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RESIST

a call to resist
illegitimate authority

25 February 1975 - 720 Massachusetts Avenue, No. 4; Cambridge, Mass. 02139 • #90

THE POLITICAL

ECONOMY OF INFLATION



Robert Zevin

In the first part of this article, I attempted to provide some first-order explanation of our recent economic experience; I would like now to ask a second-order question: does the US empire have some super-secular tendency to inflation and/or stagnation analogous to the economic processes of the Spanish or Roman empires in the periods of their declines? I think the answer is "yes"--at least so far as inflation goes. The explanation is not dissimilar to an analysis of the inflations which have characterized other declining empires. As the economy of the empire grows, the economic power (and ambitions) of the empire's state bureaucracies grow even more rapidly. This is in part and up to a point a reflection of the increasing need for infrastructure investment and overall economic planning of an increasingly complex and interdependent system. However, the multi-national corporations themselves have also developed and demonstrated a remarkable capacity to control, manage, and plan extremely complex components of an empire-wide economic system. In fact, in many ways, the multi-nationals have demonstrated a capacity to plan more "rationally" across national boundaries than any government entities in the American empire. In this respect, the multi-nationals are quite analogous to the great landholding families of the late Roman empire that possessed and managed estates and other economic interests scattered throughout the geographic extent of the late Roman empire. Rather than our supposing that state bureaucracies are somehow responsive to coalitions of private and public needs in a way that corporations are not, it seems more reasonable to suppose that state bureaucracies and multi-national corporations are essentially indistinguishable in their common motivation to accumulate capital and exercise increasing amounts of power.

(continued on page 7)

(This is the second of a three-part series of articles written after returning from a trip to the PRC in August, 1974. 19 of the 22 members of the Guardian-sponsored trip were teachers, from every level of education.)

CHINA: Peoples' Universities

Paul Lauter

The decision to go to college is not, in China, a private one, though personal considerations are by no means excluded. A regular, nationwide process has emerged from the experimentation of the Cultural Revolution and while it is obviously easier to outline this formula than to portray in concrete detail how it works, we did emerge with some sense of that, too. Our Chinese hosts outlined four steps: "Students apply, the masses recommend, the leadership approves, and the college reviews." This is the line. Clearly, the social and personal processes are a good deal more complex than those four steps. In the first place, before any of this happens, state and regional educational authorities determine how many places will be open in which colleges (or other postsecondary institutions), and allocate to each commune, farm, factory, community or PLA unit a quota to be filled.

(continued on page 2)



CHINA continued

The quotas are small, compared with the numbers of young people who go on to some form of college in the U.S. One woman told us that the state farm at which she had worked had a total population of around 20,000, many of whom were young people, like herself, on their work assignments; and a quota of about 20 the year she had applied. I will return to the implications of these numbers in a moment, but it is important to state one fundamental point here: widespread post-secondary education is not a norm, or at this stage an objective, in China because it is but one form of many forms of necessary work.

Once quotas are allocated, it is the responsibility of the leadership in the local unit to make sure that discussions are held among the "masses" - i.e., everyone who works or lives in such a unit - to explore the implications of sending someone for further study. What are the needs of the commune? What can be brought back from the university? Can people be spared? How are the overall requirements of the society for engineers to be balanced against the shop's needs for skilled workers? What qualities in a person best fit her or him for further study? Is it a matter of "special" aptitude, in mathematics or language, say, or political development as demonstrated in attitudes toward work, social responsibility, participation in political activity? What are the problems, the dangers, of college study, of becoming intellectual workers? What sort of people do we want doing such work?

Clearly, these are difficult questions, which cannot wholly be separated from the considerations of particular people which are to follow. But it was made clear to us that the success of the selection process hinged in substantial measure on the care and thoroughness with which such discussions were carried through. And only after they are, do people apply for further study.

Who does? On that subject we had little statistical information. All of the students we met and talked with were from worker or peasant families; all had worked in factory or field, some for as many as seven years. One woman told us that she had been encouraged to apply by the party leadership at her state farm. A translator told us with great emphasis that he would actively discourage his daughter from going into college - there were better ways to serve the people. Such bits fit with other evidence to suggest two vital points: one, that a rapidly increasing proportion of those engaged in post-secondary education are of worker or peasant origins, but that such background - while important - is itself less important than the political practice of each applicant; two, that college training is not regarded as a meritocratic award but as a testing, indeed problematic, form of work for which political reliability - i.e., a proven commitment to serving the people - is indispensable.

We never tired of asking about the standards involved in selecting candidates for college. In Kwangchow, for example, we talked at length with Mr. Ting, a professor of English language at Peking's Foreign Language Institute. He was on his vacation, visiting his students, who were

combining manual labor with language and political study working as waiters, waitresses, floor and cleaning personnel in the hotel at which foreigners stayed. Mr. Ting also worked himself as one of our interpreters during our stay in Kwangchow, in the process of which he could provide support and criticism for younger translators assigned to us. "Didn't an aptitude for language play a role," we asked "in the process of selecting students to attend the Foreign Language Institute?" He was emphatically negative: anyone who wasn't spastic or a stutterer, and who had the desire to learn, could do so. Some were slower, to be sure (as we had occasion to observe). The issue was not the speed with which a student might learn English, but the politics, the values, which informed how a student used what he or she learned. It was not, Mrs. Li was at pains to tell us in Shanghai, that schools in the new China are interested only in politics rather than in intellectual development. But politics, the question of "for whom" one studies and works, are first. Someone who is only academically talented - "expert" but not "red" - could too easily stumble onto the "capitalist



road," the path toward using education for personal gain and fame rather than for serving the people. That path, charted from the Chinese point of view by Soviet intellectuals and technicians, and promulgated in China by Liu Shao-Chi, represents the main danger to the revolution. Thus the issue of what we would call "admissions standards" is no small one.

Indeed it is too large to leave in the hands of admissions exams or academic bureaucrats. Exams might reveal general culture and accumulated knowledge; admissions officers might perceive personality and occasionally talent. But only those with whom an applicant has worked and lived for two or more years can really know whether he or she works with enthusiasm, and care, what a candidate contributes to political study groups, or to mass movements, how (or whether) a person could withstand the temptations to Mandarin behavior potential in university training, what a given student might bring back to a commune. Answers to such questions - based not

(continued next page)

CHINA continued

on some written exams or brief interviews, but on concrete and extended practice - can only be provided, in the Chinese view, by the "masses" at the unit in which a candidate worker lives. Thus after the kind of general discussion described above and after individuals apply, the masses hold discussions about each candidate and decide whether or not to recommend them.

"Those must be pretty heavy meetings," we implied in discussing this process with members of a neighborhood committee in Peking. They seemed rather irritated with our attitudes. You impose on China, they told us, the conditions of your own country. It may be that in the United States admission to college is a prize for which young people are forced to compete. But here it is but one among many forms of work necessary to carry out socialist construction. It is not valued more highly than working in the fields or factories - on the contrary. Nor does it lead to an easier life or finer opportunities. So the question the masses face in recommending a candidate is not to whom a prize should be awarded from which affluence and prestige will flow, but who, in their judgement, is most suitable to carry out a demanding assignment - who to send on a mission of difficulty and even of danger. It is for this reason that understanding what the mission is and is not - the point of the initial discussions - is so important. If that is accomplished the task of selecting those with the highest political consciousness to do the job is relatively easier.

After the "masses recommend," the leadership must "approve." Are there conflicts? we asked. The leadership must do its job properly, was the response, in carrying through the initial discussions about sending people to college. For if the basis of the masses' choice is clear, there should be no insoluble conflicts. Again, an outsider can only imagine the dynamics of this process. But in this post-cultural Revolution period we felt it unlikely that leadership would often, if ever, thwart the will of the masses. It helps, too, that most such decisions seem to be made by those with whom a young person has gone off to work. Thus the usual intrigues of local family connections and the rest are set at some distance.

Finally, the "college must review." Precisely what this might mean has apparently varied. Colleges review, we were told, to insure that the other three steps were fully carried out. They also may test, through examinations, a student's "cultural level." It would appear that such tests are of a "placement" rather than of a "screening" character - they are used so the teachers can tell what if any, preparatory or remedial work a student needs. A controversy over these exams, which erupted in the letters column of the Peking newspapers last year indicates, however, that in some measure "placement" had effectively become "screening," putting students from peasant backgrounds at a disadvantage. That tendency, we

were frequently told, was a problem against which the struggle had to be sustained - it was a hangover of old, "capitalist road" ideas.

It would be naive to imagine that in this process the Chinese have disposed of the variety of problems attendant upon college selection. No doubt, in some places more young people want to go to college than can; no doubt, there is occasional disappointment - though the western press reports of its being widespread don't seem to have much foundation. Obviously, the character of the selection process will vary according to the political sophistication of the "masses" the quality of local leadership, as well as the view of higher education held generally in Chinese society. To the extent that the rewards of life - whether these are defined in terms of self-aggrandizement or opportunities to serve the people - are more fully available to those with higher education as is the case in the U.S. and the Soviet Union, higher education will be a commodity very much contested for. But if a society provides genuine alternative roads, then the great divide isn't who will finish college and who won't - which is still largely the reality here. Rather, the question is who will go to college, who to the PLA (for which people must also apply and be selected), who to frontier regions, who to the Machine Tool Plant; who will stay at the commune, who will learn to be a machinist or a "barefoot doctor" and return. It is equally naive, in short, not to understand that the Chinese intention is to smash the intimate connection between class and educational advantage that prevails here and to substitute a system of equally-valued opportunities for its youth to serve the people.

In a sense it skews one's perspective on Chinese higher education to thus become preoccupied with the politics of admissions. What is studied, and how, are at least as important to the process of developing students both red and expert. The educational process emphasizes teaching people to think politically; to be able to apply knowledge to practical tasks; to integrate intellectual and manual labor. I want next to turn to the implications of these three objectives.

The following correspondence describes one of the groups funded by RESIST. It also exhibits the mechanics of decision-making. We thought our readers might like to know what questions we ask and what factors are taken into consideration in evaluating funding requests. This exchange was with people familiar with our interests, but its structure is fairly representative.

Dear Resist,

The Women's Health Forum (Healthright, Inc.) is a group of about 15 women who are working together with a long term perspective of making profound changes in women's roles and in the health system. Some of us have been active in the Women's Liberation Movement for many years; some are relatively new to political activity. We've been organized as the Women's Health Forum for 16 months, but we are the direct descendants of the Women's Health and Abortion Project (1969) and the Women's Medical Center (1970). While our concern is with the inadequacies and inequities of the present health system, we see the issues of public accountability of the private system, consumer, community and worker participation and control as key areas to work in now. We see our specific role as pushing for consumer input and a strong consumer movement in which women play important roles. We are, of course, working in the wider context of a Women's Health Movement, and consumer activism that has already been effective in 'consciousness raising' on many of these issues.

Specifically, we are asking you for a grant to help us with the typesetting, layout and printing of a Patient Medical Record. (copy included) This is the first of a number of materials designed to help patients develop a consciousness of the problems of the health system and organize themselves on consumer issues. This record raises the issues of quality of care, continuity of care, the patient's right to access to medical information and to participate in medical decisions as well as providing accurate information for diagnosis and a record of neglect, abuse and unnecessary or inadequate treatment. There is tremendous resistance among providers of health services to allow patients access to medical records. It generally requires a subpoena for a patient to find out what happened to her/him. You may be aware how hotly the issue of review of physicians' service is being debated within the medical profession. The right of patients to information such as would appear on this record would be one way of taking the power of review away from the exclusive professional organizations.

Printing this record will do three things for the Women's Health Forum. First, it is a very specific tool that both consumer groups and health workers can use to make demands for improved patient care, while at the same time it exposes rather than patches up the more profound problems. Consumers can demand that health institutions keep these records and give them access to medical information. Workers can push

administrators and doctors to allow patients to keep them. Hence it gives our constituency (patients and workers) specific ideas and specific work.

Second, this record will help us push the idea in the Women's Health Movement that a crucial political function of organized women's groups is to find ways of constantly exposing, publicizing and documenting the ways in which a profit-making health system abuses both private and public patients. It is our belief that if all the service oriented women's groups providing health services or doing referral constantly documented the problems they come in contact with every day, they could become a powerful force in cracking open the private system and fighting for consumer control. We are concerned with giving groups ideas of how this can be done. Obviously, a patient record is not the only answer - it is just one step.

Third, this record will increase the Forum's stock of saleable materials which make enough money to pay our basic expenses. We want this financial base because it will make us somewhat independent of foundation support. Hence it will underpin all our work.



WOMEN'S H
156 fifth ave., suite

HEALTH FORUM

te 1228, new york, n.y. 10010

.....We hope to raise money from private foundations and have prepared a proposal which is now being considered by several of them. However we have been told by some of the Foundation ladies that their boards seldom see women's health as important issues (now that the birth rate has fallen) and that groups that question doctors' roles as much as we do make them nervous. Nonetheless we are optimistic. Our newsletter will be supported by the Our Bodies Ourselves Collective.

At this point, however, we find ourselves caught because we have prepared materials for printing that we know we can distribute, but, largely because of inflation, we can not afford to go ahead with production.....

Dear R.

Your request..... will be taken up at the September meeting.... If you should receive word about foundation support before that time, please let us know.

We think your material is excellent, and are happy to know that you are encouraging women's groups to put pressure on the existing health establishment. There is no reason why alternative service, however necessary it might be, should come exclusively out of the pockets of concerned movement people.....

Dear R.

Your fund request for the Patient's Medical Record was discussed at our September meeting. While there was considerable enthusiasm about the basic program of putting pressure upon the establishment health system, there was also a good deal of uncertainty expressed about how this particular project would be instrumental toward achieving that. People did not see how a private record, kept by a patient would be conducive to improving the quality of health care, not how it would focus the issue of accessibility of information. There was no doubt that patients have such rights - only that your tactic would "take the power of review away from the exclusive professional organizations. Could you be a little more specific on that subject?

There were also some questions regarding the cost of your project. Since you sent us a printed model, it was assumed that you already had printed the form - so it was not clear what you need the money for, and why printing costs should be so high.



cpf

.....if you are still in need of the money and can clarify the political and procedural questions, we would be glad to reconsider your request at our next meeting.

Dear H.

.... You are absolutely right of course that the patient record in and of itself, is not going to make profound changes in anything. On its own it is extremely useful as a consciousness raiser and in developing a sense of patients' rights, this is important.

However we have developed this largely because it is an extremely useful tool for any group engaged in patients' rights work, especially those trying to pressure the established health institutions. In fact, it grew out of our own patient advocacy work around Beth Israel hospital here in New York. When financing policies changed and the hospital started turning patients away from their clinics, they did so without giving them information about the treatment they'd received at the hospital. In a series of protests we demanded that the hospital give the patients summary records and this led us to the idea that patients should have records of all their visits, medications, etc.

The Patient Record is important for consumer advocate groups to focus on because

- (a) it is crucial to good medical care;
- (b) it is a very sensitive issue politically

Hospitals and doctors are very reluctant to commit themselves to paper or open their records to the public. There is too much overtreatment and poor diagnosis going on.

WOMEN continued

Through our literature distribution system and newsletter, we're in touch with hundreds of consumer health groups, women's health groups and individual activists around the country. We and they are constantly looking for ways of extending their work. We think this and subsequent Patient Records will help their work at several levels.

(1) Consumer education/ consciousness raising. Numerous groups are engaged in this and are very successful at a biological/medical level but feel dissatisfied about the way 'politics' is integrated into their classes and counseling sessions. The patient Record provides a clear way of discussing what preventive care should be and the problems and reasons for fragmentation of health services. As you may know much of the education outreach work in the Women's Movement tries to give individuals something concrete to do in their own lives. This record fits into that approach to outreach work. It also can be used as a basis of a group's collecting information.

(2) Service oriented work - (as a means of making informed referrals to existing health institutions.).....

(3) Work inside institutions - In several places there are groups of counselors, nurses and other health workers who are trying to work on patient care issues. They too are looking for concrete demands that are educational and useful to the patients and to themselves. Many workers in 'single issue' institutions like Planned Parenthood are frustrated at their inability to provide comprehensive care for all women's health problems. The record provides an on-going way of talking about those issues.

(4) Consumer advocacy - Most women's health groups spend a part of their energies as consumer advocates in the more established health institutions. As a result of consumer pressure hospitals have conceded some nominal patient's right to information and discussion. As you know though, rapid discussion with a sick or intimidated patient can be useless. We think that written records are essential...

In our group we try to do work that both educates and helps women concretely, but also constantly talks about the politics of the health system, the profits made in the health industry, the inequities that patients face at different institutions, etc. Hence our emphasis on how to choose and use health services, how to judge doctors, clinics, health insurance plans, etc. We try to make demands that will help women but still expose the health system for what it is - we see such demands as 'revolutionary reforms'. The Patient Record issue is something that's worked so well for our group that we want to push the idea further.

I hope this answers your political questions about how the Record could be used. The 6

review of medical practice is something that goes on behind closed doors of professional organizations. Some parts of the government are trying to get in to have a say in policies, but there is very little discussion about consumers rights to a voice in this area. Consumers are going to have to push for it themselves. Since women's groups have already done so much on women's rights to birth control, abortion, obstetric information, and, since feminist consumer groups are so widespread - if not well organized- I think that the Women's Health Movement has considerable potential for raising this patients right issue.

Now, as to costs.... The routine costs we expect to cover out of sales. It is the initial expenditure we have so much trouble with.... I chose this (consumer advocacy work) for a grant application to RESIST... because it is specific and limited, whereas all other costs would be recurring and open ended. I also thought you might be interested in something that would reach much beyond our own group. As I stressed before, we do have the contacts and the distribution mechanism.....

Dear R.

We agreed to grant you \$150 for the initial typesetting of your Patient's Record. The idea was that this should enable you to set it up, and then take it around for additional funding to other sources. If this doesn't work, and you really need more, come back to us, and we'll try to increase the grant.

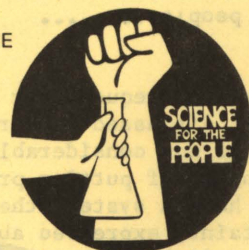
In peace,

FED UP WITH ESTABLISHMENT SCIENCE?

FED UP WITH THE SCIENCE
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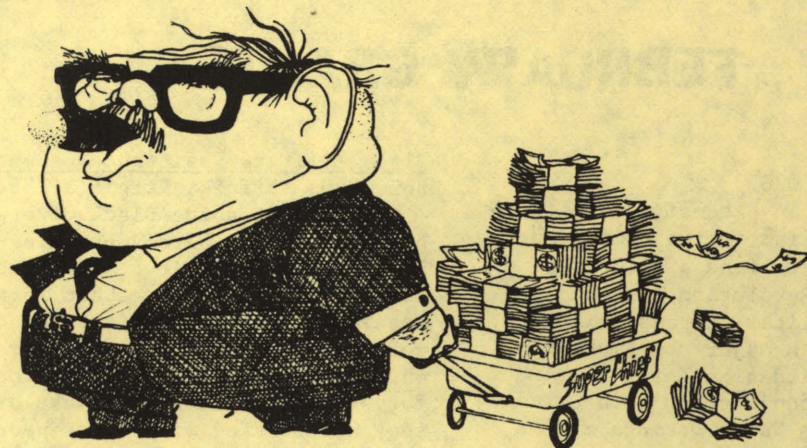
FED UP?



Reading *Science for the People* magazine isn't the answer, of course, but it's a good way to learn of what others are doing about it. *Science for the People* is the bimonthly publication of SESPA/SftP (Scientists and Engineers for Social and Political Action/Science for the People). It analyzes the systematic misuse of science and technology in our society, reports on the activities of scientific and technical workers struggling for political change, and serves as an instrument for increasing our political understanding and development.

SESPA/SftP is composed of scientists, teachers, technicians, engineers, students, and other employed and unemployed people who are challenging the social and economic system which has frustrated their attempts to be socially productive human beings. Read our analysis. Participate in the struggle to transform society and to make science an instrument of liberation.

Write: Science for the People, 9 Walden St., Jamaica Plain, Mass., 02130. Subscriptions are \$12 per year or whatever you can afford.



In this sense they are on a collision course as each advances a system for the complete management of all the essential parts of the empire's economy. Like the state bureaucracies and the great landholding families of the late Roman empire each may calculate with some considerable degree of rationality that the very existence of the other is more a liability than an asset.

What does all of this have to do with inflation, let alone stagnation? The disloyalty of the multi-national corporations to the empire is either the cause or the leading symptom of a pervasive inability of the imperial government to command the resources through patriotism or taxes, the draft or volunteers, compliance with its laws or effective punishment of its defiers, in order to pursue its imperial purposes. Hence, the Nixon doctrine in foreign policy and the initiatives toward the Soviet Union and China; but still more important, the increasing reliance of the state on inflation as the means of financing state expenditures. At the same time, the multi-nationals find themselves cut off from many former state subsidies and they find the state appropriating a larger and larger share of the total available pool of resources. Moreover, they respond by resorting to inflationary finance of their own in order to increase their command over the empire's economic resources. These efforts tend to be self-defeating. They produce a multiplication of new competitors for power within each camp and a general standoff between the two camps. The secular inflationary consequences are quite apparent.

It is also possible to see the growing autocracy of the state as the natural outcome of its failure to confine its activity to serving the legitimate interests of any of its subjects and its corresponding inability to command their loyalty. Similarly, an analogous interpretation can be made of the growing autocracy of the largest multi-national corporations vis-a-vis the state, their own shareowners or any other outside interest group.

Stagnation is not so clearly in the picture as inflation. Still, to the extent that multi-national corporations and state bureaucracies compete within and between their camps to provide duplicate planning systems for the empire's economy a certain amount of additional inefficiency is generated. Moreover, to the extent that these major economic interest groups devote an important share of their energy to warring with each other, a corresponding amount of economic resources is diverted from productive employment.

In lieu of a summary of these analytical meanderings, I offer my future detractors some predictions which seem to me to follow from the foregoing considerations. First, the present inflation will end with a sharp deflationary, credit liquidating, empire-wide economic contraction. Most likely it has already begun; but, it could conceivably be staved off for another two to four years. A consequence of these events will be to further concentrate political and economic power in the hands of the already largest and most powerful private and government bureaucracies at the expense of their lesser competitors and everyone else. Second, there will be yet another super investment cycle, and it will be characterized by technological innovations in the service and state service areas analogous to the revolutionary applications which have already been made of computer and communications technology to the banking industry. Third, inflation will reappear throughout the empire sooner and stronger than one would expect from the past economic history of capitalism. Fourth, real per capita economic growth throughout the empire will be lower for the next half century than the 1-1/2 to 2% annual range which has prevailed over the last two centuries or more. Fifth, the future life of the empire's political economy will be disturbed by increasingly frequent and severe battles among and between competing state and private centers of power. Sixth, this will reinforce the already evident tendency for the political economy of the empire to grow increasingly volatile and unpredictable in the short run.

FEBRUARY GRANTS

Dominican Working Group

Box 450, Stoughton, Mass. 02072

They are involved in an extensive educational campaign on US imperialism in the Dominican Republic. This grant was to fund a slide tape about the 1965 Dominican Revolution and the intervention of the US military forces. The slide tape is one part of a major commemoration and mobilization that includes an April 26 march in NYC, planned in conjunction with a similar type of program in Santo Domingo at about the same time.

Black Military Resistance League

Box 6289, Norfolk, Virginia 23508

They are doing Black GI organizing and have built up a base among Black GIs and in the local Black community. They publish a paper and most recently have been involved with leading a campaign against the death penalty, working on the "anti-Springboard" campaign, which are military maneuvers that train NATO forces for invasions and take overs, also they are working with other people to organize support committees for the Zimbabwe African National Union.

RESIST SPEAKERS

We repeat here, with additions, the Speakers Bureau from the December Newsletter. There we noted that as part of our expanding fund-raising operations RESIST was re-forming its Speakers Bureau and that for a fee--all of which will find its way back to us--plus travel expenses, the following RESIST people were available to speak on or do the following:

Noam Chomsky:

Vietnam; The Middle East; etc.

Doug Dowd:

The Current Economic Crisis

Florence Howe:

Women and Literature

Frank Joyce:

Marxist-Leninist Interpretations of the '60's

Louis Kampf:

Sports and American Society

Hans Koning:

In Defense of Socialist Realism

Paul Lauter:

Education in China (with a slide show)

Jonathan Mirsky:

Southeast Asia (with slides)

Wayne O'Neil

The Language of Politics; Radical Education

Grace Paley:

Reading from her fiction

Hank Rosemont:

Vietnam; China; Faculty Organizing

Larry Thomas:

The Struggle for Puerto Rican Independence

Robert Zevin:

The American Economy; Inflation; Depression

Arrangements for the speakers can be made through the RESIST office. Note that Chomsky, O'Neil, Thomas, and Zevin are located in Boston; Howe, Koning, Lauter, and Paley are in the Greater New York area; Kampf and Rosemont are variously in Boston and New York; Dowd is in the Bay area; Joyce in Detroit; and Mirsky in Hanover, New Hampshire. However, it is sometimes possible to tie into other travel plans that the speakers may have. Contact us and we will work things out. **8**

The Friends Of Haiti

P.O. Box 348, New City, NY 10956

Friends of Haiti is a group of Haitians and North Americans working in conjunction with the island based Movement Haitien de Liberation. Their focus of activity is to organize Haitian and US citizens to oppose the support given by the US government to the Duvalier dictatorship. This grant is to pay for copies of the film they made about Haitian refugees and existing conditions in Haiti.

Vietnam Resource Center

76a. Pleasant Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02139

Through its monthly publication, *Thoi Bao Ga*, the center brings news and analysis of events in Viet Nam and US policy developments in Indochina. Their paper is distributed to Congressmen in conjunction with intense lobbying efforts against legislation that aids Thieu. They were given use of our mailing list to expand their readership and raise money.

RESUBSCRIBE

THIS IS OUR THIRD AND LAST RESUBSCRIPTION NOTICE. ENCLOSED YOU WILL FIND A RETURN ENVELOPE THAT YOU MUST RETURN TO US IF YOU WISH TO CONTINUE RECEIVING THE RESIST NEWSLETTER. SINCE IT COSTS US ABOUT \$5 A YEAR TO PRINT AND MAIL YOU THE NEWSLETTER, PLEASE ENCLOSE \$5 IN THE RETURN ENVELOPE--IF YOU CAN.

IF YOU CAN'T, ENCLOSE WHATEVER YOU CAN--EVEN NOTHING IF THAT'S YOUR CONDITION. AND/OR BECOME A Resist PLEDGE (SEE "A PLEDGE TO RESIST", NEWSLETTER #88) AND RECEIVE A SUBSCRIPTION TO THE NEWSLETTER FOR THE DURATION OF YOUR PLEDGE ACTIVITY.

IN ANY CASE REMEMBER THAT you must return the enclosed envelope IN ORDER TO CONTINUE YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

IN STRUGGLE,

The Resist Staff