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# ORGANIZING

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Prepared by the  
Information Committee  
of the University  
of Wisconsin CEVN

The National Co-ordinating  
Committee to End the  
War in Vietnam

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Madison, Wisconsin 53703



## INTRODUCTION

This packet has been prepared with the intention of aiding the creation and growth of independent groups whose main purpose is to bring about a change in the government's Vietnam policy. We were, until recently, primarily a student group. Therefore some of the information contained in this packet can be used efficiently only by college or university groups. Most of it however can be adapted to faculty groups and most community organizations. We especially hope that labor unions, independent peace groups (such as Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the American Friends Service Committee and high school groups, such as the remaining youth SANE chapters) can utilize our material to broaden their activities. We enjoy one particular advantage in that we are independent of any particular ideological affiliation and therefore served as the means by which many different views and groups were effectively united in common purpose. It is for this reason that we are concerned with organizing independent groups in local areas.

Our group is dominated by two powerful themes: the first is that any intelligent American can formulate a coherent understanding of American Foreign policy and the Vietnam crisis, that he has a right and an obligation to participate in the decision making process, and that it is untrue that foreign policy is somehow beyond the understanding of the average citizen and should be left to the "experts". We strongly agree with the motives of a group of Madison citizens who recently formed a Committee to Restore People to Politics, partly as a reaction to a recent tendency for supporters of the present policy to cry, "leave it to the President" and to imply that criticism of foreign policy was somehow based on ignorance and was foolish and perhaps slightly disloyal. We believe in action by an independent and awakened citizenry.

Our second theme is self-education. We probably wouldn't have prepared this packet if we hadn't discovered the basic decline in the belief and understanding of what self education really is. While we are fortunate in that the most of our really applicable knowledge of the current world situation utilized the services of people who have a technical interest in Vietnam, it was only to help people to help themselves realize that expertise is not required. Our education program has been successful only because we accepted as allowed to inform himself about the situation. This is the prime motivation for our protest against the continued government policy of incomplete and distorted news releases on the conditions in Vietnam.

The Evolution of the Committee. We were originally a small and disorganized group of students who met as a result of a public call to action by two students to protest the initial bombing. After one hastily organized rally it was felt that a more permanent organization was called for, since Vietnam was obviously going to be a long term issue. We started out with the usual spurt of rallies, a 54 hour

vigil, and petitions and telegrams to the President and Congress . Soon after we began, we realized a desire and a need for more technical information, and out of this desire came our education program. We have discovered that this has been the most important contribution we have made. We have realized that Vietnam is not an isolated issue but is tied in with an entire foreign policy which has gone wrong. We were also stimulated by a sense that this situation arose to a large degree because the American people were no longer being consulted or included in the decision making process.

Our present structure arose out of several weeks worth of experimentation. Out of the initial general meetings at which all issues and tactical decisions were made, and executive committee was formed. Neither this nor any of the committee normally has about thirty people in attendance except for hastily called meetings to determine short range tactical decisions. Two groups come to the executive meetings: the co-chairmen and the key members of the five main committees, and any people who are interest in devoting time to the different activities. We have emphasized the co-chairmen and the committee system to prevent the emergence of an elite clique separated from the general membership. The co-chairmen system has also helped preserve continuity as individual members became inactive for short periods of time due to pressure from jobs or school. Each committee head has made sure that there is at least one other person who knows every thing that is being done and can easily take over his job. Thus for the ten to fifteen key positions there are two or three people who can step into the position and carry on the work.

General meetings have two main functions. Major goals are presented by the executive committee for open discussion to determine the feeling of the group. Those business meetings are interspersed with meetings with special guest speakers, films or debates to attract new members and to publicize our group. We found that in order to preserve our sense of purpose and unity we needed a well organized general meeting at least once a week in the first few weeks and one about every other week thereafter. These meetings normally attract about 150 people, with more coming for special events. Open exec meetings were held once a week, and many short notice work meetings of the ten to fifteen key people were called as the need arose. In addition, each committee had its own meetings. There were five standing committees: Education (8 to 10 members), action (about 10- with more called in for special events such as rallies), Information (mostly a two man project, with six other people frequently consulted) Publicity( 4 on the newsletter, 2 for mimeographing, about 10 for poster work, etc.). Communications (one person in charge of the telephone list drew workers form a pool of about 30). The publicity committee had a group of about 10 volunteer typists. We also had a treasurer and two people handling faculty-student coordination. In addition specific individuals within the Action and Plublicity committees were assigned as press agents and as contacts with community groups. It is important to remember that this complex structure arose after several weeks of activity. We found however, that

once these simple guidelines were established they contributed to our strong sense of continuity. One crucial observation could be made. Most of the hardest working members of the committee were people who had never been politically active in their lives, had no ideological commitments, and were drawn to us out of a vaguely formulated moral concern. Many of the key members were people who were not part of the committee initially. Therefore we advise keeping your whole structure as open as possible and in fact having a bias in favor of bringing new membership into meaningful roles within the committee. While it was not always true, we sometimes found that those who took little part in violent ideological discussion were frequently the hardest workers once a decision had been made, while those who were particularly vocal and ideological were not within the group and undermine its broad based success. The group must not be allowed to break up into feuding cliques with the non-partisan members stranded bewildered in between.

Before proceeding on to a description of our activities one should be aware of the common consensus our activity proceeded from. During the course of a total of seven hours of debate a list of goals was formulated. The information committee, at the time, merely a group of self appointed students, wrote a short three paragraph introduction to these demands. One paragraph gave a resume of Vietnam history to the Geneva Agreement of 1954, and the third listed the U.S. sponsored violations of the agreement. The following section concluded what turned out to be a statement of principles which has changed but lingers during the course of the past three months. It contains the closest approximation of the committee's beliefs as a whole:

"In view of the above the Committee to End the War in Vietnam has formulated the following proposal:

Whereas the United States has violated the Geneva Agreements of 1954; and

Whereas the Vietnamese people have demonstrated a historic love of freedom and the desire for independence; and

Whereas our wrongful unilateral intervention has supported a government which does not represent the great majority of the people of Vietnam; and

Whereas the direction of the National Liberation Front is primarily under the direction and control of the South Vietnamese and not the North Vietnamese government:

WE CONDEMN THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM BY THE UNITED STATES. WE DEMAND THAT THE UNITED STATES CEASE FIRE AND, RESPECTING THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION, WITHDRAW FROM VIETNAM AND FULLY ABIDE BY THE GENEVA ACCORDS."

We hope that you will find our packer useful and can adopt many of our ideas to your own situation. We would appreciate comments, questions and suggestions. All correspondence should be sent to the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 341 West Mifflin St. Madison Wisconsin, 53703. We have a detailed history with footnotes and an

annotated bibliography for 25¢. Other copies of this pamphlet are free.

### THE ROLE OF THE CHAIRMAN

Without exception, this is the hardest part of the Committee to describe, for the chairman's role is simply to be a good leader. To begin with, the chairman should not be heroic. While it is essential that he be able to make decisions and stick to them, we have found that part of our success was due to the chairman not appealing to the prestige of his office to further his own views, but by using his position as a catalyst to reach decisions. This becomes clear when you remember the functions of a chairman. His role is 1) to coordinate and organize the activities of all the standing committees and individuals working in the organization and 2) to lead the various viewpoints on theory, strategy and tactics to a resolution with one another on all specific and immediate issues. Preceding this, of course, he must create a consensus of the goals of the group. For all this, it is necessary that the chairman be as removed as possible from the emotionalism of heated discussion, and that he be able to guide those discussions into a constructive and meaningful channel and not let them degenerate into a diatribe which could split the group into feuding factions.

This dual role is crucially important in a committee which deals with the issues of American foreign policy and its application in various parts of the world. This type of issue raises criticism ranging from the isolationist position of opposition to foreign adventure to the radical position of reform of society at large. This range of expression, which could wreck an independent committee uncommitted to any particular ideological course, must be resolved by the chairman not only on the theoretical level, but in the action on the points of agreement among these differing views. There can be agreement on getting out of Vietnam between a socialist and an isolationist Republican.

The actual coordination of the activities, meetings, etc., will have to be varied in different situations. One key to success is the ability of the chairman to delegate authority and, once that authority is delegated, to make sure the job is done without appearing to be bossing it. If the chairman tries to do too much, the committee will ultimately collapse. The chairman must be continuous participation in meaningful activity by all the membership if the initial sense of enthusiasm and devotion to the committee's goals is to be kept up.

It is critically important in terms of coordination for the chairman to have knowledge of all activities, past, present, and future, and to keep in contact with them. Since the committee's work is usually an "after hours" task, course-work or a job taking up the bulk of the time, hardpressed active members will tend to lose an awareness of the group's scope unless the chairman actively pulls the different programs and leaders together.

On the purely practical level, the chairman found two things were helpful or necessary: one, to keep an appointment book, and secondly, to have some sort of agenda, perhaps made in consultation with the executive committee, to give a workable structure to the discussions of each meeting.

The chairman and the entire leadership as it emerges must fight turning into an elite clique within the group and must keep continual contact and discussion with the general membership and interest outsiders. Group leaders should be continually trying to pull new people into the different activities. The surest sign of success would be for the entire formal leadership to drop out to attend to schoolwork, and for the group to be successfully continue its activity. It is also important for the group to successfully continue its activity. It is also important for the chairman to make sure that the group isn't cutting itself off from the community as a whole. Without a continuous rapport between the committee and its constituency and the leadership and the committee as a whole, the leadership will not only become isolated from its membership and thus ineffective, but the committee will become static and will not be able to deal with the real problems which arise as a result of the government's activities in Vietnam.

The chairman, in short, must have his large thumb on all the activities of the committee, making sure they are carried out as well as possible. He must be responsive and alert to the feelings, desires and views not only of the membership and interested potential membership, but also to the community at large, most of whom are very confused about the problems of Vietnam and foreign policy. He must understand and be able to rise above the emotionalism of policy discussions, and he must know how to create a compromise without appearing to dominate the decision making. In short, he must know how to lead.

#### EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE

The two main projects of the Education Committee on the Wisconsin campus were a speaker program which reached dormitories, fraternities, sororities, church groups, and community groups; and a workshop program which consisted of weekly discussions on Vietnam and Southeast Asia. Due to the large amount of work involved in planning, the dorm speaker program, the community speaker program, and the workshop program were each assigned separate chairmen, with one person keeping the whole effort coordinated. All together about eight people were needed to keep the program running smoothly.

Dorm Speaking Program For this program, a list was made of all living units (dorms, frat houses, off campus private dorms). People on the education committee were assigned placed to try to arrange speaking dates. This sometimes involved persuading a reluctant house president that there was enough interest to hold a program. It was important for the committee member to call the day before the dates arranged by the committee to confirm the date, as there were occasional misunderstanding on time and date,

It was the job of the co-chairman to find speakers for the dates arranged by the committee members. The speakers were volunteers from the organization, usually graduates and undergraduates, many of whom came from the workshop program after the first few weeks. (Faculty members were mainly used in the community speaking program.) Speakers

were sent out in pairs, who grew used to working together and could supplement each other's information. Potential speakers went along to offer suggestions and criticism and to learn how to handle the formal and lengthy questions and answers session which followed the formal speech. After a few weeks we held a meeting of the speakers to discuss the program and exchange ideas on how to be effective with various groups; this was very helpful.

The format was educational rather than partisan. Generally the speakers tried to give the technical background of the situation and to show through a history of the conflict why we had taken our position (see introduction). We tried to make sure that the groups wouldn't be larger than 20-40 so that an informal discussion situation could arise, since this was usually the most valuable part of the program. All together we spoke at about 150 dormitory and campus groups. This was one of the best ways developed here for making our position known and for attracting new members.

The major problems were organizational. On a large campus we should suggest that one person be used in each dorm to arrange talks for each floor. (In most of our dorms there are sixty to a floor. About ten to twenty would come to the discussion.) Posters and announcements should appear well in advance of the speaker. The speaker should take names and phone numbers of those who want to find out more and those who want to work for the group, and give them the newsletter chairman, the telephone squad, and the exec chairman. This allows for new people to get immediately involved in meetings, demonstrations, workshops, and other activities.

Community Speaking Project This project evolved more slowly because of our initial reluctance to get involved in the complex and highly diversified structure of the community. Originally, there was an effort in the community to organize a group, and we thought they would handle their own activities. It turned out, however, that our help was needed and appreciated. The Community Speakers Program was one phase of our effort to get the community involved (see Action committee). The co-chairman got from the chamber of commerce a list of all the men's and women's clubs in the city (about forty, including clubs like the Lions, Rotary, etc.) From the telephone book we got a list of all churches and their pastors (about 150) and also addresses for all local labor unions. Each was sent a short mimeographed letter explaining the nature of our group and offering to provide a speaker. There was little response to the letters, and we found it was essential that the letters be followed by phone calls. In making the arrangements we found it best to provide a faculty speaker, but also to send along a fluent member of the student committee, for two reasons. Frequently the club has invited a hostile "expert" to question the professor, who might not be so expert on the technical questions (amount of infiltrators, etc.). A person from the workshop program can field these questions. Also, the student's presence will considerably dampen hostile newspaper comments about irresponsible beatnik students and emphasize the newly found faculty-student unity. A major goal here is to bridge the gap between the townspeople and the students and faculty and create a sympathetic understanding on

on the part of the townspeople. You should try to have a community group such as SANE, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, or AFSC to refer interested people. Stress that it is not necessary to be experts in order to understand or make decisions about foreign policy: working with peace groups, letters to congressmen and newspapers, petitions, and informal defense of protesters when they are attacked as being subversive.

The Workshop Program This was perhaps the Committee's most rewarding program. It had two main goals: to continue the education of university students and members of the community, and to train people for participation in various programs. It is important to remember that few people join your movement with a lot of knowledge about Vietnam. Full commitment can come only when they have taught themselves enough to have a good understanding of the issues rather than just an uninformed humanitarian response. The division of purposes is reflected in the workshop schedule which we will discuss in detail below. While all in the intermediate and advanced workshops were given at school, we set up several introductory workshops in the community and tried to get community people to come to the school sessions.

Publicity is the key factor in this program. Good posters with interesting topics of discussion are important. The school newspaper can be used to announce the workshop schedule, and notices can be inserted in community group newsletters. All formal speakers announced the program. Informal personal contact is perhaps the best way to draw people; for example, some of the teaching assistants made short announcements to their classes. We also telephoned new members to inform them of all specialized activities.

It should be made clear that the introductory workshops require no reading and are intended for those who are curious and want more information. The word "seminar" can be misleading. The elementary lectures are the most important because it is here that people can be stimulated to learn more and to join the protest.

Workshop Comments When the program is organized, there will probably be only a handful of people who can teach. One of the first objectives should be to train people who can replace and supplement this handful. The dorm speaking program will require about 15 pairs of people who can speak once a week when it is really established; after the program has run for a few weeks, the people who were trained in it and have had dorm speaking experience can take over the first two lectures. This will free the others to speak at community groups and to run advanced workshops.

You can expect only a small group to get past week four, and the sessions beyond this number need not be repeated more than once or twice a term as anyone who has completed the first four weeks can fit into any of the advanced sections. Those who are so advanced should of course be helping out in the Action projects of the education committee.

Elementary Workshops These should be given at least twice a week. We ran workshop I four times a week for the first three months. Each workshop consisted of one hour lectures and up to two hours of questions and

discussions. We emphasized the post 1940 developments leading to the resistance, the major trends of the struggle that lead to the Geneva agreement, what the agreement was supposed to do, and what actually happened. The discussion leader had printed material, buttons, telegrams to send to Congress, petitions, and the printed histories, which we sold. We tried to get people to come to workshop II; if they could not, we encourage them to buy one or two of the good paperbacks such as The Last Confucian, by Dennis Warner, and to be better informed. While students pre-dominated here, many community people attended.

Workshop II emphasized the training of potential participants in the program. People were encouraged to give short talks on the material and to practice answering questions. Workshop leaders should try to get people to help in the community canvassing project. We have found that that people who have gone to only the first two workshops and done the reading can handle themselves quite competantly in informal debate, and many can become dorm speakers with no further attendance.

Intermediate Workshops These should be given at least once each week. The group newsletter should give the timetable for workshops I-IV each week and periodically publish the reading assignments. Advanced workshops can be announced in numbers III and IV. One bit of experience we should emphasize is to never allow the more ideologically oriented members to dominate the discussion or be supercilious in discussion with those who don't have the same backround. The aim of the group must be reemphasized: self-education.

Advanced Workshops It was felt that Vietnam could not be isolated from an understanding of what an emerging nation is and what its relations with the colonial powers and the United States have been. We emphasized Southeast Asia, but all underdeveloped countries can fit in. Most of these workshops were given only once a term and were advertized as special attractions.

About 400 people attended both elementary workshops over a ten week period, withd about 5-10 per session. About 100 people went on to the intermediate ones, and thirty continued into the advanced weeks. The only problem was pressure of studies. Sometimes people will not be able to attend one workshop each week. If people could not read all that was assigned, we tried having each person do part of the reading and give a short talk followed by discussion. Some sections developed a feeling of unity and continued together all term.

#### A TENTATIVE WORKSHOP SCHEDULE

week I: introductory, no required reading

week II: reading: a) your history b) D.G.E. Hall, History of Southeast Asia, 1964 ed., pp. 714-721, 769-784, 799-804, 827-837(c) Edgar Snow, China, Russia, and the U.S.A., chapter on Vietnam. (d) D. Halberstrom, For those who aran't going on, Warner's Last Confusion, ch. 6,7,13,14, is highly recommended.

Intermediate

week III: W.A. Williams, The Tragedy of American Diplomacy (PB), all.  
week IV: D.S. Fleming, Origins of the Cold War, vol. II, chapter on  
Southeast Asia and Felix Green, A Curtain of Ignorance, pp. 192-212,  
233-242.

Advanced

week V. All of Snow's China, Russia, and the U.S.A. parts of Edgar Snow  
Red Star over China, Felix Green, A Curtain of Ignorance, Oliver Clubb,  
20th Century China. all in PB.  
week VI Phillipines: Leon Wolff, Little Brown Brother, parts of  
Grunder and Liversey, The Phillipines and the U.S.A. and Wm Pomeroy  
The Forest.  
week VII Indonesia: George Kahin, Nationalism and Revolution in Indo-  
nesia, ch. I. II. V. VII. XI. XII. and XIII excellent book  
week VIII W.A. Williams, U.S., Cuba, and Castro, parts of C. Wright Mills  
Listen, Yankee, Huberman and Sweezy, Anatomy of a Revolution, Zeitlin  
and Scheer Cuba: Tragedy in our Hemisphere.  
week IX Ceylon: S. Arasaratnam, Ceylon, Spectrum pb Other interesting  
cases would be Malaysia (tin and rubber), Iran (oil), Congo (minerals  
and rubber), or any Latin American Country.  
week X Nature of Underdevelopment and Economic Growth. Paul Baron,  
Political Economy of Growth, Keith Buchanan, "Predevelopment or Under-  
development" Economic Horizons, Nov., 1964, and parts of Hyla Myint,  
Economics of Developing Countries and Gunnar Myrdal, Richlands and Poor  
in paperback.

INFORMATION COMMITTEE

This committee is crucial for an organization protesting a course of action which takes place outside the realm of personal contact. Most people have little knowledge of the editorial distortions that take place in the supposed news sections of magazines like Time and Life or Newsweek. They have little access to or familiarity with specialized studies, and which most secondary sources do not provide the detailed technical information on which a solid independent judgement could be made, usually summarizing with editorial comment works covering areas of specialization which the popularizer himself may not be able to judge critically. Since the committee will need to write manifestos and petitions it will be necessary to have a small group to make sure that errors do not slip into the propaganda material. All lengthy factual material such as our 60000 word documented history, our two major policy statements and several of the technical articles for the newsletter were prepared by a committee of four students who were specializing in Southeast Asia or American Foreign Policy. The Research Committee has 25 working members. These students were of course initial participants in the workshop and dorm speaking programs. (This packet was assembled by the information committee).

An informal group of persons slowly emerged who were interested in the technical details of the Vietnam conflict. From this pool we were able to draw speakers for special programs or short talks at gen-

eral meetings.

The chairman should be someone who has a scholarly interest in Vietnam and current Southeast Asian history and who is a good organizer and librarian. The information chairman prepared a list of all material on Vietnam available at all local libraries and got the bookstores to stock certain paperbacks. He should make sure that committee members turn in any unusual newspaper articles about Vietnam and the group's activities. It is important that at least one member of the information committee have a complete file of minutes of major meetings, newspaper clippings, and every item put out by the committee, including newsreleases. It should be mentioned here that we delegated two people to be our official press delegates who were the only two people who could make public comments in the name of the committee. As there were attempted smears of our activities in newspapers and on the radio, we found this to be very helpful.

We sincerely recommend that each group put out some sort of history with references and a bibliography for public distribution at a nominal fee. There is no single sort pamphlet available today which adequately describes the background of the Vietnam conflict. But a good history is available from the National Coordinating Committee at 341 W. Mifflin St., Madison, Wisc. It is prepared by the Madison Committee.

Materials: Bookstore and Paperbacks This is the direct responsibility of the Information chairman and points out the importance of having someone with a scholarly interest in Vietnam. The job of materials is not simply bibliography, but the task of making available information which already exists. If a history is not available, it is especially important that some reading list be prepared for the membership and general distribution.

The more information the public knows, the more it will understand your case. You should utilize the desire of all local bookstores to make a profit. Try to get them to stock paperbacks on Vietnam, and tell them that you are recommending these books to your members and using them in an educational program. Suggest amounts they should order calculated on the potential market and the accessibility of the particular store. Don't have them overorder items you know won't sell in quantity, as a glut will produce hesitancy on their part later on. We were very successful in this matter, with the bookstores taking the initiative in setting up prominent displays of the books we got them to buy. All the books are paperback, which is essential for a mass sale; the crucial books for the education people such as Fell can be ordered individually. Listed next to the books below which we got the stores to stock is the total sum ordered by all the stores together. These figures, it must be remembered, is applicable to a campus with about 27,000 students so you will have to make adjustments to your particular situation.

\*\*\*\*\*Marvin Gettleman (editor) Vietnam (\$.95) Fawcett Word Premier Paperback. A unique collection of the major documents and major articles. It can stand as a one volume source for Speaker Training workshops.

- \*\*\*\*\*William A. Williams, Tragedy of American Diplomacy, \$1.65, Dell. One of the best. No specific number ordered, since it was used for several courses at school.
- \*\*\*\*\*Edgar Snow, China, Russia, and the U.S.A., \$2.35, Marzani and Munsell, 100 West 23rd St., N.Y.C. Though this is as valuable as Warner and Williams, it does not bear directly on the subject and members will not buy it as heavily. The chapter on Vietnam can be ordered separately from the publisher as War and Peace in Vietnam, 65¢. Warning: the publisher is not well known. 50 ordered.
- \*\*\*\*\*Robert Scigliano, South Vietnam: Nation under Stress, 1.85, Houghton Mifflin. All workshop leaders and dorm speakers should have it. 50 were ordered.
- \*\*\*\*\*Felix Greene, China, Ballantine, \$.95, excellent eyewitness account. 25 were ordered.
- \*\*\*\*\*Edgar Snow, Red Star over China, \$.95, older, but still excellent. 25 were ordered.
- \*\*\*\*\*Oliver E. Clubb Jr., The U.S. and the Sino-Soviet Bloc in South-east Asia, Bookings Institute, Washington, D.C., \$2.00. Essential for advanced workshop leaders. 5 to ten ordered.
- \*\*\*\*\*Wilfred G. Burchett, The Furtive War, New World Paperbacks, \$1.85. Valuable only for first hand flavor. His best work has been published in National Guardian articles. He now has a paperback with a more recent first hand account from the International Publishers, 381 Park Avenue South, N.Y.C., 10016, \$1.95. Vietnam: Inside Story of a Guerilla War.

Books that Committee should own or be familiar with.

- \*\*\*\*\*Bernard Fall, The Two Vietnams, Praeger hardbound, \$7.50. The best available study. Devastating economic material, excellent analysis of the American aid program. Make sure it is in the library. Good Bibliography.
- \*\*\*\*\*George Kahin, Governments of South East Asia. Expensive, but next to the Army handbook the most thorough bibliography. Make sure available in the library; no need to buy.
- \*\*\*\*\*U.S. Army Area Handbook for Vietnam, 1962. While the material is very detailed and the analysis quite slanted, the bibliography is the best available anywhere. A must along with Fall. Most libraries won't have it, so order a couple of copies from the U.S. government printing office. \$2.00, order number D101.22:550-40.
- \*\*\*\*\*Edgar Snow, The Other Side of the River: Red China Today. The two paperbacks by Snow mentioned previously were taken from this. Well worth the \$10.00 price. Special discount if ordered from Marzani and Munsell.
- \*\*\*\*\*David Halberstrom, The Making of a Quagmire, Random House, \$5.95. One of the two best recent eye-witness accounts. Make sure the library has it and wait for the paperbacks.
- \*\*\*\*\*Malcolm Browne, The New Face of War, Merrill Publishers, \$4.95 the other one.

Library and bibliography knowledge It is important that all the major books be easily available to people, especially those who can't afford more than one or two paperbacks. Books like Fall, Werner, Kahin, and

Williams should be placed on reserve or limited circulation. The reading program could be sabotaged if Greene or Hall's history disappeared for a month.

When advertising a reading list it is helpful to put the library call numbers next to all books and periodicals mentioned.

See above section for the best bibliographies. The Madison, Wis. History available from the NCC has a fairly full initial bibliography which has been checked out for usefulness. There is also available a full Book Bibliography with critical statements about each book is available from Madison.

Before discussing periodicals, five works should be mentioned which are not too well known.

\*\*\*\*\*Cole, Allan B., ed., Conflict in Indo-China and International Discussions: A Documentary History 1945-55, Cornell University 1956. 100 important documents.

\*\*\*\*\*Foreign Language Publishing House, Hanoi. Various publications. Check library listing. They publish the collected works of Ho Chi Minh and other valuable collections covering the last 25 years. Their books can be ordered through the major book dealers in N.Y.C.

\*\*\*\*\*Le Thanh Khoi, Le Viet Nam: Histoire et Civilization, Paris, Editions de Minuit, The single best book on all Vietnames History. It might be issued soon in an English translation and brought up to date from 1955. If so it would be well worth buying.

\*\*\*\*\*D.G.E. Hall, A History of South East Asia, the best general textbook available.

\*\*\*\*\*Felix Greene, A curtain of Ignorance, A discussion of the news blackout on China in the American newspapers and prevalent distortions and prejudices.

Periodicals All of the people connected with Information, Education, and the Newsletter should be reading the N.Y. Times every day, with particular attention to items on the inside pages not directly connected with the immediate struggle which will have long rang Significance. Many crucial policy changes are buried on page 27 of the weekday edition. These items can be used for the newsletter.

The following publications have over the long run published the largest number of significant articles. The list is limited to works in English, but anyone who can should be reading the major French or German journals. Vietnam is the most heavily covered place in the world, but there has been a cover up of the intense European interest. Non-American journals are Particularly important since they have the advantage of being non-involved.

The Economist. solid articles.

Far Eastern Economics Review. the single most valuable source.

Wall Street Journal. short topical articles.

New Republic. Leads the field in American weaklies for Vietnamese news.

I.F.Stone's Weekly. (5816 Nebraska Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20015)

A one man crusade. Invaluable mine of information. Worth subscribing to.

Check the above five periodicals along with the N.Y. Times weekly or daily as the case may be, and check the minor columns for important short items.

Do not forget the good general publications such as the Manchester Guardian. The British weeklies have devoted considerable space to Vietnam and American Foreign policy.

The following are also recommended:

The National Guardian, N.Y.C. weekly, a left wing journal. It has on many occasions been the only paper to publish items which later hit the national news with devastating impact. The Washington Post and the Christian Science Monitor have also had excellent articles.

Other major magazines for Vietnam coverage are the Far East Quarterly, Far East Survey, Pacific Affairs, China Quarterly, and, especially important for documents, the U.S. Joint Publication Research Service, Wash. D.C.

### ACTION COMMITTEE

Early activity at school and the Community! Single events rather than long term projects dominated the committee's early work. Within the first four weeks of our existence we held three large rallies (with attendance of about 500 each) and a 54 hour vigil during the course of which over 300 students, professors, and community people marched around a circle at the state capital at various times. Two of the rallies, at which clergymen, students and professors spoke highlighted the vigil. The second day was co-sponsored by the Quakers. These events were aimed primarily at the community and, of course, at Washington via the state capital with its influence on senators and representatives. Every effort was made to obtain local, state and national publicity. We contacted community groups such as WILPL, who arranged for a local church to provide coffee and a resting spot for the marchers at the vigil.

To further pressure on Washington, we drafted a petition (see introduction) and set up booths to get signatures. We also made use of Western Union's Public Message Special (15 words for 85¢) and within the first two weeks of our existence maintained an average of over 200 telegrams each weekday. We tried to involve community people at this point, but results were sporadic.

It was after this initial flush of enthusiasm that we realized that we had to branch out in activity to gain wider support at school and in the community. We therefore tried to help a few professors and some community people who had been especially disgusted with the government's not consulting either Congress or the public on the course of the war. This small group of people created a community Committee to Restore People to Politics. Over the course of weeks this group was not able to make headway due to lack of organization. Interested members soon drifted into two other groups: the already existing Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the emerging faculty Committee to End the War in Viet Nam. Right now we are trying to gain wider community support in two ways: the community speakers program (see education), and a door to door canvassing project which has been running for the last three months. WILPF has joined our events but as yet has not run its own

program. We are encouraging it to, and will help it however we can, particularly by helping them set up tables at shopping centers and distribute literature and petitions in the community. We have not as yet developed full contact with the local political parties; the Dane County Democrats are leading the state in efforts to change the government's escalation in Vietnam. The situation in the community is still in a state of flux.

One important point is our healthy contacts with the local press. We attempt to aid them in every way, notifying them when events are going to occur. In one case, after a slanderous public attack, we gave a fairly sympathetic paper long interviews so they could do a feature story and give a more accurate picture of our committee.

Door-to-Door Canvassing: This project was intended to disseminate information and get people in the community to act - either by joining a protest group or by simply writing or telegraphing the President and Congressmen. We recruited members who had been to one or more of the workshops and had done a minimal amount of reading for the project. People were told via newsletter and phone squad to meet at a centrally located place (the Student Union); they were paired up there and assigned specific blocks to cover and sent out by car, motorcycle, or bus. We tried to team up an experienced speaker and an inexperienced one; this was good not only for training the inexperienced one, but we found that two strong speakers tended to be incompatible. The canvassers were provided with literature to hand out and an evaluation sheet, and were instructed to get names and addresses of interested persons. Our first two Saturday afternoons were fairly well attended, and we covered about 1000 dwelling units (one family each). After that, we put all our effort into Eagle Heights, a university owned apartment system for married graduate students, covering about half of the 1100 units. We tried to set up a follow-up coffee hour discussion session the week after we had been to an area, which would have a discussion leader from the committee and be similar to a beginning workshop.

Madison is a liberal, complacent middle class community, and we had little success the first two weeks. Our first problem was in getting people to talk to us, as we would very often have doors closed in our faces as soon as we mentioned Vietnam. Our second was to get through to them, at which we had moderate success, and our third was in getting them to act. We concentrated on the students in Eagle Heights because we could get much better results from them with our limited time and resources, but we are planning to make a more intensive drive this summer. Part of our trouble may have arisen from the specific area in the community we tried to cover, which was considered a safe ward by the Democratic Party. We are going to go to other areas in the city, including public beaches and shopping centers, and put more into a follow-up program.

The best procedure was found to be to start with a question such as "Have you been concerned about the situation in Vietnam or the bombings?" before identifying our position. We could usually then tell if the person were sympathetic, hostile, highly misinformed, uninformed, thinks protests are futile, or completely apathetic, and adjust our arguments accordingly. It is best to let the householder talk as much as he wants to (within limits) in order to bring our points he was most confused on.

It is generally bad tactically to pelt the person with facts, since he will probably refuse to believe them. The canvassers must be well informed and, even more importantly, must know which issues are relevant and avoid getting sidetracked into arguing over inessentials (such as poison gas or the exact percentage of weapons supplied by North Vietnam). It is essential to never appear hostile or dogmatic. So far, this project has served more to retain the interest of members and train them in debating the issues, but we feel that it has potentiality.

Other activities, Faculty, State, and Nation. There are three other programs which have been highly successful. The first is in joint action with the faculty. Soon after the University of Michigan faculty organized their teach-in, we approached several faculty members about organizing one here. (See faculty-students coordination). We created a whole week's worth of activities around the Thursday teach-in, including four days of outdoor booths, two days of vigilling near the main school mall, two short rallies at which faculty members spoke. The teach-in was followed by a massive march and giant rally in which outside guests participated. Over 3000 students attended at least some section of the teach-in, while over 1500 came to the Friday rally--the largest in many years.

Concerning a teach-in, we are very glad that our was one sided. It was a protest and was meant to publicize a view that is normally kept off the national news media. A format of individual hour lectures (two or three going on at once sometimes) and two large panels organized around American foreign policy in general and a presentation of the real picture in Vietnam allowed students to listen to informative lectures and a wide range of carefully developed alternatives to the present policy. We have not avoided debate; we have rather encouraged it and participated in three of them over the last three months. However, except for the publicity, we do not feel that debates are very beneficial, since they usually do not get down to meaningful issues and do not allow a clear picture of our main points to emerge. We are therefore happy that we preserved the partisan flavor of the teach-in, although we must emphasize that the talks which were most appreciated by the audience were those with the most information. (See the schedule of the teach-in printed in the back.)

The other major area of faculty participation has been in the educational program. We are now incorporating faculty members into both the workshop program and the community speaking program, and faculty members have addressed general membership meetings. A sign of the rapport which has developed was the formal joint student-faculty delegation sent to the National Teach-in in Washington, the only delegation with a combined representation. Joint planning groups are now in session drawing up further activities for the coming months.

Our second major area of work has been in the state of Wisconsin. We are now trying to establish contact with and help organize groups at small colleges and other universities all over the state by sending a representative to academic and community groups. We feel that the larger schools who perhaps have an easier time organizing have an obligation to help other schools and groups as much as possible. There are over 2000 colleges and universities in this country, of which only 200 have had teach-ins. There are many thousands of high schools where such activity might be possible.

To date, with a few exceptions, the labor movement has not spoken out. We suggest, therefore, that schools with organized programs try to help in their own state or area at the high school, college, and community level. For further information and an exchange of ideas, write to 206 Bernard Court, Madison.

Our third effort is on the national level. In the past, we have attempted to keep in touch with other schools and protest groups and to cooperate with any planned protest. We, feel, however, that more coordination is needed if an effective national effort is to be mounted. This packet is the first step. We are now hoping to establish greater regional cooperation, in our case in the Midwest. This would be aimed at joint programs of action with other schools in the hope of reaching out in each state in what might be called an "inkblot strategy." Within each state, a coordinating committee might be established, aimed at mutual aid between different areas. We would like to suggest that groups within each state or smaller areas get together to cooperate with one another on projects such as teach-ins, state wide demonstrations. Full national cooperation can only come if organizations can work well together on the local, state, and regional basis.

#### PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

##### How to organize an effective committee

The Chairman: The chairman should be a responsible person who knows most of the techniques of publicity, the operation of a mimeograph machine, how to cut stencils, how to make silk screens, etc. He must also be well versed in exactly what the group is formed for. While the chairman does not have to know how to do all of the above mentioned he should at least know that they exist. Further, the chairman should be aware of the fact that there are different grades of paper for different purposes. He should investigate the possibilities of getting his group termed a nonprofit educational organization, for then it is possible to mail out information for only one and one quarter cents anywhere in the U.S.

It is also necessary, to have at least one typist, preferably more, who can use an electric typewriter. Along with the typist there should be at least two people other than the chairman who can use the existing duplicating equipment. Someone who has artistic talent also should be recruited to cut the profilms for the silkscreening process. If possible, all the operations should be as centralized as possible. In no cases should the various operations such as typing, making the stencil, mimeographing, etc., be spread all over town. This is inefficient and if corrections have to be made it is inconvenient. The paper should also be at the point of production. Buying in bulk and wholesale can be done if you buy 100 reams.

The above 5 to 10 people are necessary for the functioning of a publicity committee. They should be permanent members of it. Volunteer members of the publicity committee are people who agree to write a particular piece of literature, leaflet, etc. The "permanent" members should know who they can call on to help them, but they should not be dependent on them. Further, there should be a pool of people available to distribute leaflets, sit at literature desks, etc. Since the publicity committee generally is the key committee in any functioning committee, care must be used to select good personnel. No function of any group can be successful without good

publicity.

When a publicity committee is operating it must never become dependent upon one person or one piece of machinery. There must always be alternate equipment and personnel. Also, a well running publicity committee should not overload any person too much, for after a point, this person, who may be good, will be lost entirely since he will have to quit to catch up with other commitments. It is much better to try to plan out work loads and schedules than do things in a rush or at the last minute. Results are always improved when a little thought is given to timing, acceptable results, excellent results, and the criteria used to distinguish between the two. At Wisconsin, the publicity committee feels a 5% return on the throw-away leaflets is good, 10% unheard of, and 2% a waste of time. This is for throw-away announcements of rallies, etc. A proportionately higher percentage should be expected for more selective means of publicity.

### The Importance of a Newsletter

Our newsletter was two sheets of legal-sized paper, four sides mimeographed, folded to the size of an envelop. The newsletter arose out of a need to reach the entire membership with announcements of activities without repeatedly resorting to the time-consuming telephone squad. It was also a way to reach potential members or those who weren't deeply committed to active participation. The newsletter quickly developed three main functions. It provided, in the form of detailed editorials, provocative articles to stimulate continued interest in the committee. It provided short summaries of particular points that the general membership might not have noticed in ordinary newspapers or which appeared in specialized journals. It gave a weekly schedule of all our activities and encouraged people to participate in the different programs. A subscription costs \$1. (Send subscription to Joan Scott, 520 W. Dayton St., Madison, Wisconsin 53703.)

The original factor is the regularity of production and distribution. The editor preferably should have had some journalistic experience, but above all, he must know how to nag contributors of articles or people responsible for supplying schedules of the various activities. The mailing list should be as wide as possible. At the end of the term, ours numbered more than 600 students, 300 faculty members, and members of sympathetic community groups such as American Friends Service Committee and W.I.L.P.F. The paper also made an effort to publish news of national activities and to serve as a center for incoming information. We therefore sent copies to as many independent groups as we found out about. It is convenient for mailing purposes to buy sheets of gummed mailing labels. Using a heavy-duty typewriter, five carbons of addressed labels can be made at once.

In conclusion, one must emphasize the enormous importance of the weekly newsletter as a means of communication with members (it should arrive by Monday of each week). The financial aspects are discussed in the Treasurer's report.

## COMMUNICATIONS

This activity is the easiest to describe and the hardest to get working properly. The success or failure of the committee after the initial flush of enthusiasm has worn off literally lands on the ability of the group to reach its membership, most of whom won't be able to come to most meetings, but who will participate in special events or donate time if notified properly. There are only two real courses available to the committee. The first is a telephone squad and the second is a newsletter service.

At EVERY SINGLE general meeting, three-by-five file cards should be handed out to all new people. Get names, addresses, and phone numbers, and if possible, activities in which they might like to help. This is especially important when you run a special event such as a guest lecture. All names and addresses should be given to one person who has the responsibility of getting copies, on file cards, to the telephone squad chairman, the chairman of the group, and to the newsletter editor. File cards are good, as they can be subdivided into different activities, colored pencil marks can indicate who is on the executive committee, etc. The newsletter list was much larger than the telephone list. As it was impractical to call all the hundreds of people who indicated vague interest in the committee, only those who had indicated a desire to actually help were called. So out of 600 students on the newsletter list, about 300 were on the telephone list. Chairmen of all the different committees should give the telephone squad new names as they get new people to help with a particular activity.

The list should not replace the short list of helpers which each activities chairman should have; for example, the education chairman had eight to ten people running the various educational programs, a list of about thirty dorm speakers, one for every ten or so workshop teachers, and a list of professors who were part of the community speaking program. All these people were reached directly and not through the telephone squad. The telephone squad was used to contact people for general meetings, rallies, vigils, the weekend door-to-door project, and for mass leaflet distribution. Telephoning and some of the publicity activities such as collating material, printing signs, etc., are drudge work. Therefore, it is best not to depend on the same small group of people to do the work. The telephone chairman kept the box of file cards, and lists were made of names and numbers. Each week he would get four or five new people to do the week's calling. He would give them their share of cards and tell them the news we were passing on. Generally, one calling was made a week in order to get people to go out for a weekend activity (the newsletter merely informs, it isn't too effective a convincer). Occasionally, a second mass calling would be made for a special event such as the "Truth Team" visit to Madison, for which it was necessary to give detailed personal instructions. This form of weekly personal communication is vital to prevent an "outsider's" complex from developing among those unable to come to most general membership meetings. If phone calling is prohibitive due to lack of a free call zone, we recommend two short news notices a week as a necessary minimum contact.

## FACULTY-STUDENT COOPERATION AND COORDINATION

### Brief description of the development of the Wisconsin Teach-In

After the Student Committee to End the War in Vietnam had decided upon some form of joint student-faculty protest based on the Michigan model, a meeting with student leaders from the Committee and a few faculty members whose views were known was called in which it was decided to hold a teach-in, as well as a series of rallies and speeches in the week preceding the teach-in. Using a petition to secure the names of sympathetic faculty members as a starting point, the faculty members present at the organizational meeting began canvassing their colleagues. The initial intent was to enlist the aid of representatives from each major department. Within four days, after a number of phone calls, twenty members of the faculty from most major departments met together to coordinate the faculty enlistment. A standardized list was used by which a faculty member could indicate preference for various activities and financial contribution.

At this time a coordinating center was set up in a faculty member's office which was a source of around-the-clock information. This office was manned principally by students and served as the distribution center for petitions, leaflets, schedules of events, etc. Regular meetings of the joint faculty-student committee were held at which all decisions on place, format, and schedule for the teach-in and related activities were made. The decisions on the teach-in curriculum were principally a matter of the initiative of those faculty members willing to participate; such decisions as whether a faculty member appeared jointly or alone, or spoke on a panel was a matter of individual faculty preference. Negotiations with the administration on room arrangements, etc., were handled by the faculty. Financial support for the effort came from sale of literature and buttons and from the faculty-student contributions. Publicity was handled by a joint faculty and student team. It is crucial to have made firm contact with state and local papers, for a major concern is to win community good will and support. Poorly balanced stories which might arise out of a lack of coherent presentation of your motivations could do a great deal of damage.

### Suggestions for joint faculty-student movements

It is extremely helpful if teaching assistants (or other students) who have a close relation with the person for whom they are teaching or do special research can be enlisted, for they made the initial faculty contacts and served as liaisons to students as well. It is crucial that all matters of policy as well as tactics be decided in genuinely joint meetings, though it is probably best that the chairmanship of the group be in student hands. An alternative chairman at meetings--one week faculty, the next student--is a good idea. In general, the solicitation of faculty members, after a course of action has been decided on, should be left chiefly in the hands of faculty members.

One problem which may arise (although it never did at Wisconsin) is the difference in attitude and idiom of students and faculty members. Often the same plan will be described more radically by the students and less so by the faculty. Clashes and divisions are avoidable if student leaders are aware of attitudes of faculty as well as their own group. It might be good if some separate student meetings are held at which student conflicts are ironed out before joint meetings. This is not to say that students ought to tone down their views to accommodate faculty. On the contrary, if handled sensitively and presented fairly (treating the faculty not as potential sell-outs, but as potential radicals--in other words treating faculty members as equals) the most radical proposals will be acceptable to most of the group.

(ED. NOTE--the joint faculty-student group did not operate in all areas of activity. It was found to be more practical to preserve a separate student group as the faculty, due to outside responsibilities, is not able to carry the burden of long-term projects. In general, the student group provides the groundwork for a particular project making possible the maximum use of limited faculty time. Also, the joint group was not based on mass general meetings. Generally, only the members of the students' open exec committee attended these planning sessions.)

#### FINANCES: THE TREASURER'S REPORT

The problem of fund raising to support Committee activities was an initial obstacle of alarming proportions. Funds were immediately needed to cover costs of mimeographing Committee statements and the Outline History of Vietnam which members of the committee prepared for free distribution. Rallies and demonstrations (two State Capital rallies and a continuous two-day vigil in the first week of the Committee's existence) involved renting costly sound equipment, making signs, distributing leaflets, and the like.

It was immediately discovered that a prudent exploitation of public sympathy, aroused by the committee's activity, was the best initial method for raising funds. At both initial Capital rallies, finance committee members (originally about ten people, now handled by two) and others pressed into service solicited contributions from participants. With exhortations from the rally moderators, the participants gave generously--enough to pay for the costs of the rallies as well as for the initial mimeographing expenses. Contributions were also solicited from students who participated in general membership meetings, which helped cover costs during the initial weeks of activity.

As time flew, the committee discovered that its fund-raising ability was directly related to: 1) its level of activity, 2) its ingenuity in providing goods and services in exchange for contributions, and 3) its capacity for widening its contacts to include faculty and community support. Five sources of funds, in addition to contributions from students (which were continually solicited at all committee-sponsored events) were discovered to be most important.

(1) In its first week, the committee ordered (after some ideological disputes over wording) several thousand buttons reading: "End the War in Viet Nam." These buttons were sold out at 50¢ apiece. They cost the committee approximately 10¢ each. Sales were heaviest during periods of most intensive committee activity. The week preceding the teach-in, for example, when the committee maintained literature tables in the Union every day, the sales increased enormously.

(2) After printing and distributing free some 4,000 mimeographed copies of the "Outline History of Viet Nam," the committee decided to prepare a revised edition (including an analysis of the White Paper, which had just been issued). The revised edition was carefully edited and improved: hasty syntax was corrected, the typing of new stencils for 8" X 11" (instead of legal size) paper made it possible to correct typographical errors and improve neatness (an electric typewriter and electric mimeograph machine were rented for that purpose), the bibliography was improved, and a blue cover sheet with the title and the words: Contribution, 25¢, was added. The new edition was sold out. Despite the early free distribution of the first edition, the sales of the second edition ran an additional 3,000. Here again, we found that the sales corresponded to the level of committee activity.

(3) The single most successful money-raising effort was the CRISIS, the committee's weekly newsletter. Its success as a money-raising effort was not anticipated, but care was taken to send it to faculty members known or suspected of being sympathetic, as well as to all members of the local community's women's peace group, a chapter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Each week, the newsletter carried an appeal for contributions, as well as a request that readers send one dollar for a year's subscription. That subscription fee was regarded also as a contribution, so that receivers who did not contribute initially, or later, were not removed from the mailing list. To cut costs, the newsletter applied for a non-profit organization's bulk mailing permit. Surprisingly, the group was certified as falling within the Post Office's definition of "Education Groups," and the permit was granted. This cut the cost of postage on each piece from 4¢ to 1¼¢. Each week, the editor of Crisis received checks and subscription payments which exceeded production costs by as much as ten times. Most of the larger contributions came from faculty and even more so, people of the community. Students generally sent only one dollar for the subscription.

(4) Considerable funds were raised through direct solicitation of faculty members. This effort was most facilitated by the development of working relations with interested faculty members. As soon as several faculty members joined the committee (which became, officially, a "Student-Faculty Committee"), a petition-letter to President Johnson was drawn up and circulated by faculty members throughout the various university departments. Contributions were solicited with signatures. (It was found, incidentally, the professors who are foreign nationalities, were enthusiastic contributors, even though reluctant or unable to participate more directly.) Later, a letter sent to faculty members over the signature of one of their colleagues

on the committee, urged new contributions in connection with the national Teach-In, and pointed to the example of the professors at the University of Michigan, who held a "Pay-In," each contributing a day's pay, to the cause.

(5) Contributions from community people, especially from members of the Women's International League, and the local Society of Friends, were channeled mainly through the newsletter. In addition, however, it was discovered that the W.I.L. would be induced to raise funds for special purposes among its own members. More than two hundred dollars was raised to place ads calling attention to the national Teach-In hook-up, in the two local newspapers within 48 hours by W.I.L. women asking for telephone pledges. The ad carried a line noting that it was sponsored by W.I.L.

Of considerable assistance to the treasurer has been the mandatory use of the university's Student Activities office. According to university regulations, all funds accruing to student groups must be deposited in the S.A.O. and all payments made by checks issued against student accounts by that office. All requests for payment are supposed to be accompanied by a bill or invoice. Complete records are kept by that office. The cooperation of its full-time, adult personnel has been cordial and indispensable. For groups not serviced by such an office, it is suggested that principles governing the handling of funds be established as early as possible and adhered to as strictly as circumstances will permit. The confidence of contributors in the responsibility of our committee in this respect has proved invaluable.

\* \* \* \* \*

Copy of teach-in schedule next page.

TEACH-IN SCHEDULE

(Held in Social Science Building where there was a large room, and time signs were on each door.)

<u>TIME</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>DEPT.</u>	<u>TITLE OF LECTURE</u>	
2:00 PM	1. G. Hage	Sociology	"The Process of Revolution"	
	2. T. Kember	Sociology	"The Implications of Press Control"	
	3. M. Curti	History	"The Peace Movement: Historical Perspective for the Present"	
	4. F. Hole	Soils	"Non-Violence vs Modern Warfare"	
3:00 PM	1. A. Snyder	Philosophy	"Rationale for Vietnam Policy: Logic or Cliche?"	
	2.			
	3.			
4:30 PM PANEL DISCUSSION	Wm. Taylor	History	"Militarism & Its Fellow Travelers"	
	H. Fain	Philosophy	"The ABC's of Containment"	
	J. Smail	History	"Historical Perspective in Vietnam"	
	Wm. Rice	Law	Chairman	
6:00 PM	1. L. Veysey	History	"The American University and Dissent"	
	2. A. Kadushin	Social Work	"Effects of Wars on Finances"	
7:00 PM	G. Mosse	History	"The Myth of Munich"	
8:00 PM	1. J. Phelan	History	"A Democratic Foreign Policy for Emerging Nations"	
	S. Schaar	History	"Comparisons of Regroupment Communities: Algeria, Malaya, and Vietnam"	
	2. K. Reichstein	Sociology	"The Implications of Ignorance for Political Protest in an 'Expert' Society"	
	J. Demerath	Sociology		
	3. H. Lewis	Anthropology	"Nationalist and Revolutionary Movements"	
	J. Ladinsky	Sociology		
	9:00 PM	Germaine Bree	Humanities Institute	"Sartre and Camus: Two Concepts of Commitment"
	10:00 PM PANEL	Wm. A. Williams	History	"American Foreign Policy in Vietnam"
		P. Weiss	Psychiatric Institute	"The Intellectual and Social Commitment"
J. Vansina		History	"Common Sense and Vietnam"	
R. Rollefson		Physics	Chairman	

excerpts from THE DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN MANUAL 1964

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### THE FINANCE CHAIRMAN'S JOB

This is the Committee which provides the fuel without which the committee machinery could not run. Experience shows there is only one way to raise money and that is to ask people for it, preferably in person. The more people asked in person, the more money. This produces not only funds, but workers. Once people have made a contribution, they become actively involved.

The Budget is the first step. This is drawn up by the officers, based on funds required to finance routine operations, plus those needed for campaigns. Whatever procedures you follow, be sure to keep accurate records in accordance with the law. Many states require the filing of reports on money raising and spending. The Secretary of State in your state can tell you what the requirements are.

Among the proven methods of raising money are:

1. Through person-to-person solicitation:
  - a. List those able to give substantial amounts and select the proper person to solicit them.
  - b. Regular pledge systems are becoming more widely used. Solicit from each contributor a certain amount per month, quarter or year. Set up a billing and receipt system. Appoint one person to administer the operation, give the plan a title: "Dollars for Peace."
2. Through special or year-around projects:
  - a. In addition to the usual dinners, food and rummage sales, and card parties; fund-raising events have included carnivals, fashion shows, chains of teas, auctions (with farm produce, merchandise from local stores, house, garden and kitchen tours, square dances, etc.
  - c. Arrange to encourage contributions, and then write to the National Coordinating Committee for buttons, stickers, etc.

Tell the person from whom you are soliciting that the funds will be used for a specific purpose: to pay headquarters rent, to buy a mimeographing machine. State what certain amounts will do: \$10 will pay for 1,000 posters; \$100 will buy so many minutes of TV time. People respond to specific needs. They like to know where their money is going.

### THE PUBLICITY CHAIRMAN'S JOB

Here is another essential job; getting peace news and personalities before the public through press, radio and TV. Publicity chairmen and their committees find it easier when they know personally all reporters, editors, program producers.

#### PRESS

1. Keep a list of all newspapers, daily and weekly, foreign language papers, radio and TV stations.
2. Advise all news outlets in advance on all events. Speeches, rallies, dinners, teas, delegations to conferences and meetings of all kinds are news. But most important of all, make sure that you get to every newspaper a written press release on every event or speech on which you want publicity. Most newspapers, especially those with small staffs, will print a story if they get a well written release. (Type press releases double-spaced. Put writer's name, address, telephone number at top for contact. Include as many names as pos-

sible, accurately spelled with correct identifying titles. Provide a biography and picture of important guests. Cover who, what, when, why, how, and where in the release.)

3. Invite reporters and photographers to all major events. Let the city editors of local newspapers know well in advance of any event you want covered so they can assign a reporter.
4. Use paid advertising to promote larger meetings, to publicize peace activities (Note: If you plan to run a series of newspaper ads, you can sometimes get the services of an advertising agency in helping you lay out your ads at no extra cost to you. If you place your ad through the agency, the newspaper pays the agency a commission, but does not charge you extra. If your advertising involves several ads, you should check with an advertising agency before going ahead with it.)
5. Get a volunteer whose hobby is photography to cover all events and get the pictures to the papers.

#### RADIO AND TELEVISION

1. Send all press releases to local radio and TV news reporters.
2. Arrange for interviews of peace candidates or personalities on programs.
3. Obtain public service time for discussion with opposition candidates (this applies to areas which have a peace candidate.)
4. Invite radio stations to make tape recordings of speeches, ask TV stations to send movie camera newsmen.

#### NEWSLETTER

If the Committee keeps in touch with other groups and its members by Newsletter, it is the Publicity Chairman's responsibility to see that it gets out.

#### LITERATURE

Help the Research Chairman prepare necessary literature and fliers. Assist in compiling information packets.

#### MAKING NEWS

1. Get out special press releases to counter the claims or charges of the opposition.
2. Equip a car with amplifying devices, park it in a suburban shopping center, attract a crowd, give a speech, give away literature. Be sure to get the necessary permits from the police department.
3. Have an information campaign from a house trailer.
4. Pick some symbol for your organization.  
Place posters on buildings and automobiles, put signboards up in store windows and counters.  
Write letters to the editor, get a letter-writing campaign going.

#### THE SPEAKER CHAIRMAN'S JOB

The message of the Peace Committee is carried to every corner of the county through this official and his committee. Victory often depends on having enough good local speakers. Candidates, leading peace people, community leaders can be enlisted. New speakers and panel leaders can be developed through regular training sessions.

Speakers chairmen and their committees have the following responsibilities (sometimes in cooperation with other committees):

1. Stage peace rallies and panel discussions
2. Set up series of small neighborhood meetings, morning coffee hours, afternoon teas, evening get-togethers, where the committee members can speak to the

voters individually.

3. Place speakers on the programs of non-political, non-partisan groups in order to reach independent voters.
4. Organize speakers' caravans to go into suburbs, small towns and rural areas.
5. Provide speakers and panel discussion members for radio and television time the publicity chairman may obtain.
6. Train new speakers.

#### DO'S AND DON'T'S FOR SPEAKERS

1. DO be brief. Avoid speaking over 20 minutes.
2. DO analyze audience; make sure your speech is appropriate.
3. DO outline your speech in advance and rehearse it aloud, but
4. DON'T memorize it or read it.
5. DO use a few notes on small cards.
6. DO prepare a striking opening and a deft close.
7. DON'T forget sincerity is more attractive than mere cleverness.
8. DO be sure the audience can hear you.
9. DO remember the way to learn to speak is by speaking. Use the training course as an opportunity to practice making speeches.

#### TIPS ON PANELS AND GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Panels (discussions by several experts, followed by audience participation) are good for audiences larger than 35.

The selected 6 or 8 panelists and a leader meet beforehand to plan the presentation. There are no speeches. The panelists converse with each other, bringing out different viewpoints. When it can be arranged, a recorder takes notes.

The leader introduces the panelists and topic briefly and asks an opening question. The leader uses "How?" or "Why?" questions throughout to bring out ideas and keep the discussion going on the topic. About half way through the meeting, the leader invites audience comments and questions and refers them to the different panelists. The leader or the recorder summarizes at the end.

Group Discussion is good for groups in different parts of a big room. In this case, the whole audience comes together at the end for reports from each discussion.

A leader keeps the discussion going on the subject. An expert, called a Resource person, may be asked to provide facts only when the group cannot. A recorder takes notes; if desired, on a blackboard.

Seat the group in a circle so that members may be able to see each other. No speeches, no monopolizing. Informality means success. Members introduce themselves.

The leader kicks off the discussion with a brief statement and an opening question. Occasionally during the discussion the leader summarizes and moves the group on to another aspect. The leader's job is to bring out their ideas and give everyone a chance to speak. At the end the leader or recorder summarizes the whole discussion.

#### THE RESEARCH CHAIRMAN'S JOB

Facts are the stock in trade here! Fact Sheets on national issues, voting records of Republican Senators and Congressmen and materials on political techniques are available from the Democratic National Committee.

On the local scene, Research Chairman around the country:

1. Work closely with the publicity chairman.

2. Set up files of information on candidates and issues culled from magazines, newspapers, libraries, and legislative records.
3. Prepare, with assistance of the publicity committee, literature for distribution at meetings and rallies. Help compile kits for house-to-house canvassers.
4. Make sure files include material on opposition; what they are doing, where they are speaking, what they are saying, how they are doing.
5. Keep a complete file on back copies of The Democrat and Peace and Freedom News for reference.
6. Collect material on campaign techniques, fund-raising and organizational ideas, especially items available from the Democratic Party and the Republican Party.
7. Supply workers, candidates, and speakers with material for speeches, pamphlets news stories.