# CO JANGE ON FOREIGN POLICY

This country was born of revolution. The propositions to which it was dedicated -- all men are created equal, governments derive their ju powers from the consent of the governed,; it is; the right of the people to alter or abolish any governm; ent whenever it becomes destructive of their interests -- continue to move the hearts and arms of men around the gaobe. Yet this country which gave those principles birth has become the greatest international block to their realization. In its Cold War policy begun by Ithe Truman administration and continued and strengthened by every administration since, the government of the United States, pretending to stop Communist expansion, has opposed social revolution and weakened democracy.

The government of the United States has interfered in the internal affairs of other countries over and over to resist internal changes leading to self-government, a fairer share of ownership and cont of national resources, and a wider participation of the citizens of thes countries in running governmental affairs.

The government of the United States has resisted movements for national independence and supported colonial regimes.

It has opposed, weakened, ;and subverted popularly-based governments and, where possible, and thought necessary it has overthrown them.

It has hired, trained, armed, equipped, and ppt into the field foreign troops to try to put back into power backward regimes.

It has protected, encouraged, and imposed reactionary military dictatorships.

It has intervened in rivil wars to keep things as they are and protect those in power.

It has used its military power to crush popular revolution.

It has engaged in immoral, indeclared, and illegal wars.

It has violated international law and revolted the consciences of free men everywhere.

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These police have been carried ou under Republican and Democra is administration alike

We say hat he foreign not be united States go ernmen muserve the general interest of the peoples everywhere, not the peculiar interests of a privilige few who control our country and who since there has not been strong enough organized political opposition have so far hat their way.

MINORITY REPORT: In last paragraph, insert the American people ## between "interest of " and peoples everywhere.

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#### SUPPORT FOR VETERANS FOR FREEDOM

NCNP strongly en orses the program of the Unite Vete ans for Free; m in its struggle to en the war in Vietnam.

#### RESOLUTIONS ON VIETNAM

#### RESOLUTION 12

The U.S. military invasion of Vietnam violates the principles and provisions of the U.S. Constitution the Nuremberg Trials, the U.S. Charter the Geneva Accor's of 1954 and other international laws. The waging of war on Chinese bor ers may drag the American people and the worl into nuclear war. Continued U.S. involvement will only increase the terrible destruction, desolation an each in Vietnam. It is an immoral and unjust war which puts us in opposition to the fight for national in epen ence of the Vietnamese people, and on the side of a corrupt military espotism.

The Unite States is open ing thirty billion dollars a year in waging its war against the Vietnamese people, while at home it har ly trie to reduce the poverty an eprivation in which two out of five Americans - - - seventy seven million people, black an white alike - - are forced to live. We emand that at least that amount of money which is now being spent for the war in Vietnam be use for a systematic public programme, under emocratic control to create a ecent America.

The Unite States must immediately stop bombing Vietnam Baos and Cambodia. We call the immediate an unconditional with rawal of all troops from Vietnam which are not Vietnamese, allowing the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs without outsite interference.

#### MINORITY REPORTS:

- 1. Insert "The war in Vietnam is contrary to our national interests" after the second sentence of paragraph number one.
- 2. Add as a fourth paragraph "The war had divide Americans as none since the Civil War. The issue is once more America's conscience, and I yalty to the ideals to which this country is elicate.

#### RESOLUTION 2

Any can idate to be supporte by the NCNP must agree to a vocate with rawal of Unite States troops a visors and war made fals from Vietnam, beginning at once.

MINORITY REPORT: Since it is now clear that the bombing; of North Vietnam is; only stiffening North Vietnam's will to fight and since the NLF is the voice of a great number of South Vietnamese, N.C.N.P. demands that the U.S. 1) immediately stops bembing North Vietnam, 2) offer to discuss peace with the NLF - not only with the North Vietnamese, and 3) state in discussions that we will wethdraw all troops and leave all military bases in South Vietnam.

#### GREECE

Twenty year's ag) in Greece, the tragedy of Vietnam had a precedent. There popular resistance against an illegal government imposed by British military force was first put down, with the help of American guns, on the phoney excuse of saving democracy. Today, democracy is dead in Greece and the country is run by a brutal military gang.

Our government, which has poured billions of dollars into Greece, is to blame for this. It should break off relations with the military forces now running Greece and insist that they let undreas Papandreaou and thousands of other Greek patriots out of jail so that they may establish freedom of speech and the right to organise through the democratic process.

Greece was the country which first experimented with the idea that people can run their own governments. After two thousand years, it should be allowed to continue with that experiment.

We call upon the Governments of the world to aid the Greek people in their implementation of article 114 of the Greek Constitution which guarantees the right of that people to overthrow its government when it thwarts the will of the people.

#### MINORITY REPORT:

Delete from the second sentence of paragraph two, paid should ... and insist and start the sentence with "we demand that the Greek government let ... "

#### EUROPE, NATO, AND GERMANY

It is to the interest of the American people to bring an end to the cold war. We must solve our problems with Russia. We should stop talking about freeing the countries of Eastern Europe, since these calls have blocked settlement of differences. The Warsaw Pact troops and the NATO troops should fall back to avoid contact which would make possible a peacefull solution of the division of Germany by the two German states. The U.S. helped Germany rearm to a point where Germany has the most powerful "free world" European army. Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union rightly fear her.

The U.S. and West Germany should recognize the Oder-Neisse territories as part of Poland and the Sudetenland as part of Czechoslovakia, agree to ending the division of Berlin, and allow two neutral, disarmed and democratic German states to work out their eventual reunion.

We urge that the U.S. enter negotiations for a plan, such as the Rabachi Plan, to guarantee a nuclear free area in Central Europe.

the protent foreign aid pregram does not serve democratic ends. It is dictated instead, by loyalty to the short num interests of private American comporations and to bolsten U.S. policy of supporting reactionary regions, especially by mulitary aid. Under the United States Foreign Assistance at the President must cut off all foreign aid to any country which either internalizes or put "excessive tax burdens" on American-owned big businesses operating in its territory. In practice, this allows these businesses is make government policy.

Generally, present United States foreign aid programs put condition, on aid to receiving countries -- encouraging the "flow of foreign investment," having to buy United States products, and surrendering the right to constant to take over american-owned big businesses in them, where judged necessary -- which prevent these countries from realizing development programs to must than needs. The demand in U.S. lean schemes for "sound fiscal programs" leads no lower real wages for the working people and more under employment and than pure ment. While American businesses make profit from them, such policies size sharpen the sectod grievances our government claims to want to satisfy.

Instead of the present military aid, we are for giving self-help, tacknical, financial, and other forms of aid to all countries on terms they are accept as long-range, low-interest loans without other conditions attached. We also are for having, with the cooperation of the major industrial powers and with our government taking the lead, a United Nations international key velopment agency. This would remove the existing pressures on countries to ceiving aid to order one of the major power bloos. Because of its economic power, the U.S. has the ability to create or block such an agency. It has a far opposed its creation. That policy must be reversed.

#### LE LATIN AMERICA

We question the usefulness of the Organization of American States and favor the creation of an organization that will more clearly reflect the value of the peoples of the Americas. We are for the recognition of the government of Cuba, and the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with facial America that treats them as equals

We now supply arms to corrupt military governments in Latin America. This must be supped, since these arms aren't for self-defense. They are used to prevent the peoples of these countries from getting their rights and having governments that meet their needs, instead of the ones they have which benefit the privileged and powerful few -- primarily U.S. correspond their subsidiaries -- in their countries, and that do what the U.S. government wants. A new foreign aid program instead of the fake Allience for Progress can add to these solutions.

The NCNP should take all measures within our means to support radical revolutionary activity in Latin American countries, particularly Venezue a, Bolivia, Guatemala, Brazil, Argentina, Feru, and Columbia.

#### CHINA.

Peaceful soutlement of the war in Victuan and a peaceful policy toward China that are in the world's interest are matters which cannot be separated.

The United States intervened in the Chinese civil war. It imposed dictator Chiang Kai Shek's defeated army in the island on the people of Formosa. It refused to recognize the government of the Chinese People's Republic. It prevented seating the Chinese People's Republic in the UN, after causing her into entering the war in Korea. It occupied the traditionally Chinese off-shore islands taken from Japan, and put nuclear bases in the Pacific ready for attack on China. These actions have made the Chinese mistrustful of and hostile to the U.S. government. This is in no way in the interests of the American people. This unrealistic and dangerous plicy must be reversed. The 750,000 American troops stationed on China's borders must be immediately withdrawn and provocations such as intrusions into air space should be ended.

Admission to the UN may not presently be of interest to China. It is to the interest of international peace, however, that the U.S. urge the representative-seating of the People's Republic of China as the sole representative of the Chinese people, rather than resist it, and her taking her rightful place in the Security Council. The Chinese have no combat forces beyond their borders. China's tough words have not been matched by anything but the most careful actions. When, as in Korea, she felt her self interest to be directly threatened by approaching American troops, China acted decisively to throw back our forces. War between our country and China would be a disaster for both, and could lead to a nuclear war, thus recognition and direct communication must be established.

We repudiate all existing agreements with Chiang Kai-Shek. The people of Formosa should be given the opportunity to establish their own destiny.

Minority Report: Do not add the fourth paragraph.

#### RESOLUTION ON THE MIDDLE EAST - Passed

The state of Israel was created after the Western World refused to provide a hospitable homeland for its Jews and the unfortunate problem of Arab refugees has existed ever since.

The National Conference for New Politics re-affirms item #5 of the Black Caucus. We further state that the Arab-Isvaeli conflict is not mately a Middle Eastern problem, but involves the use of Middle Eastern countries as tooks of great power impeciation. We feel that it would be entirely possible for the peoples of the Middle East to solve their own problems in a just and reasonable manner if to ted States' imperialism ceased interfering in the Middle East.

Since the Arab Israel conflict is virgually insoluble on the basis of reasons and history, especially in relation to U.S. approval of Israel. We would implore the Arab people and nations to try to live with the reality of Israel and not try to uproct the people. We would also insist that Israel give reparations to the Arab refugees, pay for damage inflicted in the last invasion and return to borders existing before June of 1967.

#### RECOGNITION OF NATIONS - passed

The policy of the U.S. of secretly inter-meddling in the political, economic and international affairs of other nations should cease immediately and the CIA should be made accountable to the Congress of the U.S. and not to the President. Pupper or ellent governments should not be maintained anywhere by U.S. authority.

The question of the recognition and the non-recognition of the changes in the government of any political area whould be delegated to the United Nations Assembly on the Security Council and should not be used by the US Government as a took of incounational policy. The solution to the problems of the "divided" countries such as Gormany, Korea, disputed Kashmir and other similar problems should be dealt with and houdled by the U.N. and should not be viewed by the U.S. Government as mauters to be decided in the interest of the U.S. but rather in the interest of the people who live in these areas and in the interest of mornializing prace among all nations.

Wherever the U.T. has made a determination on these issues, such as South Africa, the U.S. should support such action by all legal economic means.

#### MICROMESIA - Passed

We recognize expansionists acts of the United States in Micronesia and a 20 year history of the faiture of the United States to live up to its obligation, welfare and economic development called for by the United Nations. The NCNP demands that the United States take an immediate and genuine steps necessary to insure that everything is done to prepare the people of Micronesia for self-determination and call for a change in status to that of a regular responsible thus seedalp.

#### SOUTHERN AFRICA - Passed

In the southern tip if Africa, which includes South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, thirty million blacks are denied their freedom by less than five million whites. Despite the empty statements of our ambassadors at the United Nations, the United States treats Portugal and South Africa as friendly countries belonging to the so-called "free world."

We call upon our government to end its political, economic and military support of these racist governments. We also call upon American business to give up the enormous profit which it still makes from slave labor in Southern Africa.

We call upon our fellow Americans to support the people of Southern Africa by not dealing with any U.S. companies and banks which continue to do business in that part of the world.

#### POLICY RESOLUTION ON REGIS DEBRAY - Passed

In Bolivia, a country whose regime would collapse overnight without American support, Regis Debray, a brilliant young French author and journalist, is on trial for his life on what appear to be totally trumped-up charges of active participation in the guerilla movement while acting as a reporter. There is evidence that he has been subjected to torture and that he is not represented by counsel of his choice.

Although the French government, the Vatican and a spate of internationally prominent leaders have protested Debray's treatment by the Bolivian government, the United States government has been conspicuously silent on the Debray affair.

We call on the Bolivian government to end Egis Debray's torture and set him free and we denounce our government for its shameful silence in the face of this brutal behavior. Mr. Debray's only one of many political prisoner's throughout the world. We are for the release of all political prisoners.

#### SOLUTION ON THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE

We recognize that the United States has violated Panamanian territory in its control of the Panama Canal. We demand that the U.S. withdraw from control and ownership of the Canal Zone and that the Canal Zone and all other such waterways be internationalized.

#### RESOLUTION ON WORLD LAW

The New Politics demands a world order in which man can live without fear of his fellow men and use his creative talents to enrich life rather than destroy it. We are no content with a world in which a handful of national leaders hold the power to annihilate whole populations, restrained only by the fear of retaliation. We condemn the use of human and natural resources in military preparations rather than in improving the conditions of life for the world's people. In the nuclear age it is essential to the very survival of the human race that national governments be stripped of the right and power to make war.

This requires the establishment of a demmoratic federal world government under a constitution guaranteeing each national self-government, consistent with a world bill or human rights, in its internal affairs. It requires a world legislature with representation in a least one house based on factors including population. It requires reduction in national armed forces to levels required for internal order, and a world police force under the control of the world legislature. It requires creation of the necessary machinery for administering world law, a world court system, a world agency for economic development, and mechanisms for peaceful change through the development of the United Nations in the direction of world government.

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Therefore, we call upon the people of all lands to demand that their national deaders negotiate for the express purpose of creating a workable and enforceable system of disamament and world law.

#### RESOLUTION ON SPANISH-NMERICANS - Passed

- 1. NGNP supports the just asporations of the Mexican-American national minority. NCNP fully endorses the demands of the Mexican-Americans for jobs, political representation, and preservation of their own unique culture.
- 2. Be is resolved that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, including the Protocol right May 30, 1848, which guaranteed to fifteen million Americans of Spanish and Mexican descent full enjoyment of their land, culture and political, religious and civil rights, be restored, thus rectifying the bitter injustices, poverty and discrimination of the past 120 years.
- (same:) Resuelvase por esta conferencia que el Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo, incluyendo el Protocolo firmado el 30 de Mayo de 1848, que garantiza a quince millones de Americanos de ascendencía Hispana y Mexicana el goce completo de su tierra, de su cultura y de sus derechos politicos, religiosas y civiles, rectificando de esta manera las amargas injusticias, pobreza, y discriminacion sufridas en los ultimos 120 anos.
- 3. Be it resolved that the U.S. shall not station any military forces in Puerto Rico, shall cease to harass those who work for independence, shall free all political prisoners, and shall guarantee this suffering nation, full political and economic independence.
- 4. Be it resolved that the National Labor Relations Act and other labor legislation be amended to include coverage for farm laborers, so as to guarantee their right to organize, to bargain collectively, and be protected by minimum wage and unemployment insurance legislation.

5.

#### Resolution on Appalachia

Recognizing the valuable craditions of the Appalachian region and the special problems of its poor people, NCNP resolves to support and cooperate with them in their solution.

The poor of Appalachia having been deprived over the years of an effective voice concerning their welfare rights, job training, education, tax and election reforms, and particul larly the morror of the despoilation of their landscape and destruction of their land by strip mining, NCNP associates itself with local self-help groups attempting to improve this ituation. And the second of th

As a first step, NCNP insists that Appalachian povefty programs be administered by the poor of the region themselves, as they know best their needs and how to meet them, and that funds be provided directly by the federal government without veto . ARK TO THE STATE OF THE STATE by the states' governors. indiana ije v spop in me i skig pa sk

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Secondly, NCNP will insist that OEO funds, when needed in addition to private funds, be given and withheld without and the second reference to political considerations.

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of an or in the first first the first section of th And thirdly, NCNP proposes to expose to the American people and vigorously protest the harassment by local and state governments of grassroots organizing groups, such as Southern Conference EBucation Fund, North Nashville Student Program and Appalachian Volunteers.

In view of the fact that the resolution of the Black Caucus on Black Revolution was adopted by the Plenum on September 2nd, the Resolutions Commission reports the following two resolutions for information purposes only, as having been considered by it. They are not put forward as substitutes for the Black Caucus resolution.

#### Which Side We Are On

Detroit and Newark have made the world aware of the massive force of people determined on their own freedom.

It is the grinding oppression of an exploitive system backed up by force which causes wars of national liberation to spread throughout the world. Wars designed to hold downon-whites and enslave their countries are met with national and racial pride and resistance to the end.

The struggle is national, but the war is a war of the poor against those who exploit them. The hotter the fight, the more it is directed at the power structure and its repressive machinery. There have been no race riots in our country this summer.

The new Black Power movement clearly rejects management by whites or by agents for whites. The white 'majority' is not going to decide or impose any solutions on Black communities. That day is gone. This is self-determination as it really is.

The Vietnamese say simply and finally with bullets; get out. Black people are demandin change with equal determination. White radicals like everyone else must decide whether we stand with the majority on this earth who resist the acts of the U.S. power structure, or whether to cling to some pitiful little bribe, real or imaginary.

Defending the system aga not those who war against it is to count on the old false promises and piddling reforms. People driven to rebel are not likely to rely upon our good intentions instead of their own strength.

To take part in this fight against oppression means to make an all-out effort to get the U.S. out of Vietnam and to get white rule out of Black communities. The only sure and permanent cure for these evils is to replace the corporate power structure not only in the ghettoes but at all levels right up to Washington D.C.

The huge cost of paying for U.S. conquest is already threatening to take away most of the favors used to get white workers, students, and intellectuals to support their fals friend and real enemy, the power structure.

More importantly, the economic base of the famous-infamous "American standard of living is going up in flames if nothing is done to remove the racism and oppression upon which it rests. Such action ultimately and fundamentally benefits white as well as Black people.

Political action, to be new and meaningful, must take clear and direct action of the issues of this massive revolutionary movement:

- 1. Full support to the Black Power movement and self-determination.
- 2. Demolish the Draft.
- 3. Defend all victims of oppression and the system.
- 4. Immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam.
  This resolution was submitted to, and discussed by the Washington state delegation.
  It will be submitted to the resolutions committee as soon as resolutions are accepted from the delegations. Endorsed and submitted by the Washington State delegates.

#### THE BLACK REVOLUTION

The Black Revolution is a central social and political fact of present-day life in the U.S. The NCNP wishes to declare its position in relation to this movement, and its recognition of the following principles:

- 1. Black people must have control over their own lives socially, economically, and politically just as any other group of people in the U.S. Black men are leading the Black Revolution, and that is as it should be.
- 2. The Black Revolution is independent of any movement of white people, Any co-operation of black and white people must be by common agreement.
- 3. Black people have a right to eliminate the oppression which institutions of government have refused to correct.
- 4. The primary task of white people is to elimiate racism in their own communities.
- 5. The New Politics can adequately achieve its goals only with the full participation of black people.

The NCNP wishes to reaffirm the principles for which the USA was founded, as embodied in our declaration of independence:

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respectito the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consnet of the governed. That, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accostumed. But when a long rain of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.....

from the Declaration of Independence

Whereas the people of the 18th Congressional District of New York State have been denied representation in the 90th Congress. Whereas we feel the action of the 90th Congress has reflected injustice and racism,

The National Conference on New Politics condemns the 90th Congress, and gives full direct support to the people of the 18th Congressional District.

Be it resolved that NCNP appoint a Commission on Congressional Representation.

Be it resolved that proposed Commission be instructed to meet with leaders of the 18th Congressional District to create a direct-action camapign that will help to assure the reseating of Adam Clayton Powell in the 90th Congress with full seniority.

Be it resolved that proposed Commission meet within 30 days from this date.

Be it resolved that the Commission will use full resources of the NCNP staff to implement the direct-action campaign.

A RESOLUTION TO ENDORSE THE OCTOBER 21/22 CONFRONTATION WITH THE WARMAKERS IN WASHINGTON D.C. - Unanimously accepted

WHERAS the Mobilization in Washington D.C., October 21/22 to confront the warmakers will involve many levels of activity, including a mass protest march and direct action with the intention to disrupt the Pentagon war machine,

And, wheras this action will include great numbers of persons who are not yet active in any political organizations in their communities,

Therefore, be it resolved that the NCNP endose and support the October 21-22 action

Be it furthur resolved that the NCNP urge all of its affiliate groups to encourage massive participation in the Mobilization to help bring the Vietnam war to an end and to begin the struggle for freedom and survival of the black community. And finally, be it resolved that the NCNP constituent groups take full advantage of this opportunity to project their political programs and use the October 21-22 action to furthur local community organizing.

#### from the Resolutions Committee

#### Resolution on Non-Violent Resistence and Social Justice

The NCNP Convention affirms it's belief that in the present social, economic, and political révolution non-violent resistence can be employed to good purpose. Non-violence of manyikinds, including civil disobedience and creative disorder has at times achieved some desired changes.

#### Minority Report #1

The NCNP Convention affirms it's belief that in the present social, economic, and political revolution non-violent resistence should be employed rather than violence. Pain, destruction, and bitterness follows the use of violence. Non-violence of many kinds, including civil resistence and creative disorder, has greater power to achieve the changes desired in our society than any other means.

#### Minority Report #2

The NCNP Convention affirms it's belief that in the present social, economic, and political revolution in the United States non-violent resistence should be employed rather than violence wherever possible. Pain, destruction, and bitterness follows in the use of violence. Non-violence of many kinds, including civil-disobedience and creative disorder has greater power to achieve the changes desired in our society.

#### Resolution on Democracy and Social Justice

Be it resolved that the NCNP promote a sustained national information service to promote:

- 1. funds for programs in local organizing
- 2. expertise in economic, political, federal programs, and other needs such as a national speakers bureau, a national film, tape, and news library, and a national brain trust.
- 3. promote a break-through of national news black-outs perpetrated against local communities.
- 4. as a part of the National Information Service, a Consumer Boycott Commission will be established with the following duties:
  - (a) to assemble and disseminate information on consumer goods made by firms which produce the goods of war or which engage in unfair labor practice, including racial discrimination.
  - (b)) to demand a boycott on these consumer goods

#### DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE - POVERTY

#### PREAMBLE:

The basic problem of the poor people of the United States is that the poor people do not control the conditions which affect their lives. In order to gain control of the decisions affecting their lives:

- 1: NCNP demands the establishment of a system of guaranteed annual income which provides an adequate level of living for the poor of our nation.
- 2. NCNP encourages and supports the ownership of homes and businesse through co-operatives.
- 3. NCNP demands the freedom of local school systems from political influence and calls for sull participation by the people of the community in its administration.
- 4. NCNP demands the local nationalization of absentee owned property so that the wealth is maintained in the area, by the people.
- 5. NCNP urges programs for the establishment of industry in areas of concentrated poverty.

INDIVIDUAL RESOLUTIONS ON THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN COLD WAR U. S.

#### PREAMBLE:

Most citizens of the U.S. cannot live the kind of lives which they would like to live. They have little to say about what happens to their country or in their institutions. They do not control their jobs or their places of work. They do not control their schools, their parks and playgrounds, or any other aspects of their community life. They have no meaningful voice in their government, at any leve nor can they exert any real influence over the economy. The society of the United States is based on exploitation and private profit. It brutalizes and dehumanizes people and promotes crass indifference to people and ideas.

Specific programs designed to deal with problems in U.S. society cannot be meaningful or lasting unless the society is changed in basic way. Below are a series of programs designed to deal with some of the many specific things which are wrong with life in the U.S. Many of the changes which would come about if those programs were undertaken one by one would happen almost automatically if basic changes in social fabric were to occur.

#### EDUCATION

- 1. Education is to offer the opportunity for self-development as much as it is to offer the opportunity to contribute to society.
- 2. Education is to be reoriented in the direction of man and his life, and it should be continuously available throughout life.
- 3. There should be equality of opportunity for education, at all levels, with student subsidies provided where needed.
- 4. Each person should have full opportunity to be educated to the limits of his capacities.
- 5. The local comminities should be given means to participate in all aspects of primary and secondary education.

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- 6. Teacher training is to be reoriented such that teachers will be able to recognize and deal with the emotional and social problems of their students.
- 7. There are many specific reforms which could take place within the existinging system of education which would improve it. Among them are: better and more school buildings, smaller classes, teaching of subject matter appropriate to the various ethnic minorities and provision of appropriate teaching materials, elimination of dress codes, and the like.
- 8. NCNP advocated the following reforms in the universities:

a. The students and faculty must control the university.

- b. Corporate and military control of universities must be eliminated.
- 9. There must be provision for presentation of alternatives to the draft as well as the armed forces in secondary schools and universities.
- 10. Reserve officer training programs and other military establishments must be eliminated.
- 11. Freedom of speech and other elements of academic freedom must be ansured.
- 12. Education at all levels should anoicipate the shorter work week and prepare people for leisure.
- 13. Expand the teaching of the history of the United States' non-white minorities.

#### HOUSING

- 1. NCNP advocates a massive new program of housing construction which would remake the face of our cities and which would wipe out slums forever. This new housing would be adapted to human needs, rather than forcing humans to adapt themselves to forms dictated by economic considerations. The people who would live in the houses would control all stages of planning, construction, and management. No one would be evicting from existing housing before housing of the new type at a just rental had been built to accommodate them. If communities so desired, they would be kept together when moved from old to new housing. Facilities for complete community life, such as daycare facilities for children, recreational facilities, health facilities, and the like would be built into the new housing.
- 2. NCNP advocates the construction of completely new towns, incopporating industries and other places of work, to be built on the above principles.
- 3. NCNP advocates enactment and enforcement of laws against racial discrimination in the sale and rental of housing.

#### HEALTH

1. Every individual must be given comprehensive health care, including preventative treatment and rehabilitation services. A program to train the personnel and build the facilities required to provide these services must be undertaken.

2. Every andividual is entitled to good health - physical, psychological, and social.

All health facilities, including hospitals, clinics and doctors' offices, should be owned by the people as a whole, through the government. The profit motive should be removed from the practice of medicine by paying all doctors by salary. The costs of medical care for all should be paid for primarily from general taxation. Preventive medicine should receive the main emphasis and all of the people should continually be involved in keeping both themselves and their fellow human beings healthy. Above all, the primary task of medicine must be to serve the people.

#### WELFARE:

- 1. Welfare system should be abolished, and replaced by a system which guarantees work for all who want it, at a living wage, and guarantees an adequate income for all who are unable to work for whatever reason, with no means test.
- 2. As long as the Welfare System continues to exist, certain specific reforms should be made in it:
  - a. The means test should be replaced by a system under which individuals can receive support upon application, simply stating that they do qualify, without undergoing investigations.
  - b. Residency requirements must be eliminated.
  - cc. Elimination of the "one-man-in-the-house" requirement.
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  - C. Current inquisitional, white supremist investigations of the alleged "subversive" ghetto uprisings, by HUAC and the McClellan Committee
  - D. The creation of local bail funds and defense machinery for victims of local violations of Constitutional rights.

II. We urge inclusion of the following national goals in the 1968 elections:

A. Abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), the (Eastland) Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS), and state "little HUACs.'

B. Repeal of the (McCarran) Internal Security Act. C. Elimination of the "thought control" activities of the FBI and other police agencies.

D. Repeal of the so-called "loyalty oaths" and the elimination of political blacklists created by HUAC, SISS, the FBI and other governmental agencies.

III. We demand that :

A. The Central Intelligence Agency must be open to public inspection, must end involvement in American domestic affairs and its interference in the internal affairs of foreign countries.

B. The role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a political spy must end. The FBI should turn its attention to organized crime, in addition to its activities in locating stolen automobiles. It should enforce all Federal Laws, especially Civil Rights Acts.

#### HOME RULE IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

We believe that the lack of home rule in Washington, D.C. is a national disgrace and a repudiation of democracy. Only full, immediate self-government for Washington, D.C. is acceptable.

#### SUPPORT FOR MOHAMMED ALI

NCNP strongly commends Mohammed Ali for his courageous and moral refusal to participate in the draft or in the war in Vietnam. We attack the racial and religious bigotry which led to his persecution and prosecution.

All groups participating in NCNP should actively support his court fight.

#### ADDENDUM - HOUSING

4. Rentals in slum housing must be controlled by the government until such housing is replaced in order to release slum dwellers from the economic burden of having to pay disproportionately high rents.

#### ADDENDUM - EDUCATION

14. Teachers should have the right to bargain collectively and to strike to achieve their legitimate objectives.

#### POLITICAL ECONOMY AND CRISIS

Public Ownership - Alternatives

The basic drive in the American economy is to get profits. The drive for profits, however, does not meet the real needs of people. Investments in areas that are vi. Illy necessary, such as education, health, and conservation do not pay very well indeed. Ordinary people, however, have no say about what decisions are made in the economy. Decisions affecting the lives of the people as a whole are made by the heads of huge corporations. Therefore, let it be resolved that NCNP choose between or adopt any combination of:

Alternative A: The NCNP work to change the economy into one characterized by centralized planning, where decisions, plans, and priorities are made democratically and where production is carried on in publicly-owned industries.

Alternative B: The NCNP support and encourage the public ownership of communications and transportation, while maintaining a private sector of the economy to balance the increased central control of decisions.

Alternative C: The NCNP work to support "producers co-operatives" to enable workers in an industry to share in the ownership of that industry and to determine for themselves the methods of production, wages, prices, and working conditions. For consumers co-operatives, the consumer determines the market prices and receives the profits of distribution.

Alternative D: The NCNP, as a first step, support and work toward the nationalization and public ownership of those corporations whose mahor profits come from government contracts, since, in effect, this is a public subsidy (using tax dollars) of private corporations, and a government guarantee of private profits. Corporations now making high profits from war industry would be encouraged to transfer their energies and resources to productive civilian industry.

Alternative E: The NCNP begin to discuss the meaning of "public" in public ownership, in terms of establishing real and effective public use, control, management, and ownership in all or part of the economy; that the NCNP treat this as a vital problem and refuse to be sidetracked or intimidated by fear of special interest groups or political expediency.

Alternative F: The NCNP calls for at least one corporation in each industry to be transferred to the national government --- These corporations would compete side by side with private owned corporations. These national companies would allow workers a voice in determining the methods of producation, wages, prices, and working conditions. A "fair" profit would be established. There are a number of companies that seem especially eligible for being transferred to public ownership. These are the companies that have given themselves patriotic names to gain profits, such as U.S. Steel Co., American Tobacco Co., American Airlines Co., etc.

Alternative G: That NCNP promote the junking of the present system of financing government expenditures budgets - federal, state, and local. There is no freedom where there is economic dependence for income. Governments cannot be free if they depend on taxation to dinance programs. The alternative today is to allow government to print the money for their budgets and to abolish taxes; as a corollary, to abolish the gold standard, thereby introducing the perfectly "unbalanced budget" to finance programs.

The nearly unconcious idea that prevents this alternative system is that currency inflation causes price inflation. Such a cause and effect relationship touts witchcraft and mysticism. Businessmen are the only people who raise prices no inanimate object void of concious volition can imitate this activity.

If we can challenge and debauch this myth that presently blocks (nay - precludes) the implimenting of most of the meaningfull programs for the poor of the world and the underdeveloped countries, such as the guaranteed income, clearance of slums, building of new cities and schools, with expanded facilities for recreation and leisure. We have the means to bring to fruition many of the lofty ideas we bring to this convention. Indeed we will have the means to overcase.

ADDENDUM: QUALITY OF LIFE IN COLD WAR U.S. FARMERS AND FARM WORKERS

- 1. The small farmers of the United States are in the same fix as the oppressed minorities of this country. They are being forced off their land. NCNP demands that a program be established to enable them to remain on their land and to subsidize them where recessary to place them on a par with the rest of the country.
- 2. NCNP recognizes that migrant workers have a right to a living wage, to be set and enforced by the government.
- 3. NCNP advocates that all the land which can be farmed in this country should be used, and that any surplus products to distributed to aid those in need of food.
- 4. NCNP demands a complete halt to the subsidizing of rich famors for not putting their land into production. Instead, the money should go to the powerty-sticken people, particularly those unemployed as a resultrof fallow farm lands. NCNP should support farm laborers in their efforts to control poverty funds and welfare boards which serve these persons.
  - 5. NCNP urges the elimination of farm labor contractors. Their functions should be handled by a government service so that this method of exploitation of migrant workers can be exed.

# RESOLUTION ON BASIC FINCIPLES

- 1. Recommends that NCNP adopt a statemen; of Basic Principles.
- 2. That this document be used as the baris for discussions to establish such basic principles.
  - a. That individual freedom of thought and individual pursuit of hippiness are the right of every man regardless of his place of birth or the color of his or his ancestors! skin. That his include the corollary that no person can exercise his freedom or conduct his pursuit of happiness in a manner that will deprive another of his basic rights.
  - b. That governments, laws, and organizations exist for man and not man for them; that states, nations, governments, political and economic organizations and man allectively are not sovereign entities but only a means and circepts whereby individual man
- may live together gregariously, to better protect and preserve his individual liberty; and that no individual may hide behind these isdiconcepts to evade responsibility for his actions, the only
  - sovereign and responsible entity being the individual man.
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scious of the world about him, which includes the corollary that no man may exercise his rights so as to deprive another of them or to destroy another man, but that no man can be compelled to take positive direct action that will negate his freedom of speech or religion; that life and liberty are the equal rights of every man, to be asserted by every man, but recognized and granted equally to other men.

d. That the people operating through political organizations should plan and manage the economic system upon a libertarian, equalitarian, and democratic basis, for the greatest good of all people.

e. That every person can be assured of a basic living standard regardless of his capabilities or status of birth because man can now produce sufficient goods so that all can share.

f. That the wealth of the world exists for all the people in the world and not just those who are able to gain control of a part of it and thus divert it to their private gain and aggrandizement.

g. That we live in a world of growth and change so that concepts, institutions, states, nations, governments, and political, economic, and social organizations must be adapted from time to time to fit new conditions, and that the basic plan of the organization of society must take this factor into account and have built into it a method of orderly change providing the maximum protection and assistance for those individuals in society whose life, freedom, and pursuit of happiness are disrupted by such change.

#### RESOLUTION ON THE DRAFT

NCNP calls for the abolition of the draft because it is undemocratic and because it forces men to serve in the Army against their will, and because it is set up to carry out imperialistic foreign policies abroad and a racist and discriminatory policy at home.

Since it is not in our power at present to abolish the Selective Service System, we are for open draft resistence.

Because the student deferment is an obvious and important example of the injustice of the draft, NCNP proposes a national campaign against the 2-S deferment classification, as a first step.

NCNP further demands the abolition of ROTC in our colleges and unisities and the prohibition of recruiting programs at our high schools.

NCNP supports conscientious deserter as well zs those young men who remain in the military service to work against unjust wars.

To make this resolution work, NCNP will:

1. Offer co-operation and money to anti-draft groups.

2. Publish and distribute literature aimed at men in the service, telling them of their rights and war.

3. Help protect draft resisters and conscientious deserters.

4. Aid people who, although not draftable, actively work in the draft resistence movement and commit civil dis-obedience and other related acts.

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3. All health facilities, including hospitals, clinics and doctors' offices, should be owned by the people as a whole, through the government. The profit motive should be removed from the practice of medicine by paying all doctors by salary. The costs of medical care for all should be paid for primarily from general taxation. Preventive medicine should receive the main emphasis and all of the people should continually be involved in keeping both themselves and their fellow human beings healthy. Above all, the primary task of medicine must be to serve the people.

#### WELFARE:

- 1. Welfare system should be abolished, and replaced by a system which guarantees work for all who want it, at a living wage, and guarantees an adequate income for all who are unable to work for whatever reason, with no means test.
- 2. As long as the Welfare System continues to exist, certain specific reforms should be made in it:
  - a. The means test should be replaced by a system under which individuals can receive support upon application, simply stating that they do qualify, without undergoing investigations.
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- D. The creation of local bail funds and defense machinery for victims of local violations of Constitutional rights.

II. We urge inclusion of the following national goals in the 1968 elections:

A. Abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), the (Eastland) Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS), and state "little HUACs."

B. Repeal of the (McCarran) Internal Security Act.
C. Elimination of the "thought control" activities of the FBI and other police agencies.

D. Repeal of the so-called "loyalty oaths" and the elimination of political blacklists created by HUAC, SISS, the FBI and other governmental agencies.

III. We demand that :

A. The Central Intelligence Agency must be open to public inspection, must end involvement in American domestic affairs and its interference in the internal affairs of foreign countries.

B. The role of the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a political spy must end. The FBI should turn its attention to organized crime, in addition to its activities in locating stolen automobiles. It should enforce all Federal Laws, especially Civil Rights Acts.

#### HOME RULE IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

We believe that the lack of home rule in Washington, D.C. is a national disgrace and a repudiation of democracy. Only full, immediate self-government for Washington, D.C. is acceptable.

#### SUPPORT FOR MOHAMMED ALI

NCNP strongly commends Mohammed Ali for his courageous and moral refusal to participate in the draft or in the war in Vietnam. We attack the racial and religious bigotry which led to his persecution and prosecution.

All groups participating in NCNP should actively support his court fight.

#### ADDENDUM - HOUSING

4. Rentals in slum housing must be controlled by the government until such housing is replaced in order to release slum dwellers from the economic burden of having to pay disproportionately high rents.

#### ADDENDUM - EDUCATION

14. Teachers should have the right to bargain collectively and to strike to achieve their legitimate objectives.

#### POLITICAL ECONOMY AND CRISIS

#### Public Ownership - Alternatives

The basic drive in the American economy is to get profits. The drive for profits, however, does not meet the real needs of people. Investments in areas that are vi. Thy necessary, such as education, health, and conservation do not pay very well indeed. Ordinary people, however, have no say about what decisions are made in the economy. Decisions affecting the lives of the people as a whole are made by the heads of huge corporations. Therefore, let it be resolved that NCNP choose between or adopt any combination of:

Alternative A: The NCNP work to change the economy into one characterized by centralized planning, where decisions, plans, and priorities are made democratically and where production is carried on in publicly-owned industries.

Alternative B: The NCNP support and encourage the public ownership of communications and transportation, while maintaining a private sector of the economy to balance the increased central control of decisions.

Alternative C: The NCNP work to support "producers co-operatives" to enable workers in an industry to share in the ownership of that industry and to determine for themselves the methods of production, wages, prices, and working conditions. For consumers co-operatives, the consumer determines the market prices and receives the profess of distribution.

Alternative D: The NCNP, as a first step, support and work toward the nationalization and public ownership of those corporations whose mahor profits come from government contracts, since, in effect, this is a public subsidy (using tax dollars) of private corporations, and a government guarantee of private profits. Corporations now making high profits from war industry would be encouraged to transfer their energies and resources to productive civilian industry.

Alternative E: The NCNP begin to discuss the meaning of "public" in public ownership, in terms of establishing real and effective public use, control, management, and ownership in all or part of the economy; that the NCNP treat this as a vital problem and refuse to be sidetracked or intimidated by fear of special interest groups or political expediency.

Alternative F: The NCNP calls for at least one corporation in each industry to be transferred to the national government --- These corporations would compete side by side with private owned corporations. These national companies would allow workers a voice in determining the methods of producation, wages, prices, and working conditions. A "fair" profit would be established. There are a number of companies that seem especially eligible for being transferred to public ownership. These are the companies that have given themselves patriotic names to gain profits, such as U.S. Steel Co., American Tobacco Co., American Airlines Co., etc.

Alternative G: That NCNP promote the junking of the present system of financing government expenditures budgets - federal, state, and local. There is no freedom where there is economic dependence for income. Governments cannot be free if they depend on taxation to dinance programs. The alternative today is to allow government to print the money for their budgets and to abolish taxes; as a corollary, to abolish the gold standard, thereby introducing the perfectly "unbalanced budget" to finance programs.

The nearly unconcious idea that prevents this alternative system is that currency inflation causes price inflation. Such a cause and effect relationship touts witchcraft and mysticism. Businessmen are the only people who raise prices no inanimate object void of concious volition can imitate this activity.

If we can challenge and debauch this myth that presently blocks (nay - precludes) the implimenting of most of the meaningfull programs for the poor of the world and the underdeveloped countries, such as the guaranteed income, clearance of slums, building of new cities and schools, with expanded facilities for recreation and leisure. We have the means to bring to fruition many of the lofty ideas we bring to this convention. Indeed we will have the means to overcast.

ADDENDUM: QUALITY OF LIFE IN COLD WAR U.S. FARMERS AND FARM WORKERS

1. The small farmers of the United States are in the same fix as the oppressed minorities of this country. They are being forced off their land. NCNP demands that a program be established to enable them to remain on their land and to subsidize them where recessary to place them on a par with the rest of the country.

2. NCNP recognizes that migrant workers have a right to a living wage,

to be set and enforced by the government.

3. NCNP advocates that all the land which can be farmed in this country should be used, and that any surplus products to distributed to aid those in need of food.

4. NCNP demands a complete halt to the subsidizing of rich famors for not putting their land into production. Instead, the money should go to the poverty-sticken people, particularly those unemployed as a result of fallow farm lands. NCNP should support farm laborers in their efforts to control poverty funds and welfare boards which serve these persons.

5. NCNP urges the elimination of farm labor contractors. Their functions should be handled by a government service so that this method of ex-

ploitation of migrant workers can be exed.

# RESOLUTION ON BASIC FRINCIPLES

1. Recommends that NCNP adopt a statemer; of Basic Principles.

2. That this document be used as the baris for discussions to establish

such basic principles.

- a. That individual freedom of thought and individual pursuit of hippiness are the right of every man regardless of his place of birth or the color of his or his ancestors' skin. That his include the corollary that no person can exercise his freedom or conduct his pursuit of happiness in a manner that will deprive another of his basic rights.
- b. That governments, laws, and organizations exist for man and not man for them; that states, nations, governments, political and economic organizations and man collectively are not sovereign entities but only a means and concepts whereby individual man may live together gregariously, to better protect and preserve his individual liberty; and that maindividual may hide behind these concepts to evade responsibility for his actions, the only sovereign and responsible entity being the individual man.
  - c. That freedom of speech and religion are absolute and indestructable being the essence of the substance that make a person or man con-

scious of the world about him, which includes the corollary that no man may exercise his rights so as to deprive another of them or to destroy another man, but that no man can be compelled to take positive direct action that will negate his freedom of speech or religion; that life and liberty are the equal rights of every man, to be asserted by every man, but recognized and granted equally to other men.

d. That the people operating through political organizations should plan and manage the economic system upon a libertarian, equalitarian, and democratic basis, for the greatest good of all people.

- e. That every person can be assured of a basic living standard regardless of his capabilities or status of birth because man can now produce sufficient goods so that all can share.
- f. That the wealth of the world exists for all the people in the world and not just those who are able to gain control of a part of it and thus divert it to their private gain and aggrandizement.
- g. That we live in a world of growth and change so that concepts, institutions, states, nations, governments, and political, economic, and social organizations must be adapted from time to time to fit new conditions, and that the basic plan of the organization of society must take this factor into account and have built into it a method of orderly change providing the maximum protection and assistance for those individuals in society whose life, freedom, and pursuit of happiness are disrupted by such change.

#### RESOLUTION ON THE DRAFT

NCNP calls for the abolition of the draft because it is undemocratic and because it forces men to serve in the Army against their will, and because it is set up to carry out imperialistic foreign policies abroad and a racist and discriminatory policy at home.

Since it is not in our power at present to abolish the Selective Service System, we are for open draft resistence.

Because the student deferment is an obvious and important example of the injustice of the draft, NCNP proposes a national campaign against the 2-S deferment classification, as a first step.

NCNP further demands the abolition of ROTC in our colleges and unisities and the prohibition of recruiting programs at our high schools.

NCNP supports conscientious deserter as well zs those young men who remain in the military service to work against unjust wars.

To make this resolution work, NCNP will:

- 1. Offer co-operation and money to anti-draft groups.
- 2. Publish and distribute literature aimed at men in the service, telling them of their rights and war.
- 3. Help protect draft resisters and conscientious deserters.
- 4. Aid people who, although not draftable, actively work in the draft resistence movement and commit civil dis-obedience and other related acts.

24

The crisis in society is presently reflected in the ferment in our schools. Our inability to solve the problem of race relations is remaching a high price in our school community. Our America is in labor pains. A new image is struggling to be born. America is trying to revise the stereotype by which it is known - - white, fair, blue-eyed. She is being refashioned so darkness, even blackness becomes a part of her face.

ness becomes a part of her face. It is fitting that the schools should be open to this struggle. They are true to their function as envisaged by Dewey, Counts, Rugg and Kilpatrick. For the first time in our history the poor people of our nation are not only asking that the school door be-opened to them but that their children shall be college bound. We have moved a long way from the ten to fifteen per cent college registration. It is up to 35% now. Before long "Education for all" will mean a college education. For the parent of Afro-American descent college preparation is a sine qua non for achieving a place in our technological society. Their children can no longer take the menial jobs. Their own people will not let them. The semi-skilled jobs are being daily automated out of existence. Such attractive jobs in the building and manufacturing trades, which have created a "labor elite" are not open to the Negro. The same unions that forced our teen-agers into "compulsory mis-education" are keeping them out of the skilled trades. Only where government contracts are involved is there token representation. However, there is room for the Afro-American at the top. Companies are beseiging colleges for such educated and trained personnel from the Negro community. Therefore, the insight of the poor is to be recognized and commended for demanding that their children be placed on a college track early in their elementary education. Unfortunately, the white community has forefeited its opportunity for bringing the Negro child up to this standard. We could have given him a self-image equal to the task if we had been creative enough to destroy our segregated school pattern and allowed him to flourish to his full potential. Equality in education would then have brought about excellence as well. Now, therefore, in the ghetto areas only the power of blackness can give the Negro community the resources, social, ethnic, and spiritual to effect this dramatic boot-strap operation. If we have been content to treat our ghettos like colonial domains, exploiting them for the white power-establishment, then we must concede their right to autonomy and independence. This the black people are ready to receive. If we make them demand it we face racial conflict. Our greatest hope lies in the fact that they have chosen the schools as their proving ground since in the finest sense of our calling they are the "agency for the reconstruction of society."

Edward P. Gottlieb Principal, P.S. 165 Man.

#### RESOLUTIONS FROM THE VETS FOR PEACE CAUCUS.

Veterans for Peace groups meeting in caucus on September 3, 1967 submit The following resolutions to the New Politics Convention.

- i. That the convention and its constituents organizations support and build the 0ctobe. 21 st confrontation in Washington.
- 2. That the theme for the Owctober 21 st confromtation be "Support our men in Vietnam Bring them home now -- Alive" !.
- 3. That the October 21 st. demonstration be headed by the Veteranss contingent with the Veterans from Vietnam in the front ranks. Because no single group gives the <u>lie</u> to the charge that dissenters are cowards and; traitors better then VEterans who oppose the Vietnam War.
- 4. That the convention and its constituent organizations actively defend the freedom speech and the press for all men and woman in the Armed Forces who oppose the Veitnam War.
- 5. That, without organizing or advocating civil disobedience the conventoon welcome in the October 21 st confrontation, as we do the principle of non-exclution, those groups which do engage in civil disobedience.