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RESIST

October, 1979 — 38 Union Square, Somerville, MA 02143 #130
a call to resist illegitimate authority

GI RESISTANCE AND SOCIAL CLASS

PETER RODE

One issue raised by the recent attempt to revive the draft was whether a conscripted army would make it easier or harder to fight an unpopular war. Both sides of this debate draw on the Vietnam-era experience. In the following article, reprinted from the CCCO News Notes, the author looks at what kind of people resisted once in the Army.

Several GI Movement activists, most notably Matt Rinaldi and Dave Cortright,* have written that enlistees rather than draftees (and by implication working class GIs rather than middle class GIs) formed the bulwark of resistance to military authority during the Vietnam War. Their views, which run counter to common-sense expectations as well as to the theories of many social scientists, were based largely on their own observations and on the collective experience of the soldiers, organizers and counselors they spoke with.

It is now possible to look more deeply into the question of the social background of GI resisters. Over the past few years I have collected and examined a fairly large number of studies initiated by the Army as it tried to understand the dramatic explosion of resistance within its ranks. Some reports are available from the Army itself; others can be obtained from the civilian firms or institutes who were commissioned to do the research, and many studies on illicit drugs have been published in medical journals. Although not highly sophisticated, these studies do provide information on the educational level, race, entry status, and in some cases the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT) scores of GI's who resisted the Army in various ways. These variables are not only important in themselves but also tell us something about the probable class background of resisters. In this article, I will summarize very briefly the more important findings which can be gleaned from available reports.

The most extensive study of desertion (i.e., absence of

(continued on page 2)

* David Cortright, *GIs in Revolt* (Doubleday, 1976); and Matthew Rinaldi, "The Olive Drab Rebels: Military Organizing During the Vietnam Era," *Radical America*, VIII, #3 (May-June, 1974), pp. 17-52.

THE BOAT PEOPLE

ANN FROINES

A recent Szep cartoon in the Boston Globe linked Jane Fonda to the flow of "Boat People" from Vietnam. It was another example of the tendency of media pundits and cartoonists to be more interested in "Joan vs. Jane" and the "split" in the peace movement over alleged human rights violations in Vietnam than in analyzing the reasons the refugees are leaving. If they did do such an analysis, they would have to grapple with the hypocrisy of the United States and China becoming the fate of the refugees when they are the two governments most responsible for the difficult problems facing Vietnam today.

There are three main reasons for the current exodus of refugees which number less than 1% of the population of Vietnam. First, life is very hard in Vietnam now for everyone, as several refugees said to correspondent Andrew Locke on a recent CBS Reports Special on Vietnamese refugees. The destruction of the land, economy, and culture by the United States during the Vietnamese war has left deep scars and enormous problems of reconstruction, social as well as physical. Each Vietnamese is able to consume only about three kilograms of rice a month, plus other foods, as compared to the fifteen kilograms a month in U.S.-supervised refugee camps. Severe typhoons and floods in the last three years have intensified the food problem. War with the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea and the efforts of the Vietnamese government today to avert a famine in that tragic country are a further strain on Vietnam's slim resources.

Second, China's February invasion of Vietnam, which leveled whole towns and killed thousands of people, has resulted in a nationwide mobilization of all adults to work to prepare the country for another "lesson" from China. Undoubtedly some of the refugees are fleeing that mobilization. China in 1978 encouraged the Hoa people to sell their property and bring or send the profits to China as an act of patriotism toward the motherland. China's threatening posture toward Vietnam continues to create fear and paranoia among Chinese residents in Vietnam. It is estimated that 80 percent of the boat people are of Chinese origin.

The Chinese government and the Western press claim that Vietnam is cynically "exporting" human beings.

(continued on page 3)

GI RESISTANCE

more than 30 days) used as its data base the military records of almost 200,000 GIs who entered the Army in Fiscal Year 1968 and 1969. As the figures show, long-term AWOLs came heavily from working class and lower class backgrounds; more than two-thirds had dropped out of high school:

	Deserters	Non-Deserters
Less Than 12 Years Education	68.9%	27.7%
College Graduate	1.1%	7.3%
AFQT Category IV (Lowest)	43.0%	24.8%
AFQT Category I (Highest)	1.9%	5.9%
Race: Black	15.1%	10.2%
Enlisted Rather Than Drafted	48.7%	36.5%

Several different reports on GIs confined in stockades for lengthy AWOL confirm these findings, but with one interesting twist. Blacks, who made up 15% of the overall deserter population, consistently accounted for over 20% of the *confined* AWOL offenders, indicating that they may have received harsher treatment than whites.

Illicit drug use stimulated more research than any other form of resistance, and the studies I have seen reveal some interesting differences between users of marijuana and narcotics. According to one study, for example, the percentage of GIs leaving Vietnam in late 1969 who used marijuana *regularly* during their tour did not vary much with education: less than 12 years — 32.1%; high school graduates—25.6%; some college—35.3%; college graduates—30.4%. There was, in addition, no real difference between enlistees and draftees and while Black GIs used marijuana more often than whites early in the war the difference probably narrowed as marijuana grew in popularity. Indeed, since smoking marijuana became so widespread, it is not surprising to find high rates of use in every social group. In contrast, being Black, being an enlistee rather than a draftee, and not having finished high school were consistently and strongly related to narcotics use. While the connection between social background and narcotics was found everywhere, it was particularly strong within certain units and among more intensive users. Among GIs at artillery bases near Saigon, for example, more than half the heroin users had neither completed high school nor obtained a G.E.D., and two-thirds of the heroin users who volunteered for the 101st Airborne Division's detoxification program were high school dropouts. Better educated, middle class GIs were thus much less likely than other GIs to "move up" from marijuana to heroin when heroin became so readily available in Vietnam in 1970.

There is virtually no good data on combat refusals and evasions, fraggings and other kinds of resistance related to the breakdown of combat discipline in Vietnam. It is, however, possible to make some plausible guesses. Several former military lawyers whom I interviewed said that combat refusals were often motivated by racial militancy. One said that Black GIs accounted

for half the combat refusal cases he defended. Another added that both feelings of discrimination and hassles over hard drugs contributed to some combat refusals and some fraggings as well. One study of 28 GIs serving time at Fort Leavenworth for fragging reported that 6 were Black, only 5 had finished high school and only 2 had been drafted. The evidence, while admittedly fragmentary, suggests that GIs most involved in these kinds of direct resistance to combat came disproportionately from lower socio-economic backgrounds.

There is also not much satisfactory information on GIs who took part in organized political protest. In one study commissioned by the Army, the records of 153 soldiers identified as dissidents by Army intelligence were examined. The dissidents had aptitude test scores which were well above average, and more than half were college graduates or had some college experience. However, draftees were no more likely than enlistees to be labeled as dissident. In another study, 366 GIs at five bases were asked through anonymous questionnaires about their involvement in demonstrations, protest meetings, underground papers and other political activities since entering the Army. Participation was highest among GIs who 1) had some college experience; 2) had been drafted, and 3) were raised in suburban communities. Race did not distinguish between dissidents and non-dissidents in either study.

Although these findings do not support those who argue that working class and Black GIs were the most politically active soldiers, they must be interpreted very cautiously. In the first place, the studies are very limited both in scope and precision. More important, they focused on the kinds of activities commonly found in the white sector of the GI anti-war movement and ignored the more spontaneous and direct forms of protest developed by Black GIs. The evidence of Black activism, as documented by Cortright and others, is too substantial to be overlooked, and there are also abundant examples of white working class GIs who were radicalized by their military experiences. Nevertheless, at least with respect to the forms of protest developed by the white sector of the GI Movement, it is quite possible that college-educated, middle-class GIs were somewhat more likely to become activists than were less well-educated, working-class GIs.

Discontent with the war and the Army was extremely common during the later years of the Indochina War, but the studies I have discussed suggest that by and large Black GIs and working class GIs were more likely than others to act on their discontent in ways which challenge military authority. There were, to be sure, some important exceptions to the prevailing pattern. Class background seems to have had some bearing on the *type* of resistance chosen by GIs as well as on the *degree* of resistance. Nevertheless, the results for the most part support the position of Rinaldi, Cortright and others and call into question some common assumptions about the submissiveness of working class men towards established authorities.

—Peter Rode was in the Army from 1969 to 1971 and now works part-time as a researcher in Minneapolis.

BOAT PEOPLE

The Vietnamese government has vehemently denied that it has persecuted the Hoa because of their racial background or former political and business activities and connections. That many Hoa were and are skilled workers in the northern economy, with special schools and organizations, is evidence of this fact. There is also no reason to doubt the Vietnamese government's assertion that some Hoa people acted as a fifth column during the recent Chinese invasion, contributing to the widespread destruction and loss of life. This has apparently caused the Vietnamese government to adopt harsher policies toward the Hoa people in some front-line and urban areas. According to Wilfred Burchett (*In These Times*, July 18-24, 1979), thousands of ethnic Chinese have been dismissed from jobs at all levels and face a choice of relocating in New Economic Zones or leaving Vietnam. If there is another Chinese invasion and the Hoa remain in Vietnam, they may fear reprisals from one side or the other. Yet China has so far been unwilling to accept boat people, nor is it clear they wish to go to China.

The third reason for the flow of refugees is the Vietnamese government's moves to socialize the economy in the southern part of the country, to end the hoarding of rice and the manipulation of currency for profit. In 1975 nearly 100 percent of banking was in Chinese hands in Saigon. A new currency was introduced in 1978 and new regulations govern its use. No longer can Chinese or Vietnamese money lenders or merchants function as they had in the past; now they have to work. Many of the Chinese born Vietnamese refugees were merchants, traders, and professionals, middle class people accustomed to the affluence of old Saigon under the French and then the Americans. They feel their "opportunities for advancement" have been curtailed, to quote one refugee interviewed for CBS Reports. Julie Forsythe and Tom Hoskins, sent by the American Friends Service Committee in May 1979 to Pilau Bidong refugee camp in Malaysia reported the same sentiment from refugees they interviewed. ("Visit to Bilau Bidong Refugee Camp," \$.25, available from AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA. 19102)

After the American revolution the British government welcomed the Tories (and many thousands emigrated to Canada), about 10 percent of the population of the colonies, who fled the newly independent United States rather than face confiscation of their property and worse. Many middle class and professional Cubans came to the United States rather than stay in Cuba after 1959 and face what they felt would be a loss in status and wealth. The United States government assisted with their transportation and subsidized them when they first arrived.

But no one has welcomed those who wish to leave Vietnam. People can't emigrate if they have no place to go. People can't emigrate in an orderly fashion unless governments are willing to negotiate with the Vietnamese government about procedures. The United

Nations High Commission on Refugees working in Hanoi has since May been trying with only partial success to find recipient countries for 10,000 Vietnamese who have applied for emigration through procedures set up by the Vietnamese government. Essentially the "boat people" are taking matters into their own hands. Whatever their reasons for leaving, they are forcing nations to take them in, if only as refugees.

As we should have learned by now a country or government does not fight a liberation struggle, build a socialist economy, or attempt to reconcile formerly opposing groups or ideologies in a political vacuum. All this must take place in a specific historical context, influenced and shaped by international forces and the resulting climate of opinion. We are witnessing the outbreak of a new cold war with the United States and China working together to isolate Vietnam (for different reasons) to prevent that nation from reaping the benefits of its victory; the opportunity to emerge from colonialism and underdevelopment and strike out upon a path of independence, self-determination, and socialist development.

The risky voyages of the boat people will cease only when China and the United States adopt peaceful policies toward Vietnam, normalize relations with the government, and recognize their moral responsibility, given the history cited above, toward those Vietnamese who wish to emigrate. Greater cooperation by the Carter Administration with the United Nations High Commission on Refugees would be a first step in the right direction.

ANN FROINES is active in the Dorchester-based Ad Hoc Vietnam Support Committee, PO Box 129, Dorchester, MA 02122.

THE RESIST PLEDGE SYSTEM

The most important source of our income is monthly pledges. Pledges help us to plan ahead by stabilizing our monthly income. In addition to receiving the newsletter, pledges get a monthly reminder letter, containing some news of recent grants. If you would like to learn more, drop us a note. Or — take the plunge! — and fill out the handy form below.

Yes, I would like to be a Resist pledge for

- \$5/month \$50/month
 \$10/month _____ (other)
 \$25/month
 I enclose my check for \$_____.

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REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS

LINDA GORDON

The following was delivered as a speech to a reproductive rights rally in Boston a few days after the accident at Three Mile Island.

The issue before us today is the rights of women. As always the deepest political and moral struggles are marked by attempts to mystify the issue, deny the real heart of the controversy. The claim of our opponents that they are primarily concerned with the fetus won't hold up. The claim of other of our opponents that population control will end poverty is equally hollow. Their real issue, and the thing that population controllers have in common with anti-abortionists, is control. Control over others in vain attempts to preserve profits and privileges.

Our real issue is freedom. The opportunity for all women individually and collectively to create themselves, to do as much that is meaningful with our lives as we can, with children, with work, with learning; and with political change. In the entire history of the women's movement, no issue has ever been as controversial as reproductive rights. In demonstrating here today we are part of a tradition at least 150 years old, a continuous struggle for control over our own bodies. The struggle has been hard because it is inseparably tied to many other issues of women's freedom: our right to work; to education; to sexual freedom; to political power; to respect and dignity.

When the first reproductive rights movement, 150 years ago, began arguing for its slogan — Voluntary Motherhood — those women faced an enormous backlash, just like today. Last century's opponents of birth control — and at that time they made no distinction between contraception and abortion — charged that women wanted to destroy motherhood, the family, society and civilization. In fact last century's feminists were fighting to increase the respect and self-respect of mothers, to strengthen the family, society and civilization. Much the same could be said of us today.

Today, like 150 years ago, our opponents fear women's sexual freedom. The irony is that 150 years ago feminists called for sexual abstinence as a form of birth control, and the objection of the anti-feminists to sexual freedom was that it meant refusal to submit to men's desires! Today they fear women's sexual activity, but the issue is the same: to prevent women's sexual autonomy and self-respect, to keep women subordinate to someone else's standards of sexual norms.

Today, like 150 years ago, our opponents are led by Right-wing politicians. In the mid-19th century their program was to maintain the dominance of a WASP wealthy male ruling class, against challenges from immigrants, workers, feminists. They worried about the

“undesirable” outbreeding the women of their own class. Today the anti-abortion movement is organized by a Right wing that again combines sexism with racism, anti-communism and anti-feminism. They are afraid of the more egalitarian, less profit-oriented society that most feminists prefer. Yes, let's face it, most feminists have socialist leanings, and they are right to fear us.

I would wager that none of us are here because of a single-minded commitment to reproductive rights only. Abortion is not a lovely happening, it is not the issue we would choose to make our slogan, and our need for abortion is a reflection of the under-development of contraception and sex education. Sterilization abuse is not the central problem, it is a symptom of our powerlessness. The reproductive rights campaign has been forced on us because the restrictions on our freedom in this area represent a part of the continuing effort to keep us in our places. I imagine that everyone here has a much larger set of goals in mind.

And an additional fear is with us all today: we are haunted by an invisible cloud of radiation. It is more obvious than ever that to fight for control of our reproduction is to fight for control of our lives. The stakes are very high now. We are part of a generation that must face the possible destruction of the world. But we must accept our fears and use them to strengthen us.

We must also remember that the strength of the backlash and the repression of women's rights are proof of our successes. I doubt that abortion would have provoked this backlash had its legislation occurred in the context of the population control movement rather than from the power of the women's liberation movement.

As we look around every day we see the institutions created by the women's movement: day care centers, health clinics, shelters, schools, theater, music, caucuses. They are inadequate but they were not here at all until we created them. And more profoundly, we can see the changes in consciousness that we have created. Women are standing up to violence, to humiliation; women are making men do housework, women are speaking in public, women are resisting token integration into a system whose rules we did not make and do not endorse. These changes are irreversible, and they are international. The world will never be the same again.

The consequences of our mass consciousness-raising for reproductive rights should be clear. First, this struggle will never be lost, because women with higher aspirations are simply not going to stop fighting until they get control over child-bearing choices. Second, these new aspirations are leading women to make motherhood part of building a new world, a world of health, order, freedom and opportunity for our children.

LINDA GORDON teaches at the University of Massachusetts—Boston, and is the author of Woman's Body, Woman's Right, a history of the birth control movement.

THE DRAFT

DENISE LEVERTOV

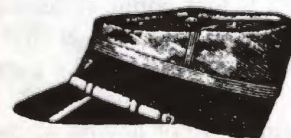
The following was delivered at a "Stop the Draft" rally held in Boston on September 12.

1979... the last summer of a decade is over. 1979... ten years ago the strength of the draft-resistance movement had been rapidly and efficiently sapped by legislation giving deferments to anyone who could afford to stay in school. If you were middle class you didn't have to struggle not to be drafted. If you were poor, you couldn't afford to stay in school and you couldn't afford to resist. The draft took you off the street — for a while. If you survived, what did you come back to? What did those parts of you that weren't missing do next, heroes, veterans of a foreign war? Back to the street. 1979... and the martial drums are rumbling again. The very rich go on getting richer. The people in the middle are scared. The people at the bottom wonder about the coming winter when they will have to choose between heat and food. The drums are rumbling. It is inconvenient to have too many unemployed, too many welfare mouths to feed, they mutter. Time for a draft again — always a good way to get the young folk out of the way for a while. Right now the bill has been put aside for further study — but that study will be of the most efficient means to organize and control the draft, not of whether it is morally valid. And behind those rumbling drums are much bigger drums, that have never been silent but now grow louder. "Defense," they say, "Defense." And what do they mean by that? They mean, "Offense, Attack." "First Strike Capacity," booms a kettledrum. And distant but clear you can begin to hear the words "Limited Nuclear War." Are they indeed drums? Or is that sound the sound of a giant machine, a giant engine revving up, getting into gear? The arsenals are full to bursting. At night the great generals lie dreaming of the day when they will really see their new ingenious toys of slaughter in action. The big ones, not mere anti-personnel bombs and the like. A natural law, they tell themselves with a delicious shudder — what exists to strike must at last do so. Destiny. Somehow they themselves will escape. Somehow. And the heads of the great corporations, they too lie awake, figuring, figuring. The sale of arms has always been the world's most profitable business. And the spinoffs of war — ah, beautiful, to a mind in love with multiplication, the way riches upon riches, degree after degree of power, accumulate from war's rich soil. To one who might ask them whether no fear haunts them, of being themselves devoured by the war-monster they are bringing to its horrible maturity and preparing to unleash again, they turn the ghastly glitter of obsessed eyes. No, they have fed their fear into the safety

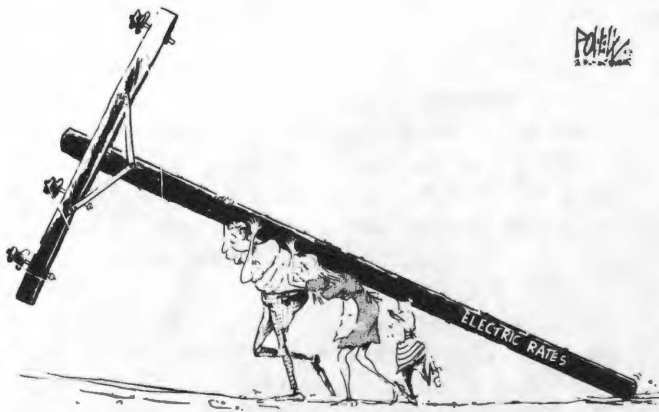
of a computer, from which it has emerged as a number, an efficient zombie, words like *radiation sickness* and *annihilation*, which it used to whimper, erased from it.

1979 — and that there is madness stalking the land is very clear. What place is there for military draftees, male and female, actual people, infantry, unskilled privates, in a war that would employ the sophisticated weapons the Pentagon gathers and gathers as pus gathers in a dirty sore? But there is method in the madness. Keep the people still believing war is a matter of armies, of man to man combat, of "bravery," a place for people to "test themselves" — and keep using the word "defense." Build up the sense of threat, build up the thought that ordinary people can meet the threat, yes, bring out and brush up the timeworn concept of "military service" of "serving your country." It's a time-honored way to deal with unemployment and to control possible rebellion. Do all these things and don't forget, at the same time, to begin showing the Vietnamese war as a "mistake" which after all was "necessary," as proved by the atrocities those nasty little yellow people commit, as you can see any day at the movies... Any distinction between fact and fiction is unimportant: people will believe what they are shown. Be very *methodically* mad, and you can go on making superb profits at the top levels, while the people (getting poorer all the time) are prepared — prepared — prepared — first for the diversion of attention to some little new wars to prove that there can be survivors of nuclear and other technologically conducted wars and thus to get people into the habit of thinking statistically (so they'll accept the vast numbers of those who get wiped out) and then for the big war, unprecedented ecstatic global blossom of fire and light.

Yes — the draft, which for the moment has been shelved but will be trotted out again at a convenient moment, is part of that insane but methodical preparation. Soon we will be in the 80's, and the 80's may be all there is of the future! Yes, we've stumbled through the 70's and doomsday hasn't happened. Yet. But make no mistake — if we don't stop the revving up of that monstrous machine, if we don't get together to block the reinstatement of the draft, to stop the arms race, to stop nuclear power (whose function is not only to produce energy in a way so dangerous that it is simply not worth the risk, but to provide bomb-quality nuclear material) — if we don't build a great firewall of refusal to all of these, then we too are mad, then we too are participants in our own destruction. **STOP THE DRAFT. STOP THE ARMS RACE. STOP NUCLEAR POWER.**



DENISE LEVERTOV is a poet and an activist in the anti-nuclear movement.



PUBLIC POWER

Last Winter Resist made a grant to the People's Power Coalition to help gain support for the public power feasibility study described below. This article is reprinted from the New American Movement's Buffalo Newsletter.

"This is the most important victory the people of Buffalo have had in years." The speaker is Lorraine Sterling, long-time resident of Buffalo's Riverside section. She is not speaking of the Bills successfully signing their number one draft choice, nor is she talking about that strange shift in weather that recently transformed Buffalo's seemingly endless winter into summer. Ms Sterling is the Secretary of the People's Power Coalition (PPC), and her organization has just successfully pressed Buffalo's Common Council into committing itself to fund a professional study that will determine the feasibility of converting the electric and gas companies into publicly owned and controlled utility systems. It is that victory, a victory of determined people that she is talking about.

For the first time since the 1930's a major city has taken the initial step in the process of wresting control of these vital services from the private groups which now monopolize them. At the coalitions urging, the Buffalo Common Council has included in its 1978-1979 Capital Improvements Budget \$100,000 for a public power feasibility study. The Council passed the budget unanimously in May, and it became official when Mayor Griffin tacitly endorsed it by not vetoing any of its items.

Projects in the capital budget are funded through the sale of municipal bonds, rather than through property taxes.

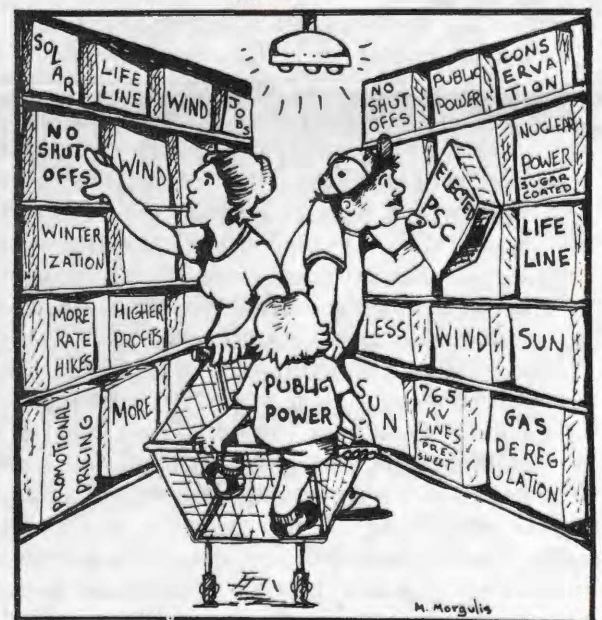
The PPC has pressed for a feasibility study for two reasons. The first is that public systems provide energy at consistently cheaper rates, a fact that has been convincingly documented by Federal Power Commission studies. Public systems are non-profit and they find their largest savings in not having to pay dividends to stockholders. But these studies have also documented

that public systems are generally more efficient, less top heavy with management, able to borrow capital at lower rates, and don't feel the same pressure for expensive expansion that the private utilities do.

The second reason offered by the PPC in favor of public power is that it is inherently more democratic than is private power. Ms Sterling points out that public systems are much more responsive to the needs of the public because their management is ultimately accountable to the public, unlike the private utilities, who are accountable to Wall Street banks and other massive funding institutions. But the Coalition's analysis of democracy goes deeper still. As Ms Sterling says, "It would be a shame to take energy decisions out of the hands of the private managers only to have it fall into the hands of corrupt politicians. That is why we are holding out for an elected community board to run the new public system. If the people don't like the way the utility is being run, they can replace whoever is responsible. That's what democracy is all about."

THE PEOPLE'S POWER COALITION

The local Buffalo coalition is part of the statewide People's Power Coalition. It has a steering committee of fourteen members and has received support from a long list of community organizations, including the United Auto Workers, the New American Movement, the NAACP and the Puerto Rican Chicano Committee. While members of the PPC are rightfully proud of their victory, they are quick to point out that the road ahead is at least as treacherous as the one already travelled. Steering Committee member Bill Nowak feels, "The closer we come to making public power a reality, the harder it gets. The utility companies don't take threats to their profits or their power lightly, and we are threatening to wipe out their profits and their power in one move." Nowak goes on to say, "While utilities don't have any credibility left with the people of this



city, they have purchased influence in the local political structure and will be pulling their strings frantically in an effort to stop us. But I'm not pessimistic. Even if the Griffin administration goes back on its commitment to fund the study, which is quite possible, the PPC is prepared to press the struggle even harder. We've educated thousands of people to the fact that ownership of energy means control of it and that when you control something you can use it to your benefit. We've helped push the energy monopolies further into the corner that they have been painting themselves into. On a most basic level, the people have got the numbers and in numbers there is strength. The PPC is helping to develop that strength, and time is definitely on our side."

PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

The process involved in taking over the gas and electric utilities depends on the feasibility study. If the study, upon completion, indicates significant benefit to the community, then a referendum will be held to determine whether or not to purchase the facilities of National Fuel Gas and Niagara Mohawk Power Corp. The people will make the final decision, but it is possible that the process could be derailed at any point along the way.

The key question in the continued movement of the municipalization struggle is not so much the various procedural steps which need to be passed through, but rather the balance of power between the contending forces. On the one hand are utility companies, the banks and the wealthy individuals who own them; on the other, the vast majority of Buffalo's people who might, if previous studies are accurate, benefit from publicly owned utilities and who would clearly gain from the information gained by the feasibility study — no matter what its findings. Yet, the powerful interest groups that own the utilities have already begun an extensive campaign to defeat the study before it is able to begin.

While the people have the potential to isolate and defeat the power groups, we are not necessarily organized enough, or experienced enough in the struggle for power to win. It is here that the PPC is seeking to forge among the people the experience and solidarity necessary to this struggle. The various politicians and community groups who have been responsive to the needs of the people remain essential to this developing experience.

It is difficult at this time to assess the strength of the PPC and its allies. For the Coalition to have survived this long is impressive, given the money at the disposal of the utilities. It has been discouraging for Coalition members, who have struggled to defeat last year's rate increase, to see National Fuel Gas turn around to apply for another. The Public Service Commission has consistently offered the public hope with one hand while doing the utilities' dirty work with the other. The local press has been consistently opposed to the Coalition's work, alternating from a blackout of its activities to deliberate distortions of its program through the editorial pages.



These problems are compounded by the daily efforts of the Coalition to fight against gas shutoffs that have affected so many people in Buffalo. Indeed, several Coalition members have had their gas shut off. Despite this, Nowak asserts "It is important for organizations to reach out past survival needs, but it is also essential that survival needs be taken care of. Fighting on basic issues such as shut-offs diverts energy away from the fight for public power. But at the same time, it adds depth, strength and perspective to that fight."

Attacks by the utilities continue on many levels. A CETA funded project, "The Utility Rate Reduction Study", which had been producing data useful to the PPC, was terminated the day after the Common Council voted the feasibility study into its budget.

The fact that the PPC has survived these attacks and remains strong enough to have lobbied the study through the opposition and into the budget attests to the seriousness of the group. Coalition members expect others to join them now that they have won a major victory. And as Lorraine Sterling says, "Far from resenting newcomers at this point, we realize that we need them badly if we are to maintain and expand on our victory."

Modern Times is a collectively-owned and managed socialist bookstore in San Francisco, and has operated since 1971. Their 96-page catalog lists 2000 books available from them by mail. Send \$1 to Modern Times Bookstore, 3800 17th St., San Francisco, CA 94114.

GRANTS

THE COMMITTEE FOR ABORTION RIGHTS AND AGAINST STERILIZATION ABUSE (CARASA), (PO Box 124, Cathedral Sta., New York, NY 10025)

CARASA began in the summer of 1977 as a coalition of groups concerned about the proposed Hyde amendment to the HEW budget, which would cut off federal payments for abortions under the Medicaid program. The group quickly realized that sterilization abuse was an equally pressing issue, and by the fall of 1977 had re-organized themselves and held a large, successful rally. A membership organization of more than 200 people, CARASA holds monthly, public educational meetings, and works with other groups in the NYC area and across the country. Resist's grant was to support a working conference for the CARASA membership and invited guests to re-evaluate the organization's work and make plans for the future.

THIRD WORLD NEWSREEL (160 5th Ave., Room 911, New York, NY 10010)

Since its inception in 1967, Third World Newsreel has produced over 100 films and videotapes dealing with various social issues. Resist's grant is to help put some final touches on their new film, *A Dream is What You Wake Up From*, a 60-minute, color docudrama on the black American family. The film examines the values and contrasting lifestyles of two families whose situations may well be representative of many among the black community, emphasizing the effects of middle-class values and external circumstances on familial relationships. According to TWN, "it is one of the few films that acknowledges a divisive class consciousness within the black community paralleling that of society at large."

COLUMBUS TENANTS UNION (82 East 16th Ave., Columbus, OH 43201)

The Columbus Tenants Union (CTU) was founded six years ago by tenants in the community surrounding Ohio State University. Since that time, CTU has expanded to operate city-wide. The CTU is staffed by tenants only, and has concentrated on organizing tenants and working on individual tenant problems and legal reform. For example, the CTU was instrumental in the passage of the state Tenant-Landlord law and the Columbus Housing Codes of 1974. Resist's grant is to help in the publication of their newsletter, *Tenant Voice*.

SOUTHERN ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL JUSTICE (PO Box 11308, Louisville, KY 40211).

The Southern Organizing Committee (SOC) sees itself as a catalyst to help build a new movement in the South, seeking "to provide a framework in which black and white Southerners come together in struggle." Resist's grant to the SOC helped to finance a workshop on "Human Needs and Military Spending" held last June in Birmingham, Alabama. The goal of the workshop was to organize participation from people who were involved in local work around economic issues but who had not been part of the organized peace movement.

Anne Braden, co-chairperson of the SOC, writes: "We felt the workshop accomplished its purpose. There were 20 communities represented — we'd like to have had 40 — but the people who came were mostly the people we wanted, people much involved in grass-roots issues but with no previous involvement in the peace issue. The resource people were excellent — and people's minds were really blown. A couple of weeks ago, for example, I saw the Tenant Union activist who was our volunteer organizer in New Orleans. He said the people he sent to the workshop came back with their heads turned around on this issue. Before, he said, they had all assumed that we *had* to have the big military budget because "the Russians were about to get us." Now they realized this was not so.

"We are working on a follow-up. The people in New Orleans plan a local conference there. We are working toward a state-wide conference in North Carolina. In Mississippi, people who attended the workshop plan a public hearing on the military budget issue. These are some of the plans and there will probably be more.

"Also, everyone thought the content of the speeches was so good that we plan this fall to print the proceedings in pamphlet form — plus an outline of how the workshop was organized, to help people who may want to try similar things."

THE NEWSLETTER is resuming monthly publication after a summer breakdown. The purpose of the Newsletter is to support and report on Resist's grants and fund raising activities. It also publishes short articles of general interest to the left. Subscriptions to the newsletter are \$5 per year. If you haven't renewed your subscription for 1979, please do so soon. We are happy to send the newsletter free to individuals or organizations who can't afford to subscribe.