THE QUIET AFTER THE BANQUETS  - Franz Schurmann

While the TV showed Nixon and Pat enjoying themselves, we all knew, or rather were told by the impatient commentators, that world-moving talks were going on. The Nixons returned and a strange silence has followed. The Russians, a major concern to both Chinese and Americans, are gone on in Peking. The Japanese are clamoring more cynical than furious. The Chinese Nationalists are angry as expected, but in an icy sort of way. Surprisingly, Nguyen Van Thieu and Lon Nol seem to be not terribly disharmonized by what went on in Peking. The Japanese are clamoring for recognition of China. And on the battlefields of Indochina, military action is not what was expected after all the predictions of a new Tet offensive.

The real significance of the Nixon visit is probably no more and no less than the fact of the visit itself. Nixon's policies were well known before and nothing suggests that he has changed them -- he wants to end the Sino-American cold war; he does not expect the Indochina wars, which major school's are puppet regimes intact; he foresees a decade of military-political rivalry between America and Russia. He also wants to get re-elected in November 1972. and therefore might make some concessions in the interests of an appearance of a 'generation of peace'. Nixon's policies are also unclear -- he wants a definitive withdrawal of American military and political power in East Asia which has been the prime source of the Sino-American cold war; he wants America to make the only credible move indicating such a withdrawal is real, getting out of Indochina and Taiwan; and he regards Russia as China's main long-term enemy. The disagreement between Chinese and Americans is obvious: the Chinese want complete withdrawal, and the Americans offer only a partial withdrawal with "regional forces" no longer an obvious threat to China. Since neither Mao nor Nixon could back off their respective positions, the main question has to be whether Nixon's presence in China for seven days has set in motion a chain of events which might not have occurred had he not gone.

For the American anti-war movement, the main question is what effect the Nixon visit has on the war in Indochina. As far as the media are concerned, I do not think the visit has had much effect. The media are against the war when there is major concern to both Chinese and Americans; are went on in Peking. The Japanese are clamoring for recognition of China. And on the battlefields of Indochina, military action is not what was expected after all the predictions of a new Tet offensive.

The paramount fact to know in understanding Mississippi is that about 65% of the population, white and black alike, leaves the state permanently before the age of 30. This means there are no hip areas, no "street people", no on-going political organizing of youth, no radical community. Back around 1968 a few of us decided to fight the out-migration trend by encouraging the growth of a small community of hip radical young people and by trying to build in-stitution which would support such a community. We decided that a newspaper was the first institution which should be established and consequently set about publishing a small sporadic state-wide paper directed primarily toward young whites. The paper was optimistically named THE KUDZU after the Kudzu vine, a plant imported to the rain-drenched South to prevent erosion and which proved to be exceptionally fast growing and hard to contain.

At the time of the KUDZU's inception the civil rights movement was on the decline in the South, although we then believed it was just experiencing a lull. SDS nationally was at its peak, though less than a year away from dissolution. The Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), the white offspring of SNCC and the southern counterpart of SDS, was also near its peak, and near dissolution. The summer of love in California had captured the imagination of the nation and as a consequence media-created hippies were springing up all over -- yes, even in rural Mississippi.

Black Power was telling us to work with whites. Organizing poor whites was beyond our resources and our experience told us that the only segment of the white population which we could hope to reach was the young segment, whether middle class students or working class drop outs. We have found that there are fewer cultural differences between young people of all classes than between young people and older people of any single class.

SSOC footed the bill in the beginning, and mass arrests of vendors of the second issue put the KUDZU in the news and we were off. The KU­ZU's first phase was full of arrests, energy, publicity, and great promise. Small groups of supporters came together at the major schools and towns around the state, and provincial white Miss­issipi kids were drawn into the international radical movement. At the end of the first year, however, SSOC was purged from SDS and dissolved by the same factional fighting which shortly ended SDS. This was a major blow not only financially but in every other way as well.
in South Vietnam may be due to the fact that people in Hanoi think that some diplomatic breakthrough at Paris might occur because of the China visit. It is hardly due to the fact that morale has sunk because Chairman Mao shook Nixon's hand.

There is an obvious and central fact about Nixon's visit -- it generated an unexpected cordiality obvious in the faces of Chou En-lai and Nixon. It is likely that when Nixon goes to Moscow in May, the atmosphere will be grimmer, more business-like, more technological. Nixon, in this election year, has to weigh how far he can afford to push the anti-Soviet line, which is the necessary counterpart of his pro-China line and his plan to meet the Soviet weapons challenge. If the Russians show willingness to make major concessions to Washington, then the prospects for an end to the Vietnam war will be poor, and the new cordiality with China will probably become more business-like. But if Russia emerges more and more as the main threat during the summer months, then the United States may indeed decide to end the adventures in the East so America can gird for the long haul against Russia in the West. Nixon's election strategy is clear: he promises more law-and-order and an end to bussing and Nixon. It is likely that when Nixon goes to the South Vietnamese may be in sight.

As it turned out, a businessperson who could have probably made a killing on a dance hall, but not on a newspaper, raised money (not an easy matter in the poorest state in the nation), and renovated the building ourselves, but the police refused to give us a dance permit. Oh it was unconstitutional all right, but who would pay the rent on a large building while the court cases were going on? Nixon said the American people have money (not an easy matter in the poorest state in the nation), and renovated the building ourselves, but the police refused to give us a dance permit. Oh it was unconstitutional all right, but who would pay the rent on a large building while the court cases went on? Nixon said the American people have a weekend dance hall would create enough surplus profit to sustain a whole community center with a meeting space, a co-op craft shop, a movement bookstore, draft and legal counseling speakers, films, even a free clinic.

Meanwhile, things suddenly began looking better for the KUDZU. The boutiques and head shops were springing up all over suburban Jackson and could be talked into placing ads in the KUDZU. They also were willing to sell the paper to their customers, thus helping with the problem of distribution -- there is no hip area in Jackson where street sales can be made, and working class kids spend their pay checks in the boutiques just as fast as middle class kids spend allowances there.

In concentrating on the community center, however, we lost all of our contacts around the state and had to build up new contacts. There are no major schools in Jackson and Jackson by itself is too small to support a paper, so if it had been in the process of building up new contacts and supporters around the state.

Even with the new ads, however, it is clear by now that the paper was never going to create a community which didn't already exist, and that it could never provide a means of support for a small staff (not even a staff of one person). So we conceived of the idea of a hip community center.

There was no place in Jackson, the largest city in the state, where young people could go on weekends and hear live rock music. We sensed that whoever could create such a place would make a lot of money and so we set out to beat the hip capitalists to the draw (they were already opening up boutiques and head shops). We hoped that a weekend dance hall would create enough surplus profit to sustain a whole community center with a meeting space, a co-op craft shop, a movement bookstore, draft and legal counseling speakers, films, even a free clinic.

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Even with the new ads, however, it is clear by now that the paper will never support a full time staff so we are concentrating on finding people who are willing to produce the paper in their spare time; otherwise the end of the KUDZU may be in sight.

The out-migration has not stopped. The KUDZU has lived through many staff turnovers. The original staff and readers are long gone. This means we never see the real results of our efforts. We are constantly watching people move out of traditional patterns of thinking only to see them also move physically out of the state. A recent study published in Scientific American showed that the racial attitudes of southern whites under 25 have changed more than any other group in the nation in recent years. Maybe we can take credit for part of that change, even if we can't keep them here.
IMPERIALISM AND THE WAR

-The Black Workers' Youth Congress, Detroit

There is one question the Pentagon Papers never ask or answer: WHY? Why was Diem killed? Why were the busses in Hanoi sabotaged by CIA agents less than two weeks after signing of the Geneva accords? Why did the US pay for 60% of France's efforts to keep Viet Nam from falling into the hands of the Vietnamese? Why have 2,000,000 Indo-chinese and 50,000 Americans died, anyway?

The recent announcement by the Ford Motor Company that they will build a plant in South Viet Nam to manufacture a vehicle for the Asian market is a very clear answer.

The United States, emerging as the nation with its military and economic power most intact after World War II, has undertaken the burden of keeping the world in general, and Southeast Asia in particular, safe for capitalism. Not democracy, but capitalism. And not to keep France or the US safe for capitalism, but the world.

Most of the "butter" in the US economy comes from world capitalism, that is, imperialism. That is what it means to say that the US has 5% of the world's population and controls 60% of its resources. Imperialism means pure and simple economic power over other nations, and the raw materials of other nations will be available to capitalists on their own terms or, at least, on favorable terms; that the economies of the "underdeveloped" countries will be developed in accordance with the needs and whims of the Ford Motor Company, United Fruit, and the Chase Manhattan Bank.

Self-determination is the antithesis of imperialism. Nations determine in their relationships with other nations what is to their mutual benefit, rather than what is to the benefit of one country at the expense of another. In this century the most practical and successful method of achieving self-determination has been through the organization of a communist movement and a communist society. Countries such as Algeria and Ghana which achieved "independence" without communism have been the greatest victims of neo-colonialism.

As we know, the US as the leading capitalist nation decided that capitalism would stand against self-determination in Viet Nam; because it suited the purposes of Ford Motor Company and others, it would seek to create a nation - "South Viet Nam" - where none had previously existed. The Pentagon Papers partially describe the digging-in process. The name for it was the domino theory, which is a round-about way of saying, "this is it". World capitalism will show that it has the ruthlessness and the weaponry to keep this area safe for capitalism.

It is no accident that the architect for the expansion of the war through seven years as Secretary of Defense under Kennedy and Johnson is Robert Strange MacNamara, who came to the job from the presidency of the Ford Motor Company.

But what Robert Strange found out was a law of imperialism, a law first demonstrated by our Founding Fathers, T. Jefferson, G. Washington, S. Adams, etc.: Imperialism creates resistance. The corollary is that the imperialist power invariably at some point grossly underestimates the nature and level of the resistance. King George III found that out.

The capacity and will of the Vietnamese to resist was far greater than anticipated; the costs of keeping Southeast Asia safe for capitalism exceeded all expectations.

It is partly because Robert Strange and his cohorts decided to make such a big deal of the Vietnamese resistance that it is so important. The Vietnamese have taught us a great deal about our history and our present. Just as Martin Luther King taught whites that racism was in Chicago and not just Mississippi, they have helped to make many Americans aware of what the US does in Latin America, Africa, Canada, Europe and other parts of Asia. And it is the Vietnamese who have helped to teach in Uruguay, Angola, and Harlem that the Old US of A ain't as tough as it would like everyone to believe.

It is the Vietnamese struggle which has made it possible to see that the US objectives are Harry Ford's objectives, and therefore to move our own struggle, as the People's Peace Treaty does, beyond merely protecting the nasty tactics whether napalm, the air force, or ground troops used in pursuit of those objectives.

There are those who argue that because imperialism is a global reality we should turn our attention away from Viet Nam and toward Guatemala or Pakistan, or Ecuador, or the "unierdeveloped" countries south of the US. For one thing, that perspective ignores the extent to which the outcome in Indo-china affects the struggle against imperialism in other places.

Chile is a good example. When the Dominican Republic was on the verge of electing socialism in 1965, Lyndon Johnson sent in the marines. In Chile, six years of Vietnamese struggle later, such an option was for all practical purposes impossible because of the state of the military and the level of public awareness and opposition which could have resulted. Nixon's concessions implicit in his trip to China are another example of the indirect results of the Vietnamese effort.

There is something to the domino theory. If the man with the pin-striped sideburns can build vehicles in South Vietnam for a profit, and if the economies of both Vietnamese and US workers, then he will be able to keep doing so in South Africa, Argentina, Canada, Ireland and the Philippines, where he has already announced plans to invest $1 billion in the next twenty years. (Three weeks after the Philippines announcement, Mrs. Ferdinand Marcos, wife of the Philippine "president", was pictured on the front page of Detroit's Society pages accompanying Christina Ford to the rich people's opening of the North Wing of the Detroit Institute of Arts.)

It would be ironic, tragic, and politically irresponsible if, even in the name of averting future Viet Nams, people were now to turn their attention away from Southeast Asia. That is not to deny the need to better understand and struggle against imperialism everywhere, from the perspective of the centrality of Southeast Asia. But if we can't help the Cambodians (and ourselves) concerning whom there is great public understanding, why do we think we can help the Bolivians or the Brazilians, around whom there is less understanding?

It is a given that the Vietnamese will struggle against the South Vietnamese Ford plant. Will WE?
AIR WAR ACTIONS PLANNED

In mid-February Resist sent out letters supplemented with materials suggesting a large, coordinated teach-in campaign on and off campuses against the air war. We had suggested the week beginning April 10 for the campaign. Thus far, groups from the following areas have indicated their plans for the teach-ins: Syracuse, Boston, New York City, Madison, Wis., Urbana, Ill., Rochester, N. Y., Detroit, N. Pleasant, Mich., Providence, R. I., El Paso, Texas, and Brooklyn, N. Y.

For those who did not receive the mailing, below is a copy of the list of teach-in materials we sent out. We also have available posters against Air Force recruiting ("WARNING - You May Be Asked To Perform Criminal Acts").

Teach-In Materials

Indochina Resource Center
1322 18th St., NW
Washington, D. C. 20036 (202) 785-3114

Pamphlets, films, newest of which is "US Technique & Genocide in Indochina", made in 1971. Includes details of the air war, types of antipersonnel bombs and their effects, etc. 800 ft., 20 min., $65.00 or rent a print for 3 days for $25.00, including postage and handling.

NARMIC (North American Research on the Military-
160 N. 15th St. Industrial Complex)
Philadelphia, Pa. 19102 (215) L03-9372

Slide show on all facets of the contemporary air war, with script. $50.00. Back-up kits for the slide presentation are also available.

New England Action Research (N.E.A.R.)
c/o American Friends Service Committee
48 Inman St.
Cambridge, Mass. 02139 (617) 864-3150

Air War Information Packet, $1.50 each. Includes not only details of the air war, but the electronic battlefield as well. Also, if you're in the New England area, New England Action Research will assist you in compiling a list of war contractors in your vicinity.

Resist Speakers Bureau
763 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, Mass. 02139 (617) 864-3150

Members of Resist Steering Committee available to speak on the Air War and related topics. Call or write Resist for more information.

New England Free Press
791 Tremont St.
Boston, Mass. 02118

Pamphlets and reprints (all inexpensive) dealing with the background of war in all of Southeast Asia. Write for a free list. 1st.

If you would like to give and/or get more information on the teach-ins, please write or call Hank Rosemont, 10 Hillside Terr., Lexington, Ma. 02173 (617) 861-8568.

MARCH GRANTS

Thoi Bao-Ga, 67A Pleasant St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139; To cover costs of newsletter. The paper is written by South Vietnamese students in the US and is distributed all over the world. It is primarily concerned with spreading awareness of South Vietnamese opposition to the Thieu regime, especially the massive and militant student op-

Women's Action Project, 2 Brookline St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139. To purchase copy of News-reel's "The Women's Film" for use as publicity for a local conference of working women, housewives, gay women and students, and also as a general organizing tool.

Gulf Coast Pulpwood Association, PO Box 754, Laurel, Miss. For cost of equipment for office out of which the woodcutters' strike is being coordinated, and for partial support of two statewide strike organizers.

Support Our Soldiers, PO Box 24942, Los Angeles, Ca. 90024. For office equipment for two people who have been running this GI funding and resource group out of their home.

Motor City Labor League, 715 East Grand Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48207. For repair and purchase of office equipment, and for cost of work around the union election at the Chrysler plant.

GT's For Peace, PO Box 31094, Summit Hts. Sta., El Paso, Tex. 79931. To cover debts incurred in expanded mailing of their paper, Gigline, to publicize spring actions at Ft. Bliss, and to raise money.

The Liberator, 1860 Chandler Dr., Charlestown, W. Va. 25312. To cover debts of relatively new paper, the first and only paper serving the black community here.

Resurrection City People's Farm, Rt. 1 Box 125A, Browns, Ala. 36724. For partial cost of installing plumbing and running water on farm which houses work brigades of students during the summer. Produce from the farm supplies the Panther free breakfast program in New Orleans and in November supplied the food for the Southeastern People's Revolutionary Conference sponsored by the Malcolm X United Liberation Front, Florida.

Inside-Out, 910 NW 53rd, Seattle, Wa. 98105.

Toward cost of maintaining house near McNeil Is, Federal Pen. for families of inmates to stay at when visiting. Project attempts to bring families together for mutual support, and to provide inmates with outside contact and support for their struggles on the inside.

WIN, Box 547, Rifton, W. Va. 25312. To cover debts of relatively new paper, the first and only paper serving the black community here.

National Black Draft Counselors, 711 S. Dearborn, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Towards salary of one of two counselors working with this group which coordinates and trains black draft counselors primarily throughout the mid-west.

Shot Tower, PO Box 4387, Baltimore, Md. 21223. To cover overdue phone bill for group which puts out a paper oriented towards Baltimore's working people.

Florida State Caucus, PO Box 12792, St. Peters-
burg, Fla. 33733. To send one member to the national black political caucus in Gary, Ind.

Fayetteville Switchboard, U. of Ark. Box 1635, Fayetteville, Ark. 72701. For purchase of mimeo machine for printing service which has been operating on borrowed equipment.

RESUBSCRIBE!

This is your second chance to subscribe to the Resist Newsletter. If you can't manage $5, send what you can, even if it's nothing, along with the enclosed envelope. Don't put off til