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# RESIST

*a call to resist  
illegitimate authority*

March 31, 1977 - 720 Massachusetts Avenue, Room 4, Cambridge, Massachusetts #113

## NOTES ON THE HAYDEN CAMPAIGN

Part IV by Richard Flacks

### Building a Base

In addition to formulating and communicating a program, a primary purpose of the Hayden campaign was to help to create a base for a longer term organizational and electoral effort on the local and state level in California. What was accomplished in this respect?

One way of looking at this question is to examine the election returns themselves as a source of information about the kinds of popular support and strength the campaign was able to develop. At this writing, very little data of this kind is available from the state as a whole, but it is possible to talk in some detail about the results of the campaign in the area in which I was personally active: the "South Coast" of Santa Barbara County and the larger region of Santa Barbara, Ventura, and San Luis Obispo counties. I have also had some access to poll data collected by the Hayden organization state-wide and in our region.

The most clearcut and general thing to be said about the Hayden base is that the campaign succeeded in reaching and winning the support of the great majority of voters between the ages of 18 and 35. This was, in the first instance, a student vote - Tom carried four counties and of these three contain University of California campuses, but the great majority of voters of this age are, of course, not students. Poll data collected state-wide showed Tom outpolling Tunney two-to-one in this age group (and closer to three-to-one in Santa Barbara). Perhaps more than any other candidate for high office, Hayden succeeded in building an effective constituency out of the 60's generation - a constituency that included young workers as well as students, "new" as well as traditional working class young adults, young professionals, hip and straight businessmen, etc.

On the other hand, it is quite clear that the Hayden campaign failed in most parts of the state to overcome substantially the very widespread indifference or resistance of young people to the electoral process. Secretary of State March Fong Eu reported before the primary that the proportion of registered voters had declined from 1974 to 1976. This decline can largely be understood as a failure on the part of new voters and highly mobile young adults to register or re-register. Hayden campaign poll data indicated that only one-third of the Democratic voters in California were under thirty; this suggests that this group was at least 10% under-represented among registered voters. The failure of young adults to participate in elections is not new and

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## Fannie Lou Hamer 1917-1977

by Julian Bond

(The following is reprinted from the April 25, 1977 issue of Seven Days.)

When Fannie Lou Hamer was four years old, without knowing her or what she would become, W.E.B. DuBois wrote:

"Some few women are born free, and amid insult and scarlet letters achieve freedom; but our women in black had freedom thrust contemptuously upon them. With that freedom they are buying an untrammelled independence and dear as is the price they pay for it, it will in the end be worth every taunt and groan."

"Today the dreams of the mothers are coming true. We still have our poverty and deprivation, our lewdness and our cruel toil; but we have, too, a vast group of women of Negro blood who for strength of character, cleanness of soul, and unselfish devotion of purpose, is today easily the peer of any group of women in the civilized world. And more than that, in the great rank and file of our five million women we have the up-working of new revolutionary ideals, which must in time have vast influence on the thought and action of the land."

Mothers' dreams seldom do come true, but this warrior woman from Ruleville acted hers out, and in doing so, shamed others to do the same.

Fannie Lou Hamer was the articulator for the Southern movement. She had been a time-keeper on Senator Eastland's Sunflower County Plantation, fired because she registered to vote. She became the organizer, energizer, spokesperson, worker, traveler, candidate, mother of the movement for political independence for black Mississippians, and lived to see some changes in the life Senator Eastland had intended for her.

She was beaten and brutalized, involuntarily sterilized by a doctor who believed he was doing this black woman a favor, keeping her from bringing more children into a miserable world.

She died not so much of cancer, but of living and fighting in rural Mississippi in the 20th century; her husky voice as a singer or a teller will be remembered a long time. She lent her name to good causes, and her tired body to too many more.

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HAYDEN, continued

much of their non-participation may be due to geographical mobility rather than to a special or profound alienation from conventional politics on the part of youth. Indeed, there is evidence that political alienation runs deep among all age groups and that it is not necessarily expressed by simply not voting. On the other hand, there is good reason to think that young people are more likely than middle-aged or elderly people to express their political skepticism by simply "turning off", and that special efforts to communicate with and organize them are therefore necessary for a political project that has as one of its purposes the translation of cultural change into political expression.

Hayden campaign leaders were, I think, divided on the question of the youth as a constituency. One reason for not focusing on youth was highly commendable: for some, one of the main values of the campaign was that it offered the opportunity to transcend the limits of 60's politics and to communicate across generational and class boundaries. For these, emphasis on a strategy to reach youth appeared retrogressive. On the other hand, there was little doubt that the youth constituency posed a fundamental dilemma: really reaching unregistered young people would require issues and campaign styles that ran the real risk of polarizing older voters against Hayden. Yet to try to cater to more culturally traditional and politically moderate voters would lead to blurring any chance of making the campaign a real alternative, a form of protest, a source of energy for those most in need of social change.

It seems possible that the dilemma could have been resolved by some kind of creative synthesis. Certainly on most economic issues, there was a consensus among Democratic voters that cut across age lines. Voters of all ages strongly supported full employment policies, national health insurance, cracking down on big oil companies, tax reform, etc. It was both principled and practical for the campaign to emphasize these points of unity. But clearly not enough energy or thought was invested in voter registration. Here in Santa Barbara, where voter registration was a high priority, thousands of new voters were added to the rolls and local polls indicated that more than 50% of the Democratic voters were under 35. Precincts with a high proportion of young voters had turnouts for Hayden that were up to 20% higher than had been the case in earlier local elections. These results suggested that where the effort was made, it was possible to build a conscious constituency of young people in favor of reform while still making substantial inroads among more traditional voters. It seems evident that without creating this kind of voting coalition, the chances of building an effective electoral base for progressive politics are not good.

The Hayden vote among young adults was very strong, yet not as strong as it might have been. It was also very strong among middle class liberal Democrats. How well Hayden ran in blue-collar areas isn't clear at this writing. On the whole, he ran poorly in black communities, possibly be-

cause black voters were wary of opposing a liberal incumbent and risking thereby the loss of a senate seat to a conservative. More detailed analysis than I have been able to do at this writing would be necessary in order to fully understand what the election returns say about the potential grassroots base for the kind of campaign that this represented. Suffice it to say that 1.3 million is a lot of votes for a Tom Hayden, and certainly about twice as many as smart politicos were willing to grant was possible a year earlier.

The base-building effect of the campaign is, however, much more impressive when we look not at the vote but at the active support the campaign received. In this respect, there was a really impressive coalition, which - if it can to any degree be sustained - may well represent a major breakthrough in US politics.

For example, Tom had the active support of Cesar Chavez and the UFW. This support was based on the whole-hearted commitment of the campaign and its workers to the needs of farmworker organizing and the farmworkers' initiative. The UFW support was very concrete: during the last weeks of the campaign literally hundreds of Farmworker organizers joined the canvassing and get-out-the-vote mobilization for Hayden. In addition, Tom was supported by several of the most progressive Chicano state legislators and by key Chicano activists in Los Angeles, who helped write the impressive section of the program on the Chicano community.

Tom was supported by the most progressive black political leadership in California, including Ron Dellums and Willie Brown, such personalities as Dick Gregory, Redd Foxx, Mohammed Ali, and a host of major black entertainers.

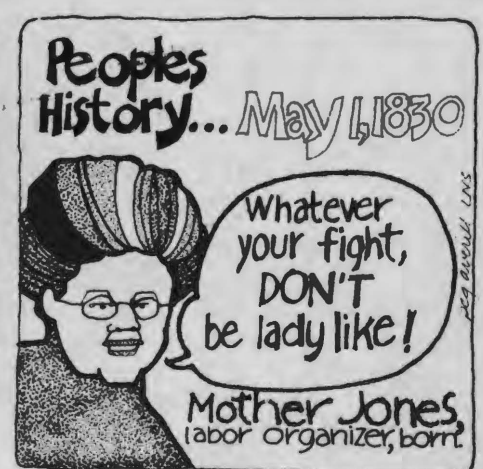
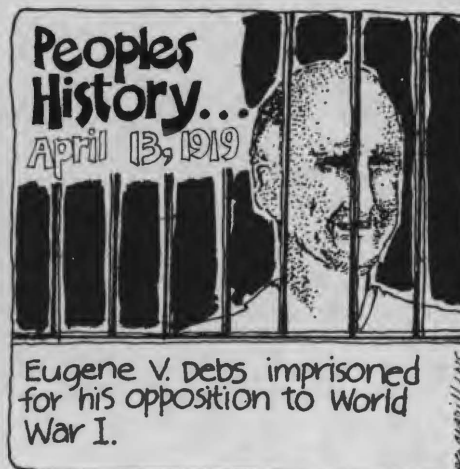
Labor support was surprisingly substantial. In addition to the UFW, Hayden was supported by SEIU, AFT, UE, and several county fire-fighters unions, as well as by a number of individual union leaders and activists.

The Hayden campaign won the active support of a number of progressive local politicians, of the California Democratic Council, of key activists in the womens', environmental, and consumers' movements. If our local experience is a guide to what happened elsewhere in the state, then on the local level there was hardly any element of progressive leadership that did not actively support the Hayden campaign.

It seems reasonable to assume that this coalescence was not simply a response to a particular candidate or campaign, but represented a felt desire on the part of all of the leadership for social change, for some lasting framework for unified action, some organizational basis for mobilizing people at the grassroots.

I think that there is little doubt that the Hayden campaign created a new set of possibilities for such long-term organization and that most of those who became active in it now seek to bring this about.





The campaign's contradictions and ambiguities were profound. How can divisive cultural differences be bridged? How can a mass electorate be communicated with without falling into the established patterns of manipulation practiced by conventional politicians and structured by the mass media? How can voters whose main political interests involve defending hard-won gains be brought to support a program that favors fundamental change? How can the pressures toward image-making and vote-getting and schedule-meeting and fund-raising not pull inexorably toward compromise of principle, toward ruthless treatment of campaign workers, toward empty charade? Certainly the Hayden campaign did not resolve these dilemmas - did not even clarify whether it was possible to run a big-time campaign without falling into any number of big-time traps. Indeed, one of the charms of working in it was in discovering how close to the mainstream such a form of political action inescapably is.

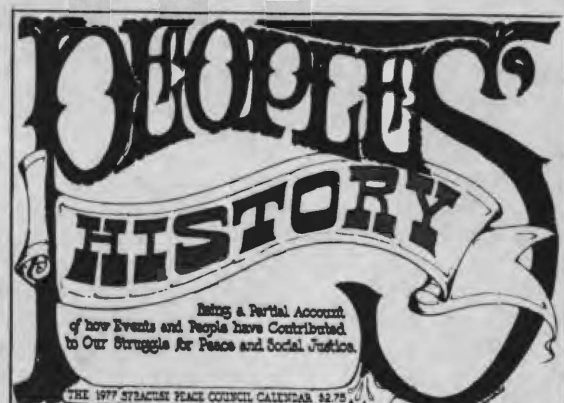
Still, and without question, this was a breakthrough because it was an authentic entrance, after long years of exile, of the American left into electoral politics. What comes next, what's now possible as a result of the Hayden campaign, include - it seems to me - some of the following at least:

-- organizational resources now exist in a number of California communities for progressive electoral victory, for more systematic and widespread efforts at structural reform on the local level.

-- organizational resources now exist to develop throughout the state a network of neighborhood organizers - people who are able to incorporate into their everyday lives and relationships efforts to mobilize neighbors and co-workers around important issues of local and national relevance.

-- a basis now exists at the community and state levels for an effective left caucus within the Democratic party, but one that has a base and a framework for activity that can maintain independence from the party.

These are, to put it modestly, potentials that can hardly be ignored by those who seriously seek to put socialism on the agenda of American politics.



Twelve visual & historical vignettes of successful people's struggles in upstate NY. The focuses include: peace; suffragettes; women/religion; communes; gays; Native Americans; labor; farmers; prisoners; abolitionists; civil rights.

People working to make the U.S. a peaceful, just and liberated nation have been systematically separated from their heritage of struggle. "People's History" attempts, in a small way, to confront this serious problem.

"People's History". The 1977 Syracuse Peace Council calendar. By mail \$3.25/3 or more \$3 ea. At stores \$2.75/\$2.50. Bulk rates available. SPC 924 Burnet Ave. Syracuse, NY 13203 (315)472-5478.



# CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON

# CRIMINAL JUSTICE

(The following article comes to us from the Center for Research on Criminal Justice in Oakland, California, funded by Resist in February--see issue #112)

## REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

During the last decade, there has been an unprecedented expansion and militarization of the criminal justice apparatus. This development takes many forms: attacks on community and political organizations through police agents, provocateurs, and "show" trials; the build-up of police armaments and technology, planned by corporate think-tanks, produced by multi-national corporations (such as I.B.M., Motorola, Hughes, etc.), and subsidized by the Federal government (via the Department of Justice's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration); the expansion and increasing sophistication of private police agencies; the introduction of mandatory sentences for "recidivists" and the transfer of some juvenile offenders to the criminal courts; the resumption of capital punishment after a ten year moratorium and reduction of meager "rehabilitation" programs; and the consolidation of the "hard line" position in prisons, represented by the use of "adjustment centers," behavior modification, and other forms of medical experimentation.

While repression is of course not new in the United States and many of the new instruments of repression are simply modified versions of well-tested strategies, there have been important modifications in the criminal justice system in recent years. These modifications indicate concentrated efforts towards centralization, rationalization, and diversification of the repressive machinery.

These developments have not gone unnoticed nor proceeded without resistance. In fact, many of the recent strategies of repression were developed to deal with the growing popular militancy of the 1960s. And these struggles, while taking a different form, have not abated in the 1970s. Throughout the country, organizing continues in the communities of national minorities, in the labor movement, in women's organizations, in political caucuses, and in the student movement. Especially in Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Native American communities -- where there is both a high incidence of demoralizing street crime and police repression -- there is a variety of resistance struggles. With respect to the criminal justice system, this takes the form of legal defense committees, self-defense organizations, and struggles against police tactical squads (such as SWAT) and racist brutality.

## INFORMATION AND THEORY

While the movement against repression has demonstrated broad support and flexibility, it has also been weakened by some serious problems. Many anti-repression struggles are waged on a local level, isolated from broader movements, and have a tendency to focus on the police as

the main enemy. Consequently, many such struggles quickly dissipate or burn out after an initial burst of energy; others are often taken over or coopted by liberal reformers who quickly transform militant movements into innocuous, parliamentary reforms. These problems are often compounded by a lack of theory and long-range strategy, as well as an analysis of overwhelming reams of governmental and academic data.

## CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Recognizing the need for more systematic investigation and greater theoretical clarity in the struggle against repression, the Center for Research on Criminal Justice was formed in 1973. Organized initially by the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) and students and faculty from Berkeley's School of Criminology (now defunct, a victim of academic repression), the Center is a progressive, non-profit research organization involved in (1) research and writing, (2) developing a specialized library and data bank, (3) supporting community struggles through speaking, workshops and technical advice, and (4) deepening our theoretical understanding of the state and repression in capitalist society.

The first major project of the Center was a book -- the Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove: An Analysis of the U.S. Police -- which was collectively written and produced, and based on two years' investigation and research. Since its release in August, 1975, we have distributed 10,000 copies and it is being widely used by community groups, political organizations and colleges. (For a description of the book and reviewers' comments, see accompanying ad.)

The Center has recently moved from its old offices in Berkeley to a larger building in Oakland (464 19th St.) and we are in the process of reorganizing our files, library, and resources. As of April, 1977, the library and data bank will be available to researchers and organizations involved in progressive struggles concerning crime and repression.

We welcome inquiries and information from people around the country. We would like to be kept informed about anti-repression struggles and to develop a better network of communication among various organizations and defense committees. Please write to us at P.O. Box 12675, Oakland California 94604.

If you are interested in the latest developments in criminology, we suggest that you subscribe to Crime and Social Justice (PO Box 4373, Berkeley, California 94704). This is a progressive, Marxist oriented journal which includes theoretical articles, book reviews, and accounts of ongoing struggles.

The 2nd edition of The Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove, an analysis of the U.S. Police, has been published by the Center for Research on Criminal Justice. There are new sections and updated materials on HISTORY OF THE POLICE, IEAA, POLICE AND THE FISCAL CRISIS, POLICE UNIONISM, and STRATEGIES OF RESISTANCE. The collectively written book can be ordered from Center for Research on Criminal Justice, P.O. Box 4373, Berkeley, Ca. 94704. Single copy.....\$3.50 plus 25 cents postage. 10-49 copies.....\$2.80 per copy plus 10% postage. 50 or more copies.....\$2.10 per copy plus 10% postage.



## A Foreign Policy Agenda For The Left

by Paul Lauter

The past November's elections and the extensive discussion that the Hayden campaign and its aftermath have received in this Newsletter and in such publications as Seven Days and In These Times help bring into focus a number of problems which, I think, the movement must address.

First, there is the question of participation in electoral campaigns. Two arguments are usually put forward to justify independent electoral activity by left parties or groups. One is that a large socialist or communist vote will deliver a 'message of protest' to those who rule America. That was the position taken by the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, Peter Camejo, in his pre-election debate with Michael Harrington. There are two problems with this argument. First, the message is buried in the reality of the election. Few people ever know what left candidates poll, and fewer, ruling class or not, care - because (and this is the point) most people in this country apparently don't regard the electoral process as a useful or even a really very legitimate form of protest. Elections are for electing or getting rid of people; and if you think it makes no difference, you stay home. But the ballot box is not to be confused with the picket sign.

Moreover, what the left demonstrates in its campaigns - if it demonstrates anything - is weakness. It is not only the weakness that arises from lack of numbers; it is, more importantly, the weakness of parties that have no roots. Here are the 'candidates' who run for president every four years or for Senate in New York. But where are the candidates for Congress, for the state legislature, and for local offices? Where

I vote, McCarthy's line had more candidates on it - without McCarthy - than the SWP, the CP, or other left groups. Most people cannot, with reason, take seriously parties that function only in the presidential stratosphere.

A second argument made for running candidates is that it provides a basis for spreading propaganda. Experience shows that only rarely is this the case and then mainly in local campaigns - precisely those which most of the left avoids. What hard evidence is there that the SWP, for example, reached anyone through its presidential campaign that it had not already reached or could not more easily reach through its excellent campaign around the FBI surveillance?

Of course, it must also be said that local campaigns are notoriously misleading. People start into them to spread propaganda, but before long, because they are out there talking and people are listening, they begin to believe that they are going to win. And then organizational strategy, time, hope, and money get poured down the electoral bung-hole - for three, five, or ten percent of the vote in one of thousands of districts.

It seems to me that if left electoral activity is to be pursued, two priorities emerge. One is to build real coalitions on the left - not to support one symbolic presidential 'candidate', but to support one another's or common local candidates. Running such local candidates is a second priority - not for the purposes of general propaganda, but in order to build organization and, sometimes at least, to win.

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## AGENDA, continued

In short, it seems to me that in the electoral arena the movement must rid itself of a strategy of gesture and figure out a strategy for winning or at least developing significant power.

There are, of course, roadblocks both to coalition and to local candidacies. But sooner or later, the movement must come to both - and the sooner the better. Only police agents, at this point in time, even talk of asserting 'hegemony on the left'. The alternatives, leaving that aside, are coalition or electoral irrelevance. In fact, coalitions would only allow organizations to concentrate on some local candidacies rather than on many. But if any local candidacies spread an organization too thin, that argues for a concentration of organizational resources, more likely for abandoning electoral activity altogether at this point, or for jumping with the social democrats into the Democratic Party for such recreation.

In fact, of course, many people on the left have done just that. Their efforts are reflected in the article by Richard Flacks about the Hayden campaign in California that we have serialized in this and the three previous three issues of the Resist Newsletter. Such efforts need more substantial evaluation than the general disgust evoked in many of us by the Democratic Party. Historically it is certainly true that the Democrats have been the primary means - within the electoral arena - for co-opting, channeling, and ultimately absorbing the movements of the working class and of oppressed groups in the society. That was the case in the 1890's with Populism and in the 1930's with the industrial union movement. Yet it is also the case that the Democratic Party has generally provided the form within which working people have sought to act in the electoral arena. Only rarely - as with the pre-World War I Socialists or in a far lesser degree, with the CP in the 1930's - has the left developed an electoral form which engaged masses of people. To some extent that measures how ruling circles have been successful in using the Democratic Party to absorb and blunt opposition.

Such an analysis leads toward viewing the Democrats as the main roadblock to successful, even meaningful electoral activity. At the same time it needs to be said that explanations that pose 'the ruling class' as the all-powerful manipulators of the electoral process exculpate the left from its errors in strategy and tactics, its inertia in maintaining symbolic activity in the face of power, its obsession with internal differences at the expense of opposition to a common enemy.

It is true, of course, that there are differences among groups on the left. So there are among the Socialists and the Communists in France and among the CP and Il Manifesto in Italy. The problem is, then, to see whether in practice there are sufficient areas of unity to allow cooperation, whether the actual content of such differences is decisive or, to use Mao's terminology, 'non-antagonistic' in the real situation in the US today. The essence of being a sect as distinct from a real party or a mass

movement is that sects build walls of principle, generally abstracted from actual, historic conditions, to distinguish themselves from all other sects. And they spend more time keeping up the walls than fighting the real enemy. As my friend's grandmother used to say, 'You got enough tsouris with the landlord, what you got to fight with the neighbors?'

I don't want to brush away the need for struggle and criticism. Sexist practice on the left, for example, cannot be ignored. But right now I think that I would err on the side of unity in the dialectic of unity-criticism-unity. After all, the context of both is the continuing strength but significant vulnerability of advanced capitalism.

It was, however, the movement that asserted the need to focus efforts for change at the local level. This may indirectly lead people to the Democratic Party. For if change at the local level is your organizing imperative and you conclude that electoral activity is a sensible tactic and if little or no mass, locally-based initiatives appear on the left, you might well be inclined to try using existing party structures while a mass, non-sectarian left party is a-building. All this argues not for leaping into such activity but for assessing what is happening situation by situation and for being modest about global criticisms.

After all that, however, I would pose one activity - one which ties in a number of ways into the problem of building coalitions. The emphasis on local organizing grew in part dialectically in relation to the heavily national focus of the anti-war movement. No surprise, then, that for many local organizations - electoral or otherwise - foreign policy issues are practically irrelevant. Conferences of local organizers emphasize, as they should, getting things done where you are. But it seems to have been rare that such meetings discussed how the power of local officials or organizations, especially in coalition with others, could be used to push for significant foreign policy goals, like achieving majority rule in all of southern Africa or cutting off all aid to the growing forces of fascism in Latin America. On one notable recent occasion, two Chilean exiles, former local organizers, were invited to speak at a conference of community organizers. The conference was apparently significant not only from the point of view of informing the American organizers about Chile, but in providing them an opportunity to learn from the rich experience of their Chilean comrades. Similarly, significant organizing has been done in southern Black communities against the importation of Rhodesian chrome and in support of ZANU.

But the point is not to cite a few efforts that successfully integrate organizing around both local and international issues. Rather it is to propose the need for new efforts to build a coalition, with significant support of local groups and political organizations, focused on achievable foreign policy agenda items.

This is, first of all, a good time for such activity. It is not that the Carter foreign policy will be so profoundly different from that of Kissinger and Nixon-Ford. But the Carter people have not yet established public credibility and do not have the leverage and power that Kissinger succeeded in asserting. So the situation is more open to pressure. Also the argument during the Vietnam war for 'supporting our boys' no longer applies. On the contrary, the argument to foreclose the possibilities of a war remain strong. For such reasons, among others, one can visualize achieving some significant foreign policy victories in the period to come. That seems to me important for morale as well as for developing a sense that people are not helpless when it comes to issues beyond one's immediate locale.

There are many organizations doing excellent education, fund-raising, and research work on particular areas of foreign policy or on particular issues - NACLA, Friendshipment, The American Committee on Africa, etc. And there are some organizations - e.g., The Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy - taking the broad-scale approach being suggested here. But there are some limitations to the strategies so far developed. Activities of multi-focused organizations have too narrowly been devoted to lobbying. Groups concerned with Africa have not had great success in mobilizing others concerned with Brazil or Chile, say, or vice versa. Above all, however, the groups and the people touched by most of these organizations seem not to be those deeply involved in local organizing, not those developing one or another thrust of the women's movement, not rank and file or activist caucuses in the labor movement.

An effort can and should be made to build a broader coalition around a fairly specific yet not overly-ambitious foreign policy agenda. But more important, I think the focus of such an effort should be to involve local political organizations - women's and third world organizations - as well as groups on the left and the traditional spectrum of peace organizations. The model provided by the coalition organized around Puerto-Rican independence is, in respect to its non-sectarian, broad-gauged, activist approach, a useful one.

On the other hand, the limits of its organizational extension, its perhaps too general and rhetorical slogans - as distinct from specific goals toward which people can see a clear road to travel - may have unnecessarily narrowed this significant initiative.

It is not at all clear that an effort of this sort will generate the kind of support needed from local or single-focus organizations. In the last few years, movement people have increasingly and understandably committed their major efforts to specific issues or tasks, to distinct local needs. Foreign policy issues, even before the war ended, began to be seen as generally remote, shaped by elites, seldom significantly determined by peoples' organizations in the US.

I would not ignore the problems, tactical and ideological, of the approach suggested here. But the need to develop practice in coalition-building, reasserting the dialectic between localism and internationalism, and helping people in the third world to win - all these things seem to me to argue strongly for the effort.

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Fannie Lou Hamer, continued

A president of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, knowing better than she how moving she might be, conspired to keep her from telling a national television audience during the 1964 convention how she'd been beaten " 'til I swole up!"

When SNCC's summer soldiers abandoned Ruleville and the rural south, shell shocked by too much of what was daily life for her, she stayed on. It was her home. She believed it was and could be a good place to live, and she died trying to make it so.

Some people thought they'd "discovered" Fannie Lou Hamer, the way entertainers are discovered by talent scouts looking for something new.

But she discovered herself, celebrated herself, lived for herself and her people, and died because she could not stop trying.

She liked to sing "This little light of mine, I'm going to make it shine, make it shine, make it shine, make it shine."

Her light has gone out, but we shall be warmed yet by the glow.



(Donations may be sent to the Fannie Lou Hamer Fund, whose main project is a family day-care center, c/o P.O. Box 303, Ruleville, MI 38771.)



# GRANTS

## AMEX/CANADA

Po Box 189 Station P, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Amex/Canada has provided key leadership to U.S. war resisters in exile for many years and continues to play a major role in the broad movement for universal, unconditional amnesty. In late 1974 and early 1975, Amex organized the very effective boycott of former President Ford's "clemency" program. It also dramatized the issue of unconditional amnesty at the Democratic National Convention at which time a draft resister was placed in nomination for vice president and spoke to millions on national TV. Along with these activities and major speaking tours planned for 1977, Amex continues to publish in Toronto their widely read war resister exile journal, AMEX/CANADA. Resist's grant to Amex will assist the cost of publication of the Spring issue.

SUBSTITUTES UNITED FOR BETTER SCHOOLS (SUBS)  
343 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. 60604

For almost two year SUBS has been an active organization of Chicago substitute teachers organizing and fighting for the improvement of Chicago public schools--especially around the issue of racial desegregation (see Newsletter #107). At the same time SUBS has worked actively for the rights of substitute teachers within the Chicago Teachers Union and against the Board of Education. Their current campaign includes holding regular demonstrations at the Board of Education in protest of a recently approved \$17.7 million cut in the budget affecting both teachers and students. SUBS is also preparing a lawsuit to prevent the Board of Education from spending \$30 million to build seven new, segregated schools. Resist's grant to SUBS will cover the costs of educational materials, including a special issue of their newsletter, SUBSTANCE, devoted to discussion of the cutbacks.

MIDWEST COMMITTEE FOR MILITARY COUNSELING  
317 Fisher Bldg. 343 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois 60604

The Midwest Committee for Military Counseling's work over the years has been military counseling and organizing through their veterans advocacy project (see Newsletter #106). Like Amex/Canada, the Committee has been offering much needed information for war resisters--both included and excluded by Carter's partial "pardon". Our grant will help cover the costs of printed material for this work.

WOMEN'S COMMUNITY HEALTH CENTER, INC. (WCHC)  
137 Hampshire St., Cambridge, Mass. 02139

Since 1974 WCHC has existed as a woman owned and controlled, feminist self-help institution. "Our primary goals are to survive as a strong self-help institution, to provide a decent, collectively run, nonhierarchical work place and to catalyze women to actively challenge all aspects of the current medical system." In response to growing attacks on abortion as well as constant harassment by the medical establishment of free standing abortion clinics, members from WCHC and from women's health centers throughout the country, attended the first annual conference of WATCH (Women Acting Together to Combat Harrassment)

on March 5-9 in Tallahassee, Florida. WATCH is an organization of feminist health centers "whose members see the need for national unity in confronting the national and international medical empire and population controllers' constant threats against us as self-help institutions." The Feminist Women's Health Center in Tallahassee is currently in the midst of a suit against local medical doctors "charging conspiracy to restrain trade and create a monopoly in the provision of abortion care." In other words, doctors don't like the threat of a woman controlled clinic which can offer safe abortions for less money and have put pressure of doctors in the community not to provide their services to the clinic in the hopes that it will have to shut down. Resist's grant to WCHC will help defray the costs of travel to the WATCH conference.

THE ELIZABETH STONE HOUSE (ESH)  
128 Minden St., Jamaica Plain, Mass. 02130

Since mid-1974, ESH has been helping women in crisis in the greater Boston area find community-based alternatives to psychiatric hospitalization. The Refuge Center serves women in acute crisis who need temporary assistance, while the therapeutic community serves women who feel a need for a longer term commitment. "We at ESH are attacking an ideology which defines mental health for women in sexist terms." ESH desperately needs funds to keep its doors open and to be stable enough to engage in other political work beyond the provision of a service. Resist's grant to ESH will pay a portion of the salary of a fundraiser for the next few months.

NATIONAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN NEWSLETTER  
c/o Women's Center, 46 Pleasant St., Camb., Ma. 02139

Organizing against violence against women in this country, beginning in the early 70's, has meant that over 200 rape crisis centers have opened, with dual goals of service to victims and community education. More recently, refuges for battered women are being established. Although both the issues of rape and wife abuse have their origins in feminist analysis with expressed goals of raising consciousness around sexism, racism, male dominance and power relations in our society, the criminal justice system at both Federal and State levels are also interested in the topics. The struggle for those involved in organizing against violence against women must now address how the issues stand to be coopted by the media and the government. The Feminist Alliance Against Rape, a newsletter begun in 1974 states: "We feel there is a need for communication nationally and for more communication among our projects. This is particularly important at a time when government agencies and politicians are beginning to take an interest in the issue of rape. Because we see this interest as a potential threat to feminist control of the rape issue, we wish to form a united front to insure that the interest in rape works for us rather than against us...."

Resist's grant will help cover the costs of air fare for women involved in these issues to convene in Minneapolis in April to get a national newsletter and communication network off the ground.