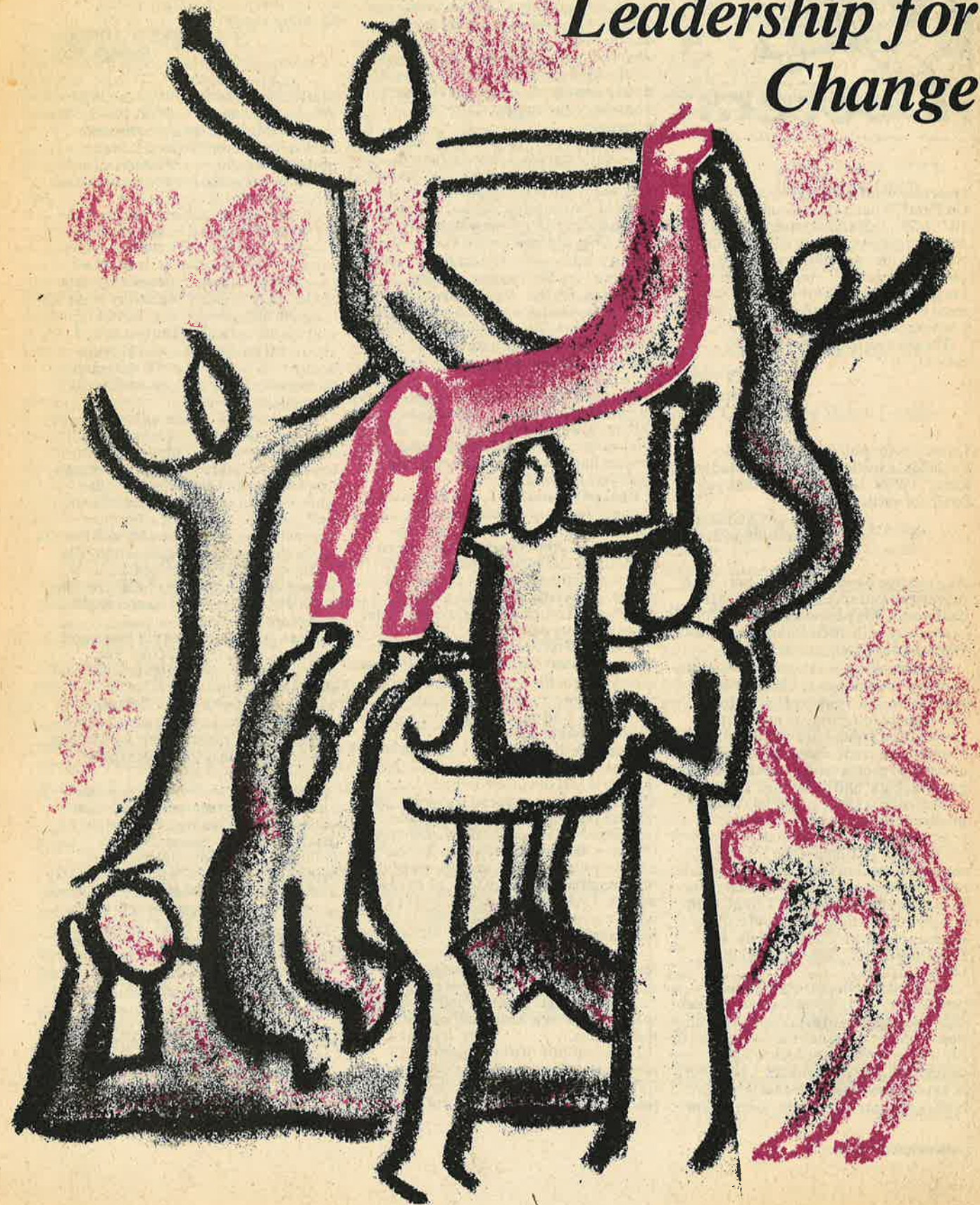


# WIN

PEACE & FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

November 2, 1978/40¢

## *Leadership for Change*





I just now went back and read "Who's On First? What's On Second?" (WIN, 10/12/78), and was stunned. Marty Jezer is right—building alliances and coalitions among fellow movement members, radicals, etc., is fine. But if we are going to "change the world," we must concentrate on the "outside." That is where the untapped potential lies.

Thanks again for the great publication!

—JAY WEST  
Charlotte, N.C.

Thank you for publishing David McReynolds' excellent review of "Madam Rosa," (WIN, 10/5/78) and thank you David for writing it.

—JOE GERSON  
Cambridge, Mass.

As a relative newcomer to the anti-nuke movement I attended the Critical Mass conference this past weekend in DC. I came away with distinct impressions I could not have forecast on Friday.

It was exciting to see and hear so many people whose expressed intent was to stop the nuclearization of the Earth. It was equally rewarding to meet with people from around the world and country who could share their experiences with protest and dissent, and the governments' and industries' responses.

Everyone seemed genuinely intent, involved and concerned. They also seemed frightened, worn out, and none too hopeful. At times while I listened to workshop leaders I felt I could have been at any ultra-conservative rally listening to the warnings of the Red Threat, of the dangers of flouride. The standard scare phrases of Joe McCarthy, Nazis, and fascism were all raised in emotional tones.

I believe that the centralization of power inherent in nuclear power generation is dangerous to everyone's civil liberties. I believe the potential destruction to life is greater than any technology yet developed. I refuse to believe, however, in evil. Evil is not a force that inhabits the bodies of human beings in government.

Evil is not a force that inhabits the spirit of human beings in industry. Evil is our fear of the unknown, the fear of death, the fear of powerlessness.

I raise the question of evil because it was apparent the entire weekend that 'out there' somewhere evil was lurking, waiting to strike. Whether it wore the black shroud of death as it appeared on countless pamphlets, or it was visions of the skeleton-evoked apocalypse, or it was the landlord capitalist. No matter what the representation, it was always out there, always vicious and inhuman, always imminent. And out of our fears, we arose as the self-proclaimed crusaders.

At first I found it distressing. But then, quite frankly, I found it boring.

I cannot claim to have had contact with even one tenth of the almost 800 participants at the conference, but I was somewhat saddened by those whom I did meet. They seemed worn out, not to be caring for themselves or each other. Not allowing time for fun or sharing of successes. On the rare moments when success was announced and good stories told, faces brightened, laughter or relief rolled from thirsty throats and the hope that we might win was sparked in our eyes.

The fact that the weekend happened at all, and that it drew so many of us together should have been great cause for celebration. But to this observer the despair hung over the conference like, shall I say, a cloud.

I looked around and found a sprinkling of minority group members in attendance. Except Nicky Perlas from the Philippines, who constantly impressed me with his calling our attention to the international consequences of nuclear power, especially in the Third World, there wasn't much vocal expression from these minority peoples.

In the all white, all-too-brief Southern Caucus I raised the point that we all need to be aware of the use of classism and racism in the efforts to discredit our movement, and our need to face these attitudes within ourselves.

I feel safe in saying that a good 80% of the people who participated in this conference were convinced of the necessity of restructuring our social, economic and political systems before nuclear power became a hot issue. I think its attraction for many has been its apparently clear catastrophic potential, and the use of this potential as a tool of fear, as an easy means of selecting an enemy, and as a nightmarish scenario around which to build a mass movement.

The notable exceptions to this rule of fear include the successful campaign against CWIP in Missouri based on rational intelligence and trusting people to think with their heads and not with their hearts.

I will continue to work against the irrationality of nuclear technology, but I will work harder on overcoming our own fears, prejudices and feelings of being

the underdog that can only bring failure to all of our good intentions.

I arrived home after typing this letter in the afternoon to find the latest issue of WIN with the superb article by Marty Jezer (WIN, 10/12/78). I have just completed reading it and strongly support his contentions. Marty writes in a very clear, flowing and understandable manner that points out faults while offending no one.

—JEFFREY W. LONDON  
Raleigh, N.C.

Marty Jezer's article, "Who's On First? What's On Second?" (WIN, 10/12/78) is the best thing written about the anti-nuclear movement to date! It is a comprehensive political and historical approach to the symptomatic problems we refuse to confront.

I helped organize and participated in the August 6th direct action at Diablo Canyon. During the action I had a deep sense of discouragement. It felt like a parade. Four hundred people festively out to "Stop Diablo." But every person I talked to in that town (San Luis Obispo) said the same thing: "I'm concerned about that nuke too, but you kids are doing it the wrong way." We alienated the community by our very tool: civil disobedience.

And now the Abalone Alliance is in the throes of controversy because people want to "do it again" (this-time-with-ten-times-as-many). The group refuses to acknowledge its political myopia; while we struggle to keep afloat financially, we repeatedly put aside our internal political structure (or lack thereof) for the pressure of mass action. The Abalone is so blind in its dedication to mass nonviolent civil disobedience that it can't see where it's obsolete, or at least inappropriate.

Mass demonstrations put (our) force against (their) force. But that's all wrong. Our true power lies in individual strength and commitment, not in battling along with 400 or 4000 other people. Not that numbers aren't significant. But if the power is only in numbers then we are a weak lot. It takes only separation to destroy us.

The problem with the anti-nuclear movement is a symptom of American society. We are taking a tradition, civil disobedience, a concept rooted in philosophy and contemplation, and using only the idea. It's incomplete, only a veneer. There's always been an attraction to things anti-social or anti-establishment. And a tendency to only go skin-deep. As Jezer points out, without the political and historical perspective, that is, without a clear sense of the entire system involved, we will either arrive at the wrong strategy or only go so far.

The answer is to create an effectively politicized community. To engage individuals through a sense of their own empowerment to take control over their lives. Mahatma Gandhi wrote: "Swaraj (the rule of all people, the rule of justice)

is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority."

Many thanks to Marty Jezer for sharing his perhaps unpopular perceptions. Not a meeting should continue until everyone has read his piece!

—DEENA HURWITZ  
Santa Cruz, Calif.

This letter is addressed to people who are active in the Mobilization for Survival. I'm not opposed to demonstrations in Washington DC. I'm not opposed to demonstrations involving thousands of people because demonstrations such as these are empowering to people. What I am opposed to is demonstrations which are called "national demonstrations."

A national demonstration by its very nature consumes scarce local resources. If we call for a national demonstration and only a few people attend, it would be classified as a failure. Therefore a national demonstration puts a lot of pressure on people to make it a success and this is done while local activities are neglected. Local actions and a national action are not mutually exclusive but resources committed to one will not be available for the other.

We are all working against the clock to prevent the bombs from being used. Since time is at a premium I think we need to decide where to focus our energy. In Washington we have people, who are interested in controlling us, appropriating money to build more weapons. Throughout the country we

Dear Friends,

WIN Magazine is in trouble. Not with the police, the FBI, CIA, or various right wing reactionaries, but with money. That's right, that old bugaboo, money...the stuff that the staff uses to buy food, pay rent, and now and then to buy a new T-shirt or underwear.

The WIN staff is grievously behind in salaries, since the printer, the post office, and (gasp!) even the tax man get theirs first and there's not enough left over to pay the people who do the work.

The work of WIN Magazine...it's the peace movement's source for news...not so much news of the world, but news of us, of our movement, of our demonstrations, programs, analyses, lifestyles, and successes. The work of WIN Magazine keeps us strong, and more importantly, keeps us creatively in touch.

How often have you heard, "Did you see in WIN...?" or "WIN has this article..." or "According to WIN..." This is a sign of influence— influence that comes of competence, dedication, and significance.

When I ran a small weekly newspaper in the wilds of New Jersey, we often used stories from WIN as a source of information genuinely relevant to our readers. Not radicals, political sophisticates, or counterculturists...but farmers, working people, small merchants. It's WIN and not Newsweek that tells what is really happening to them, who is really doing what to whom, and what we are doing back.

The work of WIN Magazine has been to support our movement. It is the work of our movement to support WIN. Without it, we'll all lose. So please respond to the fund appeal you just received.

Peace,  
Van Zwisohn  
WIN Editorial Board

have people making a living by building these weapons.

Is it easier to stop money from being appropriated for weapons or to convince people to stop building them? In most cases the people building these weapons only do so for economic reasons while the administrators who fund these weapons programs do so out of a desire to control the world. I believe it would be easier to convince people to stop building these weapons than to convince the government to end their funding.

If you look at our Mobilization conference (WIN, 10/5/78), it was the unions who came and said "We don't want to build these things." No member of the present administration came to tell us that they do not want to fund weapons programs. Daniel Ellsberg had indicated that the presence of demonstrators influenced him in his decision to leave the government. What I want to know is why I did not receive the same support when I was building nuclear weapons at Bendix. Why was everyone always gone to national demonstrations?

I think we should look closely at our opposition, the government, the military, and the multinationals. They are centralized and there is no way we can match their concentration of power and we should not try. We should not centralize ourselves because it is not a good strategy to get into a rooting contest with a pig. Instead we should be working to promote community control and thus bring power to the people.

—PAUL SCHAEFER  
Kansas City, Mo.



Nov. 2, 1978/Vol. XIV, No. 37

4. Leadership for Change/Bruce Kokopeli and George Lakey

15. Democratic Left Plots Response to Right Wing Advance/Jack Clark

17. Changes

20. Reviews/Ray Olson, David McReynolds

Cover: Drawing by Susan Beadle

#### STAFF

Susan Beadle • Patrick Lacefield  
Michael Lardner • Lauri Lowell  
Murray Rosenblith

503 Atlantic Ave. /5th floor  
Brooklyn, NY 11217  
Telephone: (212) 624-8337, 624-8595

#### UNINDICTED CO-CONSPIRATORS

Sandra Adickes • Peg Averill • Jan Barry • Lance Belville • Karl Bissinger • Maris Cakars • Susan Cakars • Sybil Claiborne • Jerry Coffin • Lynne Shatzkin Coffin • Ann Morrissett Davidson • Ruth Dear • Ralph DiGia • William Douthard • W.D. Ehrhart • Robert Ellsberg • Dwight Ernest • Ruthann Evanoff • Chuck Fager • Jim Forest • Larry Gara • Ed Hedemann • Grace Hedemann • Marty Jezer • Paul Johnson • John Kyper • Elliot Linzer • Jackson MacLow • David McReynolds • Mary Mayo • David Morris • Mark Morris • Jim Peck • Susan Pines • Igal Roodenko • Vicki Rovere • Charlie Scheiner • Wendy Schwartz • Craig Simpson • Martha Thomases • Art Waskow • Susan Wilkins • Beverly Woodward • Van Zwisohn

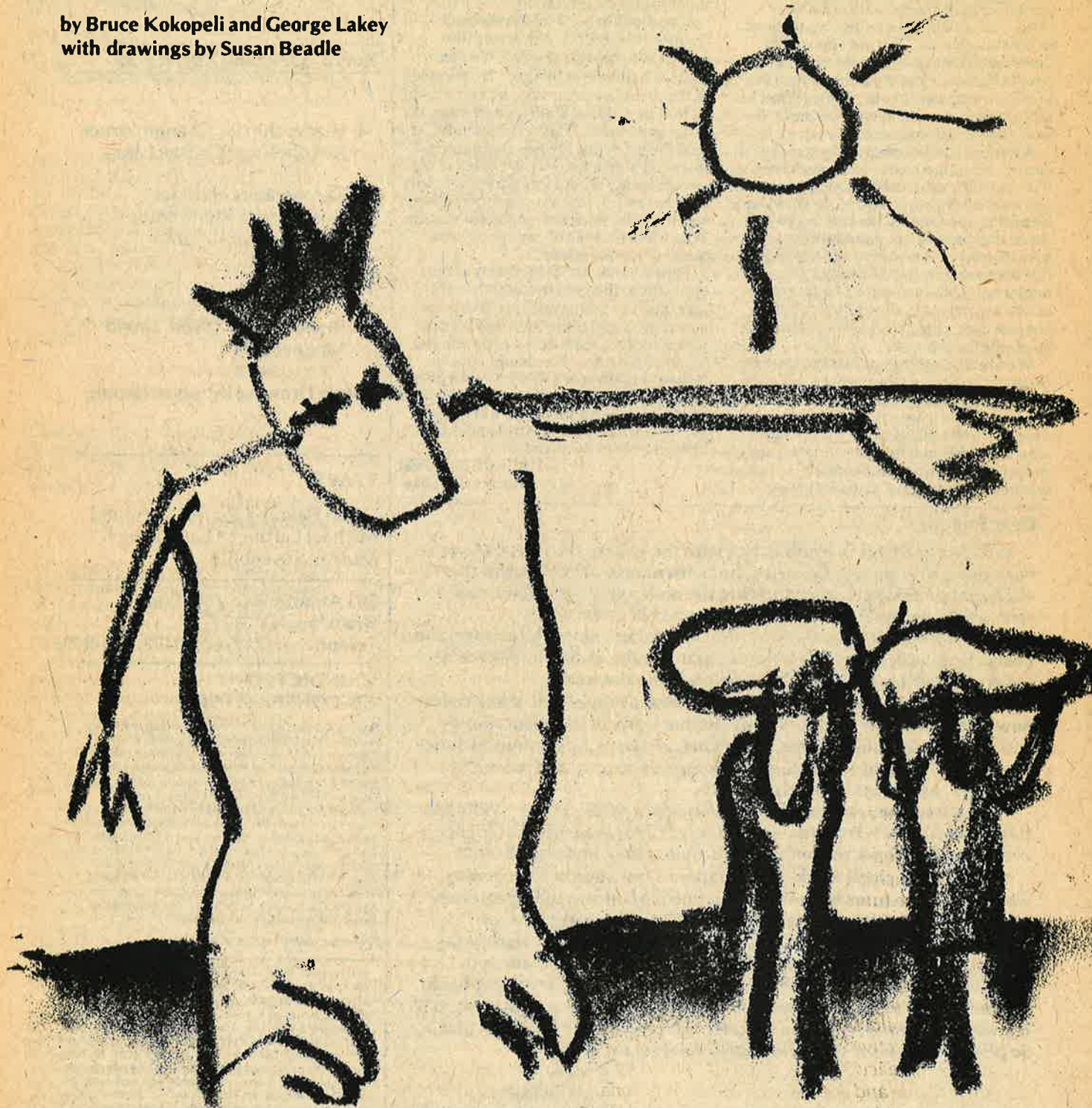
\*Member of WIN editorial board

WIN is published every Thursday except for the first week in January, the fourth week in March, the second week in June, the last two weeks in August, the first two weeks in September and the last week in December by W.I.N. Magazine, Inc. with the support of the War Resisters League. Subscriptions are \$15 per year. Second class postage paid at New York, NY 10001 and additional mailing offices. Individual writers are responsible for opinions expressed and accuracy of facts given. Sorry—manuscripts cannot be returned unless accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Printed in USA

# LEADERSHIP FOR CHANGE

by Bruce Kokopeli and George Lakey  
with drawings by Susan Beadle



## INTRODUCTION

*WIN offers this analysis of shared leadership in the hope that it will promote discussion and change within the nonviolent Left. Bruce Kokopeli and George Lakey have studied the problem and put together this guide to effectuate nonhierarchical and nonsexist modes of leadership.*

*We particularly encourage reader response on this pressing issue; an exchange of your thoughts and experiences will further develop this frontier within the social change movement.*

## LEADERSHIP AND LEADERS: WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?

**I**t was quite an occasion. The eminent leader of a social change group in another country was visiting us, sharing ideas from his storehouse of experience. Just before he departed he took aside one of the older members of our organization and offered some advice: "This group needs a strong leader. You are the man to do the job."

Our member argued in vain that we were trying a different style, both collective and egalitarian; we thought that leadership consists of a variety of functions which can be shared and there is no need to lump those functions together in one person called "the leader." The visitor would hear none of it. Back home, he said, the organization holds

*Bruce Kokopeli was a founder of the Seattle Men's Resource Center and is a member of the Wildwood Carpentry Collective and of Toolbox, a nonviolent training collective in Seattle. George Lakey is Lecturer in Peace Science at the University of Pennsylvania and active in the Movement for a New Society. He wrote Strategy for a Living Revolution.*

together because he leads it well. Every organization needs a leader.

Even among people dedicated to radical social change, there are large differences about what leadership could and should mean. We have been bruised by power-hungry leaders and inspired by leaders who evoked our trust. We are sometimes intimidated by the leadership of others and uncertain about our own capacity for leadership. It's easier to be confused or angry about the question of leadership than to be clear about it.

Fortunately, today's historical situation allows us to do fresh thinking on this question. We do not have to resign ourselves to yesterday's conclusions. Feminist writers, social scientists and movement experimenters are all pointing to new possibilities. The feminist perspective shows how old leadership models are intertwined with the continuation of patriarchy. By patriarchy we mean a social structure in which women are dominated and gayness is suppressed. It is not the only domination structure (class, race, age are others), but it is an important one. It deeply influences both the culture as a whole and each of us individually through unequal opportunities, rewards, and punishments and the internalization of sex role expectations.

## Patriarchal Leadership

Patriarchal leadership means the final responsibility is vested in one person: "The buck stops here." However much delegation of authority there is, the ultimate power rests with the person at the top. The organizational structure looks like a pyramid and the preoccupation is control. Sometimes there is rebellion and we realize that all along the actual power is in the people and their compliance. However, as long as people are following the rules of the status quo, control flows down from the leader at the top.

The blatant form of patriarchal leadership is authoritarianism. (Here, as elsewhere in this arti-

cle, we use the analytical method of "ideal types." No situation is exactly like any of the types described here—the types are abstractions, models drawn from the complexity of everyday reality in order to clarify what is going on.) The leader controls through threats as well as ability to perform leadership functions. The threats may range from physical intimidation to threats to resign and leave the group without its leadership needs being met. The leader can face down challenges to his leadership in personal confrontations if need be ("his" because the authoritarian leader is traditionally a man). He embodies such masculine characteristics as toughness and aggressiveness, and must not reveal any feminine characteristics he may have. An example of this kind of leader is Richard Nixon, who reportedly begged Henry Kissinger not to let anyone know that he once cried.

Domination as a leadership style is fading in many places. Although still glorified in the army and criminal gangs, dominating leaders are being replaced in some places by people who reject intimidation and instead seek to win the confidence of the group. They are still at the tops of pyramids and still control their organizations, but they are nice instead of overpowering. This alternative style we call *paternalism*.

On television we watched the paternalist in "Father Knows Best"—a nice, likeable man who is skillful in solving problems but doesn't share the skills or assume that anyone else can exercise them as well as he does. The paternalist includes the feminine characteristic of nurturance in his role; he cares. In fact he constantly does good for others; he visibly puts enormous energy into filling the leadership functions a group needs, and he wins their respect—and their dependency—by his devotion to their needs at his own expense.

(Increasingly, women are getting to play the top leader role in organizations, and they sometimes adopt the "paternalist" style. We'll continue to use "he" though, because paternalism is a characteristically male accommodation to challenges to patriarchy. The feminist response which many women are making is described below.)

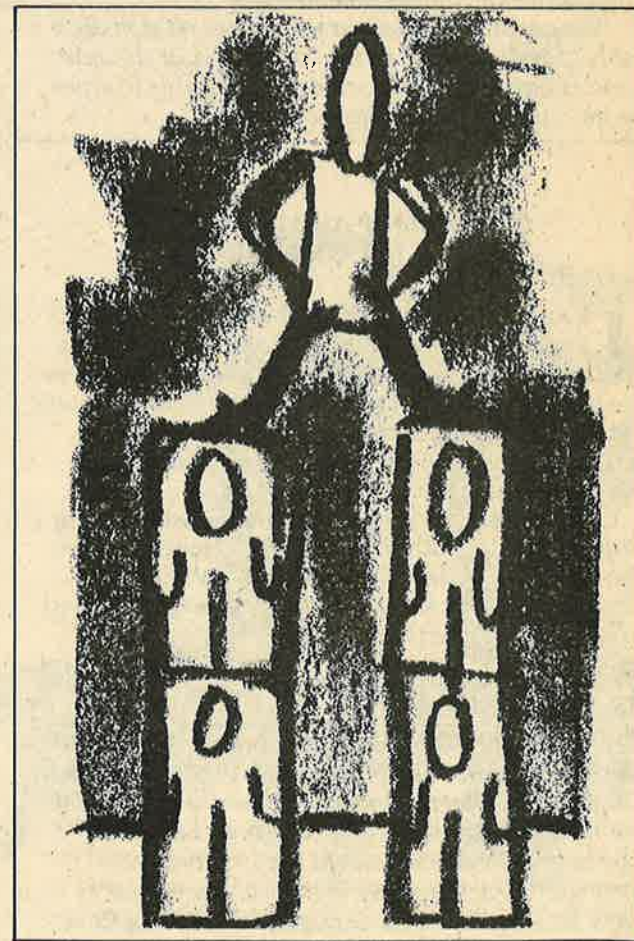
Some institutions strongly encourage paternalism for their leadership style: churches, social work agencies, the modern nuclear family. The institutions expect their leaders to be in control, but to exercise their authority through helping others and being good for them.

The actual means of exerting power becomes quite subtle. The leader does so much that he piles up indebtedness in his followers; not only are the leadership functions being met, but also with such caring and self-sacrifice! Would the rest of us want to work such long hours, take on such responsibility, be subject to the strain of recurring crises? We should be grateful for this devotion, and know that our small part of the work should be done well lest he notice and be disappointed.

The tension inside paternalist-style leaders is, of course, enormous. One source is the "nice guy" image to be cultivated while maintaining power, including the power to hire and fire in staff-type organizations. A lot of messiness in personnel matters (in movement organizations, as well), is related to the ambivalence of the leader—how to fire without appearing ruthless?

Another source of tension for the paternalist leader is between personal needs for self-realization and the requirements of maintaining power through being good for others. The blatant style of patriarchal leadership, authoritarianism, exercises control *directly* on the group, and may leave considerable energy left for personal wants. The paternalist controls others *indirectly*, by controlling himself and maintaining a "doing for others" posture. The classic example is the Roman Catholic priest, who gives up many roads to personal satisfaction in order to be visibly available for other's needs. And, not surprisingly, in the Roman Catholic church we easily find rigidities of control and a stout defense of patriarchy by religious leaders.

The poignant moment for the paternalist leader is when he feels his loneliness and looks in vain for the gratitude which is surely owed him. His followers, it often turns out, are also ambivalent. They are grateful in one sense, but they are also resentful of the dependency of their position. They



feel at some level the deprivation of their own rightful power as human beings, and they sometimes focus that anger on the leader without seeing the structure which has them all boxed in. Open revolt may come with the anger or, alternatively, a sullen inefficiency which drives the leader to frustration: "How can they fail to do what they said they'd do, after all I've done for them?"

Paternalism is a big step forward from authoritarianism towards humanizing leadership, but both authoritarianism and paternalism maintain the power of the group firmly in their leader's grasp. The authoritarian leader doesn't care if he is meeting the basic needs of the group. The paternalist leader cares, but group members find it very difficult to make needed changes against his will without rebelling against him.

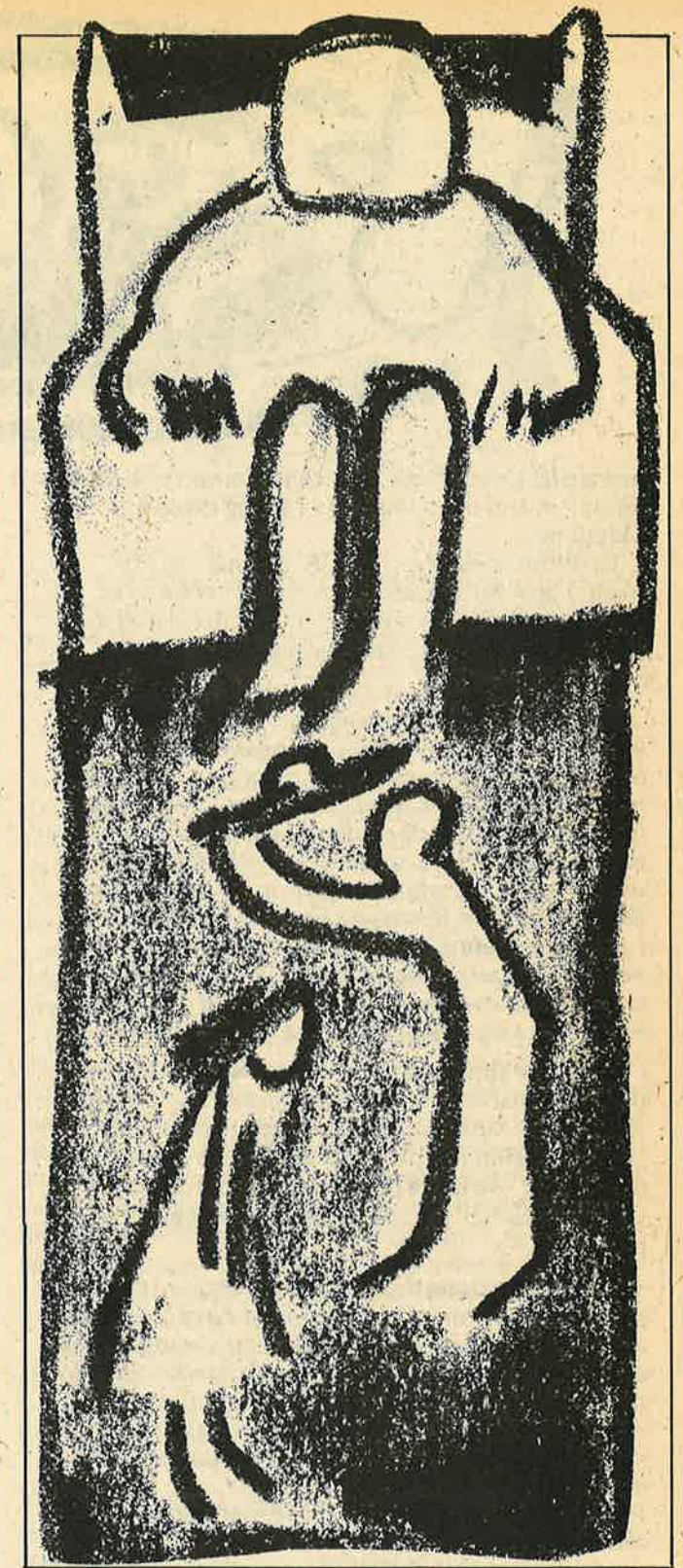
#### Reactions to Patriarchal Leadership

Because we have all experienced these styles of leadership, and they have failed to meet our needs time and again, we have wanted to rebel. We have found that our disdain for Richard Nixon echoes our disdain for the teachers, bosses, and parents who have also been unresponsive to our needs.

Our strong personal feelings about the old styles of leadership have welcomed thought-out criticisms. Our anger has coincided with our analysis. Having experienced the worst forms of leadership, many of us in the movement declared leadership to be bankrupt. We attempted to form and run "leaderless" groups. The groups often fell apart quickly; where they held together it was because leadership was in fact exerted, but in a hidden way so that no one knew quite what was happening.

We didn't see the very crucial difference between leaders and leadership: between the role and the functions. We denied the *role* of leader, but didn't have an alternative structure that dealt with the *functions* of leadership. This difference is important because groups, organizations and societies *do need leadership*, but they *do not need leaders!* They need the functions to be filled, but not by one (or a few) leader(s).

Leaders who are threatened will often use this confusion, unknowingly, to keep their position of power. The argument is that the group needs leadership, the leader is providing that leadership, and so the group needs the leader. In a workshop that one of the authors attended, the workshop leader actually began to storm out of the workshop when the group didn't accept his agenda. He told the group that if they didn't want to do what he'd planned, then he would leave and they could do what they wanted. Because most of the leadership functions had been placed in this leader, his offer was a choice between accepting his authority as leader or being faced with a group workshop without leadership. The functions of leadership and the role of leader weren't separated in this case, and so there was really no choice at all—because a group cannot function without leadership.



#### Feminist Reactions to Patriarchal Leadership

The feminists saw in sexist organization the degradation and powerlessness of women. They recognized the lack of attention to feelings and nurturance in male-led organizations; at the same time they expressed newfound pride in some feminine qualities which patriarchy held in contempt. The



morale function of nurturance was emphasized by feminism and consciousness-raising groups blossomed.

Consciousness-raising (CR) groups were explicitly devoted to their members. There was no outside task to accomplish. The group existed for support and growth. As Charlotte Bunch points out,

... The original groups in women's liberation which were primarily small consciousness raising groups of five to 15 people, started in reaction to both the male Left and the male establishment; the kinds of leadership, the kinds of elite, the kinds of power of particular individuals that went with all that were what we saw as male forms, the male structures of leadership. Our desire was to avoid those structures, to somehow build a new kind of movement, a new kind of participation, participatory democracy—whatever word you want to call it. ("What Future for Leadership?" *Quest*, Spring 1976, p. 3)

But, over time, the women's movement found that the consciousness-raising group's sole emphasis on nurturance could not challenge patriarchy. "In the beginning, people didn't see the women's movement as a large political force for the future," Charlotte Bunch recalls. After some CR group experiences,

... We began to see that the movement was political, we also began to face the question of structure and leadership. We saw that it wasn't going to take a few months of figuring out how to handle our relationships or situations in a particular job, but the next 50 years of our lives in struggle against society's oppression of women. We started thinking about what ought to be the structures, the forms of organization, and the leadership to guide that struggle. (Same *Quest* article)

The failure of the CR groups to fill needed functions for the women's movement gave cause to rethinking. Flipping back into patriarchal leadership structures, with their "no leaders means no leadership" rationale, has been a temptation. Some resisted that pressure by hanging on to the "we have no leaders" alternative. But that has not worked either.

The movement needs structures that realize the difference between leaders and leadership. We need feminist leadership strong enough to wage the struggle, and human enough to make worth it when we succeed.

### WHAT DOES SHARED LEADERSHIP LOOK LIKE?

#### Shared Leadership—A New Model

If authoritarian and paternalist patriarchal leadership forms are inadequate for a liberation movement, and the anti-leadership reaction prevents dynamic and effective action, where shall we turn? We need a vision of what leadership could be.

Women's consciousness is evolving a perspective on leadership which excites us. It resonates in our own experiences of quality leadership and is supported by social science theory.

Jackie St. Joan in the *Quest* issue on leadership describes this evolving leadership model. She follows writer Joanna Russ in pointing out that in women's science fiction, heroes are often groups of women; in other stories, the hero in one group may be on the periphery of another group. In the lesbian feminist novels of June Arnold, the consciousness and integrated efforts of the group is the powerful force, although one or two women may take leadership in a specific situation. ("Who Was Rembrandt's Mother?" *Quest*, Spring, 1976, pp. 73-74)

Jackie St. Joan goes on to say:

These concepts suggest a pattern of leadership far different from men's, in which the group focuses on the leader in the center, with him and his constituents fortifying their egos back and forth. The expectation is that he is the leader now, and always and everywhere will be the leader....

Women's organic (i.e. not contaminated by male systems) ways of leading may be a kind of "shifting leadership" which does not expect a leader to always and everywhere perform that function.

We call this view of leadership "shared" to emphasize the equal stake members of the group see themselves as having in achieving group goals and maintaining group morale. Jackie St. Joan describes the power implications:

Although it is important that women recognize that we do not have equal abilities (we are not all the same), leadership among women implies, perhaps for the first time, a possibility of a relationship among political equals. (Same *Quest* article)

#### Social Science—A Parallel Development

Over the past century, social scientists have developed, then discarded or refined, several theories of what leadership is. We have found a lot of similarities between the experiences and thinking of the feminist movement and these leadership theories. The social scientists lack a feminist analysis, but they do provide much useful information regarding what leadership is.

Social scientists' early theories focussed mainly on the role of leader. A leader was someone with the needed authority to move a group forward. Sigmund Freud, for example, saw the authority coming from the need for a father-figure even for adults. Never able to escape dependency completely, most adults would go from father to father, projecting on him their need for love and direction. A group or organization, therefore, gained its solidarity from the common allegiance of its members to the leader. (*Group Psychology and the Analysis of Ego*.)

One of the newer theories has an interesting parallel with what feminist women and other movement people have gone through. Experimental groups were assigned tasks and given leaders who used three different styles: authoritarian, laissez-faire, and democratic. The groups with the leaders who the experimenters called "democratic" were in general most effective in getting the task completed and also had highest morale. These experiments remind us of the progression in the movement from patriarchal forms (authoritarian) to leaderless efforts (laissez-faire) to the still emerging concept of shared or feminist leadership (democratic). While this view of leadership is very popular among progressive people, it leaves wide open the possibility of paternalism.

Most people today are still influenced by theories which focus attention on the leader. New theories, however, have changed the emphasis, in order to keep pace with new knowledge about organizational behavior. Many people have not kept up with the social scientists, so we have a situation primed for confusion. It is as if most people still believe that the world is flat while others believe it is round.

Most recently, social theory is supportive to the emerging feminist perspective because it switches the emphasis completely from different ways of looking at leaders to examining the functions of leadership. This functional view clearly sees leadership as the use of power, or influence, within a group to help it achieve its goals:

With a group, when two or more members who depend on one another to reach the group's goals influence one another, leadership exists. The pro-

cess of leadership is an influence relationship occurring among mutually dependent group members. Because all group members will at times influence other members, each group member will at times exert leadership. From this definition it may be seen that a difference exists between being a designated leader of a group (such as chairperson) and engaging in leadership behavior within a group (such as influencing other members to make the next meeting a wine and cheese tasting party). Leadership implies that one person is influencing other group members; a designated leader implies that one person is in charge of the group and has been given the authority to exert leadership within it. (David W. Johnson and Frank P. Johnson, *Joining Together: Group Theory and Group Skills*, pp. 17-18)

This interpretation of leadership is helpful to us as social change activists. Our efforts to equalize power in society and in groups can be strengthened by using this theory to equalize the powers of leadership. If all of us can exercise leadership, then we will all take more responsibility for the group. This strengthens the group through democratizing it.

"Democratic decision-making" is not enough. Decision-making is an inflexible exercise of power after the terms are set; the structure designates who can make what decisions under what circumstances. Leadership, on the other hand, is a flexible use of power to influence other group members, thereby formulating the terms in which the decision is made. In addition to democratic decision-making, therefore, we need democratic—or shared—leadership.

It could be argued that accountability of leaders is sufficient; as long as we can replace an ineffective or corrupt leader, why worry? The difficulty is that people who use power usually seek and gain more power. Those who only occasionally exercise power usually lose their sense of powerlessness (and their genuine influence). A classic example of this is the American people. Adults have the decision-making power to vote, but a decreasing number use that power; the sense of powerlessness in this country is pervasive.

Research on groups supports our conclusion about the impact of leadership structure on other aspects of group life. In the standard text in the field, Cartwright and Zander summarize the findings of a number of studies:

All of the leaders in these experiments were externally imposed upon the group, but even so those leaders who tended to distribute the functions of leadership more widely obtained group performances generally regarded as "better" in our society. When production was measured, it was higher. When interpersonal affect was measured, it was more friendly. And when cohesiveness was measured, it was stronger. (Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory*, p. 313)

How does this functional theory of leadership work in reality? Since we all influence each other, is it even helpful to talk about leadership? We need a more specific definition of leadership that can be applied to our own experiences with groups. Luckily, we have that:

*Most views of leadership today emphasize that leadership is a matter of abilities and skills that are learned, and they stress that certain functions have to be filled if the group is to solve the problems necessary for it to operate effectively. The functional theory of leadership tries to discover what actions are necessary for a group to achieve its goals under various conditions and how different group members should take part in these group actions. Leadership is defined as the performance of acts that help the group reach its goals, maintain itself in good working order, and adapt to changes in the environment, and these acts are group functions. (Johnson and Johnson, p. 22)*

Leadership functions are separated into two major categories: goal achievement and group maintenance (commonly referred to as task functions and morale functions). Understanding these functions can make the difference between a group that flounders and a group that moves:

#### Task Functions

1. Information and opinion-giving: offers facts, opinions, ideas, suggestions, and relevant information to help the group.
2. Information and opinion-seeking: asks for facts, information, opinions, ideas, and feelings from other members.
3. Starter: proposes goals and task, initiates action within the group.
4. Direction-giving: develops plans on how to proceed and focuses attention on the task to be done.
5. Summarizing: pulls together related ideas, suggestions, plans, proposals, and restates them by summarizing major points.
6. Coordinating: keeps perspective on relationship between various sub-groups and individuals, between activities and proposed next steps, and helps to keep the group functioning smoothly over-all (keeps things from slipping through the cracks).
7. Diagnoser: figures out sources of difficulty the group has in working together and the blocks to accomplishing its goals.
8. Energizer: stimulates a higher quality of work from the group.
9. Reality-testing: examines the practicality and workability of ideas, evaluates alternative solutions, and applies them to real situations to see how they would work, drawing on past experiences and history.
10. Evaluating: compares group decisions and accomplishments with long-range goals and with values and standards the group has set for itself, drawing implications for the future.

#### Morale functions

1. Encouraging participation: gives support to members to participate through giving recognition for contributions, being warm, accepting and open, and being responsive and attentive to group members' needs for involvement.
2. Harmonizing and compromising: helps turn conflict into opportunity for creative and constructive solution-finding, searching for common elements in conflicts and helping others to keep unity in mind when they disagree.
3. Relieving tension: creates fun, safe and relaxed atmosphere where members may feel secure and vulnerable, joking, playing games, taking breaks, doing non-work-related activities.
4. Helping communication: makes communication accurate and clarifies misunderstanding.
5. Evaluating emotional climate: pays attention to how people are feeling about the group and each other, helping people to express feelings and sharing own feelings.
6. Process observer: examines the processes the group uses, providing information and evaluation for improvement.
7. Setting standards: states and restates the group standards and goals to help group maintain awareness of direction of the work and of accomplishments, reestablishing acceptance of group norms and procedures.
8. Active listening: accepts input and thoughtfully considers it, is receptive to others' ideas, proposals, etc., and goes along with the group when not in disagreement.
9. Building trust: accepts and supports openness and vulnerability of other group members, reinforcing risk-taking and creating safety.
10. Solving interpersonal problems: promotes open and disciplined discussion of conflict between group members to resolve conflicts and increase cohesion.

Within the task functions, there are several ways to help a group do goal-setting. We want to emphasize the importance of this because it is often overlooked by groups without "strong leaders." We must all pay attention to how a group is proceeding toward its long-range goals, and help target objectives which will help achieve those goals.

One quality that many people see as a leadership function is inspiration. Certainly leadership includes encouragement for the group to keep going even when things are very hard. One way to do that is to restate the goals and perhaps the ultimate vision of the group, and put the group's current situation in an optimistic framework. (These are goal-setting functions.) Another way is to encourage more warm support within the group, and to strengthen the connections between individual and group goals. Group singing is often effective for this; some songs have exactly that content, for example "Come and Go With Me to that

Land." (These are morale functions.)

Leaders who are skilled in these functions are called inspirational, although what they do turns the group toward itself for vision and renewed strength. There is another kind of inspiration which does not do this, but instead focuses the group's attention on a single person, sometimes perceived as charismatic. That person mobilizes the group through her/himself, by her/his enormous certainty, articulateness, and "presence." In a sense, the group then borrows its motivation and bolsters its shaky confidence by believing in its leader's vision and clarity.

We find this a tempting shortcut to group solidarity but self-defeating in the long run. It mystifies leadership and plays into the masculinist style of the certain, authoritative, and articulate leader. Further, the opposition then has an easier time hurting the group, by co-opting the leader or, if that proves impossible, by destroying her or him. The assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and Gandhi are all reminders of how vulnerable movements can be when structured around a leader.



#### Patriarchy and Leadership Functions

Of the leadership functions that we have recognized, the task functions (goal-setting and goal accomplishment) are the functions most commonly thought of as "leadership." The morale functions that nurture the group members and their feelings are not seen as leadership qualities nearly as much.

The task functions also wield more power than the morale functions. Once the goals are set, the morale job is to adjust members' feelings to the group's new direction. The task functions (goal-setting, etc.) have more independence of action, and therefore more power. Also, those filling task functions are more likely to interact with others outside the group, while the morale functions are mostly filled by interaction within the group. Status in this society is linked to mobility; that status generally translates into power for those performing task functions.

Men are taught to "get the job done," while women are told to nurture and give support. The functions the men fill are valued more by society and are more powerful. The nuclear family exemplifies the sexist division of leadership functions and is the place where it is most intensely learned by young people.

Same-sex organizations often reveal the connection between leadership functions and sex roles. The military is predominantly male and largely unconcerned with feelings or individual needs. The task is paramount. A drill sergeant does not worry about how a recruit is feeling; he wants the soldier to follow orders efficiently. On the other hand, women's organizations tend to emphasize nurturance. Even the politically oriented League of Women Voters is more concerned with the process of political elections than with their outcome.

Patriarchy is served well by this sex role division of leadership functions, and by the confusion between leaders and leadership. The outcome is organizations where male leaders have concentrated power. They fill the task functions by defining the group's goals, strategies and tactics; they defend this position by holding out "no leadership" as the only other option to their authority. They are recognized as necessary to the group's functioning, and either respected or feared as "leaders." At the same time, women continue to fill the morale function without apparent power or status. The necessary leadership that women are expected to fill is invisible to a sexist society.

Shared leadership in a feminist vision, then, values the morale functions highly and sees that the power of the group in the long run is as dependent on the nurturance of its members as on its efficiency in particular tasks. Moreover, all group members develop skills and caring in morale-building, with men, as much as women, fulfilling that function.

Shared leadership can only persist in a cooperative structure. When people grow tired of depend-

ing on the supermarket and decide on an alternative, they don't simply buy food from a farmer and dump it on someone's lawn, leaving it there for the taking. They create a structure for cooperation, with attention to sharing responsibility as well as benefits. Without a structure, a food co-op could not do its job.

in other settings, too, shared leadership needs more than goodwill. The paternalist style often has a very great deal of goodwill. What makes shared leadership possible is agreement on expectations and discipline regarding follow-through. This means being explicit about leadership functions so the group can see what is happening and so there is no mystification of how things work.

In addition to knowledge and skills related to the group's task (peace action, tenant organizing, strike support, etc.), group members also need the knowledge and skills of *group process*. Fortunately, the knowledge and skill of good process isn't hard to learn, except for people deeply entrenched in patriarchal leadership styles. Once learned, the knowledge enables the functional shifting around which the feminist perspective points to, for no one or few any longer hold a monopoly of knowledge of what makes a group go.

Shared leadership liberates leaders! It frees people who have been worn down by years of extra responsibility to water their gardens and nurture their souls. It enables them to share their experienced wisdom at one moment, and follow through with manual tasks the next. It frees them to take risks, the risks which inevitably accompany personal growth, for they now know that others are accepting responsibility. They can also say goodbye to loneliness as they "move in a common rhythm," to quote from Marge Piercy's poem:

*I want to be with people who submerge  
in the task, who go into the fields  
to harvest  
and work in a row and pass the bags  
along,  
who stand in line and haul in their  
places,  
who are not parlor generals and field  
deserters  
but move in a common rhythm  
when the food must come in, or the  
fire be put out.  
(Marge Piercy, "To Be Of Use," To Be Of Use,  
Doubleday & Co., Garden City, NY)*

Most important, shared leadership puts the members of the group in charge. It demystifies leadership by getting everything into the open, and clarifies each individual's opportunities for maintaining and changing the direction of the group. It reduces irresponsible withdrawal because everyone can see clearly that the functions are shared; blame cannot be dumped on "the leader."

It inhibits power seekers still under the influence of patriarchal styles. Because everyone performs some leadership functions at some time, it builds appreciation for the work of leadership—not the old appreciation born of indebtedness to the leader who does so much for us, but an appreciation rooted in our own experience of power and responsibility.



Every group needs to think about itself as a whole. We know a movement group in the Midwest which appeared to be thriving, judging from the enthusiastic participation in its variety of activities. The group, however, failed to grow. Only when three members formed a committee to think about the whole group, its general direction and vitality, did the group grow (and in the process became more solid).

Both the "attention to the whole" and the perspective of long-range goals demand a capacity to "think big." This is often difficult for many people to do and is therefore frequently ignored. We need to support each other in filling these leadership functions.

## HOW TO SHARE LEADERSHIP

### Breaking Away from Patriarchy: Thoughts on Strategy

From an analysis of styles of patriarchal leaders and a vision of shared leadership, we see two broad areas where immediate steps can be taken: structure and personal change.

**Structure:** Changing an organization—or setting up a new one—can proceed by paying attention to the functions which must be filled for effectiveness. The functions of goal-setting and goal-achievement (task functions) and of cohesion (morale functions) must be filled by a *group*, an *individual*, or a *process*. The organization can go down the list of functions and chart how each function is being met. How those functions are distributed depends on the nature of the group (it's size and so on). The feminist concern is that they be met flexibly, with shifting of persons from one function to another, and that morale functions be highly valued.

**Personal Change:** It is not enough to devise egalitarian process and a cooperative overall structure. Individuals in the organization need to have skills and confidence to fill the functions and use the process. If most of the individuals have habits of passivity and self-doubt, they will not use their skills, and the initiative in the organization will return to those who are "natural leaders," that is, those who already have the confidence and experience. Therefore, the personal development of skills and of a sense of power and confidence is part of shared leadership.

### Tactics of Structure

There are more and more innovations which can be built into organizations to share their leadership functions. Here are a few of these:

**Determining Overall Goals and Direction:** The Movement for a New Society (MNS) began with an inadequate understanding of leadership theory. MNS people knew that task and morale functions could be shared rather than lumped together in a leader, and knew also the value of collectives as the fundamental units of organization. MNS did not see the critical function of developing overall goals and direction, so once the basic framework for the organization was set, it was rudderless.

In Philadelphia, the MNS network is now starting to fill that need with a Strategy Group whose job is to maintain an overview and facilitate the development of strategic priorities for Philadelphia MNS. The group, whose membership rotates, encourages strategy debates and collects ideas for new goals from MNS collectives. It weaves this information together and submits it as a proposal to the collectives, who discuss and feed back. The group reformulates if necessary and proposes again. Finally a network meeting of the collectives agrees on the proposal.

**Consensus in Direct Action:** Consensus is well-known to work for groups which have a lot of time to make decisions. A Quaker Action Group (AQAG) used a variation of consensus in its pressure-filled second *Phoenix* voyage to Vietnam with medical supplies. In that 1967 voyage, the sailing ship was harassed by South Vietnamese Naval gunboats and pressured by the US. AQAG agreed on a two-tier decision process: consensus if there was time; decision by the project director if there was not, later to be evaluated. The project director (who was called the political commissar by the rest of the crew) was deeply committed to the consensus process, and repeatedly called meetings to discuss and agree on contingency plans. As a result, despite crisis after crisis, the leader did not once have to use his authority; there was always an agreed-upon plan to implement.

Feminist and political theorist Joan Rothschild argues in the *Quest* issue on organization that consensus is also the mode of decision-making most consistent with the feminist concept of freedom: interdependence, including self-realization and support for others. (Winter 1976, pp. 24-25)

**Decentralization:** Breaking with the Gandhian tradition of top-down leadership of mass action (Gandhi insisted on the Indian National Congress naming him commander-in-chief), the Clamshell Alliance set up an affinity group structure for its mass civil disobedience in 1977. The 1400 activists arrested at Seabrook discussed issues in the affinity groups, which sent representative "spokes" to the body which made decisions.

**Study Groups:** Since knowledge is a form of power, the formation of study groups for members to share information on vital issues is a way of sharing power and, therefore, leadership. The New American Movement has a program of study groups built into its organization.

**Meeting Facilitation Techniques:** Difficult meetings are often guided better by *co-facilitators*, who spell each other's conduct of the meeting and keep a more watchful eye on the emotional tone of the group. *Silence* after proposals are made and before brainstorming begin helps women find more space for speaking up. In Sweden, neighborhood and community groups sometimes use small *buzz groups* to increase participation and to reduce dependency on the most articulate. *Process observers* reporting in from time to time help everyone be more aware of things such as men speaking more often or longer than women. *Agenda review* at the beginning of the meeting enables changes to be made which could not be anticipated by the planners, and holds the facilitator accountable for the guidance of the meeting. *Cooperative games* lighten the atmosphere, reduce tension, enable people to pay better attention to the business, and build morale. *Evaluation* by the group of what went well and what needs improvement demystifies meeting process and puts the members in charge of their own future conduct in meetings.

### Tactics of Personal Change

"One of the special qualities that distinguishes feminist leadership from traditional leadership is its essentially educational nature. If we as women are working to create a world in which power and responsibility are shared by all people, then we must understand the process by which people become leaders, and thereby lead ourselves and each other toward that goal." (Lorraine Masterson, "Feminist Leaders Can't Walk On Water," *Quest*, Spring 1976, p. 33)

There are two dimensions of personal change for shared leadership: skill development and confidence building. Movement-oriented skill sharing has become more systematic in the past 15 years. Several manuals are now available from the Movement for a New Society, which has brought leadership training from several fields into its workshops and longer-term training programs.

When hundreds of activists were imprisoned in armories in New Hampshire for protesting the Seabrook nuclear power plant, workshops were set up to share skills in organizing and group process.

Confidence-building is just as important as learning skills, for without confidence the skills go unused. Confidence-building involves learning shared power and unlearning patriarchal power.

Caucuses can help empower people who have been controlled by traditional leaders. Women's and Third World caucuses are well-known; working class, gay, young people's, and elders' caucuses are also needed in many organizations. By gathering together and comparing notes on what is keeping them quiet in meetings, they can support each other to throw off the old effects of intimidation.

The members of a caucus can find a *speaking out* empowering. In this procedure, the caucus stands before the meeting of the whole organization and, one by one, the caucus members tell simply and with feeling, how it has been to be working class, for example, or gay. No response is allowed while the caucus is present. After the presentation, the caucus leaves for a period while the others meet in small groups to react to what they heard.

Another empowering technique is *taking turns* at thinking out loud on an issue. So often inarticulate people believe they have nothing to say, but when given the warm attention of someone who wants to listen, they find they have a lot just below conscious awareness. In taking turns, people in a meeting pair up. First one thinks out loud on an issue for, say, five minutes, while the other listens, then the roles are reversed. This can be done on the floor of the meeting so it is an efficient way of maximizing participation.

Caucuses, speaking-outs and taking turns are all tools for learning to exercise power. Here are a few tools for unlearning patriarchal power. (See the WIN article on "How to Overcome Male Domination in the Movement," 11/10/77, which includes a

number of suggestions for men we will not repeat here. The reprint is available from MNS in a packet of articles on men's liberation.) The *buddy system* takes a few minutes in the beginning of a meeting. Men pair up and ask for support from their buddies: "On the fourth agenda item I'm likely to over-participate—help me stay cool on that one!" "I have a headache and might feel like sleeping—help me stay alert." Once the system is established, it may take little non-verbal communication for support to be given; since so many men over-participate because of emotional needs for attention and approval, the buddy system can make a dramatic difference in men's dominating behavior. Women can use this technique for their own empowerment, and also to restrain overly-articulate sisters.

A second tool, when taking a position on an issue, is to *share the process* as well as the conclusion with others. Male leaders "often present their position on certain issues as accomplished fact, without sharing with their constituents how they got to that position from having no position at all," writes Jackie St. Joan. They "fail to present the contradictions, the diversity, and the struggle which comprised the decision."

A tool for helping a person to become accountable to the group while still leaving necessary freedom of personal choice is the *clearness meeting*. In this process, the focus person chooses people whose opinion s/he values and places before them the crossroads s/he has reached, asking for feedback. Support as well as critical responses are included. The individual has the benefit of having trusted people think about her or him, but is still left to make an "individual decision."

We believe that people grow best in an atmosphere of warm affirmation. Leadership is hard work, and people performing leadership functions deserve support. The advantage of sexual political analysis such as this is that it enables us to see the difference between loving the person and cooperating with a behavior pattern which was laid on her or him by patriarchal culture. We who seek to change an organization need to love everyone involved and support leadership, even while challenging the old acceptance of "the leader." ♪

### Resources

A manual for cooperative games is available for \$1 from Friends Peace Committee, 1515 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102.

*Meeting Facilitation: the No-Magic Method* is available from Berit Lakey for 60¢ at 4719 Springfield Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143.

*Resource Manual for a Living Revolution* is the most comprehensive manual from New Society Press, 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143 (\$5.50). A list of MNS training programs and workshops is available from the same address.

*A Clearness Manual* is available from MNS, 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143.



Press conference with (from left) Rafe Pomerance, legislative director of Friends of the Earth; Benjamin Hooks, executive director of NAACP; Douglas Fraser; Eleanor Smeal, president of National Organization for Women; Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers.

## DEMOCRATIC LEFT PLOTS RESPONSE TO RIGHT-WING ADVANCES

by Jack Clark with photos by Carol Jachim

Neither the Labor party predicted by the *National Review* nor the "dump Carter, draft Kennedy" movement eagerly sought by many reporters covering the meeting materialized. Despite that, the October 17 meeting in Detroit's Cobo Hall marked a significant event in American politics.

Called by United Auto Workers President Doug Fraser, the meeting saw a remarkable coming together of diverse organizations. In one room sat representatives of the Plumbers union and the NAACP, the Operating Engineers and Friends of the Earth. All the major liberal unions and a number of less liberal unions attended. So did groups like the National Organization for Women, the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, SANE, Americans for Democratic Action, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the New American Movement.

Even more remarkable than the breadth of the groups in attendance was the emergence of a rough political and programmatic consensus. Fraser had called the coalition meeting to follow up on his resignation from the Dunlop Labor-Management Committee last summer (see box). Everyone there shared his concerns about the power of the Right and the defeats being suffered by all the forces for social change.

Jack Clark is national secretary of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

After Fraser's welcoming remarks, Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA), the only avowed socialist in the US Congress and a national co-chair of the New Democratic Coalition, opened up the issues discussion. He called for a program of economic democracy and traced the development of the civil rights movement from a concern with the moral demands for justice to a movement pushing for greater economic justice.

Speaker after speaker echoed his theme. Peace advocates called for more jobs through economic conversion. Feminists reminded everyone that

Bella Abzug, former US representative from New York.





women, facing the brunt of the Right's attacks, can provide a powerful constituency for social change and social justice. Environmentalists stressed the importance of the energy issue to workers and consumers and hailed the work of the Citizen-Labor Energy Coalition. In the afternoon session, Jules Bernstein of the Laborers union focused the many strands of activity and discontent. "We're all talking about the same thing," Bernstein noted, "the existence and abuse of vast corporate power. That's our common enemy and our common challenge."

*Continued on p. 21.*



Above: Bill Means of the American Indian Movement. Below: Tom Hayden of the Campaign for Economic Democracy speaks with Doug Fraser of the UAW



### Fraser's Move: The First Step

Back in July, UAW President Doug Fraser attracted national—even international—attention with his statement resigning from the Dunlop Labor-Management Committee. Although the Committee is non-governmental, Fraser's action was rightly seen as a step away from the Carter Administration and the Democratic majority in Congress. It was also one of the toughest labor statements in recent history on the nature of labor-management relations. Carter was characterized as ineffectual; the Congress, with its tax giveaways and its labor law reform filibusters was portrayed as an even bigger problem. As for the corporate world, Fraser leveled a blast at the "one-sided class war" being waged by business leaders.

In its final paragraphs, Fraser's letter of resignation struck a note not typical of pragmatic labor pronouncements. It is worth quoting at length:

"I would rather sit with the rural poor, the desperate children of urban blight, the victims of racism and working people seeking a better life than those whose religion is the status quo, whose goal is profit and whose hearts are cold. We in the UAW intend to reforge the links with those who believe in struggle: the kind of people who sat down in the factories in the 1930's and who marched in Selma in the 1960's.

"I can not assure you that we will be successful in making new alliances and forming new coalitions to help our nation find its way. But I can assure you that we will try." —J.C.



### CALIFORNIA POLL SHOWS MAJOR SHIFT ON ANTI-GAY INITIATIVE

There is a discernible change in public attitude in California toward the anti-gay school workers Proposition 6. A new poll by the Mervin D. Field Associates shows that in just one month's time there has been a shift in favor of rejecting the initiative filed by State Senator John Briggs.

The Proposition 6 initiative would require school boards to discharge teachers who admit to being gay, or publicly support gay rights issues. The measure has drawn the fire of California's gay, progressive, and even labor constituencies for its draconian strictures.

The change in the voters' opinion was called "a major shift" by pollster Field. In late August, the public favored the measure by 61 percent. But, in late September those in favor of Prop. 6 numbered only 45 percent, with 43 percent against the anti-gay initiative. Twelve percent were undecided.

According to Field, the public's change on Proposition 6 "appears to be due to the increasing number of influential voices now being raised against the measure."

In the past weeks, prominent state office holders, including California Governor Jerry Brown, candidates and editorialists in newspapers throughout the state have come out in opposition to the initiative. Last week the California

Legislature's attorney called Proposition 6 "unconstitutional." Conservative leader Ronald Reagan has also called on voters to vote no on the initiative.

After this second "California Poll," pollster Field stated that reliable predictions on the outcome of the November vote "are impossible."

Field said that Republican Senator Briggs is "getting considerable support from conservative Christian religious groups." He added that the growing trend against the anti-gay initiative seems to indicate that "while the public may not be willing to endorse any specific enhancement of homosexual rights, neither is the public willing to specifically deny homosexuals any of their civil rights because they speak out about their sexual preferences."

—Gay Community News

### HEADS UP

After 1980 there won't be the category of "head of household" according to the US Bureau of the Census.

Chief demographer David Kaplan reports that the Bureau came under fire in 1970 because it had a concrete rule that the husband was the "head of the household." Kaplan said that even if people surveyed said differently, census computers were programmed to automatically assign the head of household cate-

gory to the most appropriate male in the family.

Now the Census Bureau is saying that due to changing sex roles in the family, it will not ask who is head of household. Instead, it will ask the "household member" in whose name the home is rented or owned. If there is no such person, the Census Bureau will simply list adult members of households without designating who is head of household.

The Census Bureau reports that it has added a new category of "partner, roommate" for gay or heterosexual couples who are living together outside of marriage.

—Her Say

### CHARGES DROPPED AGAINST STEVENS BOYCOTT ACTIVISTS

On September 18, a New York State Criminal Court judge threw out all charges brought by the management of Gimbels department store in New York City against three persons arrested on September 5 for wearing "Boycott J.P. Stevens Products" T-shirts in their store. Charged by Gimbels for "criminal trespass," the action volunteers successfully argued that wearing T-shirts is not an unlawful act inside a store, private property or not. Judge Alain Bourgeois and the district attorney's office agreed and nullified the arrests sought by Gimbels.

Gimbels is at the heart of an ef-

fort by the national J. P. Stevens campaign to cut into the anti-union company's sales in the New York metropolitan area market. J. P. Stevens has retaliated by stepping up advertising through billboards and in the print and electronic media.

The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and its supporters are incensed not only by the arrests—an obvious attempt to intimidate New Yorkers who support the boycott—but also by Gimbels' verbal assurance to one of the arrested that despite the law



#### Gordon Christiansen, 1920-1978

On the afternoon of October 6, while driving home from a routine shopping trip, Gordon Christiansen died of a heart attack. He was found in his truck in the middle of a meadow 12 miles from the site of the house he was building near Guadalupita, New Mexico. He was 58 years old.

Gordon will be remembered as a professor of chemistry at Connecticut College, as the author of a widely used textbook in chemistry, as a captain in the Pacific theater during World War II, as a consultant to the Electric Boat Company (manufacturer of nuclear submarines), as chairman of the executive committee of the Committee for Nonviolent Action, and as author of many peace movement leaflets such as the seminal "Some Facts About Vietnam." He was an organizer of the non-violent socio-dramas sponsored

Gordon Christiansen. Photo by Roger Christiansen, by the Canadian Friends Service Committee on Grindstone Island in Ontario for a number of years and he was among the first to catch WIN Magazine fever. It was at his home that the yellow submarine surfaced. Although older than many of the people he worked with in the peace movement, Gordon was not a moderating influence. He fought with A. J. Muste, was fired by Connecticut College for giving LSD to a student, became a devotee of the Guru Maharaj Ji, and stopped being a devotee of the Guru. He rarely did anything halfway. Yet, nearly everyone who met this birthright Mormon converted to Unitarian loved him.

Among them are his sons: Steve, Scott and Roger; his daughter Cori; his wife from 1945 to 1973, Mary; two brothers, Robert and Royce.

And a big bunch of other people.

—Maris Cakars

and despite the court, they intend to arrest any T-shirt wearers in the future. It appears that Gimbels made a management decision to cast their lot with J. P. Stevens in the company's battle against the workers. Not content to sell J. P. Stevens, promote J. P. Stevens and increase their stock of J. P. Stevens, Gimbels has now adopted Stevens' tactics: to harass and intimidate—the public and the courts be damned!

—Newsdesk

#### AND HER MENSTRUAL CYCLE TOO?

A retired Air Force colonel has called on the Federal Aviation Administration to post pilots' names before commercial air line flights take off.

The Wall Street Journal reports that former Colonel Robert Bohan made the demand so that passengers can change flights if their pilot turns out to be a woman.

The FAA's response? It says it sees absolutely no need for posting pilots' names, since all pilots—regardless of sex—are tested adequately for stamina, strength and emotional stability, not to mention their knowledge of aircraft electronic and hydraulic systems.

The FAA reports, by the way, that by 1990 there will be at least 2000 female pilots on certified commercial airlines.

—Her Say

#### BELL'S APPEAL OF SWP LAWSUIT TO BE HEARD NEXT MONTH

The US Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit will hear oral arguments during the week of November 13 on whether a contempt citation against Attorney General Griffin Bell should be voided. Bell was found in contempt in July 1978 by District Court Judge Thomas P. Griesa for refusing to obey a court order to turn over 18 informer files in the Socialist Workers Party lawsuit against the FBI.

Judge Griesa's July 1978 contempt citation against Bell was the first time in history that an Attorney General had been found in

contempt of court. The contempt ruling was temporarily stayed by Appeals Court Judge Murray I. Curfein pending consideration of Bell's appeal.

Under established principles of law, a contempt citation of this kind cannot be appealed prior to final judgement in the case itself. However, the Attorney General is arguing that the "exceptional" nature of the case requires that his appeal be heard now.

Both the Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court had earlier declined to overturn Griesa's order that the 18 files be produced to SWP attorneys. Bell still refused to obey the order, and is now seeking to overturn the contempt citation.

Kings County (New York) District Attorney Eugene Gold and the National District Attorneys Association have filed a "friend-of-the-court" brief in defense of the Attorney General, arguing that forcing the government to turn over the files will "hamstring law enforcement" across the country.

The Socialist Workers Party, on the other hand, argues that the Attorney General has the same obligation to obey court orders as any private citizen. No claim of "extraordinary circumstance" can elevate the Attorney General above the law.

They also point out that the government's 40-year long "investigation" of the SWP has not produced evidence of a single illegal act by the socialists. In carrying out this campaign of harassment and intimidation the FBI and its informer-provocateurs have engaged in numerous violations of law and of the Bill of Rights. No claim of "informer privilege" ought to be allowed to conceal the government's illegal activities.

—Political Rights Defense Fund

#### EVENTS

**ALBANY, NY**—New York State, northern New Jersey, and western Connecticut Regional Conference of the Mobilization for Survival on Saturday, November 4 at Friends Meeting House, 727 Madison Ave. For more information, call (212)

673-1808.

**ANAHEIM, CA**—Demonstration against the Military Electronics Expo '78 on Tuesday, November 14 at Anaheim Convention Center. For more information, call (714) 522-2504 or (213) 937-0240.

**CAMBRIDGE, MA**—Noam Chomsky will speak on "Restoring the Faith" on Friday, November 17, 8 pm at MIT, 105 Massachusetts Ave., Bldg. 54, Rm. 100. Sponsored by Black Rose Anarchist Lecture Series.

**FLORIDA**—Caravan for a Non-Nuclear future, the first major Florida anti-nuke action, on November 11-16. The action will begin at the Turkey Point reactor in Miami and pass through Ft. Lauderdale, Palm Beach, Cocoa Beach, Daytona and Jacksonville, ending in Tallahassee. For more information, contact the Conchshell Alliance, PO Box 430735, South Miami, FL 33143 (305) 253-9428.

**HUNTINGTON, NY**—Sr. Rosalie Bertell will speak on "The Health Hazards of Nuclear Power" on Friday, November 3, 8 pm at St. Elizabeth's Parish Center. Sponsored by Long Island Mobilization for Survival Religious Task Force. For more information, call (516) 261-2461.

**MEDIA, PA**—National Military Tax Resistance Workshop and Organizing Weekend on November 10-12 at Media Friends Meeting-house, 125 W. 3rd St. Sponsored by Brandywine Peace Community, WRL/Philadelphia, Mennonite Central Committee and others. For more information, write: Center on Law and Pacifism, 2016 Walnut St., Rm. 300, Philadelphia, PA 19103.

**NEW YORK CITY**—Israeli pacifist Joseph Abileah and Allan Solomonow will speak on "Can the Middle East Survive Camp David?" on Thursday, November 9, 7:30 pm, at Ethical Culture Society, 2 W. 64th St. Sponsored by WRL, WILPF, Middle East Peace Project and others.

**NEW YORK CITY**—"While There

Is A Soul In Prison..." a benefit graphics and poster exhibit by political artists for the War Resisters League runs October 19-November 12, 12 noon-6 pm, at Gallery 345, 345 Lafayette St.

**NEW YORK CITY**—Anti-nuke Silkwood Memorial teach-in on Sunday, November 12, 3 pm, at Horace Mann Auditorium at Columbia University, 120th St. & Broadway. Speakers include Kitty Tucker, Norma Becker, Connie Hogarth, and Jim Haughton. Sponsored by New York Mobilization and the SHAD Alliance.

**NEW YORK CITY**—Northeast Coalition for the Liberation for Southern Africa conference on divestment and anti-apartheid support work on November 17-19. For more information, write NECLSA, c/o American Committee on Africa, 305 E. 46th St., New York, NY 10017.

**NORTH SYRACUSE, NY**—Conference on "Energy and the Economy: Building for Justice and Jobs" on November 4-5 at Northway Inn, 400 7th North St. Contact: People's Power Coalition, 196 Morton Ave., Albany, NY 12202 (518) 449-7444.

**OAK PARK, IL**—Jonathan Kozol will speak on education in Cuba on Thursday, November 9, 7:30 pm at the Oak Park Public Library. Sponsored by Third Unitarian Church of Chicago.

**ST. LOUIS, MO**—Demonstration and sit-in to stop prison behavior modification and close the Marion Federal Control Unit on Monday, November 27 at the St. Louis Bureau of Prisons Office. For more information, call (314) 533-2234.

**SANTA CRUZ, CA**—War Tax Resistance/World Peace Tax Fund workshop on Saturday, November 4, 1 pm at Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway. For more information, call (408) 423-1626.

**TEANECK, NJ**—Forum on radioactive transport on Friday, November 10, 8 pm, at the Ethical Culture Society. Sponsored by Bergen County SANE.



**THE BREAK-UP OF OUR CAMP:  
STORIES 1932-1935**  
by Paul Goodman  
edited by Taylor Stoehr/Black Sparrow  
Press/1978/\$5 paperback.

In a continuing fascination with the American novel, we usually forget our extraordinary tradition of short fiction. The first great American man of letters, Washington Irving, is a superb short story writer and typically American in his dreaminess, meditativeness, exquisite command of prose tone and color, and tendency toward what is now called "psycho-history." Most of our great 19th century fiction writers follow Irving in these qualities and in practice. Poe, Melville, Mark Twain, and certainly Hawthorne do.

In the 20th century, Paul Goodman became one of the best writers in this tradition, which he joined instead of the socialist realism that was fashionable for young writers in the 30's. Large among the motives for so doing is the scope for experimentation the tradition affords. As in the "tales and sketches"—to use a phrase often applied to their short fiction—of Irving and Hawthorne, experiments are frequent, even usual, in Goodman's stories. This volume is the first of four that will collect all his stories, except juvenilia and chapters or episodes later incorporated into novels.

"Hawthorne was Goodman's favorite writer of stories," Taylor Stoehr writes in his introduction here. Like Hawthorne, Goodman worked from "factual" data, giving them the truth of fiction. But where Hawthorne used historical or extrapersonal material, Goodman most often took his life for the stuff of his stories.

Yet the pieces seem autobiographical only at their furthest remove from conventional fiction, as in "Dresses, Architecture and Church Services," a progression of considerations of the possibilities for

*Ray Olson, once a librarian, is now unemployed in St. Paul, Minnesota. David McReynolds is on the national staff of the War Resisters League and is a member of the Socialist Party, U.S.A.*

formal criticism of each of those three modes of expression. Or in the "Pictures of Things Moving Toward Their Goals," which includes sections that analyze a "petting party" (this was the 30's, mind you), discuss the sharpness of a sword, and invade the turbulent silence of the minds of students in a philosophy class. These are extraordinary, filled with an analytical liveliness regrettably foreign to all other modern fiction I know except, perhaps, that of Borges.

In the more conventional stories, this analytical mode has startling effects. "The Wandering Boys" is a Depression idyl that encompasses social and economic observations, a lot of synesthesia—Keats is invoked by name and quotation—homoeroticism and homophobia, all without sacrificing its lovely sad tone. "The Propriety of St. Francis" discovers the gentle saint moving among highways, factories, baseball, and labor-industrial conflict, praising their various proprieties and at last being rapt "into a vision of his Beloved (where unfortunately we cannot follow him)" as workers and police open fire on each other. Both of these many-themed stories are literally wonderful and awesome. They are full of astonishing things and they inspire reverence for the human lives and predicaments Goodman abstracts so deftly and amusingly.

Aggregately, these early pieces already show Goodman articulating his great preoccupations. Such stories as the rather weak "Phaëton, Myth," "A Prayer for Dew," and the novel-in-stories "The Break Up of Our Camp" are concerned with the foundations, maintaining actions, and dissolution of human community. His marvelous moral seriousness is strikingly communicated in such passages as this from "Johnson and the Total Good," part of another novel-in-stories, "Johnson":

*... there was a Kantian distinction which he understood, between the highest good and the total good: the highest good being what it is one's duty, as he sees it, to do; the total good what would be the superlative condition of affairs if only the world were equitably regulated. Now Johnson, as I say, took the first very seriously, and he did his duty with might and main. But he took the second seriously, too, and he tried to regulate the world more equitably.*

Yes! One must live in the world as if it were as it should be. In other places here also are Goodman's quick and natural erotic responsiveness and his religious and mathematical enthusiasms.

These stories are obviously and beautifully the work of the man who would write *Communitas*, *Growing Up Absurd*, and *New Reformation*. He thought these and their later siblings and his poems, were the most valuable of his writings. I'm not about to contradict him. His tales and sketches are very good, fine contributions to the American tradition. They sharpen the appetite for the other three volumes to come.

—Ray Olson

**HOW MUCH SOCIALISM IS THERE IN THE U.S.A.?**  
by Harry Kelber  
Straight Talk pamphlets, Box 1059, Grand Central  
Post Office, NYC 10017/paperback \$1.25/80pp.

This pamphlet fills one of the huge, remarkable gaps that is so obvious no one quite understands how it got there. If you ask a socialist for a simple introductory book or pamphlet on socialism there is first a pause and then silence. We have books on the basic errors of the Leninist position in the pre-revolutionary situation in Russia; we can refer you to the effective Marxist rebuttal of Bakunin's position; we can suggest books for or against Trotsky; Stalin's perversions are fully documented; Mao's rise to power or that of Fidel or the tragic flaws in the early American movement or... anything except what socialism is and what it would look like in this country.

Kelber's slim book (or thick pamphlet) is not an intellectually penetrating analysis of Capitalism—in fact, one suspects Kelber of being subversive to the whole tradition which holds that socialism can be fully grasped only by those with a college degree. Even

worse, he has given us a sickening example of a non-sectarian approach. It is almost impossible to find out whether Kelber takes the right position on the Soviet Union or the Peoples Republic of China because he doesn't talk about them. He talks about America. You can't be sure whether he is a state socialist, a democratic socialist, a Stalinist, a Trotskyist, an Old Leftist, an Unregenerate Old Leftist, or a New Leftist.

Kelber's whole approach threatens the fundamental proposition that the American socialist movement should be very small, limited to those with a college degree, and should spend 90% of its time discussing events in some other country. Pamphlets like this, if carried too far, could even result in the building of a mass socialist movement. I find it outrageous that Kelber, instead of seriously dealing with the Labor Theory of Value, devotes his time to issues such as inflation, nuclear disarmament, racism, sexism, the problems of the elderly, the cities, military spending, and a host of other chic issues in a desperate effort to make socialism relevant. This pamphlet is so shocking you really must get a copy and read it for yourself.

—David McReynolds

Clark. Continued from p. 16.

What can be done to counteract that power? That's the central question not only for the Detroit meeting but for the entire American Left.

Two broad concerns and areas of activity were suggested by Fraser. One theme centered on political procedures and the creation of a more principled and accountable Democratic Party; the other concerned the ideological momentum seized by the Right.

In opening the meeting, Fraser stated the first concern in the sharpest possible terms. "I was under the mistaken impression that we won the 1976 election." Joe Rauh of ADA quipped that the Democrats did not need to write a new platform in 1980 since "the 1976 platform hasn't been touched." And Cesar Chavez, President of the United Farm Workers, said at the press conference preceding the meeting, that party responsibility was a central concern for Farm Workers and Chicanos. "You vote for a Democrat, and he votes as a Republican. You don't know who or what you're voting for, so you end up with disillusioned people who just stop voting."

The second theme was also sounded by Fraser in his opening remarks. The Right is out-organizing and out-spending us, he noted. But what disturbed him most is that the Right is "out-thinking us." That's a relatively new development to Fraser and to us all. The labor movement and the other forces

for change in this society have traditionally advanced the ideas while the conservatives and the business leaders reacted and resisted changing the status quo. With the rise of right-wing think tanks, like the American Enterprise Institute, that situation has changed. Current tax debates provide the clearest illustration of the Right taking the initiative, so to speak, with Kemp-Roth, and Jarvis-Gann and its spin-offs. In some places and under some circumstances, the Left has been able to capture or recapture the initiative and turn the tax relief issue into one of tax reform. Massachusetts Fair Share, which was represented at the Detroit meeting, has done that quite successfully.

Fraser wanted to express his own solidarity and that of the the UAW with those kinds of efforts. Further, he wants to begin new efforts to think through Left initiatives on issues and to explore mechanisms for creating an effective and responsive Democratic Party. The meeting authorized him to set up three commissions—one on political process reform, one on issues, and a finance committee. That's less dramatic than what some of the predictions for the Detroit meeting anticipated. But if those commissions can continue to hold together the broad coalition assembled October 17 and begin to give it a deeper and more coherent programmatic consensus, we will have seen a major reorientation in the labor movement's political perspective and perhaps a shift in American politics as a whole.

# CLASSIFIED

Free if no exchange of \$\$\$ involved and only 20 words. Otherwise \$2 for every ten words.

## PUBLIC NOTICE

Nonviolent-feminist study group invites women with an interest in feminism and nonviolence to join them: Wednesdays, Womospace, 237 Hill St., Santa Monica, CA (213) 469-0749.

FEED THE CITIES, NOT THE PENTAGON: Write Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107.

MEMBERS NEEDED: N.C. People's Alliance, a state-wide citizen's group for social and economic justice. Write: Box 3053, Durham, NC 27705.

Christmas Peace Pilgrimage, December 16, Phil Berrigan—speaker. Write for flyer: MCC Peace Section, Akron, PA 17501.

War Resisters League/Southeast offers workshops on several topics including disarmament, feminism, nonviolence history and theory. For more information and a sample copy of our newsletter, contact WRL/SE, 108 Purefoy Rd., Chapel Hill, NC 27514, (919) 967-7244.

## PUBLICATIONS

Ever asked "What could a pacifist do under Hitler?" Read "QUAKERS IN NAZI GERMANY," 44 pages. Prefer group decisions without losing minority? Read "DECISIONS BY CONSENSUS, A Study of the Quaker Method," 48 pages. \$1.75 for one, \$2.75 for two, any five for \$4; postpaid from Progress Publishers, Dept. W, 401 E. 32, #1002, Chicago, IL 60616.

"Surveillance of Nuclear Power Opponents" describes recent activities by government/private investigators. Send SASE to Campaign to Stop Government Spying, 201 Massachusetts Ave., NE #112, Washington, DC 20002.

WIN's Special Double Issue on Health Care with articles by Ron Dellums, Claudia Dreifus, and others on occupational safety and health, women's health, rural medical alternatives and more. Order now in bulk for distribution to friends and co-workers. \$1.00 each for 1-9 copies, 40¢ each for ten or more plus 20% postage. Send orders to: WIN, 503 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11217.

THE STUDY KIT FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION, produced by War Resisters League/West contains articles on the theory and practice of nonviolence, both personally and politically as well as accounts of the successes and problems of contemporary nonviolence. Articles and pamphlets by Camus, Gandhi, Gene Sharp, Barbara Deming, Mark Morris, George Lakey and the WIN double issue on Seabrook are to be found and much more as well. Send \$2.50 per study kit to WRL/West, 1360 Howard St., San Francisco, CA 94103. Special rates are available for bulk orders, so order them for your study group, teach-in, or classroom.

Kansas City Nonviolent Studies Institute Book Store closed its doors last year. However, there are still lots of good books and pamphlets available at unbelievable savings of 50% to 75% off list price. Send 50¢ for a book list to Robert Calvert, 3144 Hardesty Drive #1-C, Kansas City, Missouri 64128.

## PRODUCTS

Drawings by Peg Averill, Fred Wright, Johanna Vogelsang and others. WIN postcards. \$2 for a set of nine. WIN, 503 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11217.

FROM THE HOLE 1979. A graphic desk calendar based on the writings of those speaking out from the

darkness of oppression. Illustrated by George Knowlton. \$2.50 postpaid. Flats Workshop, PO Box 13, Kingston, RI 02881.

"Do No Harm" is the highly recommended film about drug company profits; 42 min., color. Available from Grim Films, PO Box 1811, San Francisco, CA 94101. Rental: \$50, Purchase: \$475.

A colorful poster showing a greedy drug company executive and a doctor holding a hypo reading "To Hell With Their Profits, Stop Forced Drugging of Psychiatric Inmates" is available from Alliance for the Liberation of Mental Patients, 112 So. 16th St. (Suite 1305), Phila., PA 19102.

PEOPLE'S ENERGY is: a No Nukes/Sane Energy 1979 Calendar; 14 exciting, original six-color artworks illustrating such topics as Waste, Seabrook, Disarmament, Appropriate Technology, Energy Economics; a holiday season fundraiser for grassroots groups across the US; an educational & outreach tool; an organizing and solidarity-building resource. Orders: \$3.50 retail, \$4 individuals by mail; energy/social justice groups \$2.10 each for 8 or more prepaid; profit businesses \$2.25 each. Syracuse Peace Council, 924 Burnet Ave., Syracuse, NY 13203. (315) 472-5478.

"Asylum For Kristina Berster" button, bumpersticker—send donation. All proceeds go to Kristina Berster Defense Committee. Write: Ed Stanak, Box 61, Marshfield, VT 05658.

## SERVICES

Radical Psychotherapy for gay and straight men in the Philadelphia area. Fee based on ability to pay. Jack Sternbach, (215) WA3-1257.

Free lance editing or writing jobs wanted. Will re-write or edit manuscripts, theses, dissertations, anything, but will not do your research. Marty Jezer, c/o Morton, 226 Villeneuve Ouest, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

THE FATTED SPROUT is an alternative food service with a conscience. We can provide low cost, individually tailored hearty vegetarian food for groups from 30 to 1000. We are a collective in Movement for a New Society. We feel a responsibility to the world beyond purely pragmatic business-for-profit considerations; we provide subsistence incomes to our members while seeking to raise consciousness about food issues in the context of creating revolutionary community institutions. Conferences are our specialty. Contact us if we can help you with food issues or food for your organization or event: 906 S. 49th St., Phila., PA 19143. (215) 726-0743.

The Brandywine Peace Community and Alternative Fund is a nonviolent resistance community (both live-in and extended). We are working for peace, disarmament, and a change of values and priorities away from war and its preparation to an emphasis on peace, social justice, and people's needs.

Brandywine sponsors educational programs, action campaigns, and public demonstrations in order to highlight the moral, political, and economic imperatives of disarmament. Additionally the group is making a positive statement with its alternative fund. This fund, comprised of refused war taxes, personal savings, and group deposits, makes interest-free loans to social change and service groups (primarily in Delaware and Chester Counties, PA.) Contact: Brandywine Peace Community and Alternative Fund, 51 Barren Rd., Media, PA 19063.

## LIVING ALTERNATIVES

Enthusiastic Volunteers needed to establish Natural Farming program for the retarded. Small residential school; self-sufficient manual farming to develop mental, physical, spiritual potential of students; committed to simple life on land. Stipend, room, board. Mountainview, Route 3, Clarksville, GA 30523.

## EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Two store coordinator positions open November 1, December 15 \$75/week. Tenure: one year. Write to Search Committee, Sam's Belly Food Co-op, 427 East 31st Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21218.

Help Needed: Hanford Conversion Project seeks researchers & organizers (based in various parts of the Northwest). To help develop anti-nuclear, pro-disarmament campaign. Full time \$500/month—half time \$250/month. Affirmative Action employer. Application deadline: November 6, 1978. Hanford Conversion Project, 4312 SE Stark, Portland, OR 97215.

Prospective law school graduate seeks full-time movement work. Experience: organizing, publishing, fundraising. Interests: feminist, health, labor, peace conversion. Contact: Gary Mitchell, 10 Brookside Ave., New Brunswick, NJ 08901. (201) 249-7671.

Activist/Educator/Organizer: Buffalo area CALC-related peace group seeks 2nd staff person to coordinate programs on disarmament, anti-nuke, human rights and hunger issues. Immediate opening. Sub-sistence pay. Send resume to: Western New York Peace Center, 440 LeRoy Ave., Buffalo, NY 14215. Phone: (716) 833-0213, after 5 pm 833-3175.

Two experienced community organizers wanted to develop utility action groups. Experience in community organizing and familiarity with utility issues required. Salary commensurate with experience. Positions available October 1978. Apply to: Executive Director, RECAP, Inc., 34 South St., Middletown, NY 10940.

Responsible, considerate people to join now-forming collectively run natural foods restaurant-coffeehouse. No experience necessary. Heavy, long-term commitment. People's Power Plant, 43 South Washington St., Binghamton, NY 13903.

HOUSEPARENTS WANTED. Couple or single person. Community organization that helps former "delinquents" plans to expand, establishing more family style group homes for teenagers, with 3-5 kids in each. Houseparent salary currently \$600 per month plus room & board, plus medical coverage; salary negotiable. Call or write Frank Lindenfeld, Community Federation for Self Help, 210 S. Walnut St., West Chester, PA 19380. (215) 436-8824.

## PRISONERS

These prisoners have written to WIN requesting contact with the "outside," hoping you can give them more than a cell and a number. Some of them are in the "hole," many are politically aware, all of them are WIN readers. Take a few minutes—write to a prisoner.

Lee Sheperd, #143479, P.O. Box 779, Marquette, MI 49855

David Boyd, #07821, P.O. Box 1000, Lewisburg, PA 17837

## HELP

WANTED for book in preparation, interviews with ex-professors now involved in alternative education. Contact: C. Taylor, Box 370, Edgewood, TX 75117.

New York City WIN reader desperately needs remedial sewing and cheap bicycle. Barter preferred, though cash possible. Shel Horowitz, 48 Duffield St., Brooklyn, NY 11201 (212) 858-2461.

Peace Is Our Profession: War Protest Poems... War protest in poems and short prose by soldiers, war veterans and civilians who refused to be soldiers, from the Indochina War (and before) and in its wake: a sort of reader of revolt to hand the next generation being wooed into uniform. Please send material (including art work) with SASE to Jan Barry, 75 Gates Ave., Montclair, NJ 07042.

order now for Nov. 13th  
**WHO KILLED KAREN SILKWOOD?**  
BUMPERSTICKERS 30¢ EA  
BUTTONS 15¢ EA (20+) Sent 1st Class  
Kate Donnelly, Box 271, New Vernon, NJ 07976  
ADD 10% FOR POSTAGE



## WRL LITERATURE

**WHITE MAN'S JUSTICE, BLACK MAN'S GRIEF.** Donald Goines. The title is self-explanatory—an excellent prison book. 218pp .....\$1.50

**WAR OR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?** Edited by Peggy Duff, long-time British activist. Anthology of articles. 202pp .....\$4.00

**THE ARMS BAZAAR.** Anthony Sampson. Traces the history of the arms race from mid-nineteenth century to the present. 340pp .....\$2.50

**SUPPLYING REPRESSION.** Michael Klare. How the US gives financial backing to fascist dictatorships. 55pp .....\$0.50

**UNACCEPTABLE RISK.** McKinley Olson. Contains some startling facts about the dangers of nuclear energy. 280pp .....\$2.25

**GLOBAL REACH.** Barnett & Mueller. The outstanding book about the multinationals. 508pp .....\$4.95

**BAREFOOT GEN.** Keiji Nakazawa. A 7-year-old boy from Hiroshima tells his story (in cartoon format). 284pp .....\$3.80

**A NEW BUTTON.** The "World Citizen" button is bright orange and blue on white. 10¢ each, \$1 for 12, \$6 for 100.

**A NEW PIN.** The imaginatively designed "No Neutron Bomb" pin comes from Germany. \$1 each.

Send to: **WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE**  
339 Lafayette Street  
New York, NY 10012

I ENCLOSE:

\$\_\_\_\_\_ FOR THE ITEMS CHECKED ABOVE.

I ENCLOSE:

\$\_\_\_\_\_ AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE WRL.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE/ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

## WHILE THERE IS A SOUL IN PRISON

One desk calendar is both practical and idealistic: the War Resisters League calendar. Measuring 5½" by 8¾", it has a page for each week and is handsomely produced with many striking illustrations. Its spiral binding enables it to lie flat.

But much more important is its text, which is written by Martin Luther King, Robert Lowell, Judith Malina, Dave Dellinger, Rosa Luxemburg, Emma Goldman—all prisoners at one time in their lives. The "ordinary" prisoners are here too, speaking to us no longer as numbers but as coherent beings. Reminding us that prison itself is a crime.

Handsome, practical, moving and more. The 25th annual WRL calendar includes listings of peace organizations and periodicals, important dates in the history of the movement for social change, and a prison reading list.

This is a meaningful 1979 calendar for you and an important gift for your friends.

Please send me \_\_\_\_\_ calendars, at \$3.50 each (or \$13 for four copies). Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

War Resisters League/339 Lafayette St./New York, NY 10012

**SUBSCRIBE TO WIN magazine!**  
only \$15/yr

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_  
STATE/ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

SEND TO WIN MAGAZINE/503 ATLANTIC AVE/BROOKLYN, NY 11217

**win**  
WHO'S ON FIRST? WHAT'S ON SECOND?  
A Grassroots Political Perspective  
On the Anti-Nuclear Movement  
by Marty Jezer

**"Who's On First? What's On Second?"**  
**A GRASSROOTS POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT**

This special WIN issue features Marty Jezer's essay on strategies and tactics for the anti-nuclear movement. You may agree or disagree with it, but it's a "must" reading for all no nukes activists and organizations. Available in bulk from WIN at 20¢ each in quantities of ten or more (plus 20% postage), or 60¢ each for orders under ten copies. Minimum order: \$2. Order today!

Send to: WIN Magazine/503 Atlantic Ave. Brooklyn, New York 11217

**A WIN SPECIAL ISSUE**

# **KAREN SILKWOOD MEMORIAL: Surveillance, Health and Labor Controversies in the Nuclear Industry**

WIN's special issue for Silkwood Memorial Week—November 11 to 19— is coming!  
The major article on the Silkwood case is by Donna Warnock, former Citizens Energy Project staffer and a leading researcher on surveillance by the nuclear and utility industries. Donna talks about the latest twists in the law suit against the FBI and Kerr-McGee, and discusses the events that led to Karen's death in a car crash four years ago: her leadership in her union and her efforts to expose the serious health hazards at the plutonium fuel rod plant where she worked.  
An article by Kitty Tucker of the Environmental Policy Center covers the latest scientific research into health effects of exposure to low-level radiation on workers at every phase of the nuclear fuel cycle, from uranium mining to reprocessing.  
The issue is specially illustrated by Bonnie Acker, a movement artist whose work has promoted the Native American, women's and anti-nuclear movements.  
There's a section on organizing strategies— what you can do as a nuclear opponent to support the Silkwood case, to raise the issues of safety and waste proliferation, surveillance and civil liberties, renewable sources and clean energy. There is a list of regional contacts for Supporters of Silkwood, too.  
WIN offers this issue to the anti-nuclear and safe energy movement to use as an organizing and educational tool. It is also useful for fundraising. Buy the issue from us at half-price—sell them at rallies, fairs, and speaking tours at the cover price.  
WIN is 20¢ apiece in bulk (that's 10 or more) plus 20% for shipping. We urge you to order soon (preferably by October 30) so we can get the issues to you in time for Silkwood Memorial Week.

**WIN's Silkwood Memorial Week  
Special Issue**

YES! Send \_\_\_ (# of issues) at 20¢/each \_\_\_\_\_  
Plus 20% for shipping/postage \_\_\_\_\_  
TOTAL ENCLOSED \$ \_\_\_\_\_

**Name/Organization** \_\_\_\_\_  
**Address** \_\_\_\_\_  
**City/State** \_\_\_\_\_ **Zip** \_\_\_\_\_

WIN MAGAZINE/503 ATLANTIC AVENUE/BROOKLYN, NY 11217