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Capturing Detroit Through An Underground Lens: Issues of the Sixties Inside
Pages of the *Detroit Fifth Estate*, 1965-1970.

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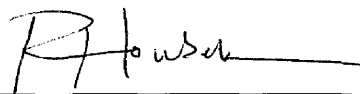
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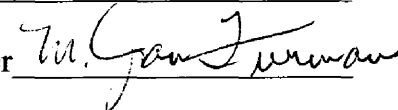
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First Reader



Second Reader



Capturing Detroit Through An Underground Lens: Issues of the Sixties

Inside Pages of the *Detroit Fifth Estate* Newspaper, 1965-1970

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Introduction:
2/5ths In Every Garage

In December 1968 editors of the Detroit *Fifth Estate* (*FE*), what was referred to as an “underground newspaper,” shared with its readers that “A girl wrote us from Britton, Mich. and told us that she had been caught selling papers to Adrian College students and got busted by her high school principal.”¹ The authorities threatened the young lady with criminal charges for selling “pornographic literature, contributing to the delinquency of minors, and selling without a permit.”² *FE* stated, “This goes on all the time, but it won’t turn us around. Two Fifth Estates in every garage is our motto.”³ They meant what they said, and although it is safe to assume they didn’t satisfy their motto of getting two into every garage, they certainly exceeded their goal when it came to mine. When I was a minor, about the age of twelve or thirteen years old, I lived in the city of Petoskey, MI. During the summer of 1969 or 1970, I went out to our garage looking for some baseball equipment and stumbled onto piles of *FE*’s stacked in bundles along with loads of other radical periodicals, including underground newspapers published in different cities throughout the U.S., in addition to underground comics and *Rolling Stone* magazines. The freight I had discovered was hauled from Detroit to Northern Michigan by an outfit known as *Keep on Trucking Co-op* (*KOTC*). According to *FE*’s “DEEE-TROIT SEEN,” a segment that focused on Motor City happenings, the Co-op was a sixteen-person outfit that distributed *FE* “and about a dozen other revolutionary and youth culture publications to 250 stops around the state.”⁴ It seems one of the stops was my house. *KOTC* also did

Printing for movement groups, do speaking dates on their routes, serve as communication and news gathering network, and generally take care of business. If they are going to keep on truckin, though, thru this awful winter they are going to need at least 12 cars, they now have 3 in working order. If you have an extra piece of iron (truck or car) laying around your drive or garage, contact them at 831-1574.⁵

My uncle, Ed Gustafson, a Petoskey native, occasionally repaired *KOTC* vehicles and may have assisted with keeping the three vehicles in working order. Ed’s a rugged, talented, innovative tradesman who can fix stuff that has yet to be invented. Once in a while he ran some routes delivering *FE* to various retailers, but I doubt he spoke at engagements. His theories are rather advanced, complicated to follow, and when he cites personnel experience to support his presumptions, you wonder why script writers aren’t lining up to make movies of his uttering. For a short time he lived in a place called Boone’s Farm Commune, located at 4723 Avery Street, between Canfield and Calumet, two blocks west of Trumbull. After Ed had moved backed to Northern Michigan, on a return trip to Detroit for business, he brought me with him and while in town we stopped by Boone’s Farm to say hi to some of the farmers. Ed ended up in the street, in front of the commune, overhauling an engine for a 1951 Chevy Van with a hatchback, the style of vehicle used to transport *FE*’s around the world. Having witnessed for years my grandfather performing this type of surgery, I found watching grease-covered hippie mechanics rebuilding a

motor rather dull, so I went inside and hung out with some hippie-looking ladies. They were very kind and polite, and get this; they didn't ask me if I wanted to get high. Being a small town kid, though, only fourteen, they thought I might get a kick out of going to the Grande Ballroom on Grand River Ave. to see Mitch Ryder. Ed nixed that idea, saying we didn't have time to stick around town.

Members of KOTC and some of the *FE* staff lived at Boone's Farm, the house within walking distance from the corner of Warren Avenue and the John Lodge Freeway service drive, site of *FE*'s headquarters. Due to the proximity between *FE*'s office and the commune, it wasn't unusual for some of the paper's employees that lived at the Farm to walk to and from work. And in the city, every now and then, the stroll had a little adventure. In December 1970 *FE* reported, "Two brothers were trukin down Warren from the Fifth Estate Office one cold night. Two street dudes walk up behind them and start saying how much they need bread. One of them pulls out a piece and demands" the duo's money. The two comrades kept their cool, debating with the thieves, trying to convince them of how they also needed the cash. Both parties mutually agreed that times were tough in Detroit. One of the thieves asked the pair where they were going, and one of the "brothers" pointed towards Avery Street, which earned the response, "Holy Shit, you must be some of those revolutionaries from Boone's Farm. Let me shake your hand."⁶

Images presented by traditional media sources of frail, passive antiwar hippies unable to defend against being "clubbed and tear-gassed" certainly weren't an accurate portrayal of Ed and his cronies. In *Bringing Peace Home*, Karen J. Warren & Duane L. Cady make the point that in a patriarchal society, "War and Peace are seen as opposites" and that people who work for peace are viewed as sissies. Such a vision supports what is "macho, polarized, dichotomized attitudes toward war and peace," a "reconceptualization of values along a continuum which allows degrees of pacifism and degrees of justification for war."⁷ I cannot help thinking of *FE*'s foreign correspondent Nick Medvecky donating blood to someone that "stepped on an anti-personnel"⁸ landmine as he lived amid the "squalid and horrible misery" of "tents and tin shacks" with "little protection against the burning sun and the driving cold winds and rains of winters" that formed the "harsh reality of Palestinian relocation"⁹ refuge camps in the Middle East. While throngs of hippies served as fodder for Coca Cola and Pepsi commercials at Woodstock, Medvecky traveled the war torn Middle East. In a second tour one year later, "a guest of a commando organization," *FE* stated, "As the crisis of that area sharpens, threatening to create another Vietnam for the United States, the importance of" Medvecky's "first hand reports cannot be stressed enough."¹⁰ While moving with Al Fatah through the desert and "having a first hand look at the Palestinian revolution usually denied Western observers,"¹¹ from his personal experience Medvecky testified,

“Reading the mass media, watching one’s TV, and listening to the news on the radio, quickly confirms the media’s ‘confusion’ on the dynamics ranging all around them. There is not any understanding manifested beyond the ‘cowboys and indians’ mentality.”¹²

In those days, due to stereotypical images pertaining to longhaired men, if you fit that category, you had to be on the lookout for law enforcement ready to pounce on you for no reason but personal appearance and for bully’s thinking you’re an easy opponent. Writing for *FE* in August 1970, the journalist “Sanjuro” cautioned at demonstrations that the police, “who are just people, wade in swinging randomly because there is no resistance,” and advised that its “a revolutionary’s duty to stay out of jail if at all possible, and keep his or her head intact,” noting, “what good are you if you can’t keep yourself from being beaten, or someone else who is.”¹³ Through *FE*’s coverage of the Open City project, the underground community’s effort to provide poverty stricken Detroiters with free medical, legal, and plenty of other services, the paper let it be known readers could learn self-defense by taking free karate lessons from Doug Larkins, chairperson for the Open City defense committee.¹⁴ Larkins, who worked at *FE* and also served as martial arts instructor for the paper’s editor Peter Werbe, was also a friend of Ed’s, and the two would tussle with each other intermittently, attempting to prove which form of self defense was most effective. In fact, it was what sounded like karate chops banging on our backdoor on a snowy day before Christmas 1969. When I opened the door, standing outside was a young man with a wide grin, his smile outlined by a Fu Man Chu mustache, holding an axe in his hand. His hair hung to his shoulders, with sort a singed look, kind of frizzy, and a condition that may have been caused by falling snowflakes landing on his head, wetting his locks. Any alarm I felt was quickly alleviated by a friendly voice that said hello and asked if Ed was there. It was Larkins. His significant other sent him over to get Ed’s assistance in finding an authentic Christmas tree, one from the wild Northern Michigan woods. Either because of the “back to the earth movement,” or her refusal to support holiday commercialism, she wanted something Larkins had chopped and hauled from the forest. The lumberjacks let me tag along. The plan was to drive into the wilderness, using the back roads in search of an area thick with pine trees, the uncomplicated portion of our strategy. The challenge was figuring out the boundaries that distinguish public from private lands. Farmers up north, often in possession of firearms, not to mention the county sheriff, are not particularly fond of their scenery filled with images of Charles Manson and Jerry Rubin cutting up their nature. Having second thoughts, we decided to head for the nearest town, Charlevoix to purchase a tree, a place Sanjuro noted was where “groups of rednecks often attack hippie youths, simply because they can’t and don’t fight back.”¹⁵ In a lot overflowing with Christmas trees for sale, kicking pine needles through the snow while Larkins and Ed rummaged

around for a tree that was the right fit, one that looked as if it had been rapidly pulled through a field, chased by an armed agrarian, possibly a disciple of the National Rifle Association. I made a deal with Larkins and Ed. I wouldn't mention to anyone where the tree came from if they didn't mind putting up with me staring back at the roughnecks passing by giving us dirty looks from their pick-up trucks.

Larkins wasn't the only member of "the movement" that showed up at our house. Through marriage, Ed had two sisters-in-law that worked in some capacity at *FE*, Lee Ann and Carroll, their names appearing under editorial group in the paper's masthead. Often they stopped by to visit Diane, Ed's wife, a person I recall as being one of my best friends during my adolescent years. Lee Ann was married to Jim Kennedy, an *FE* staff member and a guy very much in the thick of things at KOTC. Occasionally, these and other *FE* personnel showed up at my house, and overall, they were pleasant individuals, always reverent to my grandparents, mother, and siblings. They were cognizant and respectful of a child's right to possess a normal childhood, and they never presented me with suggestions on how to do something crazy at school, let alone slip me a blueprint on how to overthrow the government. Contrary to images of dangerous rebels, they seemed to be more interested in protecting the environment and encouraging good nutrition. I never worried about them putting LSD in my Cheerios, and they never offered me a joint when my mother or grandparents were absent. Probably the most dissenting conversation I recall was the banter between my mother and Jim Kennedy concerning the virtues of vegetarianism. Jim, "truckin" through the backyard carting copies of *FE* and other radical publications for storage in the garage, hollered at my mom as she made dinner: "That meat frying sure does smell good, but being a vegetarian might be a healthier way to go." When I reached adulthood, occasionally I would venture into Detroit's Clark St. neighborhood, usually in the wee hours of the morning knowing that I would find Jim and Carroll, and some of their cronies still awake, engaged in some good conversation. They were always receptive to me barging in unannounced, and Jim always had extra beer available, the only drug he ever offered me. During my visits he would start pulling books off his bookshelves, political and historical manuscripts that provided topics for debate. And upon leaving he would insist I take a couple with me to read, inviting me to come back soon to share my opinions about the material.

As for the newspaper itself, *FE* carried small news briefs similar to the Associated Press and United Press International sections; these brief bulletins included segments named "Far Out Press" and "If You Read The Underground Press You Know." The paper also printed "The Movement" and "Vietnam Crossword" puzzles, and they also published nationally syndicated columnists like John Wilcox, Wilfred Burchette, and Julius Lester. However, local individuals

wrote most of their columns and articles. For this project I reviewed every article and column *FE* published from November 1965 through December 1970 and tabulated 2,194 articles, excluding pieces written by national personnel. What I discovered is that *FE* was very much a newspaper dedicated to covering the antiwar movement and the more radical bend of civil rights activism, with many of the articles containing elements pertaining to both issues. Within articles containing both of these topics, one usually emerged as the more dominant subject matter. Based on a rough estimate, close to twenty percent of newspaper's content focused on Vietnam, and out of that total eighty-three percent covered the antiwar movement. Forty two percent of the antiwar articles had a Detroit setting while forty percent focused on the national effort. Regarding stories of this nature, however, the local antiwar effort was what was featured, as these received prominent space on *FE's* pages, whereas the national stories often were presented in news items requiring less space. Nearly fifteen percent of the paper's coverage looked at civil rights activity, with about thirty-six percent of those articles reporting on the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, the Reverend Albert Cleague, and several other incidents involving African Americans in the area, and they are usually written in a tone much more supportive to the cause than what you will find in Detroit's major daily newspapers. Without including items coming from national sources, these percentages would undoubtedly be higher.

One columnist I did include was John Sinclair, a University of Michigan-Flint graduate, who wrote two separate columns for *FE*, "The Coatpuller," and "Rock & Roll Dope." In his columns Sinclair discussed a variety of topics, be it music, the war, his legal issues, the White Panthers, mainstream or underground press, or using his space to write an open letter to Michigan Governor George Romney, thanking the Governor for his visit to Plum Street.¹⁶ Considering his status as a public figure, Sinclair was also the subject of several articles by *FE*, his employer, if that is the right term. Overall, Sinclair in some way, either as columnist, a reporter, or a news item, is connected to about fourteen percent of the stories that focused on Detroit area news. The antiwar and civil rights movement, in addition to all of the projects Sinclair had his hands on, exceed the other topics I considered. Music, be it record reviews or promotions for local musicians or coming musical events, occupied approximately nine percent of *FE's* attention. At the bottom, below issues like police brutality or analysis of what the *DFP* and *Detroit News* were writing about, is the topic of drugs, which takes up three percent of the paper's coverage, although in some of the stories it is evident that they are somewhere in the milieu of news items presented. But then again, often items such as alcohol or nicotine can be detected in the background of items presented in mainstream media.

One question I wanted to investigate was why there was a paper like *FE*? In order to find that answer I read Todd Gitlin's book, *The Whole World is Watching*. In the 1960's Gitlin wrote articles for the Liberation News Service (LNS), which began supplying underground newspapers with material in fall 1967. On more than one occasion his work can be found in *FE*. After his days writing for LNS, Gitlin went on to become a professor of Sociology and Journalism, most recently at Columbia University. *The Whole World is Watching* explores the *New York Times* coverage of the 1960's antiwar and civil rights movements. He explains how events are carved and shaped into images before they are placed in a frame to be offered to the public as news. One fact he points out is that it took some time before the *Times* discovered that the antiwar and civil rights movements were actually one single effort engaged in a struggle against the establishment. After reading his book, I then examined the *DFP* coverage of antiwar and civil rights issues in Detroit during the year 1965, curious if the Detroit paper demonstrated similar tendencies with its reporting also found in the *Times*. This examination is the subject of the first chapter, that and shedding some light on what some of the *FE* characters were up to before the paper became part of their activities.

In March 2008 I had the opportunity to interview the paper's creator, Harvey Ovshinsky. Subsequent to serving as *FE*'s publisher, he moved into Detroit radio, working as news director for WABX-FM. and into television. Following his radio stint, Ovshinsky went on to work as a local television producer at Channels 4, 7, and 56. As a producer, he has been honored for brilliance in broadcasting with the Peabody Award and also several Emmy Awards, picking up Emmys for his work on "A Gift for Serena," "City Nights," and an Emmy for his documentary film, "Close to Home: The Tammy Boccomino Story," a movie about the mother of a boy suffering with HIV. Ovshinsky has taught filmmaking courses at Wayne State University and screenwriting at the University of Detroit Jesuit High School. Today through the Ann Arbor based HKO Media, Ovshinsky is a consultant assisting clientele interested in the creation of their own video, audio, or other projects designed for the worldwide Web. Concerning *FE*, he explained to me that the paper "was the newspaper of record in a movement people didn't know even existed unless you were in it, so it helped us feel more comfortable."¹⁷ He also said that prior to the paper's inception "there was no unifying place or center to express yourself. You went to the coffee house or you went to the movie theater but where did you go afterwards. You didn't know there were other people like you unless you met them, whereas with the *Fifth Estate* you just read about yourself."¹⁸ Ovshinsky believes the paper

was revolutionary at the time because we covered the war and more importantly the antiwar movement and the experiences of the veterans long before the *Free Press* or the *News*. The *Free Press* and the *News* were in denial of the war the same way it was in denial about the war in Iraq and the

economy today.¹⁹

Eventually people outside the movement and members of Detroit's major daily newspapers discovered *FE*. Ovshinsky knows "the *Free Press* and the *News* read us and we were profiled in *Detroit Magazine* and there were other profiles."²⁰ He recalls "a lot of commercial artists, musicians, writers, students, and professional people read the *Fifth Estate*," but "what surprised me and what impressed us was that Vietnam Veterans wanted the paper. That was interesting. And Vietnam soldiers too."²¹ When I asked Ovshinsky if the paper made it to Vietnam he responded, "Absolutely."²²

I also had a chance to meet with Peter Werbe, co-host with Juline Jordan on the Democratic Award winning phone-in talk show program, WRIF radio's "Nightcall," to discuss the paper's history. Prior to signing on with *FE* in 1966, Werbe was an activist with the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam, an organization protesting against a war many believed was a criminal act carried out by the United States. Shortly after Ovshinsky went into the radio business, Werbe followed suit, joining Detroit's FM radio scene, and he remains there to this day. He has been on local radio except for a brief hiatus in the late seventies, eventually hosting a nationally syndicated political talk show. For the most part, his radio career has coincided with his affiliation with *FE*. Outside of being away from the paper for a year or two in the mid seventies, in 1975 Werbe rejoined offices of *FE* with members of the Eat the Rich Gang, and thus continued producing articles for the paper well into the new millennium. He remembers *FE* being a friend to Vietnam veterans and soldiers, and while supporting the troops he recalls the incredible amounts of harassment the paper endured,²³ which included government suppression and being the target of local hate groups that broke into the paper's facilities and destroyed their equipment, incidents that were never reported in the major dailies. The government also inserted a spy into the ranks of the paper: Bill Rowe, who first started out as the paper's accountant before he assumed a role as a staff writer. Both Ovshinsky and Werbe said the paper probably bored him, and maybe it did, but I'm not so sure the MC5 or Sinclair are people that bored the government. Rowe's infiltration shows how crafty the government can be when it wishes to know something about a community of dissent. Not only did he have a chance to observe the inner workings of the paper, by advertising his trade as an accountant in the paper's "unclassified" section,²⁴ he may have had opportunity to learn more about individuals living in the underground who were perhaps unknown to government officials. Whatever Rowe learned, it was enough for Robert J. Glessing to thank Rowe for his generosity, "time and opinions,"²⁵ in the preface of his book *The Underground Press in America*.

This thesis examines other instances where traditional publications depicted *FE* as a

paper committed to promoting cultural indulgences in vogue during the 1960s as opposed to a tabloid dedicated to antiwar and civil rights causes. *Time*, a magazine that specializes in styling media images in its reporting and crafty enough in its coverage of current events that some critics believe the periodical had a role with shaping events that led to the Vietnam War, made use of stereotypes in a July 1966 article that purported to expose *FE* and four other papers with similar content to the nation. The article represented *FE*, its editor, and their readers as LSD enthusiasts. However, the facts suggest that of all publications of the era, the greatest LSD aficionado of the time is *Time* and *Life* magazine. According to *Columbia Journalism Review*, the Luce magazines, more than any other, provided more LSD coverage than the other publications servicing the country.²⁶ Considering its volume of readership, significantly larger than *FE*, people learned about LSD in *Time* and *Life* rather than from a struggling, obscure underground newspaper. Nevertheless, by typecasting *FE*, its personnel, and its readership as drug fiends, *Time*, the *DFP*, and the *Detroit News* could disparage the newspaper and discredit its dissenting content while projecting upon the underground its own guilt for using alcohol and nicotine products to subsidize the news they peddled to the American public. At the same time, traditional mass media's disparagement of *FE* created hostility for its staff, the personnel becoming newsmakers while reporting the "news." As a bystander to the movement, that is as a kid having observed and interacted with people associated with this underground newspaper, my personal experience with them suggested these individuals were not the way mainstream media portrayed them in their content. I knew them as something other than a bunch of hippies getting high. They were very political, interested in being part of activist organizations changing the United States. Therefore, as news subjects engaged in different affiliations that comprised "the movement," *FE* and its workforce were more than reporters; they also were witnesses providing testimony for "the newspaper of record in a movement people didn't even know existed."²⁷

Notes

1. "Editor's Notes," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, December 12, 1968.
2. "Editor's Notes."
3. "Editor's Notes."
4. "DEEE-TROIT SEEN," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, December 24, 1970.
5. "DEEE-TROIT SEEN"
6. "Street Scene," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, December 11, 1970.
7. Karen J. Warren and Duane L. Cady, *Bringing Peace Home: Feminism, Violence, And Nature*, ed. by Karen J. Warren and Duane L. Cady (Bloomington: Indiana

University Press, 1996), 3-4.

8. Nick Medvecky, "Palestine: The Torch Of A People," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, October 1, 1970.
9. Nick Medvecky, "Who Are the Guerillas?" *Detroit Fifth Estate*, October 1, 1970.
10. Medvecky, "Palestine: The Torch Of A People."
11. Medvecky, "Palestine: The Torch Of A People."
12. Nick Medvecky, "lebanon," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, October 30, 1969.
13. Sanjuro, "Survival un America-2 Self- Defense," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, August 20, 1970.
14. Harvey Ovshinsky, "Open, City," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, March 20, 1969.
15. Sanjuro, "Survival un America-2 Self- Defense."
16. John Sinclair, "The Coatpuller," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, November 15, 1967.
17. Harvey Ovshinky, Interview by author, Ann Arbor, MI, March 24, 2008.
18. Ovshinsky, Interview by author, Ann Arbor, MI, March 24, 2008
19. Ovshinsky, Interview by author, Ann Arbor, MI, March 24, 2008
20. Ovshinsky, Interview by author, Ann Arbor, MI, March 24, 2008
21. Ovshinsky, Interview by author, Ann Arbor, MI, March 24, 2008
22. Ovshinsky, Interview by author, Ann Arbor, MI, March 24, 2008
23. Peter Werbe, Interview by author, Ferndale, MI, March 10, 2008.
24. Bill Rowe, "unclassifieds," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, April 3, 1969.
25. Robert J. Glessing, *The Underground Press in America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1970), ix.
26. Michael Shudson and Danielle Haas, "Luces in the Sky," *Columbia Journalism Review*, Mar/Apr 2009. <http://libproxy.umflint.edu>
27. Ovshinsky, Interview by author, Ann Arbor, MI, March 24, 2008

Chapter One: Life in the Fourth Estate: Someone Had to Testify

A longhaired, pot-smoking acidhead did not carry out the first eye-catching protest against the Vietnam War. Rather, in March 1965, it was a little old lady on a street corner in Detroit, MI that performed the first intensely staged act of dissent against the war locally - perhaps nationally. Eight days after the woman's personal protest, professors and students at the University of Michigan-Ann Arbor conducted the first "Teach-In," an event designed to present alternative information to American citizens concerning the United States' involvement in Vietnam, information typically not presented through traditional newspapers or magazines. Prior to what has been dubbed the "underground" press, antiwar organizations and radical civil rights activists had nothing but newsletters like *Peace and Freedom News*, published in Madison, WI, or *Northern Student News*, published in Detroit - items found in Wayne State University's Walter P. Reuther Library - through which to share its agenda with its readers. Locally, antiwar activists communicated through the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam newsletter. For people in Michigan, the majority of news about Vietnam, the military effort or demonstrations against the war and for civil rights came from the *Detroit Free Press (DFP)*, the *Detroit News*, and local television and radio news, or from national publications such as *Time* magazine, or news programs presented by national broadcasting corporations. Generally, these participants in America's system of mass media were not likely to portray demonstrations and demonstrators in a positive light. Dissidents who were against the war and those civil rights activists who wished to march a little faster than Martin Luther King, Jr's followers needed their own newspaper.

One of the participants at the Ann Arbor teach-in, Todd Gitlin, a sociology and journalism professor, studied traditional mass media's coverage of the anti-war and civil rights movements during the year 1965 approximately fifteen years after the episode. In his study he discovered that major news organizations displayed a tendency to portray these movements in a negative light. According to Gitlin, newspapers and electronic media purposely fashioned news stories on protesters and protest events in ways that protected government and its financial system. While engaged in its reporting, mass media also was on the lookout for oppositional movements that posed a threat to our government and its system of commerce. He points out that media agencies are vested in the role of sentinel because as businesses associated with a financial system partnered with government, newspapers and broadcast companies naturally have an interest at stake.

For this chapter, I reviewed *DFP's* coverage of antiwar protests during the spring and fall 1965 to determine if Gitlin's discoveries found in prestigious east coast news organizations are

present in local media. I believe they are. Considering that two of the first important antiwar demonstrations occurred during March 1965 in southeast Michigan, the *DFP* had a viable interest in making these stories “disparaging,” as Gitlin calls it, of the antiwar movement. Coincidentally, major benefactors of the military-industrial complex resided in southeast Michigan, the big three automakers. Automobile manufacturing, benefactors of government war contracts and cheap unskilled labor performed by African Americans, which profited the auto business, was important revenue for the area, including the newspapers. As watchdogs for the elites, and for its own operation, when the *Free Press* covered local antiwar and civil rights movements, it covered organizations proposing changes threatening to this region’s economy.

Juxtaposed with appraisal of the *DFP*’s coverage of the movement, in this chapter I introduce some of the activists who worked at the Detroit *Fifth Estate (FE)* newspaper. The fact is, due to how these individuals and their causes were portrayed or neglected, they needed a paper of their own. For historical perspective, I attempt to shed light upon their activities preceding their involvement with *FE*, the newspaper looking out for them. As Gitlin writes in *The Whole World is Watching*, “Three pacifists, trying to awaken a national conscience, immolated themselves and died.” The first immolation happened in Detroit, and the second inspired antiwar testimony witnessed in *FE*.

Helga Herz, a woman in her early forties, worked as a librarian at the Detroit Public Library’s main branch, located on Woodward Ave, in the heart of the city’s cultural district. She lived within walking distance from her job, in the first apartment building west of Woodward, on the north side of Ferry, a street about a block and a half north of the library, with her mother Mrs. Alice Herz. When she arrived at the apartment from work around 7:00p.m. on Tuesday evening, March 16, 1965, Alice was not home as expected, so Helga ventured into the neighborhood in search of her mother. Finding Alice could be a chore for she was a busy person. She was a member of the Women’s Strike for Peace and the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, and she also sang in a choir at the Unitarian Church, a place of worship at 4605 Cass Ave., south of Wayne State University (WSU). The WSU campus was only a block away from her residence and certainly the university was a source of stimulation for a person like Alice, a writer and avid reader. Having witnessed Nazi persecution of Jews in Germany until her 1943 escape with her daughter, Alice empathetically followed news concerning human rights. One current event making the News included the violence surrounding civil rights activists attempting to peacefully march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama. Another steady news item presented were images of Buddhist monks burning themselves to death in protest of South Vietnam President Ngo Dinh Diem’s religious policies that discriminated against members of their faith.

In response to world events such as these, Alice consistently asked friends, “What can I do?”¹ Helga didn’t have any leads on where to find her mother until she heard an 11: 00 p.m. news report broadcast over the radio.

While Helga searched for her mother, at approximately 9:00 on Detroit’s west side, at the corner of Grand River Ave. and Oakman Blvd., Detroit Police Department DPD Homicide Detective Howard Steele found four cans of lighter fluid, two of them empty. Detective Steele, accompanied by Detroit Fire Department fire fighters, arrived on the scene in response to witness reports of a woman setting herself on fire in front of the Federal Department Store. According to the *Detroit Free Press (DFP)*, the first person to observe the burning woman was a young man exiting the store. Upon seeing her he attempted to extinguish the fire and while he did so he inadvertently bumped her onto Grand River Avenue. It was Alice, the authorities discovered, on fire, lying on the street with cotton stuffed in her mouth. Inside her purse the police found what the *DFP* described as a “rambling note, which criticized President Johnson for trying to ‘wipe out’ small nations, - an apparent reference to the bombing raids on Communist supply stations in North Vietnam.”² In the following paragraph the *DFP* characterized the note as a “letter” that “scorned former President Harry Truman for similar actions, apparently a reference to the Korean War which began when Truman was president.”² En route to Detroit Receiving Hospital, Alice informed a Detroit Fire Department Lieutenant, “I did it to protest the arms race all over the world.”³

The following day, on March 17, with her mother “in a semicoma,”⁴ Helga explained to *DFP* staff writer Jean Sharley, “I cannot speak for my mother, and she has not been able to talk to me. But I know there was more than just the remembrance of Jewish persecution, of war, and her personal experiences in action.”⁵ Helga said her mother “is responsive to reality” and “has been alarmed since the late 1940s. She believes we are drifting into a situation.”⁶ Helga also clarified her mother’s act as not “a kind in solace for depression. But as an attempt to stir action.”⁷ Regarding her mother’s self-conflagration, Helga said, “She gave no indication of this. I remember nothing unusual in her response to the Buddhist deaths other than her commenting that they felt so intense they had made a moving sacrifice.”⁸ While Alice lay in critical condition, she was visited by “Dr. and Mrs. Samuel Lerman.”⁹ Agreeing with Helga’s assessment of her mother, Mrs. Lerman commented to the *DFP* that she walked with Alice “in the Selma march around the Detroit Federal Building. She is a rational, reasonable woman. It is difficult to see how she could do this. Just imagine feeling so strongly.”¹⁰ Lucy Haessler, a spokesperson for the Detroit Women for Peace organization optimistically commented to the *DFP*, “We hope she will live to see peace and freedom,” yet, “If she does not, we will redouble our own efforts by bringing pressure on our

government through such activities as March for Peace in Vietnam Saturday at noon.”¹¹ Later that evening, the *DFP* reported fifteen students from WSU, “representing the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam” (DCEWV), arrived at “Receiving Hospital carrying flowers for Mrs. Herz.”¹ Nineteen-year-old Roger Keeran, speaking for DCEWV said, “We acknowledge this courageous act of defiance.”¹² Helga added, “She meant to do what she did. I have talked about her only because she thought her action would awaken people.”¹ Although doctors expressed to the *DFP* that Alice “may live,”¹³ on March 26 Alice died from her self-inflicted wounds.

Near Detroit, in Ann Arbor, at the University of Michigan (UM), some of the people associated with the University shared Alice’s concerns about the United States’ Vietnam policy. Two days prior to Alice’s death, a group of UM professors and students conducted the nation’s first “teach-in,” an activity that provided opportunity for those participating to discuss United States war actions in Vietnam. The *DFP* previously informed its readers of thirty-two UM professors’ intention to “cancel their classes March 24 in protest of U.S. policy in Vietnam” in a March 17 front-page article “Senate Raps U-M Profs for ‘Strike.’”¹⁴ On March 25 the *DFP* reported “12 hours of rallies, speeches, and discussions were organized and supported by 200 U-M faculty members who believe the United States withdraw its troops from the southeast Asian country.”¹⁵ Attending what the *DFP* defined as a rally were about 2,000 U-M students.¹⁶ One of the students present was Political Science graduate student Todd Gitlin, who enrolled at UM subsequent to earning a Bachelor of Arts in Mathematics at Harvard University. While a Harvard undergrad, Gitlin attended a Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) regional conference staged at Cambridge and was inspired by UM students Richard Flacks, Tom Hayden, and Alan Harber,¹⁷ who along with Sharon Jeffries were very instrumental in the 1960 founding of SDS. James Miller in his book “*Democracy Is In the Streets*” reports that Gitlin, along with SDS member Paul Potter, both former SDS presidents, ended up “postponing decisions about their careers by migrating to Ann Arbor and becoming graduate students, using the University of Michigan, like Flacks and Hayden before them, as a base of operation.”¹⁸ Years later Gitlin shared in his memoir *letters to a young activist*, that

Sit-ins spawned other, similar tactics-teach-ins, for example. A teach-in, as devised by anti-war faculty at the University of Michigan in March 1965, was not meant to be synonymous with a rally. Contrary to the current usage, a teach-in was an intensely educational moment—the original antiwar teach-in in Ann Arbor went on all night-bringing academic expertise to bare on life-and death-questions about Vietnam and the cold war that, however urgent, had been neglected in the university curriculum.¹⁹

After Gitlin completed work for his Master’s Degree at UM, he moved on to the University of California at Berkeley and earned a PhD in Sociology. When ready to pursue a career, he served as an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the Berkeley campus with the added

responsibility of heading the university's Mass Communications program. Eventually he moved on to Columbia University where he was appointed a Professor of Sociology and Journalism. In 1980, while Gitlin was still at Berkeley, he produced *The Whole World Is Watching: mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left*, a book that studied "the mass media, the New Left, and their complex relations in a historical time. It tells of one fateful conflict over control of public cultural space in a society saturated with mass media."²⁰ In this particular work Gitlin admits

I work from the assumption that the mass media are, to say the least, a significant social force in the forming and delimiting of public assumptions, attitudes, and moods of ideology, in short. They some-times amplify a field of legitimate discourse that shapes the public's 'definitions of its situations,' and they work through selections and omissions through emphasis and tones, through all their forms of treatment.²¹

Treatment comes in the form of a "media *frame*," mass media's handling of news stories, strategy Gitlin says that "makes the world beyond direct experience look natural."²² In a complex environment, "Frames are principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what happens, what exists, and what matters."²³ Gitlin writes,

In everyday life, as Erving Goffman has amply demonstrated, we frame reality in order to negotiate it, manage it, comprehend it, and choose appropriate repertoires of cognition and action. *Media frames*, largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports. *Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual.* Frames enable journalists to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely: to recognize it as information, to assign it to cognitive categories, and to package it for effective relay to their audience. Thus, for organizational reasons alone, frames are unavoidable, and journalism is organized to regulate their production.²⁴

For *The Whole World Is Watching*, Gitlin examined "every CBS News piece to be found in its soul remaining archive" and "every *New York Times* story about SDS"²⁵ the "small network of radical and left-liberal students" that "helped coordinate support activity on Northern campuses for the Southern civil rights movement,"²⁶ while also studying "antiwar activity"²⁷ conducted outside the parameters of the student organization. His search begins in February 1965 when the *New York Times* finally discovered SDS, quoting Clark Kissinger, the organization's national secretary's statement, "It's quite clear that the major foreign intervening power in Vietnam is the United States."²⁸ The comment was placed in Martin Arnold's article, "14 ARRESTED HERE IN VIETNAM MOVE."²⁹ The day before Alice Herz set herself on fire in Detroit, the *Times* published another article about SDS. Gitlin notes

That winter, a sympathetic reporter, Fred Powledge of the *New York Times*, on his own initiative, wrote at length and respectfully about SDS's politics and approach, heralding the emergence of a 'new student left.' Powledge's article, published in the *Times* of March 15, 1965, certified student radicalism as a live national issue.³⁰

When SDS sponsored the April 17, 1965 Washington D.C. antiwar demonstration, the organization began to receive more press coverage. Gitlin's appraisal of how media covered SDS and the antiwar demonstrations uncovered news stories, he argues, were consistently filled with media frames devaluing the antiwar movement, diminishing media frames also present in the *DFP* coverage of the Alice Herz incident. He writes, "Deprecatory themes began to emerge, then to recur and reverberate"³¹ within articles. With signs of public unrest concerning the war, Gitlin points out, "those who rule the dominant institutions secure power in a large measure directly and indirectly, by impressing their definitions of the situations upon those they rule"³² and the

fact that the networks are capitalistic corporations for example, does not automatically decree the precise frame of a report on socialism, but it does preclude continuing, empathetic reports that would embrace socialism as the most reasonable framework for the solution of social problems.³³

Nor does it prevent mass media from presenting empathetic stories embracing the antiwar movement. Gitlin identifies "the earliest framing devices as:

- *trivialization* (making light of movement language, dress, age, and style and goals);
- *polarization*, (emphasizing *counterdemonstrations*, and balancing the antiwar movement against ultra-Right and neo-Nazi groups as equivalent 'extremists');
- *emphasis on internal dissention*;
- *marginalization* (showing demonstrators to be deviant or unrepresentative);
- *disparagement by numbers* (under-counting);
- *disparagement of the movement's effectiveness*.³⁴

Gitlin comments on Honore de Balzac's 19th century work, stating that he "was already fascinated by the force of commercialized images,"³⁵ pointing out in contemporary times "centralization and commercialization of the mass media of communication make them instruments of cultural domination on a scale unimagined even by Balzac" due to "radio and now television,"³⁶ appliances found in most households, ordinary domestic devices that have impacted politics of the nation. Gitlin notes, "evidence quietly accumulates that the texture of political life has changed since broadcasting became a central feature of American life."³⁷ On a daily basis "directly or indirectly, by statement and omission, in pictures and words, in entertainment and news and advertisement, the mass media produce fields of definition and association, symbol and rhetoric, through which ideology becomes manifest and concrete."³⁸ Gitlin believes ideology visible throughout America is hegemonic, and it "enters into everything we do and think is 'natural'-make a living, loving, playing, knowing, even rebelling."³⁹ He continues,

In a corporate capitalistic society (and in state socialism as well), the schools and mass media specialize in formulating and conveying national ideology. At the same time, indirectly, the media-at least in liberal capitalistic society-take account of certain popular currents and pressures, symbolically incorporating them, repackaging and distributing them throughout

the society”⁴⁰

Ideology is substantiated by its incorporation “into the news,” through mass media’s “journalistic routines,” which are capable of amending opposition “with relative consistency.”⁴¹ Their routines

are structured in the ways journalists are socialized from childhood, and then trained, recruited, assigned, edited, rewarded, and promoted on the job; they decisively shape the ways in which news is defined, events are considered newsworthy, and objectivity is secured. News is managed automatically, as reporters import definitions of newsworthiness from editors and institutional beats, as they accept the analytical frameworks of officials even while taking up adversary positions. When reporters make decisions about what to cover and how, rarely do they deliberate about ideological assumptions or political consequences. Simply by doing their jobs, journalists tend to serve the political and economic elite definitions of reality.⁴²

Sociologist Michael S. Kimmel, in his work *The Gendered Society*, writes that in American society “we can’t forget that all masculinities and femininities are not created equal” and that the “model against which we are expected to measure ourselves” in everything we do and think has and, “For most men, this is the ‘hegemonic’ definition—the one that is held up as the model for all of us.”⁴³ Kimmel adds, “The hegemonic definition of masculinity is ‘constructed in relations to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women’s writes sociologist R.W. Connell.”⁴⁴ In their book *Bringing Peace Home* Karen Warren and Duane L. Cady state,

In a patriarchal conceptual framework, higher status is attributed to what is male-gender-identified than to what is female-gender-identified. Many feminists claim that, at least in Western Culture, emotion, body, and nature have been historically female-gender-identified and considered inferior to reason, mind, and culture, which have been male-gender-identified.⁴⁵

Regarding conceptual frameworks Warren and Cady assert that they are

A set of beliefs, attitudes, and assumptions that shape and reflect how we view ourselves and others. It is a socially constructed lens through which one views the world. When it explains, justifies, and maintains relationships of domination and subordination, a conceptual framework is oppressive. An oppressive conceptual framework is patriarchal when it explains, justifies, and maintains the subordination of women by men.⁴⁶

They continue, “One glaring example of how the dominant cultural outlook manifests this oppressive conceptual framework is seen in macho, polarized, dichotomized attitudes toward war and peace. Pacifists are dismissed as naïve, soft wimps.”⁴⁷

The *DFP*’s March 1965 coverage of the Herz self-conflagration and UM antiwar movement reveals the presence of similar devaluing media frames, frames containing hegemonic ideology, depicting the patriarchal conceptual frameworks discussed by Warren and Cady. At the top of the March 17 *DFP* front-page, the prominent headline for the day reads “Mounted Police Club Marchers.” With the use of bold print for emphasis, underneath this headline rests two

photos, one depicting a rather vicious image of a male Alabama **“MOUNTED DEPUTY”** who in Montgomery **“bumps his horse into a young demonstrator,”** a white woman, **“as he herds her away from other marchers near the state Capital.”** The other photo shows how **“U.S. marshals drag away one of the 27 civil rights demonstrators,”** a young white man, pictured helplessly in a supine position, hands over his head, kind of like a **“soft wimp, who staged a sit-down in the Detroit Federal Building.”** Below the photos, the *DFP* supplement the visuals, featuring a story—**“Marshals Drag 27 Sit-Ins From Federal Building Hall”**—that reported how **“Twenty-Seven demonstrators were dragged out of the eighth floor hallway”** of Detroit’s Federal Building as deputies used **“only the force absolutely necessary to clear the corridor.”**⁴⁸ The students, claiming to be from WSU, UM, and Michigan State University (MSU), together **“locked arms and sang protest songs.”**⁴⁹ The *DFP* clarified that **“Five of the demonstrators were women. Three were Negroes,”** and while twelve demonstrators talked with authorities, **“another 15 ‘infiltrated’ the eight floor and announced they would not leave until the Selma ‘situation’ was ‘cleared up.’”**⁵⁰ Considering America’s patriarchic society where historically women are perceived as subservient to men, possible *disparagement* of the civil rights movement occurs in the bold print, identifying women among civil rights demonstrators. Bold print highlighting women of different races also incorporates socially constructed taboos surrounding interracial relationships, potentially tapping into prejudice readers may have regarding this type of fraternization, a strategy promoting intolerance for the civil rights movement and justification for keeping society’s status quo.

On this article’s left side rests **“Senate Raps U-M Profs For ‘Strike’,”** a story that *“marginalizes”* the deviant antiwar professors, the lead sentence stating, **“The Senate Tuesday condemned and asked for disciplinary action against 32”** UM **“instructors who plan to cancel classes March 24 in protest of U.S. policy in Vietnam.”**⁵¹ The story also discussed how Senators adjusted language, trading **“illegal”** for **“ill-advised and un-American”**⁵² in request for discipline. The *DFP* in bold print adds another frame, *emphasis on internal dissention*: **“We don’t want another Berkeley,”** said one educator. **Students at the University of California at Berkeley rioted earlier this year, protesting the administrations ban on on-campus politicking.**⁵³ One week later the *DFP* March 25 front-page headline **“Bomb Scare Routs Viet Protest”** placed above the subtitle **“2,000 Youths Flee Rallies”** implements Berkeley images for an article providing frames of *disparagement of the movement’s effectiveness*. This article begins,

A scheduled all- night protest at University of Michigan got off to a jittery start late Wednesday as Police kept searching for bombs. About 2,000 UM students, who had jammed into four auditoriums in Angell Hall, were forced outside by a bomb scare after the protest started at 8:00 p.m. The police searched the building but found nothing.⁵⁴

The *DFP* depicts a poorly planned demonstration: “There was standing room only in all four auditoriums, although speakers appeared only in one of them. The speeches were piped into the other three.”⁵⁵ The article continues on page 4A where attending professors are mentioned, including MSU anthropologist Dr. John Donahue, whom the *DFP* noted had “spent several years doing field work in Vietnam.” The story reports Dr. Donahue received applause for his statement, “It is a civil war. It is not an invasion from the north Communist Vietnam. The people of the south have joined in a war of liberation from the central government of Saigon. When we leave, and we ultimately must, the situation will not be stable for years.”⁵⁶ After indicating that Donahue’s remarks are favorably received, the *DFP* quickly points out, “No speakers in favor of U.S. policy were invited to the rally.”⁵⁷ The remaining portion of the article polarizes the antiwar movement as the *DFP* reports “About 50 picketers from the Republicans Club at UM paraded through the hallways outside protesting the rally. One of the pickets denounced the speakers, saying, ‘they didn’t say one positive thing about our government.’”⁵⁸ This individual also expressed to the *DFP* “that a campus group which he identified as the student Committee to Aid Faculty is raising funds ‘for a national liberation front which they themselves admit is the Viet Cong.’”⁵⁹ The article’s conclusion reminds that professors came “under fire from Gov. Romney” after “they announced they would skip their classes Wednesday in order to dramatize their protests.”⁶⁰ Professor truancy is recorded but the article fails to mention that shortly before March 24, teach-in participants decided to hold night sessions in order to avoid missing class, which made it difficult to solicit speakers supportive of U.S. Vietnam policy.⁶¹ On page 4a, the **Bomb Scar Routs Viet Protest** article is planted above “**M’ Students plan to Stage Countermove,**” a polarizing article emphasizing counter demonstrations the *DFP* insisted would be attended by “**SEVERAL** speakers familiar with the Vietnam situation.” Gitlin, a witness, testifies in *letters to a young activist*,

The few American intellectuals who knew Vietnam suddenly found a hearing. For the sake of debate, sometimes organizers invited State Department officials to state their own case; sometimes professor-surrogates substituted for them. For the movement, this was a shrewd move as well as a principled one. State Department can’t prove feeble against antiwar expertise, and quickly the State Department stopped playing along. Despite the government’s cold war success in buying fine brains—the fruit of a generations worth of subsidies—the Vietnam fantasists in Washington were maladroit. Their arguments flopped. The more they talked, the more they lost support. The teach-ins, in other words, tapped the movement’s strength on its own ground—its knowledge. They fit their setting—the academia. They spoke to their constituents—students and teachers. They did not shriek or morn—they organized.⁶²

The *DFP* March 17, 1965, front-page layout incorporates hegemonic masculine themes, a hierarchy of images beginning at the top of the page with photos placed to show police officers

manhandling civil rights demonstrators. Below the pictures is the article reporting U.S. Marshals dragging civil rights demonstrators out of the federal building, and then, halfway down the page, the *DFP* inserts “Senate Raps U-M Profs For Strike.” Directly below, in a position of subordination, is the report documenting the Herz protest. The governing body of powerful, predominantly white males suppressing university antiwar sentiment, atop the pecking order, looks down upon the insignificant Alice Herz aflame on Grand River Ave. Although her self-conflagration is a serious, unusual incident, not to mention a local story, the article relaying her image lays obscurely at the bottom of the page. The first detail the *DFP* reports is her sex, the fact found in the subtitle “DETROIT WOMAN FOUND IN STREET,” located above the article’s headline “Sets Herself Afire in Vietnam Protest.” The item, which carries eighteen paragraphs, opens with four paragraphs highlighting gender-specific traits commonly associated with women. The lead sentence for the article reads, “A 70 year old Detroit woman was severely burned late Tuesday when she apparently set herself on fire to protest American bombing raids on Communist North Vietnam.”⁶³ Immediately after readers learn of a burning elderly woman aflame in the streets of Detroit, the article quickly points out Alice “was discovered in front of the Federals Department Store,”⁶⁴ a place where she presumably exhibited shopping behaviors expected of women. Next in line, the piece identifies Alice with her daughter’s name, stating “Mrs. Helga Ellis Herz” had “suffered severe burns of her upper body, head, face, and arms.”⁶⁵ The fifth paragraph’s lead sentence begins in bold print, stating with capital letters “**IN HER PURSE**” before citation in regular print, “the rambling note which cited President Johnson, for trying to wipe out small nations.”⁶⁶ This article is treated with two bold paragraphs for emphasis, and both refer to fire. In the seventh paragraph, Alice’s note is quoted: “**I wanted to call attention to this problem by choosing the illuminating death of a Buddhist.**”⁶⁷ The next piece of information establishes Detective Steele finding empty containers on the sidewalk and that no one saw Alice pour lighter fluid on herself, facts preceding a sentence that begins, “**THE BURNING WOMAN** was first seen,” which leads to the second bold paragraph that reports, “**A motorist, Steven Burke, 41, of 5956 Mead, Dearborn, stopped and threw his jacket over her to smother the flames.**”⁶⁸ The article comprised of four short columns, stresses female-gendered traits with self-conflagration, and barely alludes to Vietnam issues. Adding salt to the wound, the headline “**Astronaut Hurt In Mishap on Trampoline,**” a brief item reporting a space man in training landing “on his neck while trying a body flip,”⁶⁹ is placed inside Alice’s story, cutting short the second column.

On March 18, in its follow up story, again placed at the bottom of the front-page, the *DFP* continues stressing Alice’s womanhood under the headline, “**Pacifism Sparked Her Fiery**

Sacrifice,” and the subtitle, **“A WOMAN CONCERNED ABOUT WAR.”** This article, which omits a *DFP* apology for misidentifying Alice as Helga in the previous day’s report, presents female-gendered-identified traits of “emotion, body, and nature” that are “considered inferior to reason, mind, and culture, which have been male-gendered identified”⁷⁰ as it reports Alice’s deed. **“CONCERNED,”** inserted in the article’s title, immediately implies Alice is anxious, worried, or emotional about the war, instead of thoughtful. The article’s third paragraph begins with **“SHE FEELS** the country which she loves is in danger.”⁷¹ **FEELS** is a simple verb used to describe affect, or express emotions, therefore used out of context. **SHE THINKS** or **SHE BELIEVES** expresses thought, or cognition. Regardless of what country is in danger, it is one’s opinion; thus a more accurate statement is **SHE THINKS** “the country which she loves is in danger.” Within the same paragraph Helga articulates her mother’s thought “that a purely power policy based on overwhelming strength is morally wrong and will have disastrous results. She fears war and the suffering it will bring.”⁷² The next statement following Helga’s articulation reads, “People listened but were not stirred.”⁷³ Why? Maybe because in the next paragraph, the first treated with bold print, the *DFP* does not emphasize questions about the war, but again stresses fire: **“Tuesday night at 9 o’clock Mrs. Herz poured cleaning fluid on the shoulders of her coat and turned herself into a flaming torch. Passersby beat out the flames as she lay in the street.”**⁷⁴ The *DFP* then assumes the right to explain Alice’s thinking, commenting, “She thought the sight of a Buddhist-like sacrifice on the corner of Oakman Blvd. and Grand River might make people think.”⁷⁵ After it has asserted that Alice feels instead of thinks about Vietnam, the second bold paragraph identifies, **“Miss Herz, a librarian at the main branch of the Detroit Public Library,”**⁷⁶ work traditionally considered feminine, before another reference to her emotions: she **“felt increasingly ‘grave misgivings’ about Vietnam and U.S. foreign policy.”**⁷⁷ The third bold paragraph, announces Helga is single- **“The Two have shared their apartment for years”**- living without the astuteness and intelligence of a man, before more emphasis on Alice’s feminine qualities: **“She is warm and vital, fond of children.”**⁷⁸ Subsequent to frames depicting Alice as a nurturing but emotional old lady, images with Helga and Mrs. Lerman defending Alice’s sanity are presented. The article’s last paragraph connects the pacifist Herz with the DCEWV, in bold print quoting Keeran: **“Mrs. Alice Herz provided the most dramatic protest to date against the brutal war in Vietnam.”**⁷⁹ In the two articles, of forty-eight paragraphs six are treated with bold print. Three of those emphasize self-conflagration and two, perceived gender-traits, with one connecting femininity with the antiwar movement. The remaining paragraphs contain modest explanations of exactly how a woman would set herself on fire in protest of the war. As a consequence, media frames *marginalize* and *trivialize* the antiwar war

movement by linking the inferior status of woman in a patriarchal society with Keeran and the DCEWV.

Gitlin believes the genesis for disparaging media frames reporting the antiwar movement stem from how the news has always been reported. He writes *In the Whole World Is Watching*,

Some of this framing can be attributed to traditional assumptions in news treatment: news concerns the *event*, not the underlying condition; the *person*, not the group; *conflict*, not consensus; the fact that “*advances the story*,” not the one that explains it. Some of this treatment descends from the norms for the coverage of deviance in general: the archetypical news story is a crime story, and an opposition movement is ordinarily, routinely, and unthinkingly treated as a sort of a crime. Some of this treatment follows from organizational and technical features of news coverage—which in turn are not ideologically neutral. Editors assign reporters to beats where news is routinely framed by officials; the stories then absorb the officials’ definitions of the situation. And editors and reporters also adapt and reproduce the dominant ideological assumptions prevailing in the wider society. All of these practices are anchored in organizational policy, in recruitment and promotion: that is to say, in the internal structure of institutional power and decision. And when all these sources are taken into account, some of the framing will still not be explained unequivocally; some must be understood as the product of specifically political transitions, cases of editorial judgment and the intervention of political elites.⁸⁰

News agencies consider how to manage their images depicting news; advancement of the story takes precedence over presentation of complete accounts explaining all there is to know about particular events. Subsequent to journalists’ estimation of what events are noteworthy, Gitlin explains “the reporter does not, in general, want to confront or complicate it by adducing other more complex material.”⁸¹ Adding more information to a news story “would entail hard and unaccustomed work outside normal news gathering routines, going beyond the given scene, the given press conference, and the given press release.”⁸² More detail and facts that may present news stories in a different light are left out so reporters can meet their deadlines. Gitlin says, “Deadlines increase the pressure to keep the story simple, using what is at hand. In general, then, a single story - provoked by a single event - projects only a single field.”⁸³ Gitlin reasons that presentation of news as solitary events inadvertently allow news organizations to promote “the dominant system’s claim to general legitimacy and its ability to fragment opposition.”⁸⁴ That is, the brevity of media frames presented disintegrates any momentum opposition movements gain in the quest to dismantle the prevailing forms of control a governing body disseminates for regulation of its population. Providing milieu associated with a news event, Gitlin explains, only “serves to place on the agenda a social change, a ‘trend,’ a ‘phenomenon,’ and automatically – since the background piece is relatively rare - confers on it a certain importance.”⁸⁵ Consequently, he argues,

Media are mobile spotlights, not passive mirrors of society; selectivity is the instrument of their action. A news story adopts a certain frame and rejects or downplays material that is discrepant. A story is a choice, a way of seeing an event that also amounts to a way of

screening from sight.⁸⁶

Since journalists, like non-journalists, are busy collaborating in an environment, using the certainty with which they have traditionally measured their environment before they act independently or with a team, they generally aim the spotlight at things they recognize. Gitlin defers to Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge who say, “the news’ are actually the ‘olds,’ because they correspond to what one expects to happen.”⁸⁷ Considering United States traditions that practiced de jure and de facto discrimination, in April 1965 “news” that was actually the “olds” happened to be segregation, the separate but equal doctrine recently eradicated in 1954. For many reporters, and viewers, “news” coverage of the struggle for civil rights in the first half of the 1960s, was either reported or viewed with the “olds” in mind. Not instantly recognizable to journalists covering the Washington D.C. April 17, 1965 antiwar demonstration was collaboration of antiwar and civil rights workers. Gitlin notes, “the *Times* did not yet construe the continuing, whole movement as a ‘story’. ‘The story’ was a set of isolated facts lying on the surface of a single event”⁸⁸ and because journalists report, “what one expected to happen”⁸⁹ the *Times* missed “*Unprecedented cooperation between white and black movements.*”⁹⁰ Prior to the demonstration SDS had circulated a one-page text that “contained a rudimentary analysis of the nature of the Vietnam War. Hundreds of thousands of copies had been distributed on campuses since SDS had decided to organize the March the previous December.” The SDS text, which articulates that the U.S. “was intervening aggressively” in Vietnam’s “civil war,”⁹¹ was neglected by the *Times*. Gitlin states, “The call was not mentioned by the *Times*. Why? Generally, the coverage of unorthodox politics descends from the conventions of crime news. Journalism has traditionally equated insurgency and protest with deviancy” and “journalists often scorn” untraditional politics, considering them as mere rhetoric.”⁹²

The combination of having previously known segregation influencing their visions of the world contempt for SDS rhetoric may have contributed to journalists possessing an eye for blue jeans and beards distracting them from apparent clues signifying black and white harmony engaged in dissent. Gitlin points out that picket signs employed by demonstrators, “easily visible on the scene” and “plainly legible in two of the photographs sent to subscribers by United Press International and not used by the *Times*,” contained catchphrases that “suggested a diversity of critical approaches to the war, they embodied SDS’s actual ecumenism.”⁹³ Attached to the signs were slogans “End the War in Vietnam Now,” “Get U.S. Troops Out,” and “Stop World War III Now,” while other signs read “War on Poverty, Not People,” “One man One Vote-Selma or Saigon,” “Escalate Freedom in Mississippi,” and “Our Hope is Human Freedom.”⁹⁴ Gitlin recalls, “To those of us within the student movement, and to sensitive observers on the periphery, the

participation of a large number of blacks in a peace demonstration was worthy of note” and “likely the unnamed *Times* reporter was not close enough to the radical movement to notice anything extraordinary about the racial composition in front of the White House.”⁹⁵ He cites a report from the *National Guardian*, a publication with more proximity to the movement, which “estimated that almost 10 percent of the demonstrators were black” and quotes the Guardian’s reporter, William Price, who stated, “The most important new liaison was that between the young, vibrant freedom workers of the South and the peace oriented students of the north.”⁹⁶ He continues, “If news incorporates aspects of a ‘developing’ story which were not present or not evident to the reporter and editors on previous days, or in previous versions of the given event, the cooperation of black and white movements was news.”⁹⁷

Segments of what the *Times* did report, along with selected information supplied by United Press International (UPI), comprise the article “20,000 Protest At White House” carried in the April 18, 1965 *DFP* Sunday Edition—news trivial enough to place on page 10-C. The article’s first sentence devalues the antiwar movement; the statement begins, “More than 20,000 students swarmed into Washington Saturday and threw a picket line around the Whitehouse in protest against President Johnson’s policies in Vietnam,” and then disparages by adding LBJ “was spending the weekend in Texas.”⁹⁸ Following the observation that LBJ was out of town, a little dissension within the ranks is reported: “Eight of the pickets stayed overnight and vowed to remain on a hunger strike until 4:00p.m. Sunday. The others left but planned to return Sunday.” The article then informs, “The Washington demonstration was initiated by” SDS, “a radical but non-communist group with chapters on 63 campuses,” a fact presented prior to belittling the demonstrators in bold print: **“BEARDS and blue jeans mixed with tweeds and an occasional clerical collar in the festive crowd. Many couples walked hand in hand, and several girls pushed baby carriages.”**⁹⁹ The statement, “Hundreds of police were on hand to prevent violence. FBI agents were on the scene,” marginalizes the movement, and concludes “The huge protest was orderly despite some hecklers. As it proceeded at the Washington Monument and a march toward the capitol, only two arrests were made.”¹⁰⁰

Another reason Gitlin considered for the *Times* failure to report the merging of the antiwar-civil rights movement was the unlawful nature of the antiwar movement in comparison to the justifiable concerns presented by African Americans regarding equal status in society. He states,

It is fair to conclude, as the *Guardian* did, that opposition to the Vietnam War was illegitimate for the *Times* as civil rights was legitimate. And more: what shall we make of the fact that distinguishing sharply between legitimate and illegitimate movements was exactly the policy of Lyndon Johnson? Strikingly, in important ways the *Times* was

covering demonstrations as the Johnson Administration saw the world.¹⁰¹

Another factor worth taking into view, Gitlin believes, is

evidence (after the fact) that the political elite felt deeply threatened by growing cooperation between the movements. For example, in Air Force Under Secretary Townsend Hoopes's retrospective account, by 1967 the political Chiefs were worried 'above all' that 'through riots, protests, and the fateful merging of antiwar and racial dissension, (the war) was polarizing U.S. politics, dividing the American people from their government, and creating the gravest political disunity in a century where the political counselors who after the Tet offensive in early 1968 urged President Johnson to retrench. So presumably they would have been attuned to news of this 'fateful merging,' and their interest in information cannot explain why the *Times* scanted the interracial aspect of the April 1965 story. Quite the contrary: if national elite interests explained everything about the news, we would have expected the *Times* to pay direct attention.¹⁰²

Gitlin expects the *Times* to notice potential trouble brewing because of its societal role,

Serving the political and economic elites as it does, the *Times* must function as a distant, early warning system, an instrument of general surveillance; it cannot afford to overlook disagreeable facts, at least not for long. The world it reports is in a flux, and much of that flux challenges those in charge; at times it may suggest that they are not, perhaps capable of staying in charge, or even that their system of values and truths is not the best imaginable. So the *Times* incorporates discrepant information within a frame that minimizes and muffles its significance; at the same time it tends to leave out a great deal of other information which would lend weight to the oppositional sense of things.¹⁰³

In March 1965 the *DFP* promoted itself as Detroit's sentry, on its masthead announcing, "**On Guard for 133 Years.**" And like the *Times*, the *DFP* showed signs of missing a merger between antiwar and civil rights factions. On March 17, evidence of collaboration exists in the *DFP* article "Marshals Drag 27 Sit-Ins From Federal Building Hall." Dragged from the Sit-Ins, the *DFP* reported, "were demonstrators who said they were students at" UM, MSU, and WSU, all with "Joseph Harrison, 38, of Ann Arbor, who said he was a field secretary for the Student Non Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), and appeared to have been in charge of the demonstration."¹⁰⁴ If students were working under Harrison for Civil Rights, they most certainly also worked for the same U-M Profs the *DFP* depicted in their story about the Teach-IN. Also, consider the *DFP*'s March 25 front page, an edition with seemingly blatant media frames capable of fragmenting the two movements. Centered on the page is a large photograph of Canadian Geese landing in the Detroit River. On the right side of the river sits coverage of the UM teach-in, the article reporting 2,000 youths fleeing the "rallies." Arranged on the river's left, is a news story reporting the feasibility of spacecraft landing on the moon. Bordered on the lunar story's left side is a picture of "Dr. Martin Luther King (white cap) with his wife at his side" marching into Montgomery, Alabama. Below this photo is a headline "Marchers at Goal; Wait 'Victory Day'" supplemented by a smaller heading "NAACP's Roy Wilkins tells Senate committee that voting rights bill doesn't go far enough." A flock of geese landing in a river separating two nations and

an article describing the challenges of a moon landing supplies enough distance in the reader's subconscious to prevent connecting "sit-in" with "teach in." Moreover, this visual schism of civil rights and antiwar protests fragmented by the river heightens disparaging themes already present in the Bomb Scare as the *DFP* polarized the movement with emphasis on the UM Young Republicans counterdemonstration. One fact the *DFP* overlooked while standing **On Guard** is that "the Olds" in 'the news' for Alice Herz consisted of Nazi's burning millions, which may have has a subconscious effect on her choice of self-conflagration. This was an unexpected form of protest under the *DFP*'s careful watch.

During the early to mid 1960's, Helga Herz attended Friday night Socialist Workers Party forums held at Debs Hall, discussions that were also attended by DVEWV member Peter Werbe, a friend of Helga's. Werbe, who is from the city's Linwood-Elmhurst district, where he attended Detroit Central High in the 1950s, says it was at the Friday night forums that he became "radicalized."¹⁰⁵ Chances are, the forum's topics included discussions speculating the exact identity of Detroit's political and economic elites, and it is reasonable to suspect the Big Three automakers came up in conversations. At the same time political and economic elites viewed these discussions as not only subversive, but also threatening to their interests. As an antiwar activist, however, the point Werbe makes is "I think peace is subversive to a warrior society that its economy is based on war expenditures."¹⁰⁶ In other words, not only is antiwar protest deemed unfaithful to government's foreign policy, it's bad for business. Consider his point in relation to Detroit's political and economic leaders. Robert Lacy writes in *Ford: The Men and the Machine* that

War had saved capitalism in America, The massive government supply contracts of the early 1940s had proved to be the salvation that the free enterprise system had been vainly seeking since 1929; and as American business rode the postwar boom, it was the stock-option game, which sidestepped current tax regulations, that was the only game in town when it came to hiring real management talent.¹⁰⁷

At Ford Motor Company the post WW II real management team was referred to as the "Whiz Kids," and one member of the team prior to LBJ's appointment of him as Secretary of Defense was Robert McNamara. During Ford's post war resurgence Lacy notes, "between 1946 and 1956, no less than sixty-seven of its senior executives became millionaires thanks to the stock option schemes."¹⁰⁸ Since the mid 1950s Detroit began to experience deindustrialization, a process contributing to serious disinvestment to the city's municipal infrastructure. University of Pennsylvania History and Sociology professor Thomas J. Sugrue, himself a native Detroiter, writes in *The Origins of the Urban Crisis* that

Detroit, the World War II arsenal of democracy had become, in the words of a critic of defense policy, a ghost 'arsenal.' In 1954 alone, the Detroit area lost nearly 56,000 defense

jobs; it lost another 26,000 between 1955 and 1957. By 1957, only 33,000 workers in all of metropolitan Detroit worked in defense industries. At a time when the national military-industrial complex was growing by leaps and bounds, Detroit's share of Defense contracts shrunk rapidly.¹⁰⁹

Historically, in the U.S., if you are a part of a group in disagreement with government policy, often that group develops its own press. Werbe comments, "Every movement in America from the abolitionist through the next 150 to 160 years had to produce its own press."¹¹⁰ When, in 1865, the abolitionist E. L. Gotkin started *The Nation*, the publisher stated in the Original Prospectus for the journal,

The Nation will not be the organ for any party, sect, or body. It will, on the contrary, make an earnest effort to bring to the discussion of political and social questions a really critical spirit, and to wage war upon the vices of violence, exaggeration, and misrepresentation by which so much political writing of the day is marred.¹¹¹

In her essay "The One Who Burns Herself for Peace" published in *Bringing Peace Home*, Cheyney Ryan discusses her experience researching Alice Herz, stating, "I have been combing the periodicals of that time, not just liberal ones like *The Nation* but more leftist ones like *The Progressive*, and the only reference that I have found is an editorial by A.J. Muste in *Liberation* magazine."¹¹² Ryan sums-up her investigation: "I continue to find invisibility of Alice Hertz [sic] to be disturbing." A former activist in the antiwar movement, she confides, "For sometime now, I have been asking people I know who were active in the antiwar movement if they ever heard of Alice Hertz (sp) and only one has."¹¹³

Werbe knew about Alice Herz¹¹⁴; however Harvey Ovshinsky had never heard of her.¹¹⁵ But then again, he was an adolescent in transition, having recently moved from Detroit to Los Angeles, accelerating his graduation from Detroit Mumford High School so he could move west with his mom following his parents' divorce. His stay in Los Angeles was brief, through the summer of 1965, but while there, he had the opportunity to work at the *Los Angeles Free Press*, a newspaper published by Art Kunkin in the basement of the Fifth Estate Coffeehouse located in West Hollywood.¹¹⁶ He remembers that Kunkin "was very friendly and positive to work for. I worked as a layout and a volunteer."¹¹⁷ He missed his friends, "but not my mother, because I left L.A. to run away from home. I didn't want to be in Los Angeles."¹¹⁸ Where he wanted to be was in Detroit. Recalling the northwest section of the city, the Seven Mile Road and Greenfield Ave. area, Ovshinsky says,

I loved Detroit. I just loved having the neighborhood. I loved my friends and being with them. I loved being safe and being free, using my mind, my imagination to have fun and to be a kid. That's why I loved Mumford. When people ask me what school I went to I say Mumford, and they say 'I meant your college.' Well in Michigan, when people ask where you went to school people generally tell them the name of their high school. So Mumford

was a defining time for me. That was where I started the *Idiom*, which was the literary underground literary magazine, which preceded the *Fifth Estate*. Mumford allowed me to get involved with theatre and print.¹¹⁹

On the northern fringes Ovshinsky's neighborhood, at Eight Mile and Greenfield Roads, gave residents accessibility to Crystal Pool, a segregated swimming pool. The pool had a history of intolerance in the 1930s; practicing discrimination against Jews.¹²⁰ From his childhood Ovshinsky remembers efforts to desegregate the facility. He says, "I just wanting to swim in the pool. I was too young to be involved. My father and brother were involved with trying to integrate Crystal Pool."¹²¹ He also recalls "Frank Joyce being involved in the Crystal Pool efforts. I met Frank for the first time after my father bailed him out of jail after a peace or civil rights demonstration. We didn't become friends until much later."¹²² Joyce was barely out of high school at the time, but his educational experience prepared him for demonstrations. He writes in *Detroit Lives*, "I graduated from the Royal Oak-Dondero High School in 1959. Dondero produced a number of 1960s activists of whom the most well known was Tom Hayden in '57," and adds, "We were good students and active in student affairs. But we were troublemakers of sort. Tom started a publication called *The Daily Smirker*, which was really a forerunner of the underground press."¹²³ He continues,

I got involved in perhaps the earliest civil rights demonstrations in Detroit at the Crystal Pool, a whites only swimming pool at the corner of Greenfield and Eight Mile Road. Following the upsurge in the South that begun with the lunch-counter sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina, the poor became a target of activity here, and I joined those demonstrations. That led to some conflict at home, and I found myself living on my own shortly after getting out of high school. I got involved in an organization called the Northern Student Movement, which had sprung up partly to support the student civil rights movement in the south. It developed a tutorial assistance program in northern cities in which college students were recruited to work in inner-city environments.¹²⁴

Headquarters for the Northern Student Movement's (NMS) Detroit Project was at 7632 Twelfth Street, a mile south of where the July 1967 riot started. During September 1964, in a letter seeking funds for materials and staff who worked for a "maximum \$35.00 per week when available,"¹²⁵ Joyce, then the Project's Coordinator explained to potential donors,

NSM believes those most qualified to break the cycle of violence are its victims. We are working to create constructive vehicles of expression which reflect the needs and desires of the presently voiceless segment of Detroit's Negro Community. Our constituency consists primarily of those untouched and uninvolved in Negro action organizations. We believe that democracy will become a reality only when all people are allowed to participate in the decisions which affect their lives. Community groups, indigenously led, provide an important means for such participation as a powerful device for change.¹²⁶

In 1965 NMS staff worked hard for their weekly salary as Detroit experienced incredible racial tension. Simultaneous to Herz's self-conflagration, city residents witnessed numerous

episodes contributing to a sense of uneasiness and some of the population's segment believed local media coverage, slanted against the African Americans, escalated community animosity. Sidney Fine, in his book *Violence in the Motor City* states,

Detroit's racial peace was marred by several incidents in the late winter and spring 1965. On March 1 Jacob Azzam, son of the proprietor of Azzam's Market on the near west side, killed a black customer John Christian, following a fight over the theft of a small cake from the store during which Christian allegedly knifed Azzam and his aunt. The slaying attracted especially angry attention in the community because of the Azzam's allegedly abusive treatment of their customers and because Jacob's brother Abraham, while serving as a policeman in 1961, had shot a burglary suspect. Leading to amputation of one of his legs and the payment to him of \$23,000 by the city. Residents of the community began picketing the market as well as the Azzam owned Zam's Party Store across the street.¹²⁷

In the midst of the picketers were NSM activists. On March 27 the organization issued a press release stating NMS and the Adult Community Movement for Equality (ACME)

today announced their full and unequivocal support for the picketing of a West Side market. The organizations have been unofficially supporting the picketing of Azzman's Market at 14th Street and McGraw since the beginning of last week. This announced their belief that the people involved in the demonstration have a legitimate grievance and further noted that based on past conduct by members of the Azzam family, people in the community are not safe.¹²⁸

NMS through the press release also made it known that they and ACME called for a reopening of the case by the Prosecutors office, which found that Mr. Azzam had committed justifiable homicide. NSM and ACME noted that the Police Department admitted that the knife with which Mr. Christian allegedly attacked Azzam and his aunt was never found.¹²⁹ The press statement may have instead agitated the Wayne County Prosecutor. Fine reported the county prosecutor suggested, "warrants for the arrest of seventeen picketers for engaging in criminal conspiracy to drive the Azzam's out of business"¹³⁰ be served.

Adding to community stressors was how local media reported the news. Two organizations, the Michigan Civil Rights Commission (CRC) and the Commission on Community (CCR) intervened, an intervention Fine describes as wanting "to compose the dispute," that he notes "became the subject of 'inaccurate and inflammatory' TV editorials."¹³¹ Through media coverage, perhaps inexact and stirring, a number of Caucasians also perceived the need to act. In lieu of pickets, white residents chose to express sentiment by planting burning crosses in front of homes owned by African Americans. Fine documents that

Twenty-five crosses were burned in Detroit in April, many of them in front of black residents in integrated neighborhoods. This hateful action reflected increasing resentment by whites of what they regarded as the 'molly coddling' of blacks by city authorities. Some television stations appeared to be exploiting white fears, implying that blacks were seeking gains for themselves at white expense.¹³²

Detroit City Councilman Thomas Poindexter was one municipal authority not subject to the molly coddling of African Americans. He initiated a crusade to eliminate the CRC and CCR. Poindexter's effort to terminate CRC and CCR, along with picketers outside of Azzam businesses and the burning crosses, caught the attention of Charles Coles Diggs, Michigan's first African American elected to Congress, where he represented the 13th congressional district. Rep. Diggs advised Jerome P. Cavanagh, Detroit's mayor, that he needed to arrange for a town meeting, which would enable citizens to "discuss the possibility of racial conflict in the summer."¹³³ Also, a leader for the Citizens Committee for Equal Opportunity troubled by the potential for more violence "met with the press, the police, public school officials, and the heads of community agencies asking them to do what they could to 'promote racial peace and harmony' during 'the tense summer months.'"¹³⁴

In a summer that experienced its share of racial tension, Joyce appeared at several locations promoting tolerance, enough so that the police began to recognize him. The August 1965 *NSM News* records Joyce and Detroit's NMS field secretary Alvin Harrison in the midst of a crowd witnessing DPD officers arresting some youngsters on the east side of Detroit. After the duo is told to move to "move on" by an officer, they did so. However, they were recognized by some policemen and arrested for resisting arrest and obstructing an officer in the performance of his duty. It is believed the arrests are harassment because of their connection with civil rights.¹³⁵ On several occasions Joyce met with police officials to discuss police harassment of ACME while also addressing a speech to the University Chapter of the American Jewish Congress. On July 17 he appeared on WKNR radio for an interview and a week later "traveled to Washington D.C. at the invitation of the Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Commerce."¹³⁶ At the nation's capitol he met with former Michigan Governor G. Mennen Williams, then holding the post of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and had a chance to converse with Michigan Congressman John Conyers, Jr. and "the staff of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's Washington office."¹³⁷ Meanwhile, the *NMS News* reported, "On July 28, MNS staff and members of ACME served as picket marshals in a demonstration against the war in Vietnam sponsored by the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Al Harrison spoke at the rally following the demonstration."¹³⁸

The Michigan Chronicle, an African American newspaper, in back to back issues, profiled Joyce, identifying him as one "who arouses critics' wrath, especially on the subject of police brutality."¹³⁹ The paper also published a photograph of Joyce marching in a July 10 antiwar demonstration with David Baker of DCEWV. Considering that the demonstration was staged the same day as Joyce and Harrison were arrested on the eastside, it's not surprising Joyce refers to

the incident in the *Chronicle* profile, which quotes his statement: “The aggressive and abusive manner of the police officers served only to antagonize the people present, and it is important for the public to understand that a riot did not occur that evening only because the community people did not respond with violence to the brutality of the police involved.”¹⁴⁰ Despite his efforts to promote racial “peace and harmony” in the city, Joyce, along with Harrison, appeared in Detroit Recorder’s Court for violating a “Street Trade Ordinance.”¹⁴¹ Despite Joyce’s frequent appearances at what might be considered news worthy events, it’s a challenge to find Detroit’s two major daily newspapers reporting Joyce’s involvement in any of his summer 1965 activities. One example is neither the *DFP* nor *Detroit News* presented coverage reporting the July 10 antiwar demonstration.

Exactly two weeks after Harrison appeared in court with Joyce, he made it over to Detroit’s Warren-Forrest neighborhood, a community on the southern fringes of the WSU campus, for a meeting at DCEWV headquarters, one attended by Peter Werbe, Roger Keeran, and several others. Next door to the DCEWV facility another congregation had also assembled. *Downbeat* magazine jazz columnist John Sinclair, a graduate of the University of Michigan, Flint College, and some friends, most likely artists and musicians, had gathered for a “jam session at a housing project cooperative known as “The Castle,” referred to as such because of the building’s architectural design. The fortress sat alongside the service drive parallel to the John Lodge Freeway just south of W. Warren Ave. Outside the facility, at approximately 11:00 p.m., twenty-five police officers waited for a signal from an undercover officer inside the Castle that indicated he successfully completed a business transaction. Once the gang of law and order received the sign, they rushed into the building and found some of the artists had some marijuana. Sinclair was promptly arrested for selling and possessing narcotics. Five others were apprehended, including Sinclair’s wife, Magdalene.¹⁴² The police activity caught Werbe’s attention during DCEWV proceedings conducted nearby, so he suggested to his colleagues that they should approach the scene and find out what was happening with Sinclair and the police.¹⁴³ Out the door went Werbe, followed by Harrison, Keeran, WSU English Professor Dr. David Herreshoff, Robin Eichele, and Leo Bernard and Jan Garrett, two residents that lived in a neighboring Socialist commune at 935 W. Hancock.¹⁴⁴ As they approached the scene, the antiwar personnel began asking the artists “if their civil rights had been violated.”¹⁴⁵ According to the DPD Criminal Investigation Division Narcotics Bureau police report,

While the officers were effecting the arrest of JOHN SINCLAIR, who is a graduate of the University of Michigan and working on his Masters Degree at Wayne State University, a large group of people who were attending a meeting of the DETROIT COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIET NAM at 1101 W. WARREN, appeared at the scene of the

arrest. (JOHN SINCLAIR is also alleged to be a member of this organization).¹⁴⁶

Prominent in the arrest reporting the sale of “narcotics,” are details about those not arrested, which indicates a curiosity about what kind of involvement people have outside of drugs. Underneath the heading “SUBJECT” appears “Information on the ‘Peace in Viet Nam’ Committee, also known as the DETROIT COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIET NAM, (DCEWV),” below a statement alleging Sinclair to be a member of the committee. The report states, “While the officers were trying to effect this arrest, they were constantly harassed verbally by the following alleged members of the ‘DCEWV’:¹⁴⁷ Although none of the antiwar activists were arrested for neither obstructing police work or selling drugs, the report lists twenty-seven names associated with DCEWV.

Due to the time of day this episode occurred, the *DFP* had the advantage of an extra day to prepare the article reporting Sinclair’s arrest: “Would-Be School Teacher Defends Marijuana Habit,” subtitled with “ARRESTED IN DOPE RAID.” Sinclair had already experienced some notoriety in the paper, in 1964 for a previous arrest involving marijuana possession. Although the *DFP* appeared to have difficulty linking the antiwar and civil rights movements, it did not have a problem linking Sinclair with antiwar activists. Gitlin writes in *The Whole World Is Watching*

According to a reporter who covered the Berkeley beat for the San Francisco Chronicle in 1965-66, stories about student activities at the University of California were routinely disqualified as news unless there had been arrests. I do not argue the Times imposed such a policy directly. But on reading through *Times* coverage of both the civil rights and antiwar movements one is struck with the great proportion of stories that begin with the facts of arrests, in both headlines and the leads. Editors take arrests as a sign something significant has taken place—something ‘out of the ordinary.’¹⁴⁸

Gitlin continues,

Arrests are dramatic; yet they can be reported routinely. They have around them the aura of human interest, since they are particular people arrested; they take place sharply and clearly on a given day, and in numbers at least unequivocal; thus they can be assimilated to the publishing timetable.¹⁴⁹

In this case however, the arrests not only connect arrests with the antiwar movement; it also has the potential to evoke prejudiced attitudes because it directly connects the DCEWV with drug deviancy. Regarding the *DFP* item reporting the Castle episode, the story begins,

A bearded Wayne State University student, arrested with six others in a narcotic raid at his apartment, told police Tuesday he sees nothing wrong with smoking marijuana. He also said he hopes to teach young children in Detroit area schools after getting his master’s degree in English.¹⁵⁰

Then recorded are names of those arrested during a “jam session” at Sinclair’s “apartment,” which precedes the insertion of bold print, “Police defined a ‘jam session’ as a party at which participants entertain themselves with bongo music and marijuana.”¹⁵¹ Following this

statement is a physical description of “Sinclair, who stands 6-foot-4 and weighs about 250 pounds,” with information pertaining to his probationary status for his previous “charge of possession of narcotics.”¹⁵² A reminder is then inserted, “**The maximum penalty on both charges is life imprisonment.**” In a rather deprecating statement the article notes, “Sinclair considers himself a prolific writer but has not any work published yet.”¹⁵³ Subsequent to details provided about the criminal, the article points out police were “confronted by about 27 members of the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam,”¹⁵⁴ information immediately followed by a sentence stating, “**Sinclair was identified as a member of the pacifist group.**”¹⁵⁵ Directly after DCEWV is referred to as a “**pacifist group,**” the *DFP* reports the pacifists “challenging police to produce arrest warrants which they said were necessary to make the arrests legal.”¹⁵⁶ Placed beneath this statement is a photo of Sinclair, a portrait of a menacing, bearded figure, coldly staring into the camera’s lens. Werbe called the article “predictable,” noting in those days anytime the media discussed anyone associated with the movement, articles presented them as shaggy characters, “but if you ever saw pictures of us in the DCEWV at the time, we were clean-cut and neat in appearance.”¹⁵⁷ Six days prior to its article connecting Sinclair with DCEWV, the *DFP* presented “**Cool the Beatnik Law,**” an editorial commenting on the controversy surrounding the burning of draft registration cards. The piece indicates the public is “developing an acute distaste for exhibitionists who are usually strong on slogans as they are weak on soap but couldn’t outline viable answers if they were asked to” and, “if having burned the card, then what? The burner is still subject to having a draft board substitute boots for his sandals. And if he tries to make himself hard for the board to find there is already a law to take care of that.”¹⁵⁸

Initially, for publicity of antiwar news, one source available for the DCEWV was a newsletter *Peace and Freedom News*, a bulletin distributed nationally by the NCEWV’s Madison, WI, chapter that provided antiwar literature for the contingency of EWV organizations scattered across the country. Their October 1965 newsletter explains,

As the war in Vietnam escalates, the rights of those who demand real freedom in this country are increasingly denied. While silence has become synonymous with democracy, free speech has become subversive. Senator Dodd has already called for an end to all expressions of protest against American foreign policy. President Johnson and Attorney General Katsenbach have called for an investigation of the peace movement. Increasingly stringent laws concerning the draft have been passed. The mass media has hesitated to print dissenting views and, at the same time, has altered reality and the issue in torrents of words and pictures taken out of context. The American people have not only have been denied a voice in the decision making process of their country; they have also been isolated by the very facts and opinions that go into making those decisions.¹⁵⁹

Antiwar activists working in different regions in the U.S. contributed news briefs from their areas, which comprised *Peace and Freedom News* content. From Detroit, Dena Clamage, an

activist with DCEWV who also served in 1965 as Hero proletariat of the *Students for a Democratic Society Bulletin*, another communiqué that shared antiwar material, and a DCEWV participant, sent to *Peace and Freedom News* a brief stating “that DCEWV and ACME are re-evaluating their community action project and street rally held two weeks ago before moving into other communities in the Detroit area.”¹⁶⁰ The brief also promoted the all night candle light vigil slated for September 11, an event neither the *DFP* nor *Detroit News* reported.

During late summer and early fall 1965, fair or impartial coverage of the antiwar movement is noticeably absent in the *DFP*. At the same time, however, the paper’s content is filled with items emphasizing local soldiers’ contributions to the war effort. On Sept 3, the *DFP* profiles the Motor City’s Sgt. Earl Cross, described, as “A husky, gentle-talking Negro” who a colleague says is the “best medic in the Mekong Delta” in “**Detroiter Brings Care to Viet War.**”¹⁶¹ About Sgt. Cross, the article states, “**HE AND HIS** medicines are so popular among the villagers that government figure the Viet Cong wouldn’t shoot at the people’s favorite.”¹⁶² In Vietnam for ten months Sgt. Cross “has treated more than 8,000 Vietnamese” and “along the way he won the Army Commendation Medal with a V for valor last November for heroism.”¹⁶² The article notes that Sgt. Cross, “**talks a lot about how painful it is to see women and children getting shot and bombed. But he can be pretty tough about the war, too.**”¹⁶³ The article concludes by calling “Cross, the man of mercy,” noting “he also has seen what the VC do to their captives, including one pregnant woman whom the VC slashed to death,” something, “He hasn’t been able to forget.”¹⁶⁴ On September 14, “**Van G. Sauter, the Free Press Man in Vietnam**” reports “How Michigan Flyer Strikes At Viet Reds,” an item placed on the front-page, profiling Capt. Phillip M. Horn, “A tall, lanky graduate of” UM.¹⁶⁵ Sauter details how Capt. Horn, “listened carefully to the intelligence officer’s report. The Day’s target: a well concealed VC concentration in the mountains. The weather: thunderstorms. A difficult mission.”¹⁶⁶ The challenges, “**They have 50-caliber machine guns and a Russian grenade rifle,’ the intelligence officer said. ‘You can expect ground fire. The FAC [forward air controller] will know how much. They’ll be firing at him first.**”¹⁶⁷ Capt. Horn negotiates “the dark, ominous rain clouds” and “his little plane scooted up the canal and fired a small white rocket into a clomp of trees next to the water. This marked the target.”¹⁶⁸ Then, “**Horn-his face grave and intense-checked the wisp of white smoke rising from the trees, glanced at his instruments, and then put his plane into a sudden breath taking 40-degree drive to nearly 400 miles an hour.**”¹⁶⁹ On Sept. 12, the *DFP* takes readers to a hospital for wounded soldiers, one including “Pfc. Phillip Nichols, 18, of Detroit” who “stepped on a land mine,” the blast causing “multiple fractures of his leg and wounds on his chest and arm,” in the article, “**BRINGS DOWN MORALE**’ Vietnam Protests

Assailed.”¹⁷⁰ Pfc. Nichols explained he was moving “**over a trip wire connected to the mine,**” after which the only thing “**I remember**” is “**a flash to my left front.**”¹⁷¹ In a nearby bed, “Pfc. James D. Glandon, of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, who was just shot in the ankle while on patrol” said, “We feel we’re fighting for the cause of freedom. We feel we’re fighting for a good cause.”¹⁷² Speaking for the wounded, Glandon stated, “**We’ve got guys getting messed up and killed. I can’t figure out what it’s going to come to. When we read about those people demonstrating against us. It brings down our morale.**”¹⁷³ The story ends, quoting Pfc. Nichols, “**All I remember then is calling for help. I passed out for eight days,**” which precedes the last two sentences, “Now Nichols’ big hope is being able to come home for Christmas. He hopes he will be able to go to college.”¹⁷⁴

That autumn numerous students already in college were part of a growing sentiment opposing U.S. Vietnam policies and were gearing up to participate in the first national coordination of antiwar activity known as the “International Days of Protest” scheduled for October 15 and 16. The DCEWV, as part of the national effort, planned an October 16 demonstration at Detroit’s Fort Wayne Draft Induction Center, but without a newspaper to assist with advancement of publicity for the event. There are no announcements in Detroit’s papers, and nationally, for the most part, news agencies ignored promotion of the mid-October planned action. Instead of reporting national dissent, media frames displayed attitudes similar to those expressed by Pfc. Glandon. On October 14th, the *DFP* prepped readers for the approaching weekend’s demonstrations with a front-page headline, “**Eisenhower Calls Viet War Protest ‘Terrible Mistake.’**” In the article, the former President and WW II hero with his “steely voice his eyes flashing” called the protestors “Mistaken people,” asking, “What do they know about it?” while adding, “I think it’s terrible for Americans to demonstrate publicly against United States policy in Vietnam. None of us is so stupid that he can’t see if we don’t stop communism... then we are ready to engage in another Munich on a grand scale.”¹⁷⁵ The next morning, the first day of scheduled protest, the *DFP* published, “**Housewife’s 42-Foot Open Letter Supports U.S. Troops in Vietnam,**” an item reporting Covina, CA’s Mrs. Zita Parker’s “Operation Support,” construction of a “42 foot long” scroll with 1,700 signatures collected from around the country.”¹⁷⁶ The *DFP* reports the letters opening sentence, “**We, the undersigned citizens of the United States of America, consider it a privilege to acknowledge our support of and confidence in the U.S. military forces...**”¹⁷⁷ The *DFP* explained, “Mrs. Parker, a pleasant suburban mother, never before got involved in a cause. But last summer she felt ‘frustrated and upset’” with the “student demonstrations”¹⁷⁸ opposing the war. After seeking approval from General William C. Westmoreland, who endorsed the idea, Parker wrote a letter supporting the

troops, which she sent to those on her “Christmas-Card list”¹⁷⁹ for signatures before circulating the statement of support around the country for others to sign. The *DFP* displayed a photo showing Parker standing on a latter, letting the scroll roll onto the ground, and offered Parker’s address for any Michigander wanting to attach their signature to the document.

On the day Parker’s letter appeared in the *DFP* in Ann Arbor, many UM students were busy creating homecoming floats and designs, generally getting ready for Saturday’s game against Purdue. One student walking across campus directed a comment toward a group of twenty student demonstrators sitting in a circle in front of a library, “Gee Whiz, don’t you have any taste. Don’t you know its homecoming?”¹⁸⁰ The protesters had decorations counter intuitive to school spirit, holding signs with such slogans as “Love, Not War.” “Save Lives, Not Face,” and “Halt U.S. Killing in Vietnam.”¹⁸¹ The dissenters also brought with them a giant oil painting that illustrated “gaunt faced-faced Vietnamese mothers carrying dead babies.” A work of art placed next to the caution also contained a statement, “Don’t Serve in the Armed Forces. U.S. Forces Are Committing War Crimes Today in Vietnam.”¹⁸² Nearby, “100 crude wooden crosses” were “planted in the lawn” that were “memorials to the dead in Vietnam.”¹⁸³ A young lady from Livonia “happened by and angrily uprooted about a dozen crosses,” while saying, “I don’t believe we’re using our boys for cannon fodder. I think it’s necessary to fight communism.”¹⁸⁴ Sitting amongst the demonstrators was an Ann Arbor woman, with her two young sons, ages five and three. She explained to the *DFP* that she is “very much concerned about the war and its effects on children everywhere and that’s why I brought my children here today. The Vietnamese children have as much right to grow up in an environment as ours do.”¹⁸⁵

In lieu of presenting frame’s depicting images of the war’s brutality, the following day the *DFP* included reports that focused on the violence at home. Sitting on top of the October 16 front-page, the headline informs “**Anti-War Rallies Touch Off Fights,**” introducing two articles, one entitled, “**38 Arrested at Ann Arbor In Sit-IN Protesting Viet WAR,**” the other, featuring the national scene. The UM item leads with themes of *disparagement* and *marginalization*, the first sentence stating, “six women and a professor of Sociology were arrested late Friday as anti-Vietnam war demonstrations cast a shadow over the University of Michigan’s homecoming weekend,”¹⁸⁶ as police “were forced to carry them outside for the trip” to the county jail. The article also *polarized* the antiwar protest, dedicating significant space for counter demonstrators, the *DFP* also inserting within the boundaries of the piece a photo of students carrying signs promoting SPASM, the “Society Preventing Asinine Student Movements.”¹⁸⁷ In the other article, UPI’s account of national dissent, information treated in bold print, reports, “**Raw eggs were showered from an upper floor of Roosevelt University onto Chicago’s Michigan Ave. as**

rival groups of students and professors marched on the sidewalk. The forces scuffled over a picket line.”¹⁸⁸ Also cited is “Tempers flared in Michigan as demonstrators and other students came close to battles” at UM and WSU, with the student conflict highlighted in bold print, “opposing students shoved and taunted each other, but no injuries were reported.”¹⁸⁹ More violence is portrayed on top of the next day’s headline “Cycle Gang Attacks Anti-War Marchers,” subtitled, “Wild Melee Erupts in California: Vietnam Protests sweep Across U.S.” The first bit of information reports,

A gang of 35 Hell’s Angels, members of the notorious motor cycle club, swarmed through police barricades at Berkeley, Calif., Saturday and attacked some 2,500 demonstrators marching to protest U.S. policy in Vietnam. A police sergeant was pummeled to the ground and suffered a broken leg. One of the Hell’s Angels was clubbed to the street by a patrolman. Two Hells Angels were arrested and many fights broke out as some 1,000 spectators joined the melee.¹⁹⁰

The next statement reads, “**THIS WAS JUST** one of the many similar incidents across the country as thousands of demonstrators marched for a second day,” and then for emphasis, “**In New York, a flying wedge of spectators cracked through police barricades and beat demonstrators to the pavement during a march of 13,000 persons down Fifth Avenue.**”¹⁹¹ Also, “From Texas to Wisconsin, and from New York to Los Angeles, marchers—many of them young men of draft age—denounced America’s politics in Southeast Asia and charged American soldiers and Marines with atrocities against the Vietnamese.”¹⁹² The article then abruptly comes to a halt, directing readers to turn to page 6A for the story’s conclusion. Immediately below where the **Wild Melee** detours to page six, appears “**Protests Dwindle in Michigan,**” a disparaging heading depicting the antiwar movement losing momentum. Reported are the decreasing numbers “involved in protests” throughout Michigan, before citation of “130 members”¹⁹³ belonging to DCEWV that marched in front of the Fort Wayne draft induction center. After alluding to DCEWV picket signs, the *DFP* polarizes the antiwar movement by stressing; “A group of 25 counter-demonstrators from an anti-communists organization called ‘Breakthrough’ marched nearby, their soundtrack playing patriotic songs in the background.”¹⁹⁴ Breakthrough leader Donald Lobsinger was quoted stating, “We are here to show that these demonstrations do not represent all of the people in this country. We are here to show support and appreciation for our troops.”¹⁹⁵ Absent in this item are reports of Breakthrough’s harassment of the DCEWV and that Breakthrough members were arrested for such acts. Contrary to the violent images presented in the *DFP* front-page, the *Peace and Freedom News* present images that are less severe:

There were some arguments with local right-wing groups but there was no trouble. The police were very cooperative. The right wingers had a sound car at Fort Wayne and

followed the Detroit people to Ann Arbor. When they started a broadcast, they were arrested in violation of an anti-sound car ordinance which had been passed to prevent anti-war people from using a sound car for political work.¹⁹⁶

Missing in the *Peace and Freedom News* account are melees, raw eggs, and motorcycle gangs while at the same time a compliment is reserved for law enforcement personnel.

On October 17 the *DFP*, directly below the “**Cycle Gang Attacks Anti-War Marchers,**” initiated its “CAMPUS 1965” four part series examining “student attitudes on today’s campuses,” placing “**Dreams of Socialist Utopia Motivate Campus Radical**” next to the Hell’s Angels example of how these demonstrators should be handled. The student featured in this exposé is University of Michigan junior Gary Rothberger, identified as “a representative of today’s student activists,” who coincidentally, “turned out to be one of the 38 young people arrested in a sit-down protest against the Vietnam War.”¹⁹⁷ The article begins,

He belonged to another country and another age, sitting there in his girlfriend’s apartment under the benevolent gaze of Lenin dreaming aloud of a socialist state. Yet Gary Rothberger belongs to this time and this country, a living, breathing exponent of Marxism, who manages to be heard despite the roar of affluence that surrounds him.¹⁹⁸

Another Mumford High graduate, a Sociology major at UM, Rothberger is described as attractive, “Outgoing, bright and articulate, he could easily be a business major waiting for his call from General Motors or the Prudential Insurance Co. **That call will probably never come, because Gary would like to see GM, Prudential and every other corporation in the hands of the government.**”¹⁹⁹ Then his character is summarized in bold print: “there he is Gary, the young socialist who won’t fight his country’s wars.”²⁰⁰ In several paragraphs Rothberger fluently expresses opinions concerning Watts, Vietnam, and the Cuban Missile Crisis before a *DFP* statement surmises, “**So there he is, Gary, the young socialist who won’t fight his country’s wars**” and

WHAT SETS Gary apart from a thousand other students is his activism. His is not an idealism of dormitory discussions. It is the kind of idealism fostered by Voice, the University of Michigan chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), to which Gary belongs. **SDS was founded by University of Michigan Students at a meeting in Port Huron three years ago. Since then it has spread to other campuses. Its voice was heard in the Free Speech upheaval at the University of California.**²⁰¹

During the era of the Cold War that pitted the forces of capitalism against communism and socialism, apparently it was easier for the *DFP* to connect student activism with an economic system most Americans find appalling.

WSU Journalism major Wally Wyss, a writer for the school newspaper the *Daily Collegian*, was the third individual presented in the series in the article “**Inquisitive Student Makes a Hobby of People and Truth.**” The *DFP* believed, “By defying classification, Wally is

typical of the nonconformist in his natural habitat: the urban university."²⁰² Wyss leads *DFP* reporter George Walker through Mackenzie Hall, stating to Walker, **"See that Negro in a blue denim jacket? He's a poet and a jazz musician"** and **"See over in that corner there? That's where all the Lithuanians gather. And over in that corner? That's where Negroes sit."**²⁰³ Wyss moves along, noticing a girl with long black hair and comments to Walker, "She's a Jewish girl from Texas, she really intrigues me: She's only the second Texan I've known."²⁰⁴ He could also identify the origin and academic interest by dress: **"He's not from this country. He's probably from the Middle East, probably a business administration student. If he had black socks he'd be a lawyer. He likes it here. He comes into his own."**²⁰⁵ Walker describes WALLY as delivering "opinions as if they were going out of style" and explains Wally's belief that, "I can't commit myself for the war or against it, because the public isn't told what the real reasons are for the war."²⁰⁶ He believes "there is not enough freedom. I'm all for freedom of discussion. If young socialists want to discuss something though, I wish they would appoint an articulate speaker and get out there and discuss it. None of this ranting and raving."²⁰⁷ Walker wrote of Wyss, "He was in his element, and his element is people"²⁰⁸ and "by virtue of his intense nonconformity probably has as much right to represent Wayne as any of his fellow students."²⁰⁹ For a while the nonconformist was enrolled in the WSU Art School, but, "The Wayne art school is very, very weird. The students seem to despise the educational art majors."²¹⁰ Credited with being in his element, somehow Wyss failed to identify other rebels such as Roger Keeran and the fifteen WSU students representing DCEWV who delivered flowers to Alice Herz at the hospital. The WSU campus and neighborhood was DCEWV territory, and the organization had a WSU chapter. Perhaps the presentation of Wyss's originality was within the dictates of cultural norms established for nonconformity, mavericks willing to serve the establish press's news accounts reporting the war. Or maybe, the real nonconformists were underground, undetectable to Wyss.

Surely Wyss, the *Daily Collegian* reporter able to pinpoint majors by an individual appearance, would have covered the previous eight months of free concerts and poetry readings frequented by students from the very weird art school offered by the Detroit Artist Workshop. The Workshop, headquartered at the Castle, adjacent to the WSU campus, had been created in October 1964 by WSU grad-student Sinclair, along with DCEWV members Eichele and artists Leni Arndt, Charles Moore, Jim Semark, George Tysh, Ellen Phelan, and Larry Weiner, originally located at 1252 W. Forest Ave. Sinclair, viewing the same landscape as Wyss, stated, "Americans have been made into Voyeurs—the mass media above all,"²¹¹ and points out that mass media is controlled by the wealthy "death merchants"²¹² who use the medium to control the public and that personal freedom occurs when every person becomes an artist. Sinclair believed

the established press promotes a “death merchant” agenda that depends on people “to stand still long enough to buy things they don’t need,”²¹³ and the merchants cannot afford a self-actualized readership that will reject the stuff they are selling, items that allow the merchants to control the population. The agenda Sinclair advocated needed its own press. He noticed a “quiet” element brewing in the “small communities” “present in the area, stating, “underground is really the precise name for it.”²¹⁴

One student not so quiet was Stanley Nadel at UM, who created a stir on the Ann Arbor campus selling Viet Cong pins and postage stamps to raise money “for medical supplies for Vietnamese villagers who had been hurt by American military action.”⁷³ His fund raising activities had irritated other students, causing “over 100 demands” for an FBI investigation “to determine if Nadel is committing treason.”²¹⁵ Nadel explained his support for Vietnamese citizens in the *DFP* November 14 article, “**U-M Vietnik Sticks to Guns**”:

The Viet Cong are the only alternative for the South Vietnamese given the present situation. The Viet Cong are the legitimate government of South Vietnam and certainly have more popular support than any other faction. How could the Viet Cong have gained control of four-fifths of the country without support of the people.²¹⁶

The *DFP* condescendingly asks, “**HOW DOES he know?**”²¹⁷ quickly pointing out, “He doesn’t. But he is certain the State Department deliberately lies about the Saigon government’s strength in the Vietnam country side while underestimating Viet Cong power.” And further, “Nadel believes Viet Cong movement is not Communist controlled, directed or inspired.”²¹⁸ The *DFP* cynically affirms Nadel’s knowledge, stating, “He knows this, he says, because he reads reports written by Australian and French reporters who have seen the front in action,”²¹⁹ journalists certainly not as capable of reporting U.S. interests as well as American correspondents. Until the mid-sixties Nadel and others could find alternative information about the war presented by foreign journalists in non-traditional publications that included reports atypical of what was found inside established American newspapers. Given France’s own Vietnam history, a French reporter’s insight provided by a French news agency might be considered a source of useful information. On November 2, 1965, a Quaker, Norman Morrison received his copy of an *I.F. Stone’s Weekly*, which contained a full-page reprint of a French correspondent’s description of U.S. bombs destroying a village abandoned by the Vietcong. The reporter found in a Saigon hospital bed a dazed, lamenting French priest weeping as he recounted, “I have seen my faithful burned up in Napalm. I have seen the bodies of women and children blown to bits. I have seen my village razed. By God, its not possible...They must settle their accounts with God.”²²⁰

In Philadelphia, PA, about the same time the small underground community coalesced in Detroit around the Artist Workshop, the Quaker City had an undersized society of people

similarly engaged in their own process of self-actualization. Paul Lyons, in his book *The People of This Generation*, informs that a “small group of somewhat liberal, somewhat bohemian rebels” had “found an enclave of dissent, deviance, and cultural vitality at the Christian Association (CA),” which “had representation of nine clergy from a variety of denominations.”²²¹ The CA, along with local “Quaker based-radical pacifists elements,” were a part of “the radical presence beginning to appear at” the University of Pennsylvania in the early 1960s.²²² Lyons writes that Quakers influenced aspects of Philadelphia liberalism:

At the Quaker-influenced, elite institutions-Swarthmore, Haverford, Bryn Mawr-the influences were the anti-nuclear movement, Third World independence movements, and most especially, the student-driven, direct action wing of the civil rights movement-the sit-ins, freedom rides, and demonstrations at the nearby Eastern shores in Maryland.²²³

According to Lyons, “The CA was not simply a social gospel-based enclave of activist clergy; rather it nurtured both civil rights and peace oriented activism. There was also a more cultural dimension to the CA; it offered a space in which cultural rebellions gestated.”²²⁴ The CA appealed to “the kinds of youth who, were somewhere between early adolescence and college graduation, discovered Salinger and Camus, jazz and folk music and rhythm ‘n’ blues. They were encouraged by ‘hip’ ministers like Presbyterian Ted Katchel to create, in 1964, the Underground, a ‘satirical review extraordinarily managed, written, and performed by a group of wickedly funny undergrads.’²²⁵ Producers of “the Underground hung out at the Catacombs,” a Philadelphia “coffeehouse at 36th and Locust streets” and the makers of the satirical review “were part of what became a serious challenge to the hegemony of Penn Greeks and jocks.” Lyons cites one student’s appraisal of the mocking review and the coffeehouse setting:

How can I convey the fact that the Underground is basically a warm experience? How many students have been to Quaker meetings with a foot of snow on the ground outside, with crackling fire in the fireplace, with the warmth of good fellowship in the air, with the dusty air sliced into shafts by refracted sunlight. Those students will know what it is like at the Catacombs Friday nights, and then some.²²⁶

Originally, catacombs housed dissidents in the Roman Empire. Will Durant illustrates that “About the year 100 the Christians of Rome” constructed “long subterranean passages at various levels and the dead were laid in”; however “various passages seem purposely devious, and suggest their use as hiding during persecutions.”²²⁷ Their need for hiding stems from torture because, as Martin Goodman reports in *Rome and Jerusalem*, “Christians were not only outsiders but positively dangerous.”²²⁸ When a fire destroyed Rome in the year 64, conversations in the city suggested the conflagration was the work of arsonists. Emperor Nero, his government detested by many, in order to dispute such gossip, implicated the Christians; an accusation Goodman says started “the first great persecution of Christians.”²²⁹ Goodman writes that “deaths were made

farcical”²³⁰ as Nero arranged public viewings of the brutal torture. In *Church History* Everett Ferguson refers to the first wave of Christian persecution as initiating the “tunnel period in the history of Christianity.”²³¹ Followers of Jesus, “for religious reasons, could not engage in the accepted expressions of political loyalty, so they appeared as a threat to the Roman State.”²³² Because of their civil disobedience, combined with practice of abnormal rituals associated with their religion, practices that earned them charges of immorality, previous to the fire they already were suspects.²³³ Literally, they were pushed “underground,” hiding under the streets of Rome, or in catacombs. And in the face of capture and torture, they refused to renounce their faith, preferring to be a “witness” for the existence of Christ, even in the face of death. Ferguson writes, “The idea for martyrdom had Jewish precedents but was particularly developed by Christians in the period of persecution. The word ‘martyr’ is Greek word for ‘witness,’” and those “who gave their lives in persecution, and they alone, came to be called martyrs (‘witnesses’).”²³⁴

In the U.S. Quakers did not hide in catacombs, but they certainly were a part of one of the nations first subterranean communities, the Underground Railroad. In *The underground Railroad: From Slavery to Freedom*, Wilbur H. Siebert reports that letters George Washington wrote in 1786 confirm the presence of Friend conductors, one stating, “a society of Quakers in the city, formed for such purposes, have attempted to liberate”²³⁵ a slave who escaped to Philadelphia. Siebert acknowledges, “The Quakers deserve, in this work, to be placed before all other denominations because of their general acceptance and advocacy of anti-slavery doctrines when the system of slavery had no other opponents.”²³⁶ Along the way publications popped up that assisted the Quakers with their work. Garrison founded the *Liberator*, and according to Siebert, the attic above the paper’s Boston office served as a hiding place for slaves traveling the railroad to freedom.²³⁷ He also notes Harriet Beecher Stowe in her best seller, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, introduced Quaker activism to many by modeling the character Simeon Halliday after “The President of The Underground,” Quaker philanthropist Levi Coffin.²³⁸ One hundred years after the Civil War ended, Quaker activism again stepped to the forefront of an issue dividing the nation.

Paul Hendrickson in *The Living and the Dead* followed Norman Morrison to Philadelphia, where on October 29, 1965, he attended the American Friends Service Committee conference on “Inward Renewal and Outward Works.” At the conference, one of the speakers, a Quaker, shared a fact that before one Vietcong soldier is killed, three Vietnamese citizens will also perish, a detail that strongly impacted Morrison.²³⁹ Four days after the conference, on November 2, Morrison and his wife Anne “took a small lunch together” and discussed “the burning of the French curate’s children” that was reported in *I.F. Stone’s Weekly*.²⁴⁰ At some

point during the day, Norman dropped a letter in the U.S. mail for Anne.²⁴¹ Hendrickson notes Morrison “wrote beautiful letters,” and quotes one as saying, “It is nearly impossible for most Quakers or anyone else to sit in silence for an hour with other working minds without feeling their individual and collective futility and dependence on the will and power of Christ.”²⁴² In his November 2 letter, Norman wrote,

Dearest Anne: For weeks, even months, I have been praying only that I be shown what I must do. This morning with no warning, I was shown as clearly as I was shown that Friday night in August 1955, that you would be my wife.... Know that I love thee but must act for the children of the priest’s village, I shall not plan to go without my child as Abraham did.²⁴³

Anne herself wrote beautiful letters, one published in *The Living and the Dead* which explains, “Norman wanted to *give his life away*,” and that “he had a theory of ‘guided drift’; he felt that some greater HAND had hold of his life, beyond his knowing.”²⁴⁴ Before departing the small lunch, Norman informed his wife “he has never felt better,”²⁴⁵ and then he left, picking up his daughter Emily, nine days shy of her first birthday, and drifted from Baltimore to Washington D.C. At 5:20 p.m. Secretary of Defense McNamara, who offered testimony encouraging the bombing of Vietnam, and others, were distracted by “streaks of daylight”²⁴⁶ penetrating the office windows. Hendrickson writes, “McNamara went over to the long windows and saw two ambulances. Paramedics were bundling a form. ‘Its what? He said, his face whitening. He was informed of a child. ‘What?’ he said.”²⁴⁷

When Alice Herz clung to life, Roger Keeran urged “**other American citizens to refrain from such extreme action,**” advice Morrison dared to disregard. As he repeatedly mentioned to Anne, “his very life depended on a *fidelity of guidance*,” and when “inward guidance came,” Anne said, he *dared* not ignore it.”²⁴⁸ Hendrickson writes,

THE QUAKER DID IT one rush hour evening, in gathering dark. No Buddhist monks were present to feed peppermint oil on the flames and keep down the smell of burning flesh. The fire shot ten to twelve feet into the air-so said a Pentagon guard who tore to an alarm box to call the fire department. (They got there quickly but it was pointless.) The flames, people said, made an envelope of color around his asphyxiating body. The sound of it, one witness said, was like a whoosh of small-rocket fire.²⁴⁹

He set Emily aside, drenched his body with gasoline, and then set fire to the bottom of his pant leg. Hendrickson adds, “What made it so horrifying, awesome and impenetrable all at once was Norman R. Morrison had a child, his own infant daughter, in his presence,”²⁵⁰ a site captured by the *DFP* the following morning, placing Emily’s picture on the same spot of the front-page used for the Herz stories. Above her picture, a caption states, “The human torch dropped this baby girl,” the photo and statement tucked inside the AP article “Pacifist Burns Self to Death, Spares Baby At Pentagon.”²⁵¹ In typical *DFP* style, the article informs 1) “A man holding a baby set fire to himself in front of the Pentagon Tuesday, and died shortly after. The baby, 18 months old, was

not hurt,” 2) “**MORRISON**” refused to pay taxes for several years, “donating \$5” instead to a refuge organization, and 3) Morrison is quoted as saying that “common defense,” is not carried out through bombing Vietnam. The last word used in Morrison’s statement is “suicide.”²⁵² What was not reported is that Morrison had a choice to push Emily away from the flames. Parents in Vietnam had no place to hide their children from dive-bombers spraying Napalm. There were no photos showing Vietnamese children with melted flesh dripping from their chins. The Quaker martyred himself as a witness for Vietnamese children “burned up in Napalm.” Ryan disclosed in her essay that Morrison was “partly inspired by” Alice Herz.²⁵³ Ovshinsky recalls about the incident, “There was a lot of discussion, but I didn’t know anybody. I didn’t know Peter. I didn’t know there was a DCEWV. I just remember being very moved by what Morrison did.”²⁵⁴ A little more than two weeks later, on November 19th, 1965, issue Number One of the *Detroit Fifth Estate* was released with a statement included in the paper’s masthead, “*The Fifth Estate*: dedicated to norman r. morrison.”²⁵⁸ Detroit had a witness for Morrison, the French Priest, for Alice Herz, and for anyone that thought the war was wrong.

Notes

1. Jean Sharley, “Pacifism Sparked Her Fiery Sacrifice: A Woman Concerned About War,” *Detroit Free Press*, March 18, 1965.
2. Robert DeWolfe, “Sets Herself Afire in Vietnam Protest: ‘Detroit Woman Found In Street,’” *Detroit Free Press*, March 17, 1965.
3. DeWolfe, “Sets Herself Afire in Vietnam Protest: Detroit Woman Found In Street.”
4. Sharley, “Pacifism Sparked Her Fiery Sacrifice: A Woman Concerned About War.”
5. Sharley, “Pacifism Sparked Her Fiery Sacrifice: A Woman Concerned About War.”
6. Sharley, “Pacifism Sparked Her Fiery Sacrifice: A Woman Concerned About War.”
7. Sharley, “Pacifism Sparked Her Fiery Sacrifice: A Woman Concerned About War.”
8. Sharley, “Pacifism Sparked Her Fiery Sacrifice: A Woman Concerned About War.”
9. Sharley, “Pacifism Sparked Her Fiery Sacrifice: A Woman Concerned About War.”
10. Sharley, “Pacifism Sparked Her Fiery Sacrifice: A Woman Concerned About War.”
11. Sharley, “Pacifism Sparked Her Fiery Sacrifice: A Woman Concerned About War.”
12. Sharley, “Pacifism Sparked Her Fiery Sacrifice: A Woman Concerned About War.”
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Chapter Two
Origins Of The *Fifth Estate*: Hard to Miss
The Black and White American Coalition

When looking back at the sixties, three major components come into view: the civil rights movement, antiwar activism, and counterculture indulgences. As we have learned from chapter one, two of those parts, the antiwar and civil rights movements, galvanized, creating a larger association in opposition of traditional norms found in American culture, standards that include being in compliance with the nation's war effort, and a segregated society based on racism. However, at the time, if you read traditional news publications or received your information concerning current events through radio or television, you may not have recognized the partnership existing among young black and white activists. Readers of the *Fifth Estate* would not have that problem. The joint venture was easily recognizable inside its pages, one reason being that an African American played a vital role in the inception of the *Fifth Estate*. Although he was impacted by how Norman Morrison's carried out his defiance against the Vietnam War, it was the Reverend Albert Cleage, a Black Nationalist that portrayed Jesus Christ as a black man, to whom Harvey Ovshinsky turned to for assistance in starting the *Fifth Estate*. Until Ovshinsky contacted the Reverend Cleage, he was without a printer. Cleage not only agreed to help Ovshinsky, becoming the *Fifth Estate's* first printer, but the Reverend also went on to become subject matter found in several issues of the *Fifth Estate*.

The focus of chapter two pays attention to how the *Fifth Estate* was created, with emphasis placed on African American cultural influence, an important factor contributing to the paper's initial development. At the same time, I draw a connection between white activists and black activists, a link, as Todd Gitlin suggested, was only visible to those inside the movement. Within this chapter's content is a description of the community where the *Fifth Estate* set up its base of operations and some background information on some of the paper's operators. As you will see, *Fifth Estate* journalists Frank Joyce and John Sinclair, both white activists in opposition to the war, were also two men involved with civil rights activities and respectful of African American history. In his book *Uncovering The Sixties*, Abe Peck writes that in 1965, "Liberals and radicals argued over whether the war was a mistake or was a part of the same sickness that had murdered Freedom Riders and overthrown a democratic government in the Dominican Republic" and noted, "In November, it also became possible for people in Detroit to read all about this in the *Fifth Estate*," acknowledging the first issue "contained items on marches, the FBI, and the CIA not found in the local dailies. It linked politics and lifestyle, and hey, what did

you want from an eighteen year old teenage publisher.”¹ A significant part of that lifestyle is the African American experience in the United States, and Black America’s daily life is very much a part of the testimony witnessed by the *Fifth Estate*.

After starting the Detroit *Fifth Estate* (*FE*) at his father’s Bloomfield Hills residence, Harvey Ovshinsky in late winter 1966 moved his newspaper closer to where all the action was, establishing headquarters at 1107 West Warren Avenue.² He recalls, “For me, personally, the important thing was making contact, sharing stories, and bringing people together. Having people within the communities bound together by information, ideas, and common experiences that without *FE* they wouldn’t have shared.”³ Relocating *FE* was an important move because as Ovshinsky says, “It was where Sinclair was and the city was” and Detroit was stirring with “antiwar activity, protesting authority. A rage against civil rights violations, against woman and blacks. It was a stove; it was just turned on high. It was just percolating.”⁴ According to Ovshinsky stirring the pot was *FE* as he states. “The *Fifth Estate* helped make that happen and it helped us; it gave us comfort.”⁵ The command center for the paper was now in the Warren-Forest district, a neighborhood immediately south of Wayne State University (WSU). Ovshinsky reminisced

I was a storyteller first and at the same time to I desired to serve the community and in our case it was a political community, the freaks, the hippies, the music scene, and the artistic and cultural scene. And we were pretty political in that first year.⁶

Detroit’s Warren-Forest community is nestled between Cass, an avenue running north and south and serves as the district’s eastern border, and extends west in the vicinity of Trumbull, another street that runs north south. On the area’s northern fringe, Warren Avenue runs east west, as does Forrest at the neighborhood’s southern border. Bill Buntin studied the zone in response to controversy surrounding WSU plans for “University City”, which included in the late 1960s an urban renewal plan that called for the removal of citizens from their homes and neighborhoods. In his study Buntin stated, “This area of the city has a long, and probably the most well known or at least the most media covered, history of confrontation and struggle around urban renewal.”⁷ He describes “a very complex area where objective conditions make the failure of capitalism rather blatant.”⁸ The data he collects indicate a total population somewhere around 30,000 people with sixty percent of the inhabitants Caucasian, many of whom came to Detroit from West Virginia and Kentucky. Thirty-five percent of the population is depicted as “black” and “20-30%percent of the population is over 50 years of age” and the medium income is about \$3,000. The average age of their dwellings is 55 years with 85% of buildings in the neighborhood constructed before 1920.⁹

This area was also Detroit's subterranean region, the heart of the city's underground community. David A. Carson, in *Grit, Noise, and Revolution*, reports that John and Leni Sinclair, "along with fourteen friends, including poet-filmmaker Robin Eichele, jazz trumpeter Charles Moore, and political activist Martina Algrie, founded a small bohemian artist colony and social collective they named the Detroit Artist Workshop" and that the "sixteen original members each contributed five dollars to pay the first months rent on a two-story house at 1252 West Forest."¹⁰ The colony expanded; by summer 1965, "they were renting six other houses and two store fronts, providing space for a print shop, a performance center, and more living area for members and for anyone else who wanted to stay around."¹¹ Among the buildings the outfit leased was "the Castle," located next to the Detroit Committee to End The War in Vietnam (DCEWV) meeting place and around the corner from 1107 West Warren Ave. Other members of the "underground" resided one block south of W. Forest on Prentis St., a pathway stretching from Woodward Ave. west to Grand River Ave., the street Alice Herz chose to conduct her self-conflagration. As westbound Prentis crosses over Second Ave., on the left-hand side, the first structure that stands facing north is 633 Prentis, an apartment building Carson notes at this time was considered to be "rather infamous."¹² Tenants included DCEWV member Peter Werbe¹³ and his wife Marilyn, and Gary Grimshaw, a commercial artist. Michael Davis, bass player for Detroit's "Advant" rock band, the MC5, and his wife occupied one of the building's apartments. Across the hallway from the Davis's, Rob Tyner, a cartoonist, and singer for the MC5, was a regular visitor, hanging out with his girlfriend.¹⁴ The pair eventually relocated one block south of Prentis, into a house at 659 W. Canfield.¹⁵

Also somewhere on the cavernous Prentis lived civil rights activist Frank Joyce.¹⁶ From steps leading to Joyce's abode, *FE* reporter Ben Habeebee, formally dressed, "wearing a dark tie," provides a glimpse of the "Prentis street spectacle," viewing the arrest of two "nameless hippies."¹⁷ Habeebee and Joyce, plus a few others observed,

Two cops had just walked on their beat down Prentis, gotten lost in the shadows then reappeared from the alley at the end of the block where they started out. They had two handcuffed prisoners. The prisoners, somewhere between teenyboppers and hippies looked to be about 19 years old. They stooped as they walked down the streets hands bound behind their backs.¹⁸

Habeebee reports that he, Joyce, and the others

walked down to Prentis and Second where the cops and alleged lawbreakers were now waiting for a squad car. A car did arrive just as we did. We watched from across the street -saying nasty things about the cops. But saying them low. As the squad car pulled up, one of the peripatetic officers said, excitedly and proudly, 'Got some Narco for you babee.' And they put him them in the back seat and drove away.¹⁹

Habeebee, Joyce, and the other witnesses “stood and talked for a minute.”²⁰ Leaving the scene and strolling back up Prentis, Habeebee stated none of the street’s other residents “asked me what had gone on.”²¹ That became *FE*’s job, asking and then reporting what went on, Detroit’s “underground newspaper,” albeit reporting the news with non-traditional media frames then found in the annals of journalism.

Ovshinsky spent summer 1965 working at the *Los Angeles Free Press*, the paper credited as the first underground newspaper appearing on the American scene in the mid 1960s. Art Kunkin, the *L.A. Free Press* founder, began selling the paper dressed as Robin Hood, selling 1,200 copies at a May, 1964, Renaissance Faire sponsored by a local radio station. The *L.A. Free Press* covered Los Angeles’s art community and music scene, which included reporting what was happening in the jazz world.²² The newspaper also presented frames depicting community news that were constructed differently than what might be found in a paper like the *Los Angeles Times*. Present in the paper’s work covering the week long civil disturbance that occurred in the Watts neighborhood in August, Abe Peck notes in *Uncovering The Sixties*, “The reportorial *Los Angeles Free Press* lends a black perspective to the 1965 uprising in the Watts ghetto.”²³ The *L.A. Free Press* caught comedian and television talk show host Steve Allen’s attention, also a jazz aficionado. Peck reports,

Early on, Kunkin bounced a check to the printer. Desperate for \$500, he heard Steve Allen was a reader, and offered him part of the paper to keep it afloat. A day before deadline, a messenger arrived with ‘pre-payment for advertising.’ When Allen later advertised one of his books, Kunkin called attention to it with a front-page teaser; ‘Why Does Steve Allen Wear Glasses?’²⁴

Fleeing his mother in Los Angeles, Ovshinsky, made it back to Michigan, moving into his father’s house,

feeling this burning desire, this passion, to create an alternative newspaper. I had experienced the under ground press when I was in L.A. Nobody came when I came back knew what I was talking about. I’m kind of like an interior decorator; most people go into an empty room and see things that don’t exist right now based on my own interests and experiences. And I saw not only what I saw in L.A. but I saw what could be here.²⁵

Determined to pursue this aspiration, he convinced friends Jeffery Feldman, Ben McFall, and Steve Simons, chums from Mumford High School that may have witnessed Ovshinsky’s earlier publishing venture, his *Transylvania Newsletter*, distributed when he was eleven years old, or assisted him with production of the *Idiom* at Mumford High School. Regarding the *Idiom* and his early preparation for the undertaking of starting a newspaper, Ovshinsky says,

For some reason I always went through the front door. I always went through the back door. I created my own literary magazine rather than working with the school paper. I’m not saying it was the right thing to do. The *Fifth Estate* probably would have been a better newspaper if I knew what I was doing. You know, it was my own publication with my

own friends, kind of a back door publication. I just did it. It never bothered me when people ask how did you put it together. It never occurred to me. I just did it. If I had any training that first issue wouldn't have had two blank pages. I didn't know that tabloids were supposed to have you know, ah eight pages. What did I know? Unfortunately, I can't deny that I didn't know what I was doing. The only tabloid we knew about was the shopping mart published in Northwest Detroit.²⁶

In addition to enlisting his friends, on the first issue he also had "Rob and Steve Dibner who are still my best friends, proofreading or something like that, they were around fourteen or fifteen years old. They are my little brother and sister."²⁷ The crew went to work collecting material for, which they would assemble and paste together in a format similar to *the L.A. Press*.²⁸ Ovshinsky recalls,

Because no one knew what we were talking about we didn't get a lot of people waiting in line to write the stories so we had to do it ourselves. We didn't know anybody. We said we were this paper. I went around to the ACLU. I went to SNCC. I went to Frank Joyce. I talked to people who were active in organizations and said 'we could use your help, send us your press and let us get your story out.'²⁹

For *FE's* November 19, 1965 inaugural edition, they also went to the *Detroit News*, the *Michigan Chronicle*, the *Michigan Daily*, *New York Times*, and *Peace and Freedom News*. The front-page included "DISCREDIT WHO?," a reprint of an Associated Press article that originally appeared in the October 22, 1965 *Times*, which reported Ohio Senator Stephen H. Young's revelation that CIA agents paid "persons to disguise as Vietcong and discredit Communists in Vietnam by committing atrocities."³⁰ The *Michigan Chronicle's* November 13, 1965 article, "Form 'Friends of NSM' to Aid 12th St. Group," which reports a press conference announcing a new civil rights organization, a meeting not reported by either of Detroit's major daily newspapers, appears as "Northern Student Movement"³¹ (NSM) on *FE's* page two. The story reports Frank Joyce's election to the "first steering committee of Friends of NSM," a working group that "proposed to form a nucleus of a movement of whites and Negroes which is in communication with the ghetto based black freedom movement."³² Next to this item *FE* placed a letter to the editor of the *Detroit News*, under the heading "Letters," written by Alvin Harrison, the "NSM field secretary in Detroit," an individual very much involved in the city's "black freedom movement."³³ Harrison wrote to the *News* "in response to the number of letters published regarding his participation in a Teach-in at" WSU. ³⁴In his letter he states,

Which flag is the flag of Alvin Harrison? I have no idea. I do not reject your flag; rather the country for which it stands has rejected me. And when someday I, too can claim the flag is mine it will be because I and others who struggle with me daily have made it mine despite you. For the present, I think I have no flag. No reasonable black man (or white man either) can suggest that the American Flag or the American experience means the same to those of us who are black as to those who are white.³⁵

Two *Michigan Daily* articles are integrated, the first, "Voice Seeks New Programs," which reports the Voice Political parties plans alter its protest strategy, "shifting emphasis from demonstrations and sit-ins to an increased educational effort on the question of U.S. policy in Viet Nam" with hopes "to bring the Viet

Nam issue to both the student body at U-M and the community at large.”³⁶ The other *Daily* piece, “FBI...” reported the Bureau assisting the Michigan State Police with investigation Stanley Nadel’s fundraising efforts for the purchase of medical supplies for Vietnamese civilians wounded in the war.³⁷ On the third page, *FE* positioned the word “ADVERTIZEMENT” above the headline “DCEWV Convention,” which served as a precursor for material initially published in *Peace and Freedom News*³⁸ promoting the November 25-28 NCEWV national convention to be held at Washington D.C. At the end of this piece, *FE* encouraged any “interested groups” and “all organizations” to attend and “for information, write “ to the DCEWV at 1101 W. Warren Ave.³⁹

Supplementing the reprints, *FE* presented other items containing political and social themes. “Joe Hill; A Tribute” appears on the front-page, which reports, “Labor History Archives of” WSU “is commemorating the 50th anniversary of the execution of Joe Hill, America’s most famous Wobblie and the ‘Man Who Never Died.’”⁴⁰ The event, held at the WSU McGregor Memorial Conference Center, would “highlight Hill’s life in ‘living newspaper style.” Next to the Hill piece, “ACLU Blast Draft As Punishment” emerges, a story reporting Michigan’s chapter of the American Civil Liberties (ACLU) concern regarding the “intent of Colonel Authur A. Holms, state Selective Service Director to use the Selective Service Act ‘as a device to punish dissent.”⁴¹ This piece runs into the article “New Left,” a segment informing, “A group has formed calling itself the Detroit Circle. Its purpose is to fill the void that exist among those who consider themselves part of the independent left,” and suggests, “We ought to set up a dialogue with the Detroit liberal and radical community with the purpose of helping, and even with necessary, initiating sanctions concerning the burning issues of peace and civil rights.”⁴² This article concludes by inviting interested readers wishing to attended the next meeting to contact *FE* at “P.O. Box, 305, Bloomfield Hills,” the address resting above “Prison Notes,” which updates,

Within the last month, more than 500 people have been arrested in the city of Natchez, Mississippi. Although the news of the arrests received wide circulation, the brutality and the indignities which the prisoners were forced to endure during their stay at Parchman State Penitentiary has until now been kept secret secret.⁴³

The first issue, predominant with media frames relaying images of antiwar and civil rights activists busy with their work, reserved enough space on its front-page for “Bob Dylan; In Memoriam.” A chuckling Ovshinsky remembers, “We buried Dylan, that was my high school buddy, Steve Simon.”⁴⁴ Dylan in transition, replacing folk singing performances with a harder, more electric sound, on his fall 1965, received burials from most of his fans that were upset with his conversion. Simon reported,

Detroit took its first glimpse of the ‘new’ Bob Dylan in his concert at the Masonic Temple on October 24. The first half of the spectacle was traditional Dylan. Following the intermission, the audience was confronted by Dylan holding an electric guitar, surrounded by his rock and roll combo, confronted the audience.⁴⁵

The electrocuted Dylan was greeted with chants, “We want Dylan,” a reaction Simon notes as “not so radical or unusual. Dylan has met the same reaction throughout the United States,”

leading Simon to conclude, “Now Bob Dylan feels he can ‘make it’ in rock & roll. Perhaps he can...” Simon’s recap of Dylan’s musical experimentation preceded “what’s on,” a two page segment listing cultural events such as concerts, symphonies, lectures plays, and films scheduled for the region’s university auditoriums and theatre halls, or at various Detroit venues, some that were slated for sites located in the Warren-Forest neighborhood. Considering *FE*’s media frames advocating political and social change, as it turns out, “what’s on” served as catalyst for journalistic routines. Ovshinsky points out, “We started calendars at the time; we were the only publication at the time that published calendars of events. Then the newspapers started to do it. Then they started printing in color after we did it.”⁴⁶

At its inception, the paper carried a clever ad, sketching the replica an Edison phonograph, complete with a “Cygnet” horn, piping out a melodious image of words serenading, “**subscribe now**, Just \$1.00 for ten issues of the Fifth Estate.”⁴⁷ Outside of self-promotion, in pursuit of advertising revenue Ovshinsky’s gang went again to other publications. Below its “**subscribe now**” ad, *FE* pasted several cinematic promotions, customary movie advertisements typical of what is found in ordinary daily newspapers. The *Pumpkin Eater* starring Anne Bancroft, and *Séance On A Wet Afternoon* with Kim Stanley was in town at several locations, while in suburban Ferndale, for five months running, Rod Steiger played *The Pawnbroker* at Studio North.⁴⁸ Ovshinsky comments, “the Studio Theatre advertised early in the Fifth Estate. They never paid, we just took it.”⁴⁹ Next to movie ads, a Back Porch Majority concert was promoted, as were opera and concertos held at the Masonic Temple and Ford Auditorium. Also on display, an application form soliciting potential subscribers for *The Progressive*, the Madison, WI journal launched by Senator Robert M. La Follette, Sr., by offering “a free copy of *Toward Civil Rights Now*, eight articles about the road to freedom.”⁵⁰ Another form, from the “March on Washington Committee,” headquartered in downtown Detroit at 23 East Adams, provided plenty of details explaining travel options, cost involved, activities, and departure points available for activists intending to invade Washington D.C. for an antiwar demonstration.⁵¹ Ovshinsky confesses,

We probably stole a lot of advertising. It wasn’t very ethical but I didn’t know what I was doing. I didn’t want it to look like we didn’t know what I was doing. I mean I know what I wanted to accomplish and what I wanted to do with the paper. I wanted it to look like there was there a community and we weren’t making it up and so the advertising just made it more legitimate. Eventually the music companies, the movie companies, the movie theaters, the Checkmate, the Checkmate wouldn’t let me sell the first issue at the coffeehouse in the beginning because they didn’t know what it was.⁵²

After the gathering of odds and ends for this new and unusual paper, finding someone willing print the first edition proved challenging, as it would be in succeeding years. Printers were reluctant to print dissenting content, fearing controversy that could result with community

harassment of their business, potential loss of business, or attract unwanted attention from the FBI. Ovshinsky remembers, “We printed what ever we wanted to, and we rarely disagreed. Eventually, we had this printer in Southfield that printed the *Southfield News* and is who saved our butt. He really enjoyed us, but we paid him lousily.”⁵³ However, before the Southfield connection had been established, when the first issue was to be run off, the first printer contacted, after reviewing *FE*'s subject matter, rejected taking on the job. Ovshinsky said,

We laid it out in Bloomfield Hills and we sent it to the printer and they held on to it for a long time and they wouldn't tell us why so my father suggested I should go down there and check it out and they finally admitted they couldn't print it because it was so unpatriotic. I don't remember who the printer was but they are no longer around but the *Fifth Estate* is which is pretty ironic.⁵⁴

He believes “because of the Feiffer cartoon of the American Flag having a bayonets for stripes they refused to print it but they never told us.”⁵⁵ Jules Feiffer for years was a syndicated cartoonist, featured prominently in the *Village Voice*. Political activist Todd Gitlin writes in *The Sixties: Years Of Hope, Days Of Rage*, “I delighted in Jules Feiffer's worldly spoofs of Eisenhower's syntax, the phone company's arrogance, the middle class's clichés.”⁵⁶ The Feiffer cartoon that may have proved less flattering for the printer is placed below the **Northern Student Movement** article, each bayoneted stripe stabbing a letter, vertically spelling out the word, **VIETNAM**.⁵⁷ Ovshinsky admits, “We stole the cartoon. We lifted it, we never got permission. Nobody found out about it because nobody cared.”⁵⁸ His father, Stan Ovshinsky, who “supported the *Fifth Estate*, he certainly gave us the first three hundred dollar check” as an investment, recommended to his son that he get in touch with the Reverend Albert Cleage, pastor of Detroit's Central United Church of Christ, located on Linwood Ave, a mile west of Twelfth Street.⁵⁹ Ovshinsky recalls, “So we picked up our freight and went to Cleage, and Cleage fortunately was the first printer who successfully printed us.”⁶⁰

In his book *Violence in the Model City* Sidney Fine calls the Rev. Cleage, “The most articulate spokesman among the black militants and the central figure in the development of a ‘strident’ black nationalism in Detroit during the 1960s.”⁶¹ According to Fine,

Cleage was denouncing Detroit's black leadership as ‘the flabbiest in any big city in the nation. A ‘persuasive, unifying theme’ of the *Illustrated News*, a Cleage family journal for all practical purposes, was the ‘betrayal’ of black Detroit by ‘Uncle Toms as they lunch(ed) and confer(red) privately with white bosses.’⁶²

He viewed the Detroit Urban League and NAACP work as a “social work approach,”⁶³ and in 1964, Cleage as the Michigan Freedom Now party candidate for governor of Michigan, running on a platform that called for “Independent black political action” promoting “regional and national economic action by United Negro communities,” his campaign attracted 4,767 votes.⁶⁴

After the July 1967 “riot,” as Detroit’s municipal leaders discussed how to repair the city’s damage, Fine notes,

In a second effort to establish a ‘popular front’ type organization that would embrace both militants and moderates, Cleage took the lead in proposing the creation of a ‘Federation of Black organizations and individuals.’ At a meeting December 1 the decision was taken to launch the Federation for Self Determination (FSD) with Cleage and Freeman as one of the two cochairmen.⁶⁵

Cleage not only provided printing services for *FE*, he also presented political and social issues the paper was interested in reporting. Over two years after he came to *FE*’s rescue, the paper published in its January 15, 1968 “Cleage Calls For Independence,” an article written by Ben Habeebee. Habeebee reports,

Last week, the Rev. Albert B. Cleague, Jr., turned the city around when he rejected on behalf of his Federation for Self-Determination (FDS) a \$100,000 grant from the elite New Detroit Committee (NDC) and announced the resignation of two militant black men for the committee.⁶⁶

The article explained that, “Cleage told the committee to take its strings and tie them to someone else. He said he was nobody’s puppet” and that the days on the plantation are over.”⁶⁷ Rennie Freeman, the other FSD cochairman, was one of the two militants to resign, quoted by *FE* as stating, “They wanted to make sure the little niggers played well together.”⁶⁸

FE’s dedication covering civil rights issues, especially the more radical faction of the movement, was enhanced with the addition of Frank Joyce to paper’s staff. Ovshinsky referred to Joyce “as brilliant”⁶⁹ while stressing the significance of his involvement with *FE*. In his book, *The People of This Generation*, a look at 1960s civil rights activism, Paul Lyons commented, “The Philadelphia story actually begins in Detroit where an organization called People Against Racism (PAR) was formed in 1966. The leading spirit in this development was a New Left activist named Fran Joyce, who in October 1965 began what he called Friends of NSM.”⁷⁰ PAR believed “the problem of race relations in this country is much more a white problem than a Negro problem and that the responsibility of whites is to eliminate white supremacy and prejudice in the white community.”⁷¹ Joyce characterizes *FE* reporters in that he was more than a journalist, he was an activist inside of a movement, and so his reporting is from the standpoint of being a witness, *FE* an opportunity to inscribe his testimony. From his vantage point within the movement, he also kept an eye on the *Detroit Free Press (DFP)* and *Detroit News*. In his *FE* article, “PAR Ad Reveals Brotherhood Hoax,” Joyce points out *DFP* and *News* hypocrisy, detailing how PAR submitted to the Detroit dailies a “WE CAUGHT YOU!” ad, a promotion both papers “refused to accept,” without explanation “for their refusal.”⁷² The PAR ad contained a list of twenty-one businesses, some of them major industries, which had placed “adds indicating their support of Brotherhood”

inside the pages of the Michigan Chronicle's "special brotherhood week edition of February 25th."⁷³ Joyce notes that none of the twenty-one business "placed similar or identical adds in either the News or Free Press."⁷⁴The PAR ad rejected by the *DFP* and *News* stated,

We in PAR realize that Brotherhood is not a marketable commodity in the white community. It does not help to sell automobiles or groceries or appliances. Nevertheless, it is high time for us as a white community to recognize this highly selective support of Brotherhood week as a graphic example of the universal sickness of racism from which our whole society suffers. The firms ...listed have in this instance, by accepting the prevailing double standard actually done the cause of brotherhood a disservice.⁷⁵

FE had reported Joyce as a newsmaker before Joyce actually reported the news for *FE*. Dena Clamage, like Joyce, an inside activist with DCEWV who doubled as a reporter, composed "SDS Free University," an article placed on *FE*'s June 1966 front-page that documents Joyce's activity. Clamage writes,

For as long as the 'New left' has been in existence, 'New Leftniks' have talked about the need for serious thought and analysis within the various movements which have arisen, analysis of American sociology, its history, its power structure, its operating mechanisms; analysis of other countries, especially those of the under-developed, (over exploited).⁷⁶

Her article includes a menu of WSU Students for A Democratic Society "series of seminars to be held over the summer-sort of an activist 'free university'" and on Thursday evenings at WSU's Prentis Building, one could listen to "Frank Joyce, Northern Student Movement" lecture on the topic "Civil Rights, Poverty, and Other Domestic Problems."⁷⁷In July, Joyce began writing a column, "campaign '66," or as he put it, "the following are some random comments and recommendations on the upcoming August 2 primary election races,"⁷⁸discourse focusing on Detroit politics. By the end of the year, Joyce, along with Bob Fleck, Ovshinsky's friend from WSU's Montith College,⁷⁹ assumed the role of *FE*'s "News and Political Editors." In his August 15, 1966 "campaign '66" piece Joyce expressed his opinion on "NEWSPAPERS," stating, "The *Detroit News* is more than a zero on the Detroit Newspaper scene. It is definitely a minus. No political progress is possible in Detroit until it is repudiated. By force if necessary."⁸⁰ In the same commentary, he also provided some positive publicity for the Rev. Cleage,

Albert B. Cleage's campaign against Charles C. Diggs (incumbent mortician) was admittedly too late. Doubtless percentage of the vote would have been higher had Rev. Cleage had more opportunity to speak to the voters about the War in Vietnam and urban renewal. There is no question that Diggs campaign slogan 'Keep Moving with Diggs' given the history of urban renewal in the 13th district must be one of the greatest political ironies of all time. The news papers engaged in their usual slander by omission and commission. Needless to say, this includes the Michigan Chronicle. It is significant to note that Diggs total of 21,000 votes compared to Cleage's 4,500 (plus David Boston's—whoever he is—3,400) represented a serious reduction in Diggs popularity in the district. He can be beaten in '68. In the race for Board of Education, Cleage with no campaign whatsoever gathered an impressive 40,000 plus votes. Unfortunately this was not sufficient to supplement any of the four white (sic) candidates who opposed him for the nomination.⁸¹

While Joyce made the cover of *FE*'s June 1966 issue, his NSM colleague Alvin Harrison, made it on the paper's second page in the news item "East Side Violence." Harrison served as a spokesperson for the Afro-American Youth Movement (AAYM), previously recognized as the Adult Community Movement for Equality (ACME). *FE* reported that in the three months since the organization has been known as AAYM, headquartered at 9211 Kercheval on Detroit's East Side," they have been terrorized with burning rags hurled into its office "through the rear window, a bomb has been tossed through the front window, a bomb, and a shotgun blast" was aimed "at the office in the middle of the night." targeting its office.⁸² In May 1966, "Thomas L. Baker, 16 year old black youth was shot and wounded while entering the office."⁸³ *FE* noted, "All of the incidents have been reported to the police. To date, on one has been apprehended."⁸⁴ Harrison told *FE*,

The fact that none of the nightriders has been apprehended points out clearly what has been historically true: The police department is not in the black community to protect the lives and property of black people, but rather to harass, insult, beat, and even murder blacks at will to protect the lives and property of whites who steal the black community blind and get out before nightfall. Both the nightriders and the police appear to have one aim: kill anything that represents a threat to the system.⁸⁵

FE asked, "what the group planned to do to forestall any further incidents," to which "Mr. Harrison" explained, "We intend to take any steps necessary to protect the members of this organization, as well as the black community."⁸⁶

The Detroit Police Department (DPD) Sidney Fine reports in *Violence in the Model City* "had little use for" for AAYM "or its members."⁸⁷ Late in November 1964 the police arrested forty-three ACME members and friends of members in a private home that the police claimed, and ACME denied, was a blind pig.⁸⁸ Heading into summer 1966 relations between ACME and the DPD intensified, with several allegations made by east-side Detroiters claiming police brutality. That July citizens picketed police headquarters and Fine identifies Harrison "charging the Detroit police were 'as bad as any in the country.'"⁸⁹ Fine writes, "Despite several racially inflammatory incidents, Detroit was spared significant racial trouble until August 1966, when a miniriot developed on the city's lower east side."⁹⁰ Fine, who describes Harrison, also "the youthful" Afro-American Unity Movement (AAUM) director of another 1960s radical outfit, early in his book comments, "Young black militants in Detroit were conspicuously involved in the Northern Student Movement" and that "Harrison, an advocate of black nationalism became it's best-known figure."⁹¹ In *Violence in the Model City*, regarding the "significant racial trouble" occurring in August 1966, Harrison is depicted as conspicuously involved as the instigator of Detroit's August racial conflict. Fine points to

some inconclusive evidence that AAUM was planning a disturbance on the east side and

that the police, in turn were seeking to crack down on the organization. During the disturbance the police arrested two juveniles, Molotov cocktails in hand, who claimed without corroboration, that at an October 1965 ACME meeting Harrison exhorted those present not to 'let the white brothers take over the community.' He told them, the juveniles claimed, to 'get black cloths and guns and fight the police,' who were their 'enemies.'⁹²

Two weeks before the August incident, Harrison is pinpointed at public meetings, encouraging

as we have seen, urged his black listeners to 'get the white man off your backs' and, according to 'police intelligence,' to 'go and take over' a grocery store and liquor store in the Kercheval-Pennsylvania area. Two hours before the Kercheval disturbance began August 9, Harrison, according to the same two juveniles who had reported he October 1965 ACME meeting, told his followers, 'we've got to get our rights and were going to get them even if we have to break car and store windows.'⁹³

Soon after Harrison's supposed pep talk was delivered, four Caucasian DPD officers upon recognizing seven "known police characters," all African American males, hanging out on Kercheval, disrupting traffic, they ordered the seven "to move on," a command four complied with.⁹⁴ Due to obstinacies, DPD officers confronted the trio, requesting identification, a demand one of the characters answered by screaming, "We Won't be moved. Whitey is going to kill us."⁹⁵ Another yelled, "This is the start of a riot," a cry that attracted "a crowd of about one hundred" spectators, watching the scuffle while listening to the civilian combatants pleas encouraging them not to permit the cops "to do this to us."⁹⁶ The confrontation sparked rock throwing at police cars, the shattering of windows, a botched firebombing effort, a white male injured by a gun shot blast, and another white male inspecting damage to his car was beaten by some 'black youths.'⁹⁷ Shortly after the encounter involving the notorious seven and the four DPD officers, 150 more police personnel, "commando squads, their bayonet's fixed, swept the street and successfully dispersed the crowd."⁹⁸ During the following chaos, "The police made no arrests beyond the initial three in order to forestall the emergence of a 'martyr,' in an episode DPD police commissioner Ray Girardin said was "a rampage, not a riot."⁹⁹ According to Fine, "The Riot That Didn't Happen" is because "the police quelled" the disturbance "in a thoroughly professional manner."¹⁰⁰ In *Violence in The Model City*, Harrison is portrayed as ringleader, a hotheaded agitator responsible for the turmoil. Fine writes,

The responsible black leadership was aware that it was out of touch with the militants who had been out on the streets. The Reverend Roy Allen reported that Harrison and his group dismissed 'people on commissions and in power structure' as 'Uncle Toms.' When Allen met with Harrison, the clergyman was 'cussed out.'¹⁰¹

What is not recorded in *Violence in The Motor City* is Harrison's association with white civil rights workers like Joyce, his participation in the DCEWV, or the shooting of young Thomas Baker.

Based upon Harrison's letter written in response to criticism for his participation in an antiwar demonstration sent to the *Detroit News* that was published in *FE's* inaugural edition, it might be concluded that media frames contained in traditional newspapers reporting Harrison is less than positive. Following the August 9 affair however, Harrison was allowed to present a testimony that was included in the pages of *FE's* September 15, 1966 edition. Published on the front-page of this issue is a photograph showing a rather calm Alvin Harrison, dressed in business attire, seated in an armchair, holding a little boy on his lap, engage in conversation. At the top of the page, left of Harrison's picture a headline states, "Insighting A Riot:," which is supplemented by a caption below that reads,

On August 9-12 a fantasy known as the "East Side Riot" was staged by the Detroit Police with the assistance of the prosecutor's office, city government and the press. The major villain of the drama was Alvin Harrison, Director of the Afro-American Unity Movement and spokesman for Black Power. Below is the Fifth Estate's interview with Mr. Harrison.¹⁰²

In the transcript recording the interview, a text that covers the majority of the front-page, Harrison responds to *FE's* question, "What is the purpose of your organization- the Afro-American Unity Movement-and how has it functioned in the past?"¹⁰³ by stating,

We started out as a number of other organizations in the past have started-thinking that integration somehow represented utopia for black people in this country. We found out that this concept of integration meant that black people had to totally submerge their own identity, their own ideas, and their own needs to white America. We found out that the only thing that really counts is power. Economic and political power. Every other ethnic group understands in this country understands this. White people certainly understand what power means. But we have been the only ethnic group that somehow has believed that by being all loving and kind, all generous, and all forgiving, and by submerging our own culture to the point where white America would accept us, it would somehow mean a change.¹⁰⁴

Harrison described his work on Detroit's east side, "probably the most sophisticated area in the city," labor that involved

making our people aware of our history, of giving them some pride in themselves and generally trying to create a power block that would be effective and meaningful. It is because of this that the police department is out to destroy the organization as they will attempt to destroy anyone who dissents from their policies. There are certain kinds of dissention they can tolerate. They can tolerate a few white liberals who don't really oppose the system but who compliment it. But they can't tolerate anyone who talks about a basic change in this country. They can't tolerate anyone who talks about racism because racism is what this country was founded on and based on.¹⁰⁵

FE then solicited an explanation for "the concept of black power and what it would mean in Detroit," which Harrison explained,

I think that anyone that understands what white power means under any understands what black power means. Black power means basically the same for black people as white power has meant for white people. It means that black people have the power both economically and politically to meet the needs of their people. Specifically in terms of Detroit black

power means controlling the police department. Black power means if we make up 30 or 40% of the population of the city of Detroit, then we control 30 or 40 % of the seats of power in the city.¹⁰⁶

FE was curious as to why “whites oppose black power so much?”⁴⁵ Harrison believed,

Whites oppose black power so much because they can't believe that if black people get into positions of power that black power won't mean the same thing to them that white power has meant to black people in the past. White people understand very well what white power has meant for black people. White power has meant racism, brutality, murder, rape- and that is exactly what white people are afraid of. They can't believe that black people will be more humane to them than they have been, and I think that's a very legitimate fear.¹⁰⁷

Later in the interview *FE* points out, “Stokeley Carmichael advised black youth not to participate in the war in Vietnam” and asks, “Do you share his views?”¹⁰⁸ Harrison answered,

I certainly do. I can't see any rationale for blacks in this country who are suffering the way black people are to go off to fight a war when black people in this country have 2,000 armed national guardsmen protect them so they can walk down an American Street. Why should black people fight a war in which they didn't help to create, and which is against people who are basically fighting for the same thing we are fighting for over here. I think that if the government were prepared to send black troops to South Africa or Africa period to drive whites out of Africa, and to drive them into the ocean if necessary, then I would say yes-join the army and go off and fight. But as long as this government is going to use black people to further its own aims in underdeveloped countries, I am not in favor of fighting for it.¹⁰⁹

FE then posed, “Was there a riot on Kercheval on August 9th?”⁴⁵ Harrison replied,

No, initially what happened was a response on the part of oppressed people to the most obvious form of their oppression-the police department. What happened was not spontaneous in that it was set off by a single incident. What happened was a result of years of oppression.¹¹⁰

He continues,

Tuesday night, August 9, the police acting in their traditional role stopped on the street and ordered the ‘niggers’ to move on. Only they ran into some ‘niggers’ who refused to be ‘niggers’ and refused to move on! The police decided that they would crush this rebellion as violently and as rapidly as they could, which they did. But they got more than they bargained for. And I think you can see signs around the country of what's happened to SNCC, for example, and what's happening to the peace movement in this country, that there is a very clear indication that President Johnson and all his cohorts are determined to crush any and all dissent in this country as exemplified by the 1966 Civil Rights Bill and an amendment tacked onto it making it illegal to travel from state to state for the purpose of inciting a riot. That means that all 22 million black people in this country are subject to being charged with inciting to riot because anyone black is subject to this charge. Any black person who stands on the street corner and talks the truth is subject to being charged with inciting a riot.¹¹¹

As Detroit's legal system marched through proceedings handling those indicted for causing the August 1966 Kercheval trouble, Frank Joyce followed procedures established by the city, presenting his findings in *FE*. He reports in his article “Charges Dropped In ‘Policeman’s Field Day’” as the event was referred to in the underground, that “On September 16 charges of

Inciting to Riot” against two of the original seven men asked to “move on” by the DPD “were dismissed in Recorder’s Court by visiting Judge John Seller.”¹¹² In October, the two men “were again arrested and charged with inciting to riot.”¹¹³ Joyce noted the city,

Rather than appealing the original dismissal of charges as they claimed they would do, the prosecution has chosen to simply start over. Presumably their hope is--that a different judge--Seller is no longer at Recorder’s Court--perhaps a regular judge will be more sympathetic to their position. This, of course, would put shift the burden of appeal on the legal questions involved (can a person be guilty of inciting a riot when there was in fact no riot) from the prosecution to the defendants.¹¹⁴

He then speculates, “The recent action is typical of the Pros-Police response to the difficult situations in which they find themselves. Case after case has been dropped or dismissed for lack of evidence.”¹¹⁵ Joyce calculates, “Thirty-two counts were originally brought against five main ‘conspirators,’ Alvin Harrison,” and four others, all members of AAYU, ACME, and NSM, and of “the 32 counts 21 have been dropped. Joyce clarified the city has “yet to gain a conviction against anyone involved in the ‘disturbances’”¹¹⁶ and he pays tribute to the Metropolitan Defense Committee, “formed shortly after the disturbances to provide legal counsel to all arrested. It includes many of Detroit’s outstanding trial and criminal” lawyers, one being Milton Henry, “for thwarting the prosecutor’s desire to railroad innocent people in the usual Recorder’s Court fashion.”¹¹⁷ At the end of the article, Joyce concludes,

The irony in all this that the police and prosecutor provoked, created, produced, planned, and executed the whole disturbance from the outset. As more information becomes available, this newspaper will reveal the complete story of how and why the riot was staged.¹¹⁸

Whatever thoughts or feelings Milton Henry experienced working with the Metropolitan Defense Committee opposing the “Pros-Police,” he had opportunity to publicly express them at Rev. Cleage’s Central United Church of Christ. Following Henry to the Linwood Ave. Church was *FE* columnist and reporter John Sinclair, who described Henry as, “One of the very finest and most human attorneys in the city,” that “took off on his colleagues for not giving proper legal support to the movement, and put down black attorneys in general for their apathetic and/or cowardly (lack of stance vis a vis the black people’s struggle.”¹¹⁹ Writing in *FE*, Sinclair chipped in with his own sentiments regarding members of the legal trade,

It is common knowledge that most of these lawyers try to concern themselves as little as possible with the troubles of indigent blacks and even charge their brothers exorbitant fees for legal aid that does them as much harm as good. The legal system, and especially in Detroit, is hopelessly decadent and inhuman anyway, and instead of working to correct the horrible situation most negro attorneys manage to become even more callous and exploitive than their white counterparts, who are generally a sorry lot to begin with.¹²⁰

Sinclair adds that Henry, speaking inside a house of worship “packed with brothers & sisters & sympathizers, with folks standing on tables in the balcony vestibules and up on their toes in the

backs of the rooms,” concluded “with a few remarks about the white press,” disparaging of the racially prejudiced “reporting of the movement in general and Stokely in particular,” and cautioning the assembly, “not to believe the bullshit the papers print and, above all, not to be afraid of the FREE PRESS and the NEWS since their coverage was ridiculously biased and untruthful.”¹²¹

Sinclair trailed Henry to Rev. Cleage’s church as the defense attorney had the opportunity to deliver a few remarks before SNCC Chairman Stokely C. Carmichael assumed the podium for his address to the crowd gathered for a mass rally sponsored by “the friends of Snick.” On October 16th, 1966 *FE* celebrated the event, placing its front-page headline “Stokely In Detroit:” next to Sinclair’s front-page question, “Who’s Afraid Of Black Power?,” the sole article on the page, although *FE* did reserve enough room on the folio for integration of a picture showing Carmichael engaged in the act of oratory. In this article Sinclair explained how SNCC became “Snick,” noting snick was “(picked up from TIME magazine’s bastardization & turned back on H. Luce),” a noise “to the ear” identical to “the sound of a knife clicking open.”¹²² He reports Henry turning the podium over to Carmichael, who began his address reminding his “wildly receptive audience that they mustn’t forget his spiritual and literal antecedents and demonstrated his own respect by bringing to the speaker’s stand Mrs. Rosa Parks.”¹²³ The crowd greeted Mrs. Parks with a “standing ovation,” and when the applause elapsed, Carmichael grabbed the reins from Henry, beginning his sermon with commentary on the “white press” before encouraging “Black people have to control their own communities—that’s Black power.”¹²⁴ He reiterates, “USE the white system,” illustrating “Newark’s 54 % Negro, they can all get on Welfare and make a good wage,” or how about the Motor City, “If you controlled Detroit you could raise taxes and it wouldn’t hurt us, cause we don’t have no property.”¹²⁵ Then Carmichael asked what Sinclair believed to be a good question, “if white people believe in integration why aren’t they moving into our neighborhoods?”¹²⁵ Sinclair noticed “A lot of madly affirmative hollering and screaming in from the audience shot Stokely deeper into it,” shooting him into “a wild preaching flight of rhetoric,” as he called out,

We have to love our communities, we have to love black, we have to STOP HATING OURSELVES as what we are...It takes time to love black in this country.. and it takes energy, if you don’t believe me, check the sisters with the wigs.¹²⁶

A portion of the crowd responded to Carmichael’s comment about wigs. Sinclair observed, “The braver segment of the audience (the ones whose old ladies didn’t have their wigs on shouted YEAH. A girl in front of me (I’m in the balcony now) laughs and shouts and gives her brother some hand. She’s wearing Wranglers and a denim jacket and has her hair straightened.”¹²⁷

Carmichael, from the pulpit again challenges, “It takes time and energy to love black in this country--if you don’t believe, check the brothers who’re wearin’ a process.”¹²⁸ Sinclair heard “More YEAHS from the college graduates.”¹²⁹ Stokely wouldn’t stop, “It takes time an energy to love black in this country—if you don’t believe me, check the sisters with the hot combs.”¹³⁰ Sinclair “stopped taking notes and started shouting along with everyone else,” listening to Carmichael run “it down, harder and harder,” witnessing “Ken Cockrel up front in the speaker’s area jumping up and down every thirty seconds. People were flipping out all over the church, “Stokely’s so BEAUTIFUL,” and they were right.”¹³¹ Sinclair writes in *FE*,

It took a young man to tell them all this, all the news they’d known al their lives, and he’s paid plenty dues to be able to be there to run it to them. They’s just let them to be out of jail on bond in Atlanta, where they’d charged him with inciting a riot among more or less capital offenses and woud have lynched him if they could’ve. He couldn’t be stopped.¹³²

Carmichael wasn’t finished, “We have been running so long but now were out of breath...My great grandfather took it, my grandfather took it, my father and mother took it, but its time for all of us now to STOP and look this thing over real good, and then do what we gotta do...BLACK POWER! BLACK POWER!” the audience calling back, “YEAH BLACK POWER! Tell it like it is, baby.”¹³³

In this same issue of *FE*, Sinclair is pictured conducting a musical performance with jazz musicians Lyman Woodward, Ron English and Joseph Jarman at Detroit’s August 1966 “Festival Of People” event. The photograph is placed within space made available for an article, “The Jazz Scene In America,”¹³⁴ written by University of Pittsburgh History Professor Frank Kofsky, a scholar who in July delivered two lectures on “Black Music & Revolution,” at Detroit’s Debs Hall.¹³⁵ In the latter half of 1966 Kofsky’s column “The Jazz Scene” would be faded into *FE*’s content, the initial work accompanying Sinclair’s inquiry as to who is afraid Black Power. Kofsky’s article explored the U.S. government’s exploitation of black jazz musicians, using jazz as an “instrument of cold war diplomacy” in radio broadcasts through Voice of America, reaching citizens throughout the world, especially in Soviet Russia, the music deployed “to counteract the unfavorable world opinion created by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.”¹³⁶ Considering the broadcasts distort true images of “prevailing social relations in the United States,” Kofsky sensed hypocrisy with “U.S. policy to employ jazz wherever it seems likely to reap propaganda benefits” and supports his opinion by citing the April 31, 1966 *New York Times* headline “Soviet Poets Fail To Capture Dakar: Duke Ellington the Winner,” story boasting of Ellington’s victory at Senegal’s World Festival of Negro Arts. Kofsky, calling the *Times* “a newspaper which faithfully mirrors the views of the ruling class,” while pointing out how the paper failed to detail Ellington’s rejection for the Pulitzer Prize in music “less than a year ago.”¹³⁷ Kofsky’s article also outlined

challenges African American professors have at universities, catalogues excluding jazz courses taught by “Negroes” and how African Americans are overlooked for fellowships, grants and visiting professorships.¹³⁸ He states, “What makes this exploitation of jazz for cold war purposes all the more reprehensible is the fact that black artists who have created the music continue to be imprisoned in the chains of third-rate citizenship in the U.S.”¹³⁹ Kofsky spotted “signs on the horizon that black jazz musicians are no longer content to see their artistry debased into a Cold War gambit overseas as it continues to be rejected at home” and he quotes jazz pioneer Dizzy Gillespie, “The black people are becoming more and more dissatisfied. And if changes don’t take place within 10 years, there’ll be a revolution.”¹⁴⁰

Having a jazz aficionado such as Sinclair come aboard the staff of *FE* proved to be a momentous. Ovshinsky recalls during *FE*’s first year, the importance of

Frank Joyce obviously. But Sinclair, even before Peter, was the core, Sinclair was key. He was an adult, twenty-four years old, someone who knew the community better than I did and having that kind of support that wasn’t family or high school friends was very important to me.¹⁴¹

His contributions to *FE* were indispensable because Sinclair knew African American culture. Consequently, he was not afraid of “Black Power,” in fact he embraced it. His enthusiastic acceptance of African Americans was expressed through *FE*, his articulations that substantiated the paper’s content in the years 1965-1970, the contributions enhancing and potentially confirming *FE* as a credible witness observing civil rights struggles, especially when compared to what was reported in the *DFP* or *Detroit News*. Sinclair was willing to admit publicly, an admission he expressed throughout his career as a journalist and author of books, the influences African Americans had on his personal life. He writes in *Guitar Army*,

Black people taught us that we didn’t have to take the shit that was thrown to us, and their determination to win their freedom for themselves-which we could see every time we watched the news on TV-gave us the inspiration to begin our own struggle against the same monstrous ‘white power structure.’¹⁴²

He was raised in the small town of Davidson, MI, graduating from high school there in 1959. Upon his graduation, he attended Albion College, where he discovered through a friend the sounds of John Coltrane, the jazz saxophonist. While at the college he also began to read Allen Ginsberg and other Beat writers. After two years of study, Sinclair moved back home “and wandered the streets of the north side black ghetto in Flint, Michigan trying to be black,” working “in record shops and jazz clubs,” his adventures leading him to the University of Michigan’s (UM) Flint College, where in January 1964 he complete his bachelor’s degree.¹⁴³ In *Guitar Army* Sinclair offers the opinion that he and other sixties radicals learned our music from black people

learned our music from black people, we learned that we could resist the established order,

but we also learned how to live from black people, we learned about the sense of community, of brother and sisterhood, that black people had developed as a powerful survival technique during their generations of oppression. And we learned how music can be a first term in peoples lives from them, too, how a whole culture can be built on a strong musical foundation, and how the music can sustain a whole people and keep them together even under the most oppressive conditions, as the blues and it's later variations had sustained black people all those years.¹⁴⁴

One of the significant cultural contributions made by African Americans to the United States and rest of the world is the sounds of Jazz. By its very nature, the genre presents a subterranean ingredient that is seemingly a natural fit for a constituency of people forming a community of “revolutionaries” labeled as “underground” in the 1960s, considering the revolutions within Jazz that advanced the music’s form and where some of the musicians performed. Jazz historian Ted Gioia identifies within jazz a constant revolution occurring due to the dichotomy present inside the psyche of jazz musicians who are caught with a desire to preserve conventional forms of the music simultaneous to an enthusiasm for taking off in different directions that lead to the innovation of new jazz styles. In *The History of Jazz* Gioia writes,

This created a paradoxical foundation for jazz, one that remains to this day: for the jazz musician soon proved to be a restless soul, at one moment fostering tradition, at another shattering it, mindless of the pieces. Even more striking, this progressive attitude of early jazz players came from members of America’s most disempowered underclass. Recall that this music was not only viewed with suspicion by much of the ruling class, but often belittled and derided even within black America’s own ranks.¹⁴⁵

Following footsteps of the restless souls, Gioia discovered

the leading jazz modernists of the 1940s developed their own unique style, brash and unapologetic, in the backrooms and after hours clubs, at jam sessions and on the road with traveling bands. The music was not for commercial consumption, nor was it meant to be at this embryonic stage. It survived in the interstices of the jazz world. Its coming’s and goings were not announced in the newspapers of record.¹⁴⁶

At this time the music wasn’t recorded, a fact enhancing modern jazz secrecy. Gioia cites, “On August 1, 1942, recording of jazz music came to a grinding halt as a result of” disagreements between the leader “of the American Federation of Musicians, and the music industry,” differences sparked by the thinning of resources available for domestic use during WWII.¹⁴⁷ Synchronized with the new musical developments, the war, and the 1942 conflict shutting down recording studios, Gioia reports, “a few small jazz clubs had set up business in the ground floor of brownstone apartments on 52nd Street between Fifth and Sixth avenues,” venues that “gained distinction as the new center of the jazz universe,”¹⁴⁸ attracting proprietors of a new form of music, “bebop as it soon” was referred to, jazz that “rebelled against the popular trappings of swing music,”¹⁴⁹ then popularized by the white swing artist Glenn Miller. Gioia says, “There is

irony here too; at a time when jazz was sweeping the nation, the music's next generation was moving farther and farther outside the mainstream of popular culture,"¹⁵⁰ and he states, 'In short, modern jazz was an underground movement, setting the pattern for all the future underground movements in the world of progressive jazz.'¹⁵¹ Jack Kerouac, a student attending Manhattan's Horace Mann School for Boys, as a reporter for the prep school's student newspaper, the *Horace Mann Record*, slipped into the bebop underground and developed a passion for the music and its performers.¹⁵² His zeal for the movement fills pages of his 1957 best selling Beat Generation classic, *On The Road*, a testimony containing bebop's history. Kerouac writes,

Then had come Charlie Parker, a kid, a kid in his mother's woodshed in Kansas City, blowing his taped-up alto among the logs, practicing on rainy days, coming out to watch the old swinging Basie and Benny Moten band that had Hot Lips Page and the rest—Charlie Parker leaving home and coming to Harlem, and meeting mad Thelonius Monk and madder Gillespie—Charlie Parker in his early days when he flipped and walked around in a circle playing. Somewhat younger than Lester Young, also from KC, that gloomy, saintly goof in whom the history of jazz is wrapped; for when he held his horn high and horizontal from his mouth he blew the greatest, and his hair grew longer and he got lazier and stretched-out, his horn came down halfway, till it finally fell all the way and today as he wears his thick-soled shoes so that he can't feel the sidewalks of life his horn held weekly against his chest, and he blows cool and getout phrases. Here were the children of the American bop night.¹⁵³

After his graduation from UM-Flint, Sinclair moved to Detroit and enrolled at WSU, pursuing a Master's Degree in American Literature.¹⁵⁴ Before he stepped foot on campus, the university and the city already had in place some of the precursors for the 1960s underground; in this case jazz and Beat Literature. The Detroit poet, Hank Malone, also a columnist for *FE* in the mid to late 1960s, recalled Allen Ginsberg's 1957 visit to the West End Hotel, an establishment on the corner of Fort Street and West End Avenue in southwest Detroit. Ginsberg's arrival came when he was riding on a crest of fame due to the recent popularity of his poem *Howl*. Malone informed *FE*'s Thomas Haroldson that Ginsberg "was going around the country in his little MG with a trunk full of peyote," and "after taking a massive overdose" of the famed poet's "peyote," he experienced a "fantastic personal reaction."¹⁵⁵ At the West End, Malone also witnessed performances by Detroit jazz guitarist Kenny Burrell, Detroitier Yousef Lateef, and the legendary trumpet player Miles Davis. Malone said by 1958

Most of the artists who worked around Wayne University were involved in various kinds of communal life 'Nick's Beat Place,' as it was called, was a convenient way of listing the communal house in the phone book. Obviously, it was merely a reversal of 'Beatnik.'¹⁵⁶

Another spot frequented by fans of Beat literature was the Warren-Forest coffeehouse at Second Street and Canfield, the Cup of Socrates. Beat enthusiasts who also loved jazz were known to appreciate clubs such as the Hungry Eye and Dexter Avenue's the Minor Key.¹⁵⁷ Lars Bjorn and Jim Gallert state in *Before Motown* that "Detroit has a remarkable jazz history, which in fact

made contributions to the Motown Sound.”¹⁵⁸ On Tireman Avenue, the west side Blue Bird Inn showcased as their house band, the legendary Jones brothers, Elvin, Hank, and Thad, natives of Pontiac, MI, who happened to be disciples of the bebop movement. Elvin Jones was on hand when Charlie Parker made his first appearance at the Blue Bird in 1949 and he was present when John Coltrane and Miles Davis invaded the Blue Bird in October 1955.¹⁵⁹ Coltrane, Jones, and pianist McCoy Tyner performed together until 1966, with Jones becoming “one of the most influential drummers in the history of jazz “ according to Gioia.¹⁶⁰ Together, these bebop musicians would invent revolutionary sounds exemplifying the rise of the African American Fifties and Sixties civil rights movement.

Carson writes in *Grit, Noise, and Revolution* that once Sinclair was in Detroit he “pursued the Beatnik scene by way of poetry readings at clubs such as the Purple Onion near Brush and John R, and at Verne’s Bar on Forest between Cass and Woodward. In the fall of 1964, he met and began a relationship with fellow student Magdalene ‘Leni’ Arndt, who shared his interest in the arts,”¹⁶¹ the relationship soon culminating in marriage. The couple was invested in the Warren-Forest neighborhood, “John stayed busy producing jazz concerts and poetry readings,” and “Leni started taking photos chronicling the jazz and art world that they lived in, and the Artist workshop journals published many of them, including photos of John Coltrane, Yusef Lateef, Thelonious Monk, and Miles Davis.”¹⁶² John was able to parlay his skills as a writer and interest in jazz by obtaining a position as “local correspondent for the jazz magazine *Downbeat*, and his articles, poetry, and reviews were published in a wide range of regional and national publications.”¹⁶³ From his work his reputation grew, and as Ovshinsky and friends were making the rounds gathering support for *FE*, someone suggested that he contact John. Ovshinsky acted on this advise, venturing into Warren-Forest for a meeting with the artist and jazz journalist, and later admits, “It wasn’t until Sinclair came on that we were able to open up the thing.”¹⁶⁴ In *Grit, Noise, and Revolution* Ovshinsky stated,

I went over to their place, I think it was on Hancock, and I was so impressed. There were books all over, Coltrane was on the stereo, and you could smell Leni’s home cooking. It was a real intellectual scene. I was just a kid, and John was like an ‘older guy.’ However, when I explained what I was trying to do, he was not patronizing, and he understood. Both he and Leni were supportive, and I was more than happy when John agreed to do a regular column in the paper.¹⁶⁵

Sinclair advanced Kerouac’s work, and the work of other Beat writers exposing the underground movement of modern jazz through print the day he enlisted with *FE*. In his debut column, *The COAT-PULLER*, which appears in *FE*’s December 3, 1965 second issue, Sinclair cites, “Paperbacks Unlimited,” a Highland Park bookstore, where one can pick up a copy of “Jack Kerouac’s *SCRIPTURE OF THE GOLDEN ETERNITY*” and “Allen Ginsberg’s *EMPTY*

MIRROR: EARLY POEMS.”¹⁶⁶ Paperbacks Unlimited also had available LeRoi Jones *The System of Dante's Hell One* and *Preface to a Twenty Volume Suicide Note*. Jones was actually the focal point for Sinclair's initial words published in *FE* as he informed,

It shouldn't be news to anyone--but it probably is—that the local gestapo is responsible for ending the performance of LeRoi Jones' the toilet and the slave at the now shutdown Concept East Theatre. The plays, directed by Woody King, (who is now back in New York) and performed brilliantly by such Detroit actors as Sam Blue (toilet) and Harrison Avery Slave, began their run in August, made it through a couple of weeks, and then were brutally shut down by the guardians of law & order.¹⁶⁷

FE's second issue unveiling the COAT-PULLER leads to the revelation of twenty-one jazz musicians, including those of international and national fame, performers such as the Archie Shepp-Bill Dixon quartet, John Coltrane, Sun Ra, Ornette Coleman, Cecil Taylor, Marion Brown, and Miles Davis. Sinclair provided some commentary and a recent Davis Detroit performance,

Miles Davis' little band finally made it to the Grand Bar last month, but the prices were so high most of us who wanted to hear the band (with Wayne Shorter, Herbie Hancock, Reggie Workman, and Tony Williams) were left at home, listening to records (which cost less than one set at the Grand Bar). Something has to be done about this exploitation-but as long as the hipsters are willing to put out that kind of money, and as long as the musicians are going to charge that much, nothing'll ever change.¹⁶⁸

For person's interested but unable to make it to the Grand Bar, and stayed home listening to records, the COAT-PULLER issued a memorandum,

Record buyers please note: there are record shops in town who carry recordings by the musicians of now. Music World (Warren at Woodward) Monroe Music (60 E. Monroe, downtown), Land of Hi Fi (E. Grand River) opposite of the Broadway market) and Discount Records (W. Adams at Wood-ward) usually have what you might be looking for.¹⁶⁹

On the other hand, if one is really fascinated with live jazz performances, they were informed “the Detroit Contemporary 4 and other ‘avant-garde’ musicians can be heard in concert at the Artist's Workshop each Sunday,” and the quartet would perform at WSU “December 10, under the auspices of the WSU Artist's Society,”¹⁷⁰ an event featuring pianist Andrew Hill and the price for admission was one dollar. The Coat-Puller also promoted live performances at “the Drome Bar (Dexter at Leslie and Baker's Keyboard (Livernois at 8 mile), places that “continue to bring popular ‘jazz’ groups to Detroit, at fairly reasonable prices.”¹⁷¹ He challenges however, “when will some of these club owners and enough listeners make it feasible, get hip to some of the REAL music that's being made today? And bring it here? God only knows?”¹⁷²

The COAT-PULLER supplemented Magdalene Sinclair's work which *FE* prominently displayed on Issue Number Two's front-page. Her three photographs, one depicting a pair of African American jazz performers in action, the second capturing a duo engaged in playing

“Psychedelic Guitars,” and the third, containing “four bands and 21 musicians,” minus Jim Semark,¹⁷³ who somehow was left out of the picture, snugly fit around her article, “The New Sound of Sound.” In this piece, Magdalene reviewed “a three day festival of avant-garde music on November 18,19, and 20” and she begins her appraisal by stating,

Very soon now Wayne State University will finally become known across the country-not for it’s football team (I hope that never happens) or for its student sit-ins (unfortunately, that will never happen either), but for the fine presentations of contemporary music sponsored by a small group of students know as the WSU Artists’ Society.¹⁷⁴

The WSU Artist Society, formed in summer 1965, presented “Psychedelic Guitars,” an exhibition that created a stir among concertgoers prior to the performance. Magdalene explained to inquiring minds before the set began,

These are musicians who’ve had to play commercial folk-music in commercial coffee houses for a long time to make a living. But privately, at home, they have been experimenting with new forms and creating new sounds on their instruments, never heard before in Western music.¹⁷⁵

Next on the agenda the line up included “a concert of electronic poetry by Joe Mulkey and Henry Malone,” a presentation assessed as “very well planned and very enjoyable.”¹⁷⁶ Ms. Sinclair reported, “Mulkey led the audience through a ‘sound museum’ and presented a piano concerto (on the whole piano, not just the key board)” while “Malone played compositions,” material he intended for his listeners to grasp and appreciate “as poems (like his ‘War Poem’).”¹⁷⁷ After the sound museum was orchestrated, the following segment of the program was dedicated to “Black Music,” a segment endorsing the innovative African American “music that has been building for the last year or so in Detroit. The sheer bulk of it is impressive: four bands and 21 musicians.”¹⁷⁸ Magdalene reports this immense presentation preceded “what was a big Surprise to most of the people there: the New Blues band, neo-rhythm and blues band made up of” several local musicians “featuring guitarist Ron English, and vocalist John Sinclair” while including Stan Cowell, George Garnett, Jr., Ronald Johnson, Charles Moore, Jim Semark, and Lyman Woodward.¹⁷⁹ Unfortunately, five weeks after the WSU Artist Society festival, the young trombonist George Garnett, Jr., while crossing the Warren Ave. viaduct that connects the Artist Workshop and DCEWV headquarters with the WSU campus, fell off the bridge onto the John C. Lodge Expressway, a fall resulting in his death. Semark, Sinclair, and Lyman Woodward served as his pallbearers at his funeral.¹⁸⁰

In particular, Sinclair had tremendous appreciation for John Coltrane, admiration expressed through *Meditations: A Suite for John Coltrane*, a title for one of his book of poems. His enthusiasm for the legendary jazz figure is demonstrated in his original COAT-PULLER work, the first column promoting “JOHN COLTRANE QUARTET PLAYS,”¹⁸¹ the second,

published in *FE*'s January 1966 third issue, mentioning Coltrane's *Ascension* recording. In the January edition, Sinclair as the COAT-PULLER, writing out of concern for "music rather than money as the determining factor in the arrangement" of business as practiced by musical promoters that will in the end prohibit anyone but "the most privileged listeners" from live performances, states,

The lines of battle have already been drawn, and contrary to 'public opinion' it is the established powers who have incredibly drawn these lines. John Coltrane remains now as the only dynamic artist/ performer on the nightclub circuit, and as he continues to grow as an artist his economic utility for the club owners diminishes in direct proportion.¹⁸²

Coltrane, later that year traveling the nightclub circuit, stopped in Detroit for a series of performances. The COAT-PULLER assessed,

One of the most important musical events in quite some time was the appearance of the John Coltrane Quintet at the Drome Bar June 17 thru 26th. Anyone who says he 'loves jazz and didn't go here Trane should be made to wear stereo earphones and listen to *Ascension* over and over again.¹⁸³

Regarding the product, the COAT-PULLER attempts to explain,

There's really nothing I can say about the music. It would take a writer, or poet more probably, who is as great a poet as Trane is a musician, to do this music any justice with words. You know I dug it. I went to hear them 6 nights out of the 10 they were here in Detroit despite the \$2 (and \$3 on weekends) cover charge and me being among some of the poorest people I know. But...¹⁸⁴

Yet again the COAT-PULLER comments on financial compromises associated with live performances,

Let me say something about the economics of going to a clubs like the Drome to hear some music. It is not true, fortunately (and some people used this as an excuse for not going out there) that one has to buy one drink per set at the Drome. What you do is you go in and order something you don't like (like I usually order one beer) so it'll just sit in front of you all night and you don't have to buy another drink if you are that poor. Then if you get thirsty you can always order a glass of ice water which is free. You'll not be popular with the waitress, but who cares about them when Trane is up there 'blowing up a storm.'¹⁸⁵

Although your popularity with the waitress might decrease, your ability to abstain from the consumption of alcohol or other refreshments is appreciated by Coltrane and the other musicians, as customer temperance is least disruptive to the performers. A few months later Kofsky wrote in *THE JAZZ SCENE* that Coltrane's band mate, tenor saxophonist Pharoah Sanders, "told me that he didn't like working in clubs because he didn't want to see his music utilized as an adjunct to the sale of whisky," and "Coltrane was upset because he realized it was costing his listeners a small fortune to see his group, and he wanted to make sure they went away well satisfied."¹⁸⁶ Besides, "Who needs the cash register rung during Jimmy Garrison's (base solo)?"¹⁸⁷ Kofsky found club owner greed needed the cash register rung and the proprietor's lust

for padding the coffers not only compromised the music's integrity, but also contributed to profits, which usually doubled the earnings of musicians and dwarfed the waitress's wages for one evening's performance. Considering the "matter of forty-five minute sets", when and where musicians are quartered in uncomfortable settings, treated poorly by business owners, Kofsky states, "Almost all clubs have a certain minimum number of drinks that must be consumed by each member of the audience every set; hence the shorter the sets, the more drinks sold," which generates "a system based on production of profit-which means production of art for profit, as well as anything else-its profit the profit that counts; everything else can take the hindmost. And its profitable rest assured on that."¹⁸⁸ One jazz artist explained to Kofsky

there is no economic advantage to playing music like that. It's complete unsaleable in the nightclubs because of the fact that each composition lasts or could last an hour and a half. Bar owners aren't interested in this, because if there is one thing they hate is to see it's a bunch of people sitting around openmouthed with their brains absolutely paralyzed by the music, unable to call for the waiter. They want to sell drinks.¹⁸⁹

Kofsky reasoned,

so long as the present situation is maintained in tact, so long will the audience and the musicians suffer at the hands of the nightclub capitalists. Private ownership has always been implicitly incompatible with the creation of art; but it is now becoming (or has already become) absolutely intolerable for the realm of jazz.¹⁹⁰

Kofsky thought perhaps in Detroit, the COAT-PULLAR and his associates might have provided an answer, recommending,

we should be exploring the potential for co-operatives like the Detroit Artist Workshop. If carried out on a large enough scale, co-operatives could provide support for the newest and most impoverished musicians by promoting a series concerts, happenings, poetry readings, etc., at the same time undermining the oligopolistic position of the nightclub owners by presenting the music at prices the non-Madison avenue people can afford to pay.¹⁹¹

The material for Sinclair's COAT-PULLER column reviewing Coltrane's June 1966 performances at the Drome Bar was written inside the Detroit House of Corrections facility where he was incarcerated for his participation in the August 1965 jam session consisting of bongo music and marijuana. In this particular discourse, published in *FE's* July 15, 1966 issue, Magdalene joined him; the title then and in the future would be referred to as THE COATPULLER. While imprisoned John informed that Magdalene "has taken on the job of being my eyes and ears for what is happening in Detroit."¹⁹² Magdalene wrote the column for *FE's* July 30 issue and announced, "There will be a very important happening, a FESTIVAL OF PEOPLE, at the Workshop on August 5."¹⁹³ In her article "festival for people," published in the same issue of the paper, Magdalene anticipates the festival will be "the most important cultural event of the summer."¹⁹⁴ Her article informs the "purpose of the Festival is simply to celebrate PEOPLE-ourselves," an experience beginning at one o'clock in the afternoon and "lasting as long as it has

to.”¹⁹⁵ Performers included the Lyman Woodward Ensemble, the Joseph Jarman Quartet, the Detroit Contemporary 4, and the Workshop Ensemble and

Sets of music will alternate with readings by poets John Sinclair, who'll be released from prison 2 days before the festival; ROBIN EICHELE, who'll be leaving for Europe later this month; JIM SEMARK, JERRY YOUNKINS, who recently returned from a 7-month 'trip' to the west coast.¹⁹⁶

The festival also featured a photography exhibition sponsored by the WSU's Daily Collegian and the DAW featuring the work of the Sinclair's, Eichele, Ann Katzen, and films, Emile Bacilla's *No Standing* and Magdalene's *Song of Peace*.¹⁹⁷ As it turns out, Magdalene's speculation of the festival's importance proved correct, especially for *FE*, because of the last minute addition to the menu of entertainers scheduled to perform, a collection of rock and rollers, some of whom had a penchant for John Coltrane.

In August, Sinclair, once again a free man, stated in *The Coatpuller*, "It's good to be back with you again. The Festival Sunday was one of the most beautiful things I have ever experienced, and I think a lot of people the people there had the same experience as myself."¹⁹⁸ After paying homage to the jazz musicians, artists, photographers, and filmmakers in attendance for the event, actually staged on August 7, Sinclair reports at 15 minutes past 11:00 p.m. the Motor City 5, a new rock Detroit acid-rock band, took over for an hour so the people who were still there could dance a little standing up."¹⁹⁹ Carson writes in *Grit, Noise, And Revolution* John Sinclair was already a 'mythical figure' to the MC 5's Wayne Kramer and Rob Tyner, who had been both reading his poetry and writings" and that the Motor City 5 "enjoyed playing for beatnik 'audiences' and had decided they would try and join in" the festival for the people.²⁰⁰ Magdalene explained to Carson the MC 5 created so much noise, "that a 'redneck' neighbor threatened them with a shotgun: 'If you don't stop this, we'll have to do something.'"²⁰¹ Magdalene, concerned a quarrel "might cause John to be sent back to jail," yanked "the plug."²⁰² Carson continues,

A few weeks later, Sinclair wrote a column in the *Fifth Estate*, putting down rock and roll and the people who played it. The MC5 responded by a letter, and an ongoing argument began. Sinclair stated that Coltrane and Miles Davis were 'where it was at' and the MC5 didn't know what was happening.²⁰³

In the MC5's letter to Sinclair, the band informed the *FE* columnist, "Hey man, we know all about John Coltrane; cause Tyner," the band's singer, "had turned us on to him."²⁰⁴ Tyner, his surname formally Derminer, "was such a fan Coltrane's piano player, McCoy Tyner, that he opted to change his own name to Rob Tyner."²⁰⁵ Kramer told Carson,

Rob was a real non-conformist beatnik type, an intellectual. I tired to turn him on to how much fun it was being in a loud band with electric guitars, lights, sweat, noise and energy. He would tell me, none of that was hip, it was all pause. Jazz is really where it's at. You

need to listen to Gene Ammons, Sonny Rollins, John Coltrane.²⁰⁶

Shortly after the festival for people, the MC5, in need of a place to rehearse, were able to use the DAW facility, Sinclair telling Kramer the band “could practice during the day if we didn’t cause noise problems with the neighbors or police.”²⁰⁷ After studying the MC5, Sinclair admitted to Carson, “I saw where they were doing the same sort of things as Coltrane and other free jazz artists. Yeah, they were playing rock ‘n’ roll, but with more creativity and improvisation.”²⁰⁸ Sinclair quickly became the MC5, manager, and *FE* soon began promoting the bands concerts, printing ads for their records, and reporting news surrounding the band’s antics on the road.

Sinclair’s column that reviewed Coltrane’s Drome Bar performances was written on the Fourth of July, while locked up in jail. The tone of the Coat-Puller sounds patriotic, his allegiance drawn to the people of the Warren-Forest Community. He begins his peace quoting poet Charles Olson, “any image around which any people concentrate and omit themselves is a usable one just because it is theirs,” and then beckons

now to create a vital living situation here in Detroit and make it in your own image-if you have the will & commitment to such a situation. If you don’t care if Detroit ever gets to such a place, it won’t. It will just stay as it is now---a burgeoning police state, with isolated groups of people fighting each other and ignoring each other but never working together to make a decent place of this place. And I am talking to you people who read this paper. What then do you want? You have it in your power is newspaper, which could be so great and such an important community newspaper, will continue to flounder because its editor gets so little help, aid, and participation, etc., that are issued in it.²⁰⁹

He pleads,

If you want to have Detroit as a real alive, worthwhile place to live and work in, you’ll have to make it that way yourselves, since the city rulers aren’t going to help, they’ve proved that, and the commercial interests never want to make a place for something new and vital but will capitalize on it when it appears and grows. You Dig? What I mean is that we are all going to have to start working with each other on all fronts, help each other out, and take advantage of what are local possibilities—like this newspaper, like the Artists Workshop, and the West Central Organization, the Concept East Theatre, the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the SDS Free University, Kenneth V. Cockrel for state representative, etc., etc., all of these are manifestations of the same essential concerns, that Detroit be a vital human place for all of us.²¹⁰

Sinclair correctly assessed the importance of *FE* as a community newspaper. From its November 19, 1965 birth through all of 1966, excluding issues four and five, and pages 3,4,7, and 8 from the sixth edition, the paper’s staff published staff published twenty editions and compiled an estimated 180 news stories. Out of that total, it is estimated 65 percent of *FE*’s content is filled with local articles and news items reporting local activity. Out of that total there are fifteen Coatpuller columns, and without consideration for civil rights themes expressed in Sinclair’s columns, or in Kofsky’s articles, 22 percent of *FE*’s media frames were concerned with civil rights issues, and 42 percent of that number reported on local civil rights matters. Whereas the

established press had difficulty or was unwilling to report the alliance of the antiwar and civil rights movements, *FE's* media frames consistently reported an image of intertwined movements. Overall, in little over a year, 67 percent of *FE's* media frames contained coverage dedicated toward issues concerning the Vietnam War. Thirty-three percent of those news items covered antiwar activity in Detroit and 29 percent contained information pertaining to the national antiwar effort. Within the Vietnam spectrum, approximately half of *FE's* news content focused specifically on local anti-war demonstrations with 44 percent of such items reporting on antiwar demonstrations occurring outside of the Detroit area. *FE* had moved out of the suburbs and moved next to Sinclair. Respectful of African American experience in the U.S., and with help from black radicals, the paper would turn the heat up a couple of notches on the city's stove.

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Chapter Three

Antiwar News: The *Fifth Estate* “A Peddler of Smut”

Post World War Two American Sociologist C. Wright Mills believed people access information from mass media that supports their way of thinking in relation to various issues. Consequently, the way news is presented reinforces how people think about different topics. Therefore, news as it is disseminated can be part of the chain that fortifies a nations ideology. In his study on the relationship between news and public opinion, he discovered that if the population decided to change its judgment regarding certain issues, the catalyst for transformation is not the news, but rather personal contact in regular day to day living with outspoken citizens existing in society who are willing to express views contrary to what is contained in the media. Those outspoken citizens then might be considered witnesses for a dissimilar viewpoint, their testimony based on different sets of fact people have either chosen to ignore, or because these different items were simply withheld from making an appearance through mass media.

The *Fifth Estate* is a newspaper comprised of individuals that belonged to organizations established to present information divergent of what was circulated in traditional newspapers, magazines, and electronic news sources. Through the *Fifth Estate*, they published transcripts of college professors articulating views concerning Vietnam that were excluded in normal daily newspapers. They wrote antiwar testimonials, which were regularly published in the *Fifth Estate*. Staff members went door to door in Detroit neighborhoods, exposing themselves to face-to-face contact with the public, carrying on dialogue regarding the Vietnam War with anyone willing to answer the doorbell. The newspaper and its personal supported an antiwar candidate for political office. And through these activities the *Fifth Estate* and its staffers endured incredible amounts of harassment from government agents and private citizens. About newspapers like the Fifth Estate and their journalists, Geoffrey Ripps writes in *UnAmerican Activities*, “Records were lost, typewriters destroyed, and staffs disbanded as a result of police raids” and “Neither the severity nor the scope of this outrageous campaign of harassment against alternative media was reported by major American news organizations.”¹

This chapter discusses the *Fifth Estate*'s antiwar activism. In doing so I present how the Detroit Committee Against the War in Vietnam became involved with the *Fifth Estate*. At the same time, I include examples of antiwar testimony and correlate the witnessing with harassment the paper and its staff members received from public and private members existing in the Detroit community. Some members in the Detroit area would use any means necessary, intimidation, or

other tools, including hypocrisy, to discredit, distort, or hinder the antiwar prophecy witnessed by the *Fifth Estate*.

As the United States Armed Forces launched its February 1971 covert invasion of Laos, reporters silently stood and watched, unable to report the secret military departure due to government-imposed sanctions on the press corps. Perhaps if media personnel adopted the underground's format of mass transit, hitchhiking,² above ground journalists may have had previous insight of United States involvement in Laos. Lee Elbinger, in autumn 1968 conducted some reconnaissance for the Detroit *Fifth Estate* (*FE*) newspaper and discovered among U.S. Military personnel, hippies were hitchhiking through the small Southeast Asian country. Regarding the image of "gentle, bizarre hitchhikers" sharing the Laotian landscape with "U.S. generals that can be seen chauffeured through the streets of Vientiane in black, unmarked cars," in his communiqué sent back to *FE*, Elbinger began and ended his message with two words, "It's weird."³ He was the right man for this assignment considering his previous scouting mission for the paper, monitoring the odd action surrounding one of *FE's* newsstands stationed at Oakland University (OU) in Rochester, MI. He sent a dispatch back to headquarters in April 1967 that stated, "It might interest you to know that some people have been paying for their copy of the FIFTH ESTATE here at Oakland Univ. by putting Trojans in the slot where dimes are supposed to be."⁴ One day he spotted Donald Lobsinger, leader of the "ultrarightwing Breakthrough organization" and *FE* nemesis, walking across campus carrying two boxes filled with brochures and photographs for a presentation he would conduct inside OU's Gold Room. The pictures Lobsinger brought with him were intended to support his claim that in the war the Vietcong used a terror campaign against rival Vietnamese. Elbinger informed *FE*, "Interestingly enough, the atrocity photos that Lobsinger distributed (signifying Viet Cong terrorism) resembled photos printed in the FIFTH ESTATE (signifying American aggression.)"⁵ As for the brochures, Elbinger alerted *FE*, "The leaflets were utterly predictable-all sorts of outlandish accusations, paranoid predictions, titillating revelations," one proclaiming, "Why does MARTIN LUTHER KING always support COMMUNISTS who are sworn ENIMIES OF CHRIST" and another accusing "THE FIFTH ESTATE; A PEDDLER OF SMUT."⁶

To Lobsinger's dismay, *FE* began peddling "smut" as soon as the paper began running its papers off the press. Issues number one and two-embraced United States Air Force Staff Sergeant Bruce Whitten's eyewitness account of his two-year Vietnam combat experience, a testimony that included relationships between American soldiers and Vietnamese women. Whitten consented to an interview conducted by Steve Cherkoss, a reporter with an undisclosed news agency, which *FE* reprinted in its debuting issues. Cherkoss asked Sgt. Whitten, "How about the women in the

villages?”⁷ Sgt. Whitten laughed as he answered, “How about them?”⁸ He was then asked, “Were there any relations between the GIs and the Vietnamese women?”⁹ Laughing again, the Sergeant affirms,

Of course! Yeah, we had a ball like that. Shack up in a village overnight. That was usually pretty dangerous thing, you know, to stay in a village overnight. Because the majority of the villages are, you might say, home bases for Viet Cong guerrillas. They come back at night, and they were pretty unhappy to come in to their wife and find an American GI in bed with her. They have a tendency to want to kill you.¹⁰

When asked, “How do the women feel?”¹¹ Sgt. Whitten responded,

The women seem to love the GIs. We were always welcomed by the women—well, not always. But the bad part is that the Viet Cong guerrillas had women fighting with them and this wrecks your morals, because, all right over here you’re brought up—fighting’s one thing, but you never fight a woman. Then you go over there and you gotta kill one. I mean, this tears your moral principles to hell.¹¹

In June 1966 *FE* quoted from *Time* magazine’s May 6, 1966 article “Disneyland East” an American Colonel who said “We wanted to get the greatest good for are men with the least harm,” explaining the U.S. Military’s sanction of a Vietnamese plan to establish “the first brothel quarter built exclusively for American soldiers in Vietnam.”¹² The facility was constructed in reaction to sexually transmitted diseases afflicting “one-third of the 21,000 troopers” stationed “in the small town of Ah Khe,” a rate prompting the local U.S. military commander of to declare the village “off limits.”¹³ Responding to the military’s boycott of Ah Khe, “village elders” suggested to the commander that they create a facility that could be subject to regulation. Adam Schesch, who eventually earned a PhD in History at the University of Wisconsin, writes in *FE*,

According to *Time* magazine, prostitution has always been part of the American soldiers life. It is a continuation going back to the crusades and extending through the vivandieres of World War I to the B-Girls called tea girls in Saigon today.¹⁴

Schesch refers to *Time*’s “subtitles of ‘Moderate Tearoom’ and ‘Least Harm’” heading the magazine’s description of the brothels setting up for business. “In the bars already open, teen-age boys serve as waiters carrying bottle openers tied to the ends of rags,” which “lends to the slithlike [sic] movements of the bars eight girls shuffling from soldier to soldier.”¹⁵ Schesch examined two other articles presented in the same issue of *Time*, one that “tintillatingly described, in a style that would do all good porno-writers proud, the brutal sadism involved in the torture of an Indianapolis girl” that proceeded the “article on the whore houses the US Army is now setting up in Vietnam.”¹⁶ Schesch then recalls,

‘Do we remember Germany?’ For those that don’t, or won’t, there is a short paperback, available at any local bookstore called The Doll House. It was written by a Jewish girl—she might have been a non-Jewish Pole, Slovak, or Russian as well—who survived one of the filed whorehouses set up by the German army in WW II. These were not Nazi horrors;

they were rationally planned service stations whose directors might have said, just like the American Colonel in the TIME article, 'We wanted to get the greatest good for our men with the least harm.' The Nazis were more honest; their women were prisoners, people seized in the course of war. The TIME article argues that by isolating the whorehouse in this fashion, they protected the rest of the population. The Germans were more honest. In order to keep up moral, they needed sex machines. Once used up, or pregnant the Feldhuren were killed. TIME doesn't say what the army will do do with the girls who get diseases. Will they just be thrown off they 'Disneyland' property, or perhaps in our own imicable [sic] way, will we provide rest homes and hospitals for 'Our Girls.' After all, they deserve the best, even though they are Asian.¹⁷

About the magazine, he assesses,

The way the three stories are presented is more important than the content, for by its attitude toward news presented, TIME, faithfully reflecting the 'smart sets' and the governing elites' views, reveals that we have already slid most of the way to a new barbarism that Graham Green warned of two years ago when he said, "The strange new feature about the photographs now appearing in the British and American Press, is that they have been taken with the approval of the torturers and published over a caption that contains no hint of condemnation."¹⁸

Schesch believed *Time's* "May 6th issue is an historical document. In three stories it summarizes and epitomizes the most important problem the peace movement faces-the brutalization of the American conscience."¹⁹

FE was a paper born of the peace movement and the majority of its news items, articles, and commentary peddled from 1965 through 1970 reported circumstances dictated by the Vietnam War that typically differed from what was found inside Detroit's established newspapers, and the differences were by design. Seventeen-year-old publisher Harvey Ovshinsky declared in *FE's* November 1965 debut issue,

There are four estates, the fourth of which is journalism. We are the fifth because we are something different than Detroit's other newspapers. We hope to fill a void in the fourth estate..... a void created by party controlled newspapers.²⁰

Ovshinsky intended *FE* "to truly be a free press" and if material available for print "is sincere, it will be in the FIFTH ESTATE. If not, you can probably find it in the NEWS."²¹ He also clarified the paper's editorial policy:

There is no editorial policy because this paper does not have a policy. I may have personal bias and certainly will print it---but not here and not in an editorial. If I want to say some thing, it will be in a column. This paper is only a sounding board for new ideas, events that would need and do not get proper publicity. Letters to the EDitor not published in the news and Free Press can be printed in our letter column. We will be labled radical, socialist and communist. But you can call us just 'honest.'²²

FE's first edition contained eight items, or 42 percent of the paper's content, filled with information concerning issues associated with the Vietnamese conflict, including Sgt. Whitten's first-hand scrutiny of the war in action. His testimony delivered to Cherkoss, the paper noted, was given

despite his awareness that he might be endangering his future, he felt however that the experiences which he had during his two years in Viet Nam were of unquestionable importance to the American people-especially to men of draft age.²³

Sgt. Whitten point blank states “the taxes being spent in Viet Nam” is “a waste of money” and laughs at the idea that U.S. forces are “fighting to preserve freedom,” noting that his comrades are “just trying to stay alive and get out of there, because the north Vietnamese don’t want us and we don’t want to be there.”²⁴ According to Sgt. Whitten, the South Vietnamese “couldn’t seem to figure out what were doing there, or why we wanted to come in the first place. They were doing better before we came-or this was they idea they gave us.”²⁵ However, “We go out into the jungle, in the little villages,” and “They don’t even know there’s a war going on.... All they know is there are some people coming out there running through their villages, burning it, killing their people, for no obvious reason whatsoever.”²⁶ Sgt. Whitten said the locals “feel that we are trying to take their country over for a bigger empire. They can’t figure this out. They say ‘what do you want to take over this country for, it has nothing.’”²⁷ The “best” explanation for U.S. presence in Vietnam Sgt. Whitten heard was from a “south Vietnamese guy” who believed “the Americans were setting up in South Vietnam to show the Soviet Union that we can do the same thing they were doing in Cuba-we can set up in their own back yard.”²⁸ The Sergeant interpreted U.S. involvement in the war as an act of aggression, not an intervention of a civil war, explaining to Cherkoss, “It no longer was a civil war when we stepped in. Just like the civil war in this country. What would have happened if France would have come in on the south’s side?”²⁹ How would American history judge an intervention that employed northern or southern women in bordellos at Bull Run, Chancellorsville, or Gettysburg so the French Army could “get the greatest good for” their “men with the least harm.”

In its second issue, *FE* links the conclusion of Sgt. Whitten’s interview with a printed transcript of Wayne State University (WSU) History Professor Dr. Norman Pollack’s November 21, 1965 speech delivered on campus at the McGregor Memorial Building to the “Detroit Circle,” a collection of individuals that “reject totalitarianism in any form,” believing there “is a need for the youth and adults of this city not only to discuss new concepts, but to reevaluate old ones.”³⁰ Dr. Pollack, identified by *FE* as “long active in the peace movement” stated at WSU,

I urge you to consider that the Vietnam War, as important as it is, is only a symptom-only a symptom of the larger course American Society is pursuing. And one does not accomplish very much by confronting symptoms when the underlying cause remain unhampered.³¹

One symptom Dr. Pollack addressed was America’s international business interests, and he thought it to be erroneous to “label the war as an imperialist venture,” commenting,

there is some of that going on. But that should not sidetrack us from a larger point, and an economic one at that. I suggest that when administration supporters nervously shake off the notion that we have an economic gain at stake in Vietnam, that we remind them the gain is a very real one, indeed it is one that makes the difference between chronic unemployment, a severe recession and the possibility of internal turmoil at home on one hand, and the kind of shaky prosperity that we now have in which the working class has been silenced and bought off on the other. The war in Vietnam is keeping the economy going, and you don't need a Marxist to tell you this.¹²

For evidence, Dr. Pollack cited “the latest issue of Fortune magazine,” which reported ‘how large war orders have not only given’ assurance to Wall Street, “but have brought about the use of productive facilities that would be in trouble otherwise.”³³ He estimated the U.S. has “at least five million unemployed,” despite “the defense establishment running over fifty billions”, before considering, “Is there any doubt as to what shape our economy would be in if we took away that fifty billion?”³⁴ Dr. Pollack understood “the larger meaning of the war in relation to American society” as a distraction that distorts thinking about domestic issues, including how the private sector reaps a hefty income, “and in doing so, bringing about a greater degree of monopolization”³⁵ of the country’s financial system. He encouraged his listeners to “Study the distribution of General Dynamics, General Motors, and Boeing, and tell me America has no economic stake in the war in Vietnam or that the war does not serve in being about greater internal concentration of wealth” while “providing an escape valve for the surplus wealth of America so that America will remain at home a country of inequality, a country of want, a country of hate.”³⁶ Dr. Pollack considered another factor present in the Vietnam issue:

By standardizing an immoral practice, we have ceased to make it immoral. That is we have done everything conceivable over the last three or four years to violate the rights of men, and we have taught the American people how to accept this, live with it, and justify it. Vietnam has become a psychological frontier for American inhumanity, not only for the troops who are there, but for the American people at home.³⁷

He proposed “that a number of consequences follow from the psychological dimension to the war in Vietnam: not the least is that the more we become immune to the taking of human life, the more unmoved we become to political murder here at home.”³⁸ Dr. Pollack warned those in attendance,

This war has what appears to me to be an increasingly dangerous impact on American Society. The fear to speak out against the administration’s policy in the Vietnamese War is becoming more and more evident. With the handy concept of consensus, it becomes quite easy to identify anyone outside the confines of basic policy as an enemy of society. Today the State Department sends men all over the country (we had one recently in Detroit) to tell students that the student protest is having no effect whatever-and yet, is not the fact that they are consistently repeating that line a tip off that the very reverse is true. That protest has made a dent, and that the administration is and would very much like to see it silenced. My point is, now they use manipulation and persuasion; how long until they use force? How wide is the line from a controlled press and kept government officials on one hand and the concentration camp on the other? If you do not think that things are tightening

up, look into the outright brutality which occurred at the Vietnam demonstration in Washington just two months ago.³⁹

Things were also tight at *FE*, financially speaking, and in the coming months its staff and facilities would endure its share of vicious attacks from individuals who consider the above content “smut.” *FE* barely survived the first six months of its existence, the paper admitting in the January 1966 third issue,

Due to high printing cost and lack of staff time, the Fifth Estate will have to be published irregularly. This will mean that we hope to still print every other week, but chances are issues will arrive at least once a month. We have begun to receive paid advertising since publishing our display ad rates (\$1 per square inch). Thank you for your patience.⁴⁰

This same issue, in looking for ways to fill space that might be reserved for ads, on the bottom tight hand corner of its front-page, *FE* advertised “UNCLE SAM NEEDS CANNON FODDER,” along with a sketch of Sam’s recognizable finger pointing at you. The movie promotions copied from other newspapers that originally appeared in the first issue was discontinued for the second issue. *FE* replaced that sponsorship with ads selling Core Holiday Cards offered by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and a recording of “AMERICA’S FOLKSINGERS IN 19 GREAT ‘Songs of Social Justice’” presented by the United Auto Workers Education Department. Also inserted is a display announcing pianist Andrew Hill’s concert at WSUs Lower Deroy Auditorium. The addition of advertisements barely increased for the January 1966 issue with the paper’s new sponsorship coming from local community organizations such as the Detroit Artists’ Workshop (DAW), which placed a promotion for the Artist’s Workshop Press. The WSU Artists Society promoted the campus appearance at of Alto Saxophonist Marion Brown and the Detroit Contemporary 5 at the Lower DeRoy Auditorium and the Free University of Detroit received prominent space displaying its course catalogue that listed classes available, many of them taught by DAW members. An ad was placed for Leon H. Landsberg C.L.U. Life Insurance and page four is virtually a reprint taken from the *Movement* that supports the California farm workers strike against Delano grape growers by upholding the boycott of Delano Grapes and Schenley Liquors.

One indication of dire straits is the fact that according to Peter Werbe, who would soon join the paper and serve as its editor, no one can locate a copy of issue number four,⁴¹ and this issue, as well as the fifth and sixth edition, are not a part of the University of Michigan’s (UM) Labadie collection. UM’s Burton Historical Library has pages one, two, five, and six of *FE*’s sixth issue, which on page six holds an ad for performances of Edward Albee’s *The Zoo Story* and Leroi Jones’ *The Dutchman*, which were staged at the Concept East Theatre. In April, May, and June 1966 the Concept East continued to sponsor the paper and in June *FE* was able to print an ad

for the Woodward Ave. Global Books store. The April edition also carried an ad for *The Realist*, a publication created by former *Mad* magazine writer Paul Krassner, and in May *FE* presented a commercial for the *Los Angeles Free Press*. Besides self-promotion, during the paper's first seven months of operation the most visible entity's that advertised in *FE* cannot be characterized as capitalists expanding their markets by sending commercials to the paper. What stands out are segments publicizing Students for A Democratic Society (SDS), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), notifications for upcoming demonstrations sponsored by various antiwar organizations, and promotions for events such as Joseph Johnson, the Socialist candidate for a seat in the Minnesota State Senate's appearance at the Debs Hall Friday Night Socialist Forum to discuss the threat of being kicked out of the U. S. for his political party affiliation, or providing advance notice the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Operation Freedom invasion scheduled for June 19, 1966 at Cobo Hall.

As Ovshinsky roamed the streets of Detroit soliciting sponsorship for the fledgling *FE*, he also carried the academic load of a college student. He recalls,

I went to the Montith College at Wayne and tried to major in Journalism but I couldn't. I could not study Journalism 101, who cares? I was publishing a newspaper that had a circulation of 3,500 people. I couldn't be broke. I went nuts for a while. That is where Peter came in.⁴²

In early spring 1966, frustrated with the responsibility of putting together *FE*'s content, petitioning for financial backing, peddling the paper around town, and then maybe once in a while doing some homework for his WSU courses, he happened by the DAW building, where upstairs in one of the facilities meeting rooms, members of Detroit's local antiwar movement had gathered for one of their meetings. Ovshinsky says,

Peter was the one and I remember this very clearly, on Warren Ave. in the store above the artist workshop at the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam (DCEWV) meeting, I essentially said 'I'm quitting the paper,' and they said, 'you can't quit,' and I said, 'well I am quitting because I can't do both. I'm going crazy here. I need some help,' and Werbe, who I didn't know, raised his hand and said, 'I'll do it, what do you need.'⁴³

Werbe's addition to the paper's staff was important for the paper because he also brought with him the DCEWV, which Ovshinsky believes was "critical, critical, absolutely, because they now provided us with space. We shared space for a while; they were very motivated to get articles in there. They gave us copy and support."⁴⁴ The space *FE* briefly shared with the DCEWV was the antiwar organization's newsletter. According to Werbe, when he joined the paper, "We agreed that if Harvey let us have the inside pages as our newsletter then he could send it out to our mailing list which helped people subscribe."⁴⁵ Prior to enlisting with *FE*, Werbe did not know

Ovshinsky, but he knew of the young publisher and he was aware of this new paper floating around Detroit. He remembers Ovshinsky being

next store. There was this dentist, a Dr. Hertz, that owned this property. Harvey was already there and that's how I met him. I saw him and somebody else passing out this paper several months earlier. It never occurred to me, 'Wow, can I be part of this.'⁴⁶

Werbe also brought more experience to the paper. Like John Sinclair, he was older than Ovshinsky, somewhere around twenty-four years old, and like Sinclair, he had more familiarity with the community than Ovshinsky did. He had priorities that Ovshinsky admits were not of main concern to him. Ovshinsky explains,

Peter is brilliant. I mean, I was not brilliant, I just knew I was good at newspapers, not a great newspaper at that. I had no political agenda other than to end the war and support women's rights and civil rights issues. But Peter had much more political insight than I did.⁴⁷

Werbe's political insight began as a child at home, in a neighborhood not too distant from the area in Detroit where the July 1967 riot ignited, raised by parents involved in various labor union activities. He describes himself as a rebellious kid, not serious about school, but at the same time an avid reader. As a teenager, he went to Central High School with Marilyn, his wife for fifty-two years. Sometime in the late 1950s he enrolled at Ferris State University, where he met Dave Dixon, a future Detroit "underground radio" personality. After a brief stint at Ferris State, Werbe then transferred to Michigan State University, eventually departing from East Lansing and returning to Detroit before completion of a degree. Back home he participated in the Friday Night Socialist Forums, which he found influential in shaping his political views. As a young man he reserved judgment of what was reported in daily newspapers, skeptical of content included in their articles.⁴⁸ Instead, he preferred reading publications like the weekly *National Guardian*, a periodical recognized for its proficient Vietnam War coverage, and a publication that supplied material to *FE* as the paper reprinted Guardian Vietnam reports. Werbe explained his reservations, "One of the things I always say when people comment, 'Did you see what it said in the *New York Times* or did you see what was on ABC' is 'I'm shocked your shocked.' I mean they are doing their job."⁴⁹ Referring to the August 1965 *Detroit Free Press (DFP)* news story, ARRESTED IN DOPE RAID Would-Be School Teacher Defends Marijuana Habit, in which the *DFP* informed "A bearded Wayne State University student"⁵⁰ was arrested, Werbe said,

About that article on Sinclair, you can say, 'Hey man that was a hit piece' and they will respond, 'Why wasn't it true? He's bearded, he says he wants to teach kids.' And you can say, 'Ok, let's take out a few of the words, edit it up for me, take out bearded.' And the paper answers, 'What else do you want to take out?' You have to say let me write it and it would take on a whole different cast to it. Even with the same set of facts and the same quotes. So the media obviously still has an ideological base to it.⁵¹

David Armstrong writes in *A Trumpet to Arms*,

The *National Guardian* began covering Indochina in the early fifties when the Viet Minh, led by Ho Chi Minh, defeated the French colonists and forced the partition of Vietnam into northern and southern regions. By the dawn of the sixties, the *Guardian* was expert in covering Vietnam.⁵²

Foremost among *Guardian* journalists working in Vietnam, according to Armstrong, was Wilfred Burchett, a “prominent radical reporter” who “not only declined to get on the American team,” he candidly supported the other side.”⁵³ Born in Australia, Burchett had reported “the Korean War from the communist side”⁵⁴ and he observed the French effort in Vietnam. Shortly after the August 1964 Gulf of Tonkin incident, Armstrong noted, “Burchett became the first Western correspondent to travel extensively with”⁵⁵ the Vietcong, a comprehensive voyage that led Burchett to conclude,

that the Americans were loosing to the popular guerrillas, despite superior U.S. firepower, and would continue to lose. It was an accurate forecast of the next ten years of the war, but galley proofs of the series, offered to the wire services and major New York dailies by *National Guardian* editor James Aronson, were ignored in the belief that accurate information could only come from U.S. government sources or established reporters in Vietnam.⁵⁶

A number of people working outside of the New York papers and wire services chose not to ignore Burchett’s reports sent and published in the *Guardian*. Armstrong claimed

Burchett was the only full-time correspondent in Vietnam for the radical media. Invariably short on experienced reporters and cash, underground media usually relied on judicious reading of establishment and foreign news reports for news of the war or on interviews with peace activists about what they saw on their infrequent trips to Vietnam.⁵⁷

With the *Guardian* as a resource, Armstrong believes the underground media “helped shatter the American consensus” regarding Vietnam “with the force of a fragmentation bomb,” by furnishing “the American public with much needed facts,” putting into words “a perspective for understanding the thousands of fragmentary reports about the war”⁵⁸ included in a variety of publications and newspapers.

Concerning the American consensus, in 1963 Oxford University Press released *Power, Politics And People: The Collected Essays Of C. Wright Mills*, an anthology that included the eminent sociologist’s treatise on MASS MEDIA AND PUBLIC OPINION. In preparation for this particular essay, Mills went to Decatur, IL and studied “a sample of” the city’s population to determine “how opinions change, how these people as members of the public, actually made up their minds.”⁵⁹ Mills believed President Harry S. Truman’s 1948 presidential election demonstrated the capacity for public opinion to reject influences of the “mass media of communication,” and voted the Missourian into office even though journalists were “largely against his election, and repeatedly said so.”⁶⁰ Consequently, Mills deducted

no view of American public life can be realistic that assumes public opinion to be wholly controlled and entirely manipulated by the mass media. There are forces at work among the public that are independent of these media of communications that can and do at times go directly against the opinions promulgated by them.⁶¹

Among other forces impacting public opinion “is the free ebb and flow discussions going on between persons”⁶² that make up “innumerable discussion circles knit together by mobile people who carry opinions.”⁶³ Groups similar to the Detroit Circle can be a force, as “people talking with one another, the big forces of social movements and political parties develop, and the discussion of opinion is one crucial phase in a total act by which public affairs are conducted.”⁶⁴ Mills points out that the twentieth century witnessed the ascendancy of mass media that correlates to “immense enlargement” of “economic and political institutions,” progressions associated with “the apparent regulation of primary face to face relationships” occurring in discussion circles.⁶⁵ As these institutions become “centralized and authoritarian,”⁶⁶ these powerful organizations are then in competition with each other, attempting to sway those who hold opinions in discussion circles. The institution’s policy makers, “the authorities of the mass society, which is congruent with the predominance of media markets, attempt to organize *all* communication processes. Public opinion then consists of reaction to what is presented in the formal media of communication.”⁶⁷

Due to technological advancements introducing media personalities into discussion circles, Mills argues “the public of a mass society” has become “a media market and an activated mass, the discussion phase of opinion formation is virtually eliminated. In it there is less social or informal group cohesion; the institutionalized means of free and informal discussion are fragmentalized; individual are atomized.”⁶⁸ As a result Mills believes,

The role of mass media is increased and that of discussion circles is decreased. In the extreme, the mass communication industry, pumping opinions to huge media markets, displaces face-to-face communication systems composed of a multiplicity of primary publics.⁶⁹

The media’s replacement of “face-to-face communication systems” has supervised “opinions change” as the industry has become

more authoritative and manipulative. There is little or no self-regulation on the part of the public. The people in this media market are propagandized; they cannot answer back to the print in the column, the voice on the radio; they cannot answer back to the media in their immediate circle of co-listeners with ease and without fear.⁷⁰

Within a society that boasts “Freedom of Speech,” as Mills noted, the

people who make it up are, in the end, different individuals. Every knows for example, that some individuals regardless of their class or social position, talk more than others, and that some talk to more people than others. Also some people’s expressions of opinion are listened to more and are more respected. These common sense facts lead us to the idea that among various publics, there may be ‘opinion leaders’ people who influence others more

than others influence them.⁷¹

Regarding the Decatur study, Mills stated,

One thing we found out that we think is important to understanding how American public opinion changes is that opinion leaders are more exposed to the mass media of communication of all sorts of than are the opinion followers. They listen more to various radio programs, and read more magazines, and so on. What seems to happen is that these opinion leaders pick up opinions from the mass media and pass them on to other people in face-to-face conversation. But that is by no means the end of story.⁷²

Part of the story considers that individuals are attracted to certain products produced by the media industry and the fascination is generally based on comfort level. People will usually decide on “radio programs and editorials and magazine articles with which they already agree.”⁷³ Because people desire information or even entertainment in compliance with their personal views, Mills says this process of “self-selection” denotes “that the media reinforce existing opinions more than they cause changes of opinions.”⁷⁴ The potential for opinion amendments suffers in light of the simplicity involved with changing radio and television channels or canceling a newspaper subscription if you are uncomfortable with content, but as Mills reminds,

you can’t do that so easily when you’re talking with other people, or when you over hear them at your place of work or in a neighborhood store; very often you have to listen, at least for a while, even if you don’t agree.⁷⁵

And if you dislike what you overhear, you can chose to ignore comments and keep your views, but that doesn’t stop “opinion leaders-those unofficial concentration points of informal influence,” attempts to forward their “opinions to others,”⁷⁶ who “are in contact with other opinion leaders who in turn are exposed to other selected programs and articles,”⁷⁷ some of them written by Wilfred Burchett and published inside the *National Guardian*. Mills observed,

So it is just here in the give and take of persons talking with persons, brought about by counter-influences, that differences and clashes of opinion occur. And it is in these conversations, more than any other way, that opinions are actually changed.⁷⁸

However, as Mills explains, occasionally a number of

These circles with their opinion leaders can and do *reject* what mass media contain; they can and do *refract* it, as well as *pass it on*. That is why you cannot understand the changing reality of American public opinion in terms of what the radio, newspapers, magazines, and movies contain. They are only one force, and although at times they ‘express’ public opinion they do not always do so, and what they say is subject to rejection and interpretation at the hands of the opinion circles and unofficial opinion leaders with their many shades of opinion. It is because of this fact that public opinion is still a popular fact to be reckon with on the American scene. It is because of this fact that if the mass media lie and distort, especially about things within the experience of the public, these media will come to be dis trusted and subject as it were, to popular editorial treatment and at times to plain rejection.⁷⁹

Some of those in disagreement or flat out rejecting what is presented in the media have options at their disposal, like writing a letter to the editor of a newspaper. Mills mentions, “You can of

course, write a letter to a magazine or call up a radio station on the telephone.” Others, diverging from messages distributed through mass media become part of what Mills identified as “a third kind of resistance operation.” They “share points of resistance against mass media by the comparison of experience and of opinions among themselves” and become part of an “undercover network of informal communication in the primary public” that “may select and reflect, debunk or sanction what is said in the formal media. And everybody who talks with anybody is part of this network”⁸⁰ that included Peter Werbe, Harvey Ovshinsky, the DCEWV, and everybody connected with *FE*, a paper committed to sharing opinions outside the accordance of the primary public.

Actually, before Werbe enlisted with *FE*, the paper had already established a relationship with the DCEWV. When Ovshinsky, in late autumn 1965, went on his expedition in search of material that he could amend to his first addition of *FE*, the content inserted under the headline “DCEWV Convention” was material collected from the same issue of *Peace & Freedom News* that alerted NCEWV affiliates of the rightwing organization Breakthrough’s harassment of antiwar activists at the October 1965 Vietnam Day demonstration at the Fort Wayne draft induction center.⁸¹ In the January 1966 issue number three, *FE* added to its staff the former Hero Proletariat for the *Students for a Democratic Society Bulletin*, Dena Clamage.⁸² While a part of the staff putting together the SDS communiqué, she worked with Jeffery Shero, one of the architects that designed the Austin, TX, underground newspaper *The Rag*, before moving on to New York City to assist with establishing the subterranean newspaper, the *Rat*. The presence of Clamage, an antiwar activist with the DCEWV, added to the paper someone who witnessed the face-to-face discussions occurring inside the antiwar activist circle, and a paper like *FE* afforded her a chance to provide testimony sparking change, versus reporting that reinforced traditional American views that it is ok to use their sons and daughters as cannon fodder. In fact, her first article published in *FE*, “The SDS Conference,” is a first hand account of the SDS “Old Guard’s” clashing with members of a younger contingent known as the “Prairie Power” crew, the conflict considered to be a pivotal mark in the organization’s history.⁸³

The April 1966 edition indicates that some changes were afloat with *FE*; one being the new address sported on the papers masthead, 1101 West Warren Avenue, as the paper began sharing headquarters with the DCEWV on the corner of Warren and the Lodge Freeway service drive. This edition also announced Werbe’s proposal to Ovshinsky, “Starting with this issue, pages three and four of the Fifth Estate will function as the Detroit Committee to End The War in Vietnam’s newsletter. We hope that Fifth Estate Readers and Newsletter readers enjoy the change.”⁸⁴ Although DCEWV personal such as Clamage, Werbe, Frank Joyce, and others would

continue to write for the paper, readers would only have a short period to enjoy this modification, as evidence of the newsletter gradually fades in upcoming issues. The April and May editions display the DCEWV letterhead that includes issue and volume numbers. However, by the June 1966 issue, only the DCEWV insignia, a rectangle holding “VIETNAM NEWSLETTER” stamped next to a sketch of cylinder peace sign appears that signifies the presence of the newsletter inside the pages of *FE*. Perhaps most significant for the paper, on its masthead, under the heading “STAFF”, for the first time, the name “Peter Werbe” is listed. Outside of working on mimeograph newsletters orchestrated by the DCEWV, he, like Ovshinsky, also came to the paper with virtually no journalistic experience at all. Ovshinsky explained Werbe’s and Frank Joyce’s importance,

Peter and Frank were responsible for a lot of the content. You notice I didn’t do a lot of the writing at the *Fifth Estate*. You don’t see a lot of my name byline. More of my time was spent more publishing and editing and gathering support than writing.⁸⁵

Inside *FE*’s April 1966 edition is issue Number One of “The Official DCEWV Newsletter,” the circular including an informative piece, “As We See It Where A Buddhist Ends And A Communist Begins” that reports the Vietnamese struggle to restore democracy to government, a process occluded by the U.S. rather than Communists. The article explains, “Buddhists make up 70 percent of the population of Vietnam” and have a preference for a “return to a civilian government, and most want it by the process of free elections.”⁸⁶ Buddhists opposed Vietnamese Premier General Nguyen Cao Ky, whose political ascendancy resulted from the U.S. supported 1963 military coup that ousted South Vietnam President Ngo Dinh Diem. The article comments, “Ky knows, as Washington knows, that free elections would result in a Communist victory. Both also know that there can be no such thing as a popular Viet government unless it is willing to end the war.”⁸⁷ The image of a U.S. backed dictatorship is reinforced by cartoon reprinted from the *Weekly People* that illustrates Premier Ky wearing a swastika on his shirt, his right arm and hand extended in the Sieg Heil salute, the drawing placed below the statement, “All the way with LBJ-and Nguyen Cao Ky!” and above a quote from the Premier originally published in the *London Daily Mirror*, “people ask me who my heroes are. I have only one-Hitler.”⁸⁸ The Newsletter’s second page includes an article “The 26th of March,” which covered the “International Days of Protest March 25-26” demonstrations, then “the largest concentrated world-wide action for peace in history” and quotes a NCEWV spokesman’s statement, “Despite news blackouts and other harassments, the demonstrations exceeded all our expectations. We have shaken the government into the realization that to many, many Americans, this is a deplorable war; and this is only the start.”⁸⁹ Below the story, the Newsletter published Rev.

William Sloan Coffin, Samuel Gottlieb, and Norman Thomas's "Voter's Pledge" petition collecting signatures of support for anti-war congressional candidates.⁹⁰ One of those candidates happened to be another graduate of Detroit Central High School who had connections with the *FE*. The DCEWV April Newsletter reported, "Using the occasion of the Tom Hayden speech during the International Days of Protest, James T. Lafferty, Chairman of the Citizens for Peace in Vietnam, announced his candidacy for the 17th District Congressional seat presently held by Martha Griffiths."⁹¹ His credentials included a UM Law degree, and he served as "the Executive Secretary of the National Lawyers Guild and a part-time instructor" at the WSU Law School.⁹² In 1964 he "was one of the attorneys who went to Mississippi to take dispositions" from civil rights workers during the "Freedom Summer" campaign.⁹³ Eventually Lafferty provided legal representation for *FE* and occasionally wrote an article for the paper.

The Newsletter was the perfect supplement for *FE*'s April 1966 featured story, "The Big March," an article reporting DCEWV's sponsorship of local antiwar dissent associated with the March 25 & 26 demonstrations, one involving ten UM students that "walked from Ann Arbor to Detroit in their own private protest against" against the Vietnam War.⁹⁴ Once they made it to Detroit, if they had the energy, the UM students could continue marching from the Woodward Ave. Central Methodist Church to Campus Martius" where over

2,000 people joined in a walk that was led by women in black carrying garlands of flowers morning hose killed in the Vietnamese conflict. The parade was also led by six grotesques puppets that were later used in a play depicting the plight of the Vietnamese people.⁹⁵

After the play's final curtain, the protesters headed toward the Detroit River for picketing of "the Michigan Democratic Party's annual Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner." Following this action, the demonstrators listened to Tom Hayden," recently back in the U.S. after his trip to North Vietnam, explain "to understand revolutions in underdeveloped areas, we had to become revolutionaries ourselves."⁹⁶ *FE* supported The Big March article by attaching seven photographs taken by Magdalene Sinclair that show the puppets in action, as well as shots of people in protest at Ann Arbor and downtown Detroit.

In May 1966, the first edition that identifies Werbe as the papers News Editor, the newspaper and newsletter again shared a similar focus, fixing a point on the Lafferty congressional campaign. *FE* did so by lending its front-page to the candidate, publishing "Lafferty Calls For U.S. Withdrawal From Vietnam." In this testimonial the contender offered that,

Now I want to something different than plaster my face, (however partial to it I maybe), all over the 17th District. I want to talk to the people of the District with complete candor, about Vietnam, foreign policy in general, the problem of the black man and the white man, the poor and the rich, civil liberties, ect. I want to talk about a democracy that involves the

fourth branch of the government-the people-on days of the year other than election day.⁹⁷

Lafferty then reveals,

although the editor, (before reading this article), hinted that I would have other opportunities to ramble on these pages, let me set forth now and per necessity, my 'platform.' I am for withdrawal from Vietnam. More important, I am for a new foreign policy that allows other nations to determine their own destinies free of interference.⁹⁸

On civil rights Lafferty stated,

I want to see a re- align-ment of power which more justly reflects the right of the black man to participate in the decisions which effects his life", and a desire to eliminate "HUAC and all other restraints on civil liberties. Civil liberties? Let me just say I would work to abolish HUAC and all other restraints on civil liberties. A final note-I believe all of these issues are interrelated and if we are really to progress as a nation we must begin to challenge the basic assumptions held by the majority of Americans about the country we live in."⁹⁹

Issue Number Two of the *Vietnam Newsletter* reported,

The major activity of the DCEWV since the March 25-27 International Days of Protest was a demonstration at a fundraising function of the 17th District Democrats. About 35 demonstrators carrying signs reading: STOP THE BOMBING: BRING THE TROOPS HOME: I WAS A LIBERAL UNTIL I DISCOVERED THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY SELLOUT.¹⁰⁰

Somehow, Clamage and two others, "who managed to obtain tickets legitimately, participated in the cocktail party, despite police efforts to keep them out of the building."¹⁰¹ Clamage, the "executive director" of the DCEWV, exchanged words with the incumbent concerning the Vietnam War. Congresswoman Griffiths "accused Miss Clamage of baiting her and suggested that if Miss Clamage were opposed to her (Griffiths') Vietnam policies, she should support some other candidate running on a peace platform."¹⁰² Griffith's suggestion brought a smile to Clamage's face as she informed the Congresswoman she certainly would, that candidate according to the newsletter is "of course, is James Lafferty."¹⁰³

The DCEWV diligently worked for Lafferty's campaign, publishing an advertisement "YOU WANT THE WAR TO END, BUT ARE YOU WILLING TO PAY FOR IT?" next to its *Vietnam Newsletter* inside *FE's* June 1966 edition. The ad informed of DCEWV shared decision "to take on the electoral campaign of" Lafferty's "as its summer activity," noting "this is the most ambitious project ever undertaken by the committee and probably the most important."¹⁰⁴ Funds were solicited because, "Our income has virtually come to a halt except for our most loyal supporters" and the DCEWV explained "We should not have to keep hitting the same people over and over again" for cash.¹⁰⁵ The committee needed "at least five full time staff people and maybe several more" to perform "intensive community work with weekly leafleting, street corner speaking, rallies, parties, etc."¹⁰⁶ Evidence of their et cetera sits next to the ad as the June newsletter details some of the committee's summer activity. On behalf of the Lafferty campaign,

the committee executed a face-to-face survey of the population within a section of the 17th district, a quest designed to find out what area resident's "knew about the war"¹⁰⁷ and what their opinions are concerning the conflict. Approximately half of residents questioned supported the war, but not if the government had to reduce expenditures for education, the recently established Medicare program and other poverty programs. Respondents opposed boosting "draft calls or income tax"; however "a significant number (54%) of people were willing to support" something "quite remote from a middle class population-the calling up of reserves."¹⁰⁸ The DCEWV believed, "This teaches us that people, whether opposed or not to U.S. policy, are not willing to pay for it."⁴² Regarding the resident's knowledge about the war, the DCEWV asked people if they personally believed "themselves relatively informed on the Vietnam issue and a majority claimed they were."¹⁰⁹ The newsletter reports,

They were not. For 77% of the 'majority' could not answer correctly two out of three information questions we posed (an example of which is 'who is Ho Chi Mihn?') Because the majority of the people felt themselves well informed and according to our criteria, were not, we felt our campaign should show people that they are not actually well informed, hoping this would begin to rattle their assumptions, and then of course inform them.¹¹⁰

In response to the DCEWV asking "if the people in the U.S. who have expressed opposition to the war should be allowed to do so" 81 percent replied "yes."¹¹¹ The DCEWV also inquired

whether or not a person opposes the war, he should unite behind the president and support the president's decisions: strikingly to this almost half again nodded with assent. This illustrates an important point; in a general manner people glibly profess lofty American ideals but when probed, contradict themselves, for their beliefs are not genuine. Alarming 67% of all people polled felt that we should unite behind the president. This seems to show that people have an ill conceived idea of what democracy is. In a democracy the people should not support the president because he is the president, but rather, the president should support the people because he is the president.¹¹²

The DCEWV's presence in the neighborhood did not go unnoticed by a "group calling itself the 17th Congressional Citizens Associated for Support of Our Boys in Vietnam. *FE's* July 30 edition reported Lafferty's battle "on Detroit's far West side took on a new dimension with the appearance in the district of a leaflet branding Lafferty a traitor and calling the FIFTH ESTATE an 'anti-Christ, anti-American hate sheet."¹¹³ This accusation of Lafferty's treason stemmed from his association with the DCEWV, which has "all the essential traits of a communist front" and the committee was charged with being the vanguard "of the anti-Vietnam demonstrations"⁴³ in the Detroit area. His affiliation with the Citizens for Peace in Vietnam was "further proof of traitorous intent" because of the organization's connection with Helga Herz, portrayed in the leaflet as the "daughter of Alice Herz who burned herself in protest against the war."¹¹⁴ Lafferty was also assailed "for his supposed connections" with *FE*, due to the DCEWV's promotion and distribution of the paper. The brochures taunted Lafferty, challenging, "HOW DARE" he "RUN

FOR OFFICE IN OUR NEIGHBORHOOD!”¹¹⁵ The pamphlets also had several things to say about *FE*, claiming their “cartoons, ads, and articles” were on the periphery of “OUTRIGHT TREASON” while taking issue with ads placed in the paper selling bumper stickers with slogans like “CHASTE MAKES WASTE, PRAY FOR SEX,” and HIRE THE MORALLY HANDICAPPED, ect.”¹¹⁶ According to these leaflets, which contained a postscript inviting “anyone wishing further information about the matters dealt with herein,” to “please write” or “contact BREAKTHROUGH (local anti-communist organization),” “a peddler of smut might blush if he read the pages of the FIFTH ESTATE newspaper.”¹¹⁷

Perhaps flush, or get red in the face with anger, would be a more accurate depiction the reader would experience stemming from the “smut peddled”. Later that summer, on August 15, *FE* published Ron Halstead’s article “Demonstrations & Demonstrators” on its front page, a tale of two antiwar protests, one staged in Detroit, the other at Midland, MI. In Midland, where demonstrators were part “of a continuing series of anti-NAPALM protests in all parts of the nation,” Halstead described the demonstration against the Dow Chemical Corporation as “calm,” reporting on Sunday, August 7,

groups of protestors distributed leaflets to churchgoers calling on the people of Midland to be aware of their involvement in the deaths of people in Vietnam. In the early afternoon a rally was held in Central Park. This soon became an open forum as people from Midland came to voice their opposition to the making of napalm or to voice their support of its manufacture.¹¹⁸

Things in Detroit were not as tranquil, as at

Campus Martius, the ultra-right-wing-red-baiters, of Donald Lobsinger’s BREAKTHROUGH matched fanaticism with Jerry Younkings and the infantile protest-niks of the League of Revolutionary Poets. The net result of this exercise of this exercise in idiocy the total disruption of a peaceful, and to a point a successful demonstration organized by the Ad Hoc Committee for the August Fays of Protest; and the arrest of more than a dozen Ad Hoc Demonstrators.¹¹⁹

FE was complimentary of the Detroit Police Department (DPD), noting the city’s police department, “faced with their first, recent encounter with the brick as a mode of expression, acted quickly and professionally to prevent the spread of violence,” the episode, like “so many in other cities, was precipitated by a routine arrest.”¹²⁰ The paper asked, “Why is it, that the exercises of the more irresponsible hures of the political spectrum left and right most often land the OTHER, more conscientious groups in jail” before it identifies, “BREAKTHROUGH, IN PARTICULAR has the knack of turning the most peaceful and well organized demonstrations of the left to violence.”¹²¹

Breakthrough and Lobsinger were also after *FE*'s news editors' Peter Werbe and Frank Joyce. Carol Schmidt, who reported Joyce's civil rights activism for the *Michigan Chronicle* in July 1965, reported in *FE*,

Joyce, staff director of People Against Racism, was one of the first targets, when he was threatened while speaking in a Unitarian Church in 1965, this reporter was hit by Lobsinger in a meeting last year, and a Breakthrough member, Ralph Piper, has threatened to kill Peter Werbe.¹²²

Laboring in the dissent business at times at can be tough and a death threat is something to take seriously, especially in light of the recent murder of one of Werbe's comrades. Leo Bernard, identified by the DPD as a member of the DCEWV, was shot and killed at the Socialist Workers Party Woodward Avenue office on May 16, 1966.¹²³ Werbe remembers having to be careful, a fact *Rolling Stone* magazine's John Burke found out when he visited *FE* for his expose on the underground press. Upon banging on the front door of the paper's office, he was greeted by a "shotgun leveled at my right knee,"¹²⁴ the weapon pointed at his joint by Werbe. Years later, discussing Breakthrough and the potential for danger Werbe said,

I never thought of them lurking when we came out. We had shotguns in the office. I don't know why I wasn't particularly worried. I mean there were times that I was worried. I was worried about the cops because you know they could be pretty ruthless. They actually never had never had any weapons so I thought, Wait a minute. I got this sawed off twenty-gauge shotgun and they want to punch me in the nose. Whose got the upper hand?' We were careful, we always had defense guards, but once in a while Lobsinger would get a punch in on somebody and he'd get charge innumerable times and they would always drop charges against him.¹²⁵

The organization also

began attacking the antiwar movement pretty early and one of the things they always did was holding up signs saying this is a communist march or a communist demonstration. Lobsinger was involved in any number of attacks on people and he would often punch people. I mean he was really after those priests who supported the antiwar movement.¹²⁶

One day in October 1966 while Werbe "was reading copy" in the *FE*'s office, he observed a Breakthrough member and

two other men in our hallway. I wasn't particularly eager to talk to them, and as they attempted to enter our office, I told them we were closed to the public. One of them, a tall angry man of 28 or so, jammed his way past the other two and thrust three pictures into my hand. He asked why we had not printed them along with the picture in the September 15th issue of the *FIFTH ESTATE* showing the results of U.S. bombing on Vietnamese children.¹²⁷

The previous month *FE* had reprinted the *National Guardian* article "This Picture," along with a large photograph showing a South Vietnamese mother

seeking to comfort her child burned by napalm dropped by a U.S. plane during 'Operation Colorado. The child most likely died since- and one is almost tempted to say, mercifully, because for most victims of napalm, survival is living death. You will note the care with which the numbed mother seeks to avoid touching her child's skin. If she did, her fingers would sink into the destroyed flesh. It is not easy to write such words. One tries to wait until the nausea and the anger subside-if they ever will-and then to search for appropriate

words to seek to convey to one's fellow Americans the meaning of such a photograph.¹²⁸

It is especially difficult to find appropriate words expressing this sort of image because they conflict with pictures in our head of the good America, and the Guardian photo disrupted this view, in particular because it contrasted illustrations produced by traditional daily newspapers that support an outlook Americans were comfortable with. For example, in September 1965 the *DFP* published a story, "Viet Orphan Gets Her Visa," and photo of "Little Michelle Marie, a 9 month old Vietnamese girl," by a Michigan soldier. The baby's new mother upon hearing the news stated, "it was the biggest and best birthday present I ever got."¹²⁹ No doubt this feel good story was repeated in other places as U.S. soldiers have demonstrated humanitarian acts several times over. In comparison *FE* printed shocking photos baring witness of Vietnamese civilians not as fortunate as little Marie, not to condemn American soldiers, but to remind the public that in a war endorsed by the American public's silence, not everyone gets adopted. The paper also published articles like Rima E. Laibow's "THE CHILDREN OF VIETNAM: NAPALM: MADE IN USA." written by future physician Rima Laibow that reported Vietnamese children disfigured by "melting" skin, their "tragic distortions in the accompanying photographs" that *FE* framed inside her expose.¹³⁰ She also informed of "hospitals where two and three mangled bodies share a sheetless bed, and many crowd the floor, dirt and flies, lack of sanitation and drugs insure that these small victims will both suffer horribly and survive poorly."¹³¹ One of the bitter truths about the war is that the world needed more people like the Michigan soldier as Laibow reported a fact the *DFP* failed to mention,

In South Viet Nam's 77 orphanages, there are between 80,000 and 11,000 children whose needs are unattended, whose lives are devoid of hope or help. And each month, parents' despair or death forces the abandonment of some 2,000 more children.¹³²

Laibow went on to state,

The United States is not anxious to make the plight of these victims know to its citizens. When representatives of Terre des Hommes, a non political Swiss committee to aid child victims asked the United States for air passage to Europe, where medical care for them had already been arranged, Chester L. Cooper officially replied that U.S. aircraft would not be available to transport these children. He further stated that to remove these children from the 'familiar surroundings' they belonged in would be to expose them to trauma and culture shock.¹³³

The Breakthrough gang was uneasy with *FE's* efforts to make the plight of Vietnamese children known to its readership. At *FE's* office, the three pictures the angry man shoved at Werbe contained "ghastly shots of villagers disemboweled by Communists."¹³⁴ About the pictures, Werbe noticed the "photo credits were from a recent American Legion magazine." The irate visitor pointed at *FE's* picture and told Werbe, "I'm not a member of Breakthrough, I'm a

member of the United States Army and you are calling my friends murderers.”¹³⁵ He then stormed out of the office. “Inspired” by the visit, Werbe wrote, “Napalm Photos Spark Vietnam Dialogue,” in which he states,

The FIFTH ESTATE has not made everyone happy, nor would this be realistically possible. Some kinds of people we displease send us threatening letters and make anonymous phone calls. Even our friends have had bitter words for us at times, as evidenced by our letters to the Editor column, but this is to be expected and is an indication that we are being read and thought about.¹³⁴

After the man identifying himself as a U.S. Soldier departed, Werbe was prompted to ask, “What does this say for the FIFTH ESTATE? How can we condemn the violence of the United States and not that of the National Liberation Front?”¹³⁵ He credits the soldier, commenting, “First, and foremost, we are Americans. The Army man is correct, the implication of our photo is murder,” but at the same time, “all of us stand accused because our policies in Vietnam, with napalm, chemical warfare, and saturation bombing of civilian population, are being carried out in the name of the American people.”¹³⁶ He then writes,

Secondly, the implication that the Communists kill innocent people and so it is all right if we do the same is moral nonsense. If we commit acts of the same nature as our ‘enemies’ are we not then the same. Thirdly, the acts are not the same. The burned child was an innocent victim of the U.S. policy of indiscriminate terror against the Vietnamese people (‘if it moves, shoot it.’) The villagers shown were victims of discriminate terror. They were men who were local the local agents of the Saigon government, men who are cooperating with the foreign invaders (or ‘aggressors’ as Senator Gruening of Alaska calls the U.S. forces in Vietnam),¹³⁷

and points out,

the situation in Vietnam today is revolution is one of revolution and is severely exacerbated by the U.S. presence there. The killing and atrocities on both sides could not continue without are troops being there. Further, the violence of the oppressed cannot be equated with the violence of the oppressor. When Negroes pick up guns to defend themselves in the south, it is quantitatively different act than when racists pick up guns to attack them. The same holds true in Vietnam-even the colors are the same.¹³⁸

Werbe considered the American Legion photos for publication, but was unsure of “the quality to make them able to be reproduced,” deciding the pictures were unsuitable for reproduction. He suspected the photos

were already reproductions, and sure enough, when I turned them over, written on their backs was a section of a leaflet that read: ‘MARTIN LUTHER KING is either a FOOL or a TRAITOR and he certainly is not a FOOL! For further information write: BREAKTHROUGH, P.O. Box. 3061, Detroit, Michigan 48231.’¹³⁹

Inside *FE*'s October 16, 1966 edition, the paper published a photograph of Werbe, standing next to Dena Clamage and an unidentified third person, the three appearing scholarly and clean cut, above a caption that informs, “Three Vietnam Committee members view damage by bricks thrown through office windows after the March 26th International Days Protest.”

Above the picture the headline “Viet Committee Plans Nov. 5-8 Protests As Rocks Fly”, a story that reports the office of the DCEWV at

1101 W. Warren, several blocks from the Wayne University campus, has been open since July of 1965 and in that period has had 9 instances of vandalism resulting in over \$1,000 in property damage. There have been no arrests made in any of these incidents.¹⁴⁰

Committee members were also subjected to threatening phone calls. *FE* observed,

And so it goes at the local office of one of the groups trying to bring about an end to the war in Vietnam. Committee members say this type of harassment increases when the organization is particularly active. Since last week the Committee announced in the *FIFTH ESTATE* its plans to hold a four-day-long series of protests against the war, they are now bracing themselves for the inevitable bricks and phone calls.¹⁴¹

The paper had advanced DCEWV strategy; printing on its October 1 front-page “November 5-7 Set for International Peace Protest,” an article reporting plans for a November 5 “march to start at 2:00 p.m. at Central Methodist Church, at Woodward and Adams” and for a “teach-in on the GI and the war”¹⁴² to be conducted at WSU on November 7. Immediately following *FE*’s revelation of DCEWV tactics, committee members working at the office received intimidating phone calls and projectiles were tossed through the facility’s windows. John Hawksley, the office manager, while “holding the rock that came through a front window the night of October 3rd.” informed *FE*, that “The only good thing coming out of this is that they have run out of windows to break.”¹⁴³ Also reported was, “The evening prior to the rock throwing incident, Nick Medvecky, newly elected chairman of the group, had received an anonymous phone call threatening him personally if the group sponsored anymore demonstrations.”¹⁴⁴ Medvecky, described as a “plant worker and a veteran of the paratroopers,” told *FE*, “This sort of activity is only a nuisance. It won’t have any effect on our efforts to educate people about the war.”¹⁴⁵ Medvecky advised

you have to remember that in the last several months several antiwar groups have had their offices bombed and here in Detroit three persons in the anti-war movement were shot. The administration, in its effort to build support for the war has created an atmosphere where you can expect acts such as these.¹⁴⁶

In response to harassment, Medvecky sent a letter to DPD Commissioner Ray Girardin that “contains details about the threatening phone calls” made to the DCEWV office. In his letter, which intended to direct Commissioner Girardin’s “attention to a series of threatening incidents directed”¹⁴⁷ at the DCEWV, Medvecky wrote,

On Sunday, October 2, 1966, between the hours of 8:00 p.m. and 11:00p.m., the DCEWV received in excess of ten threatening phone call at its office, 1101 W. Warren. A male voice, that spoke with a rasp and a stutter, made statements repeatedly as follows: ‘You commie son of a bitches, you better not hold the International Days of Protest.’ The person would hang up immediately after making this threat and then a short while later would call back and repeat his words, varying his name calling with ‘fink’ and other such phrases.¹⁴⁸

Several individuals at the office received similar calls. Medvecky continued,

We left the Committee office at approximately 11:00 p.m. When the Office Manager, John Hawksley, came into the office at about 8:00 a.m. the next morning he found a rock had been thrown through the plate glass window facing the John Lodge Service drive. This incident was reported by the police the same day. On Monday, October 3, at approximately 8:00 p.m., a call was received by David Hurley. A male voice asked to speak to 'Nick' I then picked up the phone to speak to this person and he identified himself as 'Bob Till.' Very quickly I recognized the man's voice as that from the previous night (the stutter and rasp became more apparent as the conversation continued). I motioned to David Hurley to pick up the extension phone and monitor our conversation from that point on. Mr. Hurley did listen to the 15-20 minutes of conversation that followed.¹⁴⁹

In the conversation, this "Bob Till," a person unknown to Medvecky, informed the ex-paratrooper that he was at the last protest "where the Viet Cong flag was displayed" and was curious "if the Viet Cong flag would be at the November demonstration," before telling Medvecky, "if the November action comes off, you won't live to read or hear about it."¹⁵⁰ Medvecky expressed to the commissioner that in the conversation Till threatened,

as chairman you (great emphasis on 'you') are going to be held responsible for what happens at the demonstration" and that Till "intimated that he was the leader of a group by using phrases such as 'my group' and 'my boys' and 'my people.' He stated, 'I have some guys down here who are pretty much hotheads and they're out to get blood. I'm trying to hold them back as much as I can but if things like this take place then I can't be responsible for what happened to you (again great stress on you). He repeated this statement a number of times. He also made reference to the bombings and shootings that have recently taken place across the country and that this sort of trend is building up and that 'my organization had nothing to do with the shootings here in Detroit. But I couldn't say it wouldn't happen in the future. Some day very soon, this thing is going to come in the open and all you commie bastards that aren't shot will be in the stockade.'¹⁵¹

In light of his conversation with Till, Medvecky consulted with his colleagues, "and after careful consideration and correlation of the facts," he let Commissioner Girardin know,

we decided to take action in regard to this most recent series of threats directed against the DCEWV and its members. On Friday, October 7, 1966, at 8:00p.m., my counselor Ernest Nasser, and I went to the precinct station at Woodward and Hancock to report the threatening calls. Officer St. Onge, badge # 2126, took the complaint. The officer informed us that 'this sort of thing happens all the time and I can tell you nothing will be done on this.' I asked him if that's an official wrd and he answered, 'Yes, that's an official word.' He also stated that even if the police knew who the organization was that was threatening me and the Committee, nothing could be done until 'they had actually done something to you.'¹⁵²

Two days after the complaint was filed the DPD sent a detective over to the DCEWV office where he met with Medvecky, Hawksley Hurley, and the DCEWV November Mobilization Director, Irving Kirsch. After the detective finished with his questions, the DCEWV members inquired about "police protection against the threats" and they were told, "until the police knew who the person was, there was nothing they could do."¹⁵³ Unsatisfied with the DPD's response, Medvecky informed the police commissioner, "The DCEWV has contacted the American Civil Liberties Union and is contacting you because we feel these threats have significance especially in light of the" aggression directed at "anti-war and civil rights movements," the recent murder of

Leo Bernard, the former treasurer of the DCEWV,” and because members of the antiwar movement “in the Detroit area have been harassed on numerous occasions by the organization Break Through.”¹⁵⁴ In case the DPD was stumped as to where it might begin an investigation of threatening phone calls if they indeed decided to act, Medveck supplied the commissioner with a clue: “It is an interesting coincidence that ‘Bob Till’ has the same initials as Break Through.”¹⁵⁵

When Saturday, November 5 rolled around, Royal Oak, MI, resident Robert Eddy told *FE*'s Bob Fleck, “I’m downtown here because Mr. Lobsinger and Breakthrough told me I couldn’t come and I didn’t like that. So here I am.”¹⁵⁶ Eddy mingled in the falling wet snow with over 800 soaked peace demonstrators outside the Central Methodist Church on Woodward Ave. When two “Veterans for Peace” drummers started a marching cadence signaling the march was set to begin, Alvin Harrison “softly said’ to those gathered, “All right brothers, lock your elbows and let’s march for peace and freedom.”¹⁵⁷ The protestors headed south down Woodward Ave. toward Cobo Hall where Harrison was scheduled to speak with Medvecky and John Anderson, creator of “a unique referendum which enabled Dearborn citizens to voice their stand on the Viet Nam question.”¹⁵⁸ In front of Hudson’s Department Store, anti- demonstrators lined the parade route holding signs and banners with slogans “Beware Reds”, “Liberate Asia”, and “Wayne Commies Never Die They Just Smell That Way.”¹⁵⁹ Two dozen mounted DPD police officers and several squad cars “were on the scene in case Breakthrough tried to make good its threats to disrupt the march.”¹⁶⁰ The demonstrators marched without incident and arrived at Cobo Hall and assembled for the speeches. Anderson spoke first, telling those gathered, “War has always meant a loss of civil liberties by the people all the way from McCarthyism of the Korean War to the unfair relocation of American Japanese in World War II to the silencing of dissent today.”¹⁶¹ Harrison followed, and “emphasized that the American Negro’s fight was in the United States for civil rights and not in a foreign land under a government which is unjust toward them.”¹⁶² Medvecky capped it off explaining to the crowd, “you don’t have to be in Viet Nam to love your country.”¹⁶³

At the November 7 DCEWV sponsored teach-in at WSU, the initial phase of the event was disrupted when “Three members of Breakthrough attempted to elbow their way into the” WSU’s Community Arts Auditorium, and were “met by a contingent from the WCEWV, WSU’s version of the DCEWV, “who attempted to remove the unruly group.”¹⁶⁴ WSU police intervened, grabbing a student and pinning his arms behind his back. As the student was subdued, a Breakthrough member “wearing a red beret and carrying a baton”¹⁶⁵ leveled a karate chop to the student’s chest. Lobsinger, somewhere in the fray was “struck solidly on the left cheek.”¹⁶⁶ After arrests were made and “the situation was under control,” Lobsinger, leaving the auditorium,

shouted to teach-in participants, “Not a leftist in this city that’s safe anymore.”¹⁶⁷ The audience laughed, which prompted Lobsinger to shout, “Laugh now! You won’t be laughing for long.”¹⁶⁸ Of these types of incidents, Werbe remembers,

One time we were at Central Methodist, must have been probably 1967 with an antidraft rally, or maybe at St. Josephs Episcopalian Church and well Lobsinger came to that and came running down the isle as he often did and threw this peace of cloth at the stage which I thought ‘oh it must be a Viet Cong Flag. He screamed and yelled and it was sort of weird. Everybody totally ti cheed him, and he stormed away. And it was a Soviet Flag and I somehow wound up with it.¹⁶⁹

The *DFP* was there to watch the November 7 fracas, reporting it the following day in its article “War Factions Struggle,” using traits Todd Gitlin recognized in his analysis of journalism’s coverage of the anti-war movement that he presented in his book *The Whole World is Watching*. The *DFP* headline “polarizes” the DCEWV, “balancing the antiwar movement against ultra-Right” groups as comparable “extremists.”¹⁷⁰ The first paragraph shows signs the article was written by a police beat reporter as it details the number of pugilists involved and identified what faction each arrested combatant belonged to in the “brief struggle between anti-war and pro-war factions.”¹⁷¹ The second paragraph again polarized the movement, stating, “Several members of Breakthrough, a right-wing organization became involved in a shoving match with spectators,”¹⁷² the word “spectators,” a “trivializing”¹⁷³ and disparaging word considering the spectators were WCEWV members. The article notes a Breakthrough member being shoved, but absent in the story is the WCEWV student victimized by the karate chop. The article’s media frame was enhanced as the *DFP* placed a photo of Lobsinger dressed in business-like attire, a portrait that depicts Breakthrough’s leader wearing a heroic, facial expression, an image of an honorable man defending America. Directly above his picture a sentence reads, “Lobsinger, pointing to his bruised forehead, said his Breakthrough members were assaulted by the antiwar factions.”¹⁷⁴ The demonstration itself barely received attention in the article, nothing more than a small reference to the DCEWV sponsorship of the teach-in and the appearance of CORE director Floyd McKissick at WSU.

In contrast, *FE* incorporates for its headline the protest strategy “teach-in” as part of Edward Rom’s article “Teach-IN: Fights & Speeches,” a heading that indicates a protest occurred despite violence, and at the same time illustrates a non-decisive headline without the declaration of factions. The first sentence informs that the WCEWV “staged a Teach-In as part of the November Mobilization for Peace, Jobs, and Freedom,”¹⁷⁵ statements quite different from the *DFP* segue introducing who was fighting at the forefront of its report. Rom also presented a balanced account of “the two groups” mixing it up in the mêlée, reporting the WCEWV student being arrested while remembering to cite the Breakthrough member delivering the karate chop.¹⁷⁶

The article contains 17 paragraphs of information, the first six discussing elements of the teach-in with facts about the conflict. The remaining paragraphs of the article are dedicated to reporting issues connected to the war. Rom reported that Barry Sheppard, editor of *The Militant* discussed “morality of the war” and how the U.S. government is a “Paradox of Power,” telling the audience,

The southern whites can fulfill their will against the Negro in the south by violent means and can immediately see the result of their acts. The U.S. in Vietnam, while being the richest and strongest country in the world, ‘cannot work its will in a small Asian nation.’¹⁷⁷

Another speaker, *National Guardian* editor James Aronson then explained how “the people of this country are not informed” because “LBJ’s censorship of the press” has led to a newspaper response of “self-imposed censorship” for the sake of being a “profit making enterprise.”¹⁷⁸ The article also quoted the Reverend Albert Cleage’s opinion that “the war in Vietnam is a war for white supremacy...white supremacy in Asia because of American domination. The torture and barbarism is accepted in Vietnam because it is against black people, and all people are black if they’re not white.”¹⁷⁹ Floyd McKissick added, “The same people who make the illegal war in Vietnam are the same people who pass a Civil Rights Law but don’t enforce it.” Teach-In: Fights & Speeches reported “the 22% negro casualty figure in Vietnam.”¹⁸⁰ War Factions Struggle informed those arrested placed a \$27.50 bond to get out of jail.¹⁸¹

One of *FE*’s columnists, the attorney Sol Plafkin, believed Lobsinger was good for the city, if not the nation, writing in one of his “OFF CENTER” columns, “The champion fighter for civil liberties in this town may turn out to be that famous right-winger Donald Lobsinger, chairman of Breakthrough.”¹⁸² Considering his “constitutionally protected expression,”¹⁸³ Plafkin’s concern regarding Lobsinger was the State’s desire to prosecute him, questioning if William Cahalan, the Wayne County Prosecutor, is willing to prosecute Lobsinger and his Breakthrough “cohorts for clear violations of state law in constantly”¹⁸⁴ disrupting meetings? On January 22, 1967, the Reverend David M. Gracie publicly echoed Plafkin’s sentiments as he “called for stronger measures against Breakthrough,” during a sermon he delivered on Anti-Semitism at Detroit’s St Joseph’s Church to an “interfaith service” consisting of “twelve Woodward Avenue congregations.”¹⁸⁵ Representing *FE* at the service, Carlotta Henderson reported in the February 1 issue of the paper that Rev. Gracie referred to the January 18 “disgusting display of anti-Semitism at Blessed Sacrament Cathedral,” in an incident where no arrests were made, although the “abuse and disruption were extreme.”¹⁸⁶

The Breakthrough movement was rather bold, creative, and used intimidating tactics. In March 1967 *FE* published Ben Habeebee’s article “Breakthrough Denounces McCarthyism,”

which reported Detroit Mayor Jerome Cavanagh's directive for the DPD to "crack down"¹⁸⁷ on Breakthrough. Habeebee, referring to the outfit as "the parapatriots," responded by calling the Mayor "a puppet dancing to the tune of the leftists."¹⁸⁸ At a February 23 Breakthrough sponsored demonstration at Detroit's City-County, they supported their claims that Cavanagh has wrought "McCarthyism"¹⁸⁹ into the city by dropping off a replica of the Charlie McCarthy dummy created by Edgar Bergen, the Decatur, MI, ventriloquist at the Mayor's office. One member of Breakthrough explained, "The Communists give the word and 'Charlie McCarthy' Cavanagh echoes it."¹⁹⁰ Breakthrough had a penchant for dummies. At Detroit's June 14th Flag Day parade, Lobsinger entered "a float carrying a Soviet flag draped coffin with a live dummy dressed as Uncle Sam plunging a bayonet repeatedly into the coffin."¹⁹¹ *FE's* Frank Joyce commented, "This was presumable consistent with Breakthrough's policy of 'beating dead horses. What one wondered, is the symbolism of bayoneting coffins?"¹⁹² Regarding the February Cavanagh McCarthyism equation, one might assume it a rather odd display of symbolism considering the other McCarthy, Joseph, who if he had not drank himself to death, may have been supported by the Breakthrough contingent. Habeebee, clarified "Cavanaugh is not a leftist; he is not our parrot."¹⁹³

In his column discussing Lobsinger's guarantee for freedom of speech, Plafkin stated, "His sometimes puerile and offensive tactics may help fortify our always precarious constitutional rights."¹⁹⁴ Plafkin examined the episode that occurred during Detroit's 1967 St. Patrick Day Parade. Lobsinger was able to obtain a permit to display banners honoring Senator Joseph McCarthy, which a DPD officer "tried illegally to remove"; however "Lobsinger refused and he may have even jostled a few cops a little bit. So he is charged with resisting an officer who was attempting to perform an illegal act."¹⁹⁵ Plafkin admits, "As distasteful as this may appear to many of us, there is no question one has the right to be as fanatical as he wants."¹⁹⁶ He points out,

Too often police use the legal weapon of a 'resisting arrest' charge to intimidate engaged in any sort of unpopular demonstration or citizens whom the police would just like to harass. This charge has been consistently used against civil rights advocates.¹⁹⁷

Plafkin noted, "Just two weeks ago Frank Joyce, News Editor of this paper, and Al Harrison of the Afro-American Youth Movement," had been "found innocent of this charge" for lack of evidence, which "is all very nice,"¹⁹⁸ but they still had to tolerate being tossed in jail and had to endure they lengthily court case that created many nuisances for the two activists. On the other hand, "Lobsinger is arrested. He is about to be held overnight illegally when Judge Tom Poindexter comes to the rescue and pulls him out."¹⁹⁹ *FE* commemorated the act, inserting in a segment of its Unclassified section a picture of Judge Poindexter above a small ad stating,

If you are interested, call this man at this number, KE2-2412. He will help you if you are

not a hardened criminal. He is a judge and a friend of the friendless. He will help you any time day or night. We need more judges like him.²⁰⁰

The summer 1967 Detroit riots caused a lot of headaches for Breakthrough. In his book *Violence in The Model City* Sidney Fine reported Breakthrough leaders believed the riot was a Communist-inspired insurrection intended to encourage African Americans to enlist in the “black power movement. Lobsinger informed the Kerner Commission, assigned by President Johnson to investigate causes behind urban unrest, that Breakthrough’s mission is to arm the whites” because “if the city became black, there would be guerrilla warfare in the summer.”²⁰¹ In September 1967 on Detroit’s northeast side at Fleming Hall, located near Seven Mile Rd. and Gratiot, *FE* reported Lobsinger explaining to a crowd of 1,200 people “the urban uprisings are run by Communists” while he implored area residents “not to flee the city, but to stay and fight for their land.”²⁰² Werbe believed this side of Detroit was home turf for the organization:

Lobsinger and them were sort of east side Catholics. They seemed to me to be much older which meant then they were at least in their thirties but I remember some of them having white hair and all that. So they were probably old-line anti-Communists from the 1930s and 1940s. They were heavily Catholic, heavily patriotic, and they were fascistic in terms of their anticommunism but they weren’t pro Nazi. I mean one time Lobsinger attacked these Nazis because they were flying the Nazi flag and we used to fly the Viet Cong flag, which drove him bonkers.²⁰³

In the riot’s aftermath, Frank Joyce canvassed Detroit’s “white”²⁰⁴ section of town, keeping tabs of Lobsinger by covering Breakthrough’s community work. He presented his findings in his article, “Uptight Honkies Meet,” which included his discovery of Breakthrough distributing brochures that asked, “HAS THE RIOT OPENED YOUR EYES?” and “ARE YOU NOW READY TO PREPARE YOURSELF FOR THE NEXT ONE?”²⁰⁵ The brochures also suggested Detroiters acquire survival kits, organize blocks, and emphasized, “should a neighbor be discordant or uncooperative, let him be. BEWARE OF THOSE WHO OPPOSE SUCH PREPERATION.”²⁰⁶ At a different meeting, Breakthrough solicited the advise of the National Rifle Association, bringing a representative to a gathering where he demonstrated “the use of various kinds of weapons for home protection.”²⁰⁷ Joyce also found “Gun manufactures are flying in special shipments to Detroit weekly” with “sales in the Detroit area are reported to have risen from 500 per month for hand guns to 3,000 per week,” a fact prompting his speculation that “probably, if everyone ignores this grassroots movement it will go away. Like Hitler did.”²⁰⁸ Or perhaps move to the eastside suburb of Warren where Breakthrough introduced “the Warren Chief of police” at a rally that attracted “1,500 white people.”²⁰⁹ At this public meeting, at which time Breakthrough speakers were interrupted during their speeches by four white teenagers offering heckling remarks, police officers on duty refused to protect the hecklers when the

youngsters received beatings for their comments. One of the surviving teens admitted to *FE's* Carol Schmidt that they were "afraid for their lives."²¹⁰ Schmidt noted of Breakthrough and its leader,

Donald Lobsinger has been having rallies throughout white areas telling people how to protect themselves against the next uprising, organizing gun clubs, and attacking open occupancy as 'forced housing. It has a two-year history of breaking up peace and civil rights meetings and attacking such people as the Rev. Maurice Geary as communists. Breakthrough now has on file at least 10,000 white people who have said they are interested in organizing vigilantes on their block, joining shooting clubs, and supporting Breakthrough.²¹¹

The organization also continued to find *FE's* content distasteful and proceeded to harass proprietors who sold the underground newspaper. Things were heating up inside the antiwar movement, and throughout late summer/early fall 1967 *FE* diligently promoted the "CONFRONT THE WAR MAKERS WASHINGTON OCTOBER 21" demonstration scheduled to take place outside the Washington D. C. Pentagon Building. That month, Lobsinger turned his attention to the east side Merit Book Center "on Harper near Chalmers," a store willing to sell *FE*. Lobsinger commanded Sam D'Angelo, the store's owner, to stop selling *FE* and other undesirable publications, an order D'Angelo disobeyed. In return, he was subjected to several harassing phone calls and Breakthrough began to picket his store. The first picket occurred on the Saturday of the national ant-war demonstration at the Pentagon. During picketing, "a man started pushing" D'Angelo's business partner, who happened to be a woman, and as a result of the shoving, "fighting erupted."²¹² D'Angelo's intervention earned him four stitches on his head, while one of his friends coming to his aid received eleven stitches. The business partner was charged with assault and battery.²¹³

In November 1967 Breakthrough's extremism enabled the organization to diligently cross any barrier occluding its attempt to maintain the kind of community it desired. Lobsinger and his attorney Lawrence S. Davidow went to Wayne County Circuit Court seeking release of Detroit Miller Jr. High Honor Student Joseph Patterson from the Towne Mental Hospital. Patterson, a "self-proclaimed Nazi and member of Breakthrough," was referred to the Towne facility by school personnel, "alarmed at his preoccupation with Nazis and threats of killing everyone from commie teachers he 'spys' on for Breakthrough up to Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren and Lyndon Johnson."²¹⁴ Wayne County Deputy Sheriff Leontyne Smith agreed with the school's assessment, having an opportunity to spend time with Patterson at the Detroit Psychiatric Institute. Sheriff Smith stated.

When I talked to him, he has a notebook on which he was printed 'Heil Hitler, Heil Frick, Heil Rockwell. In an eager, rapid and almost hypnotic manner and speech he told me that these were famous Nazis. He told me that he had been a member of the Nazi Party for the past year was a member of their Elite Guard. He told me of his plans to organize a Nazi youth group. I have seen a copy of his 'Constitution of the Young Nazis for States Rights' in which he stipulates that members shall be anti-Semitic, anti-communist, anti-black Muslin (sic), anti-foreign (except German) and anti-gypsy. It also advocates monthly book burning seminars and maintaining a supply of legal arms.²¹⁵

Two psychiatrists also evaluated Patterson “for the court, and they found him in need of psychiatric care, and he was admitted in early fall.”²¹⁶ Judge Carl Weideman, presiding over the case, offered an opinion, “I have read what this boy is supposed to have said, and if he should be in a hospital, then Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown should be committed too.”²¹⁷ The judge called Patterson a “fine lad” and advised him to “watch what he said privately, and maybe take more of a backseat in Breakthrough affairs,” encouraging the adolescent “to go back to school and get a good education.”²¹⁸

At the beginning off his school year, “Patterson made his first public appearance for Breakthrough” at their rally in the City-County Bldg.²¹⁹ Present at the rally were Alvin Harrison, Frank Joyce and “Pat Murphy from People Against Racism.”²²⁰ The trio was “greatly disturbed at Patterson’s halting talk,” with Murphy overhearing one woman say to another, “That boy who’s speaking certainly is having a hard time, isn’t he?”²²¹ The other lady replied, “Well yes, but you have to understand he’s only 14.”²²² After informing the woman of Patterson’s age, the lady looked toward the “faltering, stuttering youth far below her on the platform,” and half whispered, “Oh dear, you can make it, Joseph.”²²³ As Patterson spoke, “Harrison walked out, followed by Joyce and Miss Murphy.”²²⁴ They were among “other observers” who “commented privately that the boy had seemed to be mentally ill, and Lobsinger’s use of him could only worsen his condition.”²²⁵ One of Lobsinger’s trusted advisers, James Carey, disagreed with any notion of Patterson suffering from mental illness, and said so after the hearing that saw Judge Weideman release the patient from the mental hospital. Outside the courtroom Carey said, “Breakthrough didn’t even know he had been committed. Obviously, he had been a political prisoner.”²²⁶ As one might expect, Patterson was relieved to be out of the hospital, where his grandmother who approved of his Towne admittance greeted him. On her grandson’s release she commented, “He’s a good boy. I’m glad he’s home.”²²⁷

Home life for young the honor student had its challenges. He lived with his grandmother and five siblings due to his mother’s death and of having no idea where his father was. Given the losses he suffered and his interest in famous Nazis, finding refuge with Breakthrough offered compensation for his bereavement, an opportunity to link with strong male role models who shared a common interest. Lobsinger was also processing loss, loosing many Detroit Caucasians to the suburbs, his neighbors boarding the “white fight”. In his attempt to stop more whites from leaving, the young political prisoner, Joseph Patterson, might have done more for Breakthrough than Charlie McCarthy or Uncle Sam attacking a coffin ever could have done to assist Lobsinger in his fight against “commies”, *FE*, and the threat of Black people taking over Detroit; Joseph Patterson was African American. It’s weird.

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Chapter Four

The *Fifth Estate*, The Underground Press Syndicate, and Countercultural Revenues

A friend of mine who opened a small business once told me that the biggest challenge for small business owners was surviving the first year of operation. Like many small businesses, the *Fifth Estate* barely survived its first year of existence. Integral to the paper's survival was moving to Plum Street, a small retail community specializing in the selling of countercultural artifacts near downtown Detroit. This chapter explores the *Fifth Estate's* move from the Warren-Forest neighborhood, an area filled with political activism, to Plum Street, and how the newspaper contributed to the development of Detroit's counterculture.

The relocation of the paper coincided with the creation of the Underground Press Syndicate (UPS), a national collection of newspapers similar in format to the *Fifth Estate*. One of the stimuli for UPS's creation was driven by the need for income. Membership - strength in numbers - would allow for the newspaper's revenue sharing opportunities. Through UPS, the papers would also be able to circulate articles and political cartoons. The *Fifth Estate* certainly received a boost from its membership with UPS, but at the same time, the national coalition of newspapers benefited from the *Fifth Estate's* connection to the organization. For example, the paper and its staff were eyewitnesses to the Detroit 1967 summer urban disturbance. This chapter shows how UPS worked and illustrates how the *Fifth Estate's* testimony concerning the riot was incorporated into another paper belonging to UPS.

This past summer, I walked through a Detroit area mall and discovered a major department store marketing countercultural images, selling its products under the campaign "2009 Summer of Love." This particular slogan, with countercultural origins, is derived from what was dubbed "1967 Summer of Love." The *Fifth Estate* played an important role in introducing countercultural images to the Detroit area.

Part of the introduction was proffering lifestyles based on a consciousness counterintuitive to the interpretations and realizations intuitive to mainstream culture. The other part of this introduction includes the reality that countercultural images were a viable financial option critical to the continuation of the paper's survival. However, above all else, the paper had a political agenda. While the national press, both mainstream newspapers and those belonging to UPS, celebrated the Summer of Love, the *Fifth Estate* had another slogan for the summer of 1967, a motto very different from what was displayed by major mass media outlets. The people at the *Fifth Estate* believed there were more pressing issues to be dealt with besides decking Haight-Ashbury with psychedelic ornaments. With distractions stemming from the propagation of the

counterculture, the *Fifth Estate* up and vacated its premises on Plum Street. Although the marketing of the counterculture continues forty years later, the only surviving paper from UPS is the *Fifth Estate*. Perhaps the reason it survived is because the paper stayed true to its mission – being a witness for the more radical bend of political and civil rights issues found in 1960s American culture.

On a warm Saturday, September 24, 1966, Detroit mayor Jerome Cavanagh, wearing a pair of sunglasses and a plaid shirt, arrived for the ribbon cutting ceremony celebrating the beginning of Detroit’s art district, Plum Street. Michigan Governor George Romney and U.S. Senator Robert Griffin joined Cavanagh for the dedication of what the Mayor said was a sign of “Detroit’s great diversity.”¹ With guitar music in the background, the politicians smiled as they stood next to Robert Cobb, the district’s young visionary, who performed the honor of cutting the ribbon, signaling the inauguration of the “hopeful art community just a stone’s throw from Tiger Stadium.”² Cobb had assembled a group of investors that initiated the commercialization of 1960s counterculture as twenty-five proprietors opened their doors for business just west of downtown. The Detroit *Free Press* (*DFP*) reported “Snip! Snip! Plum Street Officially,” an article reporting the district’s opening that quotes a young women working in one of the new stores: “We get everyone almost everyone here. During the day it’s the hip pseudo-beats... the teens. At night, we get the 30 to 50 crowd. The ladies with furs who step out of long Cadillac’s. The Birmingham, Bloomfield Crowd.”³ Also on hand was Detroit *Fifth Estate* (*FE*) columnist John Sinclair, and he described some of the Plum Street action in his Coatpuller column:

The whole place was packed from opening until closing this last (Grand Opening) weekend, which was very nice for all concerned. The Dept. of Parks and Recreation set up a bandshell in the open air market space and rock bands played continuously for two days. I didn’t get to hear even a bunch of them, but two bands I did hear were into some very hip things. The Southbound Freeway (now minus Larry Miller) carried on for an unhappily small audience and were beautiful. Sunday evening a suburban group the Ravens, did some hard-swimming things in a neo-James Brown bag and were out of sight, the lead singer especially. Let me say that this was very groovy to walk outside anytime and hear music blasting out of the Village Square.⁴

Plum Street in 1966 became Detroit’s hip attraction, a place the *DFP* said was comparable to the hip districts springing up in places like San Francisco’s Haight-Ashbury, New York’s Greenwich Village, and Chicago’s Old Town.⁵ Harvey Ovshinsky, publisher of the financially struggling *FE*, recently anointed by *Time* magazine as part of an “Underground Alliance”⁶ involving four other papers similar in format to *FE*, had been inside the neighborhood a few months before the “Snip! Snip!” article, and his view on Plum Street’s official opening was different from what was presented in the *DFP*. In his *FE* September 15, 1966 article, “Detroit: A

Progress Report,” Ovshinsky commented, “People come down to Plum Street and tell me that Detroit has needed something like this and it’s about time we had an Old Town or Gas Light Square.”⁷ He believed the city needed more than a district that functioned as an exhibit and might be better served saving places like the Vanguard Theatre that recently “sent out pleas for money,”⁸ before changing its name to the Gem Theatre and converting into an adult movie house to save itself. He writes that

Hundreds of people each week spend around fifty cents for underground buttons and clever bumperstickers. They’ll pay three dollars to hear Chuck and Joni Mitchell at the Wisdom Tooth on Plum Street. And after nite-capping at Darby’s, people flock to Plum to stare at the inner city and the hippies that will never come.⁹

Ovshinsky’s commentary discussed Detroit’s renewal effort and the city’s bid to host the 1968 Olympics, which finished second to Mexico City, and he states, “If Common Council wants to spend two billion dollars for an Olympic Stadium, but can’t afford saving the Vanguard, then Mel Ravitz is a fink and I won’t vote for him.”¹⁰ Ravitz, a Detroit City Councilman and Chairman of the Wayne County Board of Supervisors was behind efforts to include a “strong revocation clause in rules being drafted for licensing”¹¹ of Detroit businesses. Ovshinsky reasoned, “Detroit needs a lot of things. But an Olympic Stadium and a Plum Street is not the answer. It needs a newspaper.”¹² In 2008 Ovshinsky explains,

I knew it would never expand though because there were no roots, no residents. Detroit has a poor vision of real city stuff like Haight-Ashbury was our Plum Street. We were the *Fifth Estate*, it was going to be a good newspaper for us and it was not the Berkeley *Barb* or the *East Village Other* or the *LA Free Press*. It just was what it was for us. We weren’t Los Angeles, we weren’t New York, we weren’t San Francisco, so we were what we were. We were the *Fifth Estate*, we reflected who we were (3/24). It’s not that Plum Street came out of the Wayne State Campus where people lived and there was this kinship feeling of community. It was so tiny and Haight-Ashbury was a community and Plum Street was not a community. Plum Street was not even radical. It was a haven for realtors. It existed because there were these stores that were populated by real cool people and products. It was a Northland, it was an outdoor Mall where people hung out.¹³

At the same time, Ovshinsky saw Plum Street as a chance for *FE* to avoid “the same fate as the Vanguard,”¹⁴ and he was willing to capitalize on the venture, stating, “I remember seeing it and got very excited that there were these headshops and music stores and art studios in one place and I met Bob Cobb the realtor and said I want to be a part of that.”¹⁵ In order to be part of it, he had to convince his colleagues at *FE* that moving the paper’s headquarters to Plum Street would be a sound business move. He recalls,

Peter and I disagreed about that. Peter didn’t want to do it and I felt we had to do it to survive. I think he probably thought it was too commercial and our territory was the Wayne Campus, the place where the Detroit Artist Workshop and the Detroit Committee to End the War was. But I have a pretty good antenna about things and I sense things before they

happen and I sensed this was something we should be involved in and it would help us financially.¹⁶

Peter Werbe, who in May 1966 became *FE*'s news editor, was a bit hesitant about the move, stating, "I probably wanted to stay near to what I saw as the radical base within the community."¹⁷ The radical base of the community was in Detroit's Warren-Forest neighborhood, near Wayne State University (WSU), and at the time Ovshinsky proposed moving to Plum Street, the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam (DCEWV) shared quarters with *FE*, and some committee members were making valuable contributions to the paper serving as news correspondents. In the first eight months that *FE* operated, almost all of the paper's advertising came from antiwar and civil rights organizations promoting their demonstrations or from radical publications like the *Realist* and *Progressive* magazines, and the Los Angeles *Free Press* newspaper. James Lafferty, whose campaign for the U.S. 17th Congressional District was covered, supported and worked on by personnel associated with both *FE* and the DCEWV, was a consistent advertiser in the paper. When *FE* published its first issue from 937 Plum Street, the July 15, 1966 edition, political campaign ads continued to appear in the paper. Lafferty's campaign continued to advertise, and so did Ken Cockrell and Thomas White, both candidates for State Representative of the 11th District. Other sources of advertising revenue came from the downtown Concept East Theatre, which showcased radical Leroi Jones's *The Dutchman*, The Detroit Artist Workshop (DAW), and WSU's Artist's Society. Prior to the move, very few private businesses sought *FE* as a venue to advertise their products.

Relocating to Plum Street proved to be fiscally sound maneuver because the paper was in the midst of businesses willing to advertise in *FE*. The Street also provided other avenues that could assist the paper. Ovshinsky said,

We moved the offices because we could also open up a store to sell bumper stickers and records and a bookstore and it saved the *Fifth Estate*, it would have gone under. We felt the sacrifices financially. If we didn't move the *FE* to Plum Street I don't think it would have survived.¹⁸

In its first Plum Street issue, the paper began advertising "BUMPERSTICKERS 50 cents each" that displayed slogans "VOTE NO ON YES," "SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL POLICE: Bribe A Cop Today," HUGH HEFNER IS A VIRGIN: Philosophically Speaking," and "STAMP OUT BUMPERSTICKERS."¹⁸ Another promotion was the "OUTRAGEOUS BUTTONS" that said, "OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT; Dodge the DRAFT (illegal to wear); I am an Agitator," and "End Johnson's War," plus "Yankee Come Home."¹⁹ Howard and Sherry Haberman, proprietors of "plum hollow studies,"²⁰ *FE*'s neighbor at 923 Plum Street, also began advertising in the July 15 edition of the paper. Beginning with this issue, through its last issue published in

1966, 45 percent of *FE*'s advertising came from Plum Street commerce. When considering issues published prior to the July move, throughout the course of 1966, the district provided 36 percent of advertising that supported *FE*. In conjunction with the newfound financial support, *FE* designed another way to earn some cash: beginning with the July 30 issue, reclassifying the classified section as the "Unclassified" segment. Anyone interested in buying ad space could purchase a line in the Unclassifieds for fifty cents. One of the ads placed cites the DCEWV address, combining it with a warning, "JOHNSON'S DOMINO THEORY: If 1101 West Warren falls, Kansas City will be next."²¹ *FE* bought some of its own unclassified space, placing one ad stating,

WANTED: lots of people who want to spend time each week seeing the FIFTH ESTATE survive and expand into a nice little newspaper. Just call 962-9334 and do what the little man in the phone tells you to do. It won't hurt and it will make you feel better.²²

A second ad requested a loan:

The FIFTH ESTATE needs \$500 dollars within one week after this ad appears. We've got soooo many bills. We can't promise when you get the money back, but we'll work it out. If things go right and subscriptions, ads and contributions keep coming in, I see a weekly in September or October. Stop in at 937 Plum St and lets talk about it.—the editor.²³

The paper had some optimism that things would get better as it sought a sales representative: "Somebody could make a lot of money by becoming advertising manager for a fast-growing bi-weekly rag. If interested call Harvey at 962-9334. Tell him you want to work for the FIFTH ESTATE."²⁴

By autumn 1966 dreams of a weekly newspaper had not materialized; however, the paper was able to open at 923 Plum Street the Fifth Estate Bookstore. Days before the street's grand opening, Ovshinsky announced in his progress report for city,

It will take more than a bi-weekly newspaper to fill the void in Detroit. There's an Underground Press Syndicate that brings all counter newspapers together and our office is expanding into a bookstore. It is our hope to be the Detroit outlet for underground and radical newspapers.²⁵

FE's October 16, 1966 issue contains an advertisement promoting the sale of other underground newspapers published elsewhere in the U.S. along with the *National Guardian*, *Progressive*, and *Liberator* magazines, or books like *The Hermit Poems* by Lew Welch. The store also sold records featuring the Fugs, the Marion Brown Quartet, and "all kinds of things you need," like bumper stickers, buttons, and posters. In 1966 psychedelic posters were just coming into style and the demand for them created an industry and *FE* was instrumental in introducing the product to Detroit. When the Detroit Artists Market sponsored a poster-making event contest, one of the promoters for the event explained for *FE* that "Posters are designed to sell something;

a political issue, mind expansion, a concert, a restaurant, yourself, your show---something more or less transitory. The idea to hold such a contest came with the realization that a passion for posters has taken hold.”²⁶ In his book *Rebel Visions: The Underground Comix Revolution*, Patrick Rosenkranz writes,

A new art movement began in San Francisco, an acid-inspired style that celebrated the gatherings of the new tribes. Psychedelic posters, promoting rock concerts at ballrooms in the Bay Area, tried to express the experience of tripping on LSD with organic designs and vibrating colors. They quickly became recruiting posters for the hippie lifestyle and reached far beyond the audience for the concerts that they advertised. It was the production and distribution of ballroom posters that created the infrastructure for San Francisco to become the center of the underground commix industry.²⁷

Until October 1966, in many states throughout the country the use of LSD was legal, which permitted lawful “acid parties.”²⁸ A group of LSD test pilots, the Merry Pranksters, working with and sometimes supervised by, Ken Kesey, author of *One Flew Over The Cuckoo’s Nest*, conducted a series of acid examinations by using glowing paint, balloons, streamers, plastic wrapping paper, scattering the items all over inside large auditoriums like San Francisco’s Fillmore Auditorium, if not to confuse the test taker, then certainly to enhance the examinee’s experience. Live music was added, and musical acts such as the Grateful Dead performed at these events. In California, some of the tests served as fundraisers to pay legal fees for the San Francisco Mime Troup’s court battle with the City’s Parks and Recreation Department for the right to continue performances in the City’s parks. In his book *The Haight Ashbury* Charles Perry provides a glimpse of the test facilitators’ fourth examination, an exam that used a placard: “In keeping with the increasingly public nature of the Acid Tests, the Pranksters now designed an official poster—a collage of Oriental deities, Victorian cartoon characters and an engraving of a Greek statue that was saying, ‘Only one way out! I’ll take the course myself.’”²⁹ Perry reports that among the test takers, examinees included the poet Allen Ginsberg, and Neal Cassady, the true-life inspiration for Dean Moriarty,³⁰ the crazy driver in Jack Kerouac’s novel *On The Road*.

At the time these California tests were conducted, a couple of Detroiters spending time in San Francisco witnessed the promotional posters plastered in the city and consequently brought the images back to Motown. The San Francisco imagery first appeared in *FE’s* August 30, 1966 issue, which promoted two September events scheduled in Detroit. All of page five resembles a poster, designed by Gary Grimshaw and Rob Derminer, that advertises the showing of *RIGHT-WING FILM PHANTASMAGORIA*, a documentary depicting how the 1961 San Francisco HUAC investigative hearings attempted to gain “control of the anti-war movement by criminal conspiracy.”³¹ On page six a similar poster promotes “A DANCE CONCERT IN THE SAN FRANCISCO STYLE WITH THE MC5 ADVANT ROCK AND THE WOOLIES”³² scheduled

for September 16 and 17 at Detroit's famed Grande Ball Room, located on Grand River Avenue and Joy Rd, about a mile from where Alice Herz protested the war. In his book *Grit Noise And Revolution* David Carson, reports Derminer and Grimshaw, a pair of artists, moved to the Warren-Forest neighborhood after attending Lincoln Park High School.³³ Derminer is listed as "CARTOONIST"³⁴ on the paper's October 16 menu that identifies the task each individual performs in the assembly of *FE*. Prior to this title, *FE* had published some of his cartoons in late summer and early fall 1966, one, a sketch of a person wearing a "mod" hairstyle who is holding a picket sign saying, "MAKE NOISE NOT WAR."³⁵ He created one of the first comic strips printed by *FE*, "The Karmic Strip,"³⁶ albeit a brief production. Derminer was also busy working on another project, making some very loud noise, confessing in the October 16 Karmic Strip that the cartoon is "written and drawn by Robin Tyner. (Who is, in REALITY (?) LEAD SINGER with the M.C.5...)." ³⁷ Next to his MAKE NOISE NOT WAR drawing, John Sinclair in a previous Coatpuller column, alerts Detroiters, "The MC5, a new rock band has been rehearsing at the workshop lately getting ready for the big Leprechaun Marmalade freak-outs that will be coming soon at the Grandee Ballroom."³⁸ Grimshaw, Derminer's friend from high school, had enrolled at WSU, but left school when he opted for Navel service to avoid conscription into the military, which landed him in California. While on the West Coast he experienced some of the new forms of entertainment taking place at the Fillmore Auditorium.³⁹ Referring to his summer 1965 internship at the Los Angeles *Free Press*, Ovshinsky said, "Grimshaw in a sense came back from San Francisco the same way I came back from L.A. He found something that we needed to know about. I found something I felt we needed to know about so we all tried to work together."⁴⁰

A skilled graphic artist,⁴¹ Grimshaw took up residency in the Fifth Estate Underground Bookstore⁴² and became *FE*'s Art Editor in 1966. That autumn, his "Psychedelic Artwork" became part of *FE*'s masthead, and it was featured in advertisements soliciting potential subscribers and for ads promoting the Fifth Estate Bookstore. His style of artwork was also used for the Plum Street businesses that advertised in the *FE* as were his poster style promotions that advanced upcoming events housed at the Grande Ballroom. In *FE*'s October 1 issue, the paper published one of Grimshaw's posters resembling the Bay Area style, a full-page ad promoting the Grande Ballroom October 7 and 8 San Francisco style dance concerts, the dates switched from September 16 and 17 due to the building's condition. *FE* reported that "Russ Gibbs, promoter of Detroit's Grande Ballroom psychedelic dance, said that the original opening date had been cancelled due to technical problems."⁴³ Gibbs informed *FE*, "We ran into some unforeseen difficulties with the electrical wiring code in Detroit, but that has all been taken care of and we will open in October."⁴⁴ Gibbs had witnessed "most of the freak-out dances on the East and West

Coast” and thought Detroit was “just as hip as any big city in the U.S.”⁴⁵ Confident that the right ingredients were present in Detroit for this particular style of dance, Gibbs researched the area looking for the proper talent conducive for successful freak-out dances, and his investigation led him to *FE*. Ovshinsky commented, “I remember Russ Gibbs and he will tell you this, came in and I introduced him to Sinclair and the rest is history with the MC5.”⁴⁶ In addition to his columnist work for *FE*, Sinclair managed the MC5, the band headquartered in the Warren-Forest neighborhood. In this musical outfit, Gibbs found the sound, a loud sound that turned out to be the right blend of melody, rhythm, and noise for the dance concerts. Gibbs also wanted to duplicate the authenticity of the San Francisco dance concerts by using similar promotional posters found in the Bay Area, creating a need for a graphic artist with the vision to design psychedelic artwork. David Carson writes in *Grit Noise And Revolution*, “Russ Gibbs asked MC5 lead singer Rob Tyner if he knew anyone who would be able to produce colorful poster-style productions, such as the ones done at the Fillmore.”⁴⁷ Tyner in turn provided a personal reference for his old friend Grimshaw, who had just returned to Detroit from California, “and at the moment was sleeping on Tyner’s couch.”⁴⁸ The production of these San Francisco- inspired posters began with Grimshaw, “sitting at Rob and Becky Tyner’s kitchen table,” creating “the first of his own promoting the MC5’s first show at the Grande Ballroom.”⁴⁹

Inside *FE*’s October 1, 1966 issue, an example of the first production occupies all of page five, the page resembling a promotional poster for a dance hall concert. In the left hand corner at the top of the poster rests an emblem for the concert’s promoter “UNCLE RUSS TRAVEL AGENCY,” the insignia, drawn within the right wing of a seagull. As you move right across the top of the page, in the center, it is noted Uncle Russ “PRESENTS A DANCE CONCERT IN THE SAN FRANCISCO STYLE” a statement that is parked on the seagull’s back, in between its flapping wings. Advertised below the bird is “DETROIT’S FIRST PARTICIPATORY ZOO DANCE,” which features, “THE FAMOUS MC-5 ADVANT ROCK,” the illustration for the celebrated five pinched amid the seagull’s right wing and its tail feathers. Using psychedelic-style lettering, the words ADVANT ROCK flutters below onto “SEE THE COSMIC LIGHT BEAMS.” At the bottom of the poster, underneath the bird, using bubble letters that flow across the page, the site for the event is revealed: “AT THE GRANDE BALLROOM GRAND RIVER 1 BLOCK SOUTH OF JOY RD. FRI. & SAT. OCTOBER 7 & 8. SEAGULLS ADMITTED FREE.”⁵⁰ Regarding the facility, *FE* reported,

The Grande Ball room has a capacity of approximately 2,000 people, and when it was built in the 1920’s it cost over one million dollars. It was chosen primarily for its unique interior design, Spanish Provincial. The lightshow in the redone ballroom is being handled by the Leprechaun Marmalade Company.⁵¹

In his Coatpuller column forewarning the Motor City that the MC5 was preparing to jam at the Grande, Sinclair noted that the Detroit poet "Jerry Younkins (the fabled dammed)" will be "running the light machine straight through your eyes to your mind."⁵² Grimshaw wrote a review of the show for *FE*: "Detroit Freaks Out With First Participatory Zoo Dance," the article placed above Tyner's "The Karmic Strip." He reported,

The light show was put together by the High Society, a group of artists, poets, writers, and film makers from Detroit. The show produced a show that consists of throbbing amoeba-like wall projections that create the feeling of being inside something alive. Black ultraviolet lights, colored, flashing house lights, and film clips from horror movies all combine to break down one's symbolizing capacity and expand awareness.⁵³

According to the review, Detroit's first visitors had a wonderful time at the Zoo Dance. Grimshaw stated, "On opening night people entered the Spanish Provincial Grande a little awestruck by the strange collections, unaware of exactly what was happening. The total impression created is unlike anything that exists except an acid trip."⁵⁴ He assessed, "Judging from the enthusiasm of the crowd who made it, the venture was a success. It looks like this form of entertainment is here to stay."⁵⁵ A significant force behind the successful experience was the music provided. Grimshaw reported, "The real orgasmic moments" were fashioned

by the MC-5, a group from the Wayne campus area. They did a great deal of their own material, things ranging from the bluesy 'Look What You Done Done' to the eerie avant rock 'Black to Com' to the Indian sound of Raga Gunja'. The MC-5 got everyone wrapped up in what they were doing. They will be appearing at the Grande indefinitely.⁵⁶

Grimshaw believed the uniqueness for this type of entertainment was derived from the harmonization of the light show with the live music upon the dancer's physiology. He explains,

What makes the Grande Ballroom Dance Concerts different from the ordinary dance or concert is the total effect on the senses created by the blending of the light show and the music. A variety of unusual effects synchronized with the penetrating rock sound are calculated to bring about a psychedelic experience in the music of the participants, but like hypnosis, it requires cooperation.⁵⁷

Tyner shared a perspective that offered a little more insight as to what the experience was like for participants with *FE*'s music columnist Franklin Back, formally known as Franklin Dedanback for his "Bach on Rock" column. Also a musician, later performing in the Ann Arbor-based band The UP, as well as serving as the White Panther Party's Minister of Music, Bach asked Tyner to define "his music, avant rock."⁵⁸ Tyner explained,

Sound-wise, we're forcing more of the guitar than would have seemed possible five years ago. I can't speak technically about this because I'm not a guitar player, but Wayne Kramer, our lead guitar, is getting into his instrument and away from it at the same time. Because he's getting away from the note pattern thing and into exploring the basic sound that his guitar can produce. Folk people have a personal involvement with the guitar itself because the sound comes right out of it. But rock people place their personal involvement in the

sound that comes out of the amplifier. They explore the sound, not the instrument. This involvement is what avant rock is all about.⁵⁹

Kramer's sound explorations correlated with people dancing to MC5 resonance as they attempted to figure out exactly what to do with the celestial rays of light that the enchanted Jerry Younkins sprayed into their minds. The total immersion of avant rock, light beams, and visions linked an outside body experience with the inside world of the dance accomplice. Tyner noted,

The MC5, because of our involvement with sound and not note patterns, has found that feedback can be powerful and effective means of putting emotion across. With the use and control of feedback we can get the sound so big that you don't hear the music, you feel it; and you don't dance to it, you dance in it.⁶⁰

After the October 7 and 8 San Francisco style dances at the Grande, the venue would host more of these participatory events in the near future. Carson writes, "Where before music had been part of the lifestyle of youth, now in Detroit, it was becoming the lifestyle, and the Grande Ballroom was the epicenter of the scene. A night at the Grande was a unique experience."⁶¹ He describes how the Zoo was set up:

At the rear of the massive stage hug a screen showing oil and water images, creating a psychedelic wash of color, splashing across the crowd, bouncing off a huge ball hanging from a very high ceiling in the center of the room. As the bands rocked on stage, standing on an old Victorian rug under semi adequate lighting, the smell of incense and marijuana hung heavily in the air. The dance floor was surrounded by a walkway where people would stroll or just hang out to talk, and at the same time, be able to view what was happening on the dance floor, looking through Moorish arches.⁶²

On the other side, "Across the dance floor from the stage was a raised platform where the light shows were produced."⁶³ On the podium, pouring light beams upon the dancing participants, sat Younkins, with two *FE* employees, Grimshaw and Magdalene Sinclair⁶⁴, then known as "Leni." Gibbs was quoted in *Grit Noise And Revolution* as saying,

I realized that more than just music, we were selling an adventure. It was an opportunity for kids to get together, and we were always looking for ways to make it more fun. I remember spending one day covering an entire wall with Reynolds wrap so we could get some great reflections.⁶⁵

And it was an adventure "Uncle Russ" Gibbs would sell inside the pages of *FE*; the paper's November 1, 1966 issue includes an ad that asks, "BORED?" before advising, "END IT ALL AT THE GRANDE." Grande advertisements became a reliable source of revenue for *FE* as the paper consistently promoted local rock artists such as Scott Richard Case and bands like the Bossmen, Fruit of the Loom, the Rationals, and Southbound Freeway that were slated to perform at the Ballroom. Ovshinky recalls the Grande "was important to the paper's survival, it was important to our readers, it was important to us."⁶⁶ *FE* was also of great consequence for Gibbs, who welcomed the paper into the Grande for the "FIFTH ESTATE FIRST ANNIVERSARY FREAK

OUT!”⁶⁷ On December 26, 1966, the paper celebrated its first birthday at the Ballroom with participation in the “PSYCHEDELIC DANCE CONCEPT.”⁶⁸ *FE*'s December 15 issue contains a Grimshaw-produced psychedelic styled poster advancing the party that would “FEATURE THE BEST ROCK BANDS IN DETROIT.” The demand for psychedelic posters, either for public display or home decoration, was significant to the point where Grimshaw operated a poster designing business out of the Fifth Estate Bookstore, himself now buying ad space in the paper, advertising the enterprise: “WARLOCK CARLIN + GRIMSHAW POSTERS: ADS: SIGNS: ETC. 923 PLUM.”⁶⁹

Escapades the Grande sold locally began to attract people from outside the Detroit area. In *FE*'s August 15, 1967 article “trans-love evolves,” a story reporting progress of “The Trans-Love Energies operation in the Warren-Forest community,”⁷⁰ formally known as the Detroit Artist Workshop. John Sinclair promised that *FE* the new organization “will work as closely as possible with the Grande Ballroom,” assisting with “bringing musicians from San Francisco and New York,” an effort “that Uncle Russ has undertaken.”⁷¹ Sinclair noted, “the Grande is coming closer to what we had hoped for, and we want to insure the continuation of that kind of imaginative booking policy.”⁷² Gibbs was able to bring to the venue, from England, Cream, featuring Eric Clapton on Guitar, along with the Grateful Dead, Tim Buckley, and many other popular musicians of the era. Commenting on one of his visits to the ballroom Ovshinsky recalled “the first time I heard Jefferson Airplane I said, ‘Whoa, what is this, a song that is longer than two and a half minutes, what is that?’ Which is why I had to get into radio eventually.”⁷³ Music columnist Lorraine Alterman working with *GO* magazine, in an article she wrote from New York reflecting on her brief experience living in Detroit, writes,

the Detroit Scene was happening. A scene that I'll miss because it was just really getting to get firm and look exciting. The Grande is a success. The Cream wanted to play there and nowhere else during their pre-Christmas U.S. trip.⁷⁴

FE promoted Cream's pre-holiday visit to Detroit, demonstrating Christmas spirit by presenting an ad containing a sketched portrait of a jolly looking Santa Claus smiling above information providing time, dates, and what local bands would perform on the same bill, in this case Billy C and the Sunshine plus the MC 5.⁷⁵ Cream returned in June 1968 and *FE* was the benefactor of another Grande advertisement.⁷⁶ In March 1968, the paper promoted for Gibbs in large, bold print, an upcoming performance by **Blood, Sweat, and Tears**. Within the ad, almost as an afterthought, in small print below the dark letters, in small print, a promotion is included for the March 9 performance of the legendary rockers from England, the Who.⁷⁷ Members of Canned Heat, a blues band that would play at Woodstock, shared with *FE* reporter Paula Stone that “they

all really dig Detroit and say the Grande Ballroom is one of the most receptive places they've ever played and want to come back."⁷⁸ Gibbs, the Grande, and *FE* paved the way for the advent of mega rock and roll concerts staged in major sports arenas. In spring 1968, Gibbs began arranging events, having to work around the Detroit Pistons schedule, bringing The Doors to Cobo Hall, an event promoted by *FE*.⁷⁹

Parallel to psychedelic poster manufacturing, in the fall of 1966 another trade emerged that provided *FE* an additional source of potential advertisers, and perhaps its growth matched the rate of expansion observed in the poster business. Among new advertisers were two out of state businesses, and although their promotional campaigns were brief, their products sold were indicative of a new industry on the rise. PDUE Records Inc. from New York placed the ad "DOES LSD IN SUGAR CUBES SPOIL THE TASTE OF COFFE???" in *FE*'s September 15 issue promoting a live recording of a Dr. Timothy Leary lecture "about LSD." According to the ad, listeners of the recording will "HEAR THE FACTS," "KNOW THE TRUTH," and discover "FIVE LEVELS OF CONSCIOUS EXPANSION." The Underground 12, located in Studio City, CA, submitted an advertisement that occupies all of page nine of *FE*'s November 1 issue. Three giant letters, **LSD** dominate the sheet in an ad promoting "music composed and played by LSD-influenced musicians," a recording that is "the only record that faithfully captures-in sound-the ecstasies and agonies, enjoyed and suffered, by musicians influenced by LSD." Closer to home new businesses started popping up that would provide *FE* more consistent advertising. At 925 Plum Street, "little things"⁸⁰ opened, a store "brining you all types of unusual gifts." One of their ads promoting "Mr. Zig-Zag T-shirts & sweatshirts"⁸¹ contains an illustration of a young man dressed in a tee shirt that displays on its front the Mr. Zig-Zag trademark, a bearded man wearing a dew-rag and smoking an unidentified brand of cigarette. The same Mr. Zig-Zag image had been placed on packages of cigarette rolling papers available for purchase for those that preferred molding either State sanctioned or other unauthorized forms of tobacco. Inside *FE*'s old quarters, 937 Plum Street, The SKIN & SHOP opened, "DETROIT'S LARGETST HEAD SHOP," a business that advertised for sale in the paper "PIPES," "POSTERS" "BLACK LIGHT UNITS," and "MELLO YELLOW BANNANA INSCENCE."⁸² Business was so good the Skin Shop was able to open a "SECOND LOCATION" near the "WSU AREA."⁸³ Gradually, similar products started to sell out of stores with suburban locations. The PIT PLUM opened in East Detroit and in Royal Oak, the Poster Palace sold over "300 Different Posters-ALL TYPES. Largest selection in Mich. PLUS, a huge BLACK LIGHT DISPLAY TO."⁸⁴ Seemingly, there was enough revenue generated from the sale of products stemming from psychedelic images that locally were first presented in the pages of *FE*, excluding the psychedelic imagery contained in national media

sources, that enough business was available to support another Detroit periodical catering to the interests of the younger sect. One of *FE*'s first sponsors, Mixed Media, a record and book store near the Warren-Forest area that made use of psychedelic art in their ads presented in *FE*,⁸⁵ became the paper's competitor, as Barry Kramer, the owner, decided to start his own publication. Ovhsinsky said, "Kramer was not happy with the *Fifth Estate*, didn't think we covered enough music. So that is why he started *Creem* magazine. Mixed Media I recall, which was Kramer's paper, was modeled after us. We started the paper and he started Mixed Media the bookstore which eventually led to *Creem* magazine."⁸⁶ In his book, *Let It Blurt*, about Lester Bangs, "America's Greatest Rock Critic" who worked at *Creem*, Jim DeRogatis writes,

Creem came from Detroit and the same milieu that spawned the MC5 and the White Panthers. Englishman Tony Reay worked at a head shop and record store called Mixed Media Mixed, and he convinced the enterprising young owner that money could be made with an underground music mag. At the age of twenty-five Barry Kramer launched *Creem* with an investment of \$1,200- \$6,300 less than Wenner had when he started *Rolling Stone*. The name came from Reay's favorite band, though the spelling changed because *Cream* seemed too obvious.⁸⁷

One of the things Reay must have noticed was *FE*'s ability to reach outside of the Plum Street and Warren-Forest neighborhoods. In his article reporting Detroit's progress, Ovshinsky reported "The Fifth Estate has been around now for nearly a year" and the "circulation has jumped to 5000," plus,

We have thirteen sites for newsstands in the city and the papers are selling at BOOK WORLD near the Wayne campus, PAPERBACKS UNLIMITED on Woodward near Five Mile, Monroe Music on Livernois and Seven, BOB MARSHAL'S' BOOKS in Ann Arbor and the ARTIST WORKSHOP at John Lodge and Warren."⁸⁸

He also adds, "we sell a lot of bumperstickers."⁸⁹ One person noticed and promptly sent a letter to the *DFP* that stated "I saw a bumper sticker on a car that read: 'Stamp Out Reality.' Any idea where I can get one?"⁹⁰ On its November 23, 1966 front-page "Action Line Column," the *DFP* printed M.R. Ferndale's letter along with an answer:

The Fifth Estate Bookstore on Plum Street is sending you one. They've got the most off beat selection, about 100 messages to choose from. Caution: Some folks might find a few of them offensive. Proceeds go to a left-wing publication. Most popular stickers are anti-Johnson and anti-Vietnam: 'God is alive-He's in the White House,' 'Draft Beer, Not Students.' Other big sellers: Support Your Local Batman,' 'If You Drive, Don't Drink (You Might Spill Some).' For the uncommitted, there's one that says, 'Bumper Sticker.'⁹¹

FE reprinted the above *DFP* item and pointed out that this "is just one of many instances of the publicity the FIFTH ESTATE and the Underground Press Syndicate have been receiving in recent weeks."⁹² The paper informed that Ovhsinsky "appeared on the David Suskind Show last week, in New York, as part of an interview with editors from UPS papers and Cavalier Magazine for December has a story on UPS with about six paragraphs on the FIFTH ESTATE" and on the

“same day the action line story appeared WXYZ TV came out and did a piece on our bookstore for the 5:00 news and then did a little on the paper on their 11:00 p.m. segment.”⁹³ Along with this information *FE* provided commentary:

Our paper and other members of UPS, to say nothing of the plethora of independent news papers springing up around the country, are part of a revolution in journalism. Their presence and popularity are a succinct statement that more and more people are rejecting the daily advertising media and the values they represent. People will begin to turn more and more to the little presses to validate their beliefs and sanity.⁹⁴

The first occurrence of publicity for *FE* was in summer 1966. Just as the paper was transitioning from Warren-Forest to Plum Street, *Time* magazine sent a reporter to visit the *East Village Other (EVO)*, a paper published in Manhattan, to investigate “the fledgling combine”⁹⁵ of five small newspapers. In *UNCOVERING THE SIXTIES* Abe Peck writes the five struggling

papers were isolated, and so in June, 1966, Allan Katzman wrote in *EVO* about the need for an association to communicate ‘the news that the middle-class won’t print or can’t find. Katzman foresaw a hip Associated Press, and more-income-pooling and article sharing, joint advertising and typesetting resources.⁹⁶

For the article, Walter Bowart, *EVO*’s publisher, was asked if the association had a name, the question presented in synch with a passing United Parcel Service vehicle that caught Bowart’s attention while he thought of how to answer *Time*’s inquiry. According to Peck, after viewing the passing vehicle, Bowart responded, “We’re...ah...UPS-the Underground Press Syndicate.”⁹⁷ On July 29, 1966, *Time* published its article, “Underground Alliance,” which stated,

Until recently, the new papers of the left have managed to survive on their own. Now, to better their condition, five of them are banding together in something called the Underground Press Syndicate, a vague alliance through which they hope to exchange articles, columns and cartoons, and hire one agency to solicit advertisement for all of them, and divide up the income.⁹⁸

Time reported the UPS members in the following order as *EVO*, the Los Angeles *Free Press*, California’s *The Berkeley Barb*, Michigan’s *The Paper*, based out of East Lansing, and last but not least, *FE*, the article noting the Detroit paper had “a circulation of 1,000.”⁹⁹ In his book *a Trumpet of Arms*, David Armstrong’s account of “how the underground press banded together in June 1966,”¹⁰⁰ *FE* rates as the least, as Armstrong substitutes the *San Francisco Oracle* for *FE*, identifying the paper as the fifth (maybe fifth is the wrong word) involved with the coalition.¹⁰¹ On page two of *FE*’s June 1966 issue, an advertisement asks, “HAVE YOU READ: The Los Angeles *Free Press*, The *east village Other*, the *Berkeley Barb*, *THE PAPER*, For sample copies write to: THE FIFTH ESTATE 1101 W. Warren Detroit, Detroit, Michigan.” For samples of the San Francisco paper, you had to wait until September 1966 when according to Allen Cohen, the *Oracle*’s founder, “*P.O. Frisco* came out,”¹⁰² the earliest version of the *San Francisco Oracle*.

FE certainly noticed the *Time* article in its July 30, 1966 issue, quoting from Underground Alliance, "ACCORDING TO TIME MAGAZINE, THESE MEN ARE EDITORS OF 5 UNDERGROUND NEWSPAPERS." Along with the quotation, on page four are photographs of the L.A. *Free Press's* Art Kunkin and the *Barb's* Max Scherr above a statement, "TIME MAGZINE CALLS THESE MEN ARTZY CRAFTY," and two questions, "WHO ARE THEY? WHAT'S ARTSY CRAFTY?" On the following page the caption is extended as pictures of the *EVO's* Katzman, *The Paper's* Michael Kidman, and Ovshinsky sit above the query, "WHAT IS AN UNDERGROUND NEWSPAPER?" *FE* quickly informs "YOU ARE READING ONE," and then asks, "WANT TO SUBSCRIBE?," and for those answering yes, they learn, "JUST \$2.50 FOR 26 ISSUES (1 YEAR) WRITE ALL THE IMPORTANT INFORMATION ON A SEPARATE PEACE OF PAPER AND SEND IT TO US."

Since June, *FE* had begun to print UPS articles and beginning October 1, 1966, the paper's segment introducing staff members declared, "The Fifth Estate is a member of the Underground Press Syndicate." As the year progressed, the frequency of UPS material published inside *FE* increased. Dena Clamage's former colleague from the *Student's for A Democratic Society Bulletin* Jeffery Shero, having moved on to the *Rag*, via UPS, sent to *FE* "'Playboy's Tinselled Seductress," a critique of *Playboy* that says, "For men, the new sexuality is *Playboy* magazine. Interspaced between *Playboy's* women are articles illustrating that men who get ahead in business and girls, wear smart attire, have the proper enlightened attitudes, and reaffirm the essential goodness of the rat-race" and based on images exuding from the magazine, the publication "doesn't think that married women, older women, girls with dull jobs or those that don't shave under arms are very attractive."¹⁰³ In December 1966, Michael Kindman sent from *The Paper* to *FE* "LSD GURU AT STATE: KILL, LEARY, KILL," a dispatch reporting Dr. Timothy Leary's visit to Michigan State University (MSU), one in which he wore a "'Kill Bubba Kill' button on his lapel opposite a silver American Indian talisman."¹⁰⁴ If Kindman's headline seems a bit unkind, it should be pointed out that at MSU chanted throughout the fall was "Kill, Bubba, Kill," a mantra supporting Bubba Smith, the Spartans All American Defensive Lineman who performed that season on what is considered one of the greatest teams in the history of college football. Kindman reported, "Most of the audience had little or no contact with the tools of Leary's trade, and the questions turned in on slips of paper handed out by the usher's indicated little more than a *Life* magazine knowledge of the subject. (The most frequently asked: 'How do I legally obtain LSD and take it in a responsible situation?')"¹⁰⁵

In May 1967 *FE* published a UPS report out of San Francisco: "Underground Press Has Tribal Meeting" that informed Detroit the paper attended "the first national UPS conference"¹⁰⁶ in

California. In addition to the founding members sending representatives, personnel from *The Rag*, the Chicago *Seed*, the Washington D.C. *Independent*, the Mendocino, *CA Illustrated Paper*, and San Francisco's *Oracle* were in attendance.¹⁰⁷ The Oracle's founder, Allen Cohen, in his personal account of the paper's history, *Voices of the Underground*, stated,

The Oracle staff, motivated by Ron Thelins' vision of a nation wide 'tribal messenger service,' decided to host an underground press conference. We invited all the papers that were already loosely allied as the Underground Press syndicate. We also wanted to show the editors how to adapt the innovations we were making in the oracle, and expose them to the burgeoning Haight-Ashbury community that was then at its peak of creativity and spontaneous interactive compassion.¹⁰⁸

Cohen explained that the representatives in attendance conceived some "important and practical decisions";

The basic principle of article sharing without copyright infringement was adopted along with the sharing of subscription lists. It was also agreed that *EVO* in New York should explore the selling of national advertising, which then would be printed in all participating underground press papers. There was of course, some argument about the potential for selling out by taking corporate ads, but it was also reasoned that ads for products like rock records or books would further undermine the corporate state.¹⁰⁹

Financially, solicitation of corporate money was a sound move; however, petition for their funds brought with it the guardians of corporate cash. In his excavation *Uncovering The Sixties* Peck discovered Frank Stanton, President of Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) and "CBS executives were not without government and intelligence-community ties. Stanton headed a committee charged with reviewing the CIA funded United States Information Agency" while "CBS board chairman William S. Paley had let the CIA use his personal foundation to help fund research scholarship during the early 1950s; until 1961, the CIA had occasionally screened CBS News film and radio broadcasts and debriefed correspondents."¹¹⁰ As the CIA began screening the underground press, Peck reports "the shock" of one "CIA analyst" over "the vast growth" the agent observed in "the underground press," and he declared that "the apparent freedom and ease in which this filth, slanderous and libelous statements, and what appears to be almost treasonous and anti-establishment propaganda is allowed to circulate is difficult to rationalize."¹¹¹ The analyst believed eighty percent of the underground newspapers would fail if it weren't for the record industry, and the FBI San Francisco office sent a correspondence to Washington D.C. that states, "Columbia Records financial assistance... appears to be giving active aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States."¹¹² Peck cited Angus Mackenzie's examination of CIA and FBI files and writes one "FBI memo" uncovered by Mackenzie "sent from the San Francisco" FBI office to the bureau's Washington D.C. headquarters "suggested that the FBI should use its contacts to persuade Columbia records to stop advertising in the underground press."¹¹³

FE's May 1967 article reported the first national tribal meeting of participants in this "vast growth" of underground newspapers, the members contesting their role as not revolutionary, but rather cautionary. They met in California "to facilitate the communication of information which the Establishment press, ignores, suppresses, or never dreamed of."¹¹⁴ Among the "common aims of the majority of UPS papers," is "To warn the 'Civilized World' of its impending collapse," "To note and chronicle events leading to the collapse," and "To advise intelligently to prevent rapid collapse and make transition possible."¹¹⁵ In order to be in position to caution civilization, the representatives endorsed the following measures: "To set up communities among aware communities outside the establishment," "to observe facts which reflect, and unveil in advance, the undercurrents dangerous to freedom," and "To reinstate reality-responsibility to mass media."¹¹⁶ UPS vigilantly recommended that society "prepare ways of living should the machine stop," and "the American people" should organize "for the wilderness," and be "instructed in survival techniques."¹¹⁷ They also believed it might come in handy to pay attention to the environment, and believed UPS's role is to "Advise how to reinstate balance to the ecology" and encouraged, "Public programs for conservation and reclamation."¹¹⁸

One notion considered at the first conference was UPS members had to be ready "To fight a holding action in the dying cities."¹¹⁹ Four months later, this particular point hit home for *FE* staff members. On July 31, 1967, sometime between 1:00 a.m. and 1:30, *FE's* film critic Emile Bacilla noticed through the paper's office window "a jeep load of guardsmen out on the street approximately ten minutes before" a "gas grenade exploded."¹²⁰ Peter Werbe, who appeared in an *FE* August 15, 1967 photograph wearing a gas mask, reported later that on the 31st of July when he arrived at the office, he found

the interior of the building completely enveloped with tear gas fumes which attacked the eyes, nose and skin. It was abandon ship and the FIFTH ESTATE really went underground for about a week as we set up our operations in the basement of the building. Although there is no concrete proof as to who the villain was, circumstantial evidence does point to our guardians of law and order. First the attack came at 1:300 a.m. several hours after the curfew when no one was out but the law. Second, the gas devise used was of military origin and, with assistance from the above ground press, the National Guard admitted that the Army had these devises and used them in several East Side stores to flush out non-existent snipers.¹²¹

The United States Army and National Guard were in town in response to Detroit's 1967 summer riot. Prior to the attack on *FE's* office, Werbe thought the paper, Plum Street, and Mixed Media Book Store had been fortunate to remain unscathed. He writes,

For no sooner had our last issue hit the streets than pellets were shot at the windows of mixed media causing total damage. The window was replaced with boards and a sign which read, Holy smoke, don't shoot-It's Love.¹²²

He also reported events were a little rough in his neighborhood: “Residents of Prentis near WSU, report severe abuse at the hands of the Detroit Police on the second night of the riot” and “Eric Glatz of 699 Prentis” informed Werbe “How police and national guardsman entered his apartment and struck him several times.”¹²³ Viewing incidents as seen from a window inside his residence, Werbe testified in *FE*:

As I sat typing this I saw two carloads of Detroit cops in full battle-gear pulled up to several citizens peacefully sitting in front of 633 Prentis. As they leaped from their cars they shouted, ‘Don’t you know there is a curfew on?’ It was 10:15 p.m. Stand up and touch your toes’ yelled one cop at those stranded in front of the building. The cops searched their victims and in the process kicked one to the ground. There was no problem in the neighborhood, but that’s how it is on Prentis.¹²⁴

The view Werbe witnessed outside his window was read about in underground newspapers throughout the United States. His article “get the big stuff,”¹²⁵ initially published in *FE*’s August 1, 1967 issue, was reprinted in the Berkeley *Barb*’s August 4, 1967 edition. Werbe informed Californians that Detroit’s a “geographical center of communities among aware communities outside the establishment,” the “Warren-Forest area near Wayne University-was relatively untouched by the holocaust” and that *FE*’s office displayed a sign that read “soul brother.”¹²⁶ Due to services provided by UPS, the *Barb* was able to carry personal testimony of “the holding action”¹²⁷ fought in Detroit. Of the fires breaking out in Detroit, one local “hippie” stated, “It’s a little out of hand, but it’s beautiful. It looks like Rome is burning.”¹²⁸ Another “hippie” was, “reported to have unlocked an abandoned gas station and was pumping free gasoline to anyone who came along.”⁵¹ John Sinclair was asked, “if looting was not contrary to the hippie philosophy” and the “FIFTH ESTATE staffer” answered “We told the merchants before the riot they should give everything away, but they wouldn’t listen.”¹²⁹

The Berkeley *Barb* featured a “FROM THE UNDERGROUND” section, and for the August 4 issue the paper indicates that, “All material on this page” is “from The FIFTH ESTATE (UPS) Detroit,” a sheet that includes four articles. One of the articles “Detroit Warned” informed that “Detroit police officials were warned in a secret meeting only a few days before the Motor City revolt broke out that unless police brutality ceased within a week”¹³⁰ a repeat of Newark, NJ’s riot will occur in Motown. Residents of a Detroit neighborhood “who complained that two white policemen were arbitrarily beating up on their kids”¹³¹ issued the warning. The story quotes “Harvey Ovshinsky, editor of the Underground Press Syndicate newspaper, ‘THE FIFTH ESTATE’” who notes that “The Negroes warned the commissioner that unless the two cops were taken out of their neighborhood there would be ‘another Newark within a week.’”¹³² FROM THE UNDERGROUND also embraced Ovshinsky’s *FE* August 1 article, “city ablaze,” reprinting the piece under the title “TOP TUNE ‘BABY LIGHT MY FIRE,’” the first sentence stating, “On

Sunday, July 23, at 3'o'clock in the morning the DOORS 'Baby Light My Fire' was the number one song in Detroit."¹³³ According to Ovshinsky, the

fighting between snipers and troops reached fantastic proportions as armed assaults were made on police precincts, command posts and even the downtown headquarters housing presidential assistant Cyrus Vance. Bands of Negroes, armed with army machine guns kept two police precincts from functioning for almost an hour as they lay siege to them. Also, on several occasions guardsmen and police were forced to abandon entire sections of the ghetto due to sniper fire.¹³⁴

One aspect that clearly emerges in media frames the *Barb* incorporated from their comrades in Detroit was that the riot was not a segregated uprising as African American and Caucasian residents amiably participated in the civil chaos. Ovshinsky writes,

Cries of 'outside agitators' fall on deaf ears for this reporter. The looting was interracial and unusually cordial and friendly until the paratroopers began firing. Teenagers joined with black militants in arson and sniping. Six whites were arrested for firing on troops and while many deaths were blamed on the snipers, the black and white residents of the ghetto say the troopers were responsible for the killing.¹³⁵

The *Barb* confirms the integration with publication of Bob Serling's "eyewitness" account of events occurring "around 10:30 p.m. Monday July 24 on Prentis."¹³⁶ He observed "a small integrated group sitting in front of our apartment building talking like they do every night, and the police came by and saw them and said 'Get in the house white boy, and you too nigger.'"¹³⁷ The group, doing as the police roughly ordered, got up, went inside the building and informed Serling of the verbal treatment. Serling and some others went outside and "told the police that they didn't have to talk to those people that way because they weren't causing any trouble."¹³⁸ As they confronted the officers, more police and National Guard came by in trucks and told us to get in the house or they'd kill us."¹³⁹ They did as instructed, but "came back out to talk twenty minutes later, and they told us to get back in the house again, then they started shouting that they'd kill us if we came back out."¹⁴⁰ According to Serling, "Someone shouted that it was too bad that there weren't any Indians around and the police started firing shots into the building. They didn't hit anyone but there are marks all over the building."¹⁴¹ After firing on the structure,

They went up and down Prentis shooting at the buildings. We watched from the apartment, and when the National Guard left, people started throwing bottles from the roofs so that if they came back, they'd get flat tires. A couple of carloads of Detroit Police came by with shotguns, pistols, machine guns and riot helmets. Every cop had at least two guns. They were walking up and down the street below our window and we hear them say 'Well, we're going to kill some of those fucking hippies.' They came into our apartment building, and since our apartment is first, they came in there first. Six policemen came in and held guns at everyone's head, with the safeties off and ready to shoot us. None of the policemen wore their badges so we couldn't get their numbers. One guy came out of the bathroom and the police started hitting him with the butt of his gun until he fell down on the couch. Most of the girls in the apartment were crying by this time. The police searched the apartment, broke our radio, searched the refrigerator, and kept repeating all this time that they were going to kill us if we moved. They couldn't find anything that they thought was wrong so they told

us that the whole place smelled and went upstairs and beat so more people up.¹⁴²

One person who wished to remain “anonymous” penciled into *FE* a tale the Detroit paper titled, “jailed residents describe experiences”¹⁴³ and headlined in Berkeley as “HOW COPS HANDLED VICTIMS.”¹⁴⁴ The anonymously written testimony portrays incidents of law enforcement terror for a group of Detroiters on city streets past curfew, seeking refuge from the police. Traveling in two cars, the assemblage almost made it to a safe place before five police cars “with guns sticking out of all the windows” pulled them over.¹⁴⁵ Out of their squad cars, the police approached the vehicles, and “stuck shotguns” into the passengers “faces” as they emptied the cars.¹⁴⁶ Handcuffed, Anonymous and friends were positioned alongside “the brick wall of a house,” where the police

started questioning us, searching us, and banging our heads against the wall. There were three of us, two white guys and one black guy. They found some empty cartridges in the black guys pocket that he had picked up off the street—because he had the cartridges they thought he must have a gun, too. They searched the car and couldn’t find one. One cop stuck the barrel of his shotgun in the guys throat, cocked it, and told him if he didn’t tell him where the gun was hidden they were going to kill him. At the same time they were kicking him and hitting him across the head and back with black jacks.¹⁴⁷

While the young man had a shotgun shoved in his mouth, his friends were punched and kicked in the genitals by the other officers who demanded, “Come on you dirty cocksuckers, where the hell are you hiding that gun.”¹⁴⁸ Anonymous reports,

We were put into a different cop car, one of a whole caravan going to the Vernor precinct station. On the way they wanted to stop and pick up other looters but were afraid of getting shot. In the car they repeatedly hit us on the head, and the back of the neck and ribs with a black jack and jabbed us in the ribs with a shotgun. They were screaming that they were going to put us into a cell with a bunch of black guys and tell them we were setting fire to black people’s homes and let them work us over.¹⁴⁹

The Barb chose not to reprint in its FROM THE UNDERGROUND segment Werbe’s article, ““get the big stuff””; however, it used the same title on a different page, a story also depicting anarchy filled with racial cooperation. Werbe writes,

Hippie and political residents of the Warren-Forest area reacted to the situation just like their poorer neighbors—they took whatever wasn’t nailed down. They joined the Negroes and Southern whites in cleaning out the stores on Trumbull and Forest, which now lay in ashes, the Krogers on Second and Prentis and other stores. Looters came back laden with goodies, swapping stories of harrowing experience with the guardsmen and bartering goods they had in excess. The mayor was certainly right about the “carnival atmosphere.” Everything was FREE.¹⁵⁰

He notes Ken Halonen, a Warren-Forest resident “described the scene as that of integrated looting,” Halonen stating in the *Barb*, “There was complete cooperation between the races in their common endeavor. There were children carrying toys they never would have been able to afford.”¹⁵¹ As Werbe chronicled DPS methods enforcing the city’s curfew for UPS from his

Prentis abode, Detroit had experienced “38 dead; injuries in the thousands; 1,500 fires; 15,000 troops in the city; over 3,100 arrests; and about a billion dollars in property damage.”¹⁵² Werbe, who at the beginning of his story quoted Malcolm X’s November 22, 1963 statement, “The Chickens are coming home to roost,” inserted one final comment beneath the above statistics: “That’s a hell of a chicken.”¹⁵³ In his story adopted by UPS, Ovshinsky informed, “As of this writing, 40 people are dead, 2,000 are wounded and 3,500 are in jail.”¹⁵⁴ Thinking back to what he witnessed while interning at the *L.A. Free Press*, Ovshinsky observed at the end of his article that “outside agitators,” were not the cause, “just plain folk, some white, most black, who were angry at America. Plain folk who set Detroit on fire and made Watts look like a Love-In.”¹⁵⁵

To assist with its presentation of Detroit’s holding action, *The Barb* made use of four photographs taken by *FE* photographer C. Terrance Walker. One is placed under Ovshinsky’s story, above a caption that states, “FIFTH ESTATE CO-EDITORS Ovshinsky and Werbe interview looters as they window-shop at a cleaners at the corner of Trumball and Forest.”¹⁵⁶ A second photo, one of a police officer running with a gun, a rifle held across his chest, is placed above a statement explaining the scene: “Badgeless cop jogs down grand river ready for business.”¹⁵⁷ The picture borders Serling’s eyewitness account and the Anonymous testimony. Below the *Barb*’s headline, “NEW FREE STORE IN DETROIT,” a reference to the “free community” established in San Francisco by the city’s street theatre troupe, the Diggers, sits a third picture that reveals integrated looters casually plundering an A&P grocery store. The fourth photo, resting directly underneath Werbe’s statement, “That’s a hell of a chicken,” is one of two banners hanging from the DAW, with the words “BURN BABY BURN!” The cheer accompanied a picture of a black panther on the prowl.¹⁵⁸ The second banner, left out of coverage, read ‘Peace on Earth.’¹⁵⁹

The *Barb* in turn distributed through UPS an editorial cartoon, a caricature of two African Americans, positioned at the end of an alley that pours into a street, surrounded by Molotov cocktails they had gathered, some of the bottles empty, some filled, that *FE* used in its August 1, 1967 issue that reported the Detroit riot. In the background, fire and smoke bellow from apartment buildings lining a residential street, and below the sketch, a caption reads, “MAN-I TOLD YOU A MILLION TIMES...DON’T GET THAT WINE MIXED UP WITH THE GASOLINE.” In his book, *A History of Underground Comics*, Mark James Estren quotes “Manfred Mroczkowski, Executive director of Interlicense,” an enterprise that gets cartoonists overseas distribution for their work,” who stated “in the Sixties and into the Seventies, Underground comics, along with psychedelic posters, were the significant new American art form to develop during that time” and “What very few Americans realize is that underground cartoons

were a totally unique art form that went way beyond what the cartoon really was. And they were an extremely powerful medium of communication.”¹⁶⁰ Inside his chapter on “SUPPRESSION,” Estren adds,

There are some things you may do if you wish to satirize American Society. You may draw cartoons depicting the country’s leaders as fools and madman, the communications media as inanities run by robber barons, and the social system as a degrading, materialistic cycle leading to nowhere and back again.¹⁶¹

One of the more prominent cartoonists circulated through UPS was *L.A. Free Press* artist Ron Cobb, “who designed the simple looking ecology symbol from the letters ‘e’ and ‘o’ in the word ‘ecology,’” according to Estren.¹⁶² In *FE*’s August 15, 1967 issue, which included more commentary on the recent chaos experienced in the city, the paper published one of Cobb’s cartoons, a political satire of the U.S. presidency. In the foreground of his drawing, a banner with the words “SOUL BROTHER” is draped across the gate separating the presidential grounds from public space. The White House is positioned in the background, safely behind the gate; however, smoke is rolling out of the windows, leaving an impression that the building is on fire.

In *FE*’s following issue, the paper prints on its front-page, below a heading, “FREE ENTERPRISE,” another Cobb cartoon, a sketch of a young African-American lad, conducting business from a lemon-aid stand. However, for 15 cents, the youngster is not selling lemon-aid, but instead, Molotov Cocktails. On page two of this issue, *FE* reprints Nat Freedland’s article, “Ron Cobb—The Fastest Pen in the West,” originally published in the *L.A. Free Press*. Preceding the article, *FE*’s editor noted, “Ron Cobb is one of the most brilliant contributors to the Underground Press Syndicate and the Fifth Estate.”¹⁶³ Freedland informs that Cobb is a Burbank, CA native who immediately after high school graduation was nabbed by the Disney Studios where, he says “For two years I drew Sleeping Beauty running through the woods.” His employment discontinued “after the picture was over.”¹⁶⁴ Cobb worked a series of jobs, some strange factory work¹⁶⁵ before he joined Kunkin and the *L.A. Free Press*. Freedland reported *Caviler* magazine referred to Cobb as “The Toughest Pen in the West” before stating his own belief that Cobb “is the underground press,” which “means we won’t have to take him seriously, like Jules Feiffer, who is after all the literary Greenwich Village scene.”¹⁶⁶

Through spring 1967 *FE* published several cartoons distributed by papers affiliated with UPS, for the most part without identifying the individual cartoonist responsible for the work. As early as *FE*’s December 1965 second issue, *L.A. Free Press* editorial cartoons appeared, the first one a satire of the Vietnam War. In the July 30, 1966 issue, *FE* printed its first Cobb cartoon, a sketch of Uncle Sam standing alone, looking back over his shoulder with a worried facial expression toward the words, “GET WHITEY,” a shout that emerges like wind from an implied

crowd left out of the drawings frame. As the years progressed, with advancement of the underground comics industry in the late 1960s, *FE* expanded the role of editorial cartoons and comic strips within the content of the paper. A number of cartoonists were introduced who worked outside the UPS. In *Rebel Visions* Patrick Rosenkranz reported that by the early 1970s, “there were more than three hundred new comic titles in print and hundreds of people calling themselves underground cartoonists.”¹⁶⁷ Rosenkranz identified Skip Williamson as a pioneer in the underground comic movement, stating, “Harvey Ovshinsky had become the publisher of an Underground newspaper in Detroit called *The Fifth Estate*. It was here that Williamson published his first comics in 1965, which kicked off his career as a subversive artist.”¹⁶⁸ An example of Williamson’s work is displayed in *FE*’s May 15, 1967 issue. This particular work satirizes the impact humans have on the environment as Williamson draws a man with a rather painful looking face spraying deodorant under his left arm, the intensity of the fragrance severing the limb.

Rosenkranz recognized a “commix movement,” which materialized when “the psychedelic poster movement was reaching its peak” and he acknowledges, “Underground newspapers provided the introductions, and the Underground Press Syndicate made cross-cultural distribution possible. Hippie street vendors and head shop owners peddled their papers across American, and Syndicate members spread the new commix throughout Europe.”¹⁶⁹ Cartoonists “were now able to bypass the juvenile comic book market and target adults.”¹⁷⁰ Like the psychedelic poster business, the commix movement began in San Francisco, spearheaded by Cleveland artist Robert Crumb, who escaped both the city and his wife, finding a ride to Haight-Ashbury where he would stake his fortune. Rosenkranz informs that through a little luck, Crumb found a place to live and “Stoned out of his gourd day after day, he continued drawing obsessively in his sketchbooks.”¹⁷¹ Crumb explained in *Rebel Visions*, “I figured it out somehow—the way to put the stoned experience into a series of cartoon panels. I began to submit LSD-inspired strips to underground newspapers.”¹⁷² The strips arrived on the pages of *FE* during spring 1968 in the form of “GAIL SNAIL” and “THE WALKIE TALKIES,” the latter detailing a two-way radio’s court-martial for rejecting a corporal’s order to “relay a message,” the Walkie Talkie instead telling the corporal, “T’ GO FUCK HIMSELF!”¹⁷³

The influx of the commix movement was absorbed by *FE*. In June 1968 the paper began printing perhaps one of the more popular creations whose origins stem from the commix movement: Gilbert Sheldon’s “hippie adventure comic strips”¹⁷⁴ known as *Those Fabulous Furry Freak Brothers*, published originally in *The Rag*. In the first of numerous episodes *FE* presented, one of the freak brothers, Fat Freddy, informs his freakish brother, Freewheeling Frank, “I’ve got exactly sixty dollars... Just enough to pay rent,” to which Frank responds, “Screw the rent. Score

a kilo of grass.”¹⁷⁵ Freddy question’s Frank’s wisdom, prompting Frank’s explanation, “Because Grass will carry you through times of no money better than money will carry you through times of no grass.”¹⁷⁶ Beginning in fall 1969, *FE* expanded publication of *Those Fabulous Furry Freak Brothers*, donating two pages to exposing their antics. By 1970 the comic strip was a regular feature inside the paper. The “FURRY FREAK BROTHERS also made *FE*’s June 25, 1970 front-page cover issue as the paper promoted the commix strip along side its story, “WEATHERMAN BOMBING,” an article reporting the June 10 bombing of the New York City police headquarters by the Weatherman organization. *FE* also published Sheldon’s other creations, FAT FREDDY’S CAT, a spin off from the Freak Brothers, and *WONDER HOGS Believe It or LEAVE It*.

Starting with the April 16, 1970 issue, on its cover-page, the paper began using bubble letters commonly associated with comic books to form the words *The Fifth Estate*. At Michigan State University’s Libraries Special Collection, a compilation of 600 comic books containing “20,000 pages of certifiable counter-culture writing and drawing,” Randy Scott, curator for the collection writes, “The student radicals, some of whom finally did go ‘underground’ in the 1970s, did lots of things that would have made good comic books stories, either as political adventures or as cautionary tales” as “there were two worlds of rebellion, they were inextricably intertwined. In underground comics, explicit political content is fairly rare, but politics is never far from the surface.”¹⁷⁷ He adds, “underground comics do indeed bring us some important scenes from the revolution. Skip Williamson’s *Class War Comix* were often quoted by the more ‘serious’ radicals.”¹⁷⁸ On *FE*’s June 11, 1970 front-cover page, Williamson’s *CLASS WAR COMIX* strip, features a curly haired radical stating, “TASTE THE SWEETNESS OF DESTINY, RACIST PIG,” while he swings a bully-club, smacking a police officer in the jaw. After the blow is delivered, the radical says, “THANK GOD FOR THE ORIENTAL ART OF KUNG-FU,” and summarizes the experience in the next frame: “AN’ WHEN YER SMASHIN’ TH’ STATE, KIDS...DON’T FORGET T’ KEEP A SMILE ON YER LIPS AN’ A SONG IN YER HEART!”¹⁷⁹

Making use of cartooning, *FE* during August and September 1970 presented drawings as part of the paper’s coverage reporting the struggle between police and young people over curfew violations at Detroit’s eastside Balduck Park and Royal Oak’s Memorial Park. On the paper’s August 6 front-cover page, next to a sketch of a marijuana leaf, a caricature of a longhaired male dressed in bellbottom jeans, appears ready to throw a bottle, his left foot positioned between the word’s Balduck and Park. *FE*’s September 3 front-cover page, below its headline “THE BATTLE OF MEMORIAL PARK,” portrays a guerilla soldier, again a longhaired bellbottomed male, complete with a rifle in his right hand and a round of ammunition strapped over his

shoulder, the American flag grasped in his left hand, ready to engage in battle. Regarding illustrations incorporated by underground newspapers, Scott commented that they are “clearly an aspect of pushing boundaries by a large number of people at the time.”¹⁸⁰ In less than three years, *FE*'s front-page, which during the Confront the Warmongers autumn 1967 campaign, carried a picture of David Lindquist modeling the “well-prepared demonstrator,” wearing protective gear next to a story reporting “the police terror perpetrated on demonstrators at Oakland, Washington D.C.’ and Madison, Wis.”¹⁸¹ had evolved to publishing caricatures of young people engaged in violent retaliation against the police. In addition to pushing boundaries as Scott suggested, commix strips produced by Williamson and others, may also have been—for young people that had guns shoved in their faces, heads split open by a policeman’s club, or had their political office destroyed by government agents—an opportunity to identify with cartoon countercultural heroes acting out potential fantasies of revenge against law enforcement officials.

In 1968, cartoons became a fixture on *FE*'s cover pages as the paper used drawings to report the year’s monumental events. Tom Sincavitch, a local commercial artist and subject of *FE*'s spring 1969 story, “I AM TOM SINCAVITH,” a tale depicting forty-three young men taking sanctuary at a Woodward avenue church, all identifying themselves as “Tom Sincavitch”¹⁸² in an ill-fated attempt to derail the FBI’s search for the artist, “AWOL” from the U.S. military, produced a full page drawing of Martin Luther King Jr. The portrait commemorated the slain civil rights leader for *FE*'s April 15 front-cover. On its May 1, 1968 cover-page, *FE* paid homage to President Lyndon Baines Johnson’s announcement that he will not seek re-election for the presidency by presenting an illustration of “your very own lbj dart board” with several caricatures of President Johnson attached for targets. Below *FE*'s May 15 front-page article covering the “revolution at Columbia,” a sketch of Tom Hayden assisting students at the May Columbia University student revolt is displayed. On its June 19 front-page, a sketch of Senator Robert Kennedy accompanies Yevgeny Yevtushenko’s poem discussing the state of America at the time of the Senator’s assassination. In *1968: The Year That Rocked the World*, Mark Kurlanski informs that on January 2, 1968 at Havana, Cuba, “something new was added, a sixty foot high mural” of Ernesto Che Guevara, recently killed in Bolivia, hence, “Fidel Castro’s close friend and co-revolutionary became a martyr, a canonized saint of the revolution,” as the Cuban leader “declared 1968 to be ‘the year of the heroic guerrillero.’”¹⁸³ Shortly thereafter, with Dena Clamage among them, a collection of Students for A Democratic Society toured Cuba with first-hand accounts of the visit provided by Clamage in *FE*.¹⁸⁴ During their travels, Kurlanski writes, “Everywhere they went in this year of the heroic guerrillero, they saw Che’s portrait-on walls in stores, in homes.”¹⁸⁵ Beginning with *FE*'s July 4, 1968 cover-page, and

for the rest of that year, *FE's* masthead included the statement, "1968 (Year of the Heroic Guerilla)." On its Fourth of July cover, Che's image, the heroic guerrillero, "bearded and berated, with those smiling eyes, the pure revolutionary in deeds and clothing," was sketched along with imagery reflecting China's cultural revolution and other figureheads representing guerrilla resistance in Cuba and Vietnam.

In October 1968, *FE* reported, "In a lightning move, Electra Records signed the MC5 and the Stooges to long term contracts in New York September 26."¹⁸⁶ Assisting with negotiations was John Sinclair. The MC5 recently had briefly performed at the Chicago 1968 Democratic National Convention, Sinclair believing it would be "a great idea to have the band play at a music festival" scheduled to coincide with the national event, a chance to promote "the MC5's increasingly political agenda."¹⁸⁷ According to Carson in *Grit, Noise, And Revolution*, "Sinclair knew the MC5 would gain political credibility and reap a large amount of publicity by taking part in this national cultural event."¹⁸⁸ Once the Detroit contingent arrived in Chicago, they found themselves the only band showing up, "all the others having been scared off by the bad publicity"¹⁸⁹ concerning possible violence at the demonstration. Sinclair reported in *FE*, "The city wouldn't allow any sound trucks, flatbed trucks for (stages), nor would it furnish electricity for the event. We waited around two hours for electricity."¹⁹⁰ Itching to play, Carson informs that "the band plugged into an electric socket in a hotdog stand nearby," and began to perform at

ground level, surrounded by some two thousand kids sitting on the grass, and another thousand milling about, the MC5 started to rock Chicago. Norman Mailer was covering the convention and witnessed the performance of the MC 5. In an article for *Esquire* magazine, he described their music as an interplanetary, then galactic, flight of song, halfway between the space music of Sun Ra and 'The Flight of the Bumblebee' ... the sound screaming up to a climax of vibrations like one rocket blasting out of itself.¹⁹¹

Sinclair stated in *FE* that during the set, "someone in the crowd threw a bottle, and the Chicago police marched into the park from all sides, swinging bully clubs," but "the MC5 did kick out the jams as promised and were glad we did."¹⁹² *FE* followed closely the rise and fall of the MC5, documenting the band's earliest performances, national tours, and run-ins with the law. Two of the band's albums "Kick Out The Jams" and "Back In The U.S.A." made the 2005 book *Rolling Stone The 500 Greatest Albums Of All Time*. *Rolling Stone* magazine editors called "Kick Out The Jams" the "ultimate rock salute," and stated that the record "screams with the belief that rock and roll is a necessary act of disobedience. The proof: it was banned by a Michigan department store."¹⁹³ The MC5 were on the fast track to national stardom until December 1968, when they involved themselves in a New York City Fillmore East benefit concert to raise defense funds for Ben Morea, radical member with the poetic Black Mask organization. Carson reports that at the performance a fight broke out, resulting in concert promoter Bill Graham receiving a broken

nose.¹⁹⁴ Graham blamed Rob Tyner for the injury, and from that point on the MC5 were “blackballed by two of the biggest concert promoters in the country.”¹⁹⁵

FE also covered the earliest performances of the Ann Arbor based band, the Psychedelic Stooges, later known as the Stooges, featuring Ron Asheton, the influential guitarist, his brother Scott on drums, and the outfit’s singer, Iggy Popp. Bob Stark, in his *FE* column “ear ye!” reported, “The music was always different,” the Stooges performances consisting “of the band playing 25 minutes or so of uninterrupted music while Iggy danced, contorted, and other wise acted strange in front of the audience,” and in one performance the singer “covered his body with raw hamburger before he went on stage.”¹⁹⁶ In his biography, *Iggy Open Up And Bleed*, Paul Trynka informs that the Stooges had “disciples who were scattered across the planet,” gradually “spreading the message”¹⁹⁷ of the punk rock movement. They had followers in New York, as members of 1970s punk rock bands the Patti Smith Group and the Ramones were impacted, buying their records and attending their concerts.¹⁹⁸ Trynka writes, “In London, the influences of the Stooges was even more profound. Brain James had first heard Fun House in 1971, and he had subsequently embarked on a long quest,”¹⁹⁹ a search that also included Stooges fan Joe Strummer, who with Mick Jones formed the popular band the Clash. Trynka notes, “Other English kids like John Lyndon and Glen Matlock were listening too, and would adapt the Stooges songs for their own band, the Sex Pistols.”²⁰⁰ Years later Grand Rapids, MI native Anthony Kiedis, singer for the Red Hot Chilli Peppers, and Detroit Cass Tech High graduate, Jack White of the White Stripes, “listened to the Stooges and resolved to follow their musical blueprint.”²⁰¹ The Stooges also influenced the Seattle “grunge” sound of the 1990s as “Nirvana’s Kurt Cobain” would play the Stooges “Raw Power, over and over, nearly two decades later, confiding to his journal that it was his favorite album of all time, and even writing a song for his hero.”²⁰² With the record “the Stooges,” the band also made *Rolling Stone*’s list of top 500 albums editors, and magazine editors proclaimed that recording, “Undeniably” giving “birth to punk rock.”²⁰³ In *FE*’s initial five years of publication, approximately six percent of the paper’s news articles are dedicated to music. Of that total, forty percent of the articles presented in the paper reported the Detroit music scene, with some of the music considered innovative by critics, especially the work of the MC5 and the Stooges, music that later received international acclaim. Steve Taylor in his book *A to X of Alternative Music*, shares his thoughts on the most influential rock bands in the last 30 years, believing the MC5 “together with Iggy’s Stooges . . . are probably the key performance band of the pre-punk era.”²⁰⁴ Based on the expertise of *Rolling Stone* and Taylor, *FE* might be considered the first publication to bare witness to this new wave of alternative music, and Sinclair one of the first chroniclers of the sound.

Music, however, was not of primary concern to *FE*, as the paper had other agendas. The paper throughout 1967 was unrelenting in publication and promotion of anti-war and civil rights news items. In April, *FE* news editor Frank Joyce reported that People Against Racism (PAR) has agitated for changes in text books and teaching methods concerning the teaching of American History in city and suburban schools. It plans this summer to conduct seminars for high school students on racism in America in any parts of the white community.²⁰⁵

In its May 15 article “Vietnam Summer Set For Detroit,” *FE* quoted William Sloan Coffin’s comment at Central Methodist Church: “There is too much concern about free love and not enough concern about free hate in this society.” The paper informed that Vietnam Summer is “Conceived similar to the Mississippi Summer of 1964,” a project intended “to bring thousands of full and part time workers into communities across the country to increase anti-war sentiment.”²⁰⁶ *FE*’s June 1 edition published a *Michigan Daily* article “Students Plan Viet Summer Action,” which discussed the “estimated 600 students from 100 high schools and colleges across the nation” that met in Ann Arbor for coordination of summer antiwar strategy that would unfold in “a nationwide Vietnam referendum on campuses next fall.”²⁰⁷ Throughout summer 1967 issues, the newspaper provided extensive coverage and support for the “Vietnam Summer,” consistently printing adds that read “WHAT ARE YOU DOING DURING VIETNAM SUMMER 1967?” next to a silhouette of Martin Luther King, Jr.²⁰⁸ *FE* also responded to the 1967 Summer of Love hoopla with a cautionary headline: “detroiters migrating to california; don’t.” *FE*, after consulting with *San Francisco Oracle* personnel regarding resources available in Haight-Ashbury to accommodate the national youth invasion of district, encouraged Detroiters to stay home, advising, “You don’t have to travel thousands of miles and get lost in a crowd of people to get happy.”²⁰⁹ The paper-invited people to “work at the FIFTH ESTATE,” attend the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam meetings, or get involved in “the Vietnam summer activities.”²¹⁰ Peter Braunstein in *Imagine Nation* states,

By late summer 1967 the Flower child charade of hippies had begun to wilt, overheated by the media hype it had generated. The advertised lifestyle of communalism, free love, and abundant drugs had enticed young people from across America to the two largest urban hippie enclaves, San Francisco’s Haight-Ashbury and New York’s East Village, and the crescendo of immigrants soon overwhelmed the hippies’ meager resources and ad hoc organizations assembled to aid the newcomers. As a result, the ‘Summer of Love’ featured scores of would-be hippies, many of them confused runaways, victimized by unscrupulous drug dealers, crammed in over populated hippie ‘communes,’ and objectified by commercialization and tourism meant to capitalize on the hippie phenomenon.²¹¹

The national media’s “Summer of Love” images that seduced young people to Haight-Ashbury and East Village may also have brought several hippie wanna be’s to Detroit’s Plum Street. That summer, Martin LaBodie wrote a letter to *FE* stating, “In the past few months I have

visited Plum Street and seen the so-called ‘hippies’ sitting around like warts. Some had love in their eyes, and speech, and actions. But some looked like ‘phonies.’”²¹² He believed Sinclair and family to be an authentic example of “real ‘hippies’-they looked of love and spoke of love. But then when I see these hoods looking for attention on Plum Street, ruining the whole atmosphere, I want to leave.”²¹³ He continued, “You’d think a hippie was judged by his physical appearance. This is totally false. To be a hippie is completely mental. Clothing is a completely individual mark, but hippies are only collective in their ideas on certain ways of life.” Referring to his friend, “a good hippie,” LaBodie comments, his pal “doesn’t do the odd and disgusting things those asses on Plum Street do.”²¹⁴ Russell Peck, a member of The Great Society, “a small group of Ann Arbor composers and performers,” commented on the group’s May 1967 Detroit appearance, stating in *FE*, “When the hippies started coming in to see our concerts, I felt good-these are my people.”²¹⁵ However, in Detroit, Peck found the “hippies are different. They behave like crew-cutted cretins at a ‘Beer Blast’. I think half of them would belong to Alpha Sigma Bullshit, but for a more subtle fate. Like creeps in the YAF they’re ignorant, insensitive, and intolerant.”²¹⁶ One high school student, caught in the residue stemming from summer of love hype informed *FE*,

I thought you might want to know that recently I sold the Fifth Estate at Cass Tech. I was stood up in front of my accounting class and called a bum and a dope addict and that all that was concerned with the Fifth Estate were a bunch of dope addicts and on top of that he said the editors did not even know what a dictionary was.²¹⁷

The Cass Tech student asked *FE*, “What do you think?”²¹⁸ The paper responded, the teacher is “right about the dictionary.”²¹⁹ In its June 15, 1967, edition, *FE*’s front-page headline announced, “Fifth Estate Moves to Warren Forest,” stating in the article, “The coming of summer has meant a great increase in the Warren-Forest area near Wayne State University.”²²⁰ The paper abandoned its Plum Street headquarters, leaving its bookstore behind, and headed back over to the political neighborhood to set up headquarters at 1107 West Warren Avenue.

Notes

1. Susan Holmes, “Snip! Snip! Plum Street Officially Open,” *Detroit Free Press*, September 25, 1966.
2. Holmes, “Snip! Snip! Plum Street Officially Open.”
3. Holmes, “Snip! Snip! Plum Street Officially Open.”
4. John Sinclair, “The Coatpuller,” *Detroit Fifth Estate*, October 1, 1966.
5. Holmes, “Snip! Snip! Plum Street Officially Open.”
6. *Time*, “Underground Alliance,” July 29, 1966.

7. Harvey Ovshinsky, "Detroit: A Progress Report," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, September 15, 1966.
8. Ovshinsky, "Detroit: A Progress Report."
9. Ovshinsky, "Detroit: A Progress Report."
10. Ovshinsky, "Detroit: A Progress Report."
11. Don Beck, "Rigid Dock Rules Sought by Ravitz: Revocation Of Permits Is Top Goal," *Detroit Free Press*, September 25, 1966.
12. Ovshinsky, "Detroit: A Progress Report."
13. Harvey Ovshinsky, Interview by author, March 24, 2008, Ann Arbor, MI.
14. Ovshinsky, "Detroit: A Progress Report."
15. Harvey Ovshinsky, Interview by author, March 24, 2008, Ann Arbor, MI.
16. Harvey Ovshinsky, Interview by author, March 24, 2008, Ann Arbor, MI.
17. Peter Werbe, Interview by author, July 15, 2008, Oak Park, MI.
18. Harvey Ovshinsky, Interview by author, March 24, 2008, Ann Arbor, MI.
19. *Detroit Fifth Estate*, July 15, 1966.
20. *Detroit Fifth Estate*, July 15, 1966.
21. "Unclassified," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, July 30, 1966.
22. "Unclassified,"
23. "Unclassified,"
24. "Unclassified,"
25. Ovshinsky, "Detroit: A Progress Report."
26. "New Poster Contest," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, February 1, 1968.
27. Patrick Rosenkranz, *Rebel Visions: The Underground Comix Revolution 1963-1975* (Seattle: Fantagraphics Books, 2002), 39.
28. Charles Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury: A History* (New York: Warner Books, 2005), 41.
29. Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 37.
30. Perry, *The Haight-Ashbury*, 37.
31. *Detroit Fifth Estate*, August 30, 1966.
32. *Detroit Fifth Estate*, August 30, 1966.
33. David A. Carson, *Grit, Noise, And Revolution: The Birth of Detroit Rock 'N' Roll* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2005), 100.
34. *Detroit Fifth Estate*, October 16, 1966.
35. *Detroit Fifth Estate*, August 30, 1966.
36. *Detroit Fifth Estate*, October 16, 1966.

37. *Detroit Fifth Estate*, October 16, 1966.
38. John Sinclair, "The Coatpuller," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, August 30, 1966.
39. Carson, *Grit, Noise, And Revolution*, 100.
40. Harvey Ovshinsky, Interview by author, March 24, 2008, Ann Arbor, MI.
41. Carson, *Grit, Noise, And Revolution*, 100.
42. Harvey Ovshinsky, Interview by author, March 24, 2008, Ann Arbor, MI.
43. "Participatory 200 Dance Rescheduled for Oct. 7, 8," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, October 1, 1966.
44. "Participatory 200 Dance Rescheduled for Oct. 7, 8."
45. "Participatory 200 Dance Rescheduled for Oct. 7, 8."
46. Harvey Ovshinsky, Interview by author, March 24, 2008, Ann Arbor, MI.
47. Carson, *Grit, Noise, And Revolution*, 99.
48. Carson, *Grit, Noise, And Revolution*, 99.
49. Carson, *Grit, Noise, And Revolution*, 100.
50. *Detroit Fifth Estate*, October 1, 1966.
51. "Participatory 200 Dance Rescheduled for Oct. 7, 8."
52. Sinclair, "The Coatpuller."
53. Gary Grimshaw, "Detroit Freaks Out With First Participatory Zoo Dance," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, October 16, 1966.
54. Grimshaw, "Detroit Freaks Out With First Participatory Zoo Dance."
55. Grimshaw, "Detroit Freaks Out With First Participatory Zoo Dance."
56. Grimshaw, "Detroit Freaks Out With First Participatory Zoo Dance."
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Chapter Five: *Time*, *Life*, Luce, LBJ, LSD, and the *Fifth Estate*

Todd Gitlin wrote in his book *The Whole World Is Watching*, “Of all the institutions of daily life, the media specialize in orchestrating everyday consciousness - by virtue of their persuasiveness, their accessibility, their centralized capacity,”¹ and summarizes, “To put it simply, the mass media have become core systems for the distribution of ideology.”² By the 1960’s the media had become, according to Gitlin, “a mass market culture industry, and opposition movements had to reckon with it.”³ The collection of newspapers similar to the *Fifth Estate*, the “coalition with “hundreds of thousands of readers,” competed against “some twenty million Americans” who “watched Walter Cronkite’s news,” while “over sixty million bought daily newspapers.”⁴

Undeniably, sponsors for the communication industry are alcoholic beverages and other drugs, including, at one time, the cigarette industry. It might be said that marijuana and LSD use subsidized the antiwar underground press while alcohol and legalized tobacco products invested in a press that promoted the Vietnam War effort. Even though the number of Americans exposed to the underground press was minimal compared to conventional media, some people credit newspapers like the *Fifth Estate* with introducing drug abuse to American culture. Clinical studies show, however, that individuals with substance abuse issues involving illicit drugs are first exposed to alcohol. Most people I knew in the early seventies that smoked pot, dropped acid, or mescaline, had never heard of the *Fifth Estate*. Many had fathers that drank a lot, some nursing emotional scars suffered from World War Two or the Korean War.

The purpose of this chapter is to place the *Fifth Estate* in a historical and sociological context. In order to do so I discuss *Time*, the popular news magazine, and its role during the Korean War, a conflict that had ramifications for America’s Vietnam policy? It is important to know some things about the magazine, its publisher Henry Luce, the role the magazine played covering Korea, and how it covered the current events of the mid 1960’s. *Time*, one of the coordinators of everyday consciousness, propagated the image of the *Fifth Estate* as an underground newspaper. Contributing to the design of this image included portraying the *Fifth Estate* as a drug newspaper, equating use of illicit drugs with a subversive press. Of course, because of the alleged illegal drug use by editors, writers, and readers of papers like the *Fifth Estate*, it might be natural for someone to go underground. Theoretically speaking, in America, one cannot be jailed for political beliefs. Someone can be jailed for what drugs they use. Approaching this issue, however, through sociologist Max Weber’s thinking concerning social

class and politics, one can observe that punishment for drug use is related to class: The more affluent, the less punishment.

It is true that American culture is saturated with drug use and that such indulgences perhaps hinder full participation in our American democracy. Indeed, personal immoderation with legal and illegal substances can thwart national productivity. Consequently, newspapers like the *Fifth Estate*, that presented drug implications in ads, were perceived, by association, as a national threat. At the same time, traditional newspapers, despite its ads filled with people drinking alcoholic beverages, were not viewed as a national threat. Although many articles contained in mainstream newspapers have been written by alcoholics and often read by alcoholics, the readers and writers under the influence get a free pass, they are still considered patriotic. Juxtaposed with casting Detroit's underground newspaper as a drug rag (an inaccurate portrayal), is the denial that an alcoholic has done more damage to American values than any pot or acidhead ever could. People forget that, but remember a paper like the *Fifth Estate* as being unpatriotic. Through stereotypes and prejudices, the *Fifth Estate's* testimony went unrewarded. Journalists from mainstream newspapers collected the trophies. The *Fifth Estate's* role as a witness and catalyst for change in 1960's American Culture deserves to be acknowledged also.

Placed on top of the front-page for Issue No. One of the Detroit *Fifth Estate (FE)*, available at ten cents per copy is a list of topics one could expect to read about: "THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON," "THE FBI AND U of M," "THE CIA AND VIETNAM," and "REPORT FROM NATCHEZ, MISS." Below the listing *FE* advertised itself as "DETROIT'S NEW PROGRESSIVE BI-WEEKLY NEWSPAPER."⁵ Harvey Ovshinsky recalled, "I didn't know what to call it. We called it a progressive newspaper. There was no underground then. The underground was so underground then we didn't even know it existed."⁶ His understanding of "underground" consisted of being "off the radar or under the radar. We wrote about stuff nobody cared about except for those who read the paper. It took a while for the established press or the aboveground press to find us."⁷ Without an underground, "There was no model for us in terms of this being in Detroit. It was something Peter and I just did."⁸ Having worked shortly before at the Los Angeles *Free Press*, Ovshinsky doesn't remember the California paper being referred to as "underground" either: "I believe the term underground really didn't surface until the *Time* magazine article. I'm not so sure we called ourselves the underground press for a little while."⁹ The article Ovshinsky cites is *Time's* July 29, 1966 "Underground Alliance," an article that refers to *FE*, the L.A. *Free Press*, the Berkeley *Barb*, East Lansing's the *Paper*, and New York City's *East Village Other* as

Shoestring papers of the strident left . . . popping up like weeds across the U.S. Their

Editors, writers, and subscribers represent a curious coalition of hipsters and beatniks, college students and teachers, political zealots and the just plain artsy-crafty. Their subject matter is largely anti-Establishment protest: They are typically against the war in Viet Nam, against the draft, and against the police. President Johnson is their favorite whipping boy, and it is unlikely that he could win them over even if he changed his initials from LBJ to LSD.¹⁰

Approximately one month before *Time's* article, *FE* had published “‘Feldhures’ & Morality,” Adam Schesch’s critique of the magazine’s May 6, 1966 story reporting the U.S. Military’s policy concerning prostitution in Vietnam. Schesch commented that “TIME MAGAZINE is in many ways the most honest representation of the American consciousness today. Reaching more than 3,000,000 families, it represents official thinking and popularizes the attitudes of the ‘tastemakers.’”¹¹ *Time* historically has had the ability to shape public opinion and public policy. Former New York *Times* Vietnam War correspondent David Halberstam writes in his book *The Coldest Winter*,

Given the passion of its founder and editor, Henry Luce, for China and Chaing Kai-shek, *Time* was already closely connected to what was coming to be known as the China Lobby, those Americans who saw China and Chaing Kai-shek as one in the same, and believed the administration was sending inadequate amounts of aid to Chaing. *Time* was at the height of its political and social power in the late 1940s and 1950s, was far more Asian First in its vision of the world than most other American periodicals of that era, in no small part because Luce himself was a mish-kid; that is, the son of missionary who had proselytized in .Chaing, perhaps other than Winston Churchill was his favorite world leader, while Douglass MacArthur was probably his favorite general, because of their shared belief in the primacy of Asia and their parallel feeling that other internationalists paid too little attention to it. When *Time* put MacArthur on the cover on July 10, 1950, right after the North Koreans struck-and appearing on its cover was extremely important in those years, it was his seventh time, placing him in a dead heat with Chiang himself. The copy for the piece, even for a much favored general, set a new standard for journalistic hagiography.¹²

Concerning *Time's* correlation to official thinking and creating public taste, Halberstam sees the magazine and Luce’s other publication, *Life* as “more sophisticated than most of its competitors,” having the ability during presidential campaigns, “when it truly mattered,” to

become naked instruments of their publisher’s will. Rarely was the political bias of the Luce publications so clear, however, as in their coverage of China. Luce did his parts for the China Firsters by, among other things, censoring or suppressing the reporting out of China by a man who was arguably his greatest journalist of that period, Theodore White. It might be that Luce could not turn night into day, but he most assuredly could take White’s dispatches in the field describing defeat after defeat and turn them into reports on victory after victory. White by then had become accustomed to having his work completely rewritten.¹³

Time's seven times Man of the Year was also the magazine’s man commanding American military forces in the Asian Theater, the perfect General capable of halting the forces behind Kai-shek’s defeats suffered on the Korean peninsula that White described in his dispatches to the magazine. General MacArthur, a man with an incredible sense of self, also

believed he was an expert on “the Oriental mind.”¹⁴ After his “brilliant”¹⁵ victory at Inchon, which stalemated North Korea’s advancement into South Korea, he sent his troops north toward the Chinese border, “brushing aside the step-by-step limits Washington thought it had imposed but was afraid of really imposing.”¹⁶ Halberstam states, “A prohibition issued by the Joint Chiefs themselves against sending American troops to any providence bordering China seemed not to slow MacArthur down at all.”¹⁷ McArthur did as he pleased and his “confidence about what the vast Chinese armies everyone knew were poised just beyond the Yula River would or would not do was far greater than that of top officials of the Truman administration” and he reassured the president “that the Chinese would *not* enter the war.”¹⁸ He also ignored China’s warning “that they were going to enter the war,”¹⁹ and as it turns out, MacArthur was “wrong” on that point. As soon as Chinese soldiers were discovered fighting American troops, Halberstam notes the stipulation that

If MacArthur’s headquarters suddenly started reporting contact with significant Chinese forces, Washington, which had been watching somewhat passively from the sidelines, might bestir itself and demand a major role in the War, and Tokyo headquarters could lose control of its plan and not go all the way to the Yula. That was most decidedly not what MacArthur wanted to happen.²⁰

Instead, “MacArthur decided to control the decision-making by controlling the intelligence,” having his chief intelligence officer intentionally diminish “both the number and the intensions of Chinese troops”²¹ that were invading Korea. Halberstam continues: “IN WASHINGTON, THE senior players remained frozen. Control of the war, Dean Acheson, the secretary of state, later wrote, had passed first to the Chinese, then to MacArthur-and now it appeared that Washington had no influence on the latter.”²²

A set of hurdles for the Truman administration was the fact *Time’s* publisher did not have the same respect for them, especially Secretary of State Acheson, as he had for MacArthur. Halberstam informs that “Luce’s hatred of Acheson because of China became almost pathological,” and when “the Korean War started, *Time* had Acheson in its sights.”²³ Halberstam quotes a *Time* journalist writing in January 1951: “What people thought of Dean Goodman Acheson ranged from the proposition that he was a fellow traveler, or a wool brained sewer of ‘seeds of jackassery,’ or an abysmally uncomprehending man.”²⁴ As for the Secretary of War, General George C. Marshall, recipient of *Times* positive publicity during WW II, “Luce’s *Time* let him know in a March 1947 cover story that he was about to undergo a new kind of scrutiny,” a tip off Halberstam says, that “was a warning shot: get aboard, or we will take you out.”²⁵ According to Halberstam, who quotes Chinese Ambassador Wellington Koo, Luce told Koo, “Either he [Marshall] would change the China policy by bringing it into harmony with U.S.

World policy or he would be discredited,” and “if he did not change it, Mr. Luce told me, *Time* magazine which he controlled, would point out the inconsistencies.”²⁶ Immediately following “Dwight Eisenhower’s election to the presidency” in 1952, Koo hosted “a grand dinner party” in honor of Kai-shek’s goal to return from the island of Taiwan to China and resume control of the government. The celebration ended with a toast, “Back to the Mainland.”²⁷ The event was “attended by a few of the most powerful China Firsters,” including Luce and the powerful Wisconsin Senator, Joseph McCarthy.²⁸

Another challenge for Truman’s administration came when Whittaker Chambers, “a senior writer at *Time*”²⁹ accused Alger Hiss of being a communist. Hiss was a friend of Acheson’s, and the Secretary of State refused to compromise that friendship despite Chamber’s accusations. These charges gave birth “to what was to become known as McCarthyism, a powerful new Political virus.”³⁰ Halberstam writes,

The charges of what became McCarthyism pulled together disparate strands that the far right had been using for several years: that China had fallen not because of overwhelming historical forces that were powerless to reverse, but because of subversion at very high levels in Washington, which could be traced through disloyal (or hopelessly naïve) China hands in the State Department, often connected to Alger His.³¹

Considering the consequences stemming from the 1948 presidential election where Owosso, MI, native Thomas E. Dewey, who then as Governor of New York lost his bid for the presidency due to the incumbent candidate’s surprising upset victory, Halberstam wonders,

If Dewey had been president and John Foster Dulles his secretary of state, would the Republican right have gone after them anywhere near as cruelly as they went after Truman and Acheson. Might the nation have escaped the ugly fratricidal charges that became known as the McCarthy, but which were broader in what they represented than the charges issued by the Wisconsin senator?³²

What the Republican Party learned from McCarthyism is that finger pointing presents a trump card to be used against unionism or other voices of dissent challenging their policies. Halberstam states, “Loyalty and anti-communism would be their new themes, the mantra of attack central to their campaigns,”³³ and “Domestic politics were about to grow far more bitter,” a consequence the Democrats would suffer for losing China to the communists. The Republicans “charge against the Democrats would be twenty years of treason.”³⁴ The last thing politicians, journalists, or the average person in the street wanted was to be included in charges levied by GOP trumpeter Sen. McCarthy. So when military personnel “doctored the intelligence in order to permit MacArthur’s forces to go where they wanted to go,” Halberstam believed this act was “setting the most dangerous of precedents for those who followed them in office,” a course of action “to be repeated twice more in the years to come.”³⁵ The equation of manipulation and intimidation,

Halberstam argued, had converted “domestic politics” into becoming “part of national security calculations,”³⁶ and it demonstrated

the extent to which the American government had begun to make fateful decisions based on the most limited of truths and the most deeply flawed intelligence in order to do what it wanted to do for political reasons, whether it would work or not. In 1965, the government of Lyndon Johnson manipulated the rationale for sending in combat troops to Vietnam, exaggerating the threat posed to America by Hanoi, deliberately diminishing any serious intelligence warning of what the consequences of American intervention would be (and how readily and effectively the North Vietnamese might counter the American expeditionary force), and thereby committing the United States to a hopeless, unwinnable post-colonial war in Vietnam.³⁷

In 1965, this lesson was not lost on President Lyndon Baines Johnson (LBJ), a politician who Halberstam notes “was always a political man.” Politics to LBJ was “what mattered most.”³⁸ Halberstam thought LBJ miscalculated his 1964 one-sided presidential victory due to his looking at “the politics of the past, not the future as it might have been if he had kept us out.”³⁹

Halberstam writes that

China weighed heavily on him as he made his ultimate Vietnam decisions. He talked about it all the time. In private he would often go on about how China had destroyed the Democratic Party back in the early 1950s, and how the country might be engulfed in a resurgence of McCarthyism if Vietnam went under. Truman and Acheson had lost China, he would say, and it was like a mantra, and when they lost China they lost the Congress, because the Republicans in the Congress had finally found their issue.⁴⁰

LBJ was hypersensitive to this issue because in the early part of his career as a Senator he witnessed those “who opposed Joe McCarthy destroyed,” and in his home state of “Texas, where the local McCarthyism had been unusually virulent and very well financed by oil interests,”⁴¹ he saw the benefits available for those in alignment with the right-wing dogma. He clearly understood that McCarthyism was a force to be used against him if he showed any inclination to back down in Vietnam. Halberstam commented that LBJ, “had been there the last time it happened, he would say. Hell, he would add, Truman and Acheson had even been accused of appeasement, could you believe that?”⁴²

Unlike LBJ, editors of underground newspapers were not present to witness charges of accession levied against Truman and Acheson. Consequently, they were not intimidated by the threats associated with McCarthyism and went on to produce articles critical of U.S. Vietnam policy and certainly with a different slant from what was reported in the aboveground press. In the case of *FE*, the paper included material composed by individuals that had first-hand experience in Vietnam that indicated what was reported in the aboveground press was inaccurate, that the war was not going well, and that it was doomed to fail. In his book *Once Upon A Distant War*, William Prochnau discusses Halberstam’s and other Vietnam War correspondent’s struggles to report a truthful Vietnam story, the manipulation of facts portrayed by the military, the

corruption of the South Vietnamese government, and of how their coverage was stymied by their newspaper editors back in the states. He quotes Halberstam's opinion of Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara: "Of all the players, McNamara was the most despicable liar of the war."⁴³ Taking into account the extensive literature available, such as the *Pentagon Papers* that document the untruths associated with the Vietnam War, the challenge then for the official tastemakers was what to do with a coalition of editors whose newspapers were in defiance of the company line.

All too often when caught in a lie, governments, businesses, institutions, organizations, or even individuals, will continue to tell more lies, especially about those who expose them, with hopes of discrediting their testimony. Consider *Time's* trivializing and disparaging portrayal of the UPS editors, insinuating that their taste for LSD is so strong they would be unwilling to accept a hip president and denigrating their discord with LBJ's war policies by changing his initials to LSD. *Time's* image was untruthful as not all editors of underground newspapers would have been enthusiastic about an LBJ LSD conversion. Some were not exactly convinced of the intrinsic worth of LSD. Case in point, *FE's* series of articles presented in 1966 beginning with Ovshinsky's August 30 front-page article, "Dr. Abram Hoffer Leads Research In LSD Cure For Schizophrenia." He reports that

Dr. Hoffer was one of the first legitimate scientists to become involved in research with the controversial drug LSD. In hopes of cutting through the hysteria currently clouding the use of the drug, *The Fifth Estate* discussed the problem, its origins and the prospects for the future with Dr. Hoffer.⁴⁴

Dr. Hoffer informed *FE* that the medical community used LSD as valid treatment for alcoholism and schizophrenia, and though the drug has been "potentially very valuable" for patients, the "doctor emphasized strongly that the drug is not a panacea, and is not fully understood even in the most promising areas of therapeutic application."⁴⁵ *FE* asked Dr. Hoffer "to comment on the rise of pseudo-religious and mystic feeling about the drug and the 'experiences' it may precipitate" before adding that Dr. Hoffer criticizes the role of Dr. Timothy Leary's as "'high-priest' in this burgeoning acid cult."⁴⁶ Ovshinsky writes,

Dr. Leary's role has not been that of a scientific investigator, Dr. Hoffer pointed out. By romanticizing the significance of a dangerous and misunderstood drug, Dr. Hoffer added, Leary and the other advocates of the amateur experimentation are endangering all that heed their gospel. Dr. Hoffer was especially concerned that the very real threat to the emotional well-being of those who take LSD indiscriminately be recognized. He branded as fool hardly the reckless search for Nirvana and the belief that genius can blossom forth from an arid mind under the influence of the drug.⁴⁷

In its next issue, *FE* presented a follow up article, "Hoffer Interview Put To Acid Test," written by the paper's "Travel Editor" Dr. Sheil Salasnek, M.D. Dr. Salasnek discussed the popular concept of the day that individual LSD explorations should be conducted under the

supervision of an experienced explorer, writing from the perspective of “a medical researcher on LSD.”⁴⁸ Dr. Salasnek stated, “I have watched as people were given LSD in hospital surroundings and I have seen the terror grow as they realized they were getting more than they bargained for. Some were comforted by the blood pressure cuff and white jacketed figures” while others “stared out from the windows and wondered whether it wouldn’t be nicer out there...in the park...”⁴⁹ He notes as well, “I have also watched as people were taking LSD in park or wooded areas and in their homes” and “they too have felt the terror, for terror is a part of LSD.”⁵⁰ He adds,

I don’t mean to imply that all or even most of the LSD experiences is terror, but to varying degrees this is a part causing all the concern. This is the part of LSD that sends people to the emergency rooms sobbing uncontrollably and muttering that they are insane. This is the part that has caused the one or two recorded suicides. To deny this part is to bury your head in the ground.⁵¹

After admitting a tour guide outside the medical parameters supervising an LSD trip is potentially useful and there is a possibility “That we can live the terror and learn from it as a lesson,” he apologizes for using the term terror and then confides,

It is my way of describing the first experience of being unable to test reality, of no longer being sure of one’s existence, of becoming lost in the cosmic switchboard of time-space-reality warp. If these expressions are more meaningful then substitute them for ‘terror,’ but recognize that when they are experienced for the first time, they almost of necessity do elicit terror.⁵²

Dr. Salasnek indicates that either medical supervision, or “playing the Leary game, which he identifies as “a method for guiding people through a temporary ‘psychosis,’”—two methods with different objectives, has in some cases shown positive results. However, the travel editor cautions, “I would hasten to add that LSD cannot be taken lightly. It is a potent drug” and “Young people taking LSD to get high are in for a rude awakening. They are playing with fire and don’t realize it,” and “More and more LSD psychosis are being seen in hospital emergency rooms. Remember, they don’t go looking for the LSD taker—he is coming to them and he is frightened.”⁵³

Concerning Dr. Hoffer’s work, *FE* provided supplementary medical commentary in its October 16, 1966 edition, publishing Wayne State University (WSU) Medical School Associate Professor of Psychiatry and Chief Supervisor of Detroit’s Lafayette Clinic outpatient service Dr. Paul Lowinger’s article, “LSD.. A Capsule Report.” Since 1963, Dr. Lowinger had reviewed scientific literature consisting “of over 3,000 scientific” documents compiled in a twenty-three year period, and based on his examination of the evidence there was nothing to substantiate LSD’s “effectiveness” for treatment of any “psychiatric illness.”⁵⁴ Other scholars had doubts about the drugs usefulness. As Dr. Lowinger points out, “there is real question in the psychiatric community as to whether Hoffer’s treatment has anything to offer.”⁵⁵ In his opinion, before a

conclusion could be reached determining LSD's usefulness as a medical tool, more "clinical studies" were needed to discover exactly "how the brain works."⁵⁶ Regarding additional research, however, Dr. Lowinger cited the "controversy" underway "outside the area of science and medicine" that endangered future investigations of LSD's medical value, the drug becoming "too controversial for" its manufacturer "Sandoz to handle."⁵⁷ Dr. Lowinger commented, "The hysteria about LSD which drove Sandoz pharmaceuticals from the field threatens to suspend all scientific study despite the presence of the National Institute of Mental Health to license further investigation."⁵⁸ The hysteria the article references was the state of panic in the U.S., a frenzy generated as *Time*, capable of "reaching more than 3,000,000 families,"⁵⁹ and *Life* magazine, along with several other periodicals showcased the hallucinogenic in media frames used for publication of news items throughout 1966. Dr. Lowinger writes,

LSD has become the focus of attention among the college age group in the United States. The cry that LSD promises internal freedom has been raised by Leary, Albert, Huxley, and others. In contrast has been the threat of the establishment to restrict the drug and punish the sellers and users. Several dangers exist for all of us whether we use LSD, marijuana or alcohol to promote our internal freedom. One danger is that new laws restricting the use of LSD and punishing those who have it in their possession will in fact create a new black market in LSD, a new criminal class and a new source of income for the crime syndicate all of which will promote the use of LSD. The most important factor in the spread of narcotics addiction is that it is illegal and that it is profitable for the crime syndicate. This could be the pattern of LSD 'control.' The social danger of the new LSD laws in California and New York and those proposed in other states is much greater than the benefit offered. We choose high speed cars despite traffic fatalities; we choose cigarettes despite lung cancer, we choose alcohol despite delirium tremens. You can experience ecstasy by jumping out of a plane with a free-fall before your parachute opens despite the fact that we lose some skydivers each year. So I suggest the risk of psychosis to individuals who use LSD to their disadvantage is not to high price to pay for the opportunity to continue scientific research in LSD, the need to avoid the crime syndicate and the new class of criminals which would be created by the restrictive legislation. The problem of two or three mentally ill a month due to LSD described in California and New York does not yet exist in Michigan. The campus use here is either less frequent or more cautious. Education not legislation is the best protection against misuse of LSD 25.⁶⁰

He concludes his article stating,

Those who demand a psychedelic synthesis of science, art and philosophy will be disappointed. The opportunity to create exists only if we preserve an atmosphere free of hysteria, social censure and repressive legislation for the study and use of LSD.⁶¹

One reader from East Lansing appreciated Ovhsinsky's report and sent a letter to *FE* stating, "It was refreshing to read an article that dealt with experimental facts and a word of expert caution rather than a shocking expose attempting to scare the pants off you" although "I must say, however, that most of your editorial and journalistic opinion I disagree with. But I'm happy to see such writings. At least it makes one think."⁶²

In order for official thinkers to counteract a coalition of nonconformist newspapers in opposition to their policies, they must promote prejudice. Historically, discrimination and intolerance has paid dividends for America's business and political leaders. In his book *Working Toward Whiteness* David R. Roediger writes that

labor economists Richard Edwards, Michael Reich, and David Gordon have reaffirmed work gangs segregated by nationality and/or race could be made to compete against each other in a strategy not only designed in the long run to undermine labor unity and depress wages but also to spur competition and productivity every day. At other junctures, the preference was to divide each work group on 'racial' lines to forestall all development of solidarity. As late as 1907 the pioneering labor economist regarded not scientific management but 'playing one race against the other' as the only 'symptom of originality in U.S. management. During industrial conflicts, fostering such division had a special appeal.⁶³

The trickle down effect caused by pitting race and ethnicity against one another in the workplace impacted residential development, the consequence of these tactics especially significant during the post World War II housing crunch when the U.S. Government subsidized segregation. Federal-aid financed the expansion of suburban life, the neighborhoods filled with loads of Caucasian laborers that profited from factions created inside labor unions. The U.S. Government maximized on this investment as white suburbia validated the official thinkers' ideology to the world as it competed for constituents against the way of life enforced by the world's other superpower. Roediger writes, "Suburban subdivisions could profit from being seen as raceless, as well planned and stable" and the "suburban house became an important (white) American symbol and the subsidized suburban home owner the quintessential citizen."⁶⁴ In 1947 when *Time* enjoyed its optimum influence, the magazine promoted this image, quoting a suburban developer in one of its articles: "When you rear children in a good neighborhood, they will go out and fight communism."⁶⁵

For those who depend upon bigotry as a devise to advance their ideology, what is required is "tastemakers" capable of fashioning the stereotypes needed to foster a good prejudice. The word "stereotype" is a term derived from a trade essential to the Luce empire, that of the printing industry. In their book *Typecasting* Ewen and Ewen state,

Within recent history, the media's capacity to spawn mass impressions instantaneously has been a pivotal factor in the dissemination of stereotypes. In fact, the link between media and stereotype is found in the origin of the word itself. Coined in 1794 by the French printer Fermin Didot, 'stereotype' was the name he gave to a novel printing process by which paper mache holds were made from full pages of handset type.⁶⁶

This invention allowed "newspapers and books to be printed on several presses at the same time without the need to set individual pieces of type into forms for each printing press."⁶⁷ Due to the employment of terms "*patrix*, derived from the Latin word for father, *pater*, and "*matrix*, from *mater* or mother," that defined procedures associated with printing, "handset type became the

patrix, molds they shaped became the matrix.” Within the initial “jargon of printers, gender was used to communicate a hierarchy of importance in the evolution from original to copy,”⁶⁸ linking the “issue of power, and assumptions of social inequality” with the phrase “stereotype” at its “inception.”⁶⁹ Ewen and Ewen credit “the renowned American journalist Walter Lippmann” as the person “who introduced the term stereotype into the social, cultural, and psychological vocabulary of contemporary life” through “Public Opinion, his classic 1922 study of ‘public mind’ and the forces that shape popular consciousness.”⁷⁰ In this work Lippman proposed that stereotypes consist of unyielding “fixed impressions” individuals “carry about in our heads,”⁷¹ which enables them to simplify the day-to-day living. Ewen and Ewen note that Lippman was well informed in “the teachings of psychoanalysis” and he “understood stereotypes as something that resided primarily in the unconscious mind, apart from rational thought.”⁷² This, he disclosed, was the secret of its power.⁷³ Regarding stereotypes, Ewen and Ewen quote from *Public Opinion*:

Its hallmark is that it precedes the use of reason; it is a form of perception, imposes a certain character on the data of our senses, before the data reach intelligence... There is nothing so obdurate to education or criticism as the stereotype. It stamps itself upon evidence in the very act of securing evidence.⁷⁴

Lippman continues,

We are told about the world before we see it. We imagine most things before we experience them. And these preconceptions, unless education has made us acutely aware, govern deeply the whole process of perception. They make out certain objects as familiar or strange, emphasizing the difference, so that the slightly familiar is seen as very familiar, and the some what strange is sharply alien.⁷⁵

Ewen and Ewen comment that “Lippmann had identified and named one of the most important features of modernity,” and add that “In a rapidly changing world, where firsthand experience was losing ground as a source of useful information, the media system was replacing customary networks, and rendering stereotypes into easily consumable industrially generated substitutes for intimate knowledge.”⁷⁶

If it can be presumed that *Time* articulated a stereotype of UPS in its July 1966 Underground Alliance article, and this assumption is correct, then the Luce publications did a masterful job taking advantage of its previous content involving LSD with the shaping of their reading public’s perceptions of UPS when it inserted the drug reference with LBJ. On March 11, 1966, *Time* presented “An Epidemic of ‘Acid Heads,’” which portrayed LSD as a “disease,” the illness “striking in beachside beatnik pads,” with “the most disturbing aspects of the LSD binge [being] that it has hit high schools.” The article reported that wherever the plague materialized, “the diagnosis is the same: psychotic illness resulting from unauthorized, non medical use of the

drug LSD-25.”⁷⁷ Two weeks later, the topic appeared on the cover of *Life*’s March 25 issue, “The Exploding Threat Of The Mind Drug That Got Out Of Control: LSD.”⁷⁸ Inside this issue an “EDITOR’S NOTE” made readers aware that for “a period of weeks,” a pair of journalists followed a “trail” leading “them from Los Angeles to New York, from Houston to Detroit, and to Laredo Texas,” in order “to investigate this new phenomenon.”⁷⁹ Along with the note, photographs are presented of LSD users in action, one showing “a girl” staring in “wonderment at a bare light bulb,” and other pictures depict teenagers meeting “terror on a bad trip.”⁸⁰ One photo captured “A sculptor attending an LSD party in Detroit” who is “so moved by the pattern of a shabby chair covering that he spends half an hour trying to take a picture of it.”⁸¹ In another March 25 article, “A Remarkable Mind Drug Suddenly Spells Danger LSD,” describing the “colorless, tasteless substance called LSD,” *Life* reports,

Within the last three years the use of psychedelic consciousness-expanding drugs has exploded. No longer is it just a promising psychological research tool, LSD has been taken up by a large underground cult. Starting in artistic, bohemian and intellectual circles, the cult has now become a dangerous fad on the college campus. At least one million doses of LSD (which stands for lysergic acid diethylamide) will be taken this year.⁸²

Over the next several weeks, other periodicals jumped on the LSD bandwagon. On its May 6 cover, *Newsweek* published an image of a young man mesmerized by a headline, “LSD and the Mind Drugs.” *Look* magazine covered the subject during June and July, and after *Time* exposed UPS to the public, on September 9, *LIFE* published on its cover the “New Experience That Bombards The Senses LSD Art.”⁸³ *Newsweek* and *Look*, however, did not hold the same infatuation with LSD as *TIME*. Danielle Haas and Michael Schudson, writing in *Columbia Journalism Review* report that “In 1966 alone, LSD was the focus of nine *Time* articles, including one that invoked St. Paul’s vision of the risen Christ and sixteenth-century St. Teresa of Avila’s states of ecstasy.”⁸⁴

On June 10, *Time* published “The Law & LSD,” which reports California, Nevada, and New Jersey’s legislative efforts to criminalize LSD use, penalizing the new criminals with “fines of as much as \$1,000 and sentences of up to one year behind bars for possession of the hallucinogenic drug.”⁸⁵ This information came in handy in July when the magazine orchestrated a perceived stereotype in its Underground Alliance article that notes UPS is “against the police.” *Time* also implemented the imagery from its previous coverage of LSD users as it portrayed the image of LSD inspired “political zealots” engaged in a clandestine federation of newspapers that “are popping up like weeds across the U.S.” With its use of the term “underground,” the magazine not only attached symbolism that represented an alliance engaged in covert illegal activities described as “largely anti-establishment protest,” it also portrayed an image of a

strange, “curious coalition of hipsters and beatniks” that are “just plain artsy crafty,” a likeness that was shared by UPS “writers and subscribers.” When *Time* impressed upon the public a particular stereotype, typecasting those affiliated with UPS as a subterranean group of misfits scattered across the country in cahoots with “college students and teachers,” their pads infested with the LSD disease, it promoted the public’s formation of prejudicial attitudes. Readers were prepped before they could read the newspapers to make their own judgments.

The national media’s precedent LSD coverage and *Time*’s typecasting of UPS was followed in the Motor City when the *Detroit Free Press (DFP)* provided coverage of the “curious” coalition’s local affiliate, *FE*. On April 2, 1967 in the *Detroit Magazine* (a supplement to the *DFP*’s Sunday edition) George Walker’s profile, “The Voice of the Budding Underground: A Careful Look at The Fifth Estate,” presented disparaging images that exceeded anything *Time* offered about the federation. Walker, a *DFP* staff writer, opened by reporting an unidentified cartoonist entering *FE*’s Plum Street office, “babbling about the latest scene,” noting the artist is unknown to Ovshinsky, but nevertheless *FE*’s editor is impressed with his comics, stating, “He does this stuff based on Walter Whitman. A lot of people don’t understand it, but we do. Cartoons are great. They speak a different language.”⁸⁶ Walker then adds,

The Fifth Estate is a separate language, too. It speaks of and to the underground. The hippies. The beats, the Loveniks-the Turned On, the Tuned In, the Dropped Out, anyone who doesn’t wear what’s expected, do what’s expected, think what’s expected. Doing what’s not expected then, is the raison d’etre of the Fifth Estate, which refers to the two daily newspapers in town as ‘newspapers’ (their quotation marks).⁸⁷

His article referred to *FE*’s prophetic December 15, 1966 front-page item “Narco Bust Set.” This piece was written by someone identified as LEMAR and accurately forecasted how “FBI and Detroit Narcotics Squad agents” would execute “a massive attack on users of marijuana, LSD, and other conscious-expanding substances.”⁸⁸ Without crediting the paper for a scoop, or acknowledging reporting of constitutional rights violated by “narcs” and how these abuses threaten personal liberty for all Americans, Walker used the headline “itself set in a black border, as if the imminent raid, which came on January 24, would spell death for all acidheads,”⁸⁹ to connect *FE* with drugs. He continued, “Acidhead, another way of saying people who take LSD, must account for a great chunk of the Estate’s 6,000 regular buyers.”⁹⁰ After pointing out Dr. Timothy Leary “is more than an occasional contributor” to *FE*, Walker writes,

LSD IS NOT the only beat which the Fifth Estate diligently pursues. It listens closely to the beat of the new music, the rhythm of the new poetry, and it watches, closely, the colors and the contours of the new art. All of these subjects are treated in some way by the daily press, but seldom with knowledgeable and clan which the Fifth Estate gives to the job. This can be said, at least, about the coverage of art, music, and poetry (drama too, of course).⁹¹

He refers to UPS as “the drum network of the undergrounders,” and informs that, “The psychedelic world of strobe lights, LSD happenings, love-ins, all the bric-a-brac of belonging would fall apart if the communication system were anything less than efficient.”⁹² Underneath a frame that holds *FE*'s October 1966 front-page article, “Who’s Afraid Of Black Power?,” the *DFP* points out, “They say they aren’t, and they mean it. They’re not afraid of LSD either, the fearless Fifth Estate.”⁹³ Concerning Vietnam, the *DFP* believed *FE* was not as courageous. In a story that holds forty paragraphs, of the two citing the conflict, Walker renders the viewpoint that

As for the war, the Fifth can’t hope to compete with the immediacy or volume supplied by the dailies, so it makes up for it with heavy doses of sensationalism. The pictures of Vietnamese children horribly burned and mangled by napalm bombs which the Fifth ran recently prompted sharp criticism from some of the war’s most vocal opponents.⁹⁴

Walker’s portrayal of *FE* appeared in the *DFP* two weeks after “Twenty-three people stood silently at Grand Circus park,” supporting “the Phoenix, a peace ship sailing to North Vietnam.” On its April 1 front-page, *FE* included the article, “Mich. Quakers Hold Silent Vigil,” which reported the vigilance “called by the American Friends Meeting (100 St. Aubin) to publicize the voyage of the Phoenix,” the vessel “carrying medical supplies to the Red Cross of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam for the sickness and suffering caused by United States bombing.”⁹⁵ As the headline indicates, the vigil was a quiet affair, as throngs of spectators did not arrive to witness the ceremony and disruptive incidents were not reported. In the same issue *FE* updated for the local underground community the Detroit Artist Workshop’s transformation into a “cooperative called Trans-Love Energies Unlimited.”⁹⁶ Made available were details about how the cooperative planned to bring Detroit’s underground “closer together by offering free housing and job information services,” and the creation of a “travel bureau, which will provide information on rides going from Detroit to other centers of activity,” thanks to “a fleet of cars” assembled that was branded as “Trans-Love airways.”⁹⁷ Also promoted were the cooperative’s scheduled meetings that intended to prepare for the April 28-30 Trans-Love Weekend, “including a huge celebration on Belle Isle.”⁹⁸ In its April editions, *FE* promoted the celebration modeled after San Francisco’s January 1967 “Human Be-In,” including John Sinclair’s April 15 front-page article, “Detroit Love-In Set For April,” where the columnist optimistically reported Be-Ins staged in

New York and Los Angeles have made it clear that people can get together and love one another right now with no adverse consequences. 25, 000 people gathered in Central Park, and over 10,000 in Elysian Park, and the people in those places had no trouble at all with each other or with the police.⁹⁹

As the date for the event approached, Sinclair, in his Coatpuller column, expressed appreciation for Detroit’s major media outlet’s recent attention focused on *FE*, stating,

The Detroit underground is starting to emerge into the sunlight and will spread throughout the city. The Love-In started it off, with front-page exposure on the Free Press, television and radio coverage, and lots of interest from both the Free Press and the News. George Walker's story on the FIFTH ESTATE in the Free Press' DETROIT magazine a couple of weeks ago was the first mass scale announcement of our existence, and after the Love-In the whole city will know what is happening.¹⁰⁰

The established media's attention on *FE*, complete with its acidhead stereotype of the newspaper's content and readership certainly spread the word about the Belle Isle event, for as Walker duly noted, the underground paper "could not hope to compete with the immediacy or volume supplied"¹⁰¹ by the *DFP* and *Detroit News*. On the day of the Belle Isle Love-In, thousands more spectators arrived for the event than they did for the Quaker Vigil. Both the *DFP*¹⁰² and *FE* reported 8,000 in attendance. Although there were not as many participants coming together for the Love-In in comparison to the gatherings staged in New York and Los Angeles, in Detroit they came together with adverse consequences. Of the total number of people on the scene, Dr. Salanek commented in *FE*, "Two thousand people had a love-in on Belle Isle. Unfortunately, 8,000 people were present."¹⁰³ As the *FE* travel editor made his way through the crowd, searching for the Love-in's epic center, he discovered "families on picnics," strewn "all over the grounds and they look up curiously as you walk by in your long robes and grounds. Where are the hippies?"¹⁰⁴ Dr. Salasnek continued,

Most of the people look very straight and you have to look very hard to find someone smiling. What's going on here? Where are all the smiles and the lovers? You reach the outskirts of the few thousand people and start looking for a crowd you feel comfortable with.¹⁰⁵

He also reported that "Walking through the staring crew cuts and tribes of motorcyclists you begin to feel a little awkward" while at the same time pushing "your way through the beer drinkers toward the bandstand hoping to find some smiling faces."¹⁰⁶ Once he was among the smiling faces, Dr Salasnek found that "The magic is real and undeniable" ; however, it "is surrounded by misunderstanding and hostility which is holding back. Up to 4:30 this afternoon the only police visible" would "be those that are directing traffic, but then they will make their appearance soon."¹⁰⁷

The negative vibes Dr. Salasnek picked up on materialized and when they did, the *DFP* was quick to point out the responsible party, beginning on the following day with its front-page article, "Thousands Battle with Police Belle Isle Love-In Turns to Hate." In an incident the *DFP* informed, "wound up as a two part riot," the paper in bold print detailed how "**young people began cursing the policeman, pelting them with sticks, rocks, bottles, bricks, and anything else that could be picked up and thrown.**"¹⁰⁸ The Detroit Police Department (DPD) Tactical Mobile Unit and Riot Squad were called in to control the situation that shut down public

transportation and damaged several businesses along East Jefferson Avenue. According to the article, spearheading the episode was the Outlaw Motorcycle Club, some of its members **“armed with chains and clubs.”**¹⁰⁹ The *DFP* said the Outlaws attracted the **“biggest crowd”** at the Love-In, and they **“treated the audience to a beer squirting fight and a round of ‘Sieg heils,’ designed to ‘blow the citizens minds.’”**¹¹⁰ The paper then reported the Outlaws **“were especially serious about John Sinclair, operator of the Artist Workshop and leader of the love-in.”**¹¹¹ On its “Back Page,” the *DFP* marketed media images depicting a strong association between Sinclair and The Outlaws by presenting a collage of photos, one of a motorcyclist affectionately gazing down upon a picture of the **“High Priest Sinclair in muu-muu,”**¹¹² attire described as a “ground-length pink print gown.”¹¹³ The photo of Sinclair, exuding royalty with his gown and love beads, is framed in a way that offers an impression of him divinely staring into the next picture, presiding over **“The Outlaws motorcycle club”** having **“fun squirting each other with beer.”**¹¹⁴

The *DFP* also presented on the front-page “Head Hippie Offers Facts On Truth, Life, and Love,” an article that identified the “ridiculous” appearing Sinclair, as “the unofficial leader and spokesman for a loosely organized group of young people called ‘hippies,’” the “man behind Sunday’s ‘love-in’ on Belle Isle, a defender of draft dodging, marijuana smoking, and love both free and loving.”¹¹⁵ After ordaining Sinclair as the person in charge of the hippies, the brain trust behind the recent Belle Isle incident, and characterizing him as a sex-crazed pothead in support of people avoiding military service, the *DFP* immediately connects these attributes by citing his association with *FE*. However, the *DFP* ignores the “Facts On Truth,” reporting that Sinclair is the publisher of Detroit’s underground newspaper. Once the fact is planted in the reader’s mind that Sinclair “publishes” *FE*, the next piece of information documents his criminal status: how in January 1967 “he was charged with possession of marijuana, the third such charge in the last three years. He’s free on bond, pending trial.”¹¹⁶ In the aftermath of the Love-In and its local media coverage, *FE*’s News Editor Frank Joyce commented in the underground paper, “On one day, the Detroit News ran four separate stories, features, and columns on John Sinclair. Enough to make you forget about the war in Vietnam.”¹¹⁷

Sinclair’s last arrest earned him more publicity in the *DFP*, as the paper reported his capture with fifty-six others in a “dope raid” conducted in the Warren-Forest neighborhood. In bold print the *DFP* stated, **“From behind the bars of a cell outside the courtroom of Records Judge Geraldine R. Ford, one of the defendants, John A Sinclair, talked bitterly about Louie’s role in the raids.”**¹¹⁸ Louie was the name used by undercover detective Vahan Kapagihan, the man leading the investigation. On January 24, the narcotics agents arrived at the Detroit Artist Workshop with an arrest warrant for Sinclair, taking him into custody for what *FE*

noted was “GIVING AWAY TWO MARIJUANA CIGARETTES”¹¹⁹ to an undercover agent on December 22, 1966. At the time of his arrest, Sinclair informed the *DFP* that investigators “took a lot of our books, our pamphlets, our posters. They even seized my wife who’s expecting a baby in May. They weren’t interested in marijuana. They’re just against our way of life.”¹²⁰ His case went to trial and despite the labors of his attorney, Justin C. Ravitz, who “made every effort to have the case dismissed before ever coming to trial,”¹²¹ Sinclair waited until July 28, 1969 for the legal system to decide how they wanted to punish him for his gift to the undercover agent. Joyce reported in *FE* on that day how Sinclair stood before Detroit Recorder’s Court Judge Robert J. Colombo and listened as the magistrate announced, “*Your day has come. You may laugh, Mr. Sinclair, but you will have a long time to laugh. I sentence you to not less than 9 and one half and not more than 10 years in the state penitentiary.*”¹²² The prisoner responded to the Judge, “You’ve completely revealed yourself. You’ve exposed yourself even more and the people know it.”¹²³ Regarding the court’s decision, Joyce wrote,

If we were shocked by John’s conviction, or his sentence, it is only because we gave the system more credit than it deserved. Partly we were lulled into a false sense of security by the extraordinary legal job done by John’s attorney.¹²⁴

Joyce thought, “There are few accused men who have ever had more brilliant, conscientious, imitative defense than John Sinclair” and “the motion” Ravitz “submitted to quash the indictment was the longest ever submitted in the State of Michigan. Many have called it the best brief against marijuana laws ever written.”¹²⁵

Outside the courthouse a Sinclair supporter raised a sign stating “10 YEARS FOR ALCOHOL,”¹²⁶ the substance currently in the news as Sinclair’s sentence came ten days after Senator Edward Kennedy left a party with a young woman, Mary Jo Kopechne, and while rumored to be intoxicated, drove his car off a bridge at Chappaquiddick Island. Compounding the issue for the Senator was that he left his car and Kopechne was submerged below water. He waited until the following day before he contacting the authorities. Senator Kennedy’s actions were cited by Joyce in his article “crime and punishment of john sinclair,” a commentary examining the Sinclair conviction within the parameters of socioeconomic class in American society. Joyce points out that “John, like other prisoners throughout the U.S. is not supposed to” have sex, “eat good food, read what he wishes, talk to his children,” and “Edward Kennedy, the boy who cheated his way through Harvard, at the very least, irresponsibly caused the death of a young woman. He received a suspended sentence for leaving the scene of an accident.”¹²⁷ In contrast, as Sinclair sits inside “the world’s largest closed wall penitentiary,” Kennedy “will spend the next ten years being a United States Senator doing everything possible to become

President of the United States,” and in this timeframe, he will experience good nutrition, have sex with

his wife and who knows who else, drink alcohol, go wherever he pleases (including a pond if he feels like it), and listen to whatever he thinks music is and generally live the life of a rich young white man. Lee Otis Johnson is black. He was an organizer for SNCC in the state of Texas. For the same marijuana charge as John Sinclair, with even less ‘proof’ of his actual ‘guilt’ Lee Otis Johnson is serving a 30-year sentence in the Texas State Penitentiary. Teddy (as he is affectionately known) Kennedy was repentant and remorseful as he used millions of dollars in free television time to seek sympathy for his plight from the nation. Even his neck brace had been removed so that rather than holding his head high he was able to bow it for the cameras. John and Lee Otis and the White Panthers and the rest of us are defiant.¹²⁸

In Joyce’s view, the discrepancy in punishment for Sinclair and Senator Kennedy rests with who commits transgressions in the United States and how wrongdoings are perceived. It all depends on who is committing the crimes. Joyce considered the recent exoneration of Caucasian DPD officers for their execution of African American teenagers in the Woodward Ave Algiers Motel, methods used by the U.S. Government in acquiring land from American Indians, and private industries’ destruction of the environment “with impunity.”¹²⁹ Another factor he considered was who legislates law, the total number of edicts placed, and their societal impact. Approaching the issue from a Max Weber sociological perspective concerning social order,¹³⁰ Joyce recognized that “every society gets together and decides what constitutes anti-social behavior in that society. Such behavior then becomes outlawed either by formal law or taboo.”¹³¹ In the U.S., those assembling to settle what is anti-social and how to regulate conduct are the class of elites, and often they do so in order to advance their private interests. Joyce notes,

All present laws were made and are enforced for the benefit of the group known as the ruling class-who have the power and control to control who gets to so-called public office and how they behave when they get there. It is increasingly clear that there is no such thing as public office.¹³²

When *FE* published **crime and punishment of John Sinclair**, the article was released in the context of current President of the United States Richard M. Nixon’s first term in office, a position he gained by running on a platform that promised to return law and order to the country. Seven months into the Nixon presidency, Joyce wrote,

The U.S. prides itself on being a society of laws. It is. There are thousands upon thousands of laws in the United States. In fact, one of the obvious but overlooked reasons that there is an increased lawlessness in the nation is that after two hundred years of passing a law every time the ruling class got upset about something there are simply too many laws. (Some examples of this phenomena are, the N.Y. gun control law passed two days after black students carried weapons on the Cornell campus, all Jim Crow laws, the Rap Brown-Stokely Carmichael anti-riot act under which Bobby Seale, Tom Hayden and others are being prosecuted in Chicago, all of the laws governing riots which were passed by nearly every state in the fall of 1967 and so on).¹³³

In light of the government's increased desire to return the nation to law and order, such as the dissent stemming from a growing disenchantment with the war and dissatisfaction with the question of civil rights, Joyce notes, "It is virtually impossible to be a law abiding citizen in this society if someone in 'authority' decides that you are acting in a way that displeases him."¹³⁴ Paradoxically, the Nixon administration's attempt to restore the order it craves may have instead heightened the crime rate. Joyce explains, "The natural restraint of anti-social behavior, if there ever was such a thing, has broken down in the U.S. creating a crisis of which John Sinclair is very much a part. Of the many complex factors, two are useful to understand."¹³⁵ One aspect is the majority of the population has "never had the opportunity to make collective decisions about what constitutes antisocial or deviant behavior" because the public has "been denied that right by inertia, by inheriting a system in which all such basic decisions have already been made, and are now treated as immutable God-given laws that are not subject to review."¹³⁶ The second facet "has to do with how existing laws are enforced not what they are or how they are made. The mythology says that laws are enforced impartially without regard to class or caste. We know they are not."¹³⁷ Ironically, the American economic system, which occasionally permits big business to ignore laws to derive significant profit gains, are positioned to view those with lesser assets as deviant. As the dominate forces move "rapidly to destroy even such fundamental human resources as air to breath and water to drink," not to mention prosecute an undeclared war, suppress races of people, or legislate personal morality, "given this basic contradiction between the people and the laws which control them, increasing disobedience and disrespect for laws and those who make them is inevitable."¹³⁸ Criminals, therefore, can be "those who have been selected as eligible for punishment" for the reason that "criminality and punishment is a fact of class and caste pure and simple."¹³⁹

The determining factor for Sinclair's eligibility to receive punishment was his drug of choice, an offense easier to enforce than it is to censor what one has to say, especially if one's speech is counterintuitive to the preferred language the government expects its citizens to use. Joyce believed it was "the defiance" of authority that motivated Sinclair's incarceration, not "smoking and possessing refer," in particular because if "it were actually a crime to possess marijuana there would be thousands of people in jail. Scores of thousands. Hundreds of thousands. White people. From Birmingham and Scottsdale and Orange County and Palo Alto and Daytona and Evanston," and that includes the elderly and "millions of their children."¹⁴⁰ At the conclusion of Sinclair's trial, in the hallway outside the courtroom, his attorney Justin Ravitz was quoted:

Maybe we ought to start turning the middle class in. Let their asses go to jail. As long as

the police and courts are successful in associating marijuana with political people such as John and Lee Otis, it will not be legalized. If anything we are further away from that than before. People who are involved in the struggle should not allow themselves to be exploited by the pig at all involved or at least be carefully involved with the weed. The law isn't changing.¹⁴¹

At one time, however, the law did change as pot was legal and alcohol was prohibited. Joyce points out,

Only one thing makes the illicit smoker more vulnerable than the drinker of the thirties and that is the advanced decay in the condition of the authorities. The mentality of 'law enforcement in this society is that everyone ought to be dependent to a destructive chemical of some kind. Liquor and cigarettes are cheaper today in Washington D.C. than almost any other place in the nation. For many, dependency has been achieved through alcohol, for others through debilitating amphetamines, barbiturates and tranquilizers. Marijuana is too benign. It is not like the other chemicals.¹⁴²

The comparison of how detrimental is marijuana with the other drugs mentioned has been the subject of debate for generations, but what has been established is there has been a stigma attached to its users dating back to an era when it was legal to use. In the sixties, that stigma was associated with Sinclair and other radicals who were perceived as threats to society, members of some sort of Communist conspiracy prepared to overthrow the American government. In retrospect, however, how threatening were potheads to America's core democratic values in comparison to Senator Joseph McCarthy whose drug of choice was alcohol. Haynes Johnson discusses in his book *Age Of Anxiety* "the perpetuation of conspiracies theories" derived from McCarthyism that allowed "hysteria to create abuses of civil liberties and destruction of careers and reputations."¹⁴³ Johnson writes, "These fissures in American life hardened the ideological extremes, weakened the middle where consensus lies, worked against true bipartisanship in the national interests, and made more difficult meaningful public discussion of complex critical issues."¹⁴⁴ He did so by bullying, intimidating, and humiliating political colleagues and members of the press. Johnson makes it known that "Joe McCarthy didn't make it to the top by his wits alone. He reached his heights with the backing of an ever expanding network of anticommunists," which included "representatives of Chang Kai-shek's Nationalist China Lobby" and "wealthy patrons such as" Senator Edward Kennedy's father "Joseph P. Kennedy" and Henry Luce's wife, "Clara Boothe Luce."¹⁴⁵ Johnson also noted, "*Life* magazine published a pictorial about the first day in office of the Senate's young giant killer,"¹⁴⁶ the recently elected Joseph McCarthy.

At one point, he may have been the most popular, powerful man in the country. He had a drug issue as well, though it was not a 'benign' substance like marijuana. Johnson calls attention to *New York Times* photographer George Tames witnessing how in the Senate Office Building McCarthy "would preside over a hearing and he would excuse himself and go to the men's room,

which was next to the elevator, and he'd have a flask of booze up [hidden] on top of the stall."¹⁴⁷ McCarthy was an alcoholic, his disease not treated. On television, the American public could observe the Senator in action, performances Johnson describes as "live and unfiltered-snarling, blustering, abusing, bullying, giggling, threatening, lying, filibustering."¹⁴⁸ What the public actually saw was a raving drunk wrecking havoc on their government. During the televised Army-McCarthy hearings, Johnson reports, "McCarthy was in the midst of a prolonged physical and mental breakdown. His drinking was verging on being out of control. By 1952 his friend, Urban Van Susteren, observed that McCarthy "was regularly getting drunk in the evenings."¹⁴⁹ Like all practicing drug addicts, McCarthy was also sneaking, as he began "trying to conceal his drinking,"¹⁵⁰ putting away at "least a quart a day," destroying "two-thirds"¹⁵¹ of his liver. The Senator was not above asking, "Got Milk?" According to Johnson, Van Susteren informed a biographer, "when your back was turned . . . he would spike it [the milk] with undetectable vodka." "Van' he would say, 'do you have any milk?'"¹⁵² Johnson also reported, "McCarthy was drinking at night, in the morning, and during the day, consuming at least a bottle of liquor daily. He was also exhibiting signs of paranoia."¹⁵³ Actually, it might be more accurate to say he was showing symptoms of delirium tremens. Johnson continues, "When meeting with friends or acquaintances in his Washington home, he would caution them to lower their voices. 'The walls have ears,' he would say, referring to wire taps."¹⁵⁴ He also suspected someone was trying to kill him, and when the Republican National Party Chairman knocked on the door of his home, making a private visit," the Senator greeted him with a pistol in his hand."¹⁵⁵

This addiction, "McCarthy's heavy drinking"¹⁵⁶ was not a clandestine sickness hidden in some closet as everyone in the power circles of America new about it. Johnson points out his alcoholism "had been an open secret in Washington from his earliest days. His Senate colleagues and his aides, reporters, and photographers, congressional employees and Capitol policemen, all knew."¹⁵⁷ Senator McCarthy also "enjoyed excellent personal relations with members of the press,"¹⁵⁸ and in fact he would get drunk with journalists following him on the road. Shortly after revealing to the nation he possessed a list of communists working in the State Department during his Wheeling, West Virginia speech, Senator McCarthy, "stony drunk," at "three or four o'clock in the morning"¹⁵⁹ with two newspaper reporters he had been drinking with, accused the journalists of stealing his list of subversives working inside the government. Johnson quotes one of the reporters: "At the end he was screaming at us that one of us had stolen his list of Communists. He'd lost it, and he knew it, and he made a fool of himself."¹⁶⁰ The journalists also knew that McCarthy had been drinking in a bar that afternoon before he delivered another speech, one that Johnson termed "classic McCarthyism, employing not only guilt by association, but also

guilt by inference.”¹⁶¹ Johnson concluded that “The press’s failure to hold McCarthy accountable was especially critical in the month after his Wheeling speech.” The media “helped to perpetuate McCarthyism.” This, coupled” with politicians that knew the drunken Senator’s “charges were false and his tactics disreputable made possible the phenomenon of mass demagoguery known as McCarthyism.”¹⁶² This demagoguism, Johnson writes

was nearly immobilizing America, distracting the nation, destroying confidence in its institutions, schools, churches, government, press, military, and private and political leaders. Debate and dissent were stifled, making increasingly America’s ability to deal intelligently with vital questions the day.¹⁶³

The near disintegration of American democratic values Johnson writes about is not destruction caused by acidheads or pot users, but by a drunk, and “Not a word about it appeared in print.”¹⁶⁴

As Joyce alluded to, in American society people enjoy getting high, be it with alcohol or other drugs, and there is a mentality that encourages it. David Armstrong writes in a *Trumpet to Arms*, “IN THE YEARS SINCE the underground media heralded the delights of drugs, dope in America has gone middle-class.” The country “has become the high society, and underground media deserve the lion’s share of the credit-or blame-for that development.”¹⁶⁵ In the case of *FE*, there are drug images present within the paper. In 1968, Sinclair launched his second *FE* column, “Rock and Roll Dope,” a title with drug implications. Despite the imagery, his second column is filled with political and social commentary, reviews of literary publications, and relaying information to Detroit’s underground community he collected at different conferences attended throughout the United States. He wrote about Trans-Love Energies, the White Panthers, government harassment, his legal issues, and he promoted the MC5, The Stooges, and other local musicians in addition to providing many great jazz reviews. As for the drug imagery found in *FE* throughout its first five years of operation, based on a rough estimate of articles published in this time span, three percent of the paper’s content contains drugs as the major theme expressed in its stories. Of that total, many of the articles share medical evidence to squash rumors circulating about potential benefits or possible damage incurred by users of “dope.” As the name LEMAR, author of the prophetic news item “Narco Bust Set” suggests, members of the organization advocating the legalization of marijuana wrote articles for *FE* that presented educational information about the drug. Their articles publicized upcoming LEMAR meetings, which focused on plans for political activism in the attempt to secure the legalization of pot. Through the articles written in *FE*, the paper documents the local historical activity involved with LEMAR’S effort that eventually led to the legal use of marijuana for medical purposes. *FE* also produced anti-drug articles like “Smack: not of us,” which reported the rise of heroin use “and all that follows from an influx of hard drugs—rip offs, burns, murders, uptightness,”¹⁶⁶ and the role syndicated crime

plays in brining the drug to Detroit. In October 1970 on its cover page, *FE* published a drawing depicting the statue “The Spirit of Detroit” with a band wrapped around its right arm, the limb’s vein protruding as the left arm inserts a needle. This headliner for Millard Berry’s piece “smack”¹⁶⁷ offers details on the dangers of heroin and how suburban people ignore the risk as they drive into Detroit to get their fix. Most of the drug imagery connected to the recreational benefits of getting high in *FE* is included in the revenue that supports the paper, the advertisements for head shops selling drug paraphernalia like rolling papers, pipes, and psychedelic posters. To paraphrase Armstrong, this advertising was an important source of income to a paper that should receive “credit-or-blame-for” promoting civil rights and contributing to the end of the Vietnam War.

In addition to having the power to determine what is deviant, who goes to prison, and what wars to fight, the ruling class gets to choose what drugs are acceptable for those they govern. During the Great Depression,” one of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s (FDR) first acts was to rescind Prohibition. Coincidentally, three years after sanctioning alcohol as the drug of choice, the government banned the legal use of marijuana. When alcohol was an illegitimate substance, Joseph Kennedy, one of FDR’s good friends and “major contributor to and fund raiser for”¹⁶⁸ Roosevelt’s 1932 presidential campaign, according to Seymour Hersh, “had been a prominent bootlegger during prohibition”¹⁶⁹ and he “was one of the first to seize a dominant position in the liquor importing business.”¹⁷⁰ Hersh writes that

He used medical permits to avoid the restrictions of Prohibition, gaining intimate knowledge of the industry that would place him ahead of his competitors for the legal trade when the moment arrived. He swept into London in the fall of 1933, when it was clear that Prohibition was about to end, and signed arrangements making him the sole American distributor of two premium scotches and Gordon’s gin. Kennedy established Somerset Importers Ltd., and operated it until its sudden sale, for \$8 million, in 1946 (equivalent to about \$55 million in 1997 dollars).¹⁷¹

Just as drug imagery was part of *FE*’s advertisements, so is the drug imagery of alcohol and at one time, nicotine, used in advertising that provides an important source of revenue for the above ground press. Certainly Joseph Kennedy, who through his friendship with Senator McCarthy was able to deflect the drunkard’s standard attacks away from his son’s political campaign,¹⁷² bought liquor ads in major newspapers and magazines, and if he didn’t, the family name was still framed with the promotion of alcohol. On November 19, 1965, the date listed for *FE*’s issue number one, nearly all of the *DFP*’s page 6B is an advertisement: “Meet the millionaire: Make friends with Fleischmann’s Preferred, the whiskey that sells 26 million bottles a year!” Below the total amount of bottles sold, the rationale for the success the product enjoys is stated: “Confidence. Trust. How else can you explain 26 million bottles.” Pictured with the statement is a fifth of the product, its height and width about the size of an actual bottle. Immediately to the left of the word

millionaire, the *DFP* displays one, a portrait of President John F. Kennedy in an ad for a recording of him reading the Declaration of Independence. One might ask how much confidence and trust the Kopechne family has in the late president's brother's driving ability while under the influence of alcohol.

In her book *Advertising Sin and Sickness*, Pamela E. Pennock discusses the history of alcohol and advertising. She notes, "Most newspapers, magazines, television networks and radio stations cultivated a close relationship with the alcoholic beverage industries for the simple reason that they provided valuable advertising dollars."¹⁷³ And with those dollars they exercised what "many reformers" believed to be "advertisement of alcohol and cigarettes" that "showcased the worst of America's consumer culture: manipulation, profligacy, hedonism, and corruption of innocent youth."¹⁷⁴ Pennock studied the "political coalitions," reviewing "evidence from congressional hearings and debates,"¹⁷⁵ and discovered that alcohol and tobacco businesses "became highly concentrated," many of the companies evolving to "national and even multinational." This growth was simultaneous with the media, which also "increasingly became nationalized as the vast majority of cigarette and alcohol marketing was beamed across the country."¹⁷⁶ The signal marketers wished to send was an image that normalized beer drinking,¹⁷⁷ an indulgence "accepted and consumed as any nonalcoholic beverage."¹⁷⁸ In order to accomplish this task, women, viewed as the one shopping at the grocery store, were the target of campaigns and "had to be persuaded of beer's wholesome goodness and be dissuaded from temperance ideas."¹⁷⁹ Pennock cites the "Budweiser is right at home" sales pitch portraying the suds as something "appropriate for ordinary occasions such as painting Easter eggs or building the model of a new home."¹⁸⁰ Schlitz Beer advertisements offered couple counseling, one ad portraying a husband soothing his wife's distress over scorching his dinner. The image was supported by the slogan, "Anyway, you didn't burn the Schlitz!"¹⁸¹ The ad continued, "There's hope for any young bride who knows her man well enough to serve him Schlitz beer. For what man (or woman) can resist the taste of Schlitz Beer."¹⁸² For electronic media, marketers used animation; one cartoon displaying "a parade of beer bottles and cans marching" to that particular beer company's song, and some "of the best remembered jingles"¹⁸³ in American culture are tunes from beer commercials.

If children didn't appreciate the procession of animated happy beer cans then maybe they could be attracted to Joe Camel, who "promised to meet R.J. Reynolds's objective of 'youthening the brand.'"¹⁸⁴ Allan M. Brandt reports in *The Cigarette Century* the "cartoon figure" was expected to draw criticism from the antitobacco movement, so Reynolds, in advance "devised a clear strategy to respond to critics of the campaign. Cartoons they suggested, promoted many

products from household cleaners (Mr. Clean) to motels (Garfield). Did the Jolly Green Giant convince youngsters to purchase green vegetables?"¹⁸⁵ Assisting the cigarette industry with promotions was Hill & Knowlton, "the most influential public relations firm in the United States,"¹⁸⁶ the company also conducting advertisement for the liquor trade. Hill and Knowlton had a knack for turning scientific data supporting the conclusion that alcohol and tobacco are potentially hazardous by presenting their own medical research depicting their clients as responsible businesses when they deliver products to consumers. The firm also promoted these products' significance to the nation's financial system—in the case of alcohol, praising "the contributions the industry had made to the U.S. economy by listing the number of jobs, the annual payroll, dividend, and tax revenue the industry provided,"¹⁸⁷ plus the maintenance of jobs in other industries involved in the production, packaging, and transportation of the booze.

For generations, U.S. children have been saturated with images of everyday people partaking in state-sanctioned drugs created by tremendous wealth, powerful lobbyists, and endorsed "by so called public officials."¹⁸⁸ Such images have standardized the cultural norms of acceptable consumption. Since the repeal of Prohibition, Pennock says conventional "America, or the 'tastemakers'-the new middle class, most media and marketers, scientists and the intelligentsia-accepted the moderate consumption of alcohol."¹⁸⁹ Most, but not all members of the middle class, media, and the intelligentsia accepted this form of recreation. Participants in UPS and *FE* had distaste for what tastemakers peddled, be it the war or methods for numbness. In October 1966 *FE* published *The East Village Other's* Joel Metz's article explaining "what the Pot People Are," doing to change the world and that "was changing the chemistry of the brain that perceives the world, as people have done in one way or another in every culture we know of since we know not when."¹⁹⁰ He writes, "In our country the national high is alcohol," a buzz that "is a filthy and low thing in comparison with almost any high the world has to offer. It is a 'high' of emptiness, not creation. It actually dulls the senses," and the substance has never made anyone happy, happy for long."¹⁹¹ Meltz adds "alcohol is potentiality addictive, which potentiality is seized upon early in life by millions who suffer alcohol poisoning and bad nutrition for the rest of their lives," and "the bitter irony is the widely successful attempts to project their own shame onto marijuana, a drug vastly different."¹⁹² He points out there "is a whole set of beliefs surfacing around marijuana, almost all of which are completely false, but form the basis for laws anyway," notions that are "widespread illusions" that have been "planted in the late nineteen-thirties by a sensational press, probably working in conjunction with the liquor industry" which "naturally desires to remain as prosperous as it currently is, and if marijuana were legal there would probably be a smaller liquor industry in a very short time."¹⁹³ At the same time, "there's the

tobacco industry, grinding out its deadly dosage day after day, and it would lose too, because pot tastes so very much better than tobacco that millions would rebel in disgust.”¹⁹⁴

One reason for the pervasive illusion regarding marijuana Meltz suggest is that the “alcoholic beverage and cigarette industries have enjoyed tremendous power in American society and economy,” which according to Pennock contributes to how “Americans have often thought about cigarettes and alcoholic beverages together in the same terms, morally and politically.” This attitude enables the public to view excessive consumption of these products as “bad habits”¹⁹⁵ as opposed to addiction. At the same time, the public is willing to accept that the pot people and their underground newspapers are responsible for America becoming the “high society,” possessing a delusional belief that marijuana is the first step toward other drug use and potential drug addiction. Melts points out that pot “is said to lead to really dangerous drugs, such as heroin, morphine, etc., which it positively does not because its effect is totally dissimilar to these drugs.”¹⁹⁶ Whatever the similarities may or may not be, the fact is, people use alcohol and nicotine before marijuana. Bearing in mind the pot people were raised in a society where Budweiser is right at home, and some lived in houses whose parents were World War II and Korean War veterans using alcohol as a coping mechanism for post traumatic stress syndrome. Dr. Gillian Leigh reports in *Alcoholism And Substance Abuse* that several “cultural studies have found that societies with a high frequency of drinking tend also to be less indulgent of the dependency needs of their children,”¹⁹⁷ which impacts the social development of their offspring. Considering that children identify with and imitate parental behavior, “in relation to drug consumption, the family appears to be an important influence.”¹⁹⁸ Dr. Leigh’s research says, “Through the media, a general acceptance of alcohol as part of adult status clearly exists and there is evidence to suggest that advertising stimulates consumption levels in the general population,” while studies show “a fairly consistent progression of young people’s involvement with substances of abuse, beginning with beer and wine, followed by cigarettes and or hard liquor,” before users move on to “marijuana, and finally other illicit drugs.”¹⁹⁹ More than likely this information was not considered when the *DFP* projected images of the pot people associated with *FE* as responsible for the drunken brawl occurring at the Belle Isle Love-In, a fracas precipitated by the beer people who arrived as spectators of the pot and acidheads. They turned out in response to publicity in sources other than Detroit’s underground newspaper. One day prior to the brawl, in a *DFP* edition reporting a hip, aging WSU professor’s plans to attend the Love-In, the paper carried a rather aggressive ad for a larger than life-size opened fifth of “Black & White Buchanan’s Blended Scotch Whiskey” that sits next to a glass of ice, the bottle tilted toward the reader’s lips, a seductive image inviting one to go ahead and take a sip.²⁰⁰

When investigating images supporting stereotypes, often you find the representations presented are not accurate portrayals of those who are assumed to live up to the imagery.

Regarding *Time's* statement about UPS, if anyone would have been happy if LBJ switched his initials to LSD, it would have been the magazine and its publishers. Haas and Schudson write,

Such was the case with LSD in the 1950s and 1960s, with *Time* and *Life* magazines, many of which portrayed the mind-bending drug in wondrous terms, according to Miami University (of Ohio) journalism professor Steven Sift. Writing in the last edition of *Journalism History*, Sift finds that *Time* and *Life* were hooked on LSD, dedicating more coverage to it than other major newsweeklies, and lacing it all with heavy Christian imagery.²⁰¹

According to Haas and Schudson, Sift discovered that “*Time* devoted 19,000 words to the drug almost twice as many as *Newsweek* and ten times as many as *U.S. News & World Report*.”²⁰² The magazine’s obsession with the drug comes with the members of the American elite class’s fascination with LSD. LSD. Martin A. Lee & Bruce Shlain note in their book *Acid Dreams* that Clare Boothe Luce, a former member of “President Reagan’s Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, which oversees covert operations conducted by the CIA” was a fan of the drug, stating,

LSD was fine by Mrs. Luce as long as it remained strictly a drug for the doctors and their friends in the ruling class. But she didn’t like the idea that others might also want to partake of the experience. ‘We wouldn’t want everyone doing too much of a good thing, she explained.’²⁰³

Lee & Shlain also report that Mr. Luce, who “encouraged his correspondents to collaborate with the CIA, and his publishing empire served as a long time propaganda asset for the agency,” would somehow

find the time to experiment with LSD—not for medical reasons, but simply to experience the drug and glean whatever pleasures and insights it might afford. An avid fan of psyche delics, he turned on half-dozen times in the late 1950s and early 1960s under the supervision of Dr. Sidney Cohen. On one occasion the media magnet claimed he talked to God on the golf course and found that the Old Boy was pretty much on top of things. During another trip the tone-deaf publisher is said to have heard music so enchanting that he walked into a cactus garden and began conducting a phantom orchestra.²⁰⁴

If the Luces thought it best to keep the drug in the hands of the elite, then perhaps they would have been better served by keeping the hallucinatory images from pouring out of its magazines. In May 1957 *Life* shared with the American public J. P. Morgan and Company Vice President R. Gordan Wasson’s explorations of the secluded high grounds of Mexico, where after he ate some of the plant life indigenous to the area, discovered he and his friends were “never more awake, and the visions came whether our eyes were open or not.”²⁰⁵ Lee & Shlain state, “Among those whose interest was piqued by Wasson’s article in *Life* was a young professor named Timothy Leary,”²⁰⁶ who became a disciple of LSD and then served as the messenger sharing the news with those less fortunate than the Luce family.

One aspect of “the stereotyping process,” Ewing and Ewing recognize, is that the “elaboration of formulas” creates for “audiences” a chance to “identify with certain characters,” an opportunity to “project their deepest anxieties onto others.”²⁰⁷ From its inaugural November 1965 edition until July 29, 1966, the initials LSD appear once in *FE*, and they are not presented in a way that glorifies the drug’s virtues. That appearance occurred in January 1966 when the paper published the results from Dale Ovshinsky’s interview with Drs. Hoffer and Humphrey Osmond “on drugs that tend to mimic psychosis.”²⁰⁸ In his article “Huxley, Hoffer and Osmond-Psychedelic Originators,” Ovshinsky shared with his *FE* audience, “It would be unrealistic and unwise for the mass of people to use these psychedelic drugs since the drugs are unpredictable.” Everyone “should remember how dangerous it can be for people to give themselves substances that can imitate a psychosis.”²⁰⁹ Ovshinsky concludes, “It is quite natural for young people to be curious about these chemicals, yet there are sad times when curiosity kills the cat.”²¹⁰ In June 1966, *FE* published Leary’s UPS column “Turn On/Tune In/Drop Out,” an article in which the high priest of LSD did not reference the hallucinogenic. Leary’s June column focused on social ills caused by social institutions, and his recommendation for turning on, tuning in, and dropping out was to practice meditation. By the tone of Ovshinsky’s article, it sounds as if *FE*’s editor would have had concern for LBJ if he changed his initials to LSD.

FE, like *Time*, also carried Christian imagery, inserting memorandums from the Bible, one intended for LBJ, another to the world, the communication translated by Jerry Hopkins. Two of the messages are versus quoted from the Book of Isaiah, the first “MEMO” stating,

To: Lyndon Johnson, From: The Bible, Subject: What You Are Doing: Because ye have said, we have made a covenant with death, and with hell are we at Agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it shall not come unto us; For we have made lies our refuge and under falsehood have we hid ourselves. Isaiah 28:15²¹¹

The second memo addressed “To: The World, From: The Bible, Subject: Lyndon Johnson,” states, “All nations before him are as nothing; and they are counted on to him less than nothing, and vanity- Isaiah 40:17”²¹² The *Open Bible* recalls Isaiah as an Old Testament prophet concerned with the Kingdom of Judah’s readiness “to follow Israel’s example of apostasy,” the Kingdom preferring to turn away from its “biblical faith” and reach out to “pagan Assyria for protection and deliverance, rather than her covenant with God, Jehovah.” It was in opposition of “this unfaithfulness” that Isaiah demonstrated an unwavering “protest.”²¹³ Like Isaiah, *FE* was steadfast in its dissent against LBJ, warning of his administration’s lies to the American people, the untruths perpetuated by established media sources such as *Time*, and of their unfaithfulness to the U.S. Constitution in prosecution of an undeclared war that ended with close to 60,000 American deaths, and who really knows the number of Asians killed in the region.

Like biblical prophets, or other forecasters found in different historical accounts that suffered persecution when they attempted to introduce testimony contradicting prevailing norms intuitive to a cultural system, *FE* and its staff endured prejudice from the community at large. The paper suffered from relentless government suppression, which not only violated its constitutional rights but also saw agents and sometimes civilians break into its offices, bust up their equipment, and steal or destroy its documents. The repression *FE* experienced was enough to cause Peter Werbe to have second thoughts regarding what the paper should report. In 2008 he expressed regret at not going ahead with publishing material reporting the Mai Lai Massacre,²¹⁴ the atrocities revealed by Seymour Hersh in the *St Louis Post Dispatch*, reporting that won Hersh the Pulitzer Prize. Werbe was aware of incidents of this nature, reading reports from a North Vietnamese newspaper, the *Hanoi Courier*,²¹⁵ which was sent to Detroit through Czechoslovakia, but he and the *FE* staff refrained from publishing them because of the amount of abuse the paper had received in its reporting of news not as severe as American troops committing torture, cruelty, and slaughter of Vietnamese civilians.

Although Hersh's reporting is commendable, the fact is people like Werbe, Dena Clamage, Frank Joyce, Harvey Ovshinsky, John and Leni Sinclair, Nick Medvecky, and the many others who worked on papers like *FE*, prepped the American public for such atrocities and other revelations like the *Pentagon Papers*. Ironically, awards for journalists are usually reserved for people working at *Time*, a magazine that doesn't get enough praise, or criticism, for implementing Henry Luce's acid-filled distorted vision of what really was happening on the Asian continent, an hallucination that contributed to America's involvement in Vietnam. Reporters from prestigious newspapers received the prizes for their Vietnam coverage due in part to *Time*, "the tastemakers," as Schesch called it. The tastemaker conveyed an image of a concealed, secret group, a separate force in American culture working to overthrow the government. There would be no Pulitzers for them. The reality is the underground consisted of people, some who tripped on LSD, that got lippy about the war and when they talked back to the government, the ruling class decided they didn't want everyone doing too much of a good thing anymore. When you compare *FE's* one article prior to July 29, 1966 with *Time's* "19,000 words," the person most desirous for LBJ changing his initials to LSD was Henry Luce. Through his magazine's efforts, he not only could shut up the dissenters protesting a war he helped create, but with less noise coming from that social class, there would be fewer interruptions to his conversations with God on the golf course, and the clairvoyance and tone of his phantom opera would have greater appeal.

Notes

1. Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World Is Watching: mass media in the making & unmaking of the news left* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 1-2.
2. Gitlin, 2.
3. Gitlin, 2.
4. Gitlin, 2.
5. *Detroit Fifth Estate*, November 19, 1965.
6. Harvey Ovshinsky, Interview by author, Ann Arbor, MI. March 24, 2008.
7. Harvey Ovshinsky, Interview by author, Ann Arbor, MI. March 24, 2008.
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Appendix

Distortion of a UM-Flint Graduate

John Sinclair attended the Flint College of the University of Michigan, graduating in January 1964.¹ Maybe you have heard of him? Following his graduation he moved to Detroit's Warren-Forest neighborhood and enrolled at Wayne State University (WSU) to pursue a Master's Degree in American Literature. Shortly after moving to Detroit, Sinclair began to establish friendships with musicians, writers, and political activists, and by autumn 1964 he and his new friends instituted the Detroit Artist Workshop (DAW), which promoted jazz concerts, photography exhibitions, and poetry readings. Sinclair was also a jazz enthusiast and possessed enough expertise on this genre to enable him to write columns for *Downbeat* magazine, a Chicago based periodical dedicated to covering the music.² About a year after foundation of the DAW, a local kid, seventeen-year-old Harvey Ovshinsky, was busy trying to keep alive a newspaper he recently started with some friends from high school, and they desperately needed help, specifically finding advertising and writers. While he moved about town promoting the newspaper, Ovshinsky heard about Sinclair from others as they suggested he contact Sinclair for advice on how to maintain the paper. Acting on this recommendation, Ovshinsky was able to track Sinclair down in Warren-Forest, where he met and discussed with Sinclair the prospect of his writing for the Detroit *Fifth Estate* (*FE*).³ The meeting resulted in Sinclair becoming a columnist for *FE*, his first work appearing in the paper's December 1965's second issue.⁴

Abbie Hoffman, the 1960s political activist had heard of Sinclair. At the August 1969 Woodstock Music Festival, he stepped on stage before the hundreds of thousands in attendance to deliver a political speech on Sinclair's behalf. Before Hoffman could share much information with the crowd about Sinclair, who at the time was in a little trouble with the law, Pete Townsend, the legendary guitarist for the English rock band The Who, silenced Hoffman by clubbing him over the head with his guitar.⁵ Who knows what Hoffman might have said regarding Sinclair if Townsend had allowed him to say more than a few words? Chances are, whatever he planned to reveal at Woodstock, the information presented would not have matched the amount of knowledge the U.S. government already had concerning *FE's* columnist. In an essay written for *IMAGINE NATION: THE AMERICAN COUNTER CULTURE OF THE 1960s & '70s*, Jeff Hale reported that President Richard M. Nixon, Attorney General John Mitchell, House of Representatives Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford, and FBI director J. Edgar Hoover had heard of Sinclair. They sat in the White House trying to figure out what to do with him and some of his comrades. Although still writing for *FE*, Sinclair had moved to Ann Arbor where he and

others formed the White Panthers Party, an organization modeled after The Black Panthers. Hale writes the White Panthers “became a major target for the FBI’s counterintelligence (or ‘COINTELPRO’) program between 1968 and 1971. In October 1970, the FBI referred to the White Panthers as ‘potentially the largest and most dangerous of revolutionary organizations in the United States.’”⁶ At the time the FBI had deemed the White Panthers one of the most treacherous associations operating in the country. Sinclair was already locked up in the Marquette, MI, State Prison, serving a ten-year sentence for giving two marijuana joints to a Detroit undercover detective. Former Beatle John Lennon had also heard of Sinclair and was interested enough to perform at a December 1971 benefit concert at the University of Michigan’s Chrysler Arena on his behalf. A few days later, the State’s Supreme Court set Sinclair free. Hale believes, “The national trend of marijuana decriminalization during the Seventies owed much to the two and a half years John Sinclair had spent behind bars.”⁷

Sinclair had been in trouble with the law before, having twice been arrested on marijuana charges, but his legal difficulties became even more challenging as a consequence of running into a young man named David Valler. Valler was known throughout the Warren-Forest neighborhood as “President Dave,” having announced his candidacy for the presidency of the United States in 1968. In February of that year he placed an ad in *FE*’s “Unclassified Section” soliciting money for his campaign; the ad stated,

The Revolution is Now! David for U.S. President. DAVID IS LOVE. DAVID IS. ONE MAN with GOD is a MAJORITY. If you want the world changed only you can change it. Financial assistance needed. DAVID for PRESIDENT Committee, 4743 Third, Detroit.⁸

While on the campaign trail, however, he got himself into trouble, perhaps misusing the money anyone contributed to his candidacy as he was arrested for selling marijuana. *FE* reported in May 1968 that

Detroit has made history again. For the first time in history a presidential candidate has been busted for dealing grass. On April 10, David Valler, the candidate who is known to his followers as simply ‘David’ was arrested in his apartment at Third and Hancock by members of the Detroit Narcotics Bureau.⁹

After spending “three days in jail before Sinclair” and others came up with bail money, upon his release Valler informed *FE*, “This incident stresses even more the need for my program” and he promised the paper the “inconvenience will not stop him from continuing his campaign for the presidency.”¹⁰

Back on the streets, Valler continued selling marijuana and was again arrested in a house located in northwest Detroit. *FE* reported, “Apparently, the Feds were not only trailing Dave, but taking advantage of his dope dealing trade. Over a period of weeks, Dave sold to six different federal undercover agents-they weren’t taking any chances of conviction.”¹¹ Valler was charged

with a “sales and possession charge, his bail set at 25,000 dollars.”¹² In between selling weed to undercover agents, Valler began meeting with a group of conspirators to enact a violent scheme that ended with a series of bombs detonating in the Detroit area, one blasting “open the Institute of Science and Technology Building on the UM campus,” another destroying the “semi-secret CIA recruiting office in downtown Ann Arbor.”¹³ *FE* thought “the cops and Feds are sure Dave Valler is behind the Detroit Bombings. They’ve told that to the Detroit News and they have consistently trailed Dave,” but according to the paper, the issue for law enforcement is “they have no evidence to directly connect” Valler “with the dynamiting.”¹⁴ Law enforcement went to work fixing that problem, figuring out a way to get Valler to explain who was in on the conspiracy, an explanation “Blaming John Sinclair.”¹⁵ According to *FE*, Valler informed authorities he began meeting with Sinclair “at the First Unitarian Universalist Church, 4605 Cass Ave”¹⁶ in early September, a discussion taking place a week after the first bomb exploded at a Woodward Ave. police station parking lot, a few blocks from the Unitarian church. In a court document obtained by *FE*, Valler also informed, “On or about September 14 ...Lawrence Robert ‘Pun’ Plamondon and David Joseph Valler had a meeting at the Detroit offices of the ‘Fifth Estate.’”¹⁷ Plamondon went underground, making the FBI’s top ten most wanted list, before he was arrested on a Northern Michigan highway.¹⁸

On September 20, 1968, Valler made the *Detroit News* front-page. The paper featured a picture of the longhaired smiling presidential candidate wearing a “peace medallion around his neck,” below an article headlined, “Dave the hippie - police on his trail in the bombings.” Next to the heading and the article itself, the *News* placed a rectangle that included drawings of a bundle of dynamite and the peace symbol; between the sketches a quote from Valler was included: “They have enough reason to follow me - the people I associate with, my feelings about society.” The first sentence presented in the article states, “The police are keeping a close eye on the hippie and new left community around Wayne State University.”¹⁹ Midway through the piece, after details are provided about the bombing sites and personal history is shared about Valler, the *News*, “ASKED WHAT WOULD MAKE the police suspect him” and

President Dave noted he had been a member of the radical Students for a Democratic Society, had worked for and still does write some articles for the Fifth Estate, Detroit’s main underground newspaper, and he works with the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam.²⁰

At the article’s conclusion, the *News* reported

His platform calls for an end to the war in Vietnam, redistributing the wealth, more free legal services for the poor and more personal freedoms. He lists the latter as ‘suicide drugs and sex.’ He wants the government to manufacture LSD.²¹

Immediately prior to this statement, readers were informed,

In late December and early January, Dave began mimeographing a four page pamphlet announcing his candidacy for president. Using the facilities of the Fifth Estate, and the antiwar group, he ran off about 10,000 copies in small amounts whenever he could afford the paper.²²

On August 31, 1969, in the *Detroit News SUNDAY MAGAZINE*, the paper published “Inside Dope’s Distorted World,” the first of a series of articles written by Valler that explained what the distortion was really like. On the magazine’s cover, the *News* wrote,

He was Detroit’s hippies President Dave...Narcotics turned him into No 123110 in Jackson Prison... Now David Valler wants to tell the truth about Dope’s fantasy world, and write about fresh insight about the real world of youth and adults and the gap between.²³

Valler identified his sophomore year at WSU as his point of entry into the distorted world when he became “interested in an antiwar group”²⁴ near the university. He wrote, “So I joined the ‘Detroit Committee to End the War In Vietnam,’ dropped out of college, and told my draft board I had no intentions of fighting in a war and killing people thousands of miles away.”²⁵ After enlisting with the Detroit group, Valler admitted he attended antiwar protests staged in Berkeley, CA, Chicago, New York, and several different demonstrations throughout Michigan. He claimed his “growth as protester was stunted” in Berkeley, watching the other demonstrators get “clubbed and tear-gassed” by the police, and that he “was frustrated by the lack of success in the protest marches and meetings.”²⁶ After his admission that antiwar protest is futile, Valler continued, “About the same time a long haired bearded hippie asked at an antiwar meeting I attended if in Detroit there was anyone who wanted to work with him to get marijuana legalized.”²⁷ Although no one is mentioned by name, Valler begins to portray a composite sketch of the hippie, a portrayal of a character resembling none other than John Sinclair, albeit a Sinclair with an ax to grind. He writes that the hippie’s “personality and appearance was bizarre and fascinating. I had seen one or two people like him on campus, but I never talked to them on campus.”²⁸ Valler decided to attend one of the legalization meetings, which is where his “involvement with drugs began.”²⁹ He recalls that at the meeting,

The hippie spoke with bitter determination. He had been to jail twice for possession of marijuana, and I noticed besides his desire to get marijuana legalized there was a tone of revenge in his voice. He passed out pamphlets he had mimeographed telling how marijuana was and he projected future Meetings.³⁰

Valler was impressed with the literature handed to him. The pamphlet contained medical research claiming marijuana as harmless, and the promoter’s “logic was convincing.”³¹ He anxiously looked to the next meeting, wanting to learn more about the presenter’s personal attire, the long hair, and the beads, inquisitive about “what he did for a living and what his goal in life was. I waited apprehensively for the next meeting, eager to talk more with him. But it never came. He

was arrested for distributing marijuana.”³²

Despite the hippie’s sudden disappearance due to the arrest, Valler still had unanswered questions about drugs, especially about LSD. He was able to learn about the hallucinogenic through a recently created newspaper that he did not identify by name, but like the mysterious hippie he writes about, the paper sounds a lot like *FE*. Valler stated,

Two of the organizers of the antiwar group had also begun to publish a hippie newspaper, an ‘underground newspaper’ and in one issue they printed an article by Timothy Leary (the former Harvard professor) telling about the wonders of LSD. People were calling it a ‘mind expanding’ drug, a journey into greater awareness and understanding.³³

Reading that article in *FE* really perked his interest in LSD, and Valler was bound and determined to get some. His opportunity came

when the hippie got out of jail on bond and threw a benefit band concert for himself, I attended. I asked until I found a pusher from San Francisco with LSD. I bought enough for me and a friend, and a group of us traveled to Northern Michigan cottage to take it on a cold February day in 1966.³⁴

His trip up north “BEGAN his experiment with LSD that created a world of fantasy and delusions which lasted until December 1968.”³⁵ According to Valler, he “never got to sit down and talk with the hippie again but I learned first hand the process he went through that made him stand out in society like a sore thumb.”³⁶ He admitted being “lost in a world of confusion,” unable to concentrate at work, and his drug use intensified: “I had taken 200 to 300 doses of LSD (and countless amounts of marijuana between 1966 and 1968, which led him to become “more and more involved with other drug users.”³⁷

In Valler’s story, what is really distorted is the truth. He mentioned that after reading Timothy Leary’s article in the hippie newspaper started in Detroit by two local antiwar activists, he went on to purchase LSD at a benefit concert for the hippie. Prior to February 1966, the only underground newspaper then published in the city was *FE*. Interestingly enough, *FE* had not published any articles written by Leary until the Underground Press Syndicate (UPS) was formed in June 1966, at which time the paper published a Leary article that omits any mention of LSD. Regarding a benefit concert raising defense funds for the hippie in Detroit during December 1965, or January and February 1966, there was no such event. *FE*, which is the first newspaper in Detroit to present a calendar of events scheduled for the community, does not list any benefit concert for any hippie needing cash for a lawyer, which the paper certainly would have cited. Since Valler was locked up in jail from October-December 1968, another fact worth investigating is where did he get the LSD, since his world of fantasy and delusion lasted until December 1968. The reality is, in America, up until 1966, if anyone read about LSD, it was in *Time* or *Life* magazine, for these publications loved to write about it. As far as the *News* report that Valler

wrote articles for *FE*, outside of his ad asking for money and a letter he wrote from jail published in the paper during November 1968, Valler would have to be considered more of a News staff writer than one belonging to *FE*'s. In May 1967, *FE* published Valler's "Nancy Sinatra-Something Stupid?" an article suggesting the singer's career was influenced by Frank, her father, a story atypical to what you might expect to find in *FE*. But then again, for being labeled a "hippie newspaper," there is a lot of information contained in *FE* that some people might find surprising

Valler's article, "Distorted World of Dope," is one example of how local media, in this case the *Detroit News*, went out of its way to present *FE* as a drug paper, an LSD haven—imagery that perhaps contributed to mistreatment of the paper and its staff, which declared January 24, 1970 as "John Sinclair Day." Earlier that month *FE* reported that on "the third anniversary of when John and 55 other people were busted at the old Artists' Workshop," people throughout the U.S. "will be holding benefits to raise money for the International Committee to Free John Sinclair and to educate people to what is happening in Amerika."³⁸ Of the fifty-five apprehended at the DAW, "Sinclair is the only one to do any time of those arrested. Most were released without being charged."³⁹ Apparently, someone other than fundraisers for the international committee had heard of John Sinclair, and they didn't like what the UM-Flint alumnus had to say.

Notes

1. John Sinclair, *Guitar Army: Rock & Revolution with MC5 and The White Panther Party* (Process: 1971), 46.
2. David A. Carson, *Grit, Noise, & Revolution; the birth of Detroit rock 'n' roll* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005), 108-109.
3. Harvey Ovshinsky, Interview by author, Ann Arbor, MI, March 24, 2008.
4. John Sinclair, "The Coat Puller," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, December 3, 1965.
5. Carson, *Grit, Noise, & Revolution*, 213.
6. Jeff A. Hale, *Imagine Nation: The American Counter Culture Of The 1960s & '70s* ed. By Peter Braunstein and Michael William Doyle (Routledge: New York, 2002), 125.
7. Hale, *Imagine Nation*, 150.
8. Dave Valler, "Unclassifieds," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, February 15, 1968.
9. "David busted," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, May 1, 1968.
10. "David busted,"

11. "Pres. Dave Busted," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, October 17, 1968.
12. "Pres. Dave Busted,"
13. Michael Dover, Liberation News Service, "U of M bombed," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, October 31, 1968.
14. "Pres. Dave Busted,"
15. "Better Living Thru Lying," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, October 16, 1969.
16. "Better Living Thru Lying."
17. "Better Living Thru Lying."
18. "Litter Bugs Pun," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, August 6, 1970.
19. Steve Cain, 'Dave the hippie-police on his trail in bombings,' *Detroit News*, September 20, 1968.
20. Cain, "Dave the hippie-police on his trail in bombings."
21. Cain, "Dave the hippie-police on his trail in bombings."
22. Cain, "Dave the hippie-police on his trail in bombings."
23. David J. Valler, "Dope's distorted world as seen by one of its victims," *Detroit News Sunday Magazine*, August 31, 1969.
24. Valler, "Dope's distorted world as seen by one of its victims."
25. Valler, "Dope's distorted world as seen by one of its victims."
26. Valler, "Dope's distorted world as seen by one of its victims."
27. Valler, "Dope's distorted world as seen by one of its victims."
28. Valler, "Dope's distorted world as seen by one of its victims."
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31. Valler, "Dope's distorted world as seen by one of its victims."
32. Valler, "Dope's distorted world as seen by one of its victims."
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34. Valler, "Dope's distorted world as seen by one of its victims."
35. Valler, "Dope's distorted world as seen by one of its victims."
36. Valler, "Dope's distorted world as seen by one of its victims."
37. Valler, "Dope's distorted world as seen by one of its victims."
38. "January 24 Free John Sinclair Day," *Detroit Fifth Estate*, January 8, 1970.
39. "January 24 Free John Sinclair Day."

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