

P.O. Box 471 Cooper Station  
New York, New York 10003

July 9, 1970

To All Organizers and NC Members

Dear Comrades,

This mailing contains the YSA NEC antiwar report, which is to be found in the enclosed issue of The Young Socialist Organizer. The report assesses the Cleveland antiwar conference and the New Mobe Strategy Action Conference and projects the steps we must take in the coming months. The key aspects of this are:

1. Publicizing and circulating the results of the Cleveland conference. (Enclosed is a copy of a brochure about the conference and the Peace Action Coalition. Local areas should order quantities of this brochure right away.)

2. Building the August 6-9 Hiroshima-Nagasaki actions.

During the next weeks, we should begin the process of broadening and expanding the steering committee of the national Peace Action Coalition, originally composed of the conference presiding committee.

The first steering committee meeting of PAC will be held in Detroit on July 18. All the comrades who are on the steering committee should plan to attend. In addition, local areas should assure the attendance of others from the area who are on the steering committee, and attempt to involve and bring to the steering committee meeting representatives from local antiwar groups.

Further information on the exact time and place of the meeting will be sent out in the next few days.

Comradely,

*Carl Frank*

Carl Frank  
National Antiwar Director

# Radicals Map Strategies to End War

By JOHN KIFNER

Special to The New York Times

MILWAUKEE, June 28—Radicals from a wide spectrum of organizations gathered here this weekend to plan new strategies to end the war in Southeast Asia.

It was a meeting marked by speech-making and argumentativeness and by a deep sense of crisis caused by the events of the last few months, particularly the incursion into Cambodia and the slaying of four students at Kent State University.

While the conference did not formally agree on any course of action, the sense of crisis was reflected in two strategic plans that were presented. Both were aimed at the creation of disruption and chaos through militant civil disobedience.

"The situation is so bad," one radical said, "there's a feeling we've just got to do something to end it."

The Strategy Action Conference, held at the Milwaukee campus of the University of Wisconsin, grew largely out of the feeling that past tactics, particularly mass marches in Washington, had had little effect on national policy.

### Wide Range of Dissent

The conference was called by leaders of a variety of groups, including the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Black Panthers, the National Welfare Rights Organization, the Conspiracy, the Moratorium, the New Mobilization Committee and religious and labor organizations.

The several hundred participants covered the range of dissent from an officer of the Republican Ripon Society,

Women Strike for Peace and G.I. organizers to "collectives" of youthful revolutionaries springing up in several cities.

One action proposal, largely the work of Rennie Davis of the Conspiracy and Arthur A. Waskow, a radical theoretician, was termed "the Long Long March."

It envisioned the formation of "collectives" in various cities to carry out antiwar organizing and demonstrations that would build up to massive marches on Washington—possibly from Kent, Ohio; Jackson, Miss.; Lexington, Ky., or Philadelphia—probably in October.

Once in Washington, the demonstrators would engage in militant civil disobedience, such as blocking streets and sealing off Government buildings to create a crisis aimed at forcing the Government to end the war.

The conference voted to hold a series of regional conferences to discuss the plan.

### Second Proposal Made

The plan was opposed, however, by some women's groups and other radicals who argued that if martial law were imposed on the capital the city's large black population would suffer most.

The second action proposal, presented by Prof. Douglas Dowd of Cornell, called first for a series of demonstrations termed "Before the Day."

In the event of what was felt to be a disastrous Government action, however, such as stringent welfare legislation, police or court action against the Black Panthers, bombing of Hanoi or other sites in North Vietnam, there would be a second series of demonstrations called "The Day After."

Then the demonstration would become "much more di-

ruptive, verging on and passing into illegality," Dr. Dowd said.

"There would be deliberate blocking of all kinds of transportation" and other actions aimed at creating "as much upheaval and disruption as possible."

Both strategies reflected the widely held belief among the radicals here that the country was moving into a deepening crisis, that more demonstrating students would be shot and that the Administration would begin a saturation bombing attack on Southeast Asia or possibly use nuclear weapons there.

The conviction was reinforced by the reports of several radicals who had returned from North Vietnam. They said that the National Liberation Front was militarily strong, confident of victory and about to achieve success in Cambodia.

In workshop discussions and resolutions, it was agreed that the new demonstrations would demand not only an end to the war, but also the \$5,500-a-year living allowance called for by welfare rights organizations and the freeing of Black Panthers and other "political prisoners."

# Milwaukee meet builds ties with rank & file labor parley

By LINCOLN W. SHEFFIELD  
MIWAUKEE, June 29—

More than 800 people participated in the weekend's Strategy Action Conference called by peace, student black liberation, anti-poverty and labor leaders.

Coming from all over the country, including Hawaii, and from Puerto Rico, as well as from all walks of life, from the classrooms, shops, offices, and ghettos, they came together to try to map a strategy for ending the war in Southeast Asia and repression at home and redirecting the energies of the nation to the needs of the people.

Most significant was the active participation of members and leaders of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) and the relationship established with

the Rank and File Conference to Defend Labor's Rights, held simultaneously in Chicago. This new relationship was demonstrated in the program of action adopted by the conference here. This included the demand of the NWRO for a minimum guaranteed \$5,500 as a necessary part of the anti-war struggle.

## Anti-genocide petition

The conference enthusiastically pledged to promote a proposal to devote the last weekend in July and the last weekend in August to national mobilizations aimed at obtaining a million signatures on the petition to the United Nations protesting the genocide of black Americans.

The conference made arrangements to maintain the closest liaison with the Chicago conference leadership and activity.

Numerous proposals for activity on draft resistance, defense of

the Black Panther Party, an economic boycott of Standard Oil Co. as a leading war profiteer, the struggle against sexism, and many more were discussed in workshops.

The conference voted to call for "people's conferences" within a month in all major regions in preparation for a mass drive in the fall against the war machine, not as a single issue but as a part of the whole system of repression sponsored by the U.S. Government at home and abroad.

## 'Not a coincidence'

"We don't believe it was a coincidence that people were killed in Augusta, Jackson and Kent at the same time as the invasion of Cambodia," said Ron Young, a leader of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War, at a press conference Sunday following the meeting.

William Dawson, a black New

York community organizer and one of the conference co-chairmen, added, "The treatment of the Indochinese war as a single issue has ended. The war and the repression in this country all are symptoms of a general sickness in our society."

"The kind of unity that is needed to wage this fight against war, repression and poverty was begun here."

The bringing together of diverse forces was not without its problems.

## Disrupters exposed

At the first plenary session, a group that included a few suspected of being government agents nearly disrupted the meeting, feeding especially on the distrust of the peace movement among some of the welfare rights fighters, but a plea from NWRO leader Beulah Sanders, and by other leaders of various move-

ments, kept the conference together and exposed the divisive elements.

One observer remarked to this reporter, "The difficulties come from the slowness of the peace movement to fully realize the necessity to link the repression, poverty, and racism in our country to the war."

"If the peace movement had taken up the demand for a guaranteed annual income, for an end to racist repression and genocide, and really fought on these questions earlier, there would be a lot more trust and fewer problems between the movements."

A committee of the original conference callers was mandated to implement the program of the conference and maintain liaison with the labor movement. That committee includes representatives of the many movements that were present.

DAILY WORLD JUNE 30, 1970

# Peace Action Coalition

NATL. EMERGENCY CONFERENCE SPONSORS (partial listing)

2102 Euclid Avenue  
Cleveland, Ohio 44115  
(216)621-6516

(organizations listed for identification purposes only)

Atlanta Mobilization Committee  
BAPAC  
Berkeley Strike Coord. Comm.  
Chicago Strike Council  
CAPAC  
Det. Coalition to End the War  
Now  
Houston Comm. to End the War in  
Vietnam  
New Jersey New Mobe  
N.Y. Moratorium Committee  
Pacific NW New Mobe  
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Bella Abzug, N.D.C., New York  
Katherine Camp, Natl. Chmn., WILPF  
Betty Friedan, Natl. Org. of Women  
Noam Chomsky  
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Vietnam Vets for Peace, Cleve.

Roberto Elias, Chicano Moratorium  
Corky Gonzalez, La Raza Unida  
Party, Colorado  
Jose Irrizary, MPI  
Mary Kochiyama, Asian Americans  
for Action, NYC  
Manuel Lopez, La Raza Unida Party  
Manhattan Comm. Coll. 3rd World  
Coalition, NYC  
Movimiento Pro Independencia, NYC  
Rosalio Muñoz, Chicano Moratorium  
SCLC, Cleveland

# introduction

The National Emergency Conference Against the Cambodia-Laos-Vietnam War, held in Cleveland June 19-21, was probably the most significant meeting in the history of the antiwar movement. The fact that more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the over 200 sponsors were trade union officials represents a major breakthrough into the ranks of labor.

The Conference opened Friday evening with speeches by Rosalio Munoz, the National Chairman of the Chicano Moratorium, John T. Williams, the Vice-President of Teamsters Local 208 in Los Angeles, Carol Lipman, the National Executive Secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee, and Paul Silver, the UAW International Representative from Wayne County, Michigan. Greetings were received from Cleveland Mayor Carl B. Stokes, Gus Scholle, the President of Michigan AFL-CIO, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, and others.

Nearly everyone from the Conference, along with over 1000 people from Cleveland, demonstrated against the war in front of the Cleveland-Sheraton Hotel where Vice-President Agnew was speaking Saturday evening.

Sunday afternoon, the Conference voted overwhelmingly to endorse the Action Proposal, submitted by Jerry Gordon, the

Chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, and Jim Lafferty, the Co-Chairman of the Detroit Coalition to End the War Now, which is included in this brochure. The Conference also voted to establish the Peace Action Coalition(PAC) to carry out the decisions of the Conference.

Of the 1447 people who registered for the Conference, 869 were students and 296 were workers. The students came from 240 colleges and 73 high schools, with Wayne State University in Detroit sending the largest contingent of 54 students. People attended from 30 states and 4 foreign countries, the largest contingents coming from Ohio, New York, and Massachusetts.

Ages of the participants ranges from 10 to 71, with the bulk in the 18-23 year-old category. Individuals from over 100 organizations participated in the Conference.

It was obvious that, through trade union participation, that the antiwar movement has begun a new stage in its development and growth. It is now up to everyone sincerely interested in ending the war to take advantage of these opportunities.

Build the August 6-9 demonstrations. Prepare and plan mass demonstrations for October 31. Build a movement of the American people that can really end the war by Bringing ALL the Troops Home Now!

# ACTION PROPOSAL ADOPTED

## 1. A summer of intensive organizing and educational work.

The prospects are now very good for involving sectors of the trade union movement in the demonstrations and other ongoing activities of the antiwar movement. Realization of this prospect should be a special focus of a summer of intensive organizing and educational activity.

This can be done in a variety of ways. Union officials should be approached to endorse and speak at antiwar demonstrations. Union locals should be requested to endorse such demonstrations and seek to involve their membership in the. Where feasible, representatives of the antiwar movement should seek to speak before union meetings to discuss why unions should participate in such activity.

Unions can be requested to contribute funds for the organization of antiwar actions. They can be asked to sponsor or join in sponsoring newspaper advertisements publicizing such actions. Publicity for these actions should be sought in union publications. Where official union endorsement is forthcoming this should be publicized by the antiwar movement in literature designed for distribution at plant gates and places where workers gather.

In addition to seeking union support for antiwar demonstrations, special efforts should be made to win active labor involvement in campaigning to put antiwar referenda on the ballot in various areas and then in bringing out a big vote for immediate withdrawal. Such referenda are already being organized in San Francisco and Massachusetts and can be pressed for in many other areas.

Significant labor involvement in demonstrations and other antiwar action will give a major boost to the movement and constitute a heavy blow to the warmakers.

It is also important to develop a body of educational material on the war--its history, its relation to racism, inflation, poverty, growing unemployment, and all the other burdens now weighing so heavily on the American people--problems that are intensified and made more acute by the war.

Using these materials, the hundreds of thousands of students who joined in the May antiwar upsurge can be involved in an intensive campaign to reach out to new constituencies with the antiwar message. In addition to special efforts to reach such specific constituencies as the unions, GIs, and the Black and Brown communities, there can be broadside distribution of educational antiwar material which also advertise specific demonstrations and other activities, to be distributed at shopping centers, theaters, churches, ball games, travel centers, etc.

2. Local antiwar demonstrations on August 6-9, the period from Hiroshima Day to Nagasaki Day. On this 25th Anniversary of the atom bombings the antiwar movement should draw attention to the fact that nuclear weapons were first used on a non-white Asian people by the United States and are now an ever present threat in the U.S. war policy in Indochina. We should show our solidarity with the Japanese peace movement which is currently struggling against continued U.S. bases on Okinawa and the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty.

3. Support for the August 29 Chicano Moratorium. Recognizing that the fight against racism today is intimately related to the fight against the Vietnam war, the National Chicano Moratorium will hold a massive antiwar demonstration in Los Angeles August 29. The entire antiwar movement should do everything it can to support this action of the Chicano people.

4. A day of nationally coordinated massive antiwar demonstrations on Saturday, October 31. Centered around the political demand for immediate U.S. withdrawal from Indochina, a key feature of these mass demonstrations should be the expanding breadth of antiwar senti-

ment which they can represent. Americans from all walks of life will be urged to participate, particularly students, GIs, labor, women, Blacks, Chicanos. Puerto Ricans and other oppressed people. As emphasized in point one of this proposal, opportunities are now especially great for involving labor in antiwar actions and this should be one of the central focuses of the October 31 actions. To this end, the demonstrations would be held in major urban centers all over the country, including regional centers such as San Francisco, Seattle, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland or Columbus, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington D.C., Denver, Atlanta, Austin or Houston. These demonstrations should relate the war to the issues of racism, inflation, unemployment, political repression, GI rights and women's liberation.

Work should begin immediately in organizing these demonstrations. However any new major escalation of the war and the increasing involvement of new groups and constituencies may necessitate flexibility at a later time in choice of date and location.

#### RATIONALE FOR ACTION PROPOSAL

Nixon's invasion of Cambodia triggered an unprecedented wave of opposition to the war in Southeast Asia. Many people who had previously tolerated Nixon's token troop withdrawal policy were drawn into action for the first time as they saw that the real intention of the administration was to continue the war and even to escalate it. The sentiment for bringing all the troops home now has never

been more widespread.

Following the Cambodian invasion and Kent State massacre, millions of students carried through the biggest student strike yet. It was an upsurge of such scope, intensity and power that campus political life will never be the same.

But more than students were involved. Significant protests occurred in the Black and Chicano communities, sparked by

the Cambodian invasion and the murder of six Black people in Augusta and Jackson.

The first antiwar demonstrations called and organized by the trade union movement were held. This marks a break with AFL-CIO President George Meany's policy of abject support to the war and opens the way for the antiwar movement to involve sectors of the labor movement in the ongoing fight against the war.

It is now clear that there is unprecedented new potential for antiwar action. The possibility now exists to involve massive numbers of unionists and Black and Brown people along with students, professionals and others in the most massive movement ever to bring the war to an end; to get out of Indochina now.

This possibility can and will become a reality--but only if the antiwar movement develops policies and programs geared to winning maximum numbers to its ranks. Experience proves that there is frequently a disparity between antiwar sentiment and antiwar organizations. Closing that gap--organizing, mobilizing and unifying all who oppose the war--that is the challenge of the hour.

#### IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL

The antiwar movement demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina and the dismantling of all U.S. bases in Southeast Asia. The right of the Indochinese people to self-determination must be supported as a matter of principle. The U.S. had no right to be in Vietnam in the first place and it has no right to be there now.

Many Americans who oppose the war are attracted to the idea of withdrawal at some future specific date. We will engage these people in friendly dialogue and strive to win them to the immediate withdrawal position. Any prolongation of the war means more deaths--of the people of Vietnam, Cambodia and of Laos, and of American GIs and contains within it the danger of further escalation and even of nuclear warfare.

#### NON-EXCLUSION

The desire for peace cuts across political, racial, religious and national lines. A basic principle of the antiwar movement is non-exclusion by which is meant all who oppose the war are welcome in the movement irrespective of their views on other questions and regardless of other affiliations.

#### TACTICS

The antiwar movement employs a variety of tactics to win adherents to its program of immediate withdrawal. But whatever tactic is used, the movement must function in a peaceful, organized and disciplined fashion. Confrontational adventures hurt the movement by alienating otherwise sympathetic sections of the population, particularly labor and Black and Brown peoples.

Violence in our society springs from the administration's policies of war abroad and repression at home. Nixon and his military-industrial supporters seek always to conceal this fact and to ascribe violence to those who seek to end violence. The antiwar movement must counter the



violence-baiting directed against it. But mere announcements stating our peaceful intentions are not sufficient. All demonstrations need careful preparation--including the training and presence of marshals--to insure that these events occur as planned. Then it can be made clear that the responsibility for any violence or disorder rests with the warmakers.

#### MASS DEMONSTRATIONS

Mass demonstrations remain the antiwar movement's most effective method for communicating its message to, and involving, the largest numbers of people. By the sheer weight of numbers that can be assembled at a given time and place, the movement gains credibility and visibility. It provides a way for new people drawn to the movement to register their opposition to the war.

Demonstrations by themselves do not end the war. Nor do other methods of protest suggested by those who disparage demonstrations. The war will end when its catastrophic consequences become unbearable to those waging it and those burdened by it: and when workers, GIs, and Third World people act decisively to end the killings. The job of the antiwar movement is to educate, organize and mobilize tens of millions of people to hasten the day when those with the power to change governmental policy use that power to end the war.

#### POLITICAL ACTION

In November of 1970 there is an excellent prospect for effective united political action by the entire antiwar movement, even though there are widely differing views within the movement regarding political candidates. Citizens of San

Francisco and Massachusetts will vote on a referendum

calling for immediate withdrawal. Electoral laws and time permitting, other areas of the count

calling for immediate withdrawal. Electoral laws and time permitting, other areas of the country should attempt to place the withdrawal issue on the ballot. Such referenda accord the peace movement an opportunity to work in a united and energetic way to register the depth and breadth of antiwar sentiment. Referenda on the issue of immediate withdrawal will further accelerate the process of demolishing Nixon's claim that he has the support of the "silent majority."

When partisan political candidates run for office, the antiwar movement should have a flexible stance. Because the movement includes in its ranks people of a variety of political persuasions, it cannot endorse candidates and, as a movement, must remain nonpartisan. To do otherwise would only split the movement. But individuals and constituent groups within the movement are free to endorse and work for political candidates of their choice and to try and convince others in the movement. Such a formula permits unity of the movement in mass actions and simultaneously allows those within it to follow their own political bent.

#### DEMOCRACY

The antiwar movement, whether on a local or a national level, must be completely democratic. The decision-making process can never be the private reserve of a limited few. Periodic conferences, open to the entire movement, are indispensable to democracy within the movement.

# LABOR AND THE WAR

## workshop proposal

The labor workshop supports the proposal for action submitted by Jerry Gordon and Jim Lafferty.

We pledge that when we return to our areas we will devote our energies and urge others to work on the activities and build the mass actions outlined in this proposal.

We urge everyone in the antiwar movement to take advantage of the opportunities which today exist for the antiwar movement to deepen and broaden the involvement of working people, especially the organized sector, in the antiwar movement.

We think it is especially important to realize the opportunity for obtaining official trade union endorsement for antiwar actions,

thus opening the door for participation in the antiwar movement by those who have the power to force the government to bring the troops home and end the war, that is, the working men and women of the United States.

We urge that this conference issue an invitation to all unions to send official representatives to local antiwar organizing committees, and participate in the work of organizing mass antiwar demonstrations in this country until all the troops are brought home.

Chairing: John T. Williams,  
Teamsters Local 208

Auda Romine,  
Meatcutters

## ORGANIZATION OF P.A.C.

1. This Conference shall constitute itself as a national antiwar coalition to be known as the Peace Action Coalition (PAC).

2. National headquarters to be located, at least on a temporary basis, at the Peace Center, 2102 Euclid Ave., Cleve., O. 44115  
216-621-6516

3. The Steering Committee of PAC shall be the members of the presiding committee elected at the Conference with the understanding that the steering committee will be enlarged to include representatives of antiwar groups from all over the

country. The steering committee shall be authorized to add to its numbers.

4. The National Coordinators of PAC are:

Ruth Gage-Colby, WILPF  
Jerry Gordon, CAPAC  
Don Gurewitz, SMC  
Jim Lafferty, Detroit Coalition  
John T. Williams, Teamsters Loc.208  
(organizations listed for identification purposes only)

5. PAC shall strive in every way to unify all groups, individuals and forces that oppose the war in Indochina and support the demand for immediate withdrawal.

# New National Peace Group Born of Cleveland Caucus

By **THOMAS S. ANDRZEJEWSKI**

A new national peace organization, headquartered here and designed to attract more labor support for the antiwar movement, was formed yesterday at the closing session of the National Emergency Conference Against the Cambodia-Laos-Vietnam War.

Called the Peace Action Coalition (PAC), the group will try to gain support for a nationwide antiwar demonstration planned for October 31.

**THE POLICY** resolution adopted by the conference during yesterday's five-hour plenary session calls for a summer of "intensive organizing and educational activity," particularly among labor unions.

The resolution said the group will demand immediate withdrawal of all troops from Indochina, using peaceful activities and excluding no one who is opposed to the war.

The nonexclusion clause of the resolution came under fire from Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), who have aligned themselves against "racists" and "liberal politicians" and some other peace groups.

The resolution was proposed by Jerry Gordon, chairman of the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council (CAPAC), and James Lafferty, cochairman of the Detroit Coalition to End the War Now.

Gordon and Lafferty were elected national coordinators. The PAC headquarters will be at 2102 Euclid Avenue, where CAPAC has offices.

The SDS and PLP factions at the conference wanted to shun labor leaders and politicians. They said union leaders oppress workers as much as bosses do. Politicians, they said, are part of the establishment and instrumental in prolonging the war and oppressing workers

and Third World peoples.

An SDS proposal called for an alliance with "working people." It also called for support of rebellious blacks and striking workers.

However, the romance with workers and the dissident groups did not show at the conference, according to Lafferty.

"When they actually saw some workers, they didn't know what to do—except insult them," said Lafferty.

"**THERE WERE** all sorts of colorful accusations made against labor leaders who attended the conference, but none were true."

Many of the labor people there, estimated at 200 by Gordon, were accused —

frequently in Marxist terms — of opposing strikes and siding with management.

One of them, John T. Williams, vice president and business representative of Teamster Local 208 in Los Angeles, was also elected a coordinator of PAC.

The 1,500-member conference voted overwhelmingly to adopt the Gordon-Lafferty proposal.

The conference began Friday night and ended yesterday. It spearheaded Saturday night's Public Square demonstration against Vice President Agnew and the war.

**P E A C E GROUPS** from throughout the nation were represented.

Don Gurewitz, national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), also was elected a coordinator of PAC.

Gordon said that the conference was the broadest yet, at which the alliance of students and labor was clearly shown.

"But we're very well aware that we're just beginning," he said. "Our program is to focus on peaceful demonstrations that workers will feel very much a part of."

Also elected a coordinator of PAC was Mrs. Ruth Gage-Colby, a director of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Although the Oct. 31 demonstration is the focal point of PAC efforts, the resolution also calls for demonstrations Aug. 6-9, the 25th anniversary of the atom bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the Chicago Moratorium Aug. 29.

SDS attempted to disrupt the meeting again yesterday, but none of its proposals was accepted. It was allowed to present a short guerrilla theater skit.

The auditorium at Cuyahoga Community College where the three-day conference was held, was filled, with even standing room taken.

PEACE ACTION COALITION  
2102 Euclid Ave.  
Cleveland, Ohio 44115  
216-621-6516

- Please add my name to your mailing list.
- I would like more information about PAC.
- Enclosed is a donation of \$\_\_\_\_\_.
- I/My organization endorses the call for action by the National Emergency Conference.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

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**FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED!**