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RESIST

*a call to resist
illegitimate authority*

17 September 1971 - 763 Massachusetts Avenue, #4, Cambridge, Mass. 02139 - Newsletter #56

ELECTRONIC DEATH:

THE NEW WAR IN SE ASIA

- Orville Schell/Pacific News Service

Electronic sensors and related automatic weapons do not bleed, frag their officers, become addicts, or write revealing letters home. Throughout Indochina, they have come to comprise a new kind of military might which is at once awesome and indiscriminate. "All that we know," said one U. S. Special Forces member, "is that something is out there. It could be wind, an elephant or an enemy soldier. We really have almost no idea what we are shooting at."

Senator William Proxmire put it even more succinctly: "The sensors can not tell the difference between soldiers, women or children.... Whole villages may be wiped out by seeding wide areas with air dropped explosive devices designed to kill anyone who ventures into their neighborhood."

Yet tens of thousands of these mini-bugging devices have been dropped throughout Southeast Asia as part of the Air Force's operation Igloo White over the Ho Chi Minh Trail. The operation was described by Brigadier General Wm. John Evers (Special Assistant for Sensor Exploitation, Air Force) as "...entirely air supported; it involves no ground forces." Senator Proxmire has called the effort a "seismic and acoustic Christmas tree."

When the sensors are activated by either seismic or acoustic disturbance, they transmit radio signals to a relay platform which flies overhead 24 hours a day. In case NLF or North Vietnamese soldiers walk too quietly in a bugged area, the Pentagon has purchased millions of "button bomb-lets," disguised as animal droppings, which snap, crackle, and pop if they are walked on.

In the relay aircraft the data is processed by computer. Although it is possible to analyze the data on board and call in an air-strike directly, the information is usually relayed to the Air Force's Infiltration Surveillance Center in Nakhon Phanom, Thailand.

There, in Thailand, the Air Force's huge IBM 360-65 computer stores previously gathered intelligence in data banks. When new information comes into the Center, the activation patterns of the sensors in the field are immediately reproduced by high speed print-out. Up-dated target sketches of the area in which the sensors have been placed

THE MOVEMENT IN PRISON

In recent weeks, we have been silent witnesses to the use of prisons to silence political dissent and as a cover for the secretive murder of revolutionaries. In the words of Angela Davis, prison authorities have resorted to "raw terror" in their efforts to crush the movement. Consider the following:

San Quentin: George Jackson murdered, other prisoners systematically tortured and beaten.

Danbury: Eleven prisoners undertook a four-week hunger strike to dramatize demands for an investigation of the Federal Parole Board.

Terminal Island, Calif.: Tony Russo, colleague of Dan Ellsberg, refused to testify before a L.A. grand jury and was stripped, chained, and denied food for 24 hours. Presently in solitary.

Attica, N.Y.: At least 30 inmates shot by Gov. Rockefeller's state police after 1,000 inmates held cellblock for a week, demanding transportation to "an anti-imperialist country."

Saigon: Huynh Tam Mam, leader of the Saigon Student Union and co-author of the People's Peace Treaty, faces death for treason for opposing the Thieu regime.

Con Son: a U.S. construction company is commissioned to build more tigers cages.

On Saturday, October 2nd, a series of massive demonstrations will be held at several prison locations throughout the country: Danbury, Conn., Terminal Is. and San Quentin, Ca., Alderson, W.Va. Springfield, Mo., and the Federal Parole Board in Washington, D.C. For more information call or write the Harrisburg Defense Committee, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City 10003. (Phone: 212/891-7410)



Dallas Notes/LNS

Cont'd. on page 3

JURY EDUCATION VS. JURY SELECTION

- Frank Joyce

A jury in a political trial - and virtually any trial can be politicized - represents the only form of institutionalized political education in the United States. It is a place where twelve men and women are compelled to listen to and watch radicals and revolutionaries, both defendants and attorneys, present themselves in a conflict with the state, without the filters of the media, the classroom teacher or whatever. And, unlike the results of electoral politics, the decisions of a jury are powerful, they have an immediate discernible effect.

As Paul Lauter's article in a previous newsletter suggested, the number of jurors who can listen, appreciate what we say, and respond to it (frequently in a courageous manner) is an encouraging sign about the possibilities of mass organization. Ordinary people clearly do have the capacity to accept interpretations of everything from civil disobedience trespassing to killings of police which differ from those put forward by the government and the media.

Equally important, although probably less well known, is the fact that juries seem to be responsive to many of our views - at least of specific events - regardless of whether or not the jury is the result of a long, elaborate educational voir dire process, or is more randomly selected.

In the Chicago 8 case, for example, Julius Hoffman conducted a voir dire which could be described as cursory at best. Partially as a result of this the defense made what was perhaps its greatest single error in assuming the worst about the jury, relegating it to a secondary position and playing first to the "jury of the people" - that segment of the populace made accessible by the 75 reporters authorized to sit across from the jury in the courtroom. Later interviews with the jurors showed that the defense never communicated the fact that a hung jury would be considered a victory, and thus never gave the four sympathetic jurors the information and reinforcement they needed to hold out against a bad deal. Even so, we know they did acquit all of the defendants of "conspiracy" and two of the defendants of all charges.

Generally, radical attorneys have sought to exercise as much control as possible over jury selection. They have assumed that the number of jurors potentially able to listen "objectively" and/or sympathetically to "our side" is a very small percentage of the pool of all jurors available in any given case. The result is that an exhaustive screening and educational process in the voir dire is necessary to identify them and eliminate the others. This approach was given prominence in Huey Newton's first trial,

and Charles Garry's questions and approach were published by the National Lawyer's Guild in a book entitled Minimizing Racism in Jury Trials.

In Detroit, however, and doubtless other places as well, a somewhat different approach has been tried. Attorneys Kenneth Cockrel and Justin Ravitz have concentrated more on increasing the numbers of blacks, young people, intellectuals and workers allowed into the jury pool in the first place. Having had some success, at least in Detroit's Recorder's Court, they have been more willing merely to screen out the most reactionary potential jurors and to accept a jury composed of ordinary citizens. They have yet to lose a major political case. (The conviction of John Sinclair, defended by Ravitz, for possession of two joints took place in front of an extremely hostile judge - hence the maximum sentence - and before the actions forcing a change in the jury pool.) Their victories include acquittals in two trials resulting from the "New Bethel" shoot-out of March 1970 in which three members of the Republic of New Africa were charged with murder and assault against two policemen, and the recent acquittal of James Johnson, a black Chrysler employee who killed his foreman and two others after being ordered to do a dirty, dangerous job. Although technically found not guilty by virtue of insanity, Johnson was presented by the defense in the trial as an oppressed worker who retaliated at the point of production. The defense successfully insisted that the jury be taken on a tour of the plant where Johnson had worked.

What is assumed in this approach to juries is not that prospective jurors are loyal to the state, but rather that most people who end up on a jury, at least in a politically sophisticated area such as Detroit, have a class and/or caste consciousness that can be appealed to by defense attorneys. Such consciousness can be tapped and reinforced by taking advantage of the opportunity the courtroom affords for political education through the selection of witnesses, direct and cross examination, the nature of voir dire questions and the statements made in opening and closing arguments. Such a basic attitude toward juries should be made more plausible through the spectrum of recent courtroom victories. It is clear that the government cannot take "the people" for granted in their ceaseless efforts to frame and discredit movement activists through the courts. That is why they must increasingly rely on star chamber proceedings such as the grand jury, where there is no defense counsel and where the defendant is unable to speak out openly about actions and views because of the nature of immunity laws, self-incrimination and so on.

Even when the system is completely rigged, as in Chicago, there is still an "unreliability" factor apparent in the people selected for the jury - an unreliability that is also manifest in

the victories of the Oakland 7, the New York 21, Bobby and Erika in New Haven, the Panther 12 in Detroit, Los Siete, New Bethel, and James Johnson. (If Ken Cockrel and Charles Garry were the prosecutors, there would doubtless also be more convictions of police in cases like the Chicago "police riot" or the Algiers Motel murders.)

One consequence of this juror unreliability is that the government will increasingly move beyond even grand juries into economic and physical repression such as Kent State or the execution of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. But the more important lesson concerns the possibilities for organizing inside and outside the courtroom. The civil disobedience by jurors which the Chicago defense discussed in theory (but didn't really believe was possible in practice) has actually occurred in a recent Detroit case in which a jury refused to convict after the defense virtually admitted that defendants had intentionally violated a governor's emergency proclamation against assembly at the time of the assassination of Martin Luther King.

Jurors are ordinary people. Few, if any, are capitalists; most are workers. Most belong to the 73% who oppose the war and know about the Pentagon Papers. When reached directly concerning concrete issues such as the future of one or more defendants they respond with a high level of political awareness and oppose the state more often than we might expect. The white foreman of one of the juries in the New Bethel trials has gone on to become a full-time community organizer since the trial.

This is not an argument for all of us to become lawyers or defendants so as to be able to reach people through the courtroom. Rather it is encouragement to get out of our internalized, imploded, self-hating politics and back out on the block where people are waiting to hear directly our explanation of the present and the future.

ELECTRONIC DEATH Cont'd.

can also be called up on a TV screen and mixed with the new information. In a matter of seconds after sensor activation, analysts can watch the movement of people, bicycles or trucks on a screen as they move down a trail. Computers determine their numbers, speed and position regardless of weather, foliage or time of day.

The Thai computer "nerve center" (which cost \$625 million to operate during 1969-1970) relays strike orders to B-52s, gunships or fighter-bombers at their bases in Thailand, Vietnam or on the carriers of the 7th Fleet. According to one Air Force officer, "We wired the Ho Chi Minh

Trail like a drug-store pinball machine and we plug it in every night."

The strike orders which are relayed to attack aircraft, are fed into their on-board computers. This programming enables them to fly directly to the target with no need for further navigation. In fact, the pilot need not ever see the target or the ground. If it is night-time or overcast, the computers make an automatic release of weapons at the proper moment. As General Evans explained, "Using area-type ordnance (anti-personnel and fragmentation bombs), excellent results have been attained with this blind-bombing method."

An Agence France Presse correspondent who recently journeyed down the Ho Chi Minh Trail described these "excellent results."

"On each side of the road," he reported, "there are heaps of scrap metal, pieces of aircraft, the containers of anti-personnel bombs, empty munitions casings, 37 mm. cannon shells, detonated anti-personnel mines.... At certain points, it is impossible to walk on the sides of the road."

"You sink up to your knees in an impalpable dust, the earth having become dust under the impact of the bombs and incendiary weapons.... When the monsoon comes, that dust turns to mud and slides onto the roads.... Nothing lives in this dust, not even crickets. Only man is resisting it."

With such an electronic battlefield, the war in Indochina will be able to continue long after the last U. S. soldier dies and the last American leaves Vietnam. Sensors will continue to feed data to the fighter-bombers and B-52s which will rain destruction down on the silent land below. Aircraft will take off without publicity or fanfare from U. S. bases in Thailand and the 7th fleet in the South China Sea to wage an ultimately depersonalized war of electronic machines against people.

The strategy is simple, if unspoken in public either in Washington or Saigon. Withdrawal will mean the end of death for Americans, but not for the Indochinese. Nixon's phased withdrawal plan has turned out to be what Colonel David Hackworth, the most decorated U. S. officer on active duty, has called "a public relations man's dream."

RESIST NEEDS MONEY!

WE WERE ABLE TO DO ALMOST NO
FUNDING AT OUR SEPT. 12 MEETING.

PLEASE HELP!

APPALACHIAN MOVEMENT PRESS

JULY GRANTS

The Appalachian Movement Press exists to tell the real history, the people's history of Appalachia, and to revitalize the positive characteristics of Appalachia's unique culture. It also exists to provide Appalachians with information about the contemporary political economy of the region, and to aid those individuals and groups who, borrowing a leaf from history and building on cultural traits too stubbornly mountaineer to die, are today fighting for social, political, and economic justice.

Subscriptions to AMP include a pamphlet series (20 annually) and an Appalachian calendar. Checks covering a year's subscription (\$7.50 for working people, \$5 for students, \$25 for professionals, \$15 for libraries, and free to unemployed Appalachians) should be sent to Appalachian Movement Press, P.O. Box 8074, Huntington, W.V. 25705. Or write for more information.



THE SOLEDAD BROTHERS DESPERATELY NEED CASH!

With the trial finally about to start, the Soledad Brothers Legal Defense team is on the verge of total bankruptcy. The outcome of the trial hangs in the balance. The Soledad Brothers have been under indictment since February 1970 (more than 18 months). The massive pre-trial assaults by the prosecution (changes of venue, gag rules, harassment, endless pre-trial hearings) have almost completely exhausted every penny raised by the defense.

The trial is now scheduled to start on August 9, 1972, in September

Defense attorneys expect it to last 5 months. Conservative estimates put the cost of the defense (expert witnesses, special investigators, travel expenses for witness interviews from all over the state, the bare necessities for supporting three attorneys and their staff during the trial, etc.) at \$125,000. The state will be spending many times this amount in its ruthless attempt to railroad the Soledad Brothers to the gas chamber. Your money is urgently needed to prevent a legal lynching. Please send your contribution immediately to:

THE SOLEDAD BROTHERS LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

510 North Third Street
San Jose, California 95112

I enclose _____ for the cause of justice in the Soledad Case.

_____ Please send Soledad Button (75c minimum contribution)

_____ I would like to work for the Soledad Brothers in my community. Please send information.

Name _____

Address _____

Mississippi Draft Information Service, Gulfport, Miss.: for operating expenses for the next three months

Latin American Center for Draft Counselling, Milwaukee, Wisc.: seed money to establish project serving latin and working class community

Resurrection City-People's Farm, Browns, Ala.: towards purchase of a tractor and seeds for a socialist farm collective providing food for Panther Free Breakfast Program

People's Free Ambulance Service, Berkeley, Calif.: seed money towards purchase of an ambulance and repairs and medical supplies

27th Street Free Health Clinic, Milwaukee, Wisc.: seed money to purchase medical supplies

Black United Liberation Front, Philadelphia, Pa.: assistance in a voter registration campaign to stop Rizzo for Mayor

Shanti Community Co-op Bookstore, Fresno, Calif.: credit at New England Free Press to purchase literature

Motor City Labor League, Detroit, Mich.: continuing grant over three months towards a health clinic project

Free Chinatown Committee, Boston, Ma.: assistance in campaign to organize street gangs and to stop New England Medical Center from destroying Chinatown section

ACTION-AMRAM Project, Philadelphia, Pa.: continuing grant for two months for organizing project at an ordnance factory

National Black United Front, Cairo, Ill.: continuing grant for three months toward office operating expenses

National Lawyer's Guild, New York City: travel and legal fees to defend black GI in Canal Zone facing court martial

American Documentary Films, New York City: towards office expenses and cost of prints of "The Selling of the Pentagon"

Milwaukee Newsreel, Wisc.: towards purchase of a projector

Vincent Pollard, Chicago, Ill.: continuing grant for research on city's health care system

The Economic Research Alliance, St. Petersburg, Fla.: seed money for a research project investigating the drug traffic in this city

