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RESIST

*a call to resist
illegitimate authority*

31 March 1974 - 720 Massachusetts Ave., #4, Cambridge, Ma. 02139 Newsletter #80

STRATEGIES for the 70's

Frank H. Joyce

The ideological and political debate within the movement is not confined to the recent discussions in the newsletter. The pages of the Guardian, Liberation, Socialist Revolution, a spate of new books about the American "working class", and the periodicals of organized Marxist-Leninist left such as the Communist League's People's Tribune, and the October League's The Call, amongst others, are full of a rapidly intensifying discussion and debate about the situation facing the U.S. left.

Some hold that any kind of ideological struggle is abstract, sterile and irrelevant. But, like it or not, ideological and political struggle is crucial to shaping the direction of the movement. The following article (which is the first of a series) is a "schematic" overview of what appear to be the main trends which emerged out of a recent political discussion within RESIST. In subsequent issues, advocates of each of the trends will put forward more developed arguments for their views. The author, RESIST member Frank Joyce, is a member of the Motor City Labor League, a Marxist-Leninist organization in Detroit. The article therefore cannot help but reflect the League's political position.

Everything changes - even the left. The disarray and fragmentation of the last few years is beginning to come together into three distinct trends.

One group is turning to the serious study and application of Marxism-Leninism to guide its actions and seeks the founding and building of a new anti-revisionist communist party. Organizationally, the trend includes national and regional groupings such as the Communist League (CL), the October League (OL), the Black Workers Congress (BWC), the Revolutionary Union (RU), and a variety of local organizations, circles and study groups. Despite the many differences between them, the members of this trend are united around the view that the proletariat remains the main force for revolutionary change in the U.S., and that the conservatism, revisionism and mis-leadership of the Communist Party USA

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MEDIA —

two years later

WE RECENTLY RECEIVED THE FOLLOWING FROM THE CITIZENS COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE THE FBI via WIN MAGAZINE:

February 12, 1974
To our friends at WIN--

It's been two years since you put out your special March '72 issue with the FBI documents we took from their Media office on International Women's Day in '71. We thank you for "deciphering" murky Xerox copies, proofreading some of the worst prose you've ever seen and typesetting obscure serial numbers . . . "

We heard of your continuing interest in our Commission and thought we'd pass along some thoughts about what's been happening and adding up, with the benefit of hindsight, some of the plusses and minusses of our action.

Following it, many small FBI offices across the country were shut down for good. In April '71, the FBI issued an internal directive which at least officially ended its "Cointel-New Left" program established in May '68 and designed, in J Edgar Hoover's words, "to explore, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership and adherents..." The January '74 issue of RESIST's newsletter has more details.

Our action may have made it more difficult for the powerful few in this country to buy informers and provocateurs, and for them to get juries to bring in guilty verdicts against some they've tried to trap--in Harrisburg, Camden, Gainesville and elsewhere.

There's been good organizing against government spying and harassment by several groups across the country and the information we made public probably helped a bit.

At the same time, a number of people were given a hard time by the government as it tried in vain to locate and stop us--beatings, threats, hassling families and more. Our action no doubt contributed to the false notion some have that occasional cadre actions are a substitute for

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"STRATEGIES" (contd.)

(CPUSA) and the Soviet Union do not require throwing the baby (the scientific socialist thought of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Mao, Ho Chi Minh, Enver Hoxha and others) out with the bath-water (the CPUSA and other conservative "communist" parties and countries such as the Soviet Union).

The second trend is toward the building of a "mass" or "people's" party which is either non-communist or anti-communist. Its three organizational centers are the New American Movement (NAM), a National Interim Committee formed around a party building paper by Arthur Kinoy which recently appeared in Liberation, and the Washington-based People's Party. These groups are united in their rejection of the Democratic and Republican parties and of a Leninist party. Their reasons for the latter include opposition to the primary role of the proletariat, the "hierarchical", "elitist" structure of democratic centralism, and the claim that such a party is unnecessary in a "democratic" country such as the U.S.

The third trend is perhaps best described as the "movement building" trend. It includes pacifists, avowed anarchists of various persuasions (anarcho-syndicalists, anarcho-communists, etc.) and others who believe that the process of the spontaneous emergence of tenants' unions, radical trade union caucuses, study programs, newspapers and so on - caused by the deepening crisis of capitalism - is either sufficient in and of itself, or should proceed for an indeterminate period, until such groups have enough practice to warrant greater co-ordination of their work, including possibly a political party. RESIST itself has been an organized focal point for this trend.

Remnants of the old left, of course, also remain on the scene in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP - Trotskyist), the CP-USA, and a host of splinter groups such as the International Socialists, the Spartacist League, the Progressive Labor Party, and others. Their influence exceeds their numbers because throughout the Civil Rights, anti-war, and labor struggles of the 60's and early 70's their political theories and practice, in the absence of other organized forms, convinced millions that the left's politics is virtually indistinguishable from other political positions -- differing only in degree. Yet others came to believe that the old left's "cure" was worse than the capitalist disease. This latter view of course also applies to media-promoted groups such as the Symbionese Liberation Army and the National Caucus of Labor Committees.

The causes of this process of clarifying political positions are, needless to say, complex, but some can be noted here.

First and foremost is the rapid acceleration of the crisis within imperialism which accompanied the US defeat in Indochina. Both Watergate and the inflation/recession/energy crisis are, in broad terms, the consequences of this crisis. Indochina is only the latest example of the 20th Century's dynamic of victory for communist revolutions and national independence movements, and the defeat of ultra-right social systems such as fascism. The continuing inability of capitalism to successfully "export" its internal contradictions through imperialist conquest of markets, cheap raw materials and cheap labor can only produce an intensification of internal political crisis, as is happening throughout the capitalist camp. To cite just one example of the effects of such crises, the Pentagon Papers, Watergate, and the British coal miners' strike against a "nationalized" industry, have all served, as never before, to expose governments as the servants of the ruling class.

Ironically, a recent setback for progressive struggle in South America is another source of the present political struggle and re-evaluation in the US. The counter-revolution in Chile dramatically refuted the position of the Soviet Union and others on the "peaceful transition to socialism." It produced the very bloodbath that its advocates claim should be avoided. One consequence of Allende's policy was to validate the strategy of combatting the revisionist tendency of some communist parties and states to return to capitalist ideology, and to abandon the fundamental assumptions of Marx and Lenin under the intense pressure of monopoly capitalist power.

Certain events of recent years, including Chile, Watergate, the Vietnam "peace" agreement, the "energy crisis," the wage freeze, and inflation, have led to a serious examination throughout the movement of why the "left" response to these events has been so fragmented and weak. Why have so many of the "radicals" of the 60's turned to reformist politics, religion, or dropped out altogether? What is there really to show for the arduous struggles of the 60's for civil rights? Against the war? To unionize previously unorganized sectors, particularly government employees?

Most important, with what theory and organizational forms must we arm ourselves to confront the dangers and opportunities of the 70's, 80's and beyond?

Victor Jara

Poet Musician Revolutionary

We are 5,000
Here in this little corner of the city.
How many are we - in all the cities of the world?
All, all of us, our eyes fixed on death.
How terrifying is the face of fascism!
For them blood is a medal
Carnage is a heroic gesture.
Song, I cannot sing you well when I must sing out of fear.
When I am dying of fright
When I find myself in these endless moments
When silence and cries are the echoes of my song.

-- the last poem of Victor Jara,
written inside Santiago National Stadium



Victor Jara was Chile's leading folksinger and composer. He was also a strong supporter of the UP government.

On the day of the coup in Chile, Jara was to sing at the Technical University in Santiago. He fought there with the many students who opposed the Junta. Hundreds died in this battle and many, including Jara, were arrested.

Even while the coup was going on stories of Jara's courage in the National Stadium, where he was held, trickled out. One witness, in the Stadium with Jara, quoted in Le Monde reported, "Despite the beatings, the morale of the prisoners was good; we encouraged each other. At one point Victor began to sing and we all sang along with him in unison. The soldiers were annoyed. It was then that Victor - having been recognized - was

beaten into unconsciousness. From that moment on he was constantly humiliated, beaten and tortured.

"The officer in charge of the prisoners decided to have Jara's hands cut off. They forced him to kneel and place his hands on a piece of wood; the torturers beat his hands and wrists until there was nothing left but a bloody pulp."

On Saturday, September 15, the prisoners were asked to line up. "Around five o'clock in the evening some civilians, led by military officers, entered the stadium. Recognizing Jara, they made him step out of line, dragged him to a side alley and unloaded their machine guns into him and another militant".

(Thanks to Liberation News Service for the information in this piece)

ORGANIZING OFFICE WORKERS

Ellen Cassedy

"Well, I'm not an organizer myself, but . . . I'd have to say that 9 to 5 represents the most serious effort right now. They combine union activity and job grievances with women's rights questions."

Al Gayzagian, February 20, 1974

The representative of the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company couldn't have put it better. 9 to 5, a new organization for women office workers in the Boston area, does indeed aim to pull together women's solidarity as women and their demand for justice on the job.

We have a long way to go to win the rights and respect we deserve from Boston employers. A recent news story in a Boston paper disclosed that forty major employers meet regularly to compare wage rates and make decisions about the 9 to 5 life of the office workers they employ. They act together to help keep Boston's wages the third lowest in the country for women office workers. (Of the fifteen largest American cities, only Memphis and Birmingham pay lower.) Contributing to this situation is Boston's large student population, with many transient workers who endure a low wage in return for the university scene and cultural benefits. Boston's paper economy, with its 250,000 clerical workers (80% of them women) runs on a kind of migrant labor. Dissatisfied workers roam from one job to the next in search of a better deal. Turn-over in many offices is as high as 25 to 45% annually. Unions are practically unknown in the Boston clerical field.

9 to 5 began in August of 1972 as a newsletter put out by ten women working in offices across the city. Though it was the first such organization we had heard of, we soon discovered similar groups in other cities. Moreover, we began to discover our lost history. We learned of tiny insurrections that had been going on in offices for as long as our oldest co-workers could remember. It seemed everyone could remember the day when someone had refused to fill the boss's water pitcher, or when everyone in the office had worn pants on a cold day in violation of the dress code. Some could remember a particularly lively demand for a raise. Others talked of friends who had demanded--and won-- weekly meetings with the boss to discuss how the office was run.

We heard about a group of five secretaries at a management consulting firm who one day presented their bosses with a memo describing what tasks they were and were not prepared to perform. We heard of six others who had demanded a long list of improved conditions and ended up with substantial wage increases. One hundred secretaries has met regularly for several months at a local university.

We drew upon these stories and our own dissatisfactions for the first trial issue of 9 to 5, and distributed 5,000 copies in front of the biggest insurance companies and the most crowded subway exits in Boston. No one had ever seen a handout for office workers only, and the response was enthusiastic. That very morning we began receiving calls and letters asking for subscriptions to the newsletter.

During the next year, our mailing list grew into the hundreds, and many women wrote in comments. For example:

Maybe 9 to 5 can instigate some change in the situation, which for some reason we have so far accepted without question.

It was in answer to this kind of comment that the 9 to 5 staff decided that it should do more than simply raise issues. In the fall of 1973, we set about launching an action organization for women office workers. Our first public event November 19 was attended by 200 women. At this time we announced that we were setting up an office at the Boston YWCA at 140 Clarendon St., and we suggested some immediate actions and programs: a meeting with the Chamber of Commerce, a forum with Boston employers, a job survey to recruit new members and choose targets, a course for office workers, and counselling hours on organizing and legal rights.

Preparing this program in advance of the event paid off. Because few of our prospective members had ever participated in political activity, we didn't expect them to gather in a room and start from scratch in devising strategy and tactics. We thought it important that the organization get off to an energetic and confident start.

The first meeting after the November 19 event, attended by 50 women, moved immediately into planning the confrontation with the Chamber of Commerce staff. Since then, our biweekly meetings have maintained a brisk, orderly tone. The meetings take place right after work at the YWCA and last barely over an hour.

We have also been careful not to institute empty structures before the group is strong enough to sustain itself. (For example, we avoided breaking into committees right away.) Our structure is simple: a chairwoman, a staff of two, and several committees which are formed and dissolved as needed to plan current activities. We expect a steering committee election of a new chair, and other democratic forms to arise as necessary.

In its four months' lifetime, the organization has daily been growing stronger on two fronts: public activities that the whole group participate in and on-the-job organizing. Our aim is to become a well-known support group for office workers who wish to change their working conditions. At the same time, we hope to become an effective pressure group against the employment policies afflicting office workers across the city.

Recently 9 to 5 has drawn up an Office Workers' Bill of Rights which lists the conditions that the law and simple human dignity entitle us to. It calls for an end to sex discrimination in promotions, training, and benefits; paid overtime; precise job descriptions; regular salary reviews and cost-of-living increases; and the right to choose whether or not to do work outside of our job descriptions, such as personal work for employers. In the coming months we will be presenting the Bill of Rights to legislators and government agencies such as the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, to enlist their aid in fighting unfair and illegal employment practices.



Margie Albert, a New York legal secretary who is emerging as a spokeswoman for the woman office workers' cause, to speak February 11. One hundred women listened attentively as Ms. Albert advised us to "make a list of all the issues on the job--no matter how big or how small. Put down salaries as well as the 'k' that always sticks on your typewriter. Then make a list of all your co-workers. Whether you like them personally or hate their guts, think carefully about how they might feel about these issues. What are their interests? Which women would be ready to act on which issues?"

Ms. Albert cautioned against the great divisions of age, race, and education that office workers face. She urged us to see our situation clearly--for instance, not to let competition for the men's attention obscure our common interests.

Many women who had come with their co-workers reported that they stayed up late that night talking about Ms. Albert's advice and thinking critically about their own offices.

To give office workers a chance to tell employers directly about their working conditions, 9 to 5 is holding a forum at the YWCA on April 8. Employers from companies large and small are being invited to hear what life is like at the other end of the paycheck. To prepare for this forum, members of 9 to 5 are meeting in industry groupings: insurance universities, small offices, legal firms, publishing, and others. Some of these groups will continue after the forum, planning meetings with employers and government agencies relevant to the particular industries.

In addition to large-scale undertakings like this forum, 9 to 5 has a second aim: on-the-job organizing. For expert advice on how to win rights and respect at the office, we invited

Already the 9 to 5 staff receives several calls a day from women asking for advice on how to fight for higher pay, or a better health insurance plan, or the removal of an odious boss, or more accurate job descriptions. Our staff meets regularly with women at universities, hospitals, and insurance firms to address specific problems on the job.

At present all of 9 to 5's group activities apply to the broadest range of office workers. But in the next months specific campaigns will attack particular problems in particular industries. As members do research on their own in-

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"9 to 5" (contd.)

dustries, compare notes with others in similar jobs, and begin speaking up--to employers' trade associations, agencies, and one another's bosses, if necessary--we will gain confidence and experience that some of us will be able to apply to our own offices.

We expect to be winning a number of on-the-job victories in the coming year. For some of us, this may mean being involved in a union drive. In 9 to 5's investigation of Boston area unions, we have found some to be actively interested in organizing office workers, others indifferent. 9 to 5 will explain the basic facts about unions to women who want to begin union drives, discuss the advantages and disadvantages of various unions, and arrange for meetings with union organizers. Widespread unionization of office workers is undoubtedly on its way. 9 to 5 hopes to support women in every step of the union drive and to make sure their interests are fairly represented.

* * *

"MEDIA" (contd.)

the sustained work with many people needed to produce real change. By focussing attention on spying, harassment and other infringements on civil liberties, we diverted some from the larger, more systemic crimes of the ruling class --exploitation of most people, draining of the world's resources, waging war.

Corporate capitalism is still rampant, killing by proxy in Vietnam and Cambodia, profiting from restricted energy supplies, using inflation and taxes to make working people pay for the armies and prisons of rulers, for their wealth and power, and those of their collaborators around the world.

We've been trying to learn in the midst of work on many levels. We're sending you a copy of a little noticed joint statement we made in April '72 with the Citizens' Commission to Demilitarize Industry and hope you'll have space to print it as well as this letter.

Thanks again for your help in getting out the word.

on behalf of the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI by its Continuing Committee

A joint statement by the CITIZENS' COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE THE FBI and the CITIZENS' COMMISSION TO DEMILITARIZE INDUSTRY

During the month of March '71, files on political surveillance and harassment were removed from the FBI office in Media, Pa., and subsequently made public. During the month of

March '72, several hundred casings for MK82 bombs made for the US Navy by the AMF Corp. in York, Pa., were rendered unusable.

Our two commissions are responsible for these actions. To symbolize our shared objectives and methods, we are sending out a few packets containing this statement, a part of an original FBI document on surveillance of Black Student Leagues, and a plastic cover from a 500 pound bomb whose threads have been stripped. In addition to objectives and methods, we also share the typewriter on which this and other statements have been typed.



We realize all too well how small our accomplishments are when measured against what must be done to free our society from the forces that sponsor repression and mass murder. We have made public a few secret files and have neutralized a few bombs. But for every FBI file we have made public there are thousands that remain secret. For every bomb we have sabotaged there are tens of thousands yet to be assembled. In themselves, our actions will neither stop governmental repression nor the terror it rains on the people of Indochina. But we have acted and, within the limits imposed upon us, we have succeeded: files have been made public, bombs have been damaged, and the government has been stymied in its efforts to find us, let alone stop us. Our success, we hope, contributes to a new kind of resistance movement in this country--a movement that rejects terror and violence yet is not afraid to deny forcefully the instruments of terror and violence to others.

Like Albert Camus before us, we have chosen to be "neither victims nor executioners."

The War Comes Home to Portugal

(Ed. Note: In June of '73 RESIST helped pay for a printing press to be sent to the Movement for the Liberation of Angola. We recently received the following news report from Tricontinental News on the effects of the liberation struggle in Africa on the political situation in Portugal)

LISBON, MARCH 22 - The dismissal of Chief of General Staff, General Costa Gomes, and his deputy general, Antonio Spínola, seems to have resolved, at least temporarily, the Portuguese government's crisis over African colonial rule.

The country was thrown into turmoil several weeks ago when a book entitled Portugal and Its Future, written by General Spínola and calling for negotiations with pro-Portuguese African nationals to end the colonial wars against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau, appeared on newstands and in bookstores.

Though the Portuguese press and official declarations portray Spínola as being just short of a communist, he had recently returned from a four year stint as colonial administrator of the war in Guinea-Bissau and is widely associated with brutal repression in the three African territories in which Portugal has been waging a 13 year war. On his return, Spínola was awarded Portugal's highest military decoration for his services in the colonies.

The debate inside Portugal's ruling class comes at a time when it is experiencing mounting problems in each of its war-torn colonies.

On May 7, only two days before the crisis broke out inside Portugal, the London Guardian reported a major movement of Portuguese troops to the Angolan province of Cabinda, where a large scale guerilla attack was feared.

For the past six months, Portuguese forces in the area, which contains rich oil reserves, have engaged in intensified battles with the MPLA. Last October, MPLA destroyed a Portuguese garrison in Cabinda. In February, a 36-man Portuguese patrol was killed in the same area.

On the fronts in the other two colonies, the Portuguese position is also deteriorating. FRELIMO, which controls a large region in northern Mozambique, has expanded its military activities in the central part of the country. Guerillas have repeatedly disrupted rail traffic and caused general alarm among white settlers by their growing military successes. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which has received wide-spread international recognition will soon confront Portugal at the United Nations when it asks for status as a member state at the opening of the 1974 General Assembly.

The repression of all political opposition inside Portugal requires all its forces to operate underground. However, a significant response to the "Spínola crisis" was broadcast over the clandestine "Radio Free Portugal", on March 16. This is the text of that broadcast:

"The fact that the government has taken so long to handle its internal conflict, which in different conditions would have been coped with easily, shows that the dealings and interactions in the fascist camp have already reached a higher level and can no longer be contained by Caetano's appeals for sacred unity. The very appointment of General Luiz Cunha as Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces shows that in order to consolidate matters the Marcello Caetano government has had to rely on the support of a group which, as was stated at the time, was plotting to overthrow the government late last December.

"Be that as it may, the regime has had to pay a very high price to resolve this crisis: the public break between the regime and an important sector of the armed forces, represented by General Costa Gomez, and Spínola. However, as the situation develops, one thing is certain: the regime's position will never be the same again. A new stage has been reached in the escalation of differences and clashes which are shaking the fascist camp, already rattled by the failure of the colonialist war policy, by the many difficulties it faces in every sector and by the struggles of the Portuguese and Colonial peoples.

"The dismissal of Generals Costa Gomez and Spínola will not stop the process-a clearly political process-which is eroding the inner structure of the regime. On the contrary, it is a sign of the intensification of the process which will inevitably take new forms and will further harm the unity of the fascist camp. The present circumstances lend more weight to the statements in Spínola's book on the failure of the colonial war policy and make them a determining factor in the open struggle against government policy. Moreover, these statements are only a subdued reflection of the views of a strong movement which is spreading within the armed forces, thus undermining one of the main props of the regime.

"Gathering around him the highest ranking fascist military, Marcello Caetano has called for a closing of ranks around a policy no longer trusted by anyone. Instead of solving the crisis afflicting it, the government sees its isolation increasing and its field of maneuver narrowing. The government's clear political weakness, the crisis of confidence spreading in the fascist camp itself, its lack of popularity and isolation, its incapacity to work out an overall strategy, to overcome the difficulties faced by the regime, its repeated hesitations, its resignation to living day-to-day-all these factors will remain sources of anxiety in the fascist camp and will continue to enhance differences, encourage defections, and create real difficulties to the implementation of the monopolies' policies so zealously defended by the government.

"So the crisis of the fascist regime has entered a new stage, a higher and more acute stage. In these circumstances, each front of struggle, each concrete and immediate goal against the basic policy of the fascist and colonial government, acquire great political importance in the overall framework of the struggle for bread, for an end to the colonial war and for freedom."

FEBRUARY GRANTS

MADISON TENANT UNION

953 Jenifer St., Madison, Wisconsin 53703

A group that we have supported in the past; it is now engaged in organizing renters into a union structure in order to bring about immediate improvements in living conditions and long-range change in the ownership and control of housing.

DORCHESTER COMMUNITY NEWS

45 Speedwell St., Dorchester, MA 02122

Assistance in putting out the first issue of a new community newspaper in this working-class area of Boston. Another instance of our continuing support of work in that area.

THE WORKER

129 West 22nd St., New York, NY 10011

A new paper in the New York-New Jersey area aimed at working people and used in organizing work in the area; the Worker office serves as a center for meetings of community groups and labor groups.

BORROWED TIMES

Box 1311, Missoula, MT 59801

A newspaper collective trying to build a united front radical Montana movement. The group wants to circulate the paper widely throughout the state; our grant was meant to assist in that distribution.

THE LABOR PAINS NEWSLETTER

P.O.Box 72, Cambridge, MA 02138

A newsletter distributed to day care and community centers throughout the U.S., directed to day care workers and parents; working for community controlled child care. Our grant is to pay for the printing costs of the newsletter.

V.V.A.W./WINTER SOLDIER

2175 N.W. 26th Street, Miami, Florida 33142

Funds were granted to support this group's veterans service organization which provides major services for Vietnam era veterans and their families.

MIDNIGHT SPECIAL

23 Cornelia Street, New York, NY 10014

A grant in continuing support of what is now the only remaining national prisoners' newspaper.

SCAR (Statewide Correctional Alliance for Reform)

374 Fire Street, Portland, Maine 04111

A grant in support of this group's drop-in center, which deals with prisoners and their families' problems with bail, housing, etc.

BRAGG BRIEFS

P.O.Box 437, Spring Lake, N. C. 28390

A grant to support the G.I. Union's continuing to publish their newspaper, Bragg Briefs

SAFE RETURN

156 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010

This organization is working achieve universal amnesty for war resisters. The grant is to support their research/action project on the question of "The effects of less-than-honorable discharges on Vietnam era veterans.

THE TIDEWATER AFRICANS

2731 Bowden's Ferry Road, Norfolk, VA 23508

A grant to support the organizational work of the group. Its many activities include legal counseling, the publication of a newspaper, G.I. support work, etc.

LABOR-COMMUNITY ALLIANCE

2252 Puna St., Honolulu, Hawaii 96817

A group of workers (organized and unorganized) and community people publishing a newspaper in support of workers' and community struggles. Our grant is to assist in the publication of their newspaper, HOE HANA, which is crucial to their organizing work.

MILWAUKEE WORKER

P.O.Box 3305, Milwaukee, Wisc. 53208

A monthly newspaper addressed to blacks, Latin, and white working people. This grant continues our support of this active leader in working people's causes.

