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Resist Board Meeting, June 1, 1976

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REQUESTS for JUNE 1st MEETING
         Fellowship - Hyack, HY Send out ME lit hist
         2. Puerto Rican Socialist Party - Larry 800
         3. Unidos Bookstore - Larry -300
 $300
         4. LISP - Paul - 595
1500 loon 5. Somerville Women's Health Project - Hilde 300
         6. Source - Eileen 300
         7. Wildcat - Paul
         8. The Defense Committee - Paul - 89 (300)
  No
         9. Women's Counseling Center - Hilde 4 20
$165/3
         10. United WREP Workers - Larry 495
         11. Youth Liberation - Frank
 #100
         12. Recon - Paul
      - 13. Community Referral Center, Albany, NY - Eileeny - Do Rey wany political
         14. Sante Fe Community Rress - Eileen
 1200
         15. Respond - Hilde -
 > lo Ann
                                             1220/mo. Do anything dist put paper out?
350 4500 How distribute? How long
P check 16. Suffolk Street Papers - Eileen
4 350 17. National Lawyers Guild - Larry
         Karmin Bishop Defense Committee requests the use of our list to send out
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educational materials.

Dear People:

The financial situation is terrible. Here are the facts. As of June 3th, our balance was \$475.30. Eileen and I went over the books for the past two years. Based on that review, we concluded that pledges have remained stable at \$1200-\$1500 a month; our grants remained constant at around \$2000 a month. Contributions, however, have dropped drastically over the last 3 months. Normal returns have been \$2000-\$2500 a month. The last 3 months we averaged \$650 a month in contributions.

A small meeting of Boston people was held (present were Eileen, Nadge, Wayne, Hilde, Loiss and Ken) to discuss ways to get us through the summer. Eileen and I also had met with Bob Zeviw the previous week to discuss the financial situation and the future of Resist. We reported on that discussion at the Boston meeting (more on that in a minute). The decisions which came out of the meeting were 1) writing to the Ferrys 2) going through our contributors and sending special letters to large contributors with a draft of the New Call 5) an appeal on the last page of the June newsletter 4) the significance of this financial crisis in light of Resist's purpose and future as an organization will be the main priority for discussion at the July 11th meeting. So far, the Ferrys have responded with a \$3000 check stating that it's their last for 1976. We have yet to get the other letters off.

Zevin's analysis of Resists financial crisis (in brief): Since the anti-war movement Resist has slowly lost its funding base, particularly among pacifists. Through the newsletter and/or our funding left errors have been made which have alienated liberal contributors. The Resist board doesn't have political unity sufficient to work together to be a viable organization that can attract people and money. Zevin maintains that there should be a real political focus for Resist, a high level of political unity (which he believes at one time being against the Vietnam war allowed for, despite other differences). His former position that Resist should disband still stands, however, if it hopes to continue he strongly suggests that the financial and political base of Resist be addressed seriously and that people deal ki with reality and discontinue the myth that Resist plays a leadership role on the left right now. One proposal Zevin made was to institute an entirely new board. Zevin has been hesitant to assert his position because he feared that people would only interpret his perspective as an opportunisitic move. Also, Bob has had contact with pledges who left Resist and discussed their reasons with him. He has agreed to come to a meeting if this issue will be seriously discussed.

Eileen and I have done a lot of thinking about Resist's future and shared these thoughts at the Boston meeting. We've been feeling for some time that since Zevin has left noone has replaced his role of safeguarding our financial base, Someone(s) needs to take on this role. We feel that the priority that makes makes sense for an organization like Resist and what can be done best if worked on is funding. We agree with Zevin that liberals have been alienated and therefore Resist's historical role of providing a link between liberals and the loft has been seriously damaged, we agree with Zevin that it's imperative right now to reasses and restructure Resist. We don't agree that we should disband and we feel that a board representative of all the groupings on the left could work together and come up with a political focus which could attract people to it. We're proposing that we seriously consider this direction and go about recruiting with this in aind. At the Boston meeting there was a concensus to deal seriously with these issues. There was greatest concensus around the belief that we've been existing with an unrealistic perspective ourselves and that we should put our energy into being a viable fudning organization. a rather than into political polemics. We need to accept our own political differences and work together to continue an organization that can play an important role in the political life of the U.S. togay.

Love in struggle,

madge and eileen

To Resist folks,

When I sat down to think through a response to Madge and Eileen's letter, it initially seemed to me that the major problem had to do with our continuing failure to do well the things we need to do. As is no secret, I've felt that we have made a number of very serious—if not fatal—arrors in the recent past, from the Duff article, to the weird pledge letter to the armed struggle fiasco to my own failure to take initiatives in funding areas. And I started to draft a response that emphasized the things we do need to do: have a Mewsletter that people read and respect—that is as well edited, precise, and unrhetorical as IF Stone used to be; have a better and expanding pledge system—recruit pledges; have a regular fund-raising effort, not a hit and miss affair; involve both more people that our constituency trusts and the people already in Resist more; develop a much better network of contacts so that we are not so frequently at a loss or in vague disagreement over fundi-my requests; get on simplifying the call and having a basic standpoint that people can identify with. Now I think we have to do all those things, without aliques.

But Zevin's remarks as reported by MAE forced me to think again. I don't know just what Zevin has said—I've not been privy to these discussions and I haven't heard from him (yes, Robert, a minor criticism). But it seemed to me that something like the following is the drift of his thought—and if I'm wrong I'd surely like to get straightened out:

Regist falls between poles. On the one hand, there are the Marxist-Leninist parties, which are trying to build from proletaries constituency, which Resist surely does not have nor, by its nature, can have, and which are of very doubtful relevance to the American scene today or for the foreseasble future. The reasons are many and varied-from dogmatism, to excessive in-fighting, to the pride of sectarianism, to the imapplicability of Leminist models, to the undesirability of applying Levinist models (who wents to live under Stalin?), etc. On the other hand, there is the spectrum of groups like those brought together by IPS in Texas recently, ranging from Tow Hayden to Burlage to ACORS in Arkansas; there is IFCO (Interreligious Foundation for Community Organizations); there are regional funding groups like Haymarket, with lite more momey. These folks are far better financed, ere actually doing things that make for change, are involved in challenging the Desocratic left as well as in recruiting a mass base. Resist is irrelevant to them both by ideology--too socialist, which, as a recent article said, is a "red-flag word" -- and by smallness of financial base. So it can only be that the communist left relates to Resist as a rip-off of the class of intellectuals, managers, etc., on the one hand, and the broader IPS spectrom as an irrelevance, which no longer even has to be respected on the basis of its direct enti-war actions. All we can do, therefore, is relate to small, aggressively separatist community grouplets, which are a kind of movement-urban equivalent of Versont dropping out, since they focus only on local life-issues and not on a real challenge to the structures of power.

Is that something like it, Robert? Whether or no, it wakes a cogent critique of Resist, at least from one perspective. I want to introduce a third factor, or a slightly different way of looking at this reality. I agree with the critique of the party left-I think it is largely an irrelevance and will continue to be (for various reasons, but fundamentally because the fact is that a cross-class movement for change is necessary in a society as diverse as this and one as capable of preventing the polarization of society into beergeoise vs. proleteriat). But the overwhelming teadency in the IPS spectrum (admittedly, it was a Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies, which artracts standard politicos) is toward incorporation into the Desocratic party left (I use that word hesitantly). That's where IPS came from, that's where Hayden and Sam Brown etc. ere now, and that's where the power is, as things stand-and the attraction is fatal, in my judgment. For the Desocratic party is, obviously, a party of the bourgeoise and that's not going to change. Moreover, without a left, the tendency of the Democratic Party is itself to drift right, and it is too easy to see the tendencies which we have incorrectly been celling "radical populies" being pulled further and further, like Bayard Rustin, into the Democratic center. Unless there is a coherent and increasingly mass-based force to its left. So that over time that left-liberal spectrum is being challenged, pulled toward a coherent left.

My view is that the potential for that left exists. I think it must be specifically

socialist is outlook and in program—i.e., I think it has to use not only the word but the hinds of concepts embedded in the cell. I do not have delectors that Bosist will bring that optimize force into being. On the other hand, I think we do not have to be irrelevant. It seems to so that we have a responsibility to try to relate to the socialist part of that IPS spectrum, to ACOMA, for example, so well as to CIOC: to the Seriese group in Appalachia, so well as to the Vermont Alliance. I think we can and absold try to incorporate such people into the beard, as well as people like Judy Faluso, from the Grand Jury Project, so well as some from the July & thing.

In abort, I do agree with Tevin that the board abould be chapped, though I'm not some that we agree about just have. I'd like to one on it people from the specifically socialist part of that 175 spectrus, people actually involved in substantial erganizing efforts, plus people from the independent novement left, nest of whom seem to be working in anti-represent, prises, third-world organizing projects. I'd apt the bounds on both sides of this spectrum; it cakes as little sense ment to involve people in the Democratic Party as in the Revolutionary Communist Party (or whatever BU is now).

Forther, I think we need to get off the dime with respect to the women's movement. Even NGS was officially at the Pailly thing. We con't be home up on recruiting only from among those who describe themselves as socialist feminists, which seems to be a fancy phrase at this point for a set of study groups.

but the major reconstruction would, I think, involve a conscious affort to draw people from the left of what has been out the "right" of up, and from the independent, setivist wing of what has been out there in the movement.

We may further disagree on the question of a public espousal of a socialist politics. There seems to have been a good deal of propagance coming from Democratic left organs faising socialism as a "red-flag" word recently. Is that feer, or cryeding to the right? I don't much care. My games, and it is just a games, is that the call, which is opecifically socialist, will be welcomed by the kind of constituency to which we speak. (It is, new, too long, involved, etc.; it meeds to be dealt with in differing type faces, and the like, to make it readable by pumple who glames at things, at least to start.) I would be wrong. If behard to arguing that socialips is an irrelevance, or a boogle-word right now, he could be right. I think it is worth rishing the organisation on that point. But I think it is worth rishing it only if we consciously make the throw of the disc worth something by satting out to enlarge the organization slong the lines do I've tried to describe. If I'm right, then it will turn out that a secondar enlarged fanding base will have somethings clearly in sotion to fued. And a scall point will have been wer slope the path to a socialist organization. If I'm wrong, we will simply pack up our tente somewhat darlier whom we might otherwise-though at present rates, not such earlier!

Just exciter word: I've written this out frankly and without draft, but with a great deal of excerteinty. The thing about the newcount I'm siekest of right pow is the faching self-rightsoussess. Ego wrapped in Analysis wrapped in Lanis--like a raisin in a menthall in a grapeless. I think we're all guessing a let right plus, and i'd like to be clear that this is a guess. I could trot out my evidence, but finally what's lavelved is how one set of eyes entokes the curve of a small are of history. So I guess I'm asking for some discussion presidenced on that acknowledgement of emplarity, and without our smoot lectures.

chasts.

Paul (and I hope the last copies of this are resolvis)