding the peace movement. This has meant convincing the liberal-left community that a group of young people exist who are willing to do legwork on projects which represent the general outlook of the liberal-left community. The existence of a solid staff organization with responsible full-time and part-time staff members has created an atmosphere of renewal and confidence. Developing mimeographing services and a newsletter have been important in the process of building a conscious peace community, in part because these activities correspond to liberal groups' image of a peace education group. Public programs at this point have reflected the level of development in the community. Such programs in Milwaukee, for example, were a vigil with moderate speakers representing various segments of the community combined with an art exhibit and film showing; also the organizing of an artists' group and a clergymen's committee.

Perhaps the most important aspects of such programs is that they counter the hidden fears of a future McCarthy period, remove the sense of isolation and apathy, and combat rivalry within a small ingrown liberal-left community. The tone of programs must be examined in light of these goals. Programs which only reflect the organizer's position or that of the most militant groups will in all probability hinder the development of the community. The answer lies in a careful analysis of who composes the projected audience, where they are politically, and how their level of understanding can be increased without forcing them to challenge all at once their entire belief structure. In this respect a program must have a dual function. It must provide the will and the tools, plus work to overcome the psychological obstacles hindering an individual's grappling with the problem of Vietnam. Such programs serve a number of continuing functions, such as providing new people contacted through various other projects with a means of increasing their knowledge and commitment while serving as public notice that there is a continuous

discussion of the war, with the resulting bolstering of liberal--and radical--morale. It is important not to let activity with liberal-left groups stagnate. Their level of commitment must be continually increased.

This analysis can also be applied to student protests. There certainly are differences in the nature of the people involved but these protests suffer from the same basic problems: a lack of widespread appeal, inability of the groups (generally speaking) to further develop people attracted, and a loss of intensity over a period of time. A brief examination of the motives of students participating is necessary here for one to understand these problems. The bulk of students participating in demonstrations are essentially middle-class in outlook and approach to the war. They are primarily motivated to activity by moral indignation and the threat of the draft. These are fed by a feeling of alienation from the values of their class. The alienation, higher intensity of moral indignation, the immediate threat of the draft, and freedom from the restraints posed by the responsibility of maintaining a family allow them to take a much more militant public stand than most members of the liberal community.

Alienation in this situation tends to be a rejection of current "middle class" values, leading to individual acts of rebellion or association with an organization which is seen as representing such rejection. The concurrent concern for social change is in most instances not a programatic one because it is so dependent on satisfying the individual's needs for expression of his or her position. Rejection in this context also means an inability to work with the general public because it represents an affiliation on one level or another with the "status quo." There is also the underlying knowledge that the student may return to the comfort and security of the middle class professions.

These are the problems in general social terms politically the result is very similar to that of the liberal left community, the major distinction being one of the intensity of moral indignation and the subsequent readiness to bear more public witness. At present, the student community is not developing in political consciousness and it is not building a community peace movement, the student community is not putting pressure on the intellectual leaders of the liberal left -- such as faculty -- necessary to spur them into action. These problems can be solved in student as in adult groups, the main difference being approach. The goal should not be the development of a large but in-grown radical student movement which is way ahead of the general public, but a student movement that participates in community peace activities and develops students who continue to participate after leaving college.

Developing a student community to meet these requirements means creating projects which are relevant to the immediate concerns or interests of the campus and thereby building an atmosphere of political efficacy in making changes meaningful to student lives. Such an operation in Milwaukee, for example, has been dependent on having full-time staff workers to lay the groundwork because of the lack of a radical tradition at both major campuses. As in the liberal-left community there is a body of people concerned but not concerned enough to work continuously. The Milwaukee organizing committee's response has been to attempt to set up projects which are exciting but not demanding and which create a feeling of confidence. At each program more people increase their commitment and hence their willingness to accept responsibility. These programs center around setting up booths in the student union, passing out leaflets, and providing speakers and films. As the groups become more active, the full time organizers will be replaced by part-time students, until finally there will be student organizations capable of utilizing students who drop out to work but are not quite prepared for full-time work in a different community. Here again the development of such leadership in the student community must be seen as part of a city wide movement. The programs for the entire community, which are described below, were begun by a combination of MOC staff organizers and students. Caution must be exercised to avoid pushing programs beyond the understanding of the general student community or pushing committed students into positions beyond their understanding and acceptance of organizing as a means of social change.

The logical transition is from doing this type of organizing (stage one) to working with the general public (stage two). Before this step should be taken a number of conditions should exist. Efforts to stimulate clergy and labor leaders to some level of activity must be well under way--even if only mildly successful. However these men and women cannot be reached if only young radical organizers are involved. The climate of activity by liberal groups and its concurrent respectability is absolutely essential. It is our experience that both labor and clergy are very cautious. Nevertheless, to forego efforts here is to weaken later out-reach. What should be attempted is to increase the pressure on these people by activating the liberal-left groups in which such leaders circulate. To those who say this is compromising, it should be pointed out that the average American relates far more to these men and women than to any member of the peace movement, and the average American is the one we are after.

MOC's approach has been to talk to those who will talk to us, urging them to talk to others and sending material to key people on a regular basis--without expecting immediate returns. Bringing

in respected outsiders to talk, not to the peace groups, but to those people who are wavering but not sure, is another mechanism which is somewhat expensive in the short run but which accrues long-run benefits, getting rid of the obstacles of isolation and lingering attachment to the mythology surrounding American foreign policy.

During this beginning and first transitional period basic organizing should not be neglected, though most people will probably find it exceedingly frustrating. It is frustrating because what is happening is that you are sifting out more liberals whose level of activity is very disappointing. The importance of this organizing is still great and lies on two levels: gaining experience and creating confidence. There is no other way to get to know what people feel and think than to come in contact with them. If you are going to have effective outreach you must know what people are concerned about, because one of the basic premises of stage two is the fact that most people have a priority of concerns of which the war in Viet Nam is not generally the foremost. You must find how this priority list is composed and then find a way to relate the war to these concerns.

These needs can be met and a start made on establishing a definite constituency by instituting a series of short-term outreach projects. The specific programs should be designed to serve a number of functions. The primary ones are establishing the idea that there is a peace group not concerned with dogma but with reaching people, developing or re-activating confidence in people among staff workers and faded members of the liberal-left community, and reaching new key people. Though most of the people who come to these programs are liberals or moderate Republicans with a relatively low level of concern, there will be one or two key people in each area who will be ready to do a good deal of work and have a realistic assessment of where their friends and neighbors stand.

There are a large number of projects suited for these purposes. Below are listed those which were relevant in Milwaukee.

- (1) Contacting members of interest or occupational groups to attempt to form new organizations

Of these, the two which were both the easiest to organize and the most important at the initial stages of organizing were the Greater Milwaukee Committee of Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Viet Nam and Artists for Peace. The first was important as a door opener for getting the peace movement into churches and broadening the public image of the movement. Artists for Peace also changed the image of the local movement by changing

the nature of peace programs to include a much broader perspective than politics alone. They are also very important in simple mechanical terms: eye-arresting signs, drawings for newsletters, and posters. Key people are essential to this type of organizing, though in the case of the above groups, the general sympathies present were strong enough to reduce this need. Once a foundation has been laid, it is possible to move toward setting up other groups because of the change in atmosphere. I would include a high school organization in this category of basic groups, even though MOC has not been successful yet in setting one up.

- (2) Developing seminars or debates in churches and - if extremely fortunate - in unions.

Once a clergy group is in existence, it is fairly simple to set up a short seminar series in the members' churches. After the first seminars and debates are held, other ministers, not involved with the clergy committee, can be approached to set up similar seminars in their churches. Key people will turn up as well as sympathetic liberals and morally or economically stricken Republicans. They can be put on mailing lists and referred to during stage two as contacts. The potential activists who turn up should be kept in contact or asked to participate in one or another organization.

- (3) Canvassing with petitions or with a money can in the manner of the fund drives

This is an excellent training method for helping students and community people to overcome their fear of talking to people and increase their commitment to organizing. Because the petitions, at first, will in all probability not relate to the priority structure of the people contacted, the results in terms of new people will be small. Yet after preliminary canvassing increases both an understanding of techniques and confidence that people will listen to someone opposed to the war, more meaningful and more specific canvassing projects can begin. These projects center around the results of previous canvassing and seminars of analysis to suggest approaches. This might mean canvassing in the afternoon to talk to housewives about prices, using a petition which relates to pressing local concerns, or canvassing to advertise a debate or seminar series being held in a neighborhood church.

(4) Leafletting in various parts of the city
This is also primarily a training and seasoning mechanism. Leafletting is important because it is less demanding of commitment than canvassing and is therefore a useful step in the development of confidence and commitment. In some instances, for example, at high schools it can have definite results when combined with an organizing program. There is also a fermenting effect. People who read the well written leaflets might respond to a later stimulus. Finally, leafletting tends to create the impression of an active peace movement which reassures the people who are supporting the movement that something is happening.

(5) Training speakers to go out and speak to other groups

Organizing, canvassing, and leafletting make a good impression on the liberal-left community because this is what they know they should have been doing but are unable or unwilling to do. Money then may be forthcoming.

These activities provide the transition from the first stage where the peace movement is little more than a coalition of students, old leftists, pacifists, and liberals to the latter stages of expansion into a movement representing or at least in contact with the majority of Americans opposed to the war on one level or another.

PROFESSIONAL GROUPS

Who is a professional?

In speaking about "professionals" we will refer to those groups which perform specialized roles , and who are trained in either professional schools, graduate school departments or special colleges. Such professionals include doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers, scientists, planners and designers, and social workers.

Are Professionals a strategic group?

Professional people constitute a large segment of prosperous, mainstream America. They may be looked upon as the technicians or mechanics of the Establishment, but they are strategic for social change, because of the high dependence of our technologically complex society upon their services. This dependence and strategic position is a double edged sword. It often results in a high level of mainstream rewards -- money, prestige and even power -- for those who exercise their professional skills competently without questioning the society rewarding them. Except for teachers, professionals have been provided with personal satisfactions by a system seeking to utilize their skills, yet hoping to keep them contented while they vie with one another for upward mobility.

On the other hand, the professional has learned to think of "work" in terms of personal creativity and "satisfaction" and he may grow dissatisfied with the lack of creative opportunities his work provides him, and with compromising the ideals of his profession to "everyday reality". He has been trained to view himself as "thinker", and as "respected member of the community", but he can exercise a decision-making function in only the most limited areas of work and life. It is on this sentiment that a foot-hold towards radicalization may be made.

Can Professionals be organized?

Organizing already attempted with professionals falls into two basic categories: (1) Organizing them as respected citizens of the community who have certain demands and needs and who deserve to be listened to because they are "experts" and (2) Organizing them as professionals who seek to make changes within their profession, based both on their own needs and on their concept of their profession in relation to the rest of society. An example of the first category would be an ad signed by teachers or doctors against the war, or a

letter-writing campaign to Congressmen or to the President. An example of the second would be the work of teachers organizing to prepare suitable materials to teach about the war, and to open the schools to full discussion of public issues. Implicit in this second way of organizing is an attempt at changing fundamental aspects of the institutions for which these professionals work.

The first way of "organizing" is obviously the easiest. It implies a basic belief in established channels of protest, and rests on the notion that we live in a democracy that is open enough to harken to cries of our respected citizenry. Most professionals opposed to the war hold this belief. But in attempting to "protest" as "status people" and "experts", (however impressive in the short run), professionals may in the long run set themselves apart from the rest of the population, while making no dent whatsoever on the practices and controls within their professions that contribute to the war effort.

The second way of organizing is much harder. Rewarded people do not like to jeopardize their positions. Nor do they want to change systems which already are good to them. In the long run, however, this kind of organizing can pay off, as people begin to realize that they can apply their skills in only narrowly defined areas. This way of organizing is a multi-issue one, but the war can play a great role in making clear the ways in which professionals are excluded from moral and ethical decisions and asked only to provide technical services. It points up the classic separation of the individual from his work role.

Part of being trained as a doctor, lawyer, urban planner, etc. is the development of something called "professional identity" or attitude. Students in training learn a certain set of ethics, and in the process, learn to be protective about their own rights, demands, and needs. They learn to see themselves as a group with common concerns.

Most professionals have organized specific professional organizations (eg, the Bar Association, the AMA, the NEA, etc.) which are closely connected to the various training institutions, if not directly, then through setting licensing or certification standards, and by overseeing the examinations. They often have gained the cooperation of state legislatures in setting these certification requirements.

This control has been gained through a long history of political activity in the form of lobbys in the in the various legislatures, and most professional associations still maintain strong lobbyists and other kinds of pressure groups. Because this cooperation

has been gained through established channels, and because such gains as have been granted rest on mutual compromises, etc., most professional associations are fearful of jeopardizing their own spheres of influence. Aside from the fear of jeopardizing their own rights, the groups often don't know where else to get the changes they want. In establishing themselves as respected citizens, the tactics of union organizing have a certain flavor which is distasteful to them.

This is not, of course, true for all the professions. It holds most closely to the model set up by doctors and lawyers, and not teachers or social workers. Also, within each group of professionals there are the more radical groups, such as the Lawyers Guild or the Medical Committee for Human Rights, which does not so closely identify in tactics or goals with the larger professional group of their profession. They should be able to clue you in on who is active in your area and what kinds of approaches should be taken or have already been tried within the larger, more conservative locals in their areas. Before going to work in these organizations, it is important to have an idea of how each of those groups works, and how it is connected to the parent national group, and also to the state or city governments (eg. how does the Bar Association influence its members and its congressmen in that state.)

Teachers.

Many young radicals are talking about going into teaching now, so there is beginning to be some kind of base to organize around within the schools. The schools are going to be going through tremendous changes in the next few years. Communities, especially ghetto communities, are pushing for more and more control of the local public schools and are gaining some significant successes. (Note the results of the I.S. 201 scene in New York, the New Haven Community Schools, and the Morgan Community School in Washington, D.C.). Aside from these successes, schools have become a stock institution around which to organize in the ghettos. They are known to be poor in quality, and parents are concerned about the education their children are getting. When dealing with schools, therefore, it will be wise to stress the importance of teachers working with communities and not feuding with them.

Aside from the radicals now moving into teaching, teachers all over are concerned about the low wages they receive, about the enormous work loads they are given, about their isolation, about administrative controls, and about the curricula they have to follow. Given this basic dissatisfaction, teachers, especially those who are concerned that what they teach be relevant to both their students'

lives and the world in which they live, are fairly open to discussing these conditions with each other. It may take awhile to get teachers' groups going, especially in particularly bad schools where teachers like to keep hidden their problems in teaching and discipline and tend to blame students for their own inadequacies, but teachers always have gripes. Books are usually poor, classes are too crowded, there is little free time for teachers, they are loaded down with clerical work, their principals usually do not like to hear about their discipline problems, and all in all, teaching often amounts to hours of disciplining and policing.

Professional Organizations: There are two major organizations to which teachers belong. The National Educational Association is composed of teachers, counsellors, principals, and superintendents. It is the more professional grouping of educators, and sees its role not as a bargaining agent or other kind of union but more as a discussion, publication and theory organization. Because it includes both "workers" and "management", so to speak, it tends to be highly conservative with regard to both teachers' rights and educational policy.

The other group to which teachers belong is the American Federation of Teachers. This is a union set up primarily for collective bargaining. Though more radical than the NEA, it should not by any means be considered radical or even very liberal. Certain locals, like the United Federation (the New York local) and the California Federation of Teachers, have taken fairly strong stands against the war, but the National, although moving left of the evasive AFL-CIO position, has not made any real break with administration policy.

Organizing Examples and Current Approaches: Recently a group of teachers concerned about the war has formed. This is Teachers Against the War, at 5 Beekman Street in New York, which has collected over 9,000 names of teachers across the country and has placed ads protesting the war in the New York Times, New Republic, and hundreds of local papers. In New York, TAW has been moving on to more local organizing, working with students, pressing schools for equal time, draft counselling, etc. Most of the names it has seem to be on paper, especially outside New York, and all of these people need to be followed up so that real organizing can begin.

The Vietnam Summer Teachers Project is trying to find teachers who have either signed an ad or are against the war and get them to initiate local activities. These can include:

- (1) Preparing and collecting materials to use in classes and with students about the war. Groups in Cambridge, Baltimore and Madison are working in this area. Hopefully these materials will be prepared by the fall to distribute to teachers nationally. It is very important to get teachers working in small groups to discuss teaching about the war, whether or not they prepare materials. This serves several purposes: it points out a lack of their own knowledge about the war, it helps them overcome feelings of isolation, it helps them begin to deal with problems of administrative reprisal.

To set up such a group: find out if there is a Teachers Against the War group in the local area. If there is, work with the names already on that list. If not, find out from teachers in the area who will be approachable, or send out a general mailing to all teachers in a specific area. Ask them to set up discussion groups to prepare materials and discuss teaching about the war and about controversial issues in general. Teachers feel very strongly about not indoctrinating their students. Discuss the fact that not questioning something leads to indoctrination, whereas presenting various and often conflicting positions facilitates real thinking.

- (2) Use schools for speaker programs and forums open to the whole community. This can lead directly to teacher-student-community contact, and help in developing teachout programs. Work with PTA people should also be explored. Press for public discussions in and out of the schools on the war and on what the schools are teaching.
- (3) Ask that equal time be given to peace tables and speakers as is now given to military recruiters, and counselors in the schools.

Since a lot of teachers are not in their local communities during the summer months, it will be important to get speakers to go to NDEA Institutes and special teacher continuation courses at colleges. This should be followed with a series of seminars on teaching about the war. Get someone from a local AFSC office to help with this. AFSC has high school and college secretaries, in addition to peace interns, and can usually provide you with contacts, seminar suggestions and books of use to teachers.

Make sure when talking to teachers that you talk to them in terms of their own teaching; that you help them deal with their concerns about politics in schools. Help them see that to avoid talking

about problems makes them more of a service person and less of an educator. AVOID intimidating them by accusing them of poor teaching; they are usually very defensive about their teaching but can be opened up a lot by talking about the problems they must face in trying to perform their jobs.

Try to move them to evaluate the schools in terms of the larger society. Try to move them to question teaching approaches and to try new ideas, not only in subject matter, but in teaching method. Probably the best thing to do right now is to get them meeting in groups and in touch with other teachers whom they can talk to and learn with. They will also need materials. When you find interested teachers, ask them to contact Marilyn Salzman at the Vietnam Summer National Office to get project suggestions and information and to receive materials. We will want to hold several regional conferences in the fall or late summer on teaching about the war, so please let us know what you are doing.

Planners and Designers.

Since the only real employer of planners is cities, they are in a particularly bad position. They are frequently faced with the prospect of having to compromise the ideals of their profession with the desires of politicians and businessmen.

Professional Organizations: The American Institute of Planners is the main professional organization for planners, but those most active in terms of organizing are:

- (1) Planners for Equal Opportunity, 76 Reade Street, New York 10007. This is a multi-issue group that has worked for open housing and planning with the poor. It has taken a stand against the war and is trying to get the AIP to take a stand similar to theirs.
- (2) Committee of Planning Professionals to End the War in Vietnam, Room 331, 101 Park Avenue, New York. This is a group of architects, engineers, site planners, landscape architects, etc. They have collected over 600 names for an open letter against the war. They are holding open meetings and are attempting to form local discussion groups. The organizing approach they use is to talk about how they favor building cities, not destroying them as the U.S. is doing in Vietnam. They also note the connection between defence expenditures and the budget cuts in the Model Cities Program and in HUD.

Both of these groups suggest petition campaigns, open letters and attempts to set up debates in local professional chapters of Ameri-

can Institute of Planners and other groups.

What to Do?

Contact one of these groups to find names of people in the area you will be going into. With this list, let them do the work. Have them call a meeting of professional friends, if they can find people willing to discuss the war, and begin discussing problems within their own profession.

One method that seems to pay off in the design professions as well as in engineering, medicine, and teaching, is to talk about how the skills that these people have can be put to use in other ways. For instance, community organizations often need help in redesigning slum areas for their own benefit. A group in Harlem has been working with young people in the area checking housing violations in houses and reporting these to city officials. They then have taken the houses that are beyond real repair as homes and developed plans to rebuild them into local learning centers.

Other groups have spent time doing studies on transportation needs of the poor and designing models for cities to use. It is most important to build on the felt dissatisfaction of professionals with the current possibilities in their own profession and to help them apply their professional training toward more socially constructive and creative ends.

Health Profession.

Organizations: The American Medical Association needs little introduction. It is very conservative on social issues and needs to be moved in what ever direction people feel inclined to work on. However, efforts to deal directly with the AMA will probably be fruitless.

There are other doctors' groups that have been formed, partly in reaction to the AMA's hold. These include:

The Physicians Forum
510 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

The Forum has over 900 doctors in New York and is a fairly radical group. Most of its concern has been around the general issue of health care for all people, rich and poor, that can be provided in a socially democratic way. The Physicians Forum has contacts, mostly on paper, and it should be contacted for these names so that you can begin to discover what doctors to approach in your local area.

Medical Committee for Human Rights

Director, Quentin Young
Chicago, Illinois

Peace Coordinator, David Spain
3 Tyler Road
Scarsdale, New York

The Forum has passed resolutions commending Martin Luther King on his peace activities, supporting Captain Howard Levy, the military doctor who refused to train Special Forces Medics, and has opposed U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Physicians for Social Responsibility

417 Marlboro Street, Suite 17
Boston, Massachusetts
Chairman: Dr. Bernard Lawn

PSR has been very academically oriented and can be counted on to provide speakers to lecture about the medical effects of the war, and to provide information on the effects of napalm, chemical and biological warfare, and civilian casualties in Vietnam.

Organizing examples: The New York Medical Committee to End the War has been very active - picketing hospitals, protesting the lack of funds available for hospital facilities because of the war, sponsoring debates on chemical and biological warfare, and getting 250 medical students to sign We Won't Go statements. It now has many local contacts and groups, although it seems most active in areas where there are large teaching hospitals and medical schools.

The Student Health Organization has been talking about peace issues, but is working principally with organizing groups in poor areas in an attempt to re-define ways that health professionals can apply their skills.

The Committee of Responsibility has been trying to bring children injured in Vietnam to hospitals in this country for treatment.

For further information on organizing health professionals consult chapter III of Vietnam Summer Project Profiles, "Organizing Medical Professionals in Boston."

Engineers and scientists, teachers and planners are really employer-oriented, and hence less free than doctors and lawyers, who are client-oriented. Certain differences in approach are thus appropriate. Within the first group, conflict between corporation and professional should be made conscious and heightened. This is particularly important in the case of engineers and scientists, who are the mainstay of the defense industry, and some of whom feel the split between social responsibility and professional concerns quite strongly. With client-oriented professionals, personal moral

responsibility and the potential social value of their skills should be emphasized.

Once again, we want to point out the value of organizing professionals not only as respected citizens but as professionals, by getting them to discuss the social implications of their professions, the conflict between professional ideals and professional realities, and possibilities for radicalization of their profession.

This summer a Radicals in the Professions Conference will take place at Ann Arbor under the direction of Dick Magidoff. He can be reached at the Cleveland Project West, 2070 W. 26th St., Cleveland, Ohio.

LABOR UNIONS

There are several problems which one must take into serious consideration when introducing controversial, non-job-oriented issues such as the issue of peace to the local union.

1. The concept of union solidarity (discipline).
2. The highly political nature of the union environment, and the obligations of union officials for their jobs.
3. The stress on job-oriented affairs rather than the social role of the union.
4. The feeling of hostility toward anyone who has not 'worked in the shops' on practically any issue, and the issue of peace in particular.

The first problem listed above, that of union solidarity (discipline), is very important. We in the peace movement are asking local union members, in a great many places, to break from that solidarity and strike out on a course different from their leaders. We are in effect asking union men to become an almost divisive element. In the highly political environment of the local union, this could become an issue for an election campaign, with the dissenters looked on as being divisive.

The second problem that of the highly political nature of the local union, is again of most importance when asking local union leadership to take controversial positions. It must be kept in mind to whom each person owes his job. The local union officers are directly tied to the membership of the local indirectly tied to the International Union; while the staff representatives (business agents, etc.) are directly tied to the International Union through their employment and only indirectly tied to the membership of the local union which they are servicing.

The third item listed above, the problem of business unionism, has fully gripped the AFL unions and has also come into great grasp of the one social oriented CIO unions. It must be kept in mind that job-oriented issues, i.e. wages, hours, and working conditions, are paramount importance to the local union, which means

that bringing in any outside issue is not too warmly treated.

The last problem is that of the fraternity atmosphere which local union members attach to their organization. For a person to relate to the workers he usually must answer to the question, 'have you spent any time in the shops?' If he hasn't then the organizer is back to ground zero with all the prejudices previously listed staring him in the face.

ORGANIZING FROM WITHIN AND WITHOUT

Union members have obvious advantages over outsiders in educating workers about the war. They have access to local meetings and to local and district officers. They "know the ropes." They can initiate resolutions, and determine the best strategy for these depending on the attitudes of the union leadership and the prospects for changing it.

If union members working against the war are not available the organizer is faced with a tough job. A first step can be attempting to find unionists open-minded enough to allow passing out a leaflet on the effects of the war on the labor movement. Another way is by arranging a debate on the war before a local. If the anti-war speaker is a union member (many university faculty members are organizing AFT locals), this may be a distinct advantage. If such a debate is successful, the organizer can then stage a meeting at which those he has reached are urged to bring friends from other unions. This provides needed contacts to get the organizing off the ground.

Other activities include having members of the local speak at its meetings on the war, and encouraging the local to distribute a pamphlet giving both sides of the issue. The pamphlet could be reprinted in the union newsletter or newspaper. Members of the local could help in the preparation of such a pamphlet, which could then be used in other locals as well. The important thing is to get the unions to do anything, even the most minimal action.

If this sort of activity yields results, the organizer can aim for:

1. Having anti-war speakers address local union meetings.
2. Inviting local union officers and staff representatives to speak at either community meetings on peace or specially organized trade union public meetings.

3. Encouraging local unions to make peace resolutions to be submitted to their International Unions at convention time.
4. Initiating vast letter writing campaigns to be sent to their International Unions and also the AFL-CIO in Washington, D.C.
5. Encouraging trade unionists to form Trade Unionists for Peace Committees and become affiliated with national bodies such as the SANE Trade Union division of SANE.
6. Encouraging letter writing and personal visits to the local Congressional representatives and the State Senators of State.

In many areas, however, the organizer will find it difficult to generate any anti-war activity at all in union locals. None of the locals may be interested in hearing a speaker or a debate about the war. At that point, the organizer should attempt to reach the workers outside their union structure. This can be done with leaflets raising questions about the war and announcing an open meeting, handed out door-to-door in working class neighborhoods and at plant gates. Don't expect people to come out of thin air; remember that the neighborhoods and the plants have leadership structures of their own, which can pass the word for your meeting or against your meeting. Therefore it's wise to clear meetings with ministers, PTA and community center officers, etc. If possible, get local institutions such as churches to agree to sponsor such meetings.

It must be kept in mind that to affect even one local union is not an overnight event. It will be slow and painstaking. We sometimes are too accustomed to things happening in a 1,2,3, manner, but when dealing with the labor movement, things happen in a more 1,2,3,4,5,6,7, and so on manner.

But this slow painstaking road, if even moderately successful can lead to very fulfilling results. For when union men become committed to an action, that means political commitment --the highest form of commitment.

TALKING TO UNIONS ABOUT THE WAR

Before beginning even the most modest organizing effort,

it is crucial that peace people get a feel of how workers think about the war and general social questions. Taking a regular job and talking to fellow-workers can be a good way to do this, especially if you don't go in with the idea of shaking up the whole labor establishment before the end of the summer. Spending a few days in the bar across from the plant or at the bowling alley where the league bowls is another way. To approach workers directly, students might represent themselves as reporters for the college paper doing a story on what workers think about Vietnam.

An excellent environment to meet workers and talk with them is on their picket lines. After all, the peace movement is asking workers to join in its marches, even if the issue may seem remote--shouldn't peace people join in union fights, even if the issue seems narrow?

What follows is a summary of arguments about the war that are particularly applicable to working-class audiences.

A. Inflation. War-induced inflation is chipping away at the economic security of the working class. Johnson's proposal for a 6% surtax may go through in some form -- the war doesn't come free of charge. The regional office of the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics can supply you with the figures on the rise in the Consumer Price Index for your area since 1964, and with figures on the increase in production worker earnings over the same period. For purposes of comparison, Business Week has published articles on defense-industry profits due to the war.

B. Starvation of Public Services. The \$30 billion that is going to the war every year is \$30 billion that could be being spent on the construction of schools and hospitals, and on other measures to reduce "public squalor". A Minneapolis group has produced effective leaflets showing the cost of the war to each public school, computed on the basis of \$150 per pupil. Testimony by Harvard economist Wassily Leontief before the Joint Economic Committee of Congress in April, 1967, gave estimates of the impact of a \$19 billion de-escalation in the war on different industries, and different states, focusing particularly on employment (the hearings are published and available in larger libraries). Construction workers particularly would benefit from a program to channel war spending into civilian public sector pursuits, because the most obvious targets of public spending are in the backlog of construction needs in housing, schools, libraries, etc. That same committee will publish this summer a report detailing what it calls the "Public Facilities Gap".

C. The Draft. The inequities of the selective service system, even after the minor modifications in the current legislation, will still be stacked in favor of well-to-do families and families with pull, and against working-class and poor families.

D. The Strengthening of the Right-Wing. In order to pursue the war, President Johnson has had to become comfortable with reactionary and anti-labor forces in the country. This was the cause of the defeat in Congress of organized labor's No. 1 political goal, the repeal of the "right-to-work" section of the Taft-Hartley law. It is also having an impact on other reform economic legislation favored by the labor movement. Workers must be brought to understand that as long as the war and the Cold War remain the number one priority on the national agenda, their needs and the needs of the union movement take a back seat.

E. Compulsory Arbitration This is seen most dramatically in the creeping extension of compulsory arbitration, under cover of the "national emergency" argument. The airline machinists held off the proposals for compulsory arbitration in 1966, but now the shopcraft employees of the railroads are being forced to accept compulsory arbitration, which every worker knows ends up favoring the employers. A dozen strikes have been called off during the war under the Taft-Hartley 90-day cooling-off period provisions, which apply to national emergencies, and this number is bound to increase. No-strike pledges and injunctions are the ordinary means used to force the workers to take the full burden of a war; the particular danger at this time is that under the cover of the war, anti-labor forces in Congress will be able to pass a permanent law limiting national strikes. As long as the war goes on, this is a grave danger to union rights.

F. Labor internationalism. No speech to a group of workers about the war should fail to illustrate the nature of the Ky regime through a discussion of the absence of any free labor movement in South Vietnam. Vietnamese workers have no love for the continued destruction of their country, and have participated actively in the Buddhist movements against the military dictatorship. There are no workers or peasants in the "constituent assembly" there. Only government-controlled labor unions can exist, and strikes have been broken by using the draft. The constitution that has just been adopted guarantees the right to strike only insofar as the regime determines it to be in the national interest. A fourth of the dues paid by workers in AFL-CIO unions to the AFL-CIO (these are transferred from their international union treasuries in the form of per-capita payments) goes into international activities which amount to CIA work; in fact it's hard to tell whether the AFL-CIO

or the CIA is in charge of these operations. To the extent that American workers want free labor movements to flourish throughout the world, they need to detach their international operations from U.S. foreign policy.

G. The nature of the "enemy". Workers who have been through strikes know how the press distorts the nature of their own movements and may be able to make the analogy to what's going on in Vietnam. Not only is the story told by the newspapers in both cases a one-sided story, because the press only asks for one side of the story, but the press is always looking for a devil theory to explain both labor action and the war. Because they don't understand the genuine motivations that make workers join in struggles, they always are trying to find "agitators" and "manipulators" to explain trouble. The same is true in Vietnam, where there are real "nuts-and-bolts" reasons behind the war; the Vietcong support comes more from their commitment to land reform and to nationalism than it does because of orders issued in the Kremlin, Peking, or Hanoi.

H. Negotiations. Workers know that after you've fought it out, you go to negotiations, and settle it. The facts of which side has been bargaining in good faith, and the justice of each side's demands, are points that can be easily understood, just as the point that the U.S. government's public position isn't its real one.

I. Employer influence on Foreign Policy. By and large, the foreign policy makers are corporate leaders like McNamara, and their lawyers like Dulles. Their biases can be made clear to workers.

J. Patriotism. Many workers are veteran; all-in-all, you will run up against deeply-rooted patriotism, as well as a good deal of flag-waving. The safest response is to argue about what the U.S. national interest really is; showing how France's withdrawal helped her prestige. Show how the war is leading us inevitably toward being an occupying army, and argue that America shouldn't be doing that.

SUMMARY. These are several ideas on what the peace organizer must take into consideration when bringing the issue of peace to the local union level. Certainly there are other ideas, such as, determining the ethnic make-up of the local, the size of the local, the type of product which the local makes (defense-oriented or peace-oriented), the seasonal nature of the product, and many other ideas which make a fuller description of the local union's make-up.

In addition, the local peace organizer should keep in touch with the Labor Today people in Detroit, the SANE Trade Unionists in New York, Jack Spiegel in Chicago, and any other place where current Labor-Peace information can be secured.

THE BLACK COMMUNITY

The black community presents a unique problem to any group organizing against the war.

General Considerations.

- (1) Economically the average black person benefits from the war.
- (2) Even if black people reject every other aspect of American culture, they embrace a strident patriotism.
- (3) Most black families in the ghetto have a son or brother or cousin in the armed forces. They feel that to reject the war is to betray their own relatives; they feel that they have to support the war.
- (4) Black college and high school youth (16-25) have been radicalized by the Civil Rights movement on domestic issues. They are very receptive and easily understand the issues raised by the war in Vietnam. But like their elders in the ghetto, they will not become involved on their own.
- (5) One of the major problems will be to overcome the cynicism and opportunism to be found in the black community. The real test of organizing will be to help build not just a sense of community, but a community of fact.

A Total Program.

- (1) The peace movement has to educate black people in the ghetto at a very basic level about the economics and politics of war in order to get them involved.
- (2) Black people must be involved on the basis of specific ghetto problems; the issue of peace, initially, must relate to these problems. A peace movement on the model of middle class white organizations will not work.
- (3) Black people in the ghetto are awakening to the fact that any single-issue program carried out in an atmosphere of crisis will not, in and of itself, solve their basic problems.
- (4) Programs must be phased to deal not only with the immediate

problems, but with a systematic attempt to build indigenous ghetto leadership which can deal with broader issues of peace, economic exploitation, and the racism that exploits and perpetuates the ghetto psychologically, economically, and politically.

(5) It is important to realize the level of political sophistication in the ghetto and at the same time to understand the pragmatic opportunism that exists there. Black people, as a whole, no longer seek nor desire total integration. They now understand the necessity of power. They understand that they must not only build up and improve but also control their communities. They are seeking to do this in each locale in a variety of ways. This, with the rhetoric removed, is what Black Power is really all about.

Approaches.

Any peace activity must be initiated by politically sophisticated black militants. For whites, initial contacts in the black community present a formidable problem. White peace workers should seek out those few black militants who have been identified with the peace movement.

The field is uncharted; here are a few guidelines:

(1) Organizing vehicle: that particular ghetto problem which commands the attention of its residents should be sought out and made use of. It may or may not be relevant to peace. But it is that vehicle by which we will establish our authenticity as being an organization concerned with the total community and all its problems.

(2) Education:

(a) Economic: The false economics of war spending and production must be explained in language understandable to the ghetto resident. The possibility of getting extra income from family members if they return from the armed forces should be emphasized. And we need to show how big business can and must shift its industrial potential to humanitarian and socially useful production. In areas where few ghetto people are employed in defense-related industries, we can show that only a narrow segment of the business community has a stake in Vietnam.

(b) Political: Political education is where we win or lose the ball game. The strong feeling of nationalism in the ghetto must find mediums of expression. If we are serious about organizing the ghetto, or for that matter ending the war, a serious program of political education is the prime requisite.

(3) Groups to organize:

(a) Black veterans -- Vietnam and others:

Surprisingly enough, this may be the easiest group to organize. They are usually disillusioned by the shifting alliances in the international game of power. They can be the most effective speakers on the horrors and futility of war as an instrument of national policy. At the same time they have obvious prestige and respectability.

(b) Black colleges:

The majority are virgin territory for peace organizations and are fertile areas for organizing. In areas where there are women's colleges close to larger schools, if you can organize the women against the war, the other schools and the community will follow easily.

(c) Black high school students:

The sixteen and seventeen year olds are not only organizable but important.

Draft resistance: The mood of black youth in the ghetto seems to be one of not wishing to cooperate in any way with the selective service system. But there is a feeling of futility, as dissenting individuals are isolated, with no organization to deal with the problem. Strangely enough, the avenue usually taken to beat the draft is to enlist. As you can see, it is a self-defeating rationalization of surrendering to the system. The sixteen-seventeen age group is very important because of their desire to stay out of the draft as they face the fast-approaching day when they will be required to register. Her can be the real core of draft resistance - if large numbers of youth, both black and white, refuse to register.

(d) Business men (small):

The issue that most small business men can identify with is tight money. This particular economic phenomenon has its greatest impact on the small independent business man.

(e) Ministers:

A personal relationship should be established; the end results can be sermons against the war, financial assistance, and invitations to address church groups.

(f) Black professionals:

Social workers, doctors, lawyers, teachers, sororities, fraternities, and civic organizations. Some of these people can be moved to activism, but generally their involvement will be limited to contributions and gratis work in their professions.

(4) Funds: There are some funds available in the ghetto. Such proven methods as soliciting with cans and holding dances are still useful. Some organizations and individuals will supplement the income of the staff people.

(5) Staff: Once again, it must be predominantly -- if not all -- black. Whites must quickly contact blacks. The staff must become accepted members of the community by establishing their permanency in that community.

Conclusion

Traditional peace activity is not the model for the black community, and results will not be the same. One must develop a total perspective for activity in a black community. That community will not forfeit any of its options; the thought of violence is no longer abhorrent. An organizer who cannot identify with or relate to the current modes of thought of the community is a failure before he starts.

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Problems of Organizing Students.

High school students feel little connection with adult anti-war activities. First, they are a separate community with separate interests; although consciousness of the draft is increasing, in general students feel little connection with the war. Second, in middle class suburban high schools students are only indirectly threatened by the draft; they expect to go on to college. In lower class high schools students identify with the armed forces and with American military action, and feel hostile to the anti-war position. Third, students who oppose the war feel isolated and -- far more than college students -- powerless. They feel that they have no voice in public affairs. And their parents are usually unwilling to support their children in anti-war activity.

Within the high school community, school principals have almost unlimited power over the students. They can censor the school press, and control every other ordinary means of communication in the school community. Other forms of communication, such as the distribution of leaflets inside the school, is usually prohibited, and offenders liable to punishment at the principal's discretion. Student activities are controlled by the school administration: unauthorized meetings are not permitted in the school, and outside speakers are subject to administration veto. The school administration has other forms of coercion: usually, if a student is not terrorized by possible failure in the college rat-race, his parents are, and this is ordinarily enough to manipulate a troublesome student; furthermore, the principal usually has accomplices in the teaching staff, which is usually more frightened of administration displeasure than are the students.

Approaches to High School Organizing.

Since high school students are a distinct community, if they are to be organized against the Vietnam war, it must be on the basis of any other type of community organizing: that is to say, the students must be free to develop their own leadership, their own perspective, and their own strategy based on the given conditions of the community in which they exist. High school students, like any other constituency, will have no respect for an organizer who attempts to impose a fixed ideology on them or who attempts to dictate a program or to recruit teen-agers as lackeys for an adult

operation. As in any community organizing project, the goal should be to develop a program that is meaningful within the community, and to develop new leaders from the community who can make that program work. There is really no point in recruiting a few super-radical teen-agers as show-pieces of an adult organization, if no impact has been made on the high school community itself.

Organizing an anti-war movement within the high school community is a formidable task. Aside from all the restrictions noted above, the organizer is in the almost impossible position of trying to organize a completely inexperienced constituency, while at the same time he must avoid the identification of being another giver-of-orders by the high school constituents. Still, most teen-agers have never written a leaflet, put out a newsletter, set up an organization, or evolved a radical program on their own. The organizer must ~~therefore~~ teach the skills he has to his constituents without at the same time trying to impose his perspective or ideology on them.

How does an adult peace organizer start peace activity in a high school community? The main thing is to locate a few active students, who can in turn bring in others. Such contacts can be made through friends or relatives, at peace demonstrations, or by working with some youth group in the community that is involved in social issues -- a civil rights or human rights committee; the youth group of a church, synagogue, or Friends' meeting house, or some other community youth group. Once the initial contact has been made, the organizer should confine his role to that of an advisor or technical assistant, while encouraging the students to work out their own strategy for the particular conditions of their school community.

One approach to high school organizing that appears to be quite successful is the appeal to the democratic procedure of "hearing both sides" and "making up one's own mind." This sounds elementary, but it must be remembered that some school authorities would like to prevent just that from taking place. If students can be shown that they're not being allowed to hear both sides of an issue, they can get pretty disturbed and upset -- and thus become interested in the controversial subject precisely because they are being manipulated. Thus it is possible to raise the issue of Vietnam in schools on the basis of a "free-speech" approach, which could work as follows: students in the school propose that a debate or teach-in on Vietnam, presenting both sides of the issue, be held in the school. If the school administration refuses permission for such an event, student activists should be prepared to raise the "free-speech" issue, and hope to involve many non-committed students

in a mass movement in the school for free speech. (Such a movement could circulate petitions, leaflet the school, hold rallies after school, send delegations of parents and students to the principal, P.T.A., etc.). In this process it is obvious that many more students will become involved in the issue at stake, and hopefully can be won over to an anti-war position. In this way, it is possible to build a base of anti-war students in the school.

If the free-speech effort is successful, not only will the students have won the right to present anti-war arguments in the school, but also will have demonstrated the effectiveness of organized student pressure. On the other hand, even if student demands are not met, it is still likely that in the struggle for free speech enough student interest will have been generated to insure the success of student-organized teach-ins or rallies held outside the school, in a nearby church or playground, and once again lead to a sustained anti-war movement.

Other proposals for raising the issue of Vietnam in the school are debates carried on in the school newspaper; pro- and anti-war literature in the school library; pro- and anti-war movie programs; opposition to visits by military recruiters, or demands that conscientious-objection also be explained. If the school has a world affairs or current events club, this can be especially effective, as a forum for debates, discussions, and anti-war speakers.

When a high school group is ready to move to a higher level of commitment, a number of possibilities might be suggested. The students might want to enter the larger community by phamphleting community centers and other places where students congregate. They might take part in conferences and workshops at local universities. They might join in leafleting activities with an adult community group.

The group might insist on being allowed to mimeograph and distribute and "underground" uncensored newspaper dealing with the war and also with other problems of the student community. If permission is denied, the students might decide to distribute such a newspaper outside of school; obviously the first issue would deal with the administration's refusal to allow free speech. The paper might be circulated on school property to test the administration's ruling.

Finally, action relating to the draft might begin. In some areas it has proven fruitful to begin with draft counselling in order to involve more than the already committed students in some kind of draft activity. Once an initial anti-draft sentiment is established students may join with draft-age men in the community in the formation of a "We Won't Go" group and the publication of a "We Won't

Go" list. Anti-draft leafletting has proved most effective at pre-induction physicals but can also be done at local draft boards.

At many schools military recruiters are allowed in the school and assemblies may be held for them to give their pitch. This is an excellent opportunity to demand equal time for the presentation of alternatives to military service, to demand a debate, or to protest the school's cooperation with selective service. (This last is generally less effective than the first two because it lacks obvious free speech appeal, but might be good where a large proportion of the student body is already anti-draft.)

TRAINING COMMUNITY VOLUNTEERS

Many citizens are not reached through the the limited scope of work with professional groups or trade unions. To hit a larger number of people, "teachout" programs based on canvassing, block work, and neighborhood meetings are essential.

STUDY

Before going out into the community, Vietnam Summer volunteers must have a firm understanding of the issues related to the war. A series of training sessions based on the selections from Marvin Gettleman's Vietnam is a good way to begin (see appended reading list.) At each training session, discussion of the content of the readings should be combined with role playing and with discussion of the first steps to be taken in community work. A good study group should go beyond simply providing arguments with which to confound the local flag-wavers - arguments which demonstrate that Lyndon Johnson or Dean Rusk don't always tell the truth.

To be convincing a volunteer must develop some sense of how and why the United States came to be in Vietnam, who the Vietnamese are who oppose us and why, and what the significance of U.S. involvement for American society is as a whole. One way to begin is to read and discuss the material in the Study Guide with the following questions in mind:

- (1) What does the historical background of Vietnam tell about the Vietnamese reaction to outside interference and domination?
- (2) Why did the West come to Vietnam? What were the consequences of French domination of Vietnam? How did the French benefit?
- (3) Why did Vietnamese Nationalists turn to the communist movement?
- (4) What did the Vietnamese communists have in terms of organization and program which made it possible for them to mobilize large numbers of Vietnamese for guerilla war?
- (5) Why did the United States support the French Empire in its war against the Vietminh?
- (6) Why did the United States move to establish an anti-Communist regime in South Vietnam? What groups in Vietnam supported this effort? What was their program? What steps were necessary to carry out their program?

- (7) How did the war begin again? Why?
- (8) What are the reasons for American escalation of the war?
- (9) And finally, what do America's policies abroad tell us about America herself? Who makes the decisions, who benefits, and in what terms?

A VIETNAM SUMMER STUDY GROUP PROGRAM

(The selections are from Marvin Gettleman's Vietnam: History, Documents, and Opinions on a Major World Crisis, Fawcett, \$.95.)

INTRODUCTION: Vietnam: Colony and Nation, 208 B.C. - 1945 A.D.

Article: "Vietnam: The Historical Background" by Roy Jumper and Marjorie Weiner Normand, pp. 10-28.

Document: "The Path Which Led Me to Leninism" by Ho Chi Minh, pp. 30-32.

I. The First War -- France Against the Vietminh, 1946-1950

Article: "Genesis of the First Indochina War" by Ellen Hammer, pp. 63-86.

II. American Intervention and the Geneva Conference, 1951-1954

Articles: "The Day We Didn't Go to War" by Chalmers M. Roberts, pp. 96-105.

"Power Politics at the Geneva Conference" by Donald Lancaster, pp. 118-137.

Documents: Statement of the Secretary of State Dean Acheson at Ministerial Level Meeting in Paris (May 8, 1950), p. 89.

John Foster Dulles Speech to The Overseas Press Club, pp. 89-91.

"Remarks Attributed to Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, (April, 1954), pp. 91-92.

III. Ngo Dinh Diem and the National Liberation Front, 1955-1963.

Article: "Ngo Dinh Diem and the Struggle for Reunification in Vietnam" by Philippe Devillers, pp. 210-335.

Documents: Reports of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, pp. 169-185.

Program of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, pp. 254-256.

IV. The New War, 1964- ?

Article: "Revolutionary Warfare" by Eqbal Ahmad, pp.351-362.

"A Reply to the White Paper" by I.F. Stone,
pp. 317-323.

Documents: Reports of the International Commission for
Supervision and Control in Vietnam, pp. 185-190.

"Aggression From the North: The Record of North
Vietnam's Campaign to Conquer South Vietnam",
pp. 284-287.

SUPPLEMENTARY READING

Peace in Vietnam, A report prepared by the American
Friends Service Committee, Hill and Wang, \$.95.

The Politics of Escalation in Vietnam, Franz Schurman, et.al.,
, Fawcett, \$.60.

Containment and Change, Carl Oglesby and Richard Shaull,
MacMillan, \$1.45.

The United States in Vietnam, George McT. Kahin and John
W. Lewis, Delta, \$2.45.

OPEN DISCUSSIONS AND ROLE PLAYING SESSIONS

Much work this summer includes organizing and leading groups of volunteers, leading discussions of the war, speaking before interested groups. In all, the ability to relate directly and firmly, honestly and human-ly, with understanding of where people really are -- this ability is more important than knowledge of specific organizing techniques. What is needed is not "training" in "selling" methods but nearly the opposite: getting in touch with your real responses to others and with the feelings of the people you're with. One answer is found in small group work with V.S. volunteers: both open discussions and role playing exercises.

In all of the following group situations - both discussions (A) and role playing situations(B) - the group leader should get the group to focus on the way in which the participant relates to others. Of course the group should attend to content and take it seriously; but it should especially concern itself with the how:

- (1) How does the speaker feel when he is speaking? Ask him -- who does he speak to? Who does he speak for? Does he believe what he says? Is he unconvinced and pushing extra hard? Does he feel anxious? Does he feel in touch with the group? And how does the group feel about the speaker? Do his own feelings come through to them? Are they with him? Why are they responding as they are?
- (2) How is he using his language? Is he using language to persuade or to bully, to inform or to defend himself from attack, to communicate feelings or to create and impression of himself? If so, of what kind? Is he conning his listener with slogans and cliches? What is the feeling behind his language?
- (3) How does the speaker see himself? Is he a Wild Bolshevik? A bitter Jeremiah? A soldier of the Truth? Is he using his listener(s) to act out his own psychodrama? What is his attitude towards the others? Is he defensive? Does he handle his own anger and the anger of others? Ignore it? Point it out? Begin to rant? Become icy and withdrawn? Is he able to concede defeat gracefully? Is he interested in altering consciousness or in feeling right?
- (4) What problems will be present for the speaker during the summer? What are his strengths?

- (5) What do the responses of the members of the group to the player indicate about their relationship with others?
(Silence is as much of a response as talk.)

Obviously such a focus may lead to annoyance, conflict, hostile attacks or retreats. These have to be looked at and respected. But by the model the discussion leader sets and by general agreement, the sessions should be pervaded with humor and friendliness. Somehow. The group should try to support, not destroy one another while remaining critical.

These sessions are to be illuminating, not manipulative. The process should be visible to all group members.

A. Topics for Open Discussions.

The following discussion possibilities will allow the members to get in touch with one another and to exchange experience and ideas. Obviously, these topics overlap a good deal.

- (1) How did you get here? Why are you here? Let each group member present a capsule movement autobiography which led to his involvement with Vietnam Summer. Include your changing perception of things as well as events. Other group members might focus on similarities to and differences from their own outlook and on (a) what is omitted from the sketch; (b) what image of the person's role in the movement emerges? (c) Is the speaker's model one of growing enlightenment, growing bitterness, sudden clarity? Is his view of America and of his role overly rigid? Is it adequate to the situation? How will his vision affect his work this summer? Does he use his view of himself to keep himself aloof and superior? Does he see himself swept along from crisis to crisis?
- (2) What's going on in the community? What are the attitudes of the people you've spoken with on the war and U.S. policy in general? What opportunities for action exist in the community? What action would be ineffective? What responses do you expect to encounter? (It is important to distinguish between self-fulfilling predictions and reasonable predictions.)
- (3) How do you see the Vietnam Summer operation? As a last-ditch effort? A small part of a life-long project? Is it to be directed to the war alone or to broader issues?
- (4) How do you see your role for the summer? What have you planned? What are your fears, what are you looking forward to?

- (5) What does a good organizer need to do? To be? How can he relate effectively to the people he will work with?
- (6) After volunteers have gone out on a project, discuss with them their feelings, their difficulties, their successes.

B. Kinds of Role Playing Situations:

There are many possible situations for role-playing with volunteers. A group might want to try one or more of the following -- or invent their own. It is not necessary -- and would probably be boring -- for everyone to take part in any one exercise.

- (1) The player, involved in a Teach-Out, confronts (a) an indifferent person; (b) an angry "patriot"; (c) a wary opponent of the war; (d) an eager potential volunteer. Be especially conscious of the player's ability to listen and to ask questions which the other person can answer.
- (2) The player meets an interested community leader to speak to him about taking part in Vietnam Summer; by introducing a Vietnam Summer speaker into a church meeting, by setting up a draft counselling program, etc.
- (3) The player makes a short address on the war.
- (4) The player leads a project seminar. The group members are volunteers who have chosen a particular project and are gathered to speak about it and be trained.
- (5) Pairs of players take turns in arguing pro and con the administration's position in the war.
- (6) The player speaks to someone from a different social class, age group, race, sub-culture.
- (7) The player is barraged with questions, mostly hostile. The group members are an audience or crowd.
- (8) The player acts out both parts of a dialogue with an imaginary partner of his choice. (In this way his assumptions and predictions are projected.)

If tape recorders are available, they will be useful in getting the player to hear how he sounds under pressure. They can be used after discussion by the group or the individual. Playing back the group's responses to the speaker may be just as illuminating as playing back the role playing situation itself.

Whenever possible, "natural" oppositions in the group -- opposition of class, of background, of ideological position -- should be exploited.

What actually happens during discussions (A) and role playing situations (B) will overlap. Discussions listed in (A) may arise spontaneously from one of the role playing situations listed in (B). Or, role playing situations may be used to test out ideas arising in a discussion.

Once again -- in all group situations (especially in the role playing situations) the group should focus on what's happening between members of the group, on stance and style, on attitude and relationship, as well as content. The group member should have at the end of the sessions a clearer and more adequate picture of his role, richer awareness of other people and of his way of relating to them, and insight into his own strengths and weaknesses which might affect his work.

In addition, role-playing may strengthen the volunteer's confidence about his ability to go talk to people in the broader community as well as his sense of solidarity with his fellow volunteers. To be most effective, these discussions and role-playing sessions should be limited to fifteen people.

NEIGHBORHOOD WORK

Choosing the Target Area.

The most appropriate urban sub-division for neighborhood work is generally the precinct. Organizers should select precincts in accordance with three criteria:

- (1) Where the volunteers live.
- (2) The political composition of the precinct as indicated by recent voting records.
- (3) The social class and ethnic background of the residents.

Generally, the most effective volunteers are those who live in the neighborhood being canvassed. They have access to the homes of neighbors and friends and can more easily stimulate local study-discussion groups.

A study of past voting records of the precinct should indicate whether canvassing might quickly produce additional volunteers. Going into a strongly pro-war area may get one nowhere. Citizens for Political Action in Cambridge, Mass. met with failure when it attempted to canvass in a heavily Irish Catholic lower middle class- upper working class area. CPA then centered its efforts in an area in which a number of volunteers lived, and which in the past had been marked by a higher than average vote for a peace candidate. Efforts here met with some success. The CPA experience also illustrated the importance of the third consideration -- class and ethnic composition. The peace movement today is a middle class phenomenon. In lower-middle class and white working class areas, opposition to the war is felt by many to be unmasculine. To break through to such groups, the legitimacy of protest must be established. Such an atmosphere of legitimacy can come, in large part, only from work in middle class areas. For this reason, the first article in this manual places work with the middle class liberal community as stage one, and broader outreach as stage two in community organizing.

This does not mean that organizing efforts in non-middle class areas should be postponed. What it does mean is that students and other volunteers from a middle class background, living in middle class sections of the city, will experience great difficulty in plunging into canvassing work in a "foreign" working or lower middle class section of town. To begin to make inroads into such areas, work through existing institutions such as churches and lodges may be far more effective than canvassing.

Canvassing.

Canvassing can be very useful particularly if the volunteers live in the area. After study and role-playing sessions, canvassers should begin the first stage of canvassing -- talking to people in the community to gain a deeper understanding of their views.

When the canvasser knocks on the door, he should be ready to listen rather than to argue. Without being at all aggressive, he should tell what group he represents, and briefly state something about his and the group's concern with the war. He should not, however, offer a presentation of his own views. Dogmatic assertions that the United States should follow Plan A in Vietnam, or that the war is a basic result of an enumerated list of evils fundamental to the American system, should be avoided.

The most important function of this first stage of canvassing is to listen closely and discern how various types of people think about the war, and about action against it. It is also important to discover what other issues arouse most concern in the community.

The canvasser must attempt to discover as briefly as possible whether the person to whom he is talking has a son or close relative or friend of draft age in Vietnam. However, the canvasser must at all times be sensitive to the possible emotional content of his questions and must be careful not to violate anyone's sense or privacy.

Another important matter about which the canvasser should learn is how the concern of persons in various professional and occupational roles relate to their views of the war. Membership in voluntary associations is also a basic point and will give the canvasser leads as to which institutions may be most useful to the anti-war effort.

Through his conversation, the canvasser should determine whether persons might be interested in working with the group, canvassing, hosting, attending a neighborhood discussion group. The canvasser should be sure to keep a record of this information but should not fill out the canvassing report while talking with the person. The canvasser wants to generate a sense that a group of neighbors in the community will work together against the war; he should avoid an atmosphere of recruitment.

After canvassers have talked to a number of persons, some of them at length, they should meet for another discussion and role-playing session. Information should be traded on the types of thinking about the war present in the community, and on the most appropriate methods of continued anti-war effort. One of the most important results of these sessions should be briefing sheets prepared on the relations of

certain concerns such as those particular professional groups to the war.

Such briefing sheets would entail some amount of research. One on the medical profession, for example, could discuss facts about civilian casualties, the nutritional consequences of defoliation, and general medical conditions in Vietnam. In addition, it would relate spending for the war to cut-backs in domestic health programs.

A sheet for businessmen might discuss inflation and interest rates. Another sheet might relate to trade unionists. A few such sheets might relate the war to local issues of greatest interest to the residents. Such information will enable the canvassers to make an impression of informed concern that can only enhance their canvassing efforts.

When volunteers begin community work in strength, their canvassing should be of a somewhat different nature. Excessive time should not be wasted attempting to convince die-hard supporters of the war, or even wavering citizens and moderate critics. A canvasser on a doorstep generally does not convert someone in ten minutes (or in an hour). The canvasser's job is to encourage as many as possible to come to neighborhood meetings, and to identify citizens who might join the organizing effort.

One of the most effective ways to get such meetings off the ground can be for an individual volunteer to go to houses on his block, asking neighbors to come to his home one night to sit around and talk about the war. Such discussion meetings should be limited to about fifteen people. The value of this method is that people can see themselves as participants in a gathering of neighbors, rather than as recruited observers in a previously structured group.

The meeting can begin with everyone asked to discuss briefly his concern with the war. This can break the ice, and begin to generate a sense of a group involvement out of mutual concern. The organizers should listen to what the participants' views are and what they hope to get from the meeting, but should not attempt to push the discussion. Near the close of the meeting, the organizers can encourage the group to consider getting together again, and should suggest a few study meetings, based on selections from Gettleman's reader. The organizer should also encourage the participants to bring friends. If a large enough number of friends come, the group can divide in half.

The study meetings should strengthen the participants' concern with Vietnam, and their interest in working together. They may feel, however, that as an isolated group, there is little they can do. Therefore, after study meetings, the organizers should hold a large, open meeting

for participants in all neighborhood study-discussion groups in the community.

The success of the open meeting will rest in large part on the degree of success of the neighborhood groups. People who are not strongly committed to opposition to the war or who are beset with feelings of isolation and impotence in relation to anti-war activity, are not easily mobilized at a community-wide meeting. Several weeks in a neighborhood group, however, can strengthen anti-war conviction and somewhat alleviate a sense of isolation. People may then be more responsive to the community-wide meeting.

The open meeting might operate on the model used by the Cambridge Neighborhood Committee. An expert on the war as well as a distinguished citizen from the community spoke at the meeting, which was well publicized in advance. After a short question-and-answer session following the speeches, various action projects were discussed. The meeting then divided into a number of action committees concerned with the planning and execution of specific projects.

Over the summer, organizers should hold frequent meetings to evaluate their progress and to assess their techniques. They should remember, however, that as the community organization develops, their directing role must become less prominent. Foremost in their minds must remain the understanding that the community has to form a self-perpetuating organization, one that will remain active after the organizers are no longer present. This is possible only if the citizens see themselves as both participants and decision-makers.

At the same time, the organizers must always consider long-range goals as well as short-run technique, and specifically, how to direct their canvassing, petitions, ads, etc. to fruitful ends. Activity merely for the sake of activity can be dangerous, for if mobilized citizens begin by the end of the summer to feel that their efforts are purposeless they may slide back into as deep a state of passivity as ever.

Other Techniques.

An additional technique which can prove useful is the distribution of questionnaires on the war, with business reply envelopes enclosed. This can be of help if the number of organizers is few, and canvassing seems unrealistic. The questionnaire can then function as a means of identification which can produce volunteers and make more ambitious methods possible.

Leafleting can also prove valuable. Leafleting shopping centers,

factory gates, and other public places will not provide the same intensive personal contact as door-to-door canvassing, and will not normally lead to the recruitment of additional volunteers. Leafleting is nevertheless an effective means of reaching large numbers of citizens with a minimum of effort. Leafleting is particularly appropriate where local committees do not have the resources for extensive canvassing. Good location and timing are the key to successful leafleting. A team of volunteers can distribute a thousand leaflets in fifteen minutes at the gates of a large factory when the shift changes. Similarly, hundreds of housewives can be reached in the late afternoon hours at a large shopping center. Transfer points in the public transportation system are another good bet. Finally leafleting selected steps and shopping centers, theaters, concerts and cinemas is also a way to reach upper middle-class voters who tend to resent interruption of their privacy while at home.

Leafleting, like canvassing, will not change people's minds in itself. Its main purpose is to bring them to community meetings. Consequently, leaflets should generally avoid argumentation about the war and should concentrate on announcing important functions. In an area where organizers are few and the community not particularly sympathetic, anti-war organizing can be effectively kicked off by debate in a church or other institution, which is previously announced in leaflets distributed on a mass scale.

Some instances, however, can warrant preparing leaflets which deal directly with issues pertaining to the war. For example, the local committee might prepare a leaflet, to be distributed each week at the gates of industrial plants, on the relation between the latest events in the war and matters of concern to trade unionists. Of course, even such leaflets will have to aim ultimately at getting workers together in meetings called to discuss the war.

PUBLICITY

There is an infinite amount of free publicity available for you Vietnam Summer project right in your community. Newspapers, radio and TV stations want information as much as you want publicity, but you must approach them with a definite, complete package. The more work you make them do (rewriting press releases, thinking up interview topics), the less they will cooperate.

NEWSPAPERS

What a press release is.

A press release is a news article which you write and supply to the newspapers. The first two paragraphs should contain the most newsworthy information and should provide answers to the "6 Ws" Who, When, Why, What, Where, How

Objectivity is essential. If you want to include opinion, put it in quotes and attribute it to someone -- even yourself. Mimeograph paper with your letterhead printed on it is a wise investment -- it creates an impression of stability. See example.

Types of releases.

General releases: Newspapers must get releases about your project - its formation, election of officers, etc. Also, you must create news. Progress reports, usually involving statistics, are ideal: "400 Attend Vietnam Summer Meeting," "57% Sign Petition." For larger papers, look through several issues for a sympathetic story on the peace movement or, if necessary, on civil rights. Call the paper, ask who wrote it, and address releases to him. Major people are the city editor, national editor, and political writer. For smaller papers, the name of the editor will suffice.

Releases about events: Larger papers have departmental editors. If you sponsor a peace fair, send a release to the entertainment editor. Information on fund-raising parties goes to the society editor. If there is a calendar of events in the paper, announce your meetings. If activity involves a church, news goes to the religion editor. When you find a sympathetic departmental editor, play up his area.

Releases about people: Neighborhood people are the most important

news in local papers. They'll print anything about a local person if you provide his full name and address. They like to know where he went to high school, what awards he won, etc. Create this kind of news -- give everyone a title so releases can go to local papers saying: "Joe Smith, of 31 Main Street, was elected associate assistant co-chairman of the Kingston Vietnam Summer Project." Then quote him saying something positive about the importance of the project and how many good, concerned people he knows are in the community. Everyone at the Institute should send releases to the local papers when he returns home: "Joe Smith, of 31 Main Street, recently returned from Vietnam Summer's Training Institute at Western Reserve University. He attended as the representative of the Kingston Vietnam Summer Project, etc." Don't neglect newsletters published by churches, fraternal organizations, farm groups, labor unions. They should receive releases about people active in your project who belong to these associations.

Important: With the first release you send to anyone, include a page of background information about your local project and about the national office.

Compiling a press list.

To compile a press list, check your library's reference department for "Working Press of the Nation" and "Ayre's Directory." Both are arranged by area. Supplement these with the yellow pages - look under area newspapers, publications, churches, associations, labor organizations. Phone each one. Don't neglect neighborhood and suburban weeklies. They are more likely to print your releases intact. Ask newsletter editors whether they can use releases about members. Make a chart.

NAME AND PHONE OF CONTACT	NAME AND ADDRESS OF PAPER	DEADLINE	PUBLICATION DATE	ARE PHOTOS ACCEPTED
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Interviews.

Obviously, you should try to find sympathetic reporters. Either news reporters or feature writers should be encouraged to interview someone in your project. Call a specific writer, suggest a specific topic and person to interview, and explain who this person is in the community and in the project. Convince the writer that this will be interesting to his readers. Before the interview, do role-playing so you are prepared to deal with antagonistic questions from all sides. Reporters are turned off by high-flown polemic, so give concise and factual answers. Make it clear that

you speak for your local project, not for the national office. And never, never tell a reporter anything "off the record."

Photos.

Some papers can reduce or enlarge pictures easily, but one-column pictures are more likely to be used. Head shots of local people or important speakers are excellent.

General tips for dealing with the press.

Cultivate reporters and develop friendships. Reporters feel more secure if they always deal with the same person. Offer friendly reporters tips on stories unrelated to Vietnam Summer. REPEAT: NEVER TELL A NEWSPAPERMAN SOMETHING OFF THE RECORD -- THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS A SECRET TO A REPORTER, EVEN IF HE IS YOUR BEST FRIEND!

PRESS CONFERENCES

What a press conference is.

A press conference is an event you hold to notify the press, all together and in person, of something especially significant -- the formation of a project, a major policy statement, a national figure who will give his support to your project or to the peace effort.

How to arrange the mechanics.

Date and time: If the Sunday papers have a much larger circulation than the dailies, Saturday afternoon is best. A Sunday afternoon conference will make the Monday morning papers (and the Sunday night TV new). Don't start later than 3:00 p.m. or the reporters may miss deadlines. Of course, if you've got a national figure who's only in town for a few hours, you have to hold it then.

Place: Preferably an auditorium that is accessible to transportation and is large enough for press people, TV cameras, and guests. Make sure the building is wired well enough to cope with TV cameras and lights. (Many hotels have rooms set up for this.)

Physical setup: Make sure TV people have room up front for cameras. Also, provide room for still photographers and for their tripods. Try to seat your speaker in a good grouping for pictures. Seat them around a table on a stage or platform so the cameras shoot straight or slightly up. (Photographing on a downward angle creates shadows and distortion.) Have lots of light on your speakers and little or none on the backdrop.

If you expect a crowd, ask the police department whether you

need a guard. They can provide an off-duty policeman (whom you pay) or you can hire a private security guard (sometimes cheaper). If you think there will be antagonism, tell the police.

Press kits: Provide every press representative with another copy of the release, texts of major speeches, background on all speakers, project literature, announcement of future meetings, etc. Give these out seconds before the conference begins -- not earlier or everyone will take the stories and leave. Be sure to have twice as many press kits as you need and give them out at the same time so no one thinks you are playing favorites.

Inviting the press.

Send out invitations a week before the conference. A few days before the conference, issue a release clearly stating the time, place, and purpose of the conference. (Also put in a reminder about the invitation.) Put in lots of prominent local or national names. At the top of the release put "For Release After Sunday 5:00 p.m." (after the conference). As with all general releases, the major people to invite are city editor, national editor, and political writer. Don't forget radio and TV news. Deliver in-town releases in person and send out-of-town releases by special delivery to make your story seem important.

Making sure the press gets there: Create an excuse to call reporters after they receive your release. Purposely leave the name of one speaker off the release, then call to say you've just added a speaker. Change the time of the conference. In Cambridge, Vietnam Summer hired a bus to take the press out to where King and Spock canvassed after the conference. The press was called about the bus after they received the release. By phoning reporters, you make them feel important, and force their attention to your release.

Leaking a story: If you announce the conference in one major paper a day before you tell the others (or imply what will take place at the conference), it may help you get the press there. Leaking too much can kill your story. If you leak a story, be sure it is to a major paper and to a sympathetic reporter. Better get advice from a professional public relations person before playing around with this.

Who else to invite.

Don't get a big hall and open it to the public unless you expect to fill it. An empty house is embarrassing. Better to have a small place with an invited - only attendance -- an invitation is a good way to reward people working on your project and to encourage potential contributors.

Controlling the conference.

An hour before: Arrange the platform seating, test the microphones and lights. Reserve twice as many seats as you need -- up front-- for the press. Have lots of ushers and give them a clear briefing - where to seat press people, when to hand out press kits, etc.

The conference: Start 15 or 20 minutes late to allow for latecomers, but start definitely -- don't meander into it. Have the chairman or moderator introduce the speakers and announce that they will (each) make a brief statement before the floor is opened to questions. (That's to make sure they get their message across, but don't say so.) When questioning begins, don't let one reporter hog the show and don't let a speaker get backed into a corner. Your moderator must be tactful and confident enough to politely shut the reporter off and call on someone else. Allot enough time for the question-and-answer period. IMPORTANT: Don't allow anyone to interview your main speaker before or they won't stay for the conference. DON'T LET THE PRESS PUSH YOU AROUND. YOU MUST HAVE FIRM, COMPLETE, POLITE CONTROL OF YOUR CONFERENCE.

Closing: If you don't have anything (like canvassing) planned for after the conference, you might leave the speakers onstage for informal interviews, but check with them first. If you are going somewhere, get the press and audience out while the speakers wait in a side room.

General tips: Have enough staff -- one man cannot run even a small press conference alone. Treat the press well, pamper them, make them want to come back.

RADIO-TV

Talk shows.

The talk shows are a valuable means of getting your point of view across without being misquoted. Call each station and ask for the program director. Ask him what shows have interviews and who to contact. (Usually it's a producer, sometimes the interviewer himself.) As with newspaper interviews, suggest a specific topic and person. Don't automatically choose the project leader; rather, you should select someone who is articulate, who has spoken to large groups (teachers, ministers), who can keep his cool, and who has a good sense of humor. The essential thing on a talk show is to come across as a human being. The same suggestions for newspaper interviews also apply here. AVOID INSULT SHOWS. No matter how desperate for publicity you are, the sadism of a Joe Pyne or Alan Burke will hurt you, not help you.

Public Service Announcements.

This is free radio time for announcing meetings and events. Every station must, by law, allot a certain amount of time to public service. Some only do announcements for non-profit organizations, others will accept anyone's announcement. (If you meet at a church, you're okay.) Call each radio station and ask for the public service director. Ask him if you have to be non-profit, what length the announcement must be (20 seconds, 60 seconds), how far in advance to send it, and who to send it to. Make a chart:

CONTACT	STATION AND ADDRESS	LENGTH OF ANNOUNCEMENT	ADVANCE NOTICE
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Public service announcements must be typed triple space in all capital letters. (See example)

TV service is usually more difficult to get, but call and find out. They usually want 2-inch square slides in addition to copy, so get detailed information if they'll accept the announcements.

TV News.

Invite news shows to film discussion groups or special events. Again, use specifics. Don't insult them by wasting their time on unimportant events. When phoning, ask for the producer of the specific news program.

General tips for dealing with radio-TV.

When calling for information, always sound professional and sure of yourself, especially if you're a man. Women can sometimes get away with being a little flustered and unsure. Send copies of your press releases to producers of news and interview shows, and to the people who do the shows. (If they aren't interested in you at the beginning of the Summer, maybe they will be after they learn about you.)

MISCELLANY

Posters.

There are two kinds of posters -- for general publicity and for transmitting information. The ten posters available from the national office are attractive and will take care of general publicity. The most efficient way of preparing specific announcement posters is to run a whole Summer's supply with half the poster blank. Then fill in the meeting or event with magic marker. This way you never have to worry about the printer having things ready on one day's notice. Be sure, though, that there are enough church bulletin boards and store windows where you can put your posters

before you buy anything.

Fund-raising events.

Sponsor something -- a folk sing, a bazaar, a car-wash -- which will raise some money for your project and also provide an excuse for lots of free publicity.

County fairs.

Set up a peace booth, but be sure to do it legally. Provide free literature and several people to answer questions.

At fund-raising events and peace booths, you can sell buttons, balloons, bumper stickers with the name of your group on them. The chance to raise money while getting publicity is too good an opportunity to miss.

SAMPLE PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENT

FROM: Joseph P. Smith
Vietnam Summer Project
c/o First Unitarian Church
57 Main Street
Kingston, New Mexico

name
address
phone

868-5793

FOR IMMEDIATE RADIO RELEASE -- 30 seconds ← exact time

THE FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF KINGSTON WILL HOLD

A FOLK SING FOR PEACE ON TUESDAY, JUNE 28. THE date

FOLK SING WILL BEGIN AT 8 P.M. IN THE CHURCH'S time

MEETING HOUSE AT 57 MAIN STREET. place
SEVERAL LOCAL

GROUPS WILL PERFORM AND EVERYONE IS INVITED TO

BRING GUITARS, BANJOS, AND TAMBOURINES. ADMISSION

IS TWO DOLLARS. cost
ALL PROCEEDS WILL GO TO THE

KINGSTON VIETNAM SUMMER PROJECT WHICH IS GATHERING triple space
capital letters

SIGNATURES TO PLACE A REFERENDUM ABOUT THE WAR ON

THE BALLOT.

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#

#

signifies
"end" ←

SAMPLE PRESS RELEASE

FROM: Joseph P. Smith
Vietnam Summer Project
c/o First Unitarian Church
57 Main Street
Kingston, New Mexico

name
address
phone

868-5793

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

underline

lots of
space

who

One hundred fifty people volunteered at
the first public meeting of the Kingston Vietnam
Summer Project on Wednesday, June 17. The group
plans to identify people opposed to the Vietnam
war and hope to involve them in working toward
peace.

double space copy
short sentences
short paragraphs

"There are hundreds of people in this city
who have strong doubts about the war. We want
to talk to them, get them together, and get them
to do something constructive about ending the war,"
said chairman John Jones, of 45 Main Street.

attribute
opinion to
someone

To locate these people, the volunteers are
going from door-to-door with a questionnaire.
This week they are ringing doorbells on Peach,
Apple, and Pear Streets asking: "Do you think

MORE

MORE

MORE

this keeps
newspapers
from losing
second page

2222222222

← number page clearly

Kingston Vietnam Summer Project

← identify topic by connecting it to key phrase from page 1.

that the United States should withdraw immediately, work harder for negotiations, or try for a military victory?"

Those who want a peaceful settlement will be invited to attend a discussion group where they will learn more about United States foreign policy, Vietnamese history, and other related subjects.

The group wants to petition Congressman William Blowhard to return to Kingston and hold open hearings on the war. They also hope to place a referendum on the ballot in September's primary election.

Kingston Vietnam Summer Project will hold its next meeting at 8 p.m., June 30, at the First Unitarian Church on Main Street. The Rev. Richard Clergy is among the group's sponsors.

← last paragraph should be less important so editors can cut it to save space

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← signifies "end"

ON THE PRODUCTION OF A NEWLETTER

There are basically two types of newsletters, which can and should be combined: a house organ, written for those people already involved and intended to keep people informed as to what is going on, and a popular newsletter - newspaper, intended to convert those people who are wavering or worried, but not already convinced. The need for a newsletter can be recognized by some of the following symptoms: A newsletter is needed when there is a feeling that there are many people in a community who could be reached, but for various reasons have not been reached (usually because the work force is insufficient); when there seems to be a latent sympathy for anti-war feeling, but overt hostility to it. When this is the case, the people in the movement tend to become more and more in-group oriented and elitist. Phone calling for dirty work such as leafletting, collating, mailings or more phone calling tends to center on the same people all the time. In general, people feel a lack of communication and rapport with the various activities going on; and thus tend to become discouraged. If most of these condition, or other similar ones, apply in your area, a newsletter can be valuable.

A newsletter can and should have several functions, all tending to play an important role in organizing and expanding a movement. First, it serves to keep people in contact with what is going on, thus raising morale. By combining material intended for both committed and non-committed people, a newsletter can help to show the wide spectrum of the peace movement. The newsletter therefore shows people who are not yet involved, or only marginally involved, that protest against the war is not an isolated phenomena, led by a few unwashed hippies, kooks, or Communists. This is essential in bringing new people to the point where they might be willing to help with some of the more mundane chores. Thirdly, a newsletter can serve to present, in a simple form, a counter interpretation to the official government interpretation of what is happening in Vietnam. Fourth, a newsletter creates a large amount of work: collating, mailing, preparing, etc. This is good work to get people to do, because it comes at regular intervals (once a week, etc.), it is relatively simple, and it gives people a feeling that they are accomplishing something. As such a newsletter can serve as an excellent organizational tool within the movement itself.

Some indication of the effectiveness of a newsletter can be gained by the fact that previous to the Mobilization, people at Cornell published a newsletter twice a week for 4 weeks and every day during the last week. The newsletter was designed primarily to give people an idea of the range of activities going

on at Cornell and other places. There is little doubt in our minds that this newsletter (the "Mobilizer") played a large role in the fact that Cornell turned out 1,500 people to the Mobilization -- including many people who had never before been involved in protest of any form, much less a demonstration.

The optimal system for producing a newsletter on a local basis seems to us to be a multilith offset printing machine. This is much more economical than other printing methods, produces a much higher quality material than mimeographing, and drastically reduces the amount of time required to produce a newsletter. A privately owned press also enables people to produce a far greater amount of material of all kinds (leaflets, literature, information sheets) than would otherwise be possible. Anyone who might be interested in setting up this type of operation can get more information from: John Heckman, c/o Glad Day Press, 107 Dryden Road, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850.

GUIDELINES FOR SETTING UP A COMMUNITY SPEAKERS SERVICE

The Speakers Roster.

If no one is readily available in the community to speak on the issues of the Vietnam war, it is not difficult to develop your own speaker's list; a four or five session seminar series, using the many available critical and source materials will produce concerned citizens knowledgeable enough to make a good presentation and lead discussions or answer audience questions.

Good sources of potential speakers in any community include: the clergy; lay social action personnel; social studies or history teachers at high school level; faculty in government, political science or Asian studies departments in colleges and universities; some physicians and lawyers; and news writers and radio commentators.

One of the most effective formats for presenting the pros and cons of U.S. policy in Southeast Asia is the debate or panel discussion. This will necessitate finding pro-administration speakers, which is sometimes more difficult than might appear. Try retired military career men, lawyers, ex-politicians and newsmen. Politicians in office and professors who support the Johnson policies are often reluctant to debate the issues in public. Active military men are not permitted to talk on policy, though they will sometimes present the government's case if they are not confronted by an opposing speaker. (One can always set up a preceding or following meeting to present the other side.)

The Speakers File.

It is helpful to keep a cross-referenced list of your speakers on file cards giving name, address, phone number, professional connections, references and evaluation. If a record is kept on the file card not only of each speaking engagement the speaker accepts, but of each request you make of him, you can avoid calling one person too often, another too little.

Biographical Notes.

A good speaker service should be able to provide publicity material on all its speakers. It is helpful to keep several copies of biographical notes and perhaps a glossy photograph of each speaker, ready to send out to applicants.

Application Forms.

Whether the request for a speaker is initiated by the service or comes in response to publicity or reference to outside, it is helpful to have an application blank on which all pertinent information for both applicant and speaker can be noted. When arrangements are completed copies of the application form can be sent to both parties for their information. (Sample application form attached.)

The Speakers Service.

If at all possible, it will make for efficiency and smooth operation of a speaker service if one person can take full responsibility for it - a housewife or retired businessman who could do this from home. To have the "Speakers Bureau" make all the contacts with and for the applicant is a great convenience to him as well as to your speakers. By careful questions the "co-ordinator" can sense what type of personality and presentation will appeal to various types of audience. As he becomes familiar with his speakers styles and levels, he can match the two up fairly successfully.

Except in special cases, it is just as well not to give your speakers list to any applicant. The personal touch, the familiar voice, greatly facilitate the process of persuading a tired speaker that he wants to address yet another unknown collection of earnest but uninformed citizens!

Publicity.

A simple mimeographed or offset flier, introducing the speaker service and explaining its purposes and procedures, can be prepared even before your "speaker's roster" is completed. This can be mailed to schools, clubs, service organizations, and the religious leadership of the community. (Sample copy attached.) Enclose your application blank if it is ready.

However, the personal, word-of-mouth introduction is always the most effective. Every opportunity to speak with community leaders will give you a chance to offer your "speaker service" as a convenience to them and a contribution to the community's educational facilities. Never ask for an opening; offer a favor!

It is customary for the organization sponsoring a meeting to arrange preliminary and following publicity in the local news media. However, a word to the wise to the program chairman will remind him to mention the availability of the "speaker service" to other organizations, both in his news releases and by word of mouth. Experience seems to show that as soon as such a service becomes known its speakers themselves are its best advertisement.



AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, INC.

New England Regional Office

44A Brattle Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

P.O. Box 247 UNIVERSITY 4-3150

WAYNE R. JONES
Chairman

JOHN A. SULLIVAN
Executive Secretary

THELMA W. BABBITT
Associate Secretary

A COORDINATED SPEAKERS SERVICE ON VIETNAM

Offering to community and civic organizations, clubs, schools, religious groups and concerned citizens a variety of speakers, resource leaders, and panels of experts reflecting a wide range of viewpoints on current U.S. policy in Vietnam...

The Peace Section of the American Friends Service Committee, New England Region, is undertaking the establishment, in cooperation with the Greater Boston Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, of a

COORDINATED SPEAKERS SERVICE ON VIETNAM

Calling on the resources of a number of organizations and institutions in the Boston area, (list available on request), the Service will provide speakers appropriate for anything from the small house meeting to the community-wide forum. Debates will be arranged between adherents of the Administration point of view and its critics. Experts will also be available to present special phases of the Southeast Asia problem, ie. political, socio-economic, religious and so on.

To broaden the citizens' debate on the issues raised by U.S. policy in Vietnam, and to present the facts objectively to as wide an audience as possible, the Speakers Service hopes to stimulate many different types of meetings:

- neighborhood study groups in private homes
- church or temple special interest groups
- high school social studies classes or assemblies
- college seminars or open forum discussions
- public debates on U.S. policy in Vietnam
- programs for private clubs and organizations
- community-wide citizens conferences or public forums

The Speakers Service will attempt to select each speaker with regard to the needs and special interests of the applicant group. Its roster of speakers includes:

- university faculty members and graduate students
- clergymen, scientists, physicians
- writers, newsmen, recent travelers in Southeast Asia
- college undergraduates with special competence
- organizational leaders, well informed businessmen and women

Consignments of appropriate literature are also available.

Requests for a speaker or program on Vietnam may be addressed to the Coordinated Speakers Service on Vietnam, P.O. Box 247, Cambridge, Mass. 02138; or by telephone in the morning, to Mrs. Herbert Hoffman, 332-8026, and in the afternoon, to Mrs. Benedict Alper, 232-6435. Coordinator for the Speakers Service, Mrs. Donnell W. Boardman, may be reached at the A.F.S.C. office or at Acton, Mass., 1-263-5562.

— AT NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS —

HAROLD EVANS, *Chairman* HENRY J. CADBURY, *Honorary Chairman* CLARENCE E. PICKETT, *Secretary Emeritus* COLIN W. BELL, *Executive Secretary*

FUND-RAISING

Publicity and fund-raising are invariably intertwined; a new group will find it much easier to raise funds if it can obtain early coverage in the press and other media. A press conference with local (or national) notables announcing support for the program, a public demonstration, and a large public meeting featuring a known speaker are just a few of the ways to kick off a fund-raising campaign. At this opening event, it is important to stress the local people involved in the project -- others will then feel that the project is theirs, and will be more likely to support it.

Once you have received initial coverage, you must be prepared to act quickly to make a fund-raising "pitch" to the community. This means that in advance of your "public event" you should have studied the available media for a fund appeal and chosen the one which will give you the widest distribution. An ad in the local paper is usually effective, bringing in not only funds, but people who wish to work on your project, and giving it an immediate image of solidity. However, since ads are often expensive, one might wish to do a large mailing instead. Lists are usually available from local peace groups. If there has been no previous peace activity in the area, one can use an ad, or, combining publicity and fund-raising, hold a public meeting with a guest speaker as an opening event, making a pitch for funds during the program. In addition, in areas where there has been some activity, sympathetic local people of substantial means can be asked for larger sums to get the project off the ground. In new areas, try the clergy.

Once the project is underway, it is important to have one full-time person concentrating on fund-raising. This individual should be expected not to do all the work by himself, but to co-ordinate the overall fund-raising program and involve others (staff, committee members, etc.) in various parts of the operation. Fund-raising should be discussed at all meetings, and the staff and others should be asked to contribute their ideas, along with names of people from whom money might be raised.

The fund-raising co-ordinator should examine the different means available for securing money: mailings, additional ads, dues, parties, special events (e.g. concerts), pledge groups, buttons and bumper stickers, posters and special gift prospects.

- (1) Mailings: easy to do, especially if you have lots of volunteers. Not too costly, but the return is not very high. If you receive \$2 for every \$1 you spend you are doing well. Fund-raising letters should be brief (one and one half pages at most), but to the point. The first sentence or two should be very strong, something that will make people read on, for example:

"The Vietnam war now threatens every American family.

Will our sons go to war or to school? Will our tax dollars be used to wipe out slums at home or villages

in Vietnam? You must help America make this decision."

Within the letter, be specific; describe fully the activities already in operation and those planned. Be forceful, stress the importance of giving now. Letters should be neat -- if offset is too expensive, use a carbon-ribbon typewriter and then have an electronic stencil made. If you use a business reply envelope, code it in some fashion, especially if you are using different mailing lists, so that you can analyze the returns. Provide a place for people to indicate that they want to work with you, but remember this is secondary in this letter; its prime purpose is to raise money. Provide also a space for people to indicate their willingness to make a substantial contribution.

- (2) Ads; Enlist the aid of a professional P.R. man. He can be most helpful in drafting text, in editing, and in getting the ad placed through an agency who will return to you all or part of the 15% agency discount. Good layout is essential; since most groups will not be able to afford a full page, you must design an ad which will catch the reader's eye. Select the local paper or papers which have the best circulation and which have the best position on the war, for they are the ones most likely to be read by the people from whom you hope to get money. Think carefully about when the ad should appear. Sunday rates are usually higher, but then so is the Sunday circulation -- many people really take time to read the paper over the weekend, whereas during the week they just glance at the first few pages and then put it aside. Location within the paper is important. Obviously the nearer the front the better, but always go for an outside right hand page -- if you are placed in the centerfold, people may miss the ad entirely. If an ad returns well, think about running it again -- most papers have reduced rates for second runs of the same ad. If you run the ad in more than one paper, code the coupon of each, so that you can analyze returns.

The coupon should look something like this :

Send to: VIETNAM SUMMER, 129 MT. AUBURN STREET, CAMBRIDGE, MASS. 02138			
<input type="checkbox"/>	I want to work for VIETNAM SUMMER Tel: 617-492-6700		
<input type="checkbox"/>	I want to organize a local VIETNAM SUMMER project in my community		
<input type="checkbox"/>	I enclose a contribution of \$_____ for VIETNAM SUMMER (please make checks payable to Vietnam Summer)		
<input type="checkbox"/>	I am interested in making a substantial contribution to VIETNAM SUMMER and would like to talk further to one of your representatives		
<input type="checkbox"/>	Please send further information		
NAME _____			
ADDRESS _____			
CITY _____		STATE _____	ZIP _____

- (3) Dues: If a membership organization is planned to support the project, dues should be arranged so that those who can give only a small amount such as students and poor people are still able to participate.
- (4) Parties: An informal gathering in someone's livingroom, supported by good literature and an articulate speaker, can raise from two hundred to many thousands of dollars. Cocktail parties or coffee-and-cake affairs are good; the host and hostess may be asked to give not only their home, but also the refreshments as their contribution. This type of affair should not be too structured. Allow people to socialize for a short while before you start the program. Give them a chance to pick up your literature and discuss it with others. A ten to fifteen minute presentation of the aims and activities of the group should then take place, followed by questions from the group. Then, a local person, perhaps you host, should make the "pitch". Other types of parties can raise funds and people as well. Dance parties for students are a good way to bring new people into the organization. A nominal admission charge, plus a small charge for whatever refreshments are served, will more than cover the costs of the party.

- (5) Special Events: Concerts, theater parties, speeches by nationally known figures, etc. all fit into this category. These events need at least one person working full-time on them if they are to be at all successful. Folk singers, musicians, etc. are usually very co-operative, but all else remains in your hands; tickets, concert hall and publicity. (For a helpful write-up on this area of Fund-Raising, see Movement Guide to Fund-Raising, available from SDS, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago.)
- (6) Pledge Groups: Once the group has really gotten underway, and people begin to develop loyalties to it and its projects, pledge groups are possible. A contributor can be asked to gather some of his friends into a group. People attending a fund-raising cocktail party can be asked to constitute themselves into a pledge group.. Each individual should be asked to give according to his means - say one to ten dollars per month. A monthly reminder may be necessary -- it could be part of a regular project newsletter. Pledge groups collapse if they are not run regularly.
- (7) Buttons, Bumper Stickers, and Posters: Buttons and bumper stickers are inexpensive to produce, but do not raise much money. Their main value is in publicity and promoting "group unity". Both should be uncluttered and easy to distinguish. Posters are another combined fund-raising and publicity item -- if a local artist can donate a sketch, handsome posters can be printed. A reasonably large initial investment is required, but good looking posters (costing \$.08 - \$.15 each) can easily be sold for \$1. each. Posters are also available from the Vietnam Summer National Office.
- (8) Special Gift Prospects: This is where you will find the source of large sums of money. Within your community there may be some known, wealthy, sympathetic liberals -- they should be involved as early as possible in the planning of the projects. They should be asked to fund a particular part of the operation. They should also be asked for the names of and introductions to additional wealthy individuals. When dealing with new people, such as those who may have checked the "I want to make a substantial contribution" box on the coupon of your ad or letter, follow these steps. 1. Send them literature. 2. Call them on the phone and set up an appointment. When you meet with them, remember

the following. Be open, present your program honestly. Don't make obvious efforts to tailor it to what you think the prospective donor wants it to be; be polite, not humble, but give him a chance to express his concerns and points of view; be direct, don't hedge about the fact that you are looking for large sums of money; finally ask for more than you think you can get. Always ask them for introductions to their friends who might be sympathetic.

After you have met with them, send a follow-up letter, thanking them for the money if a contribution was received, or for the chance to talk with them even if it was not. Always send a formal receipt for these and all other contributions.

OFFICE FILING SYSTEMS

A four drawer legal-sized file is ideal for making readily available to office and field staff cross-referenced political information. The first drawer should contain a geographical breakdown of the area serviced by the office. For example, the National Vietnam Summer file is divided by states; an Indiana file might be divided by counties or congressional districts; a city file by wards or precincts. Within each file there should be a key information sheet for that geographical or political sub-division. The sheet should list key contacts, offices, other active groups and political activity in that area. These files should contain reports of what's going on, field staff reports, project reports, telephone reports, etc. A person should be able to pick up, let us say, a ward file, read it, and know who is doing what and where in that area.

The second drawer should contain a file of people. Personnel can be arranged by geographical area, alphabetically, by project, by special skills, etc., or by more than one category. If you are dealing with a large number of volunteers (and staff) this file is a very useful way to keep track of where people are working, or, in the case of office volunteers, when they are available for work. This serves very nicely as a cross reference with drawer no. 1.

The third drawer should be divided in half, one part for an Other Organizations file, the other for an Issues File. The Other Organizations section should contain a file for each organization with whom the office deals. In that file should be the literature, newsletters, etc. of that organization. In addition, in each organization file, there should be a key information sheet listing the name of the organization, addresses of national, regional and branch offices, officers and staff, estimated budget and a concise political summary of the organization's activities.

The Issues section should contain a file for each Major Issue area the office deals with - e.g., the economy and the war, the ghetto and the war, students and the draft, etc. Within each file there should be a listing of people, organizations, literature, and areas where activity is going on relevant to that particular issue.

The fourth drawer should be used for correspondence, which should again be arranged geographically. Within each geographical sub-

division, several categories (each within a standard sized manila file folder) should be delineated; for example - Fundraising correspondence, letters from field staff, general requests for information, correspondence with other organizations. Within each sub-file the correspondence should be arranged chronologically. As you can see, this file cross references with the state file #1, with the personnel file #2 and with the Organizations-Issues file #3.

Administrative File.

One drawer in a desk will suffice. There should be files for the following categories: accounts, payable, paid bills, administrative correspondence (letters ordering supplies, etc.), staff (names, address and phone numbers of office personnel), advertising, fundraising, Press Contacts, minutes of meetings, etc. These files should be kept up to date for they often constitute the legal and financial records of the organization. One person should be responsible for the upkeep of these files; in that way bills, records, etc. will not be misplaced.

How to Best Use the Files.

Each day when the mail is sorted, the relevant material for each drawer should be placed in one file labeled "to file". The new material should remain in that file until the end of the day - thus giving the staff ample time to look it over. Before the office is closed, the person responsible for the files should take the material out of each "to file" folder and distribute it in the proper file within that drawer, leaving the "to file" folder free for the next morning's mail. Administrative material should be placed directly in the proper file.

If the files are kept up to date and well organized, they become an invaluable tool for retaining easily available, cross-referenced material.

(A)

PED ADM

Vietnam: Projects

Vietnam: Summer

Police Organization Studies

Vietnam Summer

1967



PROJECT PROFILES

VIETMAN SUMMER OFFICES

National Office: 5 Cadbury Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02140
617-492-6700

Regional Offices: 1517 W. Howard
Chicago, Illinois 60626
312-465-4169

366 Eddy Street
San Francisco, California
415-776-2702

% American Friends Service Committee
980 N. Fair Oak
Pasadena, California
213-791-1978

New England Vietman Summer
% 5 Cadbury Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts
617-492-6700

Tom Gardiner
%SSOC
Box 6403
Nashville, Tenn.
615-291-3537

Introduction

VIETNAM SUMMER is a nation-wide effort to reach millions of citizens concerned about the war who remain isolated from each other and have not made themselves heard. Working to generate intensive activity in local communities across the country, VIETNAM SUMMER aims at making anti-war sentiment more politically effective. This undertaking rests strongly on community organizing.

A number of community projects independent of VIETNAM SUMMER have sprung up in all parts of the country. This pamphlet presents a discussion of several independent projects as well as of local VIETNAM SUMMER projects such as the Cambridge Neighborhood Committee on Vietnam to inform Vietnam Summer personnel of various approaches and problems in anti-war organizing. -

The first two projects focus on organizing efforts in middle class areas. Although Citizens for Political Action has recently become a part of the Cambridge Neighborhood Committee on Vietnam, their organizing approaches have differed. CPA has been less interested in canvassing than the Cambridge Neighborhood Committee on Vietnam, and has emphasized discussion and study groups. The third Cambridge project, the Cambridge Vote on Vietnam, is an independent project distinguished from the previous two by its concentration on poorer areas and by the ideology behind its program.

A Washington, D.C. project, run by Concerned Citizens for Peace, is marked by its successful effort to bring Democratic Party precinct workers into its community organizing work, and by its explicit goal of using organizing to effect internal Democratic and Republican party politics. This article is followed by a discussion of seminars conducted by medical personnel in Boston, which demonstrates one type of activity which professional groups can undertake.

Articles on establishing and staffing draft information centers and on the work of the Boston Draft Resistance Group, constitute the fourth section of this pamphlet. The final section, the summer prospectus of the Milwaukee Organizing Committee, includes many activities of the previous seven projects. The Milwaukee committee has been in existence almost two years, and as the prospectus notes, groups forming now should not hope to duplicate the scope of its program in one summer. The prospectus should, however, contain a number of suggestive ideas and illustrates the possibilities which work this Summer can open for future months.

Project Profiles may raise more questions than it answers. One particular question to be kept in mind when reading the profiles is the matter of where many of the projects are headed, and what effect they will have after the Summer is over. Projects which show a burst of activity and then collapse in September serve little purpose. VIETNAM SUMMER must be a beginning, not a self-enclosed ten week program.

In the coming weeks, Project Profiles will be supplemented as local VIETNAM SUMMER projects across the country grapple with these questions and report their progress.

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V. MILWAUKEE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

Cambridge Neighborhood Committee

On Vietnam

In Cambridge, Massachusetts, a pilot community organizing project began in April, 1967 with a group of Boston area students, faculty and housewives. The group decided to begin door-to-door canvassing in three middle-class precincts to identify persons concerned about the war.

To facilitate the identification process and begin meaningful political work, the group decided to canvass with a petition to the local Congressman urging him to hold an open hearing on the war with his constituents. (See attached copy of Cambridge petition.) The petition was mildly worded in order to attract the interest and involvement of a wide spectrum of people. The main goal of the canvassing was to bring people into discussion and education-action groups at the home of a neighbor where mutual discussion would deepen and strengthen existing concerns about the war.

CANVASSING

The Cambridge group divided into canvassing crews of five to ten people, with a crew leader responsible for overseeing the work of his crew. No specific position on the war was adopted, and canvassers represented a full range of opinions from unilateral withdrawal of U.S. troops to "negotiations now". Voting precincts were broken down into neighborhood areas (the precinct was selected as the basic geographical unit because it serves as the primary unit in electoral politics), and a crew was assigned to each neighborhood. Police lists of residents in each neighborhood were used as a rough guide to the names and occupations of the residents, although these lists are never entirely up to date. The canvassers also made use of names of people who had worked with Mass. PAX on the 1962 campaign of H. Stuart Hughes. These were often good "first doorbells" on a block.

Individual approaches to canvassing differed widely, but most people began by explaining that they were part of a neighborhood group concerned about the war and were circulating a petition to the local Congressman. If the person showed sympathy and interest in the project, the canvasser asked him whether he would attend a discussion group at the home of a neighbor, whether he would host such a meeting, etc. Frequently canvassers spoke at length to residents about the war as they went door-to-door, but their main effort was directed toward persuading people to attend a local meeting and to discuss their views there. Canvassers filled out a Canvassers' Report Sheet for each person approached, which provided the group with a permanent record of community sentiment on the war.

Canvassing in predominantly middle-class areas of Cambridge yielded excellent results. The signature rate on the petition ranged from 50-60% of those canvassed. About 20% agreed to attend a discussion-action group. A small percentage were willing to participate in anti-war activity but did not wish to attend a group. Results in working-class areas appear considerably poorer. To date, the group has canvassed in only one working class precinct, although it intends to begin work in others within the coming weeks. Statistical results from this one precinct are as yet too fragmentary to show a general trend (and results may vary greatly with ethnic and religious concentrations in certain working-class areas). The group is considering the possibility that a different approach, stressing different issues (such as the draft and economic issues related to the war, rather than electoral politics) may be more appropriate to working-class precincts.

NEIGHBORHOOD DISCUSSION-ACTION GROUPS

Most who attended discussion-action groups at the home of a neighbor were already strongly opposed to the war. The Cambridge group had hoped to stimulate serious discussions and self-education on issues related to the war. It found, however, that people were more anxious to do something than to discuss. In the majority of cases, the first few meetings of local residents revealed that unless meaningful projects for action could be undertaken, residents would quickly lose interest.

PROGRAM FOR ACTION

The Cambridge group, now called the Cambridge Neighborhood Committee on Vietnam, has begun work on a number of specific projects designed to increase participation in the anti-war movement, to give greater prominence to anti-war sentiment in the Cambridge community, to stimulate education and debate on the war and to influence elected representatives. The first major project is the circulation of the petition for an open hearing on the war (as was done by Kastenmeyer in Wisconsin and Ryan in New York) for which signatures are being gathered from twelve Cambridge precincts. The Cambridge Neighborhood Committee has persuaded the local newspaper to run a story on its activities. An ad in the local paper is being prepared explaining the concerns of the group and inviting the community to a large neighborhood meeting with prominent speakers from the community (a clergyman, an elected representative of the city, a professor). Another ad is planned which will carry the names of several hundred residents appealing to neighbors to join their effort against the war. The ad will contain an appeal to other residents who want to place their names in a subsequent ad the following week. In this way, the group hopes to perpetuate the ad by soliciting funds and signatures in each week's ad.

The Cambridge Neighborhood Committee is also considering methods of reaching working-class neighborhoods that would supplement the canvassing, such as showing movies in churchyards and driveways, to be followed up by talking about Vietnam and Cambridge. This sort of technique worked very well in Civil Rights campaigns in the South.

Other projects presently under discussion in Cambridge are:

1. Attempting to secure the adoption of resolutions against the war by Democratic and Republican city and ward committees.
2. Running candidates in the 1967 elections for City Council who focus on local problems and their relation to the war. (It usually takes a fairly small number of votes to elect a councilman in cities like Cambridge.)
3. Planning a referendum on the war on the ballot for the 1967 municipal elections.
4. Systematic dissemination of information on the draft and conscientious objector status among high school and college students and young men in poor and working class areas.
5. Organization of a lobbying committee of Cambridge residents to exert pressure on Congressmen and Senators representing the area.
6. Formation of professional groups against the war, e.g., Teachers, Doctors Against the War.
7. Consumer boycotts of companies directly involved in war production, such as Dow Chemical Co., a napalm producer.
8. Fund raising to aid Vietnamese civilian war victims.
9. Preparation for running a candidate in the 1968 Congressional campaign against the incumbent who has supported Administration policy on the war.

The Cambridge Neighborhood Committee has planned several open meetings for all residents in its area to spur action on these projects. The first such meeting, to be held at a local school on an upcoming Sunday evening, will include talks by a local clergyman and Professor Noam Chomsky, and will be chaired by a local lawyer who is a past president of the Cambridge Civic Association. After a question period following the speeches, the meeting will break down into action committees to discuss specific projects and to mobilize those present to work on them.

The Cambridge Neighborhood Committee on Vietnam is undertaking a fundraising effort in order to sustain a local office and several full-time staff workers over the next three months. In this connection the Committee is running a fund appeal in the local paper, planning a Peace Fair in July, making individual solicitations from residents of Cambridge and faculty members at local universities. A newsletter is being published by the Committee to provide a means of contact and communication among local residents who have expressed support of the project.

It is, of course, too early to evaluate the results of the Cambridge project. The major problem faced by the group has been finding worthwhile action projects that arouse the interest and participation of all those who want to do something to end the war. Each local community will have to explore the various possibilities for action and choose the ones most suitable to its conditions. Wherever possible and feasible, a referendum on the war is recommended as a way of focusing and mobilizing local opinion. Open hearings are another way of attracting attention to the anti-war constituency and letting your congressman or senator know that substantial forces in his district may oppose his reelection if he continues to support the war. If Congressmen and Senators prove unresponsive, other local officials can be sought to conduct the hearings. If possible, an outside congressman critical of the war can also be brought in to hold a hearing.

FURTHER INFORMATION

Cambridge Neighborhood Committee on Vietnam
351 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

I. Instructions To Canvassers With O'Neill Petition

Present the petition before asking the questions for the canvass card. Without being aggressive, tell what group you represent. Do not frighten people by a dogmatic presentation of your own views, but at the same time be sure not to deceive them.

Explain why you are taking the petition around. We want Congressman O'Neill to return to this district to hold open hearings on the war. So far he has said that he is willing only to receive a small committee in his office. It is clear from his reply to a letter from PAX that he does not want to hold an Open Hearing. This petition should show him that, in fact, many of his constituents agree that the war should be discussed publicly. An open hearing will give citizens a chance to learn Congressman O'Neill's views on Vietnam and to express their own.

Even if the person you are talking to does not agree that the problem of the war is one which should be discussed in public with our representative, and does not sign the petition, make a canvass card for him. Try to find out why he will not sign the petition, writing down any reason he may give in the space provided for comments. If you can, discover as briefly as possible whether he has a son, relative, or close friend of draft age or in Vietnam, and similarly try to get a general idea of his views on the war. For those who do not sign the petition, do not spend much time on these questions.

Be sensitive to possible emotional content of your questions. We do not want to trespass upon anyone's sense of privacy although we very much want to find out where people stand.

In noting position on the war, check as many statements on the canvass card as apply. Any further comments would go in the space provided.

For those who do sign the petition, go on to the section below the dotted line. Discover through conversation what they might be interested in doing to help and fill that in. Perhaps they will indicate a willingness to canvass, or to take a petition to work or go to a group meeting. "Help in HQ" is generally office work. Find out if they belong to any organizations. At some future time these church groups, Elks Clubs, etc. might want to utilize our Vietnam Speakers Bureau or take some other active interest in the anti-war movement. Then be sure to get the telephone number so that we can reach them easily. If they mention any friends or neighbors who they think would be interested, write this down under "contacts referred to".

In the space set aside for office use, we will keep track of the follow-up.

Please be thinking of what does and does not work. The canvass card and these instructions need evaluation.

2.

Canvassers' Report Sheet

Name _____

1st Canvass Date _____

Address _____

Precinct _____

Signed Petition: ☐ Yes ☐ No

Canvasser _____

Son, relative or close friend of draft age: ☐ No ☐ Yes
Who: _____

Son, relative or close friend in Vietnam: ☐ No ☐ Yes
Who: _____

(Check any of the statements below, as they apply)

POSITION ON WAR:

COMMENTS:

- ☐ 1. Favors withdrawal of U.S. Troops now or shortly.
- ☐ 2. Moral objections to War.
- ☐ 3. Strong discontent with handling of the War. (political or military)
- ☐ 4. Moderate Discontent.
- ☐ 5. Favors larger military commitment.
- ☐ 6. Basically in favor of the War.
- ☐ 7. No opinion, don't know.
- ☐ 8. Refuses to answer.

This Section for Those Who Sign Petition

Agrees to:

CONTACTS REFERRED TO:

- ☐ 1. Canvass with us.
- ☐ 2. Take petition.
- ☐ 3. Attend study group or meeting.
- ☐ 4. Host study group or meeting.
- ☐ 5. Help in Headquarters
- ☐ 6. Other: _____

COMMENTS:

ORGANIZATIONS:

Telephone: _____

For Office Use

Further Contacts:

3. Petition To The Local Congressman

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN:

WE, YOUR CONSTITUENTS, ARE WORRIED ABOUT OUR NATION'S
INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM.

WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE GROWING LOSS OF
AMERICAN AND VIETNAMESE LIVES AND THE DIVERSION OF FUNDS
FROM BADLY NEEDED DOMESTIC PROGRAMS.

WE WANT TO FIND A WAY, AS CITIZENS, TO EXPRESS THESE
CONCERNS AND WE URGE YOU TO RETURN TO YOUR DISTRICT TO
HOLD OPEN HEARINGS ON THE WAR.

Name

Address

Precinct:

Please return this petition to:

for forwarding to Washington

Citizens For Political Action

The Cambridge Citizens for Political Action, originally composed of a small number of students and ex-students, formed in the Fall of 1966. CPA was conceived as a multi-issue organization, not limited to Vietnam. In its first months, CPA attempted to canvass a heavily Irish Catholic upper working class/lower middle class area of North Cambridge on the issue of Vietnam, but got little response. This led to a decision to replace this effort in an area where students appeared as members of an outside organization, with work in three precincts where the CPA members lived near Harvard University.

The precincts chosen had been marked by a higher than average vote in 1966 for Thomas Boylston Adams, peace candidate for the U.S. Senate. Students, professional people, teachers, and young people working in the Harvard area make up a fair percentage of the population.

As in North Cambridge, members of the group first began to canvass in order to identify residents opposed to the war. As many residents were often not at home, the canvassers found that progress was slow, and that few were recruited to meetings. One serious problem was that after canvassing one precinct two or three times over, half the households had still not been contacted.

To speed the identification process, a different technique was tried in the two other precincts. A questionnaire and covering letter with a business reply envelope was placed under each door.* One out of eight returned the questionnaire. That a larger percentage did not do so may in part stem from an error made by the organizers in simply identifying themselves as "Citizens for Political Action." The impression of an anonymous organization was given. CPA learned that questionnaires and covering letters should give the names, addresses, and phone numbers of the organizers. The feeling must be conveyed that the questionnaire is the work of a group of neighbors, not of an unknown body.

This feeling was successfully conveyed by the final approach adopted by CPA. Forgoing all appearances of being recruiters, or even organizers, CPA members began to go around to people on their block, identifying themselves

* Two legal aspects of this procedure must be noted. 1) The envelope must be put under the door, not in the mailbox. 2) The return envelopes must be personally received. Hence the address must be one at which someone will always be present during the day. Seven cents must be paid for each return envelope received.

as a neighbor from down the street, and to ask if people would come to an informal meeting at their house to discuss the war. No poll or questionnaire was in hand when the students knocked on their neighbors' doors. Carefully avoided was any impression of recruitment, or of telling the person answering the door what ought to be done in Vietnam. The impression which was conveyed was that a group of neighbors, meeting on an equal basis, would talk about the war.

CPA members had prepared for these neighborhood meetings. In their own organization meetings they had discussed readings on Vietnam and conducted role-playing sessions. In these sessions, one person would fire at another a question such as "But what if the Communists take over all of Asia?" The role-playing proved invaluable. The participants gained basic knowledge of how to field various types of questions. More important, they gained a stronger sense of self-confidence about their work and of group solidarity.

To facilitate active involvement, the neighborhood meetings were kept down to about fifteen people. It was realized that if neighbors came and merely listened to organizers talk about the war, the venture would fail. Instead the meetings began with everyone asked to remark briefly on why he was concerned about Vietnam and what he thought about the war. This broke the ice and began to generate a sense in the individuals present that they, themselves, constituted a small political body. By the close of the initial neighborhood meeting, the participants were quite enthusiastic and asking for further meetings to study the war.

The Study-group meetings, centering around discussion of selections from Gettleman's reader on Vietnam (see attached list) followed each introductory meetings. The meetings heightened interest in keeping the group together and radicalized thinking about the war.* By the second of these study meetings, role-playing often began. Participants were again given a sense of confidence for discussing Vietnam with friends, other neighbors, and at work.

After the study meetings, participants were asked to bring friends to a discussion meeting, and new neighborhood groups were thus formed. The number of meetings has grown so fast (the first neighborhood meetings were not held until April) that a major problem is now coordination. The success of these meetings rests in large part upon their ability to generate group political identity, which stems from the individual's being able to see himself as an integral part of the political group. The sense of neighborhood participation, as opposed to recruitment by an outside organization with a seemingly anonymous structure, has been crucial.

*While CPA still considers itself to be, ultimately, a multi-issue group, it has found that study and discussion of the Vietnam issue has produced radicalization of people's overall political outlooks.

BEYOND STUDY MEETINGS

Where to go after the study meetings? Nearly all of the groups wish to continue to meet and to talk about the war. Some, however, wish to do more than this. There is a danger that the groups may become self-contained units of neighbors who merely gather once a week to talk about Vietnam. On the other hand, this wish to go on as a self-contained unit has a potentially positive aspect. People mobilized as individuals to work on a particular action project may easily slide back to inactivity after the direction of the project is taken away. The CPA approach, on the other hand, appears to succeed in setting up self-perpetuating organizations which will not "fall back" after a few weeks. The problem is how to make these basic groups into politically active organs, to make them into the substructure of larger and politically effective organizations.

The attempt is being made to start by bringing together the various small groups through large area meetings of the Cambridge Neighborhood Committee on Vietnam (which would be far too large for the original mobilization of individuals but are in order after the basic groups have been formed), and the setting up of a central office for all precincts of both the CPA and the Cambridge Neighborhood Committee projects. The office should add to the sense of permanence of the existing groups and build a sense of relatedness among them. Through contact with other groups and individuals anxious to undertake various activities -- such as petitions to Congressmen to hold open meetings, running or supporting candidates in local elections, and the other programs to be discussed by the action committees which will be formed at the first open meeting -- the neighborhood groups now hesitant to act may be spurred. Their hesitancy stems largely from a sense of their own impotence, from a conception of the group's isolation. The situation is somewhat analogous to that of the individuals now in these groups before the groups themselves existed. As isolated individuals have been mobilized into the local groups, so the groups must now be activated and mobilized into larger undertakings. Joint meetings leading to joint projects with an increasing number of groups in the area seems the first step in this direction. As projects gain steam, any desire to remain a self-contained unit may disappear.

SOME COMMENTS

Judging from the CPA experience, small groups from an area of at most a few blocks, and numbering ten to fifteen persons, seem to be the best size for these fundamental groups. The thinking of most people who came to the meetings was at first somewhat fuzzy about the war. They were, by and large, not people who were looking for something to do to express their opposition. Canvassing attempts seeking to recruit people to work against the war would not have had much success among them only several weeks ago. Now, nearly all oppose the war. At the large open meeting of the CPA groups and the Cambridge Neighborhood Committee groups, many may decide to begin active work.

One caution about the CPA program should be registered. The great success of the meetings is undoubtedly related to the fact that most in attendance have been students or people who are not far from a student background. This contributed to the enthusiasm for discussion and study sessions. On the other hand, this may also have much to do with the desire to continue to discuss and the hesitancy about activism. The number of persons about 30 who have attended meetings is somewhat low, as is the number who have lived in the area for more than a few years. Nevertheless, in the past few weeks, progress has been made in this area, progress which might have been exceedingly difficult without the prior fact of the growing neighborhood groups.

To find fellow organizers to start projects similar to CPA, the mailed questionnaire might prove quite useful. Stripped of the unfortunate impersonality which marked the CPA covering letter and limited to the issue of Vietnam, the questionnaire should provide a means of identification which requires far less time and manpower than canvassing, and yet may prove more thorough.

FURTHER INFORMATION

Citizens for Political Action
141 Oxford Street, Apt. #1
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

Vietnam Study Group Program -- Cambridge

I. Vietnam: Colony and Nation, 208 B.C. - 1945 A.D.

Article: "Vietnam: The Historical Background" by Roy Jumper and Marjorie Weiner Normand, pp. 10 - 28.

Document: "The Path Which Led Me to Leninism" by Ho Chi Minh, pp. 30 - 32.

II. The First War -- France Against Vietminh, 1946 - 1950

Article: "Genesis of the First Indochinese War" by Ellen Hammer, pp. 63 - 86.

III. American Intervention and the Geneva Conference, 1951 - 1954

Articles: "The Day We Didn't Go to War" by Chalmers M. Roberts, pp. 96 - 105.

"Power Politics at the Geneva Conference" by Donald Lancaster, pp. 118 - 137.

Documents: Statement of the Secretary of State Dean Acheson at Ministerial Level Meeting in Paris (May 8, 1950), p. 89.

John Foster Dulles' Speech to The Overseas Press Club, pp. 89 - 91.

"Remarks Attributed to" Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, (April, 1954), pp. 91 - 92.

IV. Ngo Dinh Diem and the National Liberation Front, pp. 1955 - 1963.

Article: "Ngo Dinh Diem and the Struggle for Reunification in Vietnam" by Philippe Devillers, pp. 210 - 335.

Documents: Reports of the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam, pp. 185 - 190.

Aggression From the North: The Record of North Vietnam's Campaign to Conquer South Vietnam, pp. 284 - 287.

Supplementary Reading

Peace in Vietnam, A report prepared by the American Friends Service Committee,
Hill and Wang, \$.95.

The Politics of Escalation in Vietnam, Franz Shurman, et. al., Fawcett, \$.60.

The Tragedy of American Diplomacy, William A. Williams, Delta, \$1.65.

The Great Fear in Latin America, John Gerassi, Collier Books, \$1.50.

Cambridge Vote On Vietnam

The Cambridge Vote on Vietnam is conducting a campaign against the U.S. government's war in Vietnam, focusing on bringing the anti-war movement to workers, and bringing workers into the movement. The group began in February and has concentrated its efforts primarily in the working class sections of the city. People are asked to sign a petition that calls for the City Council to adopt the following resolution:

WE ARE OPPOSED TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S POLICY IN VIETNAM. THE WAR IN VIETNAM IS AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF AMERICAN WORKERS AND STUDENTS BECAUSE IT SPENDS OUR MEN AND OUR MONEY TO SUPPRESS THE VIETNAMESE. THE WAR SERVES ONLY THE INTERESTS OF BUSINESS. THE U.S. SHOULD GET OUT OF VIETNAM.

When this initiative petition is signed by 4,000 registered voters, the city charter requires that the City Council either adopt it (which of course it will not do) or submit it to the voters in the next city election. To date, 2,000 Cambridge residents, almost all of them working class people, have signed this petition.

IDEAS BEHIND THE CAMPAIGN

The Cambridge Vote on Vietnam was initiated by three people in the Progressive Labor Party. It now includes a number of SDS members as well. Most of the 50 people now working on the campaign are independent radicals, united by the following main ideas about the project:

1. They feel that the statement in the petition is correct, and a good basis for anti-war organizing.
2. They agree that it is of primary importance to reach working class people with this campaign.

Their analysis is as follows. The U.S. is an imperialist nation and the war in Vietnam is an imperialist war -- its purpose is to protect and expand the U.S. business empire. The most important group (but not the only group) for opposing U.S. imperialism, is the American working class. Workers have both the greatest need to stop imperialism, and the power to win the demands that they fight for.

In struggling for better living and working conditions, U.S. workers are opposed by the people who own and control production in the U.S. Therefore, workers are hurt in a most basic way when that owning class gets stronger by winning domination over other workers around the world. One direct way in which this works is that the ability of U.S. business to set up shops in foreign cheap labor areas is a powerful weapon against U.S. workers' ability to win demands at home. It is an international version of the runaway shop.

In a more immediate way, U.S. working people suffer most from this war's costs in casualties, inflation, worsening living conditions, higher taxes, and the coming anti-labor laws 'justified' by the national interest and war effort.

The power of the U.S. working class rests in their constituting the majority of the U.S. population, their being united through working together, and their potential power over all production and distribution in this country since they are the ones that do the producing and transporting.

GOALS OF THE CAMPAIGN

As the group does not think that people can vote the U.S. out of Vietnam, the petition drive is seen as a first step in the long process of forcing the government to withdraw. The group's members believe that the educating, unifying, and organizing involved in such a campaign lay the groundwork for more powerful activities and for a more powerful movement to follow. They aim to bring opposition to the war out into the open in the working class community, so that people will not, by default, get pulled into deeper and deeper tolerance of the war. The campaign seeks to provide a means of resistance for people already opposed to the war, to persuade and win over those who are undecided, and to neutralize those who are strongly for the war. The group hopes to bring people from the community into the organizing work of the campaign. After the November elections, it hopes to have the basis for continued anti-war organizing carried out by Cambridge people and students.

WHAT THE GROUP IS DOING

1. Taking the petition door-to-door getting signatures, and more important, having long talks with people leading to return visits and deeper contact with them.
2. Collecting names on the streets.
3. Leafletting about the referendum and the war in places where there is the most possibility of building up further contact with people.
4. Distributing a booklet about the war. This booklet explains the group's analysis of the war, what the campaign is all about, and discusses the most frequently raised objections to the position.
5. Reaching high school students about this project and setting up appropriate ways for them to participate.

6. The group has a movie about the war, The Threatening Sky, put out by European documentary makers from NLF and DRV film footage. It has begun showing this film to interested people.

In the coming months the group will begin holding street meetings about the war and the campaign, in areas where it has done intensive door-to-door work. Group members will hold public meetings to see the film and original plays about the war, and will hold discussions on the war and related topics. They will explore with community people ways in which people can become active in this work.

INTERNAL STRUCTURE

There is a ten man steering committee consisting of the people who coordinate the work in different areas of Cambridge. It holds frequent (roughly weekly) open meetings to evaluate the work and to plan upcoming activities. Besides the job of organizing the day to day work, the group evaluates the responses they get, and works out ways to improve their ability to reach people in the community. This evaluation proceeds by long discussions with new people coming into the project, informal talks after the community work, special conferences with prepared workshops, and the circulation of materials that individuals work out on these questions.

RESPONSE

The Cambridge Vote on Vietnam reports that over one-third of those approached who read the petition have signed. Most people talked to have been friendly, and many have invited the campaigners into their homes to talk about the war and politics in general. CVV workers have concluded that many working people have been thinking critically about the war and have come to oppose it strongly.

They have found that the hardest group to reach is men between 25 and 55, probably because of social pressures, the "veteran mentality", and the problem of "virility" -- the feeling that it is not masculine to oppose the war. Disgust with the war often takes the form of "Blast them, and get it over with". Many of the same people who dislike the war bitterly resent draft card and flag burners, seeing draft card burners as people trying to avoid the army at the expense of someone else, usually from the working class. The CVV workers have also found that as white students they have experienced difficulty securing signatures from some Negroes who oppose the war.

The group does not encourage the signers of the statement to join the campaign unless they are in full agreement with its ideology. The group sees the real test of the campaign coming in the summer months when it attempts to consolidate progress made so far by returning to the houses of people already contacted and having longer discussions with them. In the course of such discussions, members will outline the dangers of working closely with the group, and then attempt to mobilize those who are willing and agree with CVV ideology into anti-war activity.

FURTHER INFORMATION

A kit containing a longer article about the project, a copy of the booklet used in organizing, and other information can be obtained by writing:

Referendum Kit
P.O. Box 158
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Concerned Citizens For Peace

Democratic Party precinct workers are joining community organizing work in Washington, D.C. Concerned Citizens for Peace has structured its programs toward exerting a concrete effect within the Washington Democratic and Republican parties.

CCP first does extensive canvassing in a precinct, compiling lists of voters and their positions on the war. Block captains are appointed, and neighborhood meetings begin.

When, after several weeks, a strong base has been formed, CCP confronts the local Democratic precinct organization with a report of its progress (CCP brings its lists and records to this meeting does not offer them for inspection). Precinct officials are told that if they do not wish to cooperate in the anti-war organizing, parallel precinct structures will be built. Although precinct chairmen may in some cases be sympathetic, they are generally unable to endorse the organizing officially. However, in all precincts where confrontations have occurred, a number of precinct workers have joined CCP.

Precinct workers know what's happening in their districts and how to operate in parts of the precinct which CCP may have missed or made little progress in. Their presence has helped build CCP strength enormously. In addition, by remaining workers for the Democratic Party, they are able to make the effect of the community organizing felt in Party circles.

Similar confrontations are staged with local chapters of Democratic Clubs. Again, although Club officials are often hesitant, many Club members have joined the effort, providing another source of influence in the Party.

CCP has to date concentrated on the Democratic organization since it is the predominant party in Washington. Confrontations are now starting with Republican precinct officers as well, and with local organizations of both parties in the Washington suburbs.

CCP plans to cover all Washington in the coming months, continuing in operation after the Summer. Its target is the May primary elections, in which the central committees of the Democratic and Republican parties and delegates to the national conventions are chosen. To vote in the primary, all citizens must reregister.

In the months before the elections, CCP will sponsor resolutions declaring no support for pro-war candidates. If the Democratic Party does not offer candidates sufficiently critical of the Administration's Vietnam policy, or if it appears that working in the Democratic Party is a dead-end, CCP may urge those it has organized to register Republican. The goal then will be to elect a slate of "dove" delegates to the Republican convention. CCP has begun impressing on Democratic precinct workers and Democratic Club members that they should be prepared to sever ties with the Democratic Party.

FURTHER INFORMATION

Martin Carnoy
Brookings Institute
1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Organizing Medical Professionals

A steering committee of doctors, students, nurses, and technicians from Boston area medical schools has arranged a series of seminars to provide the medical community with medical information on the war, and to generate resource persons who can speak to both medical and non-medical groups about this information. The idea behind the seminars is that medical personnel, especially doctors, will have a greater effect on policy and public opinion if their political acts are defined by their professional context.

The first seminar attracted 175 people, including a large number of nurses and technicians. The meetings included an illustrated talk on medical facilities in the Central Highlands area and a discussion of the difficulties of estimating the number of civilian casualties. Dr. John Constable, who recently returned from Vietnam as a member of the Committee of Responsibility team investigating civilian casualties, addressed a later seminar. Topics covered at other seminars have included the effects of napalm and the matter of chemical and biological warfare.

Future seminars will focus on such topics as the crop destruction program and its nutritional implications, the ethical considerations raised by the Levy trial, and the domestic and social consequences of the war. This last seminar will include speakers from the anti-poverty program in addition to medical personnel.

The steering committee is now in the process of preparing a packet of material containing transcripts of the seminars, reprints of several of the outstanding articles which have been published on napalm, CBW, crop destruction, civilian casualties, etc., and information on the organization method used in the Boston area. The packet, which should be ready by June 10, will include press clippings about the seminars, and sample posters used for publicity. Health Professionals for Peace may soon distribute copies of the packet to the 6,000 signatories of the petition it sent to President Johnson last Fall.

Medical personnel in other areas interested in starting similar programs might contact local chapters of Physicians for Social Responsibility, which has proved a great resource in Boston both for medical facts on the war and for speakers. A highly regarded PSR pamphlet on medical conditions in Vietnam and the impact of the war will be among the materials included in the packet.

STUDY GROUPS

A second organizing effort among medical personnel began in early April among a group of doctors, nurses, and students at Harvard Medical School. Discovering that many of them felt they did not really know enough about the war to condemn it, the group decided on an approach centered on providing information.

A study group of ten to fifteen members, led by a graduate student in Asian Studies at Harvard, met five times. The group used the A.F.S.C. study guide of selections from Gettleman's reader on Vietnam (see supplementary material to "Citizens for Political Action") to learn about the political genesis of the war. Like most study groups, this one attempted to be completely fair to the Administration. Although there was an undertone of belief that the Administration might not be telling the truth, members were sufficiently confused to want to get the facts straight. In four meetings enough opposition to the war had developed so that at the last meeting, members decided to start similar study groups for other students, faculty, and technicians at the Medical School. It is hoped that at the last meetings of these projected study groups, discussion will again focus on anti-war activity open to those whose opposition has been aroused.

FURTHER INFORMATION

To obtain the packet of medical information on the war, or for other information on medical organizing, write:

Dr. Irving Rosenberg
114 Sargent Street
Newton, Massachusetts

or

Dr. Frank Davidoff
c/o Beth Israel Hospital
Boston, Massachusetts

Draft Information Centers

A Draft Information Center is a community response to the needs of men who face conscription and need sympathetic counseling and expert advice. A Draft Information Center should combine the best resources available, both local and national, with concerned individuals who are trained as competent draft counselors. A Draft Information Center can be a telephone number in a local newspaper or it can resemble an efficient business office packed with typewriters, telephones, filing cabinets, secretaries and busy counselors. When a frantic person calls a telephone number or walks into an office, saying "What can I do?", and the Center counselor can help him out, a Draft Information Center is a beautiful thing.

The materials presented here stems from experience with Draft Information Centers in New England, and especially with the AFSC Information Center in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The suggested approach can be used by an individual or an organization to help provide the best information available to men of draft age. The reason for the heavy emphasis on conscientious objection material is twofold. First, a counselor who has learned the legal complexities involved in advising CO's will have become familiar enough with the procedures and operation of the Selective Service System to be able to counsel all men, whatever their draft problem. Secondly, many individuals who are opposed to the Vietnam war or wars like it should explore the use of the CO form as a way of expressing their opposition, as a way of obtaining time (since the complicated CO appeal process may take over a year to be completed), and as a way of changing the present CO requirements in the courts. It should be pointed out, however, that a draftee should not file for CO if he is merely expressing a preference. Such lack of commitment will have ramifications on other, more legitimate, C.O. claims.

STAFFING FOR A CENTER

Resource Persons for Counselor Training.

Contact the CCCO or the American Friends Service Committee (160 N. 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102) to obtain the names of staff or experienced draft counselors in your area who would be willing and able to lead draft counselor training sessions. Contact the area Civil Liberties Union for names of lawyers who have handled draft cases recently to obtain additional resource persons.

Getting Draft Counselors

To find people willing to be trained and do draft counseling:

1. Write the CCCO for their mailing list in your area;
2. Contact all clergy in the area through the Council of Churches, Clergy Concerned, or Yellow Pages;
3. Contact high school guidance counselors, settlement house workers, social workers, college faculty, religious organizations, student groups, peace groups, civil liberties groups, civil rights groups, and liberal organizations (ask each group to put out news of the training sessions in their newsletters or other publications, and ask to use their mailing lists for your own letter).

A covering letter to the above people might state the need for competent counseling, suggest the possibility of starting a community information center on the draft, and state the times and dates of counselor training sessions.

Training Draft Counselors

Prospective draft counselors should attend two two-hour training sessions. Before the first session, they should read and be familiar with the HANDBOOK FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS (Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19103). Before the second session, they should be given a counselor's packet from the CCCO and instructed to fill out a sample Co (#150) form. A third session for counselors, once they have some experience, is advised. In addition, counselors should be kept informed of recent changes and interpretations of the draft law through continuing sessions, if possible.

Training Session Outlines (all sessions for two hours)

Session One

Characteristics of a good counselor
Resource material
Law & Counselor
Registration
Classification questionnaire (100)
Classification
Local board & registrant errors
SSS Structure
150 (CO) Form
(Vietnam resister and atheist CO)

Session Two

Questions on Session One
Personal appearance
Appeal
FBI resume
Dept. of Justice hearing
Dept. of Justice recommendation
New classification
Presidential appeal
Pre-induction physical examination
(Armed Forces Security Questionnaire)
Alternative service
Non-cooperators
ROLE PLAYING
DISCUSSION OF DRAFT INFORMATION
CENTERS

Session Three

Questions on sessions 1 & 2
Resident aliens and citizens abroad
Late CO claims
Refusal of induction
Jail
Canada
Discharge from military, reserves,
& ROTC
Recent & relevant court cases
Changes in the new draft law
ROLE PLAYING

Continuing Sessions

Each week draw on different
resource person to lead discussion
(lawyer, psychiatrist, someone
recently out of jail, etc.)

MORE ROLE PLAYING

Role Playing

One of the main elements of these training session is role playing. To begin with, it helps define the participants as draft counselors. This is important since many have not had any real experience and do not view themselves as counselors. A second purpose is to make the counselors more aware of other points of view. This is especially important with counselors who have not been through the Selective Service procedure themselves. Counselor-counselee relationships, personal appearances before a local draft board, Justice Department hearings, or anti-war people being confronted by pro-war hecklers who are asking the "hard" questions make good role playing situations. Further experimentation with the use of role playing in these training sessions is underway and a supplement may be added with the results and recommendations of these projects.

A "Guidelines for Draft Counselors" is also being prepared. This will contain suggestions on different approaches and difficult counseling situations.

STARTING A DRAFT INFORMATION CENTER

Location and Physical Arrangements for Draft Center

Depending on the nature and size of the community, the Center might be located near high school or college campuses, near the local draft board, or wherever the cheapest space is available. It doesn't really matter where the Center is, if the publicity for the Center has been adequately handled. A small room is sufficient. There might be a long table with chairs, files with draft literature and background material for counselors. A telephone is a necessity. The hours the Center is open will depend on the number of counselors available. If each counselor works a 3-hour period, once a week, on a regular basis, and many counselors are available, the Center might be open five or six days a week plus a few evenings. It is important that counselors be there through the advertised hours, and plenty of time should be allowed for each counseling session. If money is available and publicity has been adequate, a part-time secretary (try to get women volunteers) would be especially useful to answer mail inquiries and to make appointments for counseling.

Cost of Information Center

It should be possible to raise money from the same people contacted to do the counseling. Perhaps one of the organizations or churches contacted will donate the use of a room during the week when it is not being used. Draft literature is available from many sources in quantity orders at a discount. Some money can be made by literature sales (probably enough to pay telephone bills).

Publicity

Adequate publicity is a necessity. News releases should be sent out when the center opens, and if the "new community service" idea is stressed, the Center should get good coverage in local newspapers and on the local radio and TV stations. Make arrangements for a representative from the Center to appear on local radio and TV call-in shows. Advertisements could also be placed in newspapers, small area publications, and organizational newsletters. Using the "public service" idea, contact radio stations with one-two-and three minute public service announcements about the services the Center offers.

Many of the problems an information center faces in the local area come from a lack of adequate publicity. If as a part of the publicity, a representative is sent to talk with local clergy, women's groups, etc., much of the developing hostility to the Center can be avoided (one can also find counselors and funds at such meetings). It is important to remember that the local draft board might be approached, particularly if it is done by clergy or respected representatives of the community. The local draft board could be informed about the purpose and nature of the Information Center. Posters can be placed in colleges, churches, etc. (If you have draft problems and need help, call: -----) The address, hours, and telephone number of the Center should be added to all material distributed by the Center even if it comes from national draft organizations. Business cards with Center information are also helpful for publicity purposes.

Special Projects

A panel of lawyers who will give free advice is extremely useful. If enough lawyers can be contacted and convinced of the need, they may take one free draft case per year. In any case, the Center should have the names of good local draft lawyers regardless of their charges.

Special efforts should be made to contact high school youth groups and high school guidance counselors in the area, since nineteen year olds may soon be drafted first. Perhaps a special summer project at beaches could spread the word about the Draft Center.

If psychiatrists or medical doctors can be approached, they might help in emergencies when someone needs verification for a deferment before his pre-induction physical. They might also be of use in certain particularly difficult counseling situations.

A speakers service should also be developed. It could include Conscientious Objectors to talk about their position or the war to any group, especially high school or college groups. It might also include faculty who could discuss the draft in general with adult groups. It might include people who could train others in the local area as draft counselors (the Center itself might want to run a continuing series of the three training sessions for counselors). The first session could be very useful as an educational device, even if the attenders do not intend to become counselors.

National Organizations with Resources on the Draft

American Friends Service Committee, 160 N. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa., 19102
(11 Regional offices in the United States)

Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 20006 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa., 19103. (San Francisco Regional office)

Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, New York

National Service Board for Religious Objectors, 15th and New York Ave.,
Washington, D.C. 20005

Students for a Democratic Society, Rm. 206, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612

Committee to Aid War Resisters, Box 4231, Vancouver 9, British Columbia, Canada
(Material and names of organizations working on immigration to Canada)

War Resisters League, Catholic Pacifist Fellowship, Committee for Nonviolent
Action, 5 Beekman St., New York, New York 10038

Bibliographies

A. Material every potential CO should have:

1. Handbook for COs (CCCO), \$1.00
2. Sample CO Form (#150) (NSBRO), single copy free
3. Letters in Support of CO Claim (CCCO), single copy free

B. Material every draft counselor should have:

1. Material under "A"
2. Counselors packet (CCCO), \$2.00
3. Material from NSBRO (Sample forms, Seeger decision, alternative service, etc.)
4. Subscription to:
 - a. Newsnotes (CCCO), free
 - b. Selective Service (Office of Public Information, National Headquarters, Selective Service System, 1724 "F" St; N.W., Washington, D.C.)

C. Material every Draft Information Center should have:

1. Selective Service Regulations and Local Board Memorandum (SSS-- see address above)
2. Selective Service Orientation Kit and 1966 Directors Report (SSS), free
3. Canada information (CCCO & Vancouver Committee)
4. Draftee's Confidential Guide, Signet Books (P2942), 60¢
5. The Student's Guide to Military Service, by M. Harwood, Bantam (P3194), \$1.00
6. The Military Establishment, by J. Swomley Jr., Beacon Press
7. The Wrong Man in Uniform, by B. Chapman, Trident Press, \$3.95
8. Armed Services Hearings on SSS (June, 1966) --- Y4.AR5/2a:965-6675, (Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402), \$1.75
9. Report of the President's Commission on Selective Service (Burke Marshall) (Superintendent of Documents, see address above), \$1.50
10. Subscriptions to:
 - a. Reporter (NSBRO), \$1.00 per year
 - b. New Left Notes (SDS), \$1.00 per year for members
 - c. Manpower Comments (Scientific and Engineering Manpower Commissions, 2101 Constitutional Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20418), \$6.00 per year.

A complete bibliography of information needed in Draft Information Centers is being prepared and will appear in supplement form.

FURTHER INFORMATION

Draft Information Service
American Friends Service Committee
Box 247
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Boston Draft Resistance Group

In April, a group of Harvard students composed a "We Won't Go" statement, circulated it among friends, and called a public meeting to gain further signatures. After this meeting, an advertisement in the Harvard Crimson listed the names of 86 signers. The resultant publicity led to several more large meetings at which the Boston Draft Resistance Group was formally constituted, and the beginning of an attempt to canvass Harvard students door-to-door. To date, almost 400 men have signed, making the Boston group the largest anti-draft group in the country.

The Boston Draft Resistance Group does not consist of all signers of the statement, however, but only of those actively involved in further anti-draft work. The Group has decided to minimize the act of signing as an end in itself, trying to make signing a symbol of commitment to work actively against the war through other activities of the Group.

Since the original ad appeared in the Crimson, the Boston Group has issued an additional statement condemning the use of the draft for the duration of the war. This was done to forestall accusations that those protesting the war were doing so from the sanctuary of their deferments. The Group has also established an office, open three hours a day, to which anyone can come to learn of the Group's activities.

The Group's main work to date has centered on legal research and on organizing. Law students are presently investigating legal aspects of the draft system and of tactics such as passing out leaflets at Army bases during pre-induction physicals. It has been discovered that knowledge of the draft laws is poor even among lawyers, and legal researchers for the Group speculate that a similar ignorance may mark members of local draft boards. When a local board can be attacked for violations of due process, not only is induction delayed, but, the Group feels, the Board's indifference to basic individual rights stands exposed.

For this summer, the Boston group has set up a national communications committee to coordinate various draft resistance groups throughout the country. Phone contacts will be maintained with various regional centers, so that the

national committee may channel proposals and funds to these other groups. In addition, the national committee is planning to hold a meeting early in July on strategic aspects of draft resistance, at which legal research will be collated. The national group plans to assemble a kit on draft resistance, describing the experiences that various resisters have had in their organizing attempts and including sample leaflets they have distributed.

On the local level, the Boston Group will canvass summer school students in the area, especially at Harvard Summer School, with the "We Won't Go" statement. The Group also plans to continue demonstrations at Army bases during pre-induction physicals, which have begun in the past few weeks. Members of the Group participating found men at the physicals often depressed and willing to talk about alternatives to induction. Other activities planned for the summer include participation in community organizing efforts in which draft resistance will be introduced as a topic of conversation, and the distribution of material on the draft at plants employing large concentrations of draft-age men. Finally, the Boston Group intends to link up with various high school anti-war projects, seeing the draft as the most salient aspect of the war for high school students.

The Boston Group's program is built on the view that constructing a radical constituency through draft resistance is the tactic most likely to mobilize opposition to the war where it will be felt. Draft-age men and their parents, especially parents in the middle class, meet the war most closely through the draft system; draft resistance hits them at their present concerns.

FURTHER INFORMATION

Boston Draft Resistance Group
138 River Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Milwaukee Organizing Committee

INTRODUCTION

The Milwaukee Organizing Committee began to implement approaches now used by Vietnam Summer over a year and a half ago. MOC may well have been the first complete community organizing peace project in the country, initiated at a time when most anti-war groups were still in the demonstration-confrontation stage. As such, this prospectus, based upon the experiences of more than a year of organizing, will appear in many ways too advanced for most communities to implement if they are only in the first stages of Vietnam Summer organizing. Yet because of MOC's experiences with this type of project, the prospectus may serve as a useful guide for many community organizing efforts in other parts of the country.

A brief word about MOC. The Milwaukee Organizing Committee was founded by a group of young people in the early winter of 1965. Most of the original staff members came to MOC with experience in other forms of community organizing in the South with SNCC, MFDP, and CORE, and in the North with SDS and DuBois Clubs. MOC borrowed in form and approach many of the ideas developed in these other organizing efforts; instead of a membership group, MOC was constituted as a staff operation. In Milwaukee this had decided advantages, since MOC would not place itself in competition with existing peace organizations which were exceedingly jealous of their organizational prerogatives and membership. MOC also established itself without a specific policy statement on the War itself, thus avoiding prejudicing its relations with other groups. More important, its organizers could work to expand the peace movement in the most flexible manner. The principle of its methods lay in the belief that people could be best organized according to their own interests, developing their own policy positions. The organizer served to develop that form of organization in a "non-partisan" manner.

MOC set as its goal the expansion of the peace movement beyond the few relatively inactive middle class peace groups to include, in a variety of organizational forms, the massive numbers of working people in Milwaukee silently concerned about the War. It sought to develop methods of "outreach" which would serve to draw into anti-war activity those community people who

had never been reached by the traditionally introverted "coffee hour" programs of existing groups. In doing so, it was hoped that an example would be set which would inspire these existing organizations to develop their own outreach programs.

Initially, most staff members felt that a better knowledge of the inner workings of the city was necessary, and a research program was developed which delved into the political history, economic power structure, political machine, voting patterns, population movements, and other facets of Milwaukee life. An attempt was made to combine an element of scientific accuracy and political common sense in equipping staff members with the tools which could be developed, thus avoiding costly mistakes founded on ignorance. On another level, this research served to bring together others who were interested and to inspire them to follow from the stage of intellectual inquiry to active commitment to the organizing project.

From the research project a working prospectus was developed which laid the basis for MOC's first community organizing attempts. At every stage in the development of organizing techniques and theory, important revisions were made in the concepts outlined in the prospectus. At weekly staff meetings, during which work of the previous week was reviewed, assignments and decisions for future efforts were made, and policy and budget decisions were derived. These meetings were open to anyone in the community or any organization who was interested in attending in addition to the regular staff.

The staff operated as a team. At every step of the way decisions were made collectively. If one staff member worked exclusively on the Draft, he had complete autonomy in daily work, but presented all aspects of the program for review by the full staff. A number of full timers became available, with others working part time, and a still larger number of volunteers. In staff meetings, however, no distinctions were made between the different types of workers.

By the spring of 1966, MOC got its first office and by summer began its first intensive project work. The program was designed to operate on several levels: A) initiating new organizations which involved special groupings in the community; B) backing up existing groups with program assistance; C) seeking openings in non-peace community organizations where educational programs could be presented; D) acting as a coordinating center for all concerned organizations; E) initiating major city-wide outreach programs and demonstrations.

From an initial investment of \$35 made by the staff, MOC has grown into a \$500/month organization with 3 full time staff members, a large office and center, and ties with every major peace and many other types of organizations in the community. Because of the multiple concerns of its staff, MOC has often played a role in other movements and has taken the initiative in many areas not strictly within the classical pervuew of an anti-war group. One of its primary concerns has been the building of the overall left and progressive movements, so critical in creating the atmosphere in which its own work can continue and thrive.

In the last year MOC has played a central role in the development of all major peace programs in the city, and in the creation of a variety of groups such as Clergy for Peace, Artists for Peace, Teens for Peace, SDS, and the beginnings of a labor committee. After well over a year of experience the Milwaukee Organizing Committee offers the following prospectus for summer activity.

FORWARD TO THE PROSPECTUS

There is an inherent weakness in all "summer projects": invariably an upsurge in activist participation with a corresponding intensity in the development of programs produces an artificial level of movement growth in the summer months. Unless the program is carefully geared to accept a natural reduction as Fall approaches, serious let-down takes place creating general demoralization of organizers committed to work beyond the summer. This further affects the movement base, which has become dependent on expanded personnel and material support. This prospectus has been designed as best as possible to deal concretely with the problem of the withdrawal of "summer activists", while at the same time laying the basis for retaining a number of summer staff in full or part time capacity into and through the Fall. The program should yield a group of trained organizers and hopefully create a sense of commitment and level of understanding which will prompt several staff members to continue beyond the summer. For others, the training will hopefully mean a qualitative change in the nature of their involvement when they return to school, jobs, etc.

The objective of Vietnam Summer in Milwaukee will be to involve many who have till now been sideline sympathizers in meaningful activity which will broaden and deepen the base and influence of the anti-war movement in the area. Vietnam Summer will make use of all available volunteer workers, but will require a staff of capable administrators and organizers working full time overseeing and guiding the project. A major objective will be to transform the atmosphere of fear and reluctance in the community which heretofore has limited the ability of movement groups to function in a flexible and continuous manner.

SUMMER PROGRAM PROSPECTUS

Neighborhood and Community Outreach

1. Neighborhood concentration: two areas have been singled out for concentrated effort. They are presented in order of importance and priority, in terms of manpower and material investment.

The first and primary is the central Southside, which is a white community of Polish and German people (a small but substantial area of Puerto Rican people borders on this area), heavily working class, and the strongest base of the trade

unions in heavy industry. This area is strongly and traditionally Democratic, its congressional representative being Clement Zablocki, a leading pro-war spokesman and second in seniority in the Congress. In Milwaukee this community has a reputation for racism and bigotry, and serves as the backbone of not only the Democratic Party, but also the municipal machine. The peace and freedom forces in the city have avoided any meaningful contact with this section of town, and a psychological block has been established.

Program. A flexible community canvassing campaign, utilizing several different types of approaches, including:

A. Support for a Vietnam War Referendum in the next state-wide election -- this project is being coordinated on a state scale (see section below). This campaign might take the form of door-to-door solicitation of support for the referendum, possibly using a post card campaign to representatives urging support for the bill before the legislature. The campaign might also be used to initiate discussions on the War.

B. Church programs: continue and expand programs of church seminars and discussion groups centering on churches in the concentration areas; present speakers in local churches as a focus for community involvement for those who are on the line. Involve local clergy in the Clergy Committee and in local programs.

C. Collection of funds door-to-door (like UNICEF) to send community delegations to Washington to lobby with congressmen. This project has the advantage of focusing on an activity that people can:

- a) relate to as legitimate;
- b) accomplish with success since they can see results in the amount raised and number of people sent;
- c) focus attention on the position of congressmen and alert the community to how they are being represented;
- d) create a higher level of consciousness of the nature of the political process and the need for community control over political machinery.

D. Similar collection of funds to aid civilians in Vietnam, both North and South, and to bring children here for medical treatment. This project focuses attention on the suffering of the Vietnamese, while the fight to obtain permission for children to be brought here can awaken the community to the hypocrisy and cruelty of our policies. Again, this is a project that the community can measure its success on, since something concrete can be accomplished.

E. Establish community discussion forums, educational programs for local organizations, house meetings, etc. Gradually a network of contacts and activated residents will be capable of conducting and initiating programs of their own, as well as serving as mobilizers of their area for city-wide and national events.

The second community is in the west central area of the city. It is a neighborhood in transition on the edge of a ghetto where a mixture of Negro, older and poor whites, and Spanish speaking people reside. Similar programs of canvassing and community involvement could be used in this area, though perhaps on a higher political level. Manpower in this area could be drawn from the Marquette University community which geographically borders this community.

In both areas focus will be on contacts already established within the community as a base from which to operate; this will include sympathetic churches, social organizations, civic groups, social agencies, etc. A supplementary research program will be required to provide vital information for each area on how the War affects taxes, federal spending, social legislation, industry, etc.

II. Communication and Outreach

A. Use of the Mass Media: it is only recently that the movement has begun to utilize this medium of communication in its work; yet careful and effective use of mass means of communication is or should be an essential aspect of our work. The people of America recognize this as an acceptable and legitimate method and very often a message may be transmitted most effectively by this means. Since radio and TV are the sources of information for the majority of Americans, they should be used when possible. An element of professionalism is added when care is used in judging both content and form.

1. Design of advertisements to be placed on public transportation as funds become available. Simple posters of a general character with an address and phone number will be used in an effort to awaken interest, create an atmosphere, and solicit inquiries and new contacts. In Milwaukee, transport ads reach 160,000 riders daily, most of whom are working people.

2. Use of billboards in a similar manner as a part of an overall communication campaign, creating an atmosphere of legitimacy and movement in which organizers in the community can function with greater confidence and ease. Billboards should be located strategically in concentration areas.

3. Placement of a series of ads in neighborhood and city-wide newspapers, often using ads sponsored by a variety of local groups representing special interests. Ads by vets, professionals, draftees, students and faculty, etc. are in the planning stages now or will be worked on during the summer.

B. Use of other media:

1. Poster campaigns: as a part of creating the psychology of a summer drive, simple but well designed posters advertising Vietnam Summer, local programs, draft counselling, etc. will be used in saturation. They will be professionally designed and printed to gain the greatest effect.

2. Preparation of a community canvasser's packet to be used by door-to-door workers in providing educational material. The packets will be presented free of charge or at a minimal cost to respondents who indicate an interest, those who seem sympathetic but want more information, those who want to set up a block discussion group, etc. They should be simply written, but should present a generally complete background history of our involvement in Vietnam, augmented by appropriate information on domestic effects of the War on our economy, the city, and the individual taxpayer.

3. Film strip series: to be used with a prepared outline describing each slide and suggesting the discussion questions for use after the showing, these strips will deal with the history of our involvement in Vietnam, the use of military tactics, etc. For use in small group discussions (led by an organizer, or by civic, fraternal, and other groups interested in an educational discussion of their own making); might also be offered to high school teachers for summer school and fall term classes.

4. Mass leaflets: professionally designed and printed leaflets aimed at special groups. For use in project areas, possibly before canvassing begins, or for use generally, or by other groups in the city.

III. Culture

A. Films: a film festival for peace is being planned which will feature two weekends of films designed to augment the project thematically; this type of program was used in the Spring very successfully, and as a result several new contacts and staff came forward. Films being considered are: "Eyewitness: North Vietnam" by Cameron; "Good Time, Wonderful Times", "The Organizer", and "Night and Fog".

B. Art: an artists group already exists, and, with their cooperation, an art for peace sale, peace fair, sidewalk displays, and other graphic programs can be organized.

C. Musical: on July 1 or 2 Judy Collins has agreed to appear at a fund-raising party for MOC, but she is prohibited from doing a concert. Several teen rock groups may be drawn into other activities.

D. Children's peace theater: travelling throughout the city to playgrounds or before youth groups, this group might use drama or puppets to depict the problems of war and peace.

IV. Labor

A. Trade unionists for peace: this type of organization is in the preliminary stage now. It has only come this far after over 8 months of careful work with numerous people by our best and most experienced organizers. Fear, hangovers of McCarthyism, and outright cowardice on the part of some have created a series of difficult problems. At this point a group has begun to meet quietly and privately and are planning a summer conference for labor on the war.

B. Grass roots rank and file programs: Plant gate leafleting, educational programs for contacts made in factories, and draft information programs, should be initiated. In some cases we should offer direct aid on the picket line to striking workers and unions, but carefully avoiding manipulative approaches designed to further our own programs. Utmost sensitivity must be developed in this area.

V. Clergy

A committee of Concerned Clergy and Laymen has been functioning here for some time. It has, however, only a few committed and active members who give substantial amounts of time to programs of the group. This committee, like that in labor, requires continuous and close attention and work if programs are to be executed. The summer period should be used to expand its contacts, broaden the programs of church seminars already underway, bring in national and regional figures for speaking engagements and other functions, and to promote a continuous program of meal of reconciliation (several have already been held -- the latest on Mother's Day drawing over 500 people).

In addition, plans are being made to hold a state-wide or regional clergy conference on the war in the Fall. Such a meeting would serve several purposes: it would break the isolation of those clergy and lay leaders who feel impotent in the face of community opinion; it would lay the basis for large scale state programs; it would open communication to outlying areas and give strength to those who need assistance or inspiration; it would provide valuable ideas for programs and techniques and could be used to establish a more meaningful and effective method of influencing congregations and political figures.

VI. Special Interest Groups

A. Teachers: the groundwork is now being laid for the formation of a teachers' committee, yet no one has been able to take on the task of reliable contact work because of the time involved. Such work could be started in the summer when teacher work load is reduced since summer schools for high school students run only half a day. Another aspect of this work would be promoting speakers in summer school classes, use of the film strips, cooperation in bringing draft counsellors into the schools, etc.

B. Vets & G.I.'s: a number of veterans, some from Vietnam, are now in contact with us. With some effort a committee of vets, reservists, ROTC, and G.I.'s could be established. The primary problem here is developing a program of substance which will not duplicate in content and form those of the other areas. One initial step could be gathering names for an ad, followed by procuring speaking engagements, classes in draft counselling, etc.

C. Teens for Peace: such a group has been founded here and has already begun to plan summer programs, including a large teen dance, high school leafleting, draft information to summer schools, and participation in other programs. A basic core of about 20 now can be counted on for action work, with another 30 less active sympathizers. The object of summer work would be to establish this group on a sound organizational basis, expand its membership and activity, develop a city-wide newsletter for teens, and recruit volunteers for other efforts.

D. Mothers: the Mother's Day meal of reconciliation was sponsored by a group of mothers activated by and inspired by the Spring Mobilization. Efforts must now be made to guarantee the permanency of this grouping on a programmatic basis. During the summer more meals could be planned, a high school and recreation center draft caravan conducted, and approaches made to school administrators to allow draft counsellors in the school.

E. Social Workers and Doctors: a derivative element of the Children's Aid drive should be the formation of a doctors and social workers committee which would aid in the fund drive, appeal to professionals to assist, seek voluntary participation from surgeons and hospitals, etc. A group of social workers has begun to organize an ad which should appear in a few months. This group provides the core for such an organization.

VII. Direct Action Demonstration

An integral part of all the summer plans will be to hold at least one major march or demonstration to keynote the project. This type of program will greatly aid those who are doing local organizing in providing a direct participation outlet for newly activated forces while at the same time it will focus the impact of Vietnam Summer in the community. It is proposed that on Hiroshima Day in August such an event be held involving all those in the city. A march down the center of town should be considered, followed by a rally featuring several nationally prominent figures. In addition, each of the special groupings might prepare their own supplementary program, including, films, dances, fundraising events, art displays, etc. One purpose of this program would be to give focus to the summer work, and also to provide an opportunity for the peace forces to visibly and publicly show their strength.

VIII. Vietnam Referendum

Plans are now underway for holding a statewide referendum on the War, patterned after one held in the fall elections in Dearborn, Michigan. A prominent Democratic State Senator has agreed to introduce such a proposition into the Legislature in the near future, and a state-wide coordinating committee which will push its passage is being formed. Yet if passage is to come, substantial efforts must be expended in local communities urging support and pressure on legislators. This project will be integrated into each of the programs conducted during the summer; including the transport of local citizens to Madison to testify at any hearings held.

IX. '68 Elections

Another aspect of the summer project will be preparations for the '68 elections. Much of the work will be keyed to developing a thorough contact system which will provide the base from which political action can be organized. No substantial organization on a political level can be developed in just one summer; any such organization must rely on a solid and large movement base of support. Each summer program will in some way serve to prepare the community for such a development.

SUMMER DRAFT PROGRAM

In this area, programs currently under way will be accelerated and expanded. Part of all MOC activities is geared to the draft. As of two months ago we were handling an average of two to three cases a week; now we are handling an average of 4-5 per day. These cases are varied and cover all areas and types of problems posed for the young man facing Selective Service. The bulk of these come to us as a result of leafletting and indirect referrals; cases represent a wide and diverse cross section of youth in the community, most of whom are not involved in the anti-war movement in any capacity.

I. Information (action)

A. Door-to-door in two draft board areas.

1. These boards would be picked based on special characteristics such as draft rate, racial discrimination, correspondence with other canvassing projects, etc.

2. Two individuals would work on an area -- with their function being dissemination of draft information. This would entail general conversations about the war and the draft. Though a decidedly slow method, this approach produces stronger bonds with the community and greater impact than simple leafletting. Materials used would include petitions calling for a volunteer form of service, C.O. Handbooks, draft information cards, information on obtaining counselling and legal assistance, and anti-draft union information.

3. An attempt will be made to involve community people in the program of canvassing itself, thereby contacting neighbors in the manner they had been approached. Neighborhood rallies and house meetings could be set up once contacts have been established. Neighborhood draft information centers could perhaps be established with the cooperation of a local store, community center, or church.

B. Mailings to those reclassified and listed in the Induction Center and Selective Service offices on form 112B. Mailing will include offer of counseling, list of counseling hours, and/or announcement of meeting on draft alternatives. It will also include draft fact cards.

C. Dissemination of draft fact cards.

1. Pick areas of greatest concentration of draft age males; i.e., industries that employ large numbers of young men, recreation centers, high schools, etc.

2. Disseminate five thousand of the cards in these areas -- 10,000 have already been distributed. The card is an effective means of channeling those with draft problems and those seeking to resist the draft into the office for counselling. Many of these then become active in other programs reaching still greater numbers.

D. Leaflet the Milwaukee Induction Center

1. Pre-induction physicals can be leafletted with information on draft alternatives and the approaches that can be taken to regulations imposed by the pre-induction process. This leafletting can be coordinated with direct action against the induction center (see section below).

E. Draft Information Booths

1. The Milwaukee Institute of Technology is being organized around the Volunteer Army petition. In addition to this, draft information booths should be set up in the school lunch room.

2. The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee now has a draft information booth set up once a week. Materials include Volunteer Army petitions, We Won't Go Statements, Draft Union information, Canada and Conscientious Objector information.

F. Newspapers and Television-Radio

1. Organize and schedule participation in a local call-in show on WOKY radio. The show is broadcast nightly for 3-4 hours.

2. Attempt to get newspaper contacts to have stories written on the MOC draft program.

3. Enter ads announcing draft counseling and analyzing changes in the law in city and neighborhood papers.

G. Mailing to High Schools on C.O. Provisions

1. A list of recent high school graduates might be procured through the Milwaukee School Board. However, a legal battle may be necessary to force release of this list.

2. Mailing should include basic information on rights under the Selective Service Act with emphasis on C.O. information and MOC counseling services.

II. Research

A. Canada

B. Legal inconsistencies in the Draft Law

1. Set up a committee of law students to study the laws.

2. Develop means of taking legal action against the draft boards' mishandling of cases.

C. Physical and mental deferments

D. Draft Board Composition

E. Who gets drafted ?

1. What kinds of individuals by board, class, and race are drafted ?
2. What are the rates for each board ?
3. Who has influence and who can be influenced to make exceptions and what role does income play ?

III. Counseling

A. Counselors with regular hours, augmented by training and use of special counselors on Canada, draft refusal, etc .

B. Formation of a lawyers committee of support

1. Get willing lawyers to take draft cases either paid for through a fund or services donated free .
2. Provide training for additional lawyers, especially to handle unusual cases, keeping each up to date on cases coming up through an information service .

C. Counseling seminars

1. Development of trained full and part-time counselors through seminars .

D. Records of Counselees

1. Development of a complete and systematic file on all individuals counseled at MOC so that advice can be quickly given in emergency situations and so that trends in similar cases can be defined .

IV. Direct Action

A. Massive march against Selective Service Office in Madison (home of the appeal board and the state director) . This would be a statewide mobilization . An alternative objective would be the Induction Center in Milwaukee (largest in the state) .

B. Series of small direct actions against the Milwaukee Induction Center centering around induction of members of the draft unions or pre-induction physicals of members .

C. Possibility of neighborhood rallies and marches on the same order though more community oriented .

V. Volunteer Army Petition

A. Collection of names in an organized fashion -- this has already been initiated .

B. Use the petition as an organizing tool that gives the carrier an excuse to talk to people about the draft and gives the signer his first feeling of power against the draft system .

C. Seek additional sponsors for the petition from community organizations.

D. Possibly a march to a congressional home office to present the petitions.

VI. We Won't Go Statements

A. The periodic advertising of the signers and endorsers of the statement as the numbers grow and funds are raised.

B. The formation of specific committees dealing with the relation of Nuremberg to the Vietnam War, and the relationship of a We Won't Go group to the drafting of a member. Produce educational material based on findings. Define ways in which members can protect each other.

C. The function then becomes threefold

1. Encouragement and support of now isolated individuals who disagree with the Vietnam War, but who have felt alone and without information.

2. A union which provides mutual aid against the draft for its members.

3. A form of militant protest and bearing witness against the draft by direct and public refusal to participate.

VII. Working With Youth Groups and Gangs

A. Work through local social agencies to contact gangs on the South Side. Other contact to be made on the street.

B. Send a mailing to youth groups offering speakers and counselors.

VIII. Formation of Anti-Draft Unions

A. Develop solidarity through formation of "draft insurance policy" and direct action protection.

1. Provide a fund and lawyers committee for the defense of those who refuse induction.

2. Through direct action at the induction center disrupt the norms of obedience usually enforced at such examinations.

3. Provide information on all phases of the process at which an alternative to cooperation can be used, using their own regulations against them.

B. Development of outreach programs to bring draft age people into the anti-draft structure, and thereby afford them the same protection as the other members; by increasing its membership the union will be in a stronger position to protect each individual.

1. One method would be a card that deals with anti-draft unions in much the same way that the draft fact cards deal with draft alternatives.

2. Another would be the distribution of thousands of small posters explaining draft information and alternatives and referring onlookers to the union or for counselling.

IX. High Schools

A. Leafletting of high schools during summer sessions.

B. Mailing to graduating seniors as previously mentioned.

C. Draft caravans as previously mentioned.

D. Attempt to get school authorities to schedule program at which draft counsellors would present alternatives to the draft, to be held in the high schools in assemblies or individual classes.

FURTHER INFORMATION

Milwaukee Organizing Committee
1012 N. Third Street, Suite 211
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53203

NCNP - VIETNAM SUMMER LITERATURE LIST

NCNP will be distributing these pamphlets from now on. This is the beginning of a substantial literature program from NCNP to meet the demands of local organizations for "how to do it" pamphlets, case studies, leaflets, and reprints. NCNP hopes to publish the same amount of literature with the same distribution processes as Vietnam Summer did during the summer.

The cost will be: \$.20 for each copy up to 10,
\$.10 for each copy over 10.

<u>TITLE</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>COST</u>
Guide to HIGH SCHOOL ORGANIZING	_____	\$ _____
VIETNAM? LOCAL REFERENDUM CAMPAIGNS	_____	\$ _____
Guide to PUBLICITY	_____	\$ _____
Guide to FUND-RAISING	_____	\$ _____
DRAFT COUNSELING CENTERS	_____	\$ _____
Guide to LABOR UNION ORGANIZING	_____	\$ _____
NCNP Literature List - This will include case studies of local political campaigns, "how to do it" pamphlets, reprints, and single leaflets.	_____	\$ _____
	TOTAL	\$ _____

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

_____ ZIP CODE _____

NAME OF ORGANIZATION: _____

PHONE _____

I would like more information on NCNP. _____

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