Resist Newsletter, Dec. 1, 1969

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The RESIST conference was held at the church of St. Stephen and the Incarnation in northwest Washington on Sunday, November 16, 1969. More than 250 people participated in the conference: many were from small colleges in out-of-the-way places; most lived in the eastern two thirds of the country.

**MORNING WORKSHOPS**

The conference began with a series of workshops to discuss what people had been doing so far this fall. Assignment to these workshops was according to order of registration: people were assigned to workshop 1 until the room in which it was being held was full; workshop 2 was then begun. The only exception to this arrangement was an attempt to divide several people from the same school among several workshops. This arrangement seemed most likely to give each workshop a wide sampling of the types of work people had been doing in a variety of situations. General reports were that this system worked very well, and many people considered their morning workshops the most valuable part of their day.

Two or three of the ten morning workshops did not discuss the work participants had been doing. The people in these workshops were most interested in getting right into discussions of plans for December.

Workshops in which past activities were discussed revealed a wide variety of experiences and situations: At Elan College in North Carolina a professor was suspended for participating in Moratorium activities. At Notre Dame, where the administration does whatever it can to blockade activists, a Resistance Mass on October 15 brought many people their first direct encounter with those committing themselves to active resistance. In Milwaukee liberal control of the October 15 Moratorium posed many problems for radical organizers. The demonstrations organized by the November Action Coalition at MIT in early November forced people to consider the necessity of winning the support of the workers whose jobs would be eliminated if demands for an end to weapons research are won. In general, the morning workshops gave people a valuable opportunity to talk with others not only about the programs they have worked on but also about the circumstances in their schools and communities which led them to choose those programs.

**THE SPEAKERS' SESSION**

Following lunch, which was shared with members of the church celebrating the ordination of a new priest and with those attending the conference being held elsewhere in the church building by the National Council to Repeal the Draft (NCRD), those attending the RESIST conference gathered in the church sanctuary for the speakers' session. This session was chaired by Howard Zinn, who introduced not only the scheduled speakers but also several surprise speakers.

The unscheduled speakers included Oda Makota, Japanese author and head of Beheiran (the Japanese organization which has helped over 300 American deserters to escape to Sweden). Two of the Boston Eight, the group which destroyed 100,000 l-A files (and cross-files and minutes of draft board meetings) in Boston on November 7, explained some of the beliefs which led them to perform this action. Michael Cullen of the Milwaukee Fourteen expressed his solidarity with other draft file destroyers and sang a song about a young Irish revolutionary. Tom Reeves, national director of the National Council to Repeal the Draft, spoke of the necessity and value of a variety of actions, including electoral and petition campaigns, in the fight to repeal the draft and bring about other basic changes in American society.

Cont'd on page 2
THE RESIST CONFERENCE cont'd...

The scheduled speakers included Noam Chomsky, David Hawk, Franz Schumann, and Frank Joyce. Noam Chomsky outlined some of the needs of capitalism which make it incompatible with providing a decent life for all peoples of the world. David Hawk commented briefly on the need for everyone in the movement to work together to achieve our common goals. Franz Schumann called attention to the fact that it is not sufficient to withdraw American men from Vietnam; resistance to that war has forced the Pentagon to develop equipment and tactics that could result in fully automated wars, so that the war need not end when the troops are withdrawn.

The last speaker, Frank Joyce, spoke about the direction the movement is taking and the repression it is encountering. The origins of our movement are in the struggles of black people in the 1950's. In the 1960's the cost of racism became too high, and white people can no longer do whatever they will to people of color. However, we have yet to learn to live without racism; the struggle of the 1970's will be for the creation of a new social order. As we move toward the accomplishment of this goal, we should not be surprised when our efforts are taken seriously. The government's increasing repression, right now most obvious in the trial of the Conspiracy Eight, shows that the more it is challenged the less it can afford the luxury of democracy.

ORGANIZING AFTER NOVEMBER

The afternoon session consisted of workshops on five major topics: taking the profit out of war, racism and repression, non-electoral electoral politics, methods of resisting the draft, and organizing special constituencies. The fifth category consisted of several smaller workshops on topics such as community organizing in small cities and women's liberation. The workshop on racism and repression focused on the Conspiracy Eight trial as an example of the use of governmental power to stop movements and ideas that begin to have an effect. Some of the people interested in draft resistance attended the RESIST workshop; others sat in on some of the NCRD workshops. The group interested in non-electoral electoral politics became involved in questions such as how to deal with attempts at co-optation by liberal politicians interested in using the more popular of movement issues as springboards for their own political careers. The workshop

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SOME CRITICISMS OF STAUGHTON LYND'S PROPOSAL

by Dan Stern

I am in complete agreement with Staughton Lynd's general thinking that the giant corporations should be identified as the controlling source of power in the military-industrial complex and the single most important beneficiary of U.S. economic and military imperialism abroad. The giant corporations should be named as the single most powerful institution responsible for the Vietnam war. I do, however, have several criticisms of Lynd's specific proposals.

1. The specific proposal that we demonstrate at meetings of stockholders next spring has several defects which are serious enough to make me oppose this specific action. The "peace movement", primarily white and middle-class, has yet to enlist the support of most of the American working class in any active way. Going to stockholders' meetings will tend to confirm many workers' suspicion that middle-class movement people are trying to arrange a deal in which the corporate managers would cease and desist war production at the expense of the workers' jobs. Since the only real thing the movement wants at the stockholders' meetings is publicity, working-class people will view the action as fun and games. Will the movement be able to cogently explain to the workers why this threat to their jobs and economic security is in their interests? Furthermore, the idea of voting shares of stock at stockholders' meetings strikes me as a poor tactic if the anti-war movement is to push an anti-imperialist and eventually anti-capitalist point of view. We should not be identified in any way with corporate management or ownership, and I would support the attempt to attend stockholders' meetings only if the issue of worker control of production were raised in a serious way.

2. Decentralized demonstrations at war production plants may well lead to the crystallization of workers' frustration (already high because of speed-ups and layoffs, high taxes, etc.) and anger at the movement. As I said before, the movement has a small base, at best, among workers; when the movement suddenly confronts the workers with a demand for cessation of war production, how will it explain this position? Workers are most favorable to the movement when they are already engaged in
I propose that the peace movement demonstrate next spring at the annual stockholders' meetings of corporations which are leading defense contractors.

This idea results from the cumulative experience of the anti-Vietnam movement since 1965, and is implicit in our best analysis of the society and foreign policy which produced the war. Have we not said that the war stems from "imperialism?" And is not the operative content of that abstraction the daily activities of the international corporation? Why, then, do we continue to demonstrate in Washington, as if the core of the problem lay there? The small groups of activists who have burnt draft files and corporate records have pointed to the proper target. Thus the D.C. Nine invaded the Washington offices of the Dow Chemical Corporation, declaring that a corporation whose business was death and whose market was war had no right to exist. Thus the New York Eight sent the draft files they had pilfered to the executive officers of four corporations with offices in Rockefeller Center.

But these are necessarily guerrilla actions. We need to find ways to lay siege to corporations. We need to develop forms of actions which offer roles to persons at many different stages of radical commitment. We need to invent anti-corporate actions which involve masses of people rather than just a dedicated few.

Demonstrations at annual stockholders' meetings could be one first step. They would provide many different tasks. Some could work from within the meeting as holders of proxies. Others could demonstrate outside the meeting. Still others could develop local supporting actions at the plants owned by the target corporations and on the campuses to which they send their recruiters.

Many of the largest defense contractors hold their annual meetings during the spring months; these meetings occur in every region of the United States. In 1969, for example, IBM met in Santa Monica, GM in Detroit, Martin-Marietta in New York City, ATT in Atlanta, Raytheon in Lexington, Mass., and General Tire and Rubber in Akron, Ohio. Thus, there is the possibility of regional demonstrations with a common national focus. This has been the pattern of the most successful anti-Vietnam demonstrations.

The annual shareholders' meeting can be of interest to many constituencies. The bitter General Electric strike may be followed by major springtime strikes in auto and other industries. Annual meetings present an opportunity for striking workmen to make their case to the public. Citizens' groups concerned about pollution may want to say something to major defense contractors which are also major polluters, such as General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, and United States Steel. One can imagine the annual meeting of one of the Big Three automobile companies simultaneously besieged by groups concerned about defense contracts, labor practices, and pollution. These corporations should also be checked out as to their possibly discriminatory practices. A Chicago-area precedent for the kind of action here suggested was an appearance at the May 29, 1969 annual meeting of Sears, Roebuck and Company by a citizens' group charging discrimination in 1) failure to promote blacks and women to managerial positions, 2) urban renewal activities damaging to the black community, and 3) close connection between Sears, Roebuck and Company and banks making large loans to the government of South Africa.

The interest of radical students in this kind of activity can be assumed. Moderate students may be interested if a careful case is made showing that their own universities are deeply involved in the war through their stock investments. A glance at the stock portfolio of any major university will dispel the illusion that the university is neutral and above politics. However, inquiry of this kind should not be limited to the large universities with spectacular links to the war, such as MIT (54th largest defense contractor) or Stanford (with its Stanford Research Institute).

Here are two examples from the North Shore of Chicago. Northwestern University receives more than $2,000,000 annually for research...
from the Defense Department, gives academic credit for ROTC, and offers hospitality to recruiters from the military-industrial complex. But Northwestern's most dramatic connection with Vietnam is through its stocks. The University has major holdings in at least eighteen of the hundred leading defense contractors, as well as about 10,000 shares in the Dow Chemical Company. The Chairman of the Board of Trustees represents a corporation which does business with the Defense Department.

Lake Forest College is a smaller institution. Yet its modest portfolio includes stocks of the following defense contractors: General Motors, Bendix, General Electric, Abbott Laboratories, Ampex, Motorola, Texas Instruments, IBM, Control Data Corporation, Gulf Oil, Standard Oil of New Jersey, and RCA. The Chairman of the Board of Trustees at Lake Forest College represents the most notoriously open-shop company in the printing industry, R. R. Donnelly.

At almost any college or university in the United States a campaign can be developed focusing on the institution's investments. The first step is the demand for disclosure. Next, when the portfolio has been obtained, related issues can be opened up: recruiters for defense contractors in which the university holds stock should receive special attention; trustees connected with the contractors can be asked to explain themselves before the university community, as was done so successfully at Stanford. Finally, the question of what to do about the stocks should be democratically debated and democratically resolved. Should the university plead the fiscal impossibility of divesting itself of stock ("you could not be a student here were it not for the income from these investments"), students and faculty can respond: "All right, then let a committee elected by ourselves represent the university at the next annual meetings of those corporations."

The fundamental purpose of this activity is to educate the peace movement and the public at large. The message is that Vietnam, the Vietnams of the past, and the Vietnamese to come have their basic cause in the business-as-usual of the American corporation. The best demonstrations need no signs to explain them, and by journeying, next time, not to the White House or the Pentagon, but to the General Electric stockholders' meeting in Beverly Hills, we can most simply make clear the heart of our analysis. In so doing we will also strengthen the hands of the workingmen, consumers, and Movement activists, who in a dozen local scenes across the country are beginning to take on the power of corporate America.

Here are the probable dates for the annual meetings of some of the largest defense-related corporations in 1970:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>CORPORATION</th>
<th>RANK</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February 25</td>
<td>Bendix</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 31</td>
<td>General Tire and Rubber</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1</td>
<td>Westinghouse</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 9</td>
<td>AVCO</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 21</td>
<td>Chrysler</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 27</td>
<td>Boeing</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 28</td>
<td>IBM</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 29</td>
<td>General Electric</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 5</td>
<td>Martin-Marietta</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 6</td>
<td>Honeywell</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 13</td>
<td>General Dynamics</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 18</td>
<td>Lockheed</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 20</td>
<td>RCA</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 21</td>
<td>Kaiser</td>
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<td>May 22</td>
<td>IBM</td>
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<td>May 26</td>
<td>Grumman</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 27</td>
<td>Standard Oil, N.J.</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 29</td>
<td>Ford</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 30</td>
<td>General Motors</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Rank among the 100 leading defense contractors for the fiscal year, 1969.

NUC BEGINS RESEARCH ON PROJECT

The national headquarters of the New University Conference (NUC, 622 West Diversey Parkway, Room 403A, Chicago, Illinois 60614) has begun a preliminary gathering of the sorts of data needed to implement the projects outlined by Staughton Lynd in the above proposal. Anyone with pertinent information about on-going research or organizing projects should send it to NUC.
Teddy Bears 'Hate War'

(Many of those who attended the RESIST conference remained at the church when it was over to attend the press conference at which the Beaver 55 revealed their identities. In the November 19, 1969 Washington Post, Nicholas von Hoffman reflected on this event and on the growth of resistance. Excerpts from his article are reproduced below.)

On page 69 of last Sunday's New York Times you can see a very large picture of a moderately small teddy bear in an advertisement for Georg Jensen, the expensive Manhattan specialty store. The teddy bear has a wistful expression in his eyes and on his stuffed arm, fixed with a safety pin, is a black band of mourning. The copy reads, "Some toys hate war...no toys teach you how to hate or kill. Not at Georg Jensen they don't."

The teddy bear has his toes up and his heels down, as though his feet were dug in. The teddy bear is resisting.

Resistance has spread even to the stuffed toys in the nursery. You can feel the stiffening refusal to go along, the incipient spirit of sabotage, the conversion of timidly daring thoughts into daylight defiance. The resisters are coming among us.

Many of them were here last weekend and some of them took advantage of the chance of their being in one city to hold a meeting at St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church. They were 100 to 150 in the darkened church looking at eight who sat on a low platform in front of the altar. Light fell on the eight and on the large, wooden crucified Jesus who hung in the air over their heads.

The eight were "emerging," as they put it, to tell the others and the press about what they had done. Michael Donner, a 22-year-old community organizer from a crumbly Mexican section of Chicago introduced the others. Jane Kennedy, a 44-year-old old woman who is the assistant director of nursing for a Roman Catholic Church. They were 100 to 150 in the darkened church looking at eight who sat on a low platform in front of the altar. Light fell on the eight and on the large, wooden crucified Jesus who hung in the air over their heads.

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When he finished speaking, a young man with a yeasty broque named Mike Cullen got up and introduced himself as a member of the Milwaukee Fourteen, another group that says it has destroyed draft records. "I'm proud to be here as a human being, not as an Irishman or as an intellectual. It's really a gasser," Mike said, more in poetry than precision. "Any institution of death has no right to exist...it's always papers, papers in files that are the instrument of death," he continued, trying to explain why most of the people in the room felt that these assaults on property were still in the nonviolent tradition.

Perhaps, but Irishmen aren't Quakers, and there is a determination about these resisters that's not militant but military. You could feel it when his talking words gave out and he fell to song. It's something to hear the revolutionary ballad, "Kevin Barry," sung by an Irishman who means it. "Shoot me like an Irish soldier, don't hang me like a dog, for I fought for Ireland's freedom on a dark September morn," goes the chorus and when he sang it each time, the people in the church would rise to their feet and silently make the clenched fist.

This is very heavy, very illegal stuff. It is resistance and resistance growing bolder. Calling a press conference to lay proud claim to such acts, that's bold. They did it to use the press as a means of telling people what they were doing and recruiting more into their work.

This puts us of the press in a tight position. We should not be anybody's organ to play music on, but these assaults are growing. A couple of years ago, a Molotov cocktail tossed at the Berkeley draft board was a piece of insane uniqueness, but now, in addition to the Catonsville Nine, the Chicago Fifteen, the Baltimore Four, the Boston Eight and the D.C. Nine, we're getting bombings and who knows what else.

The media with no little reason have been reluctant to advertise and glamorize these acts, so we don't know much about them except that they appear to grow in volume even without publicity. People are talking about dynamite, people who never did think that way in the past, so we're obliged to look at resistance in all its forms.

What we know for sure is that with all the talk about the government not permitting policy to be made on the streets, it's the streets that have the initiative. The resisters are out in public and audacious while in the White House they riffle through and count their telegrams of support when not abstracted by faith healing and football.
a struggle with management, and it may be a priority tactic, at least at first, to attack corporations whose workers are already in motion against management. International Harvester's Chicago plant was shut down for a day in October when RYM-II capitalized on worker discontent over the projected closing of the plant. Several radical organizers had been working inside the plant and had organized a small radical workers' group. Without such support from workers within those plants we choose to attack, the movement will appear to be "the enemy" and will drive threatened workers straight into the Wallace movement.

3. The proposal lacks political clarity. The peace movement must decide to promote a politically radical pro-working class ideology or remain ensconced forever within the middle-class youth culture movement. Lynd's proposal has as its goal to "educate the peace movement and the public at large." I would urge that the central goal be to convince workers that actions against the giant corporations are in their interest. The most advanced giant corporation "project" - the Honeywell Project - is not reassuring in this respect. The political line being pushed is the pacifist demand to "stop the killing." Nowhere is there a trace of pro-working class ideology which would identify the Honeywell workers' interests with those of the Vietnamese or other oppressed peoples. Nowhere does it suggest that they should control the production at Honeywell. Attacking the defense contractors will make the workers whose jobs depend upon them take a defensive and negative stance unless our organizing and political theory clearly show that we represent their interests.

THE RESIST CONFERENCE cont'd.

on taking the profits out of war was chaired by Staughton Lynd, and discussion centered around his proposal for an attack on the giant corporations.

The effect of the RESIST conference on work done in the next several months is impossible to measure, but it will be the result of the contributions made by all who attended: speakers, workshop leaders, and participants. Making new contacts and learning what others have been doing is as important as discussing new programs. We hope that everyone who attended the conference took away from it both some ideas for future projects and a better understanding of what fellow workers in the movement are thinking and doing.

A COMMENT: LOCAL ISSUES, WORKER CONTROL, AND "CONVERSION"

by Paul Lauter

Brother Stern's concerns, which have been widely shared by those discussing the Lynd proposal, suggest several responses. One is, as he points out, to select corporations at least in part because organizing against their actions is already going on in another context. For example, Bendix plans to move a major plant from Towson, Maryland, to Virginia in order to slash labor costs. Roughly 60% of the Towson Bendix workers are women, of whom about 40% are black. Bendix can thus be attacked on a number of levels, and many elements of the movement can be unified in an attack that might really benefit an otherwise not very hopeful workforce.

In organizing for Lynd's project, and especially in relating to workers locally, we should consider raising the issue of worker control. This becomes especially pertinent because of plant speed-ups, union-busting tactics, and the ways in which industries foul the air and water used by their own workers. A tactic worth contemplating is organizing delegations of workers to join movement activists at stockholders' meetings to demand the right of workers to make decisions about corporate policy.

Finally, we should make serious efforts to integrate the work of those concerned with "conversion" of war industry to peace production. Six or seven years ago much research was done on conversion; almost none of it was useful to the anti-war movement. Indeed, if it had any value, it was that it helped war corporations diversify and strengthen their positions. If similar failures are to be avoided, efforts like the SACC "Conversion Conference" (SACC is the Science Action Coordinating Committee, which organized the March 4 research strike at MIT last spring. The "Conversion Conference" is being held at MIT on December 3, 4, and 5) must be organized in response to the movement's needs rather than to those of corporate power. The movement must, for example, achieve credibility among workers; we need to demonstrate that jobs can be available for peace production and that we are concerned about such jobs. Thus the Lynd project needs work like conversion research; at the same time, if the conversion work is to be more than elitist research, it must seek its focus and priorities from the anti-imperialist, anti-war movement.