

DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS

BOX 15 OF 16

FOLDER 22

RACIST FUNDING RADICAL
ORGANIZATIONS 1971

resist

We cannot oppose the war without opposing the institutions that support and maintain it . . . Resistance to many forms of illegitimate authority is necessary to bring health to this country and make it a constructive force instead of a terror in the politics of nations.

—from A New Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority

ROOM 4 · 763 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE · CAMBRIDGE · MASSACHUSETTS 02139
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December 1, 1971

Dear Friends:

Do you know the names of these organizations?

Pit River Tribal Council
Black Lung Association
United Front of St. Louis

Appalachian Movement Press
Women's Center of Los Angeles
United Farmworkers of Florida

They are but a few of the local groups throughout America, struggling for fundamental change, challenging the institutions of power where people work and live.

Their movement has been growing, unspectacularly but steadily. It is seldom a movement of marches and events, but of the grinding work of starting a peoples' health clinic, organizing migrant laborers, and day-by-day challenging King Coal, the officialdom of Tallahassee or McDowell County, Chrysler Corporation, Pacific Gas and Electric Company. The government and the police show increasing severity toward this movement. It can protect itself to some extent (see the enclosed ad for a movement security kit) but in the long run the only defense against repression is growth. Helping new movement groups to grow is the chief work of RESIST.

Every month RESIST gets requests from some two dozen of them. For four years we have been responding to all we can—\$300 for a car or to outfit an office, \$450 over three months for rent, \$40 a month for an organizer's salary. Small amounts indeed, but often the difference between desperation and growth.

RESIST's task has grown harder in the '70's. Partly because more such groups need more help. Partly too because the slaughter of Indo-Chinese people and the power structure which is responsible for this slaughter continues despite our efforts. Some of us may have fallen into cynicism that keeps us from committing ourselves and our resources to radical democratic change in America, but in fact this is a time when we need to deepen our commitment.

We will let the enclosures tell you more about our work; it speaks for itself. We know your response will too.

Alexander Calder

Denise Leventon

Donald Kalish

Noam Chomsky

Benjamin Spock

STEERING COMMITTEE: TONY AVIRGAN Syracuse, New York BELL CHEVIGNY New York City JUDY CHOMSKY Philadelphia Resistance NOAM CHOMSKY Massachusetts Institute of Technology WILLIAM DAVIDON Haverford College MITCHELL GOODMAN Temple, Maine FLORENCE HOWE State University of New York, Old Westbury FRANK JOYCE Detroit, Michigan DONALD KALISH University of California, Los Angeles HANS KONINGSBERGER Boston University PAUL LAUTER National Director, New York City RICHARD OHMANN Wesleyan University GRACE PALEY New York City CLAUDETTE PIPER Cambridge, Massachusetts MICHELE RUSSELL Detroit, Michigan SUSAN SONTAG New York City BARBARA WEBSTER New York City ROBERT ZEVIN Lincoln, Massachusetts

Below is listed approximately one-third of the groups RESIST has funded since its beginning in 1967. Space restricts us from listing all of them. This sample, however, will give you an idea of the scope and interest of RESIST.

Action-Amram Project, Philadelphia, Pa.
Alabama Movement Press
The Ally, anti-war newspaper for G.I.'s
American Documentary Films, New York City
American Exile Counseling Center, Montreal, Quebec

American Vets for Peace
Appalachian Movement Press, West Virginia
Austin Draft Resistance Union, Texas
Baltimore Peace Action Center, Maryland
Black Draft Counseling Union, San Francisco

Black Draft Resistance Union, New Haven, Conn.
Black Economic Alliance, St. Petersburg, Fla.
Black People's Community Fund, Shelby, N.C.
Black Star Publishing, Detroit, Mich.
Black United Liberation Front, Philadelphia

Bloomington Draft Project, Indiana
Chicago Area Military Project, Illinois
Chicago Connections, Illinois
Chinatown-Manilatown Draft Help, San Francisco
Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam

Cleveland Women's Liberation, Ohio
The Committee of Conscience, Waterbury, Conn.
Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East
Committee of Women to Defend the Right to Live
Common Sense Books, Cambridge, Mass.

Connections, prison support, San Francisco
A Different Drummer, Little Rock, Arkansas
DMZ Coffeehouse, Alexandria, Virginia
Dorchester TEnants Action Council, Massachusetts
Draft Resistance, Seattle, Washington

Drum, Detroit, Michigan
Earth Onion, Atlanta, Georgia
El Grito del Norte, an Alianza newspaper, N.M.
En La Brecha, Boston, Massachusetts
Fellowship of Reconciliation, Nyack, New York

Fort Dix Coffeehouse, Wrightstown, New Jersey
A Four Year Bummer
Free Chinatown Committee, Boston, Massachusetts
Free University Press, Dallas, Texas
Friends Peace Council, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Gay Liberation Front, Los Angeles, California
G.I. Alliance, Tacoma, Washington
G.I.'s United, Baltimore, Maryland
Greater Rochester Student Union, Rochester, N.Y.
Hard Times, community newspaper, Worcester, Mass.

Hawaii Resistance, Honolulu, Hawaii
Hotchrot, Cleveland, Ohio
Indo-China Research Center, Washington, D.C.
Inner City Organizing Committee, Detroit, Mich.
International Black Workers Congress, Chicago

King Community Center, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
The Kudzu, Jackson, Mississippi
Jibaro Jibara, Roxbury, Massachusetts
The Jackson Human Rights Project, Mississippi
Junta of Militant Organizations, St. Petersburg, Fla.

The Kensington Project, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Liberacion, Puerto Rico
Liberation News Service, New York City
Los Angeles Resistance, California
Lowell Project, working class organizing, Massachusetts

Lynn Coalition for Peace and Justice, Massachusetts
Madison Tenants Union, Wisconsin
Malcolm X United Liberation Front, Tallahassee, Fla.
Media Center, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Memphis Committee to Defend Angela Davis, Tenn.

Military Draft Counseling, Japan
Military Research Group, Santa Monica, California
Milwaukee County Welfare Rights Organization, Wisc.
Milwaukee Newsreel, Wisconsin
Mississippi Draft Information Center, Mississippi

Mobile Non-Violent Information Service, Rhode Island
Mother Jones Collective, Baltimore, Maryland
Motor City Labor League, Detroit, Michigan
The Movement Workshop, Springfield, Massachusetts
National Association of Black Students, Washington, D.C.

National Caucus for Labor Committee, New York
National Lawyers Guild, New York City
N.E. Committee for Non-Violent Action, Connecticut
New England Free Press, Boston, Massachusetts
New Hampshire People's Press, Portsmouth, N.H.

New Mexico Resistance
North Lands Research Institute, Minnesota
Off Our Backs, Washington, D.C.
The Oleo Strut, G.I. Coffeehouse, Killeen, Texas
Overtime, workers. newspaper, Danville, Illinois

Palo Alto Resistance, California
Peacemakers Sharing Fund, Cincinnati, Ohio
The People's Bookstore, Sacramento, California
People's Day Care Center, Yellow Springs, Ohio
The People First, Dorchester, Massachusetts

Philadelphia Women's Center, Pennsylvania
Phoenix Area Draft Resistance, Arizona
Pit River Tribal Council, Montgomery Creek, California
Puerto Rican Peace Center, San Juan
Radical Teacher's Collective, Baltimore, Maryland

The Red Pencil, Cambridge, Massachusetts
The Red Sticks Collective, Little Rock, Arkansas
Resurrection City, Browns, Alabama
Rising Up Angry, Chicago, Illinois
Rough Draft, G.I. newspaper, Virginia

RYM, The People's Bookstore, Racine, Wisconsin
San Pedro Community Draft Resistance Project, California
Shanti Community Co-op Bookshop, Venice, California
Shelter Half, G.I. coffeehouse, Tacoma, Washington
Shot Tower, Baltimore, Maryland

Soledad Brother's Defense Committee, California
The Society of Creative Concern, Cambridge, Massachusetts
Southern Christian Educational Fund, Kentucky
Southwest Ohio Women's Liberation
Student Organizing Committee, Chicago, Illinois

Tacoma Resistance, Washington
TNS-The Next Step, Frankfurt, Germany
Toronto Anti-Draft Programme
Twenty-Seventh Street Free People's Clinic, Wisconsin
Twin Cities Resistance, Minneapolis, Minnesota

Up From Under, New York City
Urban Training Center, Chicago, Illinois
United Front, St. Louis, Missouri
Vietnam G.I., anti-war newspaper for G.I.'s
Vocations for Social Change, Canyon, California

War Resisters League, Newark, New Jersey
We Got the Brass, Frankfurt, Germany
Wild Cat, Chicago, Illinois
Wildcat Women, Baltimore, Maryland
Wilmington Anti-Draft Committee, Delaware

Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union
Women's Educational and Recreational Fund, Inc., Arkansas
Women's History Research Center, Inc., Baltimore, Maryland
The Women's Center, Los Angeles, California
The Young Lord's Party, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania



SIX GROUPS, AMONG THOSE FUNDED BY RESIST IN THE PAST YEAR, DESCRIBE THE LOCAL ORGANIZING PROJECTS IN WHICH THEY WORK:

UNITED FARMWORKERS OF FLORIDA (Delray Beach, Florida)

We are all too aware of the fact that we are exploited by farmers, politicians, merchants and poverty programs alike. During the off season (the farming season in South Florida from October to May) we have been concentrating our attack on the politicians and poverty programs. While these demonstrations have resulted in some food for families without food, some clothes for families without clothes, and a lot of publicity, our main purpose has been to demonstrate to as many of our people as possible the extent to which the government fails to meet our most basic needs. . . Also, we must say something about our Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano groups being bonded together. We have, we feel, overcome the barrier that politicians and bosses have used for so long to build a wall of prejudice between each of these ethnic groups which are oppressed together. We feel this joining together of oppressed people of different ethnic groups will present a force with which the politicians and economic forces which create this poverty cannot deal effectively on their own terms. Our aims to effect real change in the material living conditions of our people involve a realization of the shortcomings of the traditional labor movement, and we hope to go beyond them, internally and externally, in our attempt to effect change.

THE WOMEN'S CENTER (Los Angeles, California)

The Women's Center has always been open to all women and represents no one "line". There has always been a project or committee that every woman who comes to the Center could relate to - child care, abortion, women in labor, media, women's liberation defense committee. Our reading materials include items for radical feminists, lesbian feminists, welfare women, minority women, Marxist women and every tangent of the above. . . Our first priority was establishing the provision of services - contraceptive and abortion counselling (with emphasis on the need for women to control their own bodies), psychological counselling (with emphasis on women's problems stemming from the irreconcilability of individual's needs and desires and what society has traditionally told women they should be and do), vocational counselling (with emphasis on encouraging women to go beyond traditional women's jobs), legal counselling (now concentrating on domestic relations work). We also have an active Speaker's Bureau.

APPALACHIAN MOVEMENT PRESS

Appalachian Movement Press has a two-fold purpose. First, we attempt to publish and distribute in pamphlet form articles on the history, culture, colonial status, and contemporary struggle in Appalachia. Secondly, AMP does content printing for community, labor, G.I., Welfare Rights, women, and campus groups in Appalachia working for social change. Our clientele is that body of people previously disenfranchised from the printed media due to prohibitive costs or "subversive" content. We DO NOT do commercial printing and thereby avoid undercutting the livelihood of regional tradesmen in an already very competitive and cutthroat market. . . We have established a very good working relationship with several welfare rights groups in the region, are going to be printing a G.I. paper for Ft. Knox people, a community newspaper in Washington County, Virginia, and have done some printing for a labor alliance group in West Virginia. Students throughout the region are beginning to move seriously for Appalachian Studies programs and we have had more than a little to do with this interest developing and will provide a lot of information for such programs.

PIT RIVER TRIBAL COUNCIL (Montgomery Creek, California)

Presently we are in physical and legal confrontation with Pacific Gas and Electric Company (the largest privately owned utility in California), and only two weeks ago (6/71), we defeated them in Municipal Court, Sacramento, California. They charged us with: TRESPASS. We contend that a man cannot trespass on his own land, and that PG & E is the true trespassor. The courts found us "not guilty". At this time we are bringing charges against PG & E for: TRESPASS. . . The corporations we are playing political ping-pong with at this moment are: Kimberly-Clark, U.S. Plywood, PG & E, S.P. Railroad and Land Company, Bank of America, Safeway Stores, Federal Government, State Government, Watt Lumber Company, L.A. Times & Mirror Corporation, Hearst Publications, San Francisco Examiner, and many other organizations. Included also in a tie-in with interlocking directorships is Con Edison of New York, and the First National Bank of New York. The list is impressive. You can see from this partial list our situation, and the angry goliaths we are facing. We see ourselves as David. Except a David who has been abused, beaten, scarred, ridiculed and put down by the dominant society for nearly half a century. Sometimes I wonder where the handful of people get the strength to continue to struggle. But they seem to rebound stronger after each fight.

THE UNITED FRONT (Cairo, Illinois - St. Louis, Missouri)

The Front is the only group in the entire region that has been able to organize a sufficient number of black people into an effective movement and, particularly by means of the boycott of white merchants, to threaten the power of The Man. The oppression continues, white police and some blacks keep the ghettos in quiet terror and any black who becomes conspicuous, either in dramatizing the plight of blacks or simply as a known leader, is a target for repression, to be beaten, driven out, or jailed on any charge. The purposes of the St. Louis office are, first, to serve as an information agency to bring to the St. Louis area and surrounding communities the truth about the struggle undertaken by the United Front in Cairo, in the face of straight-press distortions and omissions, and second, to serve as a collection center for food, clothing, medical supplies and legal defense funds, all of which will enable us to carry on the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed people in Cairo.

BLACK LUNG ASSOCIATION (Kimball, West Virginia)

We have many objectives. We want the mines to be cleaned up. We want them safe. We want the federal government to do its job. We want the union back in the hands of the rank and file. We want those who deserve and qualify for their benefits to receive them. We want the coal miner to be recognized as a most valuable part of this country's labor force. But it is going to be one hell of a big job cause everyone is against us, the union, the government, and the coal operators all want to destroy our movement. But the miners aren't stupid. They are well aware of what is going on and what must be done about it. But they are scared. The real answer comes in getting the issues into the open and communicating. We have big rallies; that is the easy work. The hard work comes in the personal work; we travel almost 1,000 miles a week, we go everywhere that we can find men and where people want to meet with us. We work with the union reformists who supported Yablonski and we try to educate those who went for Boyle. We are beginning to organize the young white miners back from Viet Nam. They have much more advanced political understanding and can grasp the relationship between imperialism in West Virginia and imperialism in Viet Nam.



THE PHOENIX, MARCH 30, 1971
 The Phoenix received the packet of documents
 Resist, a national anti-war resistance group,
 in Cambridge. Resist had received the packet
 by mail last Saturday, and forwarded the



Los Angeles News Advocate/LNS

THE NEW REPUBLIC
MAY 1, 1971
FBI Sought to Recruit Informer

Agents were in the streets April 15 in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, DC and Lewisburg, Pa., dealing out subpoenas to 12 antiwar, antidraft people requiring them to appear before the Harrisburg grand jury that is seeking evidence in an omnibus conspiracy case pitting the US government against John Doe and other unnamed persons. It took agents to deliver a subpoena to Claudette Piper, associate national director of Resist, though in the end they needed the help of the Resist office staff. Agents

the village VOICE, April 15, 1971

Hentoff

On Friday afternoon, April 2, two special agents of the FBI came calling. Without an appointment. They were cordial. (The agents I have met in the course of their work tend to smile a lot.) These two agents wanted to know if I would show them the material about which I had written a column, "Investigating the FBI" (Voice, April 1). I told them that my legal adviser in matters that affect my civil liberties is the ACLU, and I gave them Arven Neier's name. I told them last week, I received in the mail from RESIST a second batch of material originally obtained by the Citizens Commission to Investigate the FBI. I agree with RESIST that "it is very important that these documents be made as public as possible as the American people should realize the extent to which we all are under surveillance."

By **BILL KOVACH**
 Special to The New York Times
BOSTON, April 12—A group of documents stolen from the Media Research Bureau office of the FBI and two letters written by the bureau were obtained by the New York Times from Resist, an organization in Cambridge that supports and helps a community-based organization opposing the war. Resist has received the documents from sources close to the FBI.

Lincoln Independent Press/LNS



!!!!!!! HELP !!!!!!!

The F. B. I., the military intelligence network, network, wiretapping, grand juries, preventive detention, William Rehnquist, Worried? The Media F. B. I. documents, which RESIST helped to distribute, clearly indicate that government repression is growing in intensity and sophistication. There isn't a sure fire way of halting repression, but there are ways to start a long term fight against it. That is to build a strong and active movement for social change in this country. That can only be done by increasing the number of local organizing projects such as the ones RESIST funds every month. And that's why RESIST needs more financial support. But for a more immediate and short range method of combatting repression, see the other side of this page.

**FIGHT REPRESSION
 SUPPORT THE MOVEMENT
 CONTRIBUTE TO RESIST**

LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES' METHODS OF SURVEILLANCE

WHERE ARE THE CLARK KENTS OF YESTERYEAR?
They are infiltrating the movement, and here is how
to get rid of them.....

WITH A LITTLE PORK FROM OUR FRIENDS by Barbara Herbert

What to say when the F.B.I. comes...

(nothing)

And here are some suggestions on how.

NOTES ON SECURITY
by the Haymarket Collective

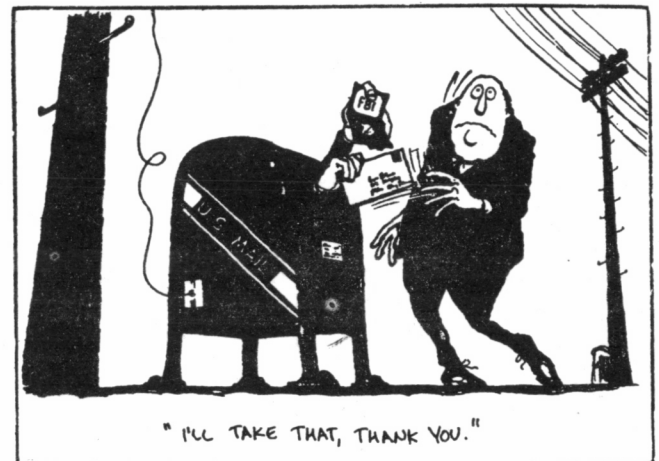
"ARE YOU NOW OR HAVE YOU EVER"
by Arlene Siegel

GRAND JURIES by Peter Young & Barry Litt

RADICAL'S GUIDE TO GRAND JURIES
What They Are and What To Do if One Wants To Speak To You

TOMMY THE TRAVELLER by Frank Donner

NOTES FOR A WOULD - BE FUGITIVE



MOVEMENT SECURITY KIT

Available from **RESIST**

for \$1

Rm. 4 - 763 Massachusetts Ave.

Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

phone 617/491-8076



RESIST

a call to resist
illegitimate authority

16 July 1973 - 763 Massachusetts Avenue, #4, Cambridge, Mass. 02139 - Newsletter #73

On Where We Ought to be -

The Need for Ideology

FRANK JOYCE

Today, only capitalism faces more serious problems than the left. It fumbles in the morass of Vietnam defeat, monetary crisis, profit squeeze and Watergate. But after ten years of spontaneous mass struggles which included many victories, we have no viable national organization.

In the meantime, we are confronted with the paradox that masses of people are more and more conscious of the failures of advanced capitalism. Business Week and Fortune are full of articles about the "anti - business mood of Americans", and the June 4 '73 Harris survey reports that... "a substantial 69% of the American people agree with the statement that large corporations have a great deal of influence in Washington these days....." and "when 62% feel they have hardly any or almost no influence in the running of their government, then disenchantment is at a worrisome level." Even with its total war tactics of burglary, provocation, bugging and infiltration, the government is still unable to convict virtually any of the political and ideological "criminals" it attacks. The juries vote for acquittal. And yet the left is not potent in the face of capitalist decline and decay.

The primary crisis of the left today is NOT organization, leadership or practice, although these are all certainly far weaker than would seem necessary under the circumstances. The fundamental problem, as Bob Zevin suggested in his recent article, "On Where We Are", is ideological and theoretical. Despite the real strength of the many "invisible" local projects, there is too little in our theory, let alone our practice, which clearly and massively communicates the superiority of life under "our" system as compared to theirs. Stripped of the enthusiastic innocence and naivete of the early and mid - sixties, we have failed to develop clearly and articulate a vision of what the 21st century could be like.

There are, I think, three primary barriers to the development of such theory, ideology and program. American life and bourgeois ideology continue to be obsessed with so - called "pragmatic" and technological solutions to admitted problems. We are, as others have observed, a deeply anti - intellectual people and generation except in the natural sciences.

Reformists have, of course, always taken the position that "bread and butter" and power are what really count and that contending ideological positions are the product of effete egg - heads gazing at their navels. The following quotation from a recent speech by U.A.W. president Irving Bluestone is a good example:

"Unions in the United States traditionally have moved in the direction of improving wages, benefits

and working conditions. Generally they have left "managing the enterprise" to management, reacting to managerial acts objectionable to the workers. They have not embraced a political philosophy to motivate their overall policies and programs. This is not to say that U.S. unions have no socio - economic concepts. Quite the contrary, but they are not married to an "ism" governing and directing their behavior.

Rather, U.S. unions move to meet practical problems with practical solutions. It would be highly improbable that they will approach the problem of worker participation in decision making by way of fierce ideological struggle founded in socio - economic theory. They are not prone to beat their wings in ideological frustration."

Indeed, as Lenin said, the line between reformist economism and socialism is ultimately an ideological one.

A second obstacle to serious ideological discussion is the heritage from the practice of the old left. Much of their theory, it seems with the benefit of hindsight, was wrong, as was their practice. The dangers of American exceptionalism notwithstanding, the old left accepted its direction, and therefore the very questions it debated, to an excessive degree from the Soviet Union. Moreover, as its base, power and influence were defeated by the social democrats and anti - communists in the labor movement, the old left became even more sterile, more and more divorced from concrete U.S. practice and more and more involved in obscure, internal hair splitting. That history carried into and was, indeed, imposed on the spontaneous eruptions of the 1960's, contributing to many new left activists' disdain for theory in general and Marxism - Leninism in particular. The practice of the old left seemed to confirm the view that Marx and Lenin were from some other time and place and hence irrelevant to present problems. It is important to note that after the 1962 Port Huron statement, not a single universally recognized document of significance was forthcoming. Marcuse contributed to the problem --- whether through misinterpretation or not --- by convincing many that class struggle had been ended by technology and the triumph of Madison Avenue marketed bourgeois ideology and that at best only futile rebellion was possible. And, of course, much of the old left was so delighted by the spontaneous eruptions that followed the despair of the fifties that not until 1970 did Gil Green publish his book, cautioning against mere activism, yippeeism and so on.

Finally, the international situation, particularly the Sino - Soviet split and the big three super power cosiness, seems to suggest that ideology is indeed utterly secondary, either by the virtue of the potential of nuclear destruction or the over - riding attractiveness of "modern" technology or both. There is also the appearance and the reality of Marxism Leninism as an ideology suitable for national independence and industrial development

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The U.S. and The Philippines

DANIEL B. SCHIRMER

Judging from the surrounding circumstances and from the words and deeds of the man himself, President Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in the Philippines last September to improve the climate for foreign investment, to usher in a "New Society" based on land reform, to keep himself in power, and to check popular and nationalist unrest.

Last August the Philippine Supreme Court, responding to a growing nationalism, declared that the privileged position of U.S. businessmen must come to an end in 1974 (with the expiration at that time of the 1947 Parity Amendment, which gave U.S. nationals the same rights as Filipinos to the exploitation of land and natural resources). Moreover, the court declared that after that date no U.S. national could own land in the Philippines or hold an executive position in a corporation doing business there.

These decisions were a shock to U.S. business, which controls a Philippine investment estimated at from \$1 billion to \$3 billion. Shortly after the court announced its findings, a group of U.S. corporate executives flew to Manila to confer with Marcos. On this delegation were representatives of the oil industry, which has a stake of \$400 million in the Philippines (the largest single block of U.S. investment).

On September 21 Marcos declared martial law. A few days later he called in U.S. journalists to tell them that, under martial law, he was, in effect, overturning the controversial Supreme Court decisions: U.S. nationals could dispose of land over a long period of time, they could enjoy executive positions, and their investments would be protected after 1974.

Since proclaiming martial law, Marcos has shown special concern for the U.S. oil industry, represented in the Philippines by Esso, Gulf, Caltex, Getty and other firms. He has granted them a price increase and exempted them from legal restrictions (of nationalist inspiration) on foreign participation in retail trade. Only recently his administration signed leases - on generous terms - with Texaco and Chevron for exploitation of offshore oil resources. Such arrangements are made more easily under martial law, with the press censored and outstanding economic nationalists like Sen. Jose Diokno and Alejandro behind bars.

The climate for foreign investment seems to have improved. Last month a foreign correspondent who interviewed foreign businessmen in Manila got the impression that "the disappearance of the anti-foreign feeling that had been mounting ... in the year preceding martial law" was "the most encouraging aspect" of the dictatorship. Since September, some forty U.S. firms have either started new enterprises in the Philippines or have said they would do so.

The Marcos-controlled Philippine press did not carry the news of his interview with U.S. journalists. On the other hand, in the first days of his present administration, Marcos was voluble in the press about his plans for reform, and took pains to identify martial law with

agrarian reform.

The reason for this is obvious, given the facts about present-day Philippine society: 80 per cent of the 39 million Filipinos are malnourished, 30 per cent are unemployed or underemployed and the mass of the people are impoverished in contrast to a tiny minority of wealthy landlords and businessmen. At the root of these conditions is the country's agriculture, where the majority of the population earns its living either as debt-ridden tenant farmers or as farm laborers earning from 50¢ to 60¢ a day.

Accordingly, the day after martial law took effect, Marcos declared the entire nation a land-reform area and a month later promised that within three years tenancy would be abolished throughout the country. Martial law would bring land to the landless. But Marcos bases his land-reform program on a law that has been on the books since 1963 (all during his previous terms in office) with meager results. Even if applied, this law would exempt from its operation extensive areas that produce the export crops of sugar, coconut and pineapple.

Be that as it may, Marcos vowed that by June 1973 some 500,000 hectares of rice lands would be transferred to 270,000 tenants (out of some 700,000 in all). As of the end of February no tenant had received title to the land he tills; nor had the government even assembled lists of landed estates in those areas given "priority" rating for reform. In December, with considerable fanfare, Marcos gave 431 tenants "certificates of land transfer" (in effect, promissory notes that said tenants would become the owners of the land, if, by some period of time, they had made all the payments of the purchase price). Such has been the achievement of the military regime in land reform. Now even the government press releases about land reform are slacking off in favor of news of the benefits anticipated from foreign investment. (Possibly related to this shift in emphasis is President Marcos' increasing reliance for support on the army command, many of whom came from landowning families.)

Immediately after instituting martial law Marcos imposed a curfew and banned private possession of firearms. When the crime rate thereupon dropped in Manila, middle-class Filipinos were reassured as to the efficacy of martial law. Now, administration supporters admit that the crime rate is back where it was before, but Marcos keeps such news out of the papers. Recently the Manila correspondent of the Wall Street Journal reported that the "New Society is mainly public relations rather than real reform".

Insofar as martial law has kept Marcos in power, it can be rated a success for him. Forbidden by statute from seeking a third term, he would have had to surrender in 1974 what has been for him a remunerative position as Chief Executive. His September declaration made that unnecessary, but Marcos has not left the matter there. In mid-January he declared popular ratification of a new constitution, under which he now rules as President and as Premier. He

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declared, at the same time, that he would continue martial law as long as he sees fit. He has dismissed his Vice President (a member of the wealthy Lopez family) and assumed full power over the Supreme Court. The old constitution called for a meeting of the Congress in January; the new constitution calls for an interim legislative assembly. Marcos has cancelled both.

In recent years, as a result of the difficult conditions in which many Filipinos find themselves, there has been a wave of popular and nationalist unrest -- strikes, demonstrations, protests of all sorts, including the outbreak of guerrilla warfare. In an attempt to check this unrest Marcos outlawed strikes and demonstrations, banned freedom of speech and assembly, threw several thousand of his critics in jail and began offensive operations against guerrillas.

A check to social unrest is surely needed if foreign investment and Marcos' personal rule are to continue, but as yet there is no indication that martial law has achieved this goal. In fact, there are signs that, though popular discontent has been driven underground, it may very well have increased. Early this January Marcos lifted the restriction on freedom of speech, so that the Phillipine people could inform themselves on the new constitution just completed by a constitutional convention. After this period of free discussion, he said, there would be a plebiscite on the constitution. But the opposition expressed to martial law and to the new constitution was so sharp and so widespread during the period of free speech that Marcos hurriedly called it off, cancelled the plebiscite, and saw to it that meetings called "citizens' assemblies" ratified the new constitution in what the New York Times called a "pressured and manipulated expression of opinion"

Shortly after declaring martial law the regime drove 53,000 peasants from their homes in Isabela Province, northern Luzon, claiming that their forcible relocation was necessary to scotch guerrilla activity in the area. If there has been little reported guerrilla activity in Luzon since then, the press has carried much news of Moslem guerrilla activity in Mindanao and the Sulu Islands, an unrest caused initially by Moslem charges of discrimination practiced by Christian Filipinos and foreign businessmen. Late in December Marcos offered certain concessions to the Moslems which succeeded only in splitting off the wealthy landowners from the guerrilla movement, leaving it in the hands of a younger, more revolutionary leadership. This leadership has called upon poor Christian peasants to join their Moslem counterparts in a struggle against landlords and foreign landgrabbers, irrespective of religion. Marcos has alternated "all-out offensives" against these guerrillas with offers of amnesty, so far without success in either case. At the end of March, the guerrillas were reported to operate uncontested on the sea and in the southern islands of the Sulu chain and in almost half of Mindanao.

The area of Moslem guerrilla warfare is marked by U.S. investment, large fruit and rubber plantations being owned there by Dole, Del Monte, Standard Fruit and by Goodrich, Goodyear and Firestone. Recently the Phillipine armed forces are reported to have liberated the Goodrich rubber plantation

on the island of Basilan from guerrilla control, but other U.S. investments are vulnerable.

Directing army tactics to remove this threat from Dole, Del Monte etc., is Juan Ponce Enrile, Secretary of Defense. In private life Enrile is a corporation lawyer for Dole Pineapple. However, the Phillipine armed forces fight under the general direction of a resident U.S. military advisory group called JUSMAG, and the arms and equipment are supplied by the U.S. Government. During the past several years the U.S. military aid to the Phillipines has averaged about \$20 million annually. Now Marcos and Enrile call upon the United States to increase this aid (counting as arguments on their side the important Clark Air Force Base and the Subic Naval Base, both of which are located in the Phillipines, in addition to the heavy U.S. investment).

That the Phillipines now constitute an area of concern for Washington is indicated by the recent nomination of William H. Sullivan, one of the State Department's experts on counterinsurgency in Southeast Asia, as Ambassador to the Phillipines. (A hint of what Sullivan's approach to the Phillipine question may be can be found in his statement that the "justification" of the bombing of Cambodia lay in "the re-election of President Nixon.")

The villagers in the area of the fighting in Mindanao are reported to be less enthusiastic about the prospect of larger U.S. military aid. They say that the ponderous use of the equipment the army has is killing civilians and destroying their homes. U.S. taxpayers may also question the wisdom of U.S. military aid to Marcos. It carries with it the possibility of our involvement in the quagmire of another Vietnam.

The Moslem provinces are shown on map in black.

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On the Revolutionary Example of China

HENRY ROSEMONT, JR.



DICK HAS DISCOVERED A NEW COUNTRY.

Since Nixon's announcement two years ago that China exists, people of widely divergent political convictions have picked up or renewed an interest in what is going on there. East Asia's largest and oldest country has been undergoing a sustained revolutionary experience for almost three decades, but no clear or consistent picture of the results has yet emerged from the recent attention which can be utilized by the left in the U.S. in their struggle to bring about radical social change in this country.

There is certainly ample justification for withholding judgement on the relevance of the Chinese revolutionary model for the United States; many who made such a judgement in the past -- either affirmatively or negatively -- have since reversed themselves. Groups that once claimed to be "Maoist" are now denouncing loudly the (same) Chinese leadership for "selling out" the revolution (e.g., the Progressive Labor Party). On the other side, Joe Alsop, who has been one of the most strident doomsayers of events on the mainland since 1949, now writes panegyrics of those events for the N.Y. Times Magazine. (March '73) From these cases and many others like them the only solace the political left can draw is that almost all groups seem to suffer from the same confusion.

There are a number of reasons why it is difficult in America to put present-day China in clear perspective, chief among them being that most of our earlier perspectives on China are no less muddled, and mistaken.

In the first place, unlike the Soviet Union -- which only had to contend in the U.S. with an ideology of virulent anticommunism -- China has also had to labor under a racism which is only slightly more subtle now than it was during the heyday of the missionaries in the earlier imperialist 19th Century. The labels (and colors) have changed somewhat; the old heathen are now communist and the yellow hordes have metamorphosed into blue ants, but the image has remained fairly constant: faceless masses, hungry, little concerned for human life, and best led by a mysterious form of authoritarian government called "oriental despotism."

In attempting to alter this invidious picture, especially with reference to the present government, many well-intentioned writers have instead intensified it by agreeing that China has been and is run in an authoritarian manner, and simply maintaining in extenuation that the Chinese are both used to and need such a form of social and political organization. (This view is unfortunately also advanced about Vietnam as well, most recently in Frances Fitzgerald's Fire in the Lake.) These arguments may serve to discourage overt hostility toward the Chinese, but are not particularly conducive to increasing respect and genuine friendship for them among those whose politics run more or less along libertarian lines -- which today means most of the non-sectarian left.

Yet the socialist transformation of China during the past quarter century has been so successful that every serious radical must attend to it. The Peoples' Republic has what is probably the world's most equitable distribution of wealth, in the basic sense of having a lesser income differential between the richest and the poorest persons than obtains in any other country. Virtually every Chinese is assured of the basic material necessities tomorrow and the next day, a situation unprecedented in modern Chinese history. Moreover, the communes seem to be working socially no less than economically, with satisfying patterns of familial and community organization that have no significant counterpart in contemporary industrial societies.

In order to take the most useful measure of these achievements, however, it is necessary to use a Chinese and not a U.S. yardstick. The differences between the two countries are of sufficient magnitude that it is doubtful whether either can serve meaningfully as a model for the other, which suggests that each should be dealt with on its own terms.

The first of these differences lies in the material conditions of the countries. For the present and foreseeable future China is going to continue to face hard problems of production. There are many conflicting estimates on the amount of petroleum deposits, mineral resources, etc., available to the Chinese, but even the most optimistic figures compare highly unfavorably with those of the U.S. In the U.S. itself, on the other hand, production is not an important issue (except to the capitalists); rather there is a pressing need to alter the forces which presently control production, and simultaneously achieve a more just distribution of what is produced.

All of the relevant evidence points up these basic economic differences. With roughly four times the population of the U.S., China brings approximately 50,000 more citizens into the world every day than leave it, making economic growth, not to mention development, a more difficult task. Although it is the larger of the two countries, only about 11% of China's land is arable, and 95% of the population lives in the eastern half of the country. The Chinese soil can probably nurture a population of a billion, but the balance between people and earth will, as it has in the past, be a delicate one. To distribute goods to these peoples China has only about 25,000 miles of railroad trackage compared to over 200,000 miles here; 300,000 miles of roads (half of which are dirt) as against more than 2,800,000 miles of

paved roads alone in the U.S. Crude steel production in 1970 was about 17,000,000 metric tons in China; the U.S. had exceeded that figure by World War I. Moreover, China's relative poverty requires that development programs be labor-intensive, because the money for capital-intensive programs simply isn't available on a large scale. This factor is a crucial one for distinguishing the two countries, for China has rejected the capitalist method of accumulating monetary wealth, which has historically resulted in having a few Cadillacs in one neighborhood, while many of the people in the next community have holes in their shoes. Rather have the Chinese chosen not to have motor scooters manufactured in significant numbers until there are bicycles for everyone. The list of economic difficulties and comparative statistics is a long one, but the point is simple and straightforward: China's basic problems lie in production, the U.S.'s in distribution; and in this important respect the fundamental difference between the countries is of greater significance than whatever similarities there may also be.

Another major difference between the two countries is their history. The U.S.'s is not, in relative terms, a long one, and although there is a semblance of national culture the ethnic enclaves and racial minorities have retained a fair measure of their own heritage. Thus cultural considerations, while not tactically (or aesthetically) irrelevant, are nevertheless not of major strategic importance in planning for revolutionary change in the U.S.; the heart of the beast is economic and political.

Mao Tse-tung and his contrereres, on the other hand, inherited the oldest continuous culture on earth; and 3,500 years of connected cultural roots must be taken into account constantly by even the most iconoclastic and international of revolutionary organizations-- which, with good reason, the Chinese Communist Party is not. THE point is an important one, and deserves closer consideration.

Traditional China was dominated by Confucianism, a philosophical system which is either totally ignored today or attacked as hopelessly reactionary. Based as it originally was on an agrarian economic order, the Confucian tradition obviously could not be kept in its entirety by any group committed to the industrialization of the country. An almost total social reliance on the extended family system, for instance, or the subordinate role of women, or the championing of an educationally-determined elite, were all elements of Confucian political philosophy which were considered hindrances to reorganizing Chinese society following World War II and the Civil War of 1945-49. But by focusing solely on the negative aspects of Confucianism it will not be possible for outsiders to see contemporary China as it is; there are many positive sides to the ancient philosophical tradition, and by giving those sides their due it will be easier to resist thinking that the Chinese are backsliding or abandoning the revolution whenever it is reported that they have kept or returned to some old and venerable traditions.

One way to appreciate the Confucian persuasion more fully is to see the extent to which it is embodied in Mao Tse-tung himself. He is a full-fledged product of that tradition, being born and

5 raised before the first revolution of 1911 -- that is, while there was still a dynasty and Emperor of China. His early education was a classical one, and at that time he urged Hunanese independence, following the example of an earlier Confucian hero from the same province (Tseng Kuo-fan). Mao was working in a library at the university in Peking when he joined the Communist Party (which was initiated by another classically-trained scholar, Ch'en Tu-hsiu).

More importantly, if one lists the qualities of the ideal Confucian, some striking parallels with Mao's life are immediately apparent and cannot be dismissed lightly if his charisma is to be accounted for. The Confucian ideal man -- in the male-dominated society, it did have to be a man -- should have a thorough grounding in the histories and classics; he should be capable of writing an above-average poem in a competent calligraphic hand; should not be identified with force or violence; must be a moral paradigm; and above all, he must not be seen as anything other than wholly Chinese.

Against this background it becomes obvious that when Mao is referred to as a "Chinese Marxist" the adjective is no less significant than the noun. He is China's greatest living poet, and all of his poems are written in the classical style; his calligraphy is of the best, and is more popular among the people than the "Little Red Book;" his wide knowledge of China's history and classical literature is amply evidenced in the Selected Works, wherein there are roughly three references to classical Chinese works for every one reference to the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Further, no circulated picture of Mao shows him carrying a gun or leading troops into battle. He knows no foreign language, and has left the country -- for 6 weeks in 1950 -- only once in his entire life.

As contrast to this brief portrait, consider Chiang K'ai-shek: a baptized Christian who received part of his education outside China; whose wife is also a baptized Christian graduate of Wellesley; who isn't known to have ever composed a poem, and whose prose writings are ghost-assisted with a strong western flavor; and whose most often-used title is Generalissimo.

The extent to which their leaders embody high Confucian values will not, of course, explain fully why the Chinese Communist Party won and the Kuomintang lost the Civil War. Unlike the KMT, the CCP relied on peasants for support instead of landlords and merchants, and it must also be said that Chiang K'ai-shek occupies a pre-eminent position in the ranks of the world's incompetent generals. But Mao can (and Chiang cannot) be seen as a symbol of Chinese thought and culture, which serves to account at least for part of the former's success, and also suggests that the "cult of Mao" is less personality-oriented than standard accounts describe. It may well be that the celebration of the virtues of Mao Tse-tung is not deificatory, but rather meant by the Chinese people as a celebration of the renewal of their civilization.

(This artical will be continued in the next issue of the newsletter.)

Control, Conflict and Change

PEGGY CASE

Control, Conflict and Change is a mass political education program which has served a membership of over 400 people in the Detroit area since its beginning in December, 1970. The political perspective is socialist and consciously anti-imperialist.

The format is a monthly session with a speaker, a book and table discussion. Members purchase the book at sessions one month in advance. Guest speakers develop and analyze the subject matter of the book, criticize it and offer perspectives on related current issues.

Members are organized into table groups led by two members of the General Staff. An attempt is made to stabilize the composition of each table to facilitate on-going political discussion. Tables are encouraged to meet as small groups at least once between sessions for further study or discussion.

Table discussions following the speakers presentation results in a number of questions which are submitted to the speaker. The speaker then spends about a half hour answering questions at the end of each session. The text of the talk with questions and answers is printed and distributed at the following session.

The organization of the membership into table formation is a key element in maintaining a continuous process. It is the responsibility of the General Staff members at each table to develop the responses of members to the material given, examine practical applications, maintain between session communications and recruit members for on-going political activity.

As the members read "Vietnam Will Win" or "Conspiracy of The Young" and listen to an analysis by David Dellinger or Harry Magdoff, they are also given constant up-date information about the activities of the People's Peace Treaty. A talk by a member of MPLA in Angola on the struggle in Mozambique resulted in the creation of a Committee on Southern Africa within Control, Conflict and Change to coordinate support activities by the membership. Sessions have covered such diverse materials as "Labors Untold Story", "Red Star Over China", and "Regulating the Poor".

The Practical Action Committee of Control, Conflict and Change, began as an attempt to organize those members who were interested in initiating direct political action. One of its earliest projects was organized support for the Woodcutters strike in Mississippi. The Practical Action Committee has given support to the anti-war movement through its emergency action network and is now beginning to respond to the desire of members to develop strategies around Southern Africa.

The Practical Action Committee is also responsible for publication of "The Journey", a newspaper which began this fall. The four page newspaper is distributed free to members, in places of work and through the members of sponsoring organizations. "The Journey" attempts to give up-date information and analysis of issues which have been or will be the focus of Control, Conflict and Change sessions, the political activity of members and sponsors, and perspectives on

current issues of particular concern.

Leadership is given to the program by the Motor City Labor League and The Alliance Through a Planning Committee. Each sponsor has appointed a full-time co-coordinator to administer the program on a day-to-day basis.

The major responsibility for actually organizing the membership between sessions and during table discussions rests with the General Staff of approximately 60 people. The General Staff participates in a pre-session educational which is designed to give additional information to table leaders on the subject of the session, raise key political questions, and develop an awareness of local activity related to the subject and the overall socialist perspective of Control, Conflict and Change. In addition, the speakers spend the evening before the session with the General Staff to review the focus of the talk, hear the concerns of the staff and modify the talk where necessary to meet the needs of the constituency.

The strength of Control, Conflict and Change, as a program is illustrated by the fact that during its three year history its organizational sponsors have gone through three major political splits and yet the program endures. In the most recent, a split within the Motor City Labor League, has resulted in the creation of a second book club. The "new left" has proven exceptionally vulnerable to the mistake of elevating a tactic or a program to the level of a strategy or even an ideology. A program like Control, Conflict and Change is not nearly so valuable as an end in itself, as part of a larger strategy which gives people attracted to it a place to go with their "raised political consciousness". Weaknesses in the Control, Conflict and Change approach still remain in this area. We have not made sufficient connections between the theory and information developed in Control, Conflict and Change and the practice of workplaces and daily political activity. In an attempt to develop more conscious connections between theory and practice we began to organize some of the membership into occupational tables this year. As a political perspective develops, it can be applied to the shared practice of health workers, education workers, or social service workers.

The sessions have involved predominately one-way communication between speakers and audience. The format has not allowed for enough real debate among the political viewpoints represented by the membership.

We have been successful in developing anti-imperialist consciousness, but have not been as successful in developing the real class consciousness necessary for sustained revolutionary struggle. The focus has been on an analysis of the imperialist system and the struggles against it, but not enough on an analysis of who the members are. Although many have been politicized thru the process, many continue to relate to the program and its content as more passive observers of struggle.

rather than for countries already industrialized under capitalism. Socialism, thus, is "unproven" as a means of social organization rather than industrial development.

What opposes this anti - ideology ideology? What are its dialectics? Is the future on the side of the "pragmatist" reformers or the ideologically clear -- and pragmatic -- committed socialists and revolutionaries? There appear to be more forces pressing for a broad and deep theoretical and ideological debate than against it.

First and foremost are the conditions of capitalism itself. The fact is that the problems of the U.S., Europe and Japan are hardly those of insufficient capital or insufficient technology. The capitalist phase of development which Marx said was necessary to socialism and communism is complete. (Indeed, it seems that Marx's writings are not obsolete or anachronistic, as some claim, but rather that he was farther ahead of his time than we thought.) From the unnecessary brutality of the workplace, in the factory, shop, mine and office, to the corruption of ITT, Penn Central, Lockheed and the Watergate, to the slaughter of baby chicks while prices skyrocket, the inefficiency, basic irrationality of an economic and political system based on profit is becoming more inescapable. In fact, we do conspicuously have the material resources to eliminate poverty and economic insecurity and to establish more advanced human relationships between races, sexes, ages etc. based on something other than exploitation and competition. The frequent statement, "If we can go to the moon, why can't we -----?" is only one sign of the growing mass awareness of this reality. The problem is not how to create resources but how to organize and utilize those which we have and to adjust to the need to reduce our dependence on those which we presently rip off and waste.

That means that the questions before us are precisely ideological, systematic and possibly even spiritual in nature, rather than technological, institutional and problem - solving one problem at a time -- be it crime, sexual exploitation, racism, on the job boredom, health care, poverty and so on. The shredder is ultimately NOT an adequate solution to the proliferation of "damaging" information made possible by Dita Beard and Dan Ellsberg's xeroxes, nor is the spy satellite sufficient to protect us from nuclear weapons proliferation. The cycle of substituting technological innovation for social class and other struggle is broken. We are a rapidly under-developing country desperately in need of an ideology of development.

International developments, equally complex, are nevertheless, on balance, also pushing more toward ideological re - examination than away from it. The opening up of China, while reinforcing traditional anti - communist fears of regimentation and the manual labor of sweeping the streets, has also shaken the ideological smugness and superiority of most Americans. Why CAN'T we have a health care delivery system as good as the Chinese? What is there about the "American way of life" that creates pervasive crime from the White House to the street corner with the ensuing physical and psychic insecurity? Must we have it in the 21st. century?

Of even greater importance, however, in continuing and intensifying the most profound ideological re - examination is the past, present and future role of Vietnam. The international situation is not all super power realignments. Indeed such adjustments are made possible and necessary by the vitality and success of revolutionary movements in small countries such as Vietnam, Korea, Cuba, Chile, Uruguay and the Phillipines. These in turn have accompanied and stimulated new vigor in the left of at least some advanced metropolitan countries including France, Japan, Sweden and Italy.

Whether the term "third world" retains any meaning is itself a question; what now, for example, are worlds one and two? It is clear that it is the Vietnamese who have shown most recently -- and the point cannot be over - emphasized -- that the power of ideology, unity and politics in command of race, nationality, class and individualism, is sufficient to defeat the superior technology of U.S. imperialism and the ambiguous support of big power socialists. It is the Vietnamese who are the de facto leaders of the "Fifth International". It is they, who along with the Cubans, Chileans, Southern African liberation fighters and others who have picked up the gun and the political initiative and put the lie to the invincibility of technology and capitalist ideology. It is they who, along with blacks and others, have divided masses of nominally "capitalist" citizens of the United States, and elsewhere, from their own government. It is Vietnam, after all, which created the atmosphere which produced the defection of Ellsberg, which in turn led directly to Watergate and the defections which have followed. And Watergate itself is, obviously, already beginning to produce a level of national self - examination and ideological conflict which cannot be contained within the fascinating, but superficial, "Shakespearean" examinations of the foibles of human character in high places, of the Washington Post and the New York Times.

The state of the left itself, in the face of Watergate, new labor insurgency, big power realignment and so on is also a powerful impetus to theoretical and ideological discussion. We have seen enough of theory divorced from practice. BUT WE ALSO HAVE SEEN ENOUGH OF PRACTICE DIVORCED FROM THEORY. The problem with the left is not that we haven't written enough leaflets, held enough demonstrations, attended enough conferences and meetings, had enough arrests and court martials or created enough organizations. Where are SDS, SNCC, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, Yippies, New University Conference, RYM 11 etc.? If the 1960's was like the 1930's for the masiveness of its spontaneous struggles and the failures of capitalism, for all its errors and faults, the old left surely found itself more organized and coherent going into the forties than we do in 1973.

The seperatist, "liberationist"; black liberation, women's liberation, men's liberation, gay liberation, youth liberation, old liberation, "we have met the enemy and they are us", improvised ideology, has run its course. It has got us nowhere or exactly where we are, whichever you prefer. The "Movement" has successfully reproduced every division among the

people which capitalism had managed to create, and has helped invent a few new ones. It is becoming increasingly apparent that it is an insufficient ideology to sustain us over a long period of time or even really to distinguish us from the liberalism we often claim to despise but frequently mimic.

Finally, 1976 is upon us, the 200th. revolutionary year. The government's bi-centennial commission has joined the ranks of the discredited and delegitimized. The opportunity for a serious evaluation of national and international values, assumptions and concepts of organization exists as never before. Is the U.S. constitution, protecting as it does, the entrepreneurship and private property which authorizes corporate control, adequate for the next 200 years or not? Are we doomed to another 100 years of decaying cities, viscious foreign policy, government corruption, 19th., or at best 20th., century health care and working conditions, and the increasing concentration of power in the hands of the few?

Let a great debate begin. "Capitalism", as the New York Times said a few months back, "for better or for worse". Let the Church engage a Marxist - Christian dialogue, as has already begun. Let us figure out, we veterans of the anti - war and anti - racist struggles of the sixties, how to overcome the resistance to ideological struggle. What publications, conferences, academic institutions are presently available and what must we create? More importantly what is necessary to make every person feel a member of a continuing movement and every movement member a theoretician? What do we need by way of mass "third" parties and democratic centralist cadre ones? What did we learn from the anti - war movement? What were its political tendencies, which prevailed? When? Why? What is the multi - national corporation and its effect on international class consciousness in this period? Do the multi - nationals tend to undermine the power and legitimacy of the nation state as I.T.T. suggests or not?

These and many more questions are before us. So, of course, is cynicism, but that is a privilege which denies both the necessity and opportunity for change in our lifetime.

May and June Grants

South West Workers' Committee; 1009 Esat Yardell, #5, El Paso, Texas 79902. The committee, a group of militant Chicanos, have organized a support center for the Farah strike.

Coffee Break; 17404 John R, Detroit, Mich. 48203. A forum series for women workers in which they have a chance to come together to discuss problems and their solutions. They are currently developing an Occupational Health and Safety Committee.

La Cooperativa; 1008 W. Erie, Tucson, Arizona 85705. The Cooperativa is producing a newspaper which they hope will serve as the focus of the Chicano movement in Tucson.

Feminist Women's Health Clinic; 444 48th St., Oakland, California 94706. The clinic is involved in abortion referral and Self Help.

Wildcat; P.O. Box 8264, San Diego, Calif. 92102. An independent newspaper for rank and file workers in San Diego County. It features local labor and economic news, plus reporting and analysis of national and international developments affecting conditions there.

Florida Minority Coalition; 414 N. Macomb St. Tallahassee, Fla. 32301. The coalition was formed to encourage the political involvement of minority groups in North Florida, yet also involves the organization of various community programs including personal counseling, a sickle-cell anemia test center, drug and alcohol rehabilitation and workshop to develop political awareness.

El Grito Del Norte; P.O. Box 2116, Las Vegas, N.M. 87701. A Chicano newspaper whose circulation covers New Mexico and California.

Jackson Human Rights Project; P.O. Box 11235, Jackson, Mississippi 39213. A Black community organization which has a school for its 3 to 13 year old children and a Clothing Center.

Union Wage; 2137 Oregon St., Berkeley, Ca. 94705. The Union Alliance to Gain Equality is an organization formed to combat discrimination on the job, in unions, and in society, and to fight for equal rights, equal pay, and equal opportunity.

Cambridge Cab Drivers; 318 Western Ave., Cambridge Mass. 02139. A group of cab drivers who put out a pamphlet on workmen's compensation for taxi workers.

Lowell Tenants Organizing Project; 1045 Middlesex St., Lowell, Mass. 01851. A tenants organizing committee set up to help tenants on an individual basis and also to encourage tenants to organize themselves into unions to collectively deal with their landlords.

African People's Socialist Party; P.O. Box 369 Archer, Fla. 32618. A Black community group in Florida working toward assuming responsibility for the growth and development of its people, which organized an African Liberation Conference/Workshop in Gainesville.

Nine to Five; 2 Brookline St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139. A group of Boston women clerical workers who publish a bi-monthly newsletter, through which they hope to organize this sector of the work force

Center for Servicemen's Rights; P.O. Box 2016 San Diego, Cal. They offer counseling, a reading room and library and also publish a newspaper "Up from the Bottom" for G.I.'s in the area.

Vermont Telephone Boycott Committee; P.O. Box 133 Underhill Center, Vermont 05490. A coalition of groups organizing a boycott of a monthly rate increase in their phone bills. They succeeded in their struggle against the New England Telephone Company and stopped the increase from going into effect.

to be cont. in August issue.