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STRATEGIES FOR THE 70's

LAWRENCE THOMAS

TERRORISM VS. ARMED STRUGGLE :
The Politics of the Weather Underground

On the night of July 24, the Weather Underground (the outgrowth of the Weatherman faction of SDS), issued its contribution to the current ideological debate amongst US leftists. Entitled Prairie Fire-The Politics of Revolutionary Anti-Imperialism, the 152 page booklet declares itself to be "a strategy for anti-imperialism and revolution inside the imperial US." It contains a section of self-criticism on the past practice of the Weatherman faction, an analysis and history of Third World and US movements, and a rather vague outline of an "ideological foundation" for action based on their analysis of present day imperialism.

PRAIRIE FIRE

**THE POLITICS OF REVOLUTIONARY
ANTI-IMPERIALISM**



**POLITICAL STATEMENT
OF THE
WEATHER
UNDERGROUND**

**PRINTED UNDERGROUND
IN THE U.S.
FOR THE PEOPLE**

COUP THWARTED IN PORTUGAL

The resignation of Portugal's president, Antonio de Spínola, on September 30, represents a victory of left wing popular forces and the Armed Forces Movement, which had initially put Spínola into power in the April coup.

Underestimating the current mood of the people, Spínola had endorsed a demonstration of the "silent majority" against what he termed "totalitarian extremists". This was to be a middle class revolt against the growing strength of the Portuguese Communist Party and the Democratic Movement, whose objectives are the decolonization of Africa and the institution of democratic reforms at home. Spínola's association with the anti-fascists is described by a member of the Armed Forces Movement and former protégé of Spínola's: "He joined the April 25th movement because he wanted to liberalize but not to democratize the existing regime. He wanted to keep power in the hands of the same old economic and social forces. He wanted also a liberalization of the colonial regimes which would give Portugal a better image among his NATO friends who had been criticizing Portugal, but he never intended real decolonization. He wanted to play for time so that neocolonialists favorable to his confederation ideas could be set up in the colonies.

"But our Armed Forces Movement was pledged to end the colonial wars even if this meant total independence for the African territories. We knew the people would back us in going after that. Spínola simply could not stomach this although he seemed to go along with it. In fact he joined the Armed Forces Movement in order to control it, to cancel it out. Many of us knew this. We also realized the importance of making a maximum effort to maintain unity within the armed forces as a whole, and Spínola had lots of prestige.

"What happened during the past few months, especially last July when Carlos Palma resigned as prime minister and Spínola wanted to install his own man, Firmino Miguel, and we insisted on our man (present Prime Minister) Vasco Gonçalves, was a series of confrontations between those who wanted to push democratization of the administrative machinery and decolonization in Africa and those who opposed this headed by Spínola. What happened over the weekend of September 27- 28th was a logical outcome of this. Some people had to go - among those people, Spínola."

Spínola had supported the right-wing demonstration, apparently unaware that its plotters too had designated him as among the people who "had to go". He along with Prime Minister Gonçalves, was on the list of leaders to be assassinated; and on September 28th, a crack sharpshooter with a rifle and telescopic sights was picked up in an apartment overlooking the prime minister's residence.

While the Voice of America in its morning broadcast to Europe on September 28th announced that over 300,000 people from all over Portugal were expected to participate in the demonstration, on the previous night over 100,000 leftists and troops sympathetic to the Armed Forces Movement had set up barricades on the outskirts of Lisbon to control the traffic entering the city and to check the build-up of the demonstration. Searches of cars revealed many weapons, including machine guns and bazookas concealed inside coffins in hearses headed for Lisbon. Correspondents of The Guardian were informed that heavy armed infiltration by rightist groups was planned, and that huge arms purchases had been financed by some of Portugal's leading monopolies, among them the Champalimaud group and the Banco do Espírito Santo. A member of the Champalimaud family was later arrested together with the son of former dictator Marcelo Caetano and two former members of the fascist regime. Other arrests included the former colonial governor of Mozambique, Kaulza de Arriago, who had been previously arrested in a plot of the extreme right in 1973.



(Armed workers and troops on street leading to Lisbon searching through cars and luggage for arms and weapons to sabotage the new antifascist government.)

In his speech of resignation on September 30th, Spínola expressed his displeasure with the agreements reached with guerrilla movements in Portugal's former colonies, granting independence to Guinea-Bissau and preparing the way for independence in Mozambique next year. The decolonization policy, he said, had been changed by "antidemocratic measures" which went against "the real interests of the populations of the African territories." Prior to his resignation, Spínola had taken personal control over the decolonization negotiations with Angola. On September 14th, he met with Zaire's president Mobutu Sese Seko on the Cape Verde islands. There is speculation that this meeting focused upon Angola.

Mobutu has strong influence on the National Front of Angola (FNIA) which opposes the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the most radical of the three Angolan guerrilla groups. Mobutu is a close friend of the U.S. and is sure to be a factor in the decolonization process in Angola. Meetings continued to take place between his representatives and Spínola's throughout September. On the eve of Spínola's resignation, the BBC reported that 2 - 3000 FNIA troops had moved across the Zaire border into northeast Angola. No further word has been received of their activity. It is expected that efforts from the right to hinder the Angolan independence movement will continue.

Spínola's resignation was, in effect, a provocative encouragement to further "silent majority" activity. But popular support rallied behind the new president Costa Gomez, and applauded his reappointment of Vasco Gonçalves as prime minister. Costa Gomez, a long term career officer, took part in an abortive revolt against the Salazar dictatorship in April 1961, in protest over attempts to hold down the African colonies by military force. At that time he published an article in a Portuguese newspaper in which he stated that Portugal could not win the colonial war by military means. Spínola's controversial book, Portugal and the Future, which stated the same point appeared twelve years later.

There have now been three clear attempts to overthrow the anti-fascist regime. The first was by economic pressures at the end of May, when a series of strikes was provoked in the public transport system, the bakeries and the postal service - just those branches which hit hardest the average citizen - in a remarkable imitation of the economic chaos provoked in Chile by the CIA which led to the overthrow of the Allende government. The second was by political pressures in July, with the resignation of the government headed by Premier Carlos Palma after he had failed to secure the abandonment of the program of the Armed Forces Movement. The third and latest was intended as a classical military putsch. Few believe this is the last attempt. These attacks constitute a severe test of the alliance between the Armed Forces Movement and the popular democratic forces.

* * * *

The initial printing of Prairie Fire was relatively small and distributed to activists around the country. From the original copies, more accessible editions have been printed by groups in Boston, New York, and San Francisco. Up to this point, Prairie Fire has attracted less attention than expected in the leftist press. It was severely criticized in the Guardian (Oct. 9), and the monthly of the New American Movement (Oct.). Claridad, the paper of the Puerto Rican independence forces and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, devoted two editorials to the piece (Aug. 4 and 18), stating that "while we may differ on some details about what is said about Puerto Rico, their position on our struggle is the best of all the positions advanced by the different left organizations in the US." Other groups of individuals are taking the document seriously, as witnessed by the proliferation of Prairie Fire study groups and distribution committees that have sprung up since its release.

The fact that Prairie Fire has not attracted more serious response from organized leftists (compared for instance to the Revolutionary Union's call for the building of a new Communist Party in May of this year) is a serious matter. Many activists have chosen to ignore the resurrection of this organization, hoping that they and the document will pass into a well-deserved oblivion. The fact of the matter is that many people agree with much of what is laid out in Prairie Fire, and are looking to it to fill the ideological and organizational vacuum that exists for many radicals at this time. For whatever reasons, the Weather Underground (WU) still possesses a great deal of romantic and political attraction. For those not steeped in the principles of scientific socialism (and some who claim to be), Prairie Fire's call to action is a desirable alternative to the present period of reorganization and ideological debate.

What is being suggested here is not that everyone should ignore the document or take it lightly. Rather it should be taken with complete seriousness, discussed, analyzed, etc., for little else that has appeared in recent years stands in such direct opposition to the progress being made by the left in this country. By subjecting the document to criticism (which to the authors' credit they invite), one is not doubting the sincerity or dedication of the Weatherpeople. As Lenin said in 1902, "the fact that people adhere sincerely and by conviction to a certain social and political stand does not in any way predetermine whether their stand is not absolutely false and contradictory." (Col. Works, Vol. 6, p. 274)

The WU states their intentions quite early in the document. After stating that "the unique and fundamental condition of this time is the decline of US imperialism," they state that they are a "guerilla organization. Our intention is to disrupt the empire, to incapacitate it, to put pressure on the cracks". They are seeking to "forge an underground, a clandestine political organization engaged in every form of struggle, protected from the eyes and weapons of the state, a base against repression, to accumulate lessons, experience and constant practice, a base from which to attack." Reasoning that "the only path to the final defeat of imperialism

and the building of socialism is revolutionary war", Prairie Fire demands that a "mass armed capability" be built immediately.

Rather than dealing with the details of their analysis of the Third World and US struggles, it is better to consider the politics of the statement as a whole. This does not mean that these details are unimportant or inconsistent with the implications of WU's politics. Taken as a whole, the specific case studies (which take up over ½ the book) form the linkage between analysis and program. In spite of the contradictions and errors in the case studies, consistent conclusions and programmatical implications are drawn from them.

Two fundamentally correct assumptions underlie the WU's analysis;

- 1) Imperialism is a system which exploits those within the imperial nation as well as the 'colonial' areas, and that this system exploits certain sectors more intensely than others;
- 2) The necessity for the violent overthrow of imperialist state power in order to begin to construct socialism, i.e., the impossibility of a peaceful transition to socialism.

Through the totally incorrect use of their newly acquired theoretical tools, the WU makes the following crucial errors;

- 1) It misrepresents individual terrorism as armed struggle, accusing those who disagree with their conception of revolutionary war of revisionism, naiveté, American exceptionalism, and a host of other evils;
- 2) It fails to show how clandestine work can be conducted with organizing and objectively substitutes isolated terrorism in place of the construction of a strong and unified party organization;
- 3) Most importantly, and the error on which all the others are based, they substitute the concept of the "most oppressed" for a true class analysis. WU thereby relegates the multinational working class (especially the white working class) to a secondary position in the revolutionary struggle. This leads WU to blindly follow all outpourings of discontent without ever offering true organizational unity and leadership.

In its section of self-criticism, WU recognizes their most serious shortcoming in the past; "We were wrong in failing to realize the possibility and strategic necessity of involving masses of people in anti-imperialist action and organization... We made the mistake of de-emphasizing the importance of mass work and lost sight of our long-standing commitment to mass struggle." To those who had contact with the Weatherpeople in the 60's, the truth of this statement is readily apparent. They substituted moral indignation and the willingness to indulge in violence for a sound program that could have effectively united the large amount of anti-imperialist feeling generated by the Vietnam war.

The question is have the Weatherpeople overcome their isolation, recklessness, and other past mistakes. In deciding this, one must examine the difference between individualist terror and revolutionary armed struggle. Lenin explained the difference in "Where to Begin"; "Terror is one of the forms of military action that may be perfectly suitable and even essential at a definite juncture in the battle, given a definite state of the troops and the existence of definite conditions. But the important point is that terror, at the present

THE NEWSPAPER

84 ASHLAND ST

LYNN, MASS 01905

599-3429



(Local 201 President addresses Gear Plant strikers)

On December 21, 1970, 5,000 copies of a four page tabloid was distributed in Lynn.

Its staff was composed of several "community folks" together with a group of "outside agitators" who had settled in Lynn. The agitators were full time organizers, recently emigrated from university life, who felt that the anti-war movement could be brought to the working class only by direct participation in working class community politics.

In those days there were very few left community newspapers. The Newspaper was partly modeled on "Modern Times", a publication which had just been founded in New Haven. The Newspaper, in turn, served as a model for another community newspaper, The Communicator, which started in Lowell in March of 1972.

That first issue contained the following front page editorial, entitled "The New Paper: A New Voice":

"The City Council votes 9-2 against rent control. The Item approves. The City Council votes 9-2 against punishing the corrupt tax assessors. The Item approves. The City Council tries to shove urban renewal down the throats of the people of Lynn, so does the Item. The Council votes to support the SST which is a waste of tax money and a pollution threat. The Item approves.

There is a conspiracy in Lynn among the rich, the mayor, the City Council and the Lynn Item (which is run by a landlord) to deny the will of the people in Lynn. Democracy is dead when elected officials are not responsive to the wishes of the people. It dies again when there is no newspaper to criticize such a bad government.

Just as economic well being suffers when a town has only one large employer (like GE in Lynn), so political well being suffers when a town has only one newspaper. Monopoly stifles the people and serves only the rich.

Now a new newspaper is being born. Any community group which wishes to speak to the people of Lynn may use these pages. Groups can submit articles which may be printed without editing. Or if desired, editorial help will be given.

It is hoped that the Newspaper will help publicize all community interests which are struggling against the power structures of Lynn. We will report on similar struggles in other cities. We will also point out when a fight must be taken beyond the local level to the county, state or federal levels. We will report on nationwide or even international news which affects our local problems.

We call upon all the progressive, fairminded people in Lynn to help us to create this New Paper. We need financial assistance and help with distribution of the paper.

Finally, the truth will be printed in Lynn."

Several liberals, associated with various federal agencies, who had supported the first publication, complained that the editorial was "openly socialist" and could never work in a conservative, working class city. The liberals ended their collaboration very quickly.

However, hundreds of "conservative" working class homeowners, tenants, welfare recipients and opponents of I-95 and urban renewal expressed their enthusiastic approval.

Nearly four years and forty two issues later the Newspaper circulates 15,000 copies in local shops and union halls. The paper is supported primarily through ads from small shopkeepers and unions as well as some donations and subscriptions. Although it still adheres to that initial editorial policy, several changes have occurred.

The paper has intensified its anti-imperialist perspective and integrated this more concretely into its coverage of local events.

Whereas that first editorial implicitly assumed a class struggle within the Lynn community, later events showed that the true rulers of Lynn are out-of-town bankers, landlords and corporate executives.

On the other hand, the paper tries to show the way in which militarism and the increased imperial demands of the multinational corporations systematically lowers the living standards of Lynn's people, converting Lynn more and more into just another one of the world's low wage colonies.

The paper tries to identify the nationalist revolutionary struggles of third world peasants and workers with the municipal control struggles of Lynn's tenants, homeowners, workers and poor people.

Abstract as this formulation may appear, it is a concrete reality that the outside bankers, landlords and newspaper publishers who rule Lynn as "local imperialists", are the principal local props of the sagging Nixon-Ford-Rockefeller global imperial system.

This analysis was developed through a series of intense struggles. The Newspaper was severely red-baited by outside landlords when in May 1971 it published a Lynn rally in opposition to the Vietnam War and in support of rent control. In the Fall of 1971 the Newspaper was an active advocate of an "antiestablishment" coalition which won the Mayor's seat and several city council positions. The coalition unified tenants and homeowners, disenfranchized ethnic minorities and several labor unions against the "outside carpetbaggers". As a result of this electoral victory rent control was adopted. Another electoral victory in which the Newspaper played a significant role was the 1972 referendum which saw Lynn's voters approve rent control by a huge, 60% margin.

Since that first editorial, the Newspaper has developed its ties with labor unions, particularly Local 201 of the IUE. The paper carried articles by members of a reform caucus of the local, which in March 1973, assumed a predominance of power. An important issue raised by the caucus was the question of racist treatment by GE company officials of minority employees. Central to this issue was the case of Ronnie Lee Loy, a man of Chinese and African decent, who was assaulted by his foreman.

The Newspaper has carried many articles about health and safety problems at GE, the effects of inflation on workers' pay checks, GE's failure to pay significant property taxes and its gobbling up of Lynn real estate.

The Newspaper has helped to build union support for the continuous efforts of Lynn's tenants to maintain an effective rent control program.

The paper carries regular features on union organizing, particularly at Lynn Hospital, which exploits Lynn's low income workers and destroys residential neighborhoods in its expansion program, while benefitting out-of-town doctors, administrators and bankers who finance the expansion.

The paper has recently given more emphasis to the efforts of women workers to gain equal status within unions, to gain equal pay, maternity leave benefits ect. The effects of the multinational economy have made it necessary for many Lynn women to find jobs. In general these are very poorly paid, very tedious and often involve dangerous conditions. (This increases Lynn's role as a reservoir of cheap labor.) Many Lynn women work in the electronics industry or in hospitals where unions are either non-existent or non-militant. The development of a militant women's labor movement should be one of the highest priority goals of progressive forces in New England.

Currently, the Newspaper is expanding its facilities and its distribution and is circulating, through its columns an initiative petition to create a non-profit Mass. power authority.

The Newspaper has opposed the purchase of Lynn Gas Co. by Boston Gas and has advocated the municipal purchase of that utility. The struggle over rent control is coming to a head, with the realtor's association trying to overturn, in the city council and the courts, the verdict of the 1972 election - and being opposed by a hardworking group of angry tenants, many of them also Newspaper volunteers....

...Through all this runs the basic theme of a community newspaper which has overcome obstacles of monopoly and cynicism; which continues to provide Lynn with an independent accessible, pro-people source of news and commentary.

SELF CRITICISM

There are a number of ways in which the work of producing the Newspaper could be improved and the paper itself made more accessible, informative and useful to the Lynn community.

1. Presently, there are no active staff members from the black and Spanish-speaking community.
2. No real mass-based organization of tenants and homeowners, workers and poor people has yet emerged to serve as a strong, organizational focus to complement the informational focus of the paper.
3. The Newspaper has often been criticized for its close association with the campaign organization of Tony Marino, Lynn's mayor from July 1972 to December 1973.

The paper was distributed door-to-door by Marino's workers in 1972.

Marino was long employed as an organizer for the Furniture Workers Union. Later he became president of Citizens for a Better Lynn, which was the most effective popular organization ever seen in Lynn.

Collaboration with any politician, no matter how progressive, carries certain dangers of one sidedness and opportunism. The need to consolidate a large enough mass of population to obtain an electoral victory often means that long term or controversial questions must often be shunted aside, or valid criticism delayed until power has been won.

Yet this alliance, and the paper's wide circulation, have meant that many candidates are forced to articulate the progressive side of their natures.

Without a credible electoral opposition capable of uniting Lynn's people against their outside predators, politics would remain on more or less a utopian level; progressive forces could not gain the power to institute those reforms on which greater popular involvement is built. Greater popular involvement insures greater political and economic change.

Obviously, the alliance with Marino cannot be separated from the lack of a broad based organization capable of generating and disciplining political candidates.

4. The Newspaper, dependent upon volunteer commitment, continues to lack both a permanent staff, and an office which could serve as a meeting place and an information center between issues. This could be alleviated by an improved financial situation. Which would permit the paper to purchase a local office to house layout materials and a library

time (1901), is by no means suggested as an operation closely connected with and integrated into the entire system of struggle, but as an independent form of occasional attack unrelated to any body. Without a central body, and with the weakness of local revolutionary organization, this is in fact all that terror can be."

The WU makes every effort to convince the reader that they recognize the unsoundness of their past practice of individualistic terror, and that they are striving to correct their mistakes, i.e., integrating themselves with the struggle. To this end, they stress the need to combine violence with mass work and the need for leadership from a central organization. At one point in the Forward, they mention that "We need a revolutionary communist party in order to lead the struggle, give coherence and direction to the fight, seize power and build a new society." They do not develop this concept and actually unfold a completely different concept of leadership and organization.

Through their theoretical statement and their activities over the past four years, the WU illustrates that despite its protestations to the contrary, it has not changed at all. Theoretically, WU relies on one thing to make the connection between terrorism and the other tasks it charts for itself; the excitative nature of terrorism. The concept comes up over and over again and in essence constitutes the basis of their entire analysis and program; "We believe that carrying out armed struggle will affect the people's consciousness of the nature of the struggle against the state. By beginning the armed struggle the awareness of its necessity will be furthered." At another point, they state that "Our intention is to encourage the people, to provoke leaps in confidence and consciousness, to stir the imagination..."

What the WU has come to realize is that they cannot make revolution by themselves. But how is their supposed revolutionary example to take effect outside of their own organization? They emphasize that the connections and meaning of their acts must be explained to the people by the 'mass movement': "armed struggle cannot become a spectacle. It is the responsibility of mass leaders and organizations to encourage and support revolutionary armed struggle in open as well as quiet ways. Actions are more powerful when they are explained and defended."

What the WU is proposing is essentially this. As the most politically advanced element in the struggle, they will carry on terrorist activities with an eye to what they call "mass work". Actual organizing will be left to others who will hopefully draw direction and inspiration from Prairie Fire and their acts of terrorism. While citing the need for a national organization to lead the struggle, what one is really left with is the supposed inspirational and catalyst potential of terrorism. Nowhere is there mention of any other sort of leadership. It takes considerably more than inspiration and explanations to bridge the gap that exists between WU and the rest of the movement, to say nothing of the present situation and a revolutionary one. WU offers nothing more than this. At best, WU's activity will yield short periods of fervor and spontaneous activity interspersed with increasingly longer periods of depres-

sion and inaction. At worst, it will draw people from other more constructive work.

An examination of the track record of WU makes this point more clearly. They proudly list their actions since 1969, and state that "almost all accomplished mass struggles." These include such events as the liberation of Timothy Leary from jail, attacks on the capital building in Washington, and bombings of various police stations. The consistent feature of all these actions was their complete disassociation from organizing efforts and their being disclaimed, criticized or ignored by people outside of the WU. Some have brought on stepped up repression against non-WU activists. Their blanket endorsement of the Symbionese Liberation Army, who they consider to be a "leading force in the development of armed struggle and political consciousness, respected by ourselves and other revolutionaries", illustrates the distance that exists between WU and all but their most ardent followers. All their appreciation of the need for mass struggle cannot change the fact their obsession with terrorism has clouded their political vision and relegated them to isolation.

The indignant moralism of the WU is reflected in their substitution of the principle of the "most oppressed" for a class analysis in determining what groups in society can lead the struggle for socialism; "Oppressed peoples, women, and youth and other anti-imperialist forces can and should deliver telling blows against the empire now." The barometer they use to determine who shall lead is the reaction of groups to the Vietnam War; "we can approach the difficult question of class analysis, consciousness and potential by looking at how various groups within society were affected by the anti-war struggle", and "Third World peoples in the US, and also women, youth and members of the armed forces have shown the most consistent initiative and practice as measured by the decisive anti-imperialist struggle of this entire period; the war in Vietnam. These groups have been the carriers of proletarian internationalism for this time". This relegates the white working class in particular and the entire working class to a subordinate role in the struggle. Aside from defying every principle of the "dialectical materialism" which they claim guides them, it illustrates again their tendency to confuse activity with revolutionary activity and violence with effective armed struggle. It is a failure to recognize any response to oppression other than their own as possessing any validity. What results is the process of blindly following every stirring among people who face oppression, assigning it revolutionary character, and elevating that group which is most prone to violence to positions of leadership on that basis alone. In no way do they offer leadership to the many strains of discontent that they describe, other than by the example of terrorism, or serve to unite these strains. Instead, their activity reinforces the very tendencies they seek to overcome. Prairie Fire illustrates this clearly, as it contains almost blanket endorsements of any and all forms of militant activism that have arisen over the past six years.

In the discussion underway among leftists as to what organizational form will most effectively contribute to the building of socialism in this country, Prairie Fire offers little but negative example. The WU remains as isolated from people today as it

was in the past. By confusing revolutionary armed struggle with individual terrorism, they divert the attention of radicals from the pressing task of this period; party building. Their recognition of and dedication to organizing are shallow when viewed in the context of their overall analysis and the implications of exalting immediate action (in this case, terrorism) to a first principle. While they correctly point out errors in other organizations, they revise the principles of Marxism so completely as to commit the same errors in order that the central position of individual terrorism in their program can be maintained. No matter how hard one attempts to twist Mao's over-used phrase, all the morally indignant and isolated sparks in the world can never ignite a Prairie Fire.

* * * *

ENERGY PACKET

(reprinted from LNS)

Winter is fast approaching and with it memories of last year's energy crisis and a lot of talk about what to expect in the future. To help us understand the past and to cope with future installments of the "EC", there is an invaluable new "Energy Packet" available from members of the Union for Radical Political Education and Action Project (URPE/PEA) and Science for the People (SftP).

"We wrote this series of resource documents for use by individuals, groups and organizations who see the energy crisis as an instrumental part of their more long-term political work," say the authors. "We attempt to clarify how the immediate crisis can only be understood as a phenomenon of an economic system which operates not for use by the many but for profit by the few."

The packet consists of six separate sections held together in a sturdy folder. Each section examines a particular facet of the Crisis. For instance, "Energy Facts" discusses the different sources of energy, how they are produced, and how and by whom they are used.

Another section lays out the structure of the oil industry, explaining who the seven most powerful oil companies are and how they, and other oil companies dominate all forms of energy production. Competition and cooperation within the industry is also explained and there is a short history of the Energy Crisis going back to the late 1930's. For Rockefeller buffs, there is a short profile of EXXON.

From there the URPE/SftP writers move on to the international implications of the energy crisis with a discussion of nationalism, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and the effects of the Energy Crisis in Latin America, Asia, and Western Europe.

Another often confusing subject that URPE/SftP handles well is a look at government laws and regulations concerning the energy industry. If you've never quite understood the oil depletion allowance, pro-rationing, import quotas and the regulations on natural gas for instance, this is the place to look for clearly written explanations.

And finally, there is a section devoted to the effects of the Crisis on working people and some spontaneous actions of protest, such as the militant demonstrations by independent truckers last winter.

It can't be said too often that the URPE/SftP Energy Packet is easy to read and understand (although its not simplistic), and well documented, with many informative footnotes and references. The graphics add a lot to the text and packet's solid organization will make it easy to use.

"The packet is not intended to be read as a book," say the authors. "Rather we hoped that each piece could serve as the basis for a speech, newspaper article, a study group discussion, a radio broadcast, a videotape program, or a leaflet.

"We tried to keep each document brief and clear, avoiding rhetoric and technical jargon. The coverage is not intended to be comprehensive. Rather, we emphasized those areas in which we felt we had sufficient expertise to provide useful information and analysis. We hope this packet will be used in conjunction with other materials."

To get a copy write to URPE/PEA at Box 311, Cathedral Station, New York, New York, 10025. It costs \$3 (\$2.50 for the packet and 50¢ for mailing). URPE and SftP also welcome any feedback on the packet.



A CALL FOR SUPPORT

The last page of the newsletter is generally reserved for the listing of the organizations that received grants during the past month. During October, we were financially unable to give out new grants, although we were able to meet our commitments to organizations for continuing grants. To put it simply, there has been a sharp decline in Resist's income over the last six months. We hope that we will be able to make grants in November.

It is obvious to everyone by this time that the US economy is in bad shape. Inflation, unemployment, and a roller-coasting stock market mean that people's income is declining. For a long time, we at Resist felt that we were exempt from such fluctuation, in spite of the fact that we are dependent on the contributions of individuals. Although a great many people continue to support Resist on a consistent basis, the economic response of cutting back on non-essential contributions in people's budget when income is declining has begun to seriously affect our financial base.

At the same time, the number of worthy requests for our funds has increased. Recession heightens the contradictions built into our economic and political system. People respond by organizing themselves to fight the oppression they face. The role of a support organization with the breadth and scope of Resist become increasingly important during such a period. The vital assistance which Resist has always offered to groups struggling against illegitimate authority becomes crucial to an increasing number of such groups.

Our seven years of existence has been marked with great successes, struggles, and growth. That is why we remain as a vital left-wing sustaining organization while others have not. Obstacles of the sort we now face have been overcome before because of the generosity and political consciousness of the individuals without whom we could not survive. Overcoming our present difficulties require the efforts and dedication of many people working together. If we all chip in, Resist can continue its vital role in the current movement for fundamental change within our society.

Please be as generous as you can.

