

Guardian Photo

ORANGEBURG

AFTER THE

MASSACRE

Students for a Democratic Society

1608 W. Madison St.

Chicago, Illinois

New Left Notes

VOLUME 3, NUMBER 7 8

LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE

FEBRUARY 26, 1968

T.S.U. MURDER TRIALS BEGIN

S.N.C.C. Release

On Monday, March 4th, John Parker, 20, of Houston, Texas will be tried for murder. Parker is 1 of 5 former Texas Southern University students who face the possibility of the death sentence. Trazwell Franklin, Douglas Wayne Waller, Floyd Nichols, and Charles Freeman will be brought to trial later this spring.

The 5 were arrested in the wake of last spring's police attack on the TSU campus, then charged with felonious rioting and having caused the death of an officer who was killed during the incident. These students are not charged with having actually fired the shots that killed the policeman—even the State admits this would have been impossible. Instead, they are alleged to have incited the riot in which he was killed. Under Texas law the penalty for this is the same as for 1st-degree murder.

There is no doubt that these black militants were singled out and framed on account of their political activity.

The freedom of all of us is involved in the TSU case. It signifies an obvious attempt by the power structure to stifle and crush social protest. Such attempts are going on nationwide. They must not be allowed to succeed. If we stand together, we may be able to stop them. Otherwise there is little hope for democracy and justice in this country.

This is what you can do:

- 1) Get this information out to people and groups you are in contact with.
- 2) Send telegrams and letters of protest to: Mayor Louie B. Welch, 900 Brazos, Houston, Texas; District Attorney Carol H. Vance, 900 Brazos, Houston, Texas; Governor John Connally, State Capitol Building, Austin, Texas.
- 3) Raise money and send it to: TSU Five Defense Fund, Box 21085, Houston, Texas 77026.
- 4) Send telegrams and letters of support for the Five to the above address.
- 5) Attend the trial, in the Harris Company Criminal Court Building between Preston and Congress and Fannin and San Jacinto Streets in Houston. Anyone in the building will be able to tell you where the trial is being held.

"It was Cold-Blooded Murder"

from a story by Randy Furst
Guardian special correspondent

Orangeburg, South Carolina—February 8th more than 50 unarmed students at Claflin and South Carolina State Colleges were gunned down by state troopers and then beaten. The shootings were unprovoked. There is no evidence that students had guns. There is evidence that the massacre was premeditated.

"It was cold-blooded murder," said a Claflin student. "Murder. We'll never let them get away with something like this again."

Dead are Delano Middleton, 17; Sam Hammond, 18; and Henry Smith, 18. Smith and Hammond were shot in the back.

Meanwhile, Cleveland Sellers sits in prison while his supporters try desperately to raise his \$20,000 bond. He was shot in the shoulder and held on a trumped-up charge of incitement to riot and arson. Many believe that the troopers were specifically out to get Sellers that night.

Sellers is now faced with a second charge, more than a year old, of carrying a concealed weapon. The charge, levied in prison, was dropped once before to allow Sellers' Armed Forces induction to proceed.

"A Police Riot"

The ostensible cause of the Orangeburg Massacre, which SNCC worker George Ware calls "a police riot", was a student attempt to desegregate a local bowling alley. The lanes were simply a visible target. Most students at the 2 all-black colleges are not interested in integration.

50 students moved on the alley February 6th and 20 were arrested. Word was passed back to the campus and 600 students poured into the shopping center where the bowling lanes are located and demanded the release of the students. Police recognized the tense nature of the crowd and released the students from jail. But before the students could leave the shopping center, police began clubbing them. At least a dozen girls were beaten. Several had their arms broken and another had her face opened with a huge gash. The State Law Enforcement Division (SLED), Governor Robert McNair's Southern version of the FBI, arrived in Orangeburg.

Blood was spilled again on February 7th as local police, stationed on railroad tracks behind the colleges, fired at students. Witnesses watched 3 students fall, all shot in the legs. Infuriated students began throwing rocks and bricks at passing cars. Whites smashed the windows of local black businesses. 600 National Guardsmen moved into the city of 35,000.

The Guard sealed off the colleges, but 2 whites "slipped by" them and drove through the adjacent campuses firing guns. They were caught by city police 4 miles out of Orangeburg and charged with reckless driving.

By February 8th police and SLED agents had occupied both campuses. Reporter Mike Davis of the Baltimore Afro-American overheard a deputy sheriff named B. N. Collins say, "If they get there on the hill tonight, I'm going to let them have it."

The campus was quiet; "too quiet for my money," Frances Sullivan, the SNCC press secretary, told me. At 7 p.m.

administrators prevented students from holding a meeting at Claflin College. Students milled about on the campus and gathered in small groups to talk, wondering what the police would do. Several molotov cocktails were thrown at a deserted frame building on the edge of campus. The building failed to ignite.

At 10 p.m. students started a bonfire in the street in front of South Carolina State College. The National Guard force moved in closer to the campus. They numbered from 300 to 400. The fire department was called to put out the bonfire. A contingent of 200 state troopers began advancing.

At 10:10, Cleveland Sellers, whose home is in Orangeburg, cashed a check at Maceo Gordon's variety store. Sellers crossed the campus and went into a dormitory to watch television.

A lady who lives at the edge of the campus heard officers giving orders: "Retreat, but when you see him, advance, wait for the whistle, and open fire."

Sellers appeared. It was 10:30. A whistle blew somewhere and the troopers opened fire. For a moment no one knew what was happening. Then a student fell over screaming "I'm hit. I'm hit." Another student went down, then another.

Students began running. Some hit the ground. 1 student felt a bullet hit his foot. Another caught a bullet in his neck. Delano Middleton, sitting on the steps of Lowman Hall, was shot in the legs 5 times. He rolled off the steps and lay still.

The troopers advanced, still firing. Bob Davis fell to the ground, paralyzed from the waist down.

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S.D.S. AT THE COPPER STRIKE

'U-PRINT-IT' LEAFLETS

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LETTERS TO THE LEFT

ARROWS & DARTS

February 17, 1968

Dear Editor:

In reply to Staughton Lynd's charge of "instant analysis" of the Pueblo incident, it should be pointed out that the scandal over the "Three Arrows" plan occurred in 1965. The New Left pundits have had a long time to figure that one out. Dating to that same era was a Chinese pledge to re-open the Korean War in the proper time and circumstances.

Sincerely,

Paul Burke
Omaha, Nebraska 68131

February 16, 1968

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

Not only is instant news analysis bad when made the political position of an organization like SDS, but I think it has no business taking up a whole issue of NLN, as did the coverage of the Pueblo incident. If NLN editorial policy is so ambiguous that, as frequently happens, considerable space is made for purely news articles, then it's up to the membership to lay down some guidelines, to be voted perhaps at the next NC. My idea of the function of NLN was not

to compete with radical newsweeklies like the Guardian. Rather, NLN exists to communicate:

- 1) intra-SDS dialogue on ideology, strategy, and tactics;
- 2) accounts of SDS and Movement events when they are contributions to ideology, strategy, or tactics which are not available in other radical media;
- 3) short contributions to factual background knowledge of phenomena (like Gitlin's on Cuba) which are critical to development of radical thought.

Often NLN serves this function well, but there have been enough indications of a journalistic "scoop mentality" to make me wonder how clear policy is.

Also, the press policy of a political organization is a good barometer of elitism in the organization. The fact that much NLN space is filled with thoughts of NO people or rambling accounts from our men in Cambodia, Czechoslovakia, or elsewhere abroad may indicate either of 2 things: an editorial weakness for printing articles from the prestige people, or that there is little communication from other sources to compete for the space. In either case the result is the same: to reinforce an elitist structure of internal communication.

Karl North
Department of Anthropology
University of Rochester
Rochester, New York 14627

RESISTANCE FROM COLORADO

February 13th, 1968

Brothers:

As you know, 3 members of the Colorado Resistance were arrested shortly after our October 16th demonstration, 2 for non-possession of draft cards, and 1 for non-possession and mutilation. The 3 are: Allen Haifley and myself (Tom Harris) of Boulder and Mendel Cooper of Denver, who partially burned his card before returning it. All 3 cases are being handled by local lawyers who have volunteered their services. But funds are still needed for transportation of witnesses and so on. If your group has money available or knows of other possible sources, please contact us.

None of the cases have come to trial yet. In pre-trial hearings, judges in all cases have indicated that evidence concerning illegality of the war in Vietnam or violations of international law by the US will not be accepted on the premise that "whether there is a war or not, you must carry a card". Apparently a person's motivation is not important.

The cases of Haifley and myself are progressing quite slowly. It is possible

that they will be dropped. If this happens we will be reclassified and ordered for induction. Refusal to report for induction is a stronger case for the Government than non-possession.

Cooper's case, on the other hand, is being rushed through court, possibly because of the mutilation charge. He may go to trial within the next week.

Another thing that we need is signed, notarized affidavits from people who have been to Vietnam, giving specific details of any atrocities or other violations of international law which they have personally witnessed. These will be submitted as "offers of proof" stating that this is what witnesses would say were they allowed to testify. If you know of anyone who could provide such information, have him get in touch with our attorney, Harry K. Nier Jr., Denver US National Bank Center.

In addition to these 3, a 4th member of our group was arrested last month. He is John Akeson of Boulder. He had lost his draft card prior to October 16th, but submitted a letter stating that he did not have a card, did not want one, and would destroy any card sent to him. He was subsequently reclassified and ordered to report for induction. He refused to take the oath and symbolic step forward, and was arrested. A preliminary hearing in his case has been scheduled for next week.

Defense money should be sent to Colorado Draft Resisters Legal Defense Fund, Post Office Box 20065, Denver 80220. All other correspondence should be sent to me or Allen Haifley. You can contact me at 2905 College (Apartment 205), Boulder; Allen Haifley at 1554 North Street, Boulder (phone 443-7361); and Mendel Cooper at 2275 South High Street, Denver (phone 733-2387).

Please contact us if you have any information or questions.

Yours in struggle,

Tom Harris
Colorado Resistance

NAC MINUTAE

Tuesday, February 20th, 1968

submitted by Earl V. Silbar

members present: Davidson, Farber, Gellen, Silbar, Hank Williams Chapter

members absent: Kissinger, Neiman, Rossen

1) Porter-Sargeant Publications want our contact list to push books. The NAC will send our NLN and rates.

2) SSOC want the SDS Southern contact list (okayed).

3) The Boston Draft Resistance Group want 250 copies of the SDS "Our Fight Is Here" pamphlet. The NAC is asking them for \$10 now and another \$21.50 on receipt of copies.

4) The New Republic ad of December 24th (cost \$360) has brought in about \$1,000 (mostly in memberships).

5) Patrick Sturgis, who has been working on the JOIN "Firing Line", has been hired by Davidson and McCarthy as the new NLN editor.

6) The NAC has decided not to follow through on its \$2,000 down-payment for a new Gazette press. We can get an old press for the \$2,000 or try to get the money back. Silbar moved that the NIC decide whether the Webb-Gazette Press should get financial priority. McCarthy moved that the NIC be polled on this subject, and the motion was passed.

7) Mike Spiegel will spearhead the NAC effort to raise \$2,000 for a combination folder and collator to make it possible to produce an 8-page NLN issue entirely from the National Office. Also, a new stitcher may be obtained for about \$200 with a trade-in, but McCarthy says this is the last priority for the print shop. (No action now.)

Tuesday, February 13th, 1968

submitted by karen gellen

members present: Davidson, Farber, Gellen, Neiman, Rossen

members absent: Pardun, Silbar, Spiegel, Hank Williams Chapter

others present: Saari

The NAC voted to give the Chicago contributors list to Bruce Pohlman, SDS Midwest high school co-ordinator, and to Joe Horton and Wayne Heimbach, Chicago-area SDS travelers.

new left notes

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Southern California: PO Box 85396, Los Angeles, Calif. 90072.
New England: 102 Columbia St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139
Washington, D.C.: 3 Thomas Circle, N.W., Washington, D.C.

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let the people decide

Feb. 26, 1968

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Co-op Conference

The Inter-Cooperative Council of the University of Michigan is sponsoring a conference on student housing cooperatives in Ann Arbor March 1st through 3rd. Co-sponsors include the Co-operative League of the USA, Co-operative Services Incorporated, and Michigan Credit Union League.

There will be resource people from government housing agencies and college housing offices, and leaders in the co-operative movement both in the US and abroad. Delegates will be able to stay in the co-ops on campus.

This is the tentative agenda:

Friday, March 1st: Registration (all day—\$5 fee); Film: "This Is a Co-operative", Lorne Green, narrator (7:30 p.m.).

Saturday, March 2nd: Panel Discussion: The Success of Student Co-ops (9:30 a.m. to noon); Workshops: Overcoming the Financial Obstacles; Legal, Taxation, and Organizational Problems; and Planning a College Co-op Housing Program (2 to 5 p.m.).

Sunday, March 3: Workshops: The Future of the Student Co-op Movement; and Co-op Living (10 to 11 a.m.; General Meeting (11:15 a.m. to noon).

RAP BUSTED

H. Rap Brown, Chairman of SNCC, is fasting to protest his illegal arrest and detention by the Federal Government through its agents in the State of Louisiana. There is the real chance that Rap will not be released in time.

Rap is being held in the Parish Prison, New Orleans, Louisiana. He is being held on \$100,000 bond. This is the result of several blatantly illegal governmental actions.

1) Brown was arrested on the alleged charge that he had violated the "travel ban" imposed upon him by Federal Courts in Louisiana and Virginia. Not only is that "travel ban", that "house arrest", blatantly unconstitutional, but the bail restriction itself provided that Rap could travel to consult with his attorney (William Kunstler in California).

2) Rap was confined under maximum security to the Parish Prison in New Orleans on Wednesday, February 21st, for "violating" the travel ban and a new charge of "intimidating an FBI agent". Evidently Rap called 1 of the Negro FBI agents a "Tom" and said he hoped the agent's children would grow up better men. The agent told the judge that Rap had threatened his life. The additional charge of threatening an agent brought the bail to \$100,000.

SNCC has asked for telegrams to be

sent to Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Justice Department, Washington, D.C. demanding the immediate release of Brown and Cleve Sellers (still imprisoned on false charges stemming from the Orangeburg Massacre), and also to Rap at Parish Prison, New Orleans, Louisiana letting him know that he does not fight alone. Also: funds are needed for the H. Rap Brown Bail Fund. Send contributions to SNCC, Suite 803, 100 5th Avenue, New York, New York.

For the 1st time, totally illegal charges are being used to imprison even before trial those who most threaten the power structure—its racism, its imperialism, its exploitation, and its genocide. It is now clear that the Government will no longer allow militants—black militants now, white militants soon—to organize and speak to the people of America. (On being asked about the excessive bail, the New Orleans federal judge said that he didn't intend to allow Brown "to run around the country burning cities.") The illegal house arrest of Brown signals the need for us to reach people throughout the country at large; it also signals the need for us to think urgently about our survival. We must see this as an attack on all of us, as brothers, and the immediate precursor of an attack on all of us in fact.

Ft. Jackson Pray-in

by Mark Sommer

Liberation News Service

Fort Jackson, South Carolina, February 14th (LNS)—25 soldiers in uniform participated in a demonstration of opposition to the Vietnam war here last night in the 1st anti-war protest on a United States military base.

Specialist 4th Class Martin Blumsack, 25, of Chicago, a participant in the original planning group, announced, under orders from Army authorities, that the demonstration had been canceled. But some soldiers knelt in prayer anyway. A large group of MPs approached and quickly hustled them away. The Army is instituting court martial proceedings against Private 1st Class Robert Tater, of New Hampshire, and Private 1st Class Steven Kline Jr. of New Jersey, 2 of the organizers of the pray-in. 3 more were arrested, and 20 others were dispersed in the blacked-out chapel area.

Plans for the demonstration had begun several weeks ago among a group of soldiers meeting informally in a popular coffee house near the military base. The men had rejected the idea of disobeying Army rules, but decided instead to bear silent witness—on their

own time—to their doubts about the Vietnam war.

Blumsack spoke to Deputy Post Chaplain Lieutenant Colonel Ogilvie last week about the possibility of using the Fort Jackson Protestant Chapel for silent meditation. Ogilvie granted the group permission to use the chapel facilities last Saturday morning.

The group distributed leaflets to their fellow soldiers that afternoon and Sunday as the soldiers entered nearby Columbia, South Carolina for weekend leaves. The group reported that most of the soldiers accepted the leaflet and that their reactions were generally favorable. The text of the leaflet follows.

"Is God on our side?"

We are soldiers who—like millions of other Americans—have doubts about the war in Vietnam.

It's time we made these doubts known.

We'd like to invite those who share our concern to join us in Chapel 1 at 7:30 p.m. Tuesday for an hour of meditation.

By Monday morning, however, the Army administration had heard about the planned pray-in and moved quickly to squelch it. Blumsack was called 1st to the office of Chaplain Ogilvie. Ogilvie told Blumsack that permission to use the Protestant chapel was now going to be withdrawn. chapel was now going to be withdrawn, ostensibly because the leaflets distributed the previous Saturday had used the word "doubts" instead of "grave concern".

Blumsack was then told to report to the office of Lieutenant Colonel Chester Davis, the officer who had handled the Howard Levy case at Fort Jackson last year. Davis strongly advised Blumsack to cancel the demonstration. "Unless you want to end up like Captain Levy," Davis warned, "you'd better keep your nose clean."

Monday afternoon, the Fort Jackson public information office told inquiring reporters that the anti-war group had been pacified and the demonstration had been canceled. United Press International ran a story denying that the group had existed. The New York Times canceled its decision to cover the demonstration.

Despite Army reports to the contrary, however, the demonstration took place as scheduled. Late Tuesday afternoon, Army officials closed Fort Jackson to public access. The area in the immediate vicinity of the Protestant chapel, usually well lit, was blacked out. A large contingent of MPs were moved into place around the chapel, and police vans were parked nearby. The doors to the chapel were locked.

At 7:30 Blumsack approached the chapel and reported dutifully, "I am officially instructed to tell you that there will be no meeting tonight." Other soldiers in uniform began to move up to the steps of the chapel and kneel in prayer. As each knelt, a small contingent of MPs moved in swiftly and carried him away. "I came here to meditate about the War," a basic trainee named Rivera from New York protested quietly. "Don't we have the right as citizens to express what we think about this war?" asked Steven Kline Jr. of Northern New Jersey as he was taken into custody. Those arrested included Private 1st Class David Stanley of Fairfax County, Virginia, a Peace Corps volunteer and recent draftee.

The Army has instituted court martial proceedings against 2 of the demonstrators and has threatened to punish David Stanley under Article 15 of the Universal Military Code. But the anti-war group are very optimistic; they are confident that court martial charges cannot hold up, even in a military court. Charles Morgan, the ACLU lawyer who handled the case of Captain Levy, believes that the soldiers can prove they were entirely within their rights as soldiers and as citizens, and that the Army's reprisals have been both arbitrary and illegal.

The demonstrators themselves are hopeful that the anti-war movement within the military can grow, not only at Fort Jackson, but across the country. They are currently considering asking a clergyman of national repute, perhaps Chaplain William Sloan Coffin of Yale or the Reverend Richard Fernandez of Washington, D.C., to join them in next week's demonstration.

Review

How to Stay Out of the Army

by Art Goldberg
Liberation News Service

HOW TO STAY OUT OF THE ARMY, by Conrad Lynn (Grove, \$1.25). Grove Press has just begun distributing a thin paperback volume that at first seems overpriced at \$1.25. It is not another long-lost erotic masterpiece, nor does it reveal any exotic new highs. It is only 126 pages and, worst of all, it is written by a lawyer.

Yet this new book may be 1 of the more valuable Grove has distributed in recent years. Its subtitle is "A Guide to Your Rights Under the Draft Law". The author, Conrad Lynn, is a well-known civil liberties attorney who has specialized in draft cases since World War II.

Lynn's intentions are as clear as the title of his book. He regards the draft law and the draft machinery as unconstitutional and is opposed to the war in Vietnam. He hopes his book will make it more difficult for the military to get the cannon fodder it needs to fight the War.

Needless to say, with the shit hitting the graduate fan this June, and draft boards tightening up on exemptions, a lot of people will find the \$1.25 well-invested.

From his wide experience with draft cases, Lynn knows where the draft law is vulnerable and where it is not. He knows how the draft machinery can be clogged up, and how and where it can be fought. The book in effect is a manual on how to fight the Selective Service System.

Some highly interesting, and heretofore generally unknown bits of information stand apart from the rest of the book. For example, a man who now applies for conscientious objector status no longer has to be a pacifist. He need not even be a member of an organized religious group, nor must he prove a belief in a "Supreme Being". The Supreme Court has ruled that a man's "internally derived" concepts, if sincerely held, can be considered religious.

This ruling has already caused General Hershey considerable consternation. Lynn notes that all of his clients who have cited their "unique" religious beliefs as grounds for conscientious objection have had their cases placed in a "deep freeze" by the Selective Service System. In other words, no action has been taken. Lynn believes that the issue will be extremely difficult for the Supreme Court to resolve when the new draft law is tested.

For those who would fight Selective Service on its own terms, Lynn points out that no lawyers are necessary (they are specifically barred) in filing appeals with state and national appeal boards. He notes that a case can be tied up in the draft machinery for as long as 2 years, for only the cost of postage. The draft boards

must supply all appeal forms.

Draft resisters, those who defy the system or refuse to co-operate with it, are presented with a variety of suggestions. Foremost among these is the advisability of demanding a jury trial. Lynn cites 1 case where 2 consecutive juries would not convict a black draft resister even though all the evidence seemed to be against him. At the man's 2nd trial, the prosecutor attempted to weed out all prospective jurors who had ever been radical enough to carry a picket sign. Despite threats and prejudicial remarks by the judge, the jurors could not agree on a verdict, and a 2nd mistrial was declared. The 3rd trial has been postponed indefinitely.

There is an additional reason for demanding a jury trial. According to Lynn, Chief Justice Lumbard of the 2nd US Circuit Court of Appeals said last winter that if every draft objector insisted on a jury trial, 2% of the men called into service could force the entire Federal court system to a standstill.

Lynn was the attorney for David Mitchell, perhaps the original draft resister. Mitchell refused induction on grounds of political principle, namely that the war in Vietnam violated the rules formulated by the Nuremberg Tribunal. Lynn reviews Mitchell's case and points to it as a classic way in which the Draft should be resisted by those who wish to resist it.

Readers of Lynn's book will also find out that they may be accepted by Canada as landed immigrants through the mail. They need not make a trip to Canada before applying. Members of certain left-wing political groups will perhaps be surprised to know that in some cities, depending on the local boards, many of them receive I-Y deferments. The boards consider them too risky to induct. In places like Milwaukee and Philadelphia, even members of the militant NAACP chapters have been known to have received I-Ys. More commonly, however, these deferments go to members of the Communist Party, the Progressive Labor Party, Youth Against War and Fascism, and in some cases SNCC.

Anyone who indicates membership in an organization that is on the Attorney General's "subversive" list, or who indicates activity in left-wing organizations, can gain time. Army counter-intelligence conducts lengthy investigations, sometimes lasting more than a year, into the backgrounds of such individuals. In many cases, deferments are possible.

Lynn cites 1 case that defies classification, but it is so unique that it is worth mentioning here. Sister Louise, the leader of a black Protestant sect in Detroit, had a 19-year-old son who

was ordered to report for induction. Unable to find steady work, the son reported to the induction center on the appointed date, despite some misgivings.

As he stood in line, waiting for his physical, his mother, Sister Louise, swooped into the induction center with a singing group of followers, seized the son by his collar, and marched him outside. They returned home and the son never reported for induction again. Neither the Selective Service authorities nor the Army protested. They tried to hush the matter up.

If there is any criticism to be made of Lynn's book, it is that he devotes too much space to discussing the ramifications of all types of Selective Service classifications. In some ways this seems like unnecessary padding, as a simple listing of the classifications would have served as well. He also devotes a good deal of space to discussing ways of beating the Selective Service System, rather than combatting it.

This raises an interesting point, however; many young men feel it is copping-out to deal with Selective Service on any level. Yet Lynn makes it abundantly clear that one can do much greater damage to the System by bogging it down in appeals and demands for reclassification than by defying it outright (presuming, of course, that the percentage of men defying the system remains rather small). Outright defiance results in an immediate I-A classification and throws the case directly into court, although the resister might not be prosecuted for some time. It saves the local board a lot of work.

Legally, the constitutionality of the draft laws cannot be tested by men who have not exhausted all remedies within the Selective Service System. Activists who are determined to get rid of the Draft will have to decide if a moral and political stance (outright defiance) will eventually be more effective than an attempt to bring the System down from within by clogging it up. Lynn takes no stand. He merely sets out the alternatives. He has represented men in all types of cases.

While this book is certainly not the definitive work on draft resistance, it will provide any draft-age man with some good ideas. It should also be very helpful for draft-resistance organizers. One thing that comes through very strongly is that too many people are unaware of the alternatives they have to military service. Lynn's theory seems to be that if enough men avoid military service, no matter which way they do it, the Government will be hard-pressed to find soldiers to fight the War.

U. of C. Goes Thru the Mill

The University of Chicago SDS has leafletted some nearby steel mills 4 times in the last 6 weeks.

Many activists now realize that the only way we can achieve our goals is to fundamentally change the power relationships in this society by building a mass-based radical movement. For some the implications of this fact are discouraging. 1st, they don't feel the working class is receptive to radical ideas; and 2nd, they see the difficulties of connecting our radical base in the universities to the center of power in the factories. Our factory leafletting program has been 1 attempt to handle such objections.

Already initial comments like "You'll get beat up!" or "Workers are satisfied. They're making lots of money." have been proved false. Workers take our leaflets. Few are thrown away. If leaflets are handed to workers entering the plant they circulate for days and are discussed during lunch and coffee breaks. Different incidents stand out: a man running a newspaper stand next to the factory gate gave me a pair of gloves; a black worker bought us all free beer; in another bar a heavy middle-age white worker (who said he had got our leaflet from a friend and was saving it in his desk drawer) said that Vietnam was the boss's war and that the union and corporation were buddies because they both took the worker's money; 2 black workers further down the bar (1 just back from Vietnam) said the leaflet "made sense" and that black and white workers got along fine, though they didn't talk together enough.

Generally, workers we talked to were skeptical about Government statements and felt they were being screwed by the corporation, the union, and the Government. They know the only reason they work is to make profits for their corporation; they feel that both the Government and the union are run by big business.

I. W. Abel, the president of the USWA, is on several Government committees (including the "blue-ribbon" commission to investigate ghetto riots) and wholeheartedly supports LBJ and the Vietnam war. He also asked the USWA executive board to voluntarily give up the union's right to strike and let the wage settlement be determined by Government arbitration, which presumably would have given the steelworkers something close to LBJ's very low 3.2% wage guidelines. This was voted down by the executive board—the

This sample leaflet as it appears here can be enlarged for an offset 8 1/2" X 11" reproduction.

WHO PAYS FOR THE WAR?

1968 will be a tough year for the union man and his family. A man earning \$8,000 a year and getting a 6% raise (\$480) will be lucky to keep \$30 of the raise. The rest will be taken by inflation (3.3%) and new and old federal taxes. Probably the worker will lose money, since state and local taxes are rising too. As always, the Government and big corporations try to shift the burden of the War onto the working man. Strikes will "endanger war production", while inflated profits are "signs of a healthy economy". From 1961 to the 2nd quarter of 1966, factory wages rose 16% while corporate profits after taxes rose 79%.

This is not World War II

All the big brass in the country says—"We must show the North Vietnamese that aggression doesn't pay. We have a commitment and we must show the Communists that we don't back out. We must stop China now before she gets so big that she can conquer the US." As General Shoup says, this is "pure poppycock". The Vietnam war started as a civil war against the Diem dictatorship which protected the landlords and oppressed the peasants. Eisenhower admitted in 1964 that "if free elections were held in 1956, 80% of the people would have voted for Ho Chi Minh."

Why can't we win the War with our fantastic fire power and superior troop strength? ... Why don't local villagers tell us where the "invading" North Vietnamese and local VC troops are? ... Why do the peasants in North Vietnam immediately inform on any South Vietnamese commandos sent into North Vietnam? ... Why do the Vietcong fight so bravely, while the South Vietnamese government troops just want to run? ...

We believe the answers to these questions will show that LBJ is lying and that the "national security" argument for anti-strike legislation is false. This war was not started by US workers. It is against the interests of US workers. It is being fought to protect the superprofits that big business gets from the cheap labor and raw materials of Asia.

Rank-and-file power

Black people in the ghettos have learned not to rely on politicians. In our own struggles in the universities, students have learned that sometimes we can't win unless we disobey the rules of the men on top. We can't tell the workers what specific tactics are best for them. But we do feel that once rank-and-filers know their strength they will dictate a union policy that won't sell out the workers' needs to help Johnson fight the War.

For more information or to contact other interested workers, write or call: Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Factory Committee, 1212 East 59th Street, Chicago 60637 (493-0156).

outrage of their membership probably played a major role in their decision. Steelworkers are well aware that the former union president, MacDonald, sold them out on the last 2 contracts, and that their wages lag far behind those of autoworkers. They will go out on strike this August 1st until the Government orders them back to work with a Taft-Hartley injunction or no-strike legislation.

We have had no trouble getting enough people to leaflet. Students are eager to leaflet. They get a bigger feeling of

accomplishment from a few hours of leafletting thousands of workers than from marching around on a symbolic protest demonstration. Many have never seen a factory or talked to a factory worker; attitudes of disdain for working people change quickly. The factory leafletting project gives us a continuing action program that draws new people into the Movement and makes us less subject to the vagaries of university politics or visiting recruiters. The University of Chicago radical women's group will begin

leafletting an electronics factory soon for some of the same reasons.

At the present time there are divisions within the University of Chicago SDS Labor Committee on future goals and techniques. Some feel our leafletting should be primarily an educational project to present workers with a consistent radical outlook on our society and the War and to teach students about the attitudes and problems of workers. Other people feel that complementary to the educational function of leaflets is their potential use as an aid to organizing rank-and-file opposition to the present union leadership. Such leaflets might try to connect the leadership's support of LBJ and their lack of militancy on factory issues that concern rank-and-filers.

The War is hurting the workers. Only a union leadership that is ready to fight against speed-up and unsafe conditions in the factory will have the guts to take an independent line on the War. But this raises the problem of whether workers will not object to students interfering in their internal union affairs, and whether local union officials won't quickly decide to send out goons to beat up students handing out such leaflets.

There is also some debate about whether to leaflet many factories or to concentrate solely on 1 or 2 factories. By concentrating on 1 or 2 factories we would have a greater effect on the workers we leafletted, and we might build some direct ties with these workers. By leafletting a substantial number of factories, we could probably contact a number of activist workers at different factories who are organizing rank-and-file caucuses against the present union leadership. We have already contacted several such workers and learned much from them. Possibly they will write an educational or anti-union leaflet which we could distribute.

Steel mills are especially important to leaflet because the coming confrontation between the Federal Government and the USWA will cause much discussion and some political activity among the workers. But increased militancy among workers is common to nearly all industries. Workers in nearly all industries are threatened by LBJ's proposed wage-price guidelines, anti-strike legislation, and income-tax surcharge. The real wages of factory workers have dropped about 1% since the fall of 1965.

For more information contact the SDS Labor Committee, 1212 East 59th Street, Chicago 60637 (phone 493-0156).

COPPER STOPS IN ELY

When we as representatives of the labor committee of the Berkeley SDS chapter went out to Ely, Nevada to find out about the nationwide strike in the copper industry, we were prepared for almost any kind of reception. We went there, however, hoping to find an opportunity for beginning to build ties between the student and labor movements.

Before going to Ely, we had only a sketchy idea of what has been going on in the copper industry. We knew that 60,000 workers had been out on strike for 7 months in the longest industry-wide strike in American history. We suspected also, because of the length of the strike, that the companies were out to break the union.

We discovered, again, that the workers in the Kennecott Copper Company's mining and smelting operation in Ely were not striking for another color television and a playboy bed for their mortgaged yachts, but were fighting simply for a decent standard of living.

The power and solidarity of the copper workers in Ely were very obvious to us, even though we stayed there for only 2 days. There are over 1,000 men out on strike in this small Nevada town (population 5500), most of them belonging to the United Steel Workers.

With the workers on strike, no copper at all is removed from the pit, and no copper is milled or smelted. No amount of sophisticated machinery can make the operation run. The workers are necessary to the production. The workers are also necessary to the life of the town; without their money the merchants of the town have been gradually going broke.

The Union knows that if 1 striker is evicted for non-payment of rent, or has his utilities shut off, demoralization can begin to turn the tide of the strike. Thus the strike fund is used to avert any of these individual crises by paying necessary rent and utilities to retain strike solidarity.

None have gone back to work, although they have been struggling since last July on the \$25 per week per family which they receive from the International Union.

Even the non-union workers have made no attempt to return to work. All the workers have stuck with the union and the strike. This fact is all the more significant since Nevada has a right-to-work law; membership in the union cannot be compulsory.

Of course, the company does its best to get along without its workers. It hires student scabs: "management trainees", as the company calls them; or "pick and shovel managers", as the workers call them. The student scabs are hired mainly to do the maintenance work to keep the equipment in operating order. They are

told they will get management positions after the strike, but actually most of them will be fired.

In every previous strike, some workers have become demoralized and returned to work. But no amount of company propaganda has been able to convince them this time. The copper workers are clearly facing a nationwide copper industry attempt to destroy their unions. The strike has been going on since last July, the companies having made only 1 contract offer in June. They have refused to negotiate since then. They claim that they cannot bargain because the unions are demanding company-wide bargaining agreements. This is untrue; the unions have already dropped that demand, and they have even gone so far as to drop the demand for a cost-of-living escalator clause.

The companies might have revealed that they had large copper reserves before the strike started if they wanted to keep production going. Revealing the amount of time they could hold out would have made the unions think twice about striking when they did.

More important, the companies would lose almost nothing by granting the workers all of their demands. Before the strike began, management had already asked the Government to allow it to increase the fixed price for domestic copper from 36¢ a pound to 38¢ a pound to pay wage increases to workers. This

will mean a total of \$118 million increase for Kennecott, and will allow it to maintain its profit margin.

Why is it that the companies are trying so hard to break the unions during this particular strike? The copper industry has traditionally had trouble with its workers. In Ely the workers have been out on strike for a total of 3 years in the last 10. The companies thus have reason to fear the growing national solidarity of the unions at a time when business is stepping up automation. Kennecott is planning to develop an atomic energy process for mining and smelting copper with the Government. It would be much easier for the company to fire, hire, and re-organize the operation, for maximum profits, if the union is broken or at least rendered ineffective.

Significant automation has been going on in the copper industry for a long time. So far the union has not been able to halt it. 1 worker told us that when he came to work in 1954 there were 27 men in his particular work gang; now there are 10. 9 years ago there were 54 trucks running in the pit; now there are 23 due to technological advances (larger trucks) and speed-up. Considering that there are 3 shifts (the pit runs 24 hours per day), quite a few workers have lost their jobs.

During the strike the copper industry

"U-PRINT-IT"

FIRESTONE

by Riley Gordinier

The production of napalm by Dow should not mislead us into thinking there is something special about that company. It just happens that Firestone Tire and Rubber Company recruits here Friday—the same week as Dow. The men who run Firestone are not evil or bad men—any more than Johnson or the men from Dow or the State College Trustees are evil men. They are simply part of a fantastically complex system. Words like "imperialism" and "military-industrial complex" have been thrown around this campus long enough without some attempt to look into the facts. Let's look at Firestone.

Firestone controls a vast empire. The foreign portion includes about 51 industrial plants, 1 experimental and 4 major rubber plantations, and various commercial operations in a total of more than 36 countries around the world. (1) The Company has vast powers to influence both foreign governments and our own.

In Liberia the company owns about 90,000 acres of rubber trees, plus the country's largest wholesaler and distributor. It has 400 miles of roads and owned the country's sole bank until 1955. (2) It employs over 36% of all the wage earners in that African country. Most of them with Firestone are unskilled and earn about 50¢ a day. (3) The practice of labor recruitment is used to satisfy Firestone's demand for workers. The government assigns quotas to chiefs, who are forced to supply the unwilling workers for the rubber companies. It is nothing but a subtle form of slavery. (4) The company receives many favors from the government and effectively controls the country. Is it any wonder that Humphrey received such an extravagant reception when he attended President Tubman's 6th inauguration last month? Tubman, in office for 24 years, praised Johnson as "1 of the greatest leaders in the world...". (5) A recent impartial and government-financed report on Liberia is damning enough even though censored by both governments. It characterizes the economy as one of roads and palaces, and points out that the development of the country for its people, such as schools and housing, has not taken place. (6)

Liberia is the worst example, but there are also company plantations in Brazil, the Philippines, and Guatemala. (7) This company has a direct interest in putting down the present revolution in Guatemala and the unrest in Brazil. Perhaps Johnson's speedy recognition of a new dictator in Brazil after a coup in 1964 was conditioned by the presence of such US businesses in Brazil and by the dictator's friendliness to them. And at this minute there are hundreds of Green Berets protecting a tyrannical regime in Guatemala.

There has been a lot of protest about American support of the fascist-racist South African economy. Firestone has about \$4,000,000 invested there, and is expanding. (8) H. S. Firestone Jr. is a director of the Bank of Monrovia, Liberia, which is controlled by the First National City Bank of New York (a Rockefeller holding). The parent bank has extended many credits to South Africa, including a \$5,000,000 loan to bail out the economy in 1961 and participation in a \$40,000,000 credit fund. It and Chase-Manhattan Bank have had almost \$23,000,000 in accounts withdrawn in a protest sponsored by the University Christian Movement and the American Committee on Africa. (9)

In this country there is a community of powerful men who make the important decisions about business, military, and educational affairs. A brief look at Firestone's part will illustrate this.

The key point of control of such a company is the board of directors, many of whom also serve as management. This is because the directors usually represent large investments in the company—sometimes their own, that of an investment bank, another corporation's, and so on. A university trustee is in a somewhat similar position of importance. Most of Firestone is owned by the 4 Firestone brothers, who hold tens of millions of dollars worth of its stock. (11) There are 8 other directors in addition to the 4 brothers.

Investigating educational connections, one learns that Harvey S. Firestone Jr. (a director) is a charter trustee of Princeton University. Among his fellow trustees are representatives of huge American corporations such as Ralph Gwin Follis, a director of First National City Bank (of South Africa fame) and a director of the Stanford Research Institute—1 of the principal chemical-biological warfare (CBW) research centers in the US. (12) Another is Allen W. Dulles, head of the CIA from 1953 to 1961. Firestone director George F. Karch is a trustee of Wooster College, as well as a director of over 18 other corporations. Leonard K. Firestone (a director) is a trustee of USC. The list of his fellow trustees reads like a Who's Who of commerce, banking, and insurance. One of them is John McCone,

This is printed as an example of an excellent research leaflet. It was distributed at San Diego State College, and would be appropriate wherever Firestone recruiters appear. It can be reproduced on 8 1/2 X 14 paper from this layout.

another former head of the CIA. Another, Kenneth T. Norris, might know Firestone director and vice-president John Floberg, a fellow member of NSIA—the organization that helped create "Project ARISTOTLE" to help interlock education with the military. (13) Norris, Floberg, and Firestone director and chairman of the board R. C. Firestone and vice-president J. Meek are all members of the American Ordnance Association—a meeting ground for war, education, and business. (14)

The point is that men such as these set policy for colleges, even public colleges. It is more than coincidence that our universities are factories to turn out docile employees for large corporations and to turn out research for the military. With this information in mind, it is not hard to understand why college trustees and their employees (the administrators) insist on the "right" of Dow, the CIA, and the Marines to recruit on campus.

Firestone's military connections are mainly in the area of sales and advice. It is probable that a large number of ex-generals or ex-admirals work for Firestone, as they do for other large corporations, but it is difficult to determine. The company operates the Ravenna Arsenal (where shells are loaded) for the US. (15) and has about 5 plants producing rockets, jet engines, recoilless rifles, and artillery ammunition. This is in addition to contracts for tires, fuel tanks, and so on. (16) One can consider these products to be Firestone's contribution to the protection of the American empire, of which it is a small part.

We find that director Floberg was Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Air in 1949-53 and is also a trustee of the Research Analysis Corporation, which does research for the Army. (17) It is presently at work on long-range strategy planning for Latin America and South Africa, various war games, Asia research, and so on. (18) Could this work have some relation to Firestone's foreign investments? The American Ordnance Association, with 3 directors as members, is involved with "industrial preparedness for military defense". (19) The previously mentioned Security Industrial Association (NSIA) gives advice and guidance to the Department of Defense, keeps business in touch with military developments, and has a Firestone director as a member. (20) One could continue, for these are only the most visible entanglements. Firestone is not an exception—it is typical.

It is becoming well known that there is no real competition among businesses; that the distinction between government and business and civilian and military has become blurred; that our universities are not independent centers of learning. Why? We must begin to study our "system" and find out exactly what is going on. We are beginning to see that it is racist and undemocratic. The same few men run the whole show—wealthy, powerful men whose wealth depends upon a system that causes death and suffering all over the world. College students are directly affected (the Draft, the intellectual prostitution of the university). What are we going to do about it?

- (1) Moody's Industrial Manual, June, 1967.
- (2) R. Clower, G. Dalton, M. Harwitz, and A. Walters: Growth Without Development (Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University Press, 1966), Page 152.
- (3) Ibid, Pages 157 and 158.
- (4) Ibid, Pages 156 through 158, 296, and 297.
- (5) Los Angeles Times (Associated Press), January 1st, 1968, Page 1.
- (6) R. Clower, G. Dalton, M. Harwitz, A. Walters, and G. Liebenou: "Liberia: Growth Without Development", in Africa Report, Volume 12, Number 5, May 1967.
- (7) See S. Araneta: Economic Re-examination of the Philippines (Malabon, AIA Press, 1953), especially Pages 53 through 55 for information on how the US created a colonial-type economy in the Philippines.
- (8) Africa Today, Volume 13, Number 1, Pages 36 through 38.
- (9) Ibid, Page 14.
- (10) Don Villarejo: "Stock Ownership and the Control of Corporations", in New University Thought, Volume 2, Number 2, 1962.
- (11) Ibid.
- (12) "US International Research Apparatus", in Viet Report, January 1965, Page 40.
- (13) "Can the Nation's Educational Systems Be Meshed?", in Armed Forces Management, November 1967.
- (14) Who's Who in America, Volume 34, 1966-67.
- (15) Moody's Industrial Manual, June 1967.
- (16) Fortune 1963-1964 Plant and Product Directory.
- (17) Who's Who in America, Volume 34, 1966-67.
- (18) Viet Report, January 1965.
- (19) Ruffner et al. (editors): Encyclopedia of Associations, 4th edition (Gale Research Company, circa 1964).
- (20) Ibid, Page 334.

JOIN / N.C.U. To End the Rumors

by Peggy Terry
Editor, The Firing Line

and Youngblood
Chairman of NCU

(The following article is written in hope that it will put to rest the divisive rumors being circulated regarding the student organizers being "kicked out" of JOIN.)

How JOIN Came to Uptown

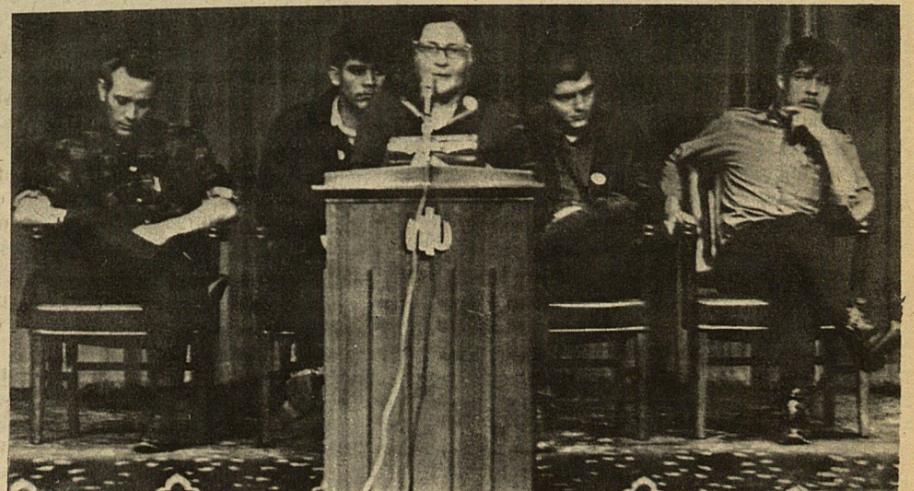
In early 1964 SDS began setting up projects in the large cities of the North. The idea for the establishment of such projects had been sparked by the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. JOIN was among the 10 projects set up by SDS and administered by a special department called ERAP (Economic Research and Action Project) that was financed by the United Auto Workers Union. The letters that make up the name of JOIN originally stood for Jobs Or Income Now, and the project was focused on the issue of unemployment and projected ideas regarding future problems created by unemployment. Unable to build a constituency around this issue, the organizers sorted out

their contact cards, and the area with the tallest stack was Uptown. Still fired up about organizing poor whites, they moved into the Uptown area and began to take a survey to find out what problems existed in the community that might be made into issues that could be used to involve community people. After considering the data they had gathered, they decided on the multi-issue community union model as the organization best suited for that purpose.

Actions, Tensions and Resentments

Various actions were initiated by JOIN in the community, none of which (with 1 exception) resulted in the mass participation or constituency that the organizers were still looking for. JOIN's presence, however, was felt in the community through its attacks on the newly established "Progress Center" financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity, through rent strikes, through a march on the notorious Summerdale Police Station protesting police brutality, and through other community actions.

About this time a sense of failure on the part of student organizers and a growing resentment on the part of community people began to become



PEGGY TERRY SPEAKING AT N.C. YOUNGBLOOD RIGHT, REAR.

apparent. Tensions began to deepen between the organizers and the organized, and charges of elitism (some of which were true) against the "students" began to be voiced by community people.

The Welfare Committee Breaks With JOIN

The Welfare Committee of JOIN was never able to keep strong women in the

group for very long. Any woman strong enough to successfully fight the Welfare Department is too strong to submit to mother-henning, and the Committee had to depend on student organizers and 2 or 3 strong community women to do battle for all the weak ones who came to JOIN for "help". In the spring of 1967, the Welfare Committee fell apart. With Dovie

CONT'D ON PAGE 8

PANTHERS, S.N.C.C. MERGE

A merger has been effected between the Oakland Black Panther Party for Self-Defense and the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee.

New officers include James Forman, Minister of Foreign Affairs; H. Rap Brown, Minister of Justice; and Stokely Carmichael, Prime Minister.

SNICK will adopt the tactics of the Panthers nationally in striving to organize armed self-defense in the ghettos. Also, where possible, it may adopt the Panthers' policy of alliance with white groups such as the California Peace and Freedom Party.

ORANGEBURG - THE LATEST IN A CHAIN

CONT'D FROM PAGE 1

The gunshots stopped but the troopers kept coming. They poured onto the campus, SLED agents swinging their clubs, troopers bashing heads with rifle butts. Henry Smith was picked up by police and dragged wounded down an incline. Witnesses tell how they saw troopers hit him repeatedly until he no longer moved.

Delano Middleton was handcuffed where he lay and dragged across the grass, over the embankment and down onto the sidewalk. He was still conscious. Police hit him with rifle butts. He died soon after.

Did students have guns? There is no evidence of it, although law enforcement agencies have made an exhaustive investigation hoping to prove that students fired on police. As 1 student said, "If we had guns you can be sure that someone would have been dead besides black people."

1 by 1, most of the students were sent over to the segregated Orangeburg Hospital. A reporter examined medical records and found that at least 16 had been shot in the back.

Guardsmen, who had failed to act on February 8th, turned Orangeburg into an

armed camp the next day "to protect the citizens of Orangeburg and prevent more riots". Tanks patrolled the streets. Guardsmen were stationed at the power plant, telephone company, radio stations, and strategic points throughout town.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) called a boycott of white businessmen.

Student activity has stirred on Southern black campuses. Throughout South Carolina, students held memorial services and pledged support for black students here. In Durham, North Carolina students ran through the streets smashing store windows. In Charlotte, students hanged Governor McNair in effigy.

SNCC's George Ware hopes to set up a network of black students across the North and South so that if an incident like Orangeburg erupts again, black students from all over the country will move into the trouble spot.

Guardsmen and police have already moved onto black campuses in force. Last year it was Fisk, Texas Southern, and Tennessee State. This year it is Central State and Wilberforce, Miles, Grambling, and now Orangeburg.

Bob Davis sat in his hospital bed in an open ward of the Columbia Hospital.

He will live, but the bullet lodged in his spine is likely to stay, since removal might cause permanent paralysis. I asked Davis if his politics had changed since the shootings. He smiled: Yes, they've changed—"a hell of a lot."

Funds Needed

SNCC workers in Orangeburg have the manpower to launch a strong political program against the white racism that grips the city, but they are short of funds.

Cleveland Sellers' bond was reduced from \$50,000 to \$20,000 on condition that he not go within 5 miles of Orangeburg. SNCC will not accept the condition, and his bail may go up to \$50,000 again.

Orangeburg residents need an office and a late-model Plymouth station wagon or Volkswagen bus.

Readers who wish to contribute should make out checks to Mrs. Cleveland Sellers and mail them to 361 Boulevard Northeast, Orangeburg, South Carolina.

Copper Stoppage _____ continued _____

and Kennecott in particular have been reaping new profits. Where the price of copper before the strike was 36¢ a pound, it is now over 60¢ a pound for the copper which comes from the mines in Chile. (The profits from Chile enable the company to sit out the strike.)

Even during the non-strike periods, the workers are hurt by Kennecott's overseas investments, which provide a major part of the company's profit even though 60% of its copper is domestic.

A crucial point in the strike has now come. Several weeks ago, Kennecott's Baltimore copper-refining plant went on strike (strike vote 409 to 7). This is the plant where the Chilean copper is refined. Now Kennecott will begin to hurt. All of a sudden the Government has taken an active interest in the strike and is hunting for a way to settle it.

What Students Can Do

These then are some of the conditions of the Ely copper workers. They deserve our help, and we feel that giving such help is in the interests of the student movement. There are several definite ways in which we were told we could help the strike:

1) Help to stop student scabs from working in the mills and smelters.

This is important to do during any strike. Often the only contact a worker may have with a student is when the student takes away his job. (Kennecott hired on the Berkeley campus last summer.)

2) Send money to striking locals to help pay workers' mortgages and so on.

3) The workers in Ely did not want picketers. Some locals may want help on the picket line, but such support should not be given without permission from the union.

4) Publicize the real nature of the strike and workers' demands. At the moment only the company's viewpoint is being reported in the press.

The Need to Build a Broad Base for a Student-Labor Alliance

It is not going to be easy to build ties between the student movement and labor. There is much mistrust on both sides. One important thing that we will have to do is begin to combat our "student elitism". Workers do not trust students—



and rightly so. Students are often contemptuous of workers' struggles, and when they are interested, they are often arrogant and inconsistent. A good example of student elitism is on a sign that was set up at San Francisco State College advertising a talk on the copper strike. It said of the copper workers: "They may not be able to read or write, but they sure as hell can fight." No one needs our charity; the world has seen enough missionaries. We must overcome this sense of "going out to help the poor people" which characterized much of our work in support of the Delano grape strike.

We also cannot expect simply to talk to workers, beginning by explaining to them the nature of their struggle. The workers know what's going on. The facts in this article come from them. And we cannot explain to workers that they are exploited. They know they are being screwed; why else are they striking? The ideas workers can learn will not come from lecturing or manifestos. They

will be learned by mutual struggle and by developing mutual respect, and this is going to take a long time.

We would like to end this report by stressing the importance of building ties between students and workers. We must begin now to take the 1st steps toward developing those ties if we are going to build a base for the anti-war movement, if we are going to make the anti-imperialist struggle a real mass struggle. Unity with workers will give our joint movement power, consistency, and ideology, and it will give us a potential for fundamentally changing American society. We will have the potential for victory.

We must be willing to start taking an interest in labor struggles, to make labor struggles an issue on campus. The student movement cannot afford to continue in isolation from the majority of Americans whose interests are opposed to the War and the System, and who have the power to do something about it. It cannot continue to make moral

protests, going down every 4 months to shut down an induction center, marching in a parade, fighting cops, hitting and getting hit. We must begin building a movement which can win.

Many students today are not in the Movement because they do not feel it can win. They do not feel they can get the US out of Vietnam, or even bring about academic reform. Nor are those in the Movement so sure that we can actually win. The student movement is not like Camus's Rebel or Sisyphus. It will not eternally hit its head against the wall. If students feel that the Movement has nowhere to go and has little hope of success, they will drop out or adopt a strategy of raising hell, hoping that if they make enough noise and cause enough embarrassment, some friendly section of the ruling class will champion their cause and take them under its wing. The student movement then will not achieve the fundamental changes it is seeking, and will return to the liberalism from which it emerged.

We Made the News

DEFERMENTS CUT

Today, Oh Boy!

by Karen Gellen

compiled from letters from chapter contacts, local members, regional travelers, sds newsletters, and liberation news service

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK—on february 6th, anaconda copper scheduled a full day of recruiting at the SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY placement center. an sds labor committee prepared a research/analysis pamphlet on anaconda (headlined "anaconda company is recruiting strike-breakers here today"), and called for a demonstration. the company, hearing of the plans, canceled its appointments, and, according to the placement center, has no plans to return.

GAINESVILLE, FLORIDA—armed campus police used the chemical spray MACE against the only black person in a demonstration against a dow recruiter at the UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA. 11 of the 35 protesters were arrested. (note: last week the UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS armed its campus police.)

AMHERST, MASSACHUSETTS—2 information officers from the u.s. army officer candidate school were besieged by some 80 students on the AMHERST UNIVERSITY campus. the demonstration began with picketing outside the building by about 150 students and 15 faculty members—an hour later the protesters assembled for a rally which culminated in the storming of the interview session. the ocs representatives were the first military recruiters to be allowed on campus since november, when the college council banned them in protest of the hershey directive on reclassifying draft protesters.

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO—the ANTIOCH COLLEGE black students forum raised over \$500 last week for bail and legal expenses for students arrested at SOUTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY and CLAFLIN COLLEGE in orangeburg, south carolina. the money, collected from members of the community, was sent to the orangeburg snick office. decourcy squire, an antioch student, has been released from jail in cincinnati, ohio. she had been fasting since december 8th to protest her imprisonment, which had resulted from an anti-war demonstration. (see nln, february 5th, 1968.)

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA—4 DUKE UNIVERSITY students and 1 alumnus who tried to enter the university's investment committee meeting in new york were turned away at the door, although they were allowed to present a written statement to the committee. the 5 were a delegation sent north to protest DUKE's ownership of 5,000 shares of dow chemical stock. the trip culminated a week of anti-dow activity on the DUKE campus.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN—a DETROIT AREA SDS regional conference was held last weekend on the WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY campus—over 30 delegates attended from the following chapters: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, EASTERN MICHIGAN, TOLEDO, MICHIGAN STATE, and WAYNE STATE. the conference set up a regional office and newsletter, a comprehensive exchange program between chapters, and a regional traveler project.

the WAYNE STATE chapter has selected the general motors corporation as its target for the coming months. the chapter hopes to culminate its educational activities with a mass action at the general motors building during the april days of resistance. the campaign will center in 2 areas: gm's role as a supporter of apartheid in south africa, and its exploitation of underdeveloped nations through its dominant position in the military-industrial complex. the chapter is planning a broad campaign involving extensive research, outside speakers, 2 teach-ins, and demonstrations against gm recruiters on campus.

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA—an unidentified person or persons threw 4 molotov cocktails into the naval rotc building on the BERKELEY campus, causing \$2,000 worth of damage, but failing to damage any files or training manuals. campus police say they "can only conjecture", but they "guess it was done by someone against the war".

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA—sds at SAN DIEGO STATE COLLEGE staged guerrilla theater raids on campus while dow recruited. the skit consisted of a uniformed man (military), a flirtatious woman (industry), and a guy with a paper bag over his head (university). military handed out classification cards from the selective shaft system, giving students a blind choice of 1-As and 2-Ss, and offering 2-As to those students approached by industry; and not only were some of the latter refused, but many of the former were burned spontaneously.

the next week, on the day before dow was to return to campus, sds presented (for the 1st time to most of SAN DIEGO STATE's students) the college president, malcolm love, and demanded that both he and the faculty senate attempt to publicly justify the policy of allowing dow to recruit. there was no justification made, and the faculty senate voted 2 to 1 to take no position, on the grounds that educational institutions are and must remain "neutral" at all times. the next day marchers carried a flag-draped dummy of a u.s. soldier to the door of the administration building. then, a black-robed, skeleton-masked figure lit the soldier with a dollar bill and burned it "on the altar of u.s. imperialism". 150 people stood silently while the soldier burned and the "star-spangled banner" played in the background.

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA—students at LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY are sponsoring a talk on campus by floyd nichols, 1 of the 5 students under indictment for murder of a cop on the TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY campus—the talk has been banned, and the students plan to bring the university administration to court to reverse the decision.

by Les Coleman

"The Government today wiped out blanket draft deferments for more than 600,000 new or would-be graduate students and men with critical occupational skills."

Here are the facts: The Man (Hershey this time) sent out new orders to the local draft boards. Of graduate students, the ruling exempts only students who entered their 2nd or later year of graduate study last fall, and students of medicine, dentistry, and "allied medical specialties". Estimates are that from 226,000 to 250,000 1st-year graduate students and college seniors planning to enter graduate school this year will be affected. (How are we going to reach them, brothers and sisters?)

More facts: no longer considered "essential" are jobs in health and welfare services (reach out to the Vistas, brothers and sisters); teachers in colleges, universities, vocational schools, and technical institutes; and high school teachers of mathematics, physical and biological sciences, and all languages

other than French, German, Spanish, and Italian. Among the critical occupations no longer exempted are chemist, clinical psychologist, engineer, osteopath, and veterinarian.

Warning: don't expect all those people to be drafted. The majority of people drafted, especially for war service, will be black and white working-class folks. The graduate student "directive" only leaves it more to the discretion of the local board. Similarly with critical occupations: Hershey's directive says that "No longer on the automatic deferment list are people who work in aircraft plants." But you can be sure that if they are defense plants, or plants that serve powerful corporations, workers there will get deferments. Local boards are controlled by local corporate power and local militarists. "Decentralizing" just clouds over the SSS's policy of "channeling" men into support of the military-industrial monster through the threat of the Draft. It is a good way of getting out of the charge of channeling for Hershey, who is coming in for criticism for his statements along those lines.

ORANGEBURG ACTION IN NEW YORK CITY

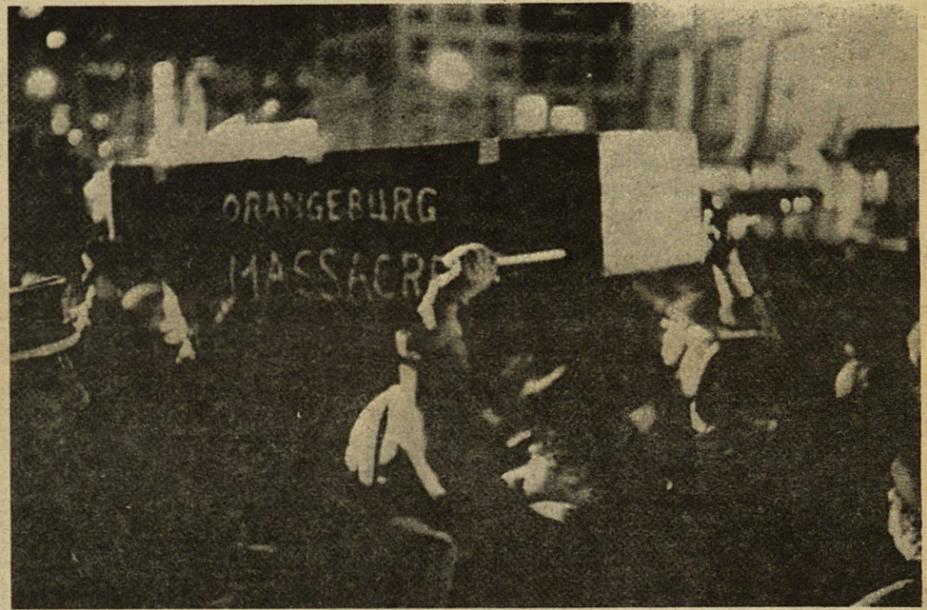


Photo by Howard Harrison

Mock coffin carried aloft by demonstrators.

by Steve Halliwell

New York's response to the Orangeburg killings came Friday, February 16th, at the offices of the South Carolina Development Board. That office—South Carolina's lonely outpost in the North designed to draw Northern capital through underdeveloped conditions and exploitation of black and white labor—and other offices in the building were leafletted at 1 p.m. and asked to close down for the afternoon in respect for the 3 slain black brothers.

"Business as usual" was the response; and so at 3 o'clock, demonstrators arrived with a coffin and marched leafletting in front of the building on New York's busy 3rd Avenue. After about an hour, a guerrilla theater skit began in the street, and was stopped by the fuzz when black hoods were placed on 3 figures. The battalion commander on the spot showed his skill at police science by citing some 150-year-old law against "masquerading". The demonstrators, called together by New York Regional SDS and Up Against the Wall Mother Fucker, a Lower East Side radical group loosely associated with SDS, responded by pulling their coats over their heads. The cop threatened to arrest all of them and then walked off.

Soon the procession, casket in front accompanied by a drum and tambourine, started down 3rd Avenue to Grand Central Station in the heart of midtown Manhattan. In the main chamber of the station, the marchers formed a wide circle around the coffin and the guerrilla theater troupe did their skit. A preacher began talking about the charms of South Carolina—cheap labor, friendly people, good

educational facilities—while dropping black hoods over the heads of 3 people dressed in black. When he mentioned education, the 3 figures charged him in rage and he shot them dead. At that point the marchers swarmed out, chanting "sOUTH Carolina kills!", and linked arms with the dead 3. The marchers moved back out as 350 passersby stood and watched.

Having suffered only minor harassment from the cops in Grand Central—1 appeared and demanded that somebody, anybody, move the coffin (with no response)—the group moved on to the steps of the New York Public Library. The skit was performed again as people began to gather, and afterward the marchers began talking or shouting with the crowd, depending on conditions. 1 fat, well-heeled Southerner racist stood his ground infuriated and practically speechless as discussions went on all around him; finally 1 of the guerrilla theater people pulled his cap pistol on the cat and stuck it under his chin.

The cops had come by to break it up, but had been unable to find a "leader" ("Who's in charge?" 1 kept saying) and had left. The cap pistol, however, apparently set off a report that there was shooting going on in front of the Library, and a few minutes later 5 squad cars descended on the scene.

The marchers, having violated both gun and masquerade laws, declared the service ended to the wail of sirens and melted into New York's rush-hour traffic. Behind them they left perhaps 100 people involved in pitched debate about the Government, the War, and racism.

we read the news today, oh boy

a review of recent publications of interest

by Carl Davidson

1) THE TEXAS OBSERVER (February 2nd, 1968, 504 West 24th Street, Austin, Texas 78705; subscriptions \$6 per year): The information found in this issue's 3 lead articles is relevant to more than Texas radicals. "The Military in Texas", "Informing the Citizenry", and "The Profit of Defense" constitute the beginnings of a portrait outlining the military-industrial-educational complex as it appears on a state-wide level. Movement organizers in any state or urban center should make research of this sort a starting point for any long-range strategic planning, even if they are limited to a campus base. On the issue of university connections with the military, the OBSERVER reports on a 2-week national security seminar conducted at Trinity University by the Industrial College of the US armed forces. The seminar's administrator was Colonel Leon Taylor, who is also the college's director of public information. The report contains this gem: "What do you say to the proposition that the university is not the place for a military seminar?" the OBSERVER asked Colonel Taylor. "We think the university is the place for this sort of thing," Taylor said. "Perhaps we should organize homecoming parades rather than protest demonstrations when military personnel come to visit our knowledge factories."

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2) THE RAG (February 12th and February 19th, 1968, 609 West 23rd Street, Austin, Texas 78705; subscriptions \$1 for 12 issues): These issues contain 2 installments in a 3-part series on recent events in Guatemala. The author's name, Maria del Carmen Reyes, is the pseudonym of a North American student who has worked in Guatemala and has returned from there after an extended visit. The articles place the recent executions of US military staff within their proper context: CIA coups and terror campaigns, US economic domination, and 1000 Green Beret counter-insurgents on location.

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3) FREE STUDENT (Volume 1, Number 3, c/o SDS, 510 1/2 North Hoover Street, Los Angeles, California 90004; subscriptions \$1 for 10 issues): This issue of the SDS city-wide high school newspaper in Los Angeles features a background article on "The US and Korea". It lists pertinent historical facts—beginning in 1866 and concluding with the Pueblo incident—that should be useful to SDS chapters educating themselves and their constituencies on US aggression in Korea.

4) THE SAN FRANCISCO EXPRESS-TIMES (February 15th, 1968, 15 Lafayette Street, San Francisco, California 94103; subscriptions \$3 for 6 months): A sensitive and vital debate is going on within the Movement in the Bay Area. Although focused on the Huey Newton case, the real issue—the future of radical black-white coalitions—is what's really at stake. In this issue, the EXPRESS-TIMES reprints a document entitled "Black Panther Manifesto" which, among other things, presents the Panthers' view of the newly formed Peace and Freedom Party and its relation to the current struggle.

5) LIBERATION (December 1967-January 1968, double issue, 5 Beekman Street, New York, New York 10038; subscriptions \$5 per year): The testimony, reports, and findings of the War Crimes Tribunal presented in this issue cannot be paraphrased, but must be read in their primary form. Even then, after an initial horrified disgust (and fascination) with the particularity of the crimes of our country, the latter pages move with a blur. The enormity and repetitiveness of the atrocities against Vietnam are unabsorbable in 1 sitting. The articles should be read separately, perhaps a day apart. Then their full force might be felt. At any rate, if any local group or organizer is in need of documentary data on Vietnam for teach-ins, leaflets, campus war-crimes tribunals, and the like, LIBERATION offers the most complete, readily available report. This issue, along with the April 1967 and May-June 1967 issues on the 1st Tribunal sessions in Stockholm may be obtained from 5 Beekman Street, New York, New York 10038: \$3 for 1 set of 3 issues, \$2 each for 2 or more sets, and \$1.50 each for 10 or more sets.

Additional recommended articles...

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* "The Democratic Convention: A Challenge to Organizers": an interview with Rennie Davis in THE MOVEMENT (February 1968, 449 14th Street, San Francisco, California 94103; subscriptions \$2 for 12 issues).

* "Foreign Policy Association: 50 Years of Successful Imperialism": an article by Marge Piercy in CAW! (Volume 1, Number 1, Box 332, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003; subscriptions \$5 for 12 issues).

* "Student Strikes Rock Campuses in the 30s": an article by Gus Horowitz, and "Nobody Likes the War—Especially GIs": an article by Caroline Lund in YOUNG SOCIALIST (January and February 1968 respectively, Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003; subscriptions \$1.25 per year).

* "6000 Black Students Strike: Philadelphia Cops Can't Stop Them": a report in CHALLENGE-DESAFIO (January 1968, c/o PLP, GPO Box 808, Brooklyn, New York 11201; subscriptions \$2 per year).

* "Working Class Political Attitudes": an article by Jim Jacobs in RADICALS IN THE PROFESSIONS NEWSLETTER (January 1968, c/o REP, Box 625, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107; subscriptions \$5 per year or "free, if destitute").

* "Organization of Welfare Workers": an article by a group of NYC caseworkers in PROGRESSIVE LABOR (March-April 1968, c/o PLP, GPO Box 808, Brooklyn, New York 11201; subscriptions \$2.50 for 6 issues).

* "Thoughts on Women": an article by Harvey Shepard, and "Separate But Equal": an article by Myrna Wood in NEW LEFT COMMITTEE BULLETIN (December 1967, c/o NLC, 658 Spadina Avenue, Toronto 4, Ontario, Canada; no rate given).

* "Getting By with a Little Help From Our Friends": an article on organizing "radicals in the professions" by Barbara and Alan Haber, and "The New Working Class": a review of Andre Gorz's Strategy for Labor by Jim Jacobs in OUR GENERATION (Volume 5, Numbers 2 and 3 respectively, 3837 Boulevard Saint Laurent, Montreal 18, Quebec, Canada; subscriptions \$5 for 4 issues).

* "What Is Resistance?": an article by Ken Cloke in THE GUARDIAN (197 East 4th Street, New York, New York 10009; subscriptions \$1 for 10-week trial, \$3.50 per year—student or \$7 per year—regular).

* "Houston to Put Militants on Trial for Murder": an article by Robert Analavage in THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT (December 1967, c/o SCEF, 3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Kentucky 40211; subscriptions \$3 per year).

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END TO RUMORS

Coleman as their chairman, the group got together, renamed themselves Welfare Recipients Demand Action (WRDA), and set out to organize a welfare union that would require the participation of large numbers of welfare recipients. Dues were set high—\$12 per year—and payable in advance, and the Number 1 rule was that you had to help do your own fighting, which left no room for mother-henning. In a few weeks WRDA doubled and even tripled their number, and at present they have slightly over 200 members.

Just before the Welfare Committee disbanded, the JOIN staff began considering the idea that if community people held the positions of power they would be able to make the organization more acceptable to other community people, and so they formulated the JOIN Council and set it up as the ruling body of JOIN. The Council was able to carry out some of its aims, but it was still greatly intimidated by the "students" and felt dominated by them, and so the Council too finally fell apart.

The National Community Union

In late 1967 the New Project meetings were going on—called and attended by people who were or had been involved in community organizing. These meetings were efforts to amass information and statistical data, develop ideas about doing more community organizing, and select places where such organizing might be done.

For lack of a real program, SDS had leaned toward community organizing, and many SDSers were involved in these meetings. Then came "Institutional Resistance" and "10 Days to Shake the Empire", and the SDSers' interest in community organizing died, and the fall NC, which until then had been set up to deal with off-campus organizing, was postponed until spring.

Happy to see SDS with some kind of program, but still unhappy about what seemed a betrayal on the part of SDS, JOIN community people drew up the idea

presence felt in the community, as organizing at this point had practically come to a halt.

JOIN is now in the hands of community people, and we feel this is a healthy thing. Here we are, a group of working-class people eager to build an organization that will speak to, for, and about our own people in a language and with actions that can be understood by them and that they can relate to. This, after all, is what SDS organizers said they came to Uptown to accomplish.

JOIN Community Union statement

Realizing that some of our statements may be misunderstood or misquoted, we, JOIN Community Union, make this statement in regard to students:

"All of us are community people in reality, and to continue to throw labels around, we feel, is of a destructive nature. It is better, we feel, to (if we must) call ourselves Movement people or organizers.

In light of this statement we feel the need to further explain why the organizers with student backgrounds were asked to leave JOIN.

1) Their unwillingness, or inability, to fade from the scene began to produce tensions that in some cases resulted in open hostility, and the loss of community people from what, in theory, was their own organization.

2) As organizers they had completed their job: that is, they had organized a group of community people who were ready and able to take on the responsibilities of "leaders" in JOIN.

Does this mean that students can't or shouldn't become community organizers? Certainly not! What it means is that no matter what background people come from when they take on the role of organizer, their primary job is to find people to whom they can pass on their abilities and skills. The main job of organizers is to organize themselves out of a job."

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of the National Community Union (NCU) and funneled all their ideas, information, and data into it. On December 27th they went to the SDS NC in Bloomington, Indiana and presented a resolution demanding that SDS support the NCU and its program. The concept and the program were received with great enthusiasm by the SDSers from the campus chapters, and the resolution was passed with little dissent except from supporters of "Shake the Empire" who thought JOIN's hillbillies were trying to take over SDS and wreck it.

JOIN Council revived

And so it came to pass that the JOIN people who had gone to Bloomington scared and uncertain came back to Chicago with a new-found strength and pride, faced with the exciting job of building THEIR organization up again. Conditions in JOIN had gone from bad to worse, but confident in its new-found collective strength the JOIN Council was revived in early 1968 and voted that organizers with student backgrounds should leave so that the organization under the direction of community people could again make its

VOCATIONS FOR RADICALS

A "Vocations for Radicals" conference, sponsored by New England SDS and the Paper Tiger magazine, will be held March 8th, 9th, and 10th at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Cambridge.

The Conference schedule includes a Friday-night general introductory discussion; Saturday workshops on radical activity in different professions, full- and part-time radical activity, learning Movement skills, and adult radical life styles; and Sunday discussions of the radical community, radical activity in various cities now, and proposals for radical political parties, co-operatives, communes, and so forth.

Registration begins 6 p.m. Friday, March 8th, in the east lounge of the MIT Student Center, and Saturday conference sessions will be held in MIT Room 1-107. The \$4 registration fee includes working papers, and housing will be provided.

For further information or registration contact Ken Frisof, 27 Myrtle Avenue, Cambridge (617-864-0920), or call 617-262-7891, or see the February 5th, 1968 issue of New Left Notes.