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### Resist Newsletter, April 23, 1972

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# RESIST

*a call to resist  
illegitimate authority*

23 April 1972 - 763 Massachusetts Avenue, #4, Cambridge, Mass. 02139 - Newsletter #61

## NIXON AND INVASION

- Ngo Vinh Long

The Nixon administration has termed recent events in South Vietnam a North Vietnamese invasion, and the American press has generally picked up the administration line. Much talk has concentrated on the Soviet tanks used by the other side as well as the two MIG's that "invaded" South Vietnam's air space - this after thousands of daily air attacks by hundreds of US warplanes and after equipping the Saigon army with over 1500 American tanks. Much less attention has been paid to the political implications of the "invasion" or "offensive" and to asking why it is happening now after a period of three years in which the other side scaled down its military activities.

The timing of the attack is related directly to the Paris peace talks; it came two weeks after President Nixon called off the talks indefinitely. During the last three years of his administration Nixon has constantly threatened the North Vietnamese and NLF delegations that the US would pull out of the talks if the other side increased its military activities. And so, although the US has managed to force the Saigon army to go out on some 300 mop-up operations in South Vietnam every day, the other side generally (although not always) avoided contact with the Saigon forces. Nixon also repeatedly said there are only two ways to "peace": the talks and Vietnamization. Three weeks ago, however, Nixon called off the peace talks on his own accord even though it has been the United States who has increased the military activities in Indochina through increased bombings and shelling. By calling off the talks, then, Nixon dared the other side to attack Vietnamization.

Daily battlefield reports bring new evidence of Vietnamization's fatal weaknesses. After four years and several billion dollars, ARVN soldiers are taking to their heels whenever serious pressure is put on them and wherever a line of retreat or opportunity for safely deserting is left open.

Hence, the other side essentially achieved its main objectives within the first few days of the operation: to demonstrate that Vietnamization cannot work in the long run because ARVN will not fight. This objective is as much political as it is military, and it is significant that the NLF and North Vietnamese called the US back to the peace talks almost immediately after the offensive began.

Militarily, the attackers are not fighting to gain territory or occupy cities. If you take large areas you then have to protect them from shellings and air attack. You spread your soldiers thin and overextend your supply lines, especially in this nearly conventional style of warfare. Taking over the whole country by a military campaign would entail wholesale destruction of ARVN - Vietnamese obligingly killing Vietnamese - and would expose the population to massive US air and artillery reprisals. In a situation where the US is virtually holding the South Vietnamese population, including ARVN, as hostages, such a strategy makes no sense from a Vietnamese national viewpoint.

Of course Nixon will claim, after the offensive has run its course, that it all proves that the "enemy" is not strong enough to take over all

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## JURY RESISTANCE

- Paul Lauter

I remember one of the Harrisburg defendants a year or more ago telling a collegiate audience in Baltimore of his approach to a strategy for the trial. "If we could only go out to dinner with the jury," he said, "have a beer, talk together. I'm sure we could settle the whole business very easily." People in the audience shifted about uneasily and grinned at this latest instance of the Catholic Left's naivete.

Yet in a deeper sense, Tony or Neil or Joe, whichever it was, was right. The movement has spoken a great deal these last few years about repression; but in terms of "repression" through trails and juries, the government has largely failed in its efforts to persuade ordinary Americans that movement activists are dangerous people who ought to be in jail. Back in 1968 it could at least get juries, straightjacketed by judges' instructions and control, to convict Spock, Coffin, Goodman and Ferber, and the Cantonville 9--though even then the Boston conviction was upset on appeal. But since the Oakland Stop the Draft Week trials, most activists have not been convicted: those of the Panther 21 who remained together on trial were acquitted; indictments of Bobby Seale and Erika Huggins were dismissed after a hung jury in New Haven; Huey Newton was freed; three members of the Republic of New Africa were acquitted in separate trials for shooting policemen outside the New Bethel church in Detroit; and now we have Harrisburg and the acquittal of the remaining Soledad Brothers. And here, a presidential election later, some of the Chicago 7 are helping once again to organize for the conventions.

Which is by no means to suggest that repression is an illusion: George Jackson never made it to trial, Panthers have accumulated years in jail awaiting trial, and Attica reminds us that repression often just begins with a trial. But a harder look at what repression is, where it's effective, and where new sources of resistance to it are arising, is in order.

Viewed historically, the political repression of the left today is far milder than that of the past, even the recent past of the 50's, let alone the days of the Palmer Raids and the Legion attacks on the Wobblies. In the fifties, for example, W.E.B. DuBois was brought to trial in federal court for failing to register as a foreign agent because the defunct Peace Information Center, of which he had been an official, had not registered when ordered to do so by the Attorney General. Nowadays, activists have been charged, not because of government paranoia, but mainly because they were active--often in ways especially embarrassing to the government.

It has also proved to be possible, as the notion of going for a beer with the jury suggests, to win even within the confine of the government's court. It may be that juries have sometimes failed to convict because they find it hard to believe that defendants are anything but ineffectual. But more often, I think, it has been possible for lawyers and sometimes defendants themselves to educate--organize--juries around the central political issues implicit in the trial. We have written about some of these successes in the Newsletter before--notably in the New Bethel case and in that of James Johnson, the auto worker whose jury decided that he had been driven to shoot his

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## WOODCUTTERS CONTINUE STRUGGLE

- Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association

(The following article comes from the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association which was one of the groups that we funded in March 1972.)

The Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association won a prolonged strike in southern Mississippi in mid-December 1971. The most immediate gains of the more than 3000 black and white workers who participated in the strike were an end to the "unit" system of wood measurement (which had cost them about 20% of their weekly earnings) and a raise in the price of wood (which means about \$45.00 a week per man over previous earnings).

The woodcutter as poor white trash and as nigger has been the subject of exploitation and obfuscation by the wood-dealers. The G.P.A. has managed to organize the cutters into an interracial union in spite of company efforts to divide them along these very lines. The educated dealers, using their access to information to maximize profits and to mislead efforts at clarifying the situation, have stopped past efforts to organize against economic dependence.

The cutter is trapped by a complex of economic responsibilities and oppressions common to any worker. He must pay a fee to the landowner from whom he gets the wood as well as bear the responsibility for the entire cost of labor and equipment. (Woodcutters usually work in three-man crews.) In addition, the dealer charges the cutter outrageous insurance rates (\$300.00 for on-the-job-only insurance) and requires him to pay a State Severance Tax (\$100.00) which the company is legally required to pay. These costs keep him on the fringe of economic desperation and very much in the hands of the dealers.

It must be emphasized that the reason why a woodcutter is so tied to a particular wood-dealer regardless of how little he pays for the wood, is very often that he is deeply in debt to that dealer who is both employer and banker. If the cutter can reduce his dependence on the dealer, the G.P.A. can begin to organize with confidence to rid the pulpwood business of the systematic and deeply rooted controls over the producers of this vital material.

Because of the strike, the cutters have gathered the momentum that an organization with interstate aspirations needs -- something that has eluded the persistent efforts of G.P.A. organizers for over three years. The men are now beginning to work towards cooperatives as an answer to the economic hold the dealers have over their lives. The G.P.A. is stressing the need to save money on expenses by instituting a pulpwood supplies program through which the cutter can buy relatively inexpensive, often used, pieces of equipment necessary to the trade. Savings on saw chains, saw parts, tires, oil, and other small parts can add up to nearly \$800.00 in a year when the exorbitant retail mark-ups (often as much as 40%) are cut.

Recently, the association also began a garage so that the workers could fix their own trucks and purchase some truck parts collectively. However, money comes slowly from people whose average income is \$1263.00 per year. Only \$7000.00 of an estimated \$30,000.00 needed for the project has been accumulated to date. Any help with the garage will certainly help build the strength of the cutters. Contributions may be sent to the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, PO Box 754, Laurel, Mississippi.



-Liberation

## SABOTAGE AT YORK

Resist recently received by mail two press releases from a group calling itself the Citizens' Commission to Demilitarize Industry. In the first, dated March 26, the group claimed credit for neutralizing several hundred 500-pound bomb casings at the factory of the American Machine and Foundry Company in York, Pennsylvania. The damage was reported to have been done to casings awaiting shipment to Indochina during the month of March.

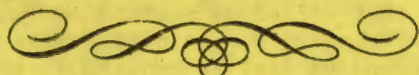
The second release, received here on April 1, was a joint statement from the Citizens' Commission to Demilitarize Industry and the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI. In this joint statement the two groups claimed responsibility for both the removal of files from the Media, Pa. FBI office in 1971 and the York action. To symbolize their shared objectives and methods, a part of an original FBI document and a plastic cover from a bomb casing were included with this second communique. The joint statement also claimed that the two groups share the typewriter on which all CCIFBI and CCIDI statements were typed.

In their first press release, the CCIDI gave the following reasons for their action:

- The complicity of large corporations in the automated air war which the US wages to maintain its power over S.E. Asia and to prop up the Thieu regime in Saigon.
- To encourage workers in war plants to take steps to achieve conversion of their plants to meet real human needs and full employment.
- To remind the government administrators and corporate profiteers that their ability to guarantee security of war industries is limited, and that the costs of continuing this destructive work are growing.

We are very happy to see that the CCIFBI and friends are still alive and well, and were glad we could be of assistance in their latest project. It is our guess that many minor acts of sabotage similar to those at York go unnoticed or are ignored by the established media, and we would be interested in hearing from any of you who could confirm and validate such acts.

**The Opium Trail: Heroin and Imperialism,** an 80 page booklet written by a Concerned Committee of Asian Scholars research group, examines the political and economic functions of drug addiction in US society. For a copy, send 35¢ to the New England Free Press, 791 Tremont St., Boston, Mass. 02118.





NIXON Cont'd. . .

of South Vietnam by military force. This logic holds true only if the struggle is seen as purely military, which it is not and has never been.

But what the recent operations have proven, with great success, is that one or two or five years from now, and after so many more billions of dollars, the military situation in Vietnam will be the same or worse. And the strategy of Vietnamization, while it offers the possibility of prolonging the suffering indefinitely, will never succeed in "pacifying" Vietnam.

To explain the failure of Vietnamization on the battlefield we must look beyond military tactics and consider certain fundamental economic and political realities of the situation in South Vietnam. Because of the problem of logistical support and the need to protect their men from US airpower, the other side has intentionally kept the size of their forces below the 350,000 mark. Even if they don't want to fight, the ARVN could cause havoc to the other side just by shooting blindly in panic when attacked since they are superior in weaponry and force. Also, since 60% of all the cropland in the country has been destroyed by the US anti-crop program, it would be difficult for the ARVN soldiers to find food anywhere unless they remain in the ARVN. Defection or desertion therefore is minimized.

Nixon therefore hopes that with the control of such a large force, he could at least get them to fight defensively and hold the line for a few months without the use of American airpower. If this is at all possible, then at a politically advantageous time - just before the presidential election, for example - he could call for the cessation of all US bombing and discredit those who have based their criticism of the war on direct US involvement.

Of course the Nixon administration is not sure whether Vietnamization will work, since it was clear during the so-called Tet Offensive of 1968 that the ARVN soldiers did not want to fight. Therefore the only choice left for the United States at that time was to use air power to bomb the cities in South Vietnam with the hope that the other side would stop fighting for fear of inviting more destruction on their own people. In calling off the Paris Peace Talks indefinitely, the Nixon administration is daring the other side to attack the Vietnamization program.

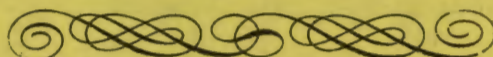
The intention here is to test the program well in advance of the presidential elections. Even if the program doesn't work as expected, at least there would be an excuse to use as much air power as possible with the hope of causing enough destruction on the other side that Vietnamization will not be endangered when the elections draw near. Also, the use of as much air power as possible now is aimed at proving to the American public that air power is "absolutely essential", so that when it is abruptly called off, Nixon will have shown that he has gone "an extra mile for peace".

Left with no alternatives, the other side has mounted their recent attacks. But the message is not military, rather it is political. The other side would like to prove that in spite of their superior force, ARVN is not willing to fight even when American air power and naval power is still around. And in this they have been successful, because at the first shelling and before they even commit their ground forces, ARVN turns and flees. True, the US has been able to get almost one-third of the total population in South Vietnam into one form of military organization or another and has been able to control them through physical and economic means.

But according to ARVN's Department of Logistics it costs the US 564 billion piasters, or 5 billion dollars to support ARVN for one year. How many more billion dollars will the US have to spend when there is no assurance that ARVN will ever be able to fight?

More importantly, if money is the means of controlling the ARVN then it is precisely here that the US gets into trouble. The additional withdrawal of American forces will decrease American spending in South Vietnam and will make it difficult for Nixon to increase his aid to ARVN through the US Army. Already, economic conditions in South Vietnam have caused ARVN soldiers to commit widespread armed robberies. The commander of the First Division and the II Corp Area has ordered his MP's to shoot and kill any robber even if the alleged robber is a soldier of another branch of the army. In the final analysis, therefore, to maintain its Vietnamization program the US will not only have to increase its aid to ARVN but will also have to maintain a sizeable American force in Vietnam both as a money-pump and as a machine of destruction.

The recent attacks, then, should be viewed in terms of their political message and not in terms of military success. The intention here is to prove that Vietnamization can never succeed, not to destroy ARVN. Not only is ARVN also Vietnamese, but as a force of 5 million men they just don't have anywhere to go. Those who applaud the present military successes and forget their political message play into Nixon's hands. If the political message is not made known, when the attacks stop because the other side thinks that it has proved its point and because it doesn't want to cause additional suffering to its people, Nixon will certainly point out that the other side does not have the military strength to take over the whole country, and that therefore Vietnamization works! If this is allowed to happen, then the other side will be obliged to hammer its political points home again through military force, and the Nixon administration will continue to rain down destruction in order to "protect our remaining forces" and our "ally" from "North Vietnamese invasion". And the war will go on, and on, and on.



#### MORATORIUM MAY 4

The Emergency Nationwide Moratorium committee (1404 M St., NW, Washington, DC 20005 / 202-785-1535) has called for a nationwide strike on May 4 in protest of the increased attacks on Indochina. Resist supports this action and urges people to use this day as a focus for creative actions against war-related industries, military installations, federal buildings, and congressional offices. The committee is calling for the continuing presence of protesters in congressional offices, both at home and in Washington, beginning May 5. We support and encourage all principled forms of resistance to illegitimate authority and hope that people would not feel bound by narrow definitions of civil disobedience when protesting. An act of civil disobedience occurred recently at the York, Pa. plant of the American Machine & Foundry Co. in which hundreds of bombs bound for Indochina were rendered inoperative.

At the present time, when American men and materials are being sent back to Vietnam, and the bombing raids over the North are surpassing the levels reached during the worst of 1968, we feel it is urgent that all of us opposed to US actions in Indochina demonstrate continuously our outrage by whatever means we feel is required.



foreman by his childhood in Mississippi and the Chrysler corporation assembly line. (A civil law suit makes it likely that Chrysler corporation will be made to pay for Johnson's private psychiatric care).

The point that needs underlining, I think, after the Soledad and Harrisburg cases, is that there appears to be emerging a kind of resistance among the people who form U.S. juries. In Harrisburg, the judge changed his initial charge after it began to appear that the jury would deadlock. He had said that a defendant had to be involved in the whole conspiracy--kidnap, blowing up tunnels, and raiding draft boards--to be found guilty; later he broadened the net so that anyone entering any part of the conspiracy could have been convicted. And yet the jury voted 10-2 for acquittal, apparently rejecting what all but amounted to the judge's invitation to convict. If a jury in insular Harrisburg refuses to be taken in by the government's con-man witness, or pushed by its arrogant prosecutor, or even led by its home town judge, just how deep are the currents running against established politics in this country?

No one knows the answer to that question yet, nor are we quite at the point at which juries see folks like the Harrisburg defendants as acting on their behalf, or the Soledad brothers as their own brothers. But it would be useful for some enterprising reporter to try finding out from the jurors in those two cases how far or near they were to such ideas. After all, the truth of the matter is that repression is an everyday phenomenon, with which lots and lots of ordinary people are acquainted. We have tended, on occasion, to glamorize, overemphasize, the big trials--and to substitute working around them for organizing people whose lives and work are a constant struggle against oppressive forces. In black communities, repression is the increasing substitution of the rule of an armed outside force for local government--a fact of black life W.E.B. DuBois noted in The Souls of Black Folks 70 years ago. And for many of us, as well as for Americans who never hear of a "movement" until they sit on juries, the loss of a job, or being docked a day's pay are more imminent means of repression or control than trials.

The standard of living of working people in this country has been under increasing attack over the past five years. Jobs get more scarce and no less stupid, wages don't keep up with prices or taxes, economic contrasts sharpen, schooling disappoints, and our kids go off to someone else's war. The struggle to redress such growing imbalances has been confronted by an upsurge of anti-union tactics, injunctions, coercion, plant rules, the power of a federal Pay Board, large-scale unemployment--in short, of repression and control. It would be premature to suggest that such realities of the lives of Americans are directly related to the resistance of juries to attempts by the government to put its opponents in jail. But it is true that the government can no longer count comfortably on many of the usual emotions that tie people to it. And it may be that what is emerging in the jury rooms at San Rafael and Harrisburg is the isolation, not of the movement, but of the government.

#### LAST CHANCE TO RESUBSCRIBE!

This is your last chance to resubscribe to the Resist Newsletter. If you haven't returned one of the enclosed envelopes yet, please do so right away. The \$5 would really help us out if you can manage it. If not, send what you can. Thanks.

United Farm Workers, 173 Harvard St., Dorchester Ma. 02124. Toward office rent for group which organizes local support for the lettuce boycott and helps to support the Farm Workers in California.

Rising Up Angry, Box 3746, Mds. Mart, Chicago, Ill. 60654. For partial costs of Armed Forces Day demonstration at Great Lakes Naval Station in conjunction with VVAW, Movement for a Democratic Military, and Chicago Area Military Project.

Malcolm X United Liberation Front, PO Box 653, FAMU, Tallahassee, Fla. 32302. Toward rent for offices in Florida and Georgia.

Mountain People's Rights, 10 College La., Prestonburg, Ky. 41653. For office expenses. MPR provides legal services to disabled miners and case work concerning strip mining, mineral rights, black lung and health and hospital care.

Jibaro, 640 Dudley St., Dorchester, Ma. 02125. For rent of storefront. Group has continuous program of testing for TB and lead poisoning in Boston's Puerto Rican community.

Barrio Defense Committee, PO Box 33534, Los Angeles, Ca. 90033. For costs of newsletter for group which provides legal advice and bail money for L.A.'s Chicano community.

Alabama-Mississippi VVAW, 314 16th St., Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401. To cover costs of membership mailing to V.A. list of recently returned Vietnam veterans in these two states.

The Bill Haywood Collective, 109 N. 7th St., Morehead City, NC 28557. To pay phone bill incurred in draft counseling, community projects, and law suit against a nearby town which allows only propertied residents to vote.

Black Economic Development Conf. Che Payne Inst., 1007 Somerset St., Phila., Pa. 19133. For leaflets and other draft literature to expand counseling program among high school students.

Tombs 7 Defense Committee, c/o Joseph Fatula, 209-16 86th Drive, Queens Village, NY 11427. For telephone and printing costs for a fund-raising benefit; group publicizes conditions in the Manhattan House of Detention for Men and supports the 7 men indicted there for the riots in 1970.

Know, Inc., PO Box 86031, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15221. To move printing press to a new office; group prints a wide range of feminist literature.

Southern Committee Against Repressive Legislation, 1780 Edward, Memphis, Tenn. 38107. For repairs of car used by two organizers for SCARL and Operation Freedom so that they may make contacts in rural and mountain areas of Ark., Miss., and Tenn.

The Enraged Ones, c/o Grace Paley, 126 W. 11th St., NY, NY 10011. For partial costs of traveling educational project in NY state which will distribute radical critiques of the presidential candidates.

West Virginia Student Public Interest Research Group, c/o R. Franzblau, PO Box 1192, Morgantown, W.Va. 26505. Support for organizer of this group which supports the Black Lung Assoc. and strip mining groups.

Women's Legal Center, c/o E. J. Goodman, 50 Riverside Dr., NY NY 10024. Partial office costs for women's legal library; group will assist women in handling their own divorce cases, provide aid in filing sex-discrimination suits.