$2.00
October 1983

WIN

PEACE AND FREEDOM THROUGH NONVIOLENT ACTION

FINAL ISSUE

STOPPING EURO-MISSILES

- SENECA WOMEN'S PEACE CAMP
- GERMAN PEACE MOVEMENTS EAST & WEST
- CANADA & THE CRUISE • INT'L DEMOS
- RETROSPECTIVE & FAREWELL

A FINAL APPEAL

Magazines have two historic moments. Their first issue, and their last. There is no cry of wolf lingering in the air as you read this—WIN ceases publication with this issue. Those who have worked together to make WIN possible—we think here of War Resisters League and the present staff and editorial board of WIN—will explore what the nonviolent movement needs in the way of magazines, what new steps need to be taken.

But WIN is closing. Magazines, more than organizations, seem to require a special chemistry. They require groups of talented people who come together at certain flash points in time. The result is lively, challenging, and historic. WIN has been those things. Magazines also require a steady source of funds and a manageable debt. And—like too many progressive periodicals before us—lack of funds forces us to close.

We have always been honest, and honesty makes us say that while lack of funds is the main reason we close, lately there has also been a lack of agreement among those most directly involved with WIN about what the magazine should be.

WIN has surprised itself by managing to change so completely more than once—its staff, its location, etc.—and still remain alive. But just now this collection of people and memories and hopes which we call WIN is not working. We are not laying down the struggle—we are laying down one publication which we think did an enormously important job, and which has reached the end of its line.

But to lay something down means to lay it down with care, responsibly, and in such a way as to hurt as few people as possible. WIN has a total debt of $22,263.87. $3000 of that debt is to movement printers and mailing house operations—people who live on marginal incomes and who printed and mailed our material on trust. $6000 of the debt is back salaries to staff. This is the hardest burden on us—these are men and women who trusted enormously and borrowed from friends to do their work here. We have some $5550 in loans to individuals and war tax resistance funds. People and groups who, when repaid, will lend that money to other worthwhile causes. The rest is owed to companies—small and large—various movement groups will need to do business with in the future. If not repaid, these businesses will be reluctant to extend the credit needed for future movement work.

There is no happy way out, no insurance company for radical publications that come to the end of the line. And there is not a commercial magazine in the world which, as it went bankrupt, would dare ask its subscribers for more. We do. We ask you to help us make sure that the closing of this magazine does not crush people who had trusted us. Responsibility to one another is what makes possible responsibility toward the whole of society. As you read this issue and file it away as being historic, remember those of us here facing the debts of closing down. Please help us share that burden. And if you cannot send a check, send a note of greeting—it may never be answered but it will be read. And those letters will serve also as some sign of what you feel is needed for the future.

As we close, we want to thank those who made it possible for WIN to publish for 17 years. Staff members—working long hours for low, irregular pay—volunteers and editorial board members too numerous to list. Writers and artists, who donated time and talent. But especially you, our readers and contributors, who supported us with words of encouragement and criticism. Who—responding to our many fund appeals—gave more than you reasonably could afford. And who brought WIN's message and spirit of nonviolent social change to your daily lives and organizing. Thank you. **—WIN Staff and Editorial Board**

P.S. Those of you with unexpired subscriptions will be notified soon about arrangements for completing your subscriptions.

MENU

Workshop In Nonviolence • October 1983 • VOL 19, NO 17 & 18

Cover design by Dan Zedek **Cover photo by Harriet Hirshorn**

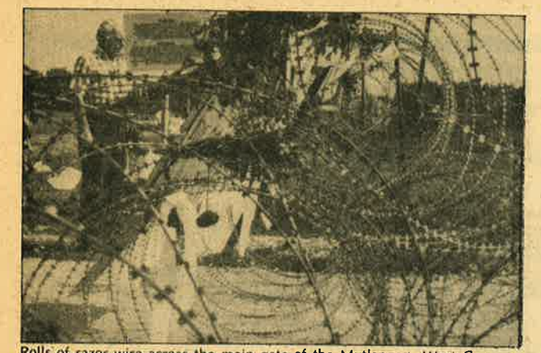
Staff: Harriet Hirshorn and John Miller

Special thanks to Pauline Garvin, Paul Johnson, Kate Donnelly, Murray Rosenblith, Lauri Lowell, Andrew Donnelly Colt, JudyOrnstein, Clay Colt, Elizabeth Dworan, Dan Zedek, Lisa Lincoln, Suzanne Seay, Mary Jane Sullivan, Vicki Rovere

WIN Magazine (ISSN 0512-5375) is published twice monthly, except February and September, when it is published monthly by the Workshop in Nonviolence Institute, Inc., 326 Livingston St., Brooklyn, NY 11217 with the support of the War Resisters League. Subscriptions are $20/year, continental US (Canada and overseas surface subscriptions are $25; airmail $60). Second class postage paid at Brooklyn, NY 11201 and additional mailing offices. **Postmaster:** Send form 3579 or other address changes to WIN, 326 Livingston St., Brooklyn, NY 11217. **Bookstores and newstands** contact Carrier Pigeon, PO Box 2783, Boston, MA 02208 or WIN. This publication is indexed in Alternative Press Index, PO Box 7229, Baltimore, MD 21218. Printed by Vanguard Press, 1 Evans Terminal, Hillside, NJ 07205.
Individual writers are responsible for opinions and accuracy of facts given.

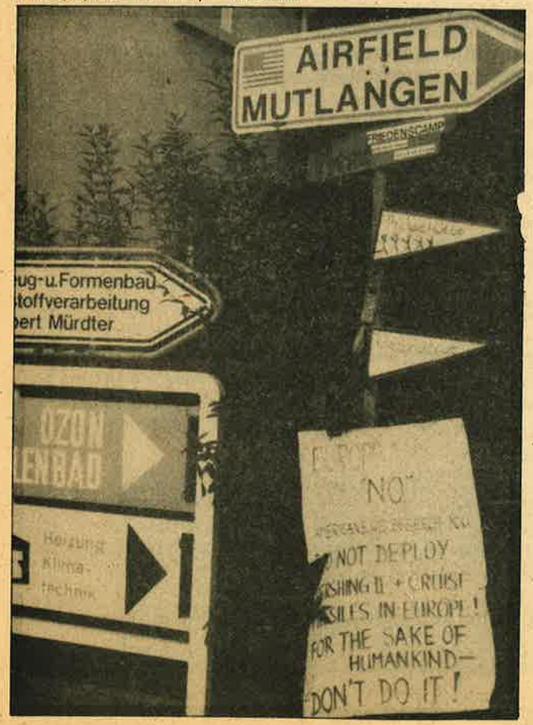
Cruise & Pershing Politics: Revolution or Spectacle

by Frank Brodhead **Photos by Ed Hedemann**



Rolls of razor wire across the main gate of the Mutlangen, West Germany, Pershing II base. Photo by **Ed Hedemann.**

Just prior to beginning of blockade, demonstrators weave in and out of road leading to Bitburg, West Germany, military base. Cruise missiles are expected to be deployed there. Photo by **Ed Hedemann.**



Signs point to Mutlangen base and opposition to cruise and Pershing missiles. Photo by **Ed Hedemann.**

Nobel Prize winner Heinrich Boll participating the blockade of the Mutlangen main gate on September 1. Photo by **Ed Hedemann.**

The Euromissiles are on their way. Since the NATO decision of 1979 to place new cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe, we have feared this moment. Now, like a long death watch before an execution, we wait, protest, and wait some more as the countdown moves toward zero hour.

The missiles are the wonders of our age. As its computer reads a built-in map, the cruise hugs the contours of the land to evade Soviet radar and strike its target precisely. The nuclear-tipped warhead of the cruise can deliver up to 200 kilotons of explosive power, and has a range of 1500 miles; 464 cruise missiles will be installed beginning in December in Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and the Federal Republic of Germany. The Pershing II has a 1000-mile range and delivers its 10-20 kiloton warhead with pinpoint accuracy. The 108 Pershing IIs scheduled to be installed in West Germany can reach their targets in the Soviet Union in four to six minutes. As the missiles will be under US control, the Soviets view them as "forward-based strategic systems": for the Soviet Union this is their Cuban Missile Crisis.

It would be hard to imagine a more dangerous or destabilizing move on the part of the NATO command. The accuracy of both missiles makes them ideal weapons for a first strike against Soviet missile fields or command and control installations. Their proximity to the Soviet Union increases the pressure on the Soviets to prepare to launch their missiles before they are destroyed: to "launch on warning." This will greatly increase the possibility of war by accident, by computer failure. It will also make a Soviet first strike against US and NATO nuclear installations more likely in periods of high tension between the two superpowers. It puts the survival of Europe—and, indeed, of our civilization—on a hair trigger.

Frank Brodhead is a frequent contributor to WIN and is currently, with Ed Herman, working on a book on US roles in elections in client states.

Europe on the Move

Europeans were quick to protest the new missiles. Peace movements throughout Europe were reinvigorated and held massive demonstrations (see *New European Peace Movements*, WIN, 1/1/82). The European Nuclear Disarmament (END) movement was founded to campaign for the transformation of Europe into a nuclear free zone "from Poland to Portugal." Clearly alarmed by the breadth and intensity of the opposition to the missiles, our NATO allies have continued to hope that the original "dual track" strategy—negotiations between the United States and the Soviets to reduce European-based nuclear forces, while preparations continuted to deploy the cruise and Pershing II on schedule if the negotiations failed—would result in some arms control agreement that would pacify its nuclear opposition. At this writing these negotiations seem to have little chance of more than a cosmetic success, and even a delay in deploying the new missiles—now scheduled for December, 1983 and early 1984—seems unlikely.

A new round of demonstrations and political action against the cruise and Pershing II packs this fall's agenda. Actions against the Euromissiles are scheduled in the United States, Canada, and Europe for the week of October 21-24 (see p.). A large demonstration is planned for Philadelphia on October 6, when President Reagan hosts West Germany's President Carstens to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the arrival of (pacifist!) Germans to our shores. And in Congress in the early fall an amendment to the Department of Defense appropriations bill will be introduced by Ron Dellums calling for a cut in funding for the cruise and Pershing II, which if it passes would result in a one-year delay in deployment.

Lessons from Europe

The threat to deploy the cruise and Pershing II missiles poses some serious problems for our movement. They include hardy perennials like the usefulness of focusing on congressional lobbying, as opposed to mass demonstrations and civil disobedience and our relationship to the nominee of the Democratic Party in the '84 election campaign. What can we gain from a legislative or electoral strategy, and what must we give up to gain it? Here the experiences of the Green Party in West Germany are particularly important to us. Their program is genuinely exciting: Their successes are at the outer edge of our hopes for achieving measurable power quickly; and they are working out in a new context and around new issues the ancient problem of balancing parliamentary power with the mass, nonparliamentary movement that gives them their real power (see "Politics of Realignment," WIN, 7/83). This latter issue already bedevils the Freeze, as well as the social democratic parties of northern Europe and the Communist parties of France and southern Europe.

The campaign against the Euromissiles raises another problem: conventional, non-nuclear weapons. As things stand now in Congress, it appears that a majority can be assembled even for a delay in deploying the new missiles only by giving a green light to a conventional weapons buildup for NATO. This position is in fact supported by an important segment of the antinuclear movement, including the Union of Concerned Scientists and leading proponents of "No First Use" of nuclear weapons like former Kennedy Vietnam strategists Robert MacNamara and McGeorge Bundy. Presidential

Candidates Mondale and Glenn will probably campaign on some version of this theme. There are, of course, greater or lesser levels of conventional buildup, and attempts will be made to distinguish offensive from defensive weapons. Given the possibility of putting some limits on the Euromissiles in exchange for a conventional weapons buildup in Europe, this issue is bound to divide the peace movement. Yet a conventional buildup should be opposed not only on pacifist grounds, but also because it will actually make conflict between the superpowers, and thus nuclear war, more likely (see "An Open Letter to the American Peace Movement," WIN, 11/82).

Unilateral Paths

A related problem is unilateralism. The peace movement must demand that the United States take a unilateral step, that is, not deploy the new missiles, no matter what the Soviet Union does. While not adding new weapons is hardly "unilateral disarmament," this charge will be made by political forces on the right and pondered by forces in the center. As Cold War rhetoric reaches new heights—foreshadowed by the Korean airline incident—the mass media will probably renew its interest in KGB control of the peace movement, and will target unilateralist tendencies. Because we (through the Freeze and otherwise) have put a lot of emphasis on bilateral steps to stop nuclear weapons, there will be genuine differences among us at the same time that "unilateralism" is being used as a form of red baiting. Once again the Europeans have some important lessons for us. The writings of E.P. Thompson, Alva Myrdal and others in the European movement have evolved a radical perspective on the failures of arms control and the greater practicality of unilateral steps towards disarmament.

An important issue for the Europeans is the status of the unofficial East European peace movements. Before the conservative election victories in Britain, West Germany, and Italy, and when Solidarity yet lived, the emergence of strong peace factions within the social democratic parties of the West and the simultaneous emergence of small, independent peace movements in the East gave a tremendously exciting meaning to the END slogan, "From Poland to Portugal." The possibility that Europe could become reunited, neither "of the East" nor "of the West," enhanced the significance of both Solidarity and the small peace movements in East Germany, Hungary, and even the Soviet Union. For many Europeans this raised severe doubts about dealing at all with the official peace movements of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It also raised the question of whether the peace movement in the West should support the human rights and workers' movement in the East, where they are often linked with the peace movement.

The principles underlying the issues have a further complexity for US citizens because the cause of human rights in the East is championed so loudly by the Reagans and Kirkpatricks who support dictatorships in the West. While the conservative reaction in both the East and the West has moved these issues further down the agenda for now, the US peace movement should demand that everyone have the right to work for peace in organizations of their own choosing, not only in Turkey (where this right is denied by our NATO ally; see "Turkey and the Peace Movement," WIN, 4/83), but in the Eastern bloc as well.

Revolution or Spectacle?

Finally, I expect that the deployment of the Euromissiles will return the issues of revolutionary nonviolence to the practical status they had during the Vietnam war. This, after all, is it. The enormous dangers posed by the new missiles and the anticipated Soviet response will drive many people beyond nonviolent tactics if these fail to stop the deployment. Moreover, if the arms buildup is now based on a political economy of exterminism, as E.P. Thompson would have it, those benefitting from the ceaseless production of armaments will not easily abandon it. Again we meet our old friends, reform and revolution. Can the changes that we *must* make be made nonviolently? Will we become divided when we are violence-baited by the right, following the inevitable individual or even collective actions in response to deployment? Advocates of nonviolence must find a way not only to voice our objections, but to achieve some real success in stopping and reversing the arms race. It will not be enough to witness for peace if the spectacle goes on.

As we approach this final round of peace activities before the deployment of the Euromissiles, I am reminded of the observation of writer and critic John Berger: "Mass demonstrations," he wrote, "are rehearsals for revolutionary awareness. . . .Any demonstration which lacks this element of rehearsal is better described as an officially encouraged public spectacle." Like it or not, if we are to achieve our goals the peace movement is now engaged in cultivating revolutionary awareness. I believe the size, diversity, and the breadth of the issues covered by Solidarity Day, June 12 and August 27 demonstrations reflect the beginnings of such an awareness in this country. Let us make our October demonstrations as broad and radical as possible, putting disarmament on everybody's political agenda, and solidarity with the European peace movements at the center of this new awareness. Ω

The Hot Autumn

Later this month, hundreds of thousands of people around the world will be marching, sitting-in, leafletting, worshipping and engaging in a myriad of other actions to oppose the deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles. Below is a partial listing of events in the US, Canada and Europe. Many of these actions will call for a freeze and reversal of the arms race, conversion of weapons facilities to peaceful use, and an end to military intervention, in addition to opposing deployment.

For information about events not listed contact: Euromissile Action Clearinghouse, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102; [215]241-7177.

The clearinghouse and call for demonstrations in the US, October 21-24 were initiated by a coalition of national peace organizations.

CALIFORNIA: Rally, State Capitol, **Sacramento.** Info: Sacramento Religious Community for Peace; 410 Santa Ynez Way, Sacramento 95816; **San Diego** Women's Peace Camp, General Dynamics (10/21-24). Info: San Diego WILPF, 1956 Sea View Ave., Del Mar 92014; (619)755-4283. **San Francisco:** Rally, Civic Center followed by a march and human chain past cruise and Pershing contractors (10/22). Info: Coalition Against the Cruise and Pershing II Missiles, 3126 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley 94705; (415)841-8359. Civil Disobedience (10/24) Info: LAG. 3126 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley 94705 (415)644-2028.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: International Solidarity Day March from Washington Monument, noon, to Capitol for rally (10/22). Info: Washington Peace Center, 2111 Florida Ave. NW, Washington 20008; (202)234-2000.

FLORIDA: Candlelight vigil, Martin Marietta Plant, Orlando (10/21). Regional march and rally in downtown Orlando (10/22). Info: Central Florida Nuclear Freeze Cpn., PO Box 2422, Winter Park 32790.

ILLINOIS: Bloomington: Street Theater (10/22). **Chicago:** Euromissile game (10/22) Info: Illinois Freeze, S. State St. #1330; Chicago 60604; (312)922-2423. Nonviolent cd at one or more sites (10/24). Info: Disarm Now Action Group, 497 S. Dearborn #370, Chicago, IL 60605; (312)427-2533.

INDIANA: Beat the Bomb, Bruise the Cruise. March from Indiana War Memorial to Monument Circle for Peaceful destruction of mock missile (10/22). Info: SANE, Box 1782, Indianapolis, IN 46206; (317)251-2673.

IOWA: Statewide demo. Cedar Rapids. Info: Iowa Socialist Party, Box 8211, Des Moines 50306; (515)243-2571.

LOUSIANA: Peace Sunday Walk, New Orleans (10/23). Info: Peace Sunday Coalition, 5875 Canal Blvd., New Orleans 70124; (504)283-3601.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: Legislative Actions (10/21). March from Draper Labs to regional rally on Boston Commons (10/23). Nonviolent CD at AVCO Plant, Wilmington (10/24). Info: N.E. Cpn. to Stop the Euromissiles, 2161 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140; (617)492-6446. **Cape Cod:** Rally, Otis Air Force Base (10/22).

MINNESOTA: CD at Honeywell, Minneapolis. Info: Honeywell Project, 3255 Hennepen Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55408.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Demo at Public Service Co. Headquarters, Manchester and Kollsman Instruments, Merrimack (10/21). Nonviolent cd at Peace Air Force Base, Portsmouth (10/22).

NEW MEXICO: Human chain around Kirtland AFB (10/22); cd (10/24). Info: Oct. Disarmament Coalition, 106 Girard SE #121C, Albuquerque 87106; (505)268-9557.

NEW YORK: Regional rally Sampson State Park, nr. Seneca Army Depot (10/22). Interreligious service Waterloo (10/23). Nonviolent blockade of depot (10/24). Info: Seneca Army Depot Action Coalition, 135 W. 4 St., New York, NY 10012; (212)673-1808; (716)243-4002.

NORTH CAROLINA: Statewide rally and march, Raleigh (10/22). Info: North Carolina Peace Network, 790 E. Maynard Rd., Cary 27511; (919)467-6026.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Rally at Main Gate, Savannah River Nuclear Wpns. Plant (10/22). Blockade (10/24) Info: National Guard, 18 Bluff Rd., Columbia, SC 29201; (803)254-9398. Women's& mixed peace camps, Savannah River (10/21-24). Info: Athens WILPF, Georgia University Station, Box 2358, Athens, GA 30601.

TENNESSEE: March from Legislative Plaza to Centennial Park, Nashville (10/22) Info: Freeze, Box 121333, Nashville 37212; (615)356-7386.

TEXAS: Peace Convocation (10/21), statewide march and rally Austin (10/22). Info: Texas March for Peace & Justice, 1022 W. 6 St., Austin 78703; (512)474-2399; 441-4691.

WISCONSIN: Women's Peace Camp. ELF Project Clam Lake (10/21-24). Info: WILPF, 731 State St., Madison 53703; (608)257-7562.

NATIONWIDE: Columbus Day Observances in Solidarity with Comiso (10/30). Info: Friends of Comiso, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038; (212)964-6730. Refuse the Cruise Canada-US Solidarity Days (12/2-3). (see page 21 this issue.)

INTERNATIONAL

BELGIUM: Demo. Brussels (10/23). Info: VAKA, Kloosterstr. 1, 2000 Antwerp. **CANADA:** Demos in 15 cities (10/22). Info: CANDIS, 10Trinity Sq., Toronto M5G 1B1 **DENMARK:** Conferences (10/22-29). Demo, Copenhagen (10/29) Info: Nej til Atomvaben, Dronningsgade 14, 1420 Copenhagen. **FRANCE:** Rally, Paris (10/22). Info: Mouvement de la Paix, 35 rue de Clichy, 74009 Paris. Human chain from US to Soviet Mission by way of Ministry of Defense, Paris (10/23 Info: CODENE, 23 rue Notre Dame de Lorette, 75009 Paris. **GREAT BRITAIN:** Demo, London (10/22). Info: CND, 11 Goodwin St., London N4. Demos, Greenham Common (10/22). Info: Women's Peace Camp, Outside Main Gate, USAF Greenham Common Newbury. **ITALY:** Demo, Rome (10/23). Info: Nat'l Coordination for Peace Movements, via Firenze 38, 00184 Rome. **THE NETHERLANDS:** Demo, The Hague (10/29). Info: Komitee Kruisraketten Nee, Prinsegracht 4, 2521 The Hague. **NORWAY:** Action week (10/17-24). Torch march, Oslo (10/24). Info: Nei til Atomvapen, Youngsgt. 7, Oslo 1. **SPAIN:** Madrid (10/22). Decentralized demos (10/23). Info: Comision Anti-OTAN de Madrid, Atocha 55, 4. centro, Madrid 18. **SWEDEN:** Demo, Stockholm (10/22). Info: SPAAS, Packhausgraand 6, 1120 Stockholm. **SWITZERLAND:** Rally, Bern (11/5). Info: Schweizerischer Friedensrat, Postfach 6386, 8023 Zurich. **WEST GERMANY:** Action Week (10/15-22) Each day of week focuses on different group. Culminates (10/22) with demos in Bonn, Hamburg and West Berlin. Info: Koordination Aktionwoche, Estermannstr. 179, 5300 Bonn 1. Blockade, New-Ulm, Bavaria Pershing II base (10/22); Blockade Neckarsulm-Heilbronn, Baden Wurttenberg Pershing II base (10/29-11/1); Blockade, Wuschheim Hasselbach cruise base (11/13). Info: Stuttgarter Kotakstelle, Senefelderstr. 37a, 7000 Stuttgart 1.

Women Resist Euromissiles

Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice

by Kate Donnelly

Seneca County, New York, will never be the same after the summer of 1983. The Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice was more successful than ever imagined. Its main purpose was to focus public attention on the Cruise and Pershing II missiles due to be deployed in Europe this winter.

The camp was envisioned as a place where women could learn from each other and protest the Seneca Army Depot, which is believed to be the transshipment point for the Euromissiles. Unlike the Greenham Common peace camp in England from which this camp takes its inspiration, women felt the encampment must be open to women who did not want to risk arrest. After an unsuccessful search for land to rent, the organizers decided to buy a farm, one and a half miles from the depot's main gate. This decision did not come easily, but once it was made supporting organizations started fundraising. The $47,000 for the land, plus over $100,000 more raised over the summer, came mostly from small donations.

The encampment opened on the 4th of July with over 400 women participating in the ceremonies. Some women returned to spend the whole summer; others commuted back and forth as often as they could. There was a kind of energy and excitement that made women feel that real work toward disarmament was happening. Something else was growing : an alternative women's community.

The 52-acre farm needed a great deal of work to make it a campground for hundreds of women. Women worked long and hard to make it a suitable campground acceptable to the overscrupulous Board of Health. The work was overwhelming but women took it on with determination, even when their skills didn't match their tasks. Carpenters led crews to build pavillions for workshops and the kitchen area. A water tank was installed and underground hose laid to six outdoor sinks. Fire and cold pits were dug for communal cooking facilities. The most impressive task was a 900-foot boardwalk built to make the workshop and kitchen areas accessible to women in wheelchairs.

Actions at the depot's main gate began July 4 and continued throughout the summer. They included: prayer meetings, silent vigils, satiric street theater, altering depot signs, writing on depot land, climbing fences, and shaking the gates so hard they almost fell down. One night two women went over the fence, climbed the water tower and altered the message from "People First, Missions Always" to "People Always." Throughout the summer over 350 women were arrested.

At times, maintenance work at the camp kept women away from the depot and some felt that they were losing touch with why they were there. But new women brought determination to protest loud and clear. They came from all over the United States and from England, Australia, Canada, Germany, Italy and Japan.

Townspeople's Concerns

Organizers always felt that respect for the local community was important and that communications were vital. The first staff person hired was for local outreach. She organized meetings with local officials and with the public. The first public meeting was held at the local fire department and over 100 people attended. Residents of Romulus expressed their fears about the encampment, especially that they would be blockaded from their jobs at the depot. Because of these fears organizers decided that the action planned for August 1 would not be a blockade but would focus on conversion of the base. Things were going well before the 4th of July; the small group of women who lived in the house were being visited by local people, some of whom brought homebaked goods.

Kate Donnelly is a member of the WIN Editorial Board and was part of the planning committee for the encampment.

Phyllis Rodin, 70, is arrested after climbing over the fence at the Seneca Army Depot in upstate New York. The depot was the focus of the Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace & Justice last summer. And the site of a major demonstration on August 1. Photo by **Bob Mahoney/Syracuse Herald Journal/Peace Development Fund.**

To some extent the Fourth of July weekend undid some of the communication that had been established. Suddenly hundreds of women descended on the town of Romulus. The local community focused on two issues: the flag and lesbianism. A local man offered the encampment a flag to fly. He made it clear that if the flag was not hung he would tell the press about it. Women had strong feelings on both sides of the issue. Some wanted to fly it, believing that it was their flag too. Others felt the camp was international and could not be represented by the US flag, especially because it represents imperialism to much of the world. After a long meeting where consensus could not be reached, a process for a final decision was agreed upon. Five women took the pro flag-flying side, five the anti and five women mediated. After six hours it was decided that women could make their own flags the size of pillow cases, sign them and hang them. Some women made US flags. This didn't do much to appease the town folks who heard all sorts of fallacious rumors about what women were doing with Old Glory, including urinating on it. In response, the streets of Romulus were lined with US flags and most homes hung one.

Pat Gregoire lives three miles from the encampment with her husband, two daughters and two sons. The family was supportive of the encampment even before it opened. They went away for a week around the fourth of July and were shocked by the new hostility arising in their neighbors when they returned. Pat and her husband started weekly meetings in their home, inviting friends and neighbors over to talk to women from the encampment. She said it took a lot of talking about the flag and the rumors surrounding it before they could get down to the real issue. "We had to wade through the anger and fear before they could talk about the nuclear issue, but once you come down to the bottom line they realize the issue is survival.

Local people were also disturbed by the presence of lesbians. This led some at the encampment to speak out against public displays of affection (PDA's). There was agreement at one meeting that women should keep their public displays to a minimum while in the presence of passersby. Many women thought the distaste for PDA's was homophobia within the camp, both by straight and lesbian women. A workshop was held where women shared their feelings with each other. It was apparent that some women came to the encampment feeling uncomfortable being around lesbians. Many of these women left with a positive feeling about their first contact with out-front lesbians. Also, lesbians who had not worked with straight women in years were expressing a positive feeling about the experience.

Life at the Encampment

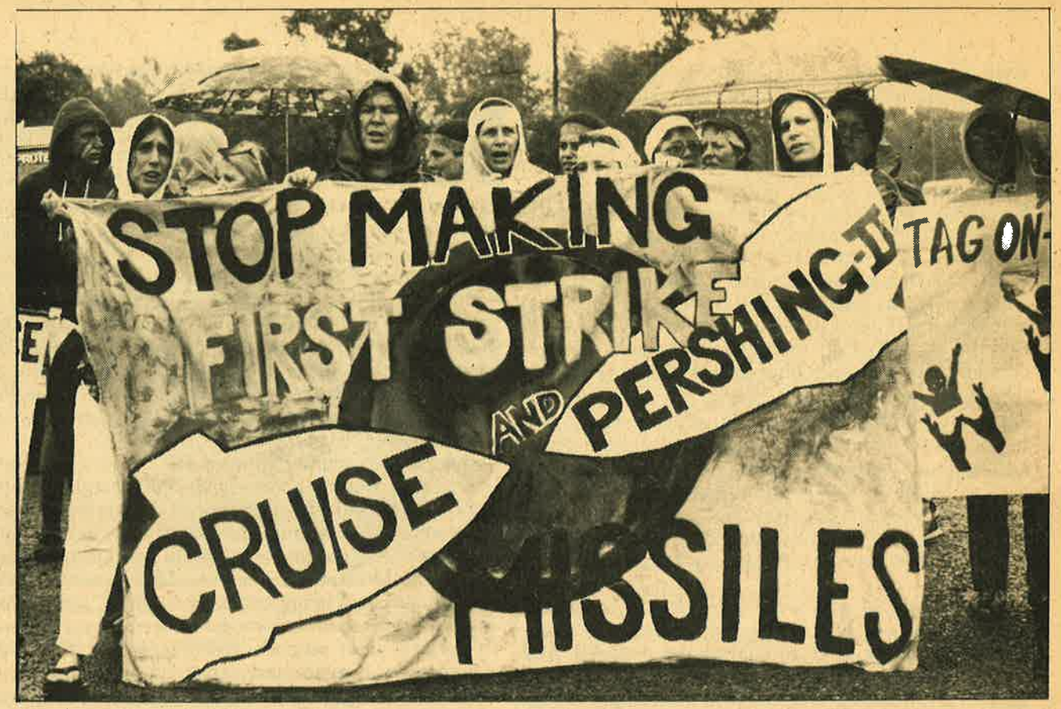
Many women felt not enough time was devoted to dialoging on these issues. In fact, some felt a real absence throughout the summer of in-depth discussions of any kind. Maintaining the land took longer than anyone realized it would. Every woman was asked to work a three-hour shift, but many ended up working all day. It was sometimes hard to get women who came to the encampment for a weekend to take on a security shift in the middle of the night. It was equally difficult to get women to sign up for shifts while workshops or protests were happening. A day at the encampment soon became an exhausting experience.

Organizers of the encampment took on an enormous task and the result was overwhelmingly successful. But there were real problems along the way. All decisions were made by consensus, which was a positive process but left some decisions unmade. It is still unclear how some of the decisions about hiring, money expenditures and camp policies were made. Part of the problem was the nature of the transient community, but equally important, communications were horrendous. There were women who worked in the house doing office jobs and women who worked on the land doing building, garbage pick-up, childcare, cooking and security. It often seemed as though one group did not know what the other was doing. New women often did not know what anyone was doing. It was hard to get a handle on why communication was so bad. To some extent it was inherent in the ever-changing community, but there was also the power-tripping and hierarchy problems that plague all groups.

The staff was largely volunteer; most who did get paid worked all day for half-day salaries. The division between paid and unpaid staff created problems as to who was in charge of what. When everybody works all day and only some get paid, resentment builds up. The constant stress of being at the camp seven days a week, 24 hours a day magnified problems out of proportion. Some workers did not take good care of themselves. And some women were into the macho attitude that whoever worked the longest and stayed up more nights was most committed. Few women took time off and consequently individuals and the encampment suffered. There was no process for dealing with interpersonal problems, and cliques kept many women from contributing their ideas and skills.

The hiring process was as bad as the decision-making one. Women were often complaining about the lack of accountability; despite efforts to improve it, little changed. It became clear after a while that paid staff positions were jobs traditionally valued by our society. "Women's work"—such as childcare, healing and kitchen duties—was unpaid. The work suffered for it, especially childcare, which forced many mothers to either return without their children or spend most of the day with them.

Early on in the organizing meetings a commitment was made to bring many different kinds of women to the camp. It succeeded in bringing together lesbian and straight women. Although the camp was predominantly young, women of all ages were there throughout the summer. However, little was done to insure that women of color, disabled women and poor and working class women participated. Free trans-



August 1 demo. Photo © 1983 by **Dorothy Marder.**

portation, agreed upon by organizers, never materialized, yet money always seemed to be there for other needs. Little publicity was done in neighborhoods or organizations of women of color. Most of the early organizing efforts focused on fundraising, consequently the groups who ended up knowing about the encampment were ones with access to money. Once the encampment began, women spent most of their time on the land, so little outreach to communities, other than the surrounding ones, was done. There were daily workshops on racism which were sometimes successful, but not always well-attended.

One weekend was organized by the third world task force of the women's encampment. The first day was a tribute to Harriet Tubman and other women of color. It began with a program at Tubman's house in Auburn and continued all day. There was singing of slave songs, a walk to the church where Tubman worshipped, a graveside ceremony, and a program about Native Americans at a nearby museum. Queen Mother Moore, an 85-year-old African American woman who was on the original reparations committee for blacks, spoke at the gravesite. The work of Tubman was an inspiration to all those attending, but few women of color besides those who came as invited guests or as organizers were present.

Vinnie Burrows, an African-American actress, performed two poems about Tubman and Sojourner Truth. She spoke later about how the encampment was "too white" and would not be successful without more women of color. "This is a human struggle and we have to unify and if we don't we'll lose."

Waterloo 54

August 1 was the date of the only large pre-planned action of the summer. In conjunction with this, the New York City Women's Pentagon Action organized a walk from Seneca Falls ("birthplace of women's rights") to the encampment on Saturday, July 30. The purpose of the walk was "to honor the defiant women from our past who have resisted oppression and to bring their spirit to the encampment." Around 150 women started out that morning carrying beautiful banners and puppets. After walking a few miles they came into the town of Waterloo ("birthplace of Memorial Day"). They were confronted on a bridge by several hundred townspeople with US flags who refused to let them continue their walk. The women, many newly arrived to the area, were not prepared for this extremely hostile reaction.

Some women sat down to help diffuse the threat of violence and to discuss what to do. Others began talking to the people in the crowd. At times single women were surrounded by a dozen or so angry, yelling people. At all times the marchers remained calm in their interactions. One woman said she never talked so well because she honestly felt she was talking for her life. A man from the town said, "If more people here understood what you're saying to me, this wouldn't be happening. There is a lot of misinformation."

The people on the bridge were disgusted with the encampment. They detested women who were doing

civil disobedience and property damage and were being released without punishment. They shouted, "Kill the Jews," "Commies go home," "Throw them off the bridge, let's see some blood," "Nuke the lezzies." At one point the women sitting down began to sing "The Star Spangled Banner," "America the Beautiful" and other patriotic songs. This greatly confused the flag-waving protesters. Some began to sing along, others booed their own national anthem.

The sheriff had been notified in advance about the walk and it was legal. He had prior knowledge that something was being planned by the local Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) members and some Vietnam vets, but he was still unprepared. He was visibly tense and nervous about what to do. He chose the easy way out and arrested the women after a few hours of confrontation and unsuccessful attempts at getting them to leave. A total of 54 were arrested, including Millie, a local resident who is married to the bank president. She joined in after her son went home and told her what was going on. She wanted people to know that everyone in town did not support the confrontation.

The 54 women who were taken to jail made demands to the court which included: that they all be arraigned together, that all charges be dropped, and that prints and photos be returned. The first two women arraigned refused to talk and were given trial dates. Women in the courtroom quickly mobilized in their affinity groups and refused to let them be taken away. The room was cleared as women sang. After much delay the arraignments continued one at a time. After listening to 11 women's statements, the judge decided to arraign everyone together. A group statement was read and individual women spoke. The judge dismissed all charges and gave the women back their fingerprints and photos, meeting all their demands.

Fear at the Camp

The arrest of the women and the threats heard in Waterloo to "torch the camp" caused a great deal of worry at the encampment. Sunday night, July 31, women at the main gate of the depot were punched and poked at by people with US flags. Others vigiling where the 54 were being held were attacked by people in a crowd of over 100, while deputies watched. They made it to their cars and managed to escape without serious injuries. Rumors that military police from the depot and VFW members were going to break up the camp abounded. The sheriff made it clear that he had no jurisdiction over the area where Monday's action would take place and that if there was a riot there was nothing he could do about it.

Women were understandably panicking and security was increased. Bella Abzug was on the phone to the governor's office trying to guarantee state police protection. Governor Mario Cuomo delayed his trip to the governors' conference to monitor the August 1 demonstration.

Stop Deployment/Start Conversion

Everything looked better by the light of day and women started streaming into Sampson State Park at around 8am. After dancing and singing 3000 women marched to the depot. The march was beautiful and the rainy day turned into a very sunny one. The sheriff stopped the walk four times trying to buy time to diffuse the counter-protesters gathering at the depot gate. Some men from Geneva dispersed themselved into the crowd trying to dispel some of the negative rumors about the encampment. Men also provided childcare for 30 kids, directed traffic, sold resources, and provided gallons of cold herbal tea, fruit and 800 sandwiches to the marching women. Their help showed that men can be supportive in a women-only action.

The women finally reached the depot gate while counter-protesters stayed behind an imaginary line shouting "go home" and many of the epithets heard at Waterloo. Women proceeded to put belongings on the fence as a personal testimony to why they were there. The fences were soon transformed with beautiful banners, and many photos of children, family and friends attached with yarn. Some women sat in front of the gate while others scaled the fences. In all, 240 women were arrested and all but the 11 second-offenders were released that night. Some affinity groups blocked the gates all night and through the next day until they were arrested the following evening.

Positive Changes Occurring

The local media coverage was expansive and reports of the action appeared in newspapers and on TV all over the country. The action was a success on many levels. On August 4, papers reported that Governor Cuomo asked Congressional officials to find out whether he has a right to know what kind of weapons are stored at the Seneca Army Depot. He said, "The state has a moral obligation to find out what weapons are stored at the site."

Another accomplishment was the growing support by some of the local people. Pat Gregoire felt that "the Waterloo incident was the main turning point for the local people. They felt that 'we've got to help these women,' many of them started bringing food." She had planned to stay at the encampment on August 1, but after Waterloo, "I felt I should be there and I brought my sign and it was a beautiful example to the country."

After August 1, work at the encampment turned to cleaning up and talking to local folks. Weekly meetings were arranged at the local family restaurant, Nicastro's, whose owners were always supportive of the encampment. Pat Gregoire's meetings became the "porch peace talks" and they are planning to show disarmament films each week at Nicastro's.

Pat Gregoire felt the flag and lifestyle issues brought up so often were a smokescreen. "It's easier to be afraid of women, lesbians, witches and whatever

March from Harriet Tubman's house to the church she worshipped in, Auburn, NY. The march was organized by the Third World Women's Task Force of the Peace Encampment. Signs are photos of Tubman; a Native American woman and Sojourner Truth. Photo by **Kate Donnelly/WIN.**

than addressing the nuclear issue." She's seen a real turn around in local opinion. Her own church, St. Peters in Seneca Falls, endorsed the encampment. Neighbors started calling her and asking when she was next going to the encampment and could they come along. Pat saw the camp as an amazing educational experience. She often attended workshops and films and was impressed by their scope. She said, "The model of the cruise missile on the front lawn was a wonderful idea which implanted a seed of curiosity and education. I haven't found anyone yet who had said it's a great idea to be deploying the cruise and Pershing II."

It is debatable whether the encampment would have received the same amount of criticism if it were mixed. Pat felt that "if it were a group of men they couldn't have done anything wrong. People kept asking why aren't they home taking care of husbands and family and doing what a good woman does? It hit me how far we haven't come." A Seneca Falls man who owns a pump repair shop said, "You know why people are so upset is because they are women and culturally we don't see women as protesters."

Some people fear the upcoming October action at the depot, believing that women can be nonviolent but that men may cause trouble.

By no means are people of Seneca County convinced about the need for disarmament and social justice, or that lesbians have a right to live alongside them, or that women should be protesting. But they have been exposed to these ideas. Some minds will remain closed, but many have been opened. Ω

DESERT PEACE CAMP

Scorching 100° temperatures and 80 mph winds didn't stop residents of the Tucson Peace Camp from squatting outside the gates of Davis Monthan Air Force Base June 20 to September 10. Inside the base is the *only place in the world* where operators of the Ground Launched Cruise Missiles (GLCM) are being trained. Each of the 464 GLCMs scheduled for deployment in Europe this fall requires 69 crewmembers. In Tucson, 450 people each year learn to start a nuclear war.

The nine peace campers educated others to prevent war. Each morning they leafletted base-bound traffic. Each week, a "Children's Night" was held to share songs and fears, and teach peace crane folding. Friday Peace Raps connected the immediate issue with broader ones: Interventionist policies and nuclear war, peace movements abroad and the Central America flashpoint for war.

Launched by four Catholic Worker House members, the camp inspired many who are new to peace efforts, 35-40 people were on call to provide support.

Authorities first ignored the camp, denying jurisdiction over the site. Around August 6-9 harassment began and the camp was forced to move to a less visible spot, 20 feet from a noisy road. Soldiers were prohibited from visiting while on duty, but some people of all persuasions, stopped by after hours.

On September 10 peace campers were forced to leave county land because of construction. Three campers moved onto Federal land and were arrested.

Campers decided to close the camp but are meeting to decide on future plans. They continue to protest at the base by standing like human billboards along the side of the road.

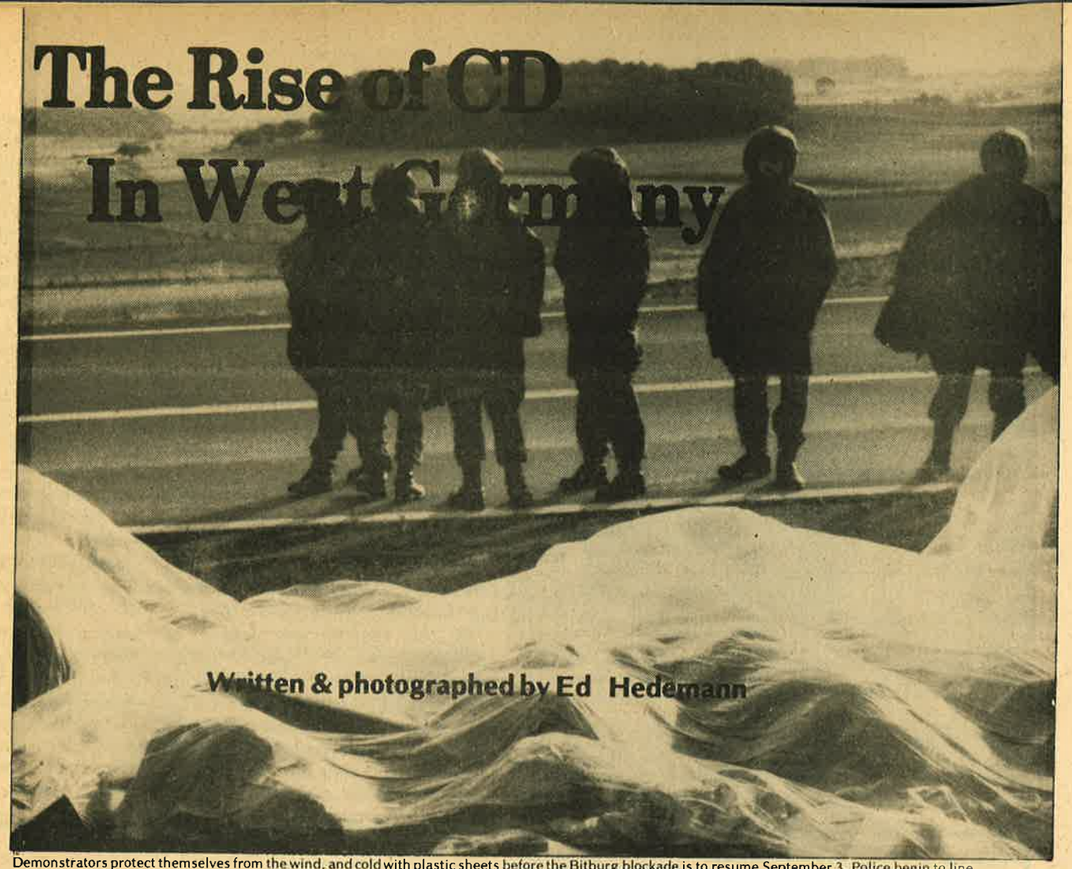
Contact: Casa Maria Catholic Worker House, 401 East 26 St., Tucson, AZ 85713. For info on the Cruise Personnel Training program, contact: Cruise Conversion Alert, 1145 E. 6 St., Tucson, AZ 85719.

—Nina Mohit

Thanks, WIN—always "vaguely reminiscent" of the future.

Upcoming artists at Peoples' Voice include Judy Gorman-Jacobs, Blackberri, Fred Small, Bread & Roses. For program info call: (212)426-2183.

The Rise of CD In West Germany



Written & photographed by Ed Hedemann

Demonstrators protect themselves from the wind, and cold with plastic sheets before the Bitburg blockade is to resume September 3. Police begin to line the road to the base entrance. Photo by **Ed Hedemann.**

The beginning of fall actions in Germany against the cruise and Pershing II missiles was signalled by two impressive nonviolent blockades: one at a Pershing II site September 1-3 in Mutlangen (near Stuttgart), and another at a cruise missile site September 2-3 in Bitburg (near the Luxembourg border).

Last June Petra Kelly of the German Green Party (*Die Grunen*) contacted the War Resisters League (WRL) to ask for the participation of about 10 Americans in the blockades and other activities. Basically, this was to dispel the image that the German peace movement was anti-American, and to symbolize the linking of the American and German peace movements in a joint struggle against these weapons of mass destruction. The WRL sent five people (Mandy Carter from the WRL/SE office in Durham, Bob Henschen from Houston, Susan Smith from San Francisco, Michael Mongeau from Philadelphia and the WRL National Committee, and me). We were joined by Sister Anne Montgomery of New York's Kairos Community, Dan Ellsberg, Maureen Roach of the Mobilization for Survival's Religious Task Force, Phil Berrigan, and Robert Alpern of the Unitarian-Universalist office in Washington, DC.

The Mutlangen blockade received worldwide publicity, largely because of the presence of what the Germans called the *"Prominenten,"* or well-known people. Out of the approximately 1000 blockaders for this three-day action, 150 were notables like Nobel Prize winner Heinrich Boll, author Gunter Grass, Ellsberg, Berrigan, and a number of lesser-known German lawyers, members of the Social Democratic Party, et al—and, of course, members of the Green Party, such as Petra Kelly and ex-NATO general Gert Bastian.

Because of the publicity and famous people, the authorities decided not to react against the Mutlangen blockade. A couple days before the action, GIs and equipment (apparently, including Pershing I's) were evacuated from the base. The blockade proceeded around the clock with 60 well-trained affinity groups taking six or seven hour shifts, 20 groups at a time. About 6000 people showed up for the final day.

However, in Bitburg the smaller numbers (about 900 demonstrators, at peak), the absence of many prominent people, the lack of significant pre-publicity, and the fact that Bitburg is a much more conservative area resulted in an extreme reaction: blockaders were water-cannoned, 300 arrested, 20 police dogs deployed (two people were bitten), and generally rough handling by the police.

Ed Hedeman is on the staff of the WRL National office, and former WIN Editorial Board member.

The Movement Steps Forward

Both blockades were an important step forward for the German movement. Mutlangen was one of the first blockades without any police reaction. More people may now be encouraged to join blockades in the future. Bitburg gave a hint of what the future has in store as blockades become more threatening to the authorities, and where prominent people are not obviously present. Bitburg also showed that demonstrators could withstand extreme police provocation without an incident of violence.

Although the German movement has a good deal of experience with mass rallies and marches, the experience with mass civil disobedience is more limited than in the United States. The concept of crossing fences is far more controversial and little used, raising the spectre in many minds of the Autonomous Groups of the Autonomous Peace Movement (*Autonome Friedensbewegung*]. Only a few hundred people, they participate in movement events, or organize events of their own. They have no commitment to nonviolence, and have gained notoriety in their rock-throwing incidents. Many dropped out of the general peace movement from frustration—things were moving too slow and were too boring for them. One problem, however, is that government agents can and have infiltrated them. Some in the movement disavow them, others support them, while others say the German movement must do more radical nonviolent actions to pull the autonomous people back into the fold and minimize their violence.

The focal point of the German movement is the Green Party. Though the roots of the Greens go back over 10 years, they were formed officially after the announcement in 1979 of Pershing II and cruise missiles deployment for Europe. The Green Party gained prominence by winning some seats in the European Parliament in 1980, but were really catapulted into international fame last March by winning two million votes, gaining 28 seats in the national German parliament (*Bundestag*). The Greens combine anti-nuclear issues with feminism, nonviolence, intermediate technologies, ecology, all with an anti-authoritarian flavor. They like to mix electoral politics with street actions. However, this 25,000 member party is only one part of a very broad peace movement.

One of the reasons the German peace movement was so galvanized by the 1979 deployment decision of the Pershing II and cruise missiles was the continuing resentment of military occupation. Although many Americans may be aware that there are 300,000 American soldiers in Germany, it is hard to fully comprehend until you travel around this country, with a land area the size of Oregon. In the American sector of West Germany (there are still British and French sectors) bases are everywhere. It was commonplace to see signs at bridges with not only an image of a truck and its weight limit, but the image of a tank with its weight limit—on main thoroughfares and small roads alike! Our German hosts told stories of tanks on maneuvers running through private farm lands, with little care about crops and fences they ran down. During our stay, we got a report of 400 local citizens in a small town so fed up with the noise of American tanks that they sat down in front of a tank forcing it to turn around.

How readily and creatively the German movement is able to develop militant nonviolent tactics may be the linchpin to stopping these first strike weapons, but ultimate success will depend on a strong international movement. Ω

Crossroads in the town of Mutlangen. The US Pershing base is one kilometer to the right; the Peace Camp (Friedenscamp) is a couple of kilometers to the left. Photo by **Ed Hedemann.**

East Germany:

Two Peace Movements, Circling for Peace

by Bruce Birchard
Photos by Harriet Hirshorn

For a long time I thought very little about peacemaking. I was a typical citizen. Though there were things I didn't like, especially about my son's school, I did nothing. I felt conscious of myself as a Christian, but I was not living it actively. Then my mother died, and this led me to think deeply about what it really means to be a Christian. The question of the meaning of life became important to me. I came to the opinion that I must speak out, even if this made difficulties for me. This is my cross to carry as a Christian.

"As I looked for ways to express my beliefs, I realized that I did not want my son to practice throwing mock hand-grenades in school. Now he does not participate in the military training there. We have had no trouble about this yet. The teachers have not said anything, and the other students think it is great that he refuses to go along with the authorities. But I know that he probably will not be allowed to go to the university.

"This issue of military training in our schools had a lot to do with our first presentation at our church. I have learned so much in this work now. I have become more sensitive to hunger and the suffering of others. I know that others do much more and suffer much more than I do. But I know now that things are not so bad—we just have to come out of our shells."

The speaker was a woman in her mid-30s. She and six others from a church-related *Friedenskreis*, or "Circle of Peace," were sharing about their lives as peacemakers with me and two other Americans in a small, flower-filled back yard in East Berlin.

I had come to East Berlin for two days of meetings with peace activists, both "official" and "unofficial," as part of a trip to learn more about the European peace movements and the opposition to the deployment of the cruise and Pershing II missiles. I understood that in East Germany there was no "peace movement" in the Western sense, i.e., a movement of independent organizations committed to peace which publishes information and ideas, holds public meetings and organizes conferences, demonstrations, and other actions. There are indeed large conferences and demonstrations, organized by the government-supported "Peace Committee of the German Democratic Republic," and I am sure that the hundreds of thousands of East Germans who take part in these events are most sincere in their wish for peace. And then there are the peace circles.

Bruce Birchard is on the staff of the Friends Peace Committee in Philadelphia, PA.

Peace Circles

Most of the peace circles are based within local churches. The few which are not, we were told, experience much more difficulty with the state. Indeed, while we were there, several peace activists from Jena were apparently forced to leave the GDR. We were told by our peace circle friends that the exiles were not associated with a church.

Even the peace circles are not organizations with officers, dues, publications and so on. As one member explained, "Each individual brings and does what she or he can. There are no group decisions about what individuals are to do, and no one takes responsibility for the group. Members of the group try to help each other if one gets in trouble, for example, by refusing military service. But participation in any aspect of the group's efforts is purely voluntary."

The church in East Germany is a very important institution. It is estimated that eight out of 17 million people are at least nominally Christians. The Federation of Protestant Churches, and the smaller Catholic and Jewish federations are the only organizations in the GDR not under direct government or party control.

"There is no problem in going to church to pray, sing or preach," said an official of the Federation of Protestant Churches. "What we constantly have to negotiate with the government over is the right to live as a Christian in our everyday life."

Peace Committee of the German Democratic Republic billboard in East Berlin subway station. Photo by **Harriet Hirshorn/WIN.**

The people of the peace circle told us more about what it means to them to live as Christians. Opposition to military indoctrination and training in the schools is a core issue. Though the Constitution also forbids "warmongering," the government in recent years has instituted a program which begins with a visit from a soldier in the People's Army to each first grade class, encourages the use of war toys (banned in 1945 but now reintroduced as "patriotic toys") and, for older children, involves actual training with mock weapons. One key aspect of this indoctrination is what people call "enemy stereotyping" (*Feindbild*)—the inculcation of the "image of the enemy."

One of the four "task forces" of the peace circle with whom we met concentrates on this issue. They noted that "our army is always presented as the defenders of peace and our freedom [sound familiar?], while the West is presented as a land of capitalist imperialist warmongers who would overwhelm the peace-loving peoples of the socialist countries were it not for the People's Army." To counteract these efforts, members of the peace circle exhibit pictures of life in other countries, present stories, plays, songs and puppet shows, talk with children about incidents of conflict in their own lives, and teach non-competitive games. Their intention is that parents understand what is being done in school and, since efforts by the church to get the government to abandon this program have failed, they try to see to it that the enemy views "don't stick." In doing so, they have come to conceive of their children not as subjects for instruction, but, in their words, "as partners" from whom they as adults can learn as well.

Resisting Military Conscription

Another key issue for church-related peace activists in East Germany is military conscription. In 1962 conscription was introduced in East Germany, six years after it began in West Germany. Young men were required to give 18 months service. Since East Germany is officially committed to the cause of peace and its forces are purely "for defense," no provision for total conscientious objection is deemed necessary. However, in 1964, under considerable pressure from the church and roughly 3000 young men who refused conscription in the first year, the government amended the conscription law to provide for the establishment of units of "construction soldiers" (*Bausoldaten*) who, while still under military command, would build and repair military installations rather than carry weapons.

In our meeting with officials of the Federation of Protestant Churches, the point was carefully made that they recognize that many young Christians who enter the armed forces do so out of a genuine belief that this is the best way to defend peace. However, they noted, "refusal of military training is the more significant witness for peace." Those who join the military service as *Bausoldaten* are pursuing a middle track, in their view. It should be noted that those who resist conscription, either totally or as *Bausoldaten*, are likely to suffer significant discrimination in later life if they seek advanced education or positions of major responsibility.

In order to promote the possibility of total conscientious objection, a group of Christians in Dresden prepared a proposal for a "Community Peace Service" (*Sozialer Friedensdienst* or *SoFd*) in 1981. Within six months, all eight of the regions of East Germany's Protestant Church had adopted this proposal, which

Doorway in East Berlin. (Grun means green.) Photo by **Harriet Hirshorn/WIN.**

would provide for two years of community service (six months longer than the standard military service, to discourage mere shirkers) for total conscientious objectors. This has become a major item on the agenda of the church-based peace movement, though, to date, government response has been negative.

Opposing the Arms Race

The arms race is also an issue for both the peace circles and the government-supported peace committees. In 1979, for example, the Peace Committee coordinated a peace petition drive by its 22,600 local committees which secured the signatures of 96% of the population within one month. The activities of the officially-sanctioned peace committees, however, are directed only against the arms build-ups of the Western countries since the socialist governments are all held to be committed to peace. They see the Warsaw Pact's military build-up as a defensive reaction to NATO increases and insist that the Pact wants to negotiate an end to the arms race.

Within the peace circle, however, opposition to the arms of both sides is strongly expressed. While they cannot organize petition drives or demonstrations, they can obtain and disseminate information on the arms increases of both sides. They do spread this information amongst themselves through small discussion groups and, to some extent, through wall posters in their church (which is open to the public two days each week) and public discussions and programs which are offered there on occasional evenings to anyone who wishes to come.

The view that the arms race must be stopped and nuclear weapons eliminated from the world is not limited to the small peace circles of the East German church. One church leader stressed to us that the church, after several years of study, has come to the conviction that the military concept of deterrence with any weapons is wrong and counterproductive, in that it leads to feelings of greater insecurity on the other side, which then contribute to the further escalation of the arms race. We must rather pursue a policy of "common security," she stressed, in which it is recognized that the true security of the Eastern bloc countries is only improved by enhancing the security of the Western countries, and vice versa. This view, of course, is rejected at least as strongly by the NATO governments as by those of the Warsaw Pact.

Special Qualities of the East German Peace Movement

In their efforts to present alternatives to the official views of the West and the arms race, independent East German peace activists have at least three important things going for them which distinguish them from other Eastern bloc countries. First of all, the church has been able to provide the "political space" within which concerned members can actively pursue their work for peace—within serious limits, of course. The Federation of Protestant Churches plays a major role in creating and maintaining this space through its ongoing dialogue with the government. Its staff and related agencies, such as the "Study Group on Peace Affairs" (*Studiensreferat Friedensfragen*) have also prepared proposals and materials for peace education to be used in the churches.

Secondly, some seven million visits per year are made to the GDR by West Germans, most of whom are friends or relatives of East German citizens. These visits, plus some 40,000 visits per year by East Germans to West Germany, make for much closer personal ties to the West than can be maintained by citizens of any other Eastern bloc country.

Finally, while the East German government tries to keep Western print publications out (with limited success), they make no effort to prevent their citizens from tuning in to West German radio and television. This ready access to Western news and views *in their own language* is extremely important for the autonomous peace movement in the GDR. It also provides a quick means of communicating major developments within East Germany to other East German peace activists, for their activities and statements are immediately reported on West German television and radio and heard in East Germany.

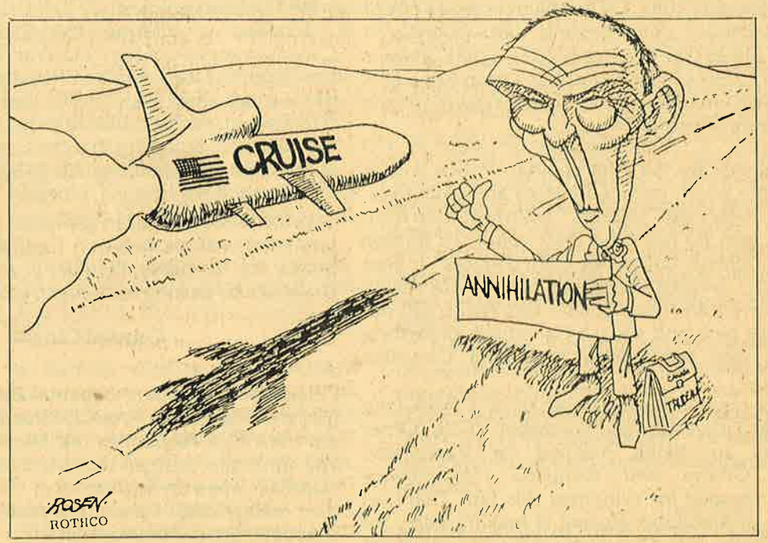
In conclusion it seems that East Germans who experienced the horrors of World War II have a special reason to fear a nuclear war between the superpowers. While the majority expresses their concern through official channels, some have come together in independent peace circles where they express their criticisms of their own, as well as Western, governments.

One peace circle member, noted that as a German he feels burdened by guilt for the Holocaust. "If I don't work for peace, I remain guilty." Added another, "We are all guilty until there are no more weapons and. . . hunger." Ω

For more information: END has published an excellent booklet, *The Sword and the Ploughshare: Autonomous Peace Initiatives in East Germany*, London: Merlin Press/European Nuclear Disarmament, 1983. It is one of a series of reports issued by END. $5.00 from END/Merlin Press, 3 Manchester Road, London E14, England.

CANADIANS REFUSE THE CRUISE

by Ken Hancock



Cartoon by **David Rosen/ROTHCO.**

There is an enormously hospitable American audience for Canada's views. But the reception depends upon Canada retaining a relationship of friend and ally instead of the Protectorate.

—Eugene Rostow

Canada is a client state government of the United States. That fact is both undeniable and essential to any real understanding of the present situation in my country. That fact requires, to paraphrase Eugene Rostow, a hospitable American audience which does not base its listening abilities upon our containment within US global military interests and strategies.

Like all colonial relationships, US control over Canadian experience has not been simply restricted to economic affairs. Although it is true that US economic power controls approximately two-thirds of Canada, US imperialism has also extended itself to political, military and cultural fields. This is why so little is known about Canada in the US, even in progressive circles. We receive a daily barrage of American mass-consumer based culture. Americans receive almost nothing about our experience. And while this relationship assures us as a "reliable" market for US goods (Canada has a remarkably underdeveloped manufacturing sector. We are a parts manufacturer; a branch plant economy which relies mostly on exporting natural resources.) it also means that Canadians on the whole have digested the Cold War ideological system as a part of their national self-identity.

However, in the last two years a few cracks have appeared in the Cold War fortress. Canadians have taken to the streets in the tens of thousands to protest the construction and testing of cruise missiles in their country. On one day alone, April 23, 1983, over one hundred thousand Canadians demonstrated against the increasing integration of Canada into the

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Ken Hancock is a Toronto activist working with the Cruise Missile Conversion Project and the Alliance for Non-Violent Action. Both at 730 Bathurst St., Toronto, ON, M5R 2S4 Canada.

American government's nuclear weapons policies. In the United States, on a percapita population basis, that would be over one million people. This kind of political response prompted Prime Minister Trudeau (an arrogant, hypocritical politician if there ever was one—much to the opposite of his international reputation) to write an open letter to Canadians condemning the peace forces in Canada.

This fall, plans are underway for massive rallies on October 22 all across the country to voice our broad-based support for the nuclear resistance movement in Europe. Several nonviolent civil disobedience (CD) actions are also being organized.

For the past several years, actions have focused on Litton Systems of Canada, a subsidiary of Litton Industries of Beverly Hills, California. Known as one of the most notorious union-busting transnationals in the United States (see *Changes*, WIN, 8/83), there is no union at Litton's Toronto factory. Litton has a $1.4 billion contract to make the guidance system for the sea-launched cruise missile.

A November 11, 1982 blockade of Litton by 175 people was met by the Metropolitan Police with a show of force which included horses and clubbings. Nearly 400 uniformed "soldiers" guarded Litton from Canadians who do not want their country's foreign policy to mindlessly imitate the United States'. It goes a long way in understanding our client-state reality when an American transnational can easily call out police forces here and squash Canadians protesting companies who profit from non-union Canadian labor.

Plans are now underway to organize a week-long CD action at Litton this fall (November 11-18). Other CD actions are being planned for Vancouver, Montreal, Ottawa and Kingston. Nonviolence training is planned for Winnipeg this fall. There, in the capital of Manitoba, Boeing is making parts for the MX missile. For a country with a reputation of being a wasteland of snow and cold this place is certainly heating up.

Canadian Cold Warriors

Canada is that country in the world where US investments have met a most profitable and reliable climate. —Annual Pentagon Report to Congress, 1981

The growth in resistance to the cruise missile has been very important to the political life of Canada. Still much work needs to be done to broaden the movement's political understanding of the issues involved in the popular slogan, "Refuse the Cruise." In fact, for reasons very different from my own, Prime Minister Trudeau recently raised the level of "discussion" by exposing some of the real issues the peace movement needs to explore.

Trudeau's cabinet recently began publicly challenging the peace movement to force the government to get out of NATO. Citing the testing of British and West German nuclear-capable fighter aircraft here, the government has condemned the peace movement for being hypocritical.

Some anti-cruise organizers, by rightly citing the fact that the testing of cruise missiles here does not necessarily indicate NATO involvement, (the testing agreement—in which cruise is the first weapon requested—is only between two administrations) forget the US's dominant role in NATO. Testing and building cruise is symptomatic of our broader client state relationship with the US. The hypocrisy Trudeau points at is real. How indeed can we continue to enjoy this "privileged" position in relation to the United States; to live off the fruits of its imperial economy; but complain when we are asked to pull "our" share in NATO defense policies.

Trudeau is offering the Canadian people a Canadian version of the Cold War. He knows that we have been too scared of the "Russians" to be ready to remove ourselves from NATO. He has even offered a referendum linking cruise testing to a vote on NATO membership. Knowing that the Canadian people still operate, on the whole, within a Cold War mentality, this proposal is a safe one, indeed.

If the basic economic, political, cultural and military relationships between Canada and the United States are at stake, then let's examine Trudeau's challenge by looking back over the last 40 years.

Colonial Canada

Canada's involvement began at the very beginning. [For the Manhattan Project] Canada provided uranium from Port Radium in the Northwest Territories. The dust had scarcely settled over Hiroshima and Nagasaki when on September 5, 1945, the first Canadian reactor began producing plutonium for the continuing American bomb program. —Gordon Edward, "Canada and the Nuclear Machine."

Canada has always been a colony. During World War II Canadians simply traded one master (Britain) for another. During the war Canada began to seriously be integrated into the United States global system, although it was probably the first 10 years after the war that truly cemented that change. During this time, an entire global order was constructed. From reestablishing right-wing military governments from Thailand to Tunisia, to CIA operations in Italy and France, an empire was built which not only had near-monolithic control of the bomb but also an almost unchallenged access to most of this earth's resources and labor.

For important humanitarian reasons, progressive forces have focused most of their attention upon that empire's effect upon the peoples of the Third World. But more thought needs to be given now—in the age of Euromissiles and cruise testing—to the US's consolidation of its domination of first world, advanced capitalist countries (eg, Canada and Western Europe) as an essential factor in US intervention in the Third world. Consensus about US foreign policy in these developed countries can either legitimize or undermine US intervention in El Salvador, South Korea or the Pacific Islands. NATO was the military organization created after World War II as the military arm of US economic intervention in western capitalist countries.

For Canada, that meant a "continentalization" of our economy culture and foreign military policy. Briefly, after World War II there was a hint of an independent path for Canada, but government studies reveal what autonomy would have meant for Canada. One such study states "the pressure which would be brought to bear on Canada by the United States in the event of Canada seeming reluctant or refusing to cooperate with the United States in continental defense would be very substantial and might be difficult to resist."

Typical Canadian understatement. But a truth which Pierre Trudeau realizes, when he faces the possibility of saying no to the US government.

He inherits a tradition which his own Liberal Party created during the 1940s. Influential political figures, such as Lester Pearson (later to be Liberal Prime Minister), were instrumental in integrating Canada into US domination.

It is, of course, impossible to construct a truly detailed picture of that legacy, but here are a few essential dates and events that may clarify the situation.

- 1949: NATO is formed. Canada and Western Europe's participation insures their reliability in an alliance whose members only unifying thread is an adherence to a capitalist mode of production under US control. Although dedicated to reserving a free West, the inclusion of such anti-democratic states as Portugal and Greece seems to go "unnoticed."
- 1958: Canada and the United States announce a formal agreement in the creation of NORAD, an advanced radar warning system. A perfect integration of the Cold War ideology (the Russians are coming) with technological domination. A cynic might believe it means we in Canada will get it first in a nuclear exchange.
- During the Vietnam War, Canada plays the role of the diplomatic "middle," while raking in the money by selling hundreds of millions of dollars of napalm and other murderous equipment to the Pentagon. Canadian members of the International Commission are also "used" to carry threats about US bombing escalations to the North Vietnamese.
- 1966: The US Army sponsors a series of studies undertaken by the Special Operations Research Office at American University in Washington, DC. The studies focus upon possible revolutions in the Western hemisphere and the counterinsurgency required to stop them. One of the areas focused upon is Quebec.
- 1976: US forces are stationed at Plattsburg Air Force Base the night Rene Levesque's Parti Qubecois won the provincial vote in Quebec. Any politically independent government in Quebec would be

REFUSE THE CRUISE!

In an emergency response to Canada's agreement permitting the Pentagon to test cruise missiles in western Canada, protesters gathered in more than 20 states as part of simultaneous continent-wide demonstrations to "Refuse the Cruise." All 14 Canadian consulates in the United States were sites of protests, while vigils and rallies took place in at least 10 other locations around the US on July 23.

Meanwhile, there were demonstrations in virtually every major city in Canada. Associated Press estimated that 3500 protesters marched in downtown Toronto, where a model of a cruise missile was burned in effigy outside the US consulate. A peace rally in Vancouver drew 2000 people.

All of these protests occurred in response to the Canadian government's announcement, made one week earlier, that it will allow the US military to flight test air-launched cruise missiles in Canada. (The tests are scheduled to begin this coming winter in northern Alberta, where snowy terrain is very similar to the wintry landscape of the central Soviet Union.) In the United States emergency protests—initiated and coordinated nationwide by the People's Test Ban National Clearinghouse—were implemented by numerous local peace groups.

"Canadians are tremendously encouraged by the solidarity expressed by US citizens in our joint struggle to refuse the cruise," said Beth Richards of the Canadian Disarmament Information Service (CANDIS). "We look forward to a further deepening of an international peace alliance in the coming months."

CANDIS, the End the Arms Race coalition in British Columbia, and other Canadian peace groups have begun nationwide distribution of "A Call for 'Refuse the Cruise' Canada-US Solidarity Days."

Decentralized protests— including marches, rallies and nonviolent civil disobedience—are being urged for December 2-3. Initiating US groups are suggesting that organizers incorporate opposition to US military intervention in the Third World, challenge the attacks on "human needs" budgets and focus on issues of corporate power.

The emergency protests coincided with a prescheduled July 23 border crossing and "International Peace Picnic" demonstration against cruise testing plans, which included nonviolent civil disobedience at Griffiss Air Force Base, later in the week. The test missiles will be launched from planes based at Griffiss.

Contact: People's Test Ban, National Clearinghouse, PO Box 42430, Portland, Oregon 97242; (503)227-5102. CANDIS, 10 Trinity Sq. Toronto, ON M5G 1B1; or End the Arms Race, 1708 W. 16th Ave., Vancouver, BC V6J 2M1. **—People's Test Ban**

greeted by Washington as another Cuba.

• By the early 1980s economic interests in Wall Street are leasing the Canadian economy back to Canadians.

• December, 1982. *The Canadian Forum*, a left-liberal magazine, cites overtures by Reagan to Wall Street to "punish" the Canadian economy if we pursue any further the strange notion that we should own our own oil.

Alternatives

For example, Canada is very stable. There are not going to be revolutions. —William Colby, NY Times, 8/7/83

Canada has not simply fallen under the control of the United States. Business interests in Canada have put us there. It would be wrong of course, to see Canada's militarization as simply a sign of our dependency. This is still a powerful capitalist country. Toronto is the sixth largest investment center in the world. We peddle our nuclear reactors around the world to any government who will buy them. Canadian banks, ranging among the largest in the world, invest in South Africa. Mining interests invest in third world oppression in countries like Chile. Our relief aid to Nicaragua from 1980 to 1983 was only $6.8 million, while $58 million has gone to El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras over the same period. In London, Ontario, General Motors makes hundreds of millions of dollars worth of US military tanks, earmarked for the Rapid Deployment Force. The Canadian government has also ordered them.

But Trudeau is right. You cannot look at this country without confronting our neighbor to the south. It is very difficult to imagine this country freeing itself from US domination. A non-aligned socialist government and economy is what it will take. It will be possible as the Europeans are saying, in a "de-blocked" world. Within the present situation, there will be strict limits put on dissent. In 1970, this country operated under martial law as the government suspended all political rights to smash the front de Liberation du Quebec.

But, cracks in the structure as I said earlier, have begun to appear. We will need the support of progressive forces in the United States to make these cracks fissure.

Canada's passivity as Colby has stated, is hoped for, but never, I believe, totally assumed. The importance of maintaining control over Canada is enormous. If Canada "goes"—and refusing cruise testing would be a first step—the blow to US foreign policy would be formidable. George Schultz has already said there is concern Canada seems to be slipping out of control. For once, I hope, the State Department is right. Ω

WIN from the Beginning: The First Five Years

by Mark Morris

Drawings by Peg Averill

On a sunny Saturday afternoon in November 1966, a joyful procession crossed lower Manhattan carrying a yellow submarine. This 12-foot-long boat was filled, as our leaflet said, with "BREAD BALLOONS FLOWERS WINE & MESSAGES OF LOVE, DESPERATION, PEACE & HOPE TO ALL THE PEOPLE IN THE WORLD." The submarine was set afloat (briefly) in the Hudson River. I believe this event more than anything defined WIN, both to ourselves and to the world. We brought the Beatles' song to life. In a small but concrete way we created a vision of the world we were working toward. (Later it came full circle when the Beatles appeared at a press conference wearing our yellow submarine button.)

The first issue of WIN had appeared nearly a year earlier, January 15, 1966. It was a mimeographed, 20-page magazine, produced entirely by volunteers and published twice a month by the Workshop in Nonviolence, New York City local of the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA) and the War Resisters League (WRL).

The first issue included reports on demonstrations by Marty Jezer, Don Newlove, Bradford Lyttle; reviews by Paul Johnson, Martin Mitchell, and Bonnie Stretch; plus a crossword puzzle by Henry Bass (one across was "peacenik"). Other regulars soon included Dorothy Lane, Maris Cakars, Don Newton, Rebecca Johnson, Dan Hemenway, Jim Peck, Gwen Reyes, and Nancy Jezer.

Participatory Journalism

From the first WIN's specialty was front line reports on street demonstrations. The articles were written by demonstrators. What's more, these people could write. For the most part they were new to demonstrations and to nonviolence. Their enthusiasm was contagious.

WIN writers took part in the demonstrations they wrote about, but that was only the beginning. Often they organized the demonstration themselves. They also did all the work of putting out the magazine, from typing stencils to maintaining the mailing list, to collating and mailing each issue.

My chief memories of WIN during these early days are of Marty Jezer. (I was working across the hall at 5 Beekman Street for CNVA.) Issue after issue Marty wrote a major article, whatever was needed, always at the last minute, banging it out on an old office typewriter. He's the fastest and loudest two-finger typist I ever saw. He gave the WIN office a *stop the presses* excitement.

Looking over early issues of WIN after all these years, one thing that surprises me is the extent to which its identity was established from the first. No awkward adolescence for WIN! For example, in addition to detailed reports on demonstrations, the first few issues included the Spring Book Poll (May) and a literary issue (August) with short stories by Spencer Holst and Paul Johnson, a film script by Donald Newlove, and Jackson Mac Low's performance poem, "Jail Break."

Another WIN hallmark is a sense of humor. One example is the "Peace Creep of the Month" award, first given in June 1966. The recipient was Henry Felisone, a meek office volunteer at CNVA. When Henry's name appeared in an ad about war tax resistance, his parents' home in Queens was bombed (broken windows, nobody hurt, case never solved).

I don't mean to imply that everything about WIN stayed the same, of course. There was a great deal of change. As the movement to stop the war grew, WIN grew along with it. The sheer number of demonstrations that took place during those years is staggering. Their variety is even more impressive. They ranged from draft card burnings, to tiny silent vigils

Mark Morris lives in San Francisco, where he has revived Peace & Gladness Press and is publishing pamphlets about nonviolence, the first being Mary Crane's Rape Avoidence and Resistance, A Nonviolent Approach.

in out of the way places, to antiwar mobilizations involving hundreds of thousands of people.

Excitement & Anguish

To someone who wasn't there, it's hard to describe the intensity of the early days of the struggle against the war in Vietnam. We knew we were doing something that had never been done before: protesting a war with street demonstrations while the war was being fought, while American soldiers were dying. It was a time of excitement and anguish.

As the magazine grew, its sponsorship changed twice. In September 1966, CNVA joined the Workshop as co-publisher. This made WIN a national magazine. By October 1967, CNVA was in financial trouble and WRL became the new co-publisher. Although they were putting up sizeable chunks of money, neither CNVA nor WRL exercised any editorial control over WIN.

After a few issues, WIN evolved from mimeograph to offset printing, which was done by Grindstone Press, a movement print shop in Connecticut, run by Gordon and Mary Christiansen and Neil Haworth; active CNVAers, they became highly involved in editing and writing WIN.

The WIN staff changed perpetually, though many of those who put out the first few issues remained WIN's backbone. I joined the staff as managing editor when CNVA became co-publisher. I was the first paid staff person. A few months later, Gwen Reyes replaced me as managing editor (I stayed on doing graphics) and in another few months, Paul Johnson replaced Gwen. Eric Weinberger became business manager in early 1967 and was replaced by Susan Kent Cakars late that year. Paul left in mid-1969 and Maris Cakars assumed editorial responsibility.

For the first year or so, WIN was produced with little editorial wrangling. We were too busy putting out a magazine to argue much about it. Some old line pacifists were appalled by our non-doctrinaire approach to nonviolence and by what they termed coarse language. Each time we printed the word "fuck," a few subscriptions were cancelled. We figured there was no use trying to please all the people and continued to try to produce a magazine we believed was vital and honest—and maybe a little outrageous. By 1970 when Dave Dellinger said "bullshit," we put it in bold letters in a headline.

The year 1967 started with a great loss. On February 11, A.J. Muste died unexpectedly at the age of 82. WIN had provided much coverage of A.J.'s final year: his trip to Saigon for CNVA's speak-out; his trip to Hanoi to meet with Ho Chi Minh; his last arrest, in the company of 66 others including many WIN people at the Whitehall Street Induction Center at Christmastime. WIN's memorial issue (2/24/67) was eloquent, featuring a biography by Marty Jezer, reminiscences by WIN regulars and other friends of A.J., telegrams from politicians, plus 23 photographs, mostly of A.J. at demonstrations through the years. Jackson Mac Low remembered him as "foxy granpa," and that he was. A.J. had been central in the creation of the movement to stop the war in Vietnam. What's more, he always defended WIN against the pacifist fuddy duddies. He was sorely missed.

Up from Underground to Respectability

As the antiwar movement became nationwide, less of the magazine was written by the regulars, though their reports continued. CNVA's Boston to the Pentagon walk for peace received extensive coverage. So did draft resistance in a wide variety of forms, from Steve Suffet's eating his draft card (to make it easier to comply with the regulation that he always have it with him) to mass draft card burnings.

By the middle of 1968 the strains of producing WIN were beginning to show. The July issue includes a memo about WIN by Marty Jezer and responses by two correspondents, Paul Encimer in Los Angeles and Steve Pelletiere in San Francisco. Was WIN a victim of its own success? Did it start getting "respectable" after WRL took over? Was it changing from a magazine written by activists to a magazine written by writers? I suppose the answer to all these questions is a qualified yes, but at the same time, WIN was continuing to be very much the same. Marty's memo said more about changes in him than changes in the magazine or in the world. The original WIN writers were getting burned out and/or going on to other things. We were feeling the first itches of the urge to move back to the land.

WIN always had a slightly psychedelic ambience. Without the existence of marijuana, it wouldn't have been the same magazine. At first this was more or less unstated, but by 1968 arguments about New England CNVA's marijuana policy were printed, as well as Peter Stafford's "Acid, Rock and Revolution" (6/15/68). The following year Mayer Vishner did a series called "Rock and Revolution."

By January 1969 the move to the country had begun. WIN did a special issue on *Alternatives* (1/1/69). Paul Johnson describes his first visit to rural New Mexico, where he and his family later

moved, as did Gwen Reyes and her family. Marty Jezer writes about his new life on the communal farm in Vermont later known as Total Loss Farm.

Looking through these issues of WIN for signs of the emerging feminist consciousness is discouraging. A few brief items were written by Robin Morgan and others, but it's not until January 1970 that a special issue was done about what was termed "women's liberation." A variety of viewpoints is expressed, with writing by Marilyn Salzman Webb, Karen Durbin, Sandra Adickes, Rebecca Johnson, and Alice Lynd, among others, and a poem by Mary E. Mayo.

Gay Liberation

WIN did somewhat better by gay liberation. In November 1969, only five months after Stonewall, an issue appeared which must have startled many WIN subscribers. Scrawled across the cover is the title of the lead essay by Paul Goodman: "my homosexual needs have made me a nigger." The issue also contains a long coming out piece by David McReynolds and poems by John Weiners.

By this time WIN was beginning to show some changes. It was getting more magazine-like. Articles were longer and the issues were thicker. There were excellent graphics by Burt Levitsky, Julie Maas, Peter Merlin and others. Special issues were frequent and devoted to such topics as ecology, antiwar GIs, prisons, Biafra.

During its first five years, WIN reflected the growth and changes in the movement to stop the war in Vietnam. A constant commitment to nonviolence was maintained. I believe WIN was an effective tool for bringing new people into the movement and introducing them to nonviolence. WIN also served to broaden traditional pacifist concerns by including positive information about psychedelic drugs, ecology, rock music, women's liberation and gay liberation. During these years the antiwar movement as a whole moved very much in the same direction as WIN. It's hard to determine how much WIN was leading and how much following along. I imagine a little of both.

Goodbye . . . for Now

WIN has been so much like the movement it has been part of and helped to nurture: usually unpretentious, grassroots, intense, uplifting; sometimes painful, confusing, complicating; always worthwhile. In the midst of writing, organizing and reading, I found WIN was continually willing to present ideas interwoven with experiences, without seeking gloss or superficial hype. All who have made this magazine so alive have enlivened the possibilities for us all. I suspect that WIN as a magazine was never really an end in itself; its spirit will endure. There's a voice inside us singing. Carry it on. . . **—Norman Solomon**

Oh, dear, what a checkered relationship we have had! So much encouragement from Paul Johnson, my first beloved editor; the hot, but mutually respectful disputes with Maris Cakars, who nevertheless almost always published what I wrote as I wrote it, and who, with Susan Cakars, hosted the wildest and best weekend country parties I've ever been to; the arguments over "correct line" with lovingly cantankerous David McReynolds and gentle Marty Jezer; my continuing affection for Karin and Ralph DiGia, Igal Roodenko, Wendy Schwartz, and Mayer Vishner; the publication of my first book, **Thinking Like a Woman,** by Nancy and Fred Rosen, and my friendship with them; meeting and joining forces and becoming lifelong friends with feminists Barbara Deming, Andrea Dworkin, and Karla Jay. . . WIN is closing? I feel like crying. . . The 60s are irrevocably over. **—Leah Fritz**

So WIN is folding. Ten years ago WIN was folding, folding in another sense of the word. It was folding new readers like me into the larger progressive community and it was folding writers without any place to publish, once again like me, into print. I like to bake bread. I can't bring myself to think of WIN folding as in folding a tent. I'd rather imagine WIN now being folded into the great sponge of the progressive universe. WIN will rise again and we may not even know it. **—Doug Magee**

There's not much to say at a time like this except it was wonderful to count on you as I have all your life and my youth. **—Jan Solet**

Back to the Land: The Next Five Years

by Maris Cakars

We start 1971 with a special issue: Love in 1971. The lead article "Women's Liberation and the Sexual Revolution," by Michele Clark, makes the point that "We will have to fight on many mental and physcial fronts, we will need each other with increasing urgency. It will not be simple or easy." Looking back, I must admit that she knew something that was not obvious to all of us at the time.

The time is a heady one as you can tell from the theme of the next issue: Acid, Taxes, Sex (2/1/71). That's the issue in which we publish Leah Fritz's first blast at sex of the past in an article (widely reprinted) called, "Out of the Test-Tube Endlessly Fucking."

While the war in Vietnam and all of its ramifications is our meat and potatoes, the question of male chauvinism—even then—refuses to go away. The June 71 issue which devotes pages and pages of coverage to the Mayday actions in Washington makes room for a book review by Jen Elodie in which she makes the point that she would recommend the book "especially for all those fatheads who make it impossible to get an abortion and who value an unborn foetus more than my life or emotional welfare."

71 is a good year for WIN. Articles, people, ideas come in at a terrific rate. Yet there are storm clouds on the horizon. Abbie Hoffman "quits" the movement in the pages of WIN (9/1/71), calling the movement "a little group of vultures."

Partly as a reponse to such hyperbole, WIN moves to the country soon after to get into a more "laid-back" style of politics. The commune is formed in December and it only takes til May of 72 for it to run into its first split.

Media Papers

Throughout 1972, people come, people go. Some of us get deeply involved with the local fire department and forge (as far as I know) a unique alliance between hippie-anarcho-pacifist freaks and Republicans. It works. We put out fires together and we have fun together. One firefighter takes out a subscription and a firefighter in the next town does artwork for us.

We work steadily on getting the magazine out and at the same time we labor mightily to convert the barn on the property into an office and living space. We make good progress on both until we are confronted with the necessity to publish the fattest issue ever: *The Complete Collection of Political Documents Ripped-Off from the F.B.I. Office in Media, PA* (3/72).

To our surprise we are not arrested. Instead the garden grows bountifully and a baby is born. We are at peace while America is at war.

April 1973 we shift gears from twice-monthly publication to weekly. It is an audacious step since the finances are as precarious as ever. The announcement of weekly publication is coupled with yet another dreary appeal for funds. (In retrospect it is amazing how much space in each issue is taken up with begging). And, since we are momentarily straying from the narrative, it's amazing how rotten the proofreading is. I plead only partial responsibility.

Maris Çakars argued against starting WIN Magazine. He lost the argument.

Clenching Teeth

Another big change in 73 is the shift to staff titles such as "editor," "editorial assistant," etc. This invention fails to get off the ground, while the politics of the movement—and the magazine—get grimmer and grimmer as Craig Karpel and Tom Forcade go toe-to-toe over "Steal This Book," Dan Berrigan is trounced for anti-Semitism, and—in general—the letters to the editor get feistier. One gets the sense of teeth clenching.

A good year, 1974 starts out with yet another purloined FBI document—on how to interrogate people—(1/17/74) and ends with a blast directed at the KGB (12/19/74). In between staff members, as usual, come and go and the proofreading does not improve nor is work on the barn complete although by now it is a functional and cozy—when the weather is not too cold—home for the magazine and three people. (Everybody else lives in the farmhouse.) Titles such as "editor" are abolished, but the endless stream of fund appeals continues.

We pat ourselves on our collective backs when we publish our 200th issue (5/16/74) and lay plans to expand "the WIN publishing empire" by getting into book publishing: first a collection of essays by Leah Fritz, then an original manuscript by Marty Jezer. With some difficulty we manage to get the first out, but the second proves to be too much for us. The term "Unindicted Co-conspirators" is introduced to describe those who are not on staff but without whom WIN would cease to be.

A hassle over sexual politics breaks into the open in November when Andrea Dworkin pens "An Open Letter to Leah Fritz" (11/21/74) about sex, the oppression of women and patriarchy.

The War Is Over

The Vietnam war grinds on into 1975 although the United States finds itself in more and more of a defensive position. When we started WIN we foolishly thought that it would only take a year or so for America to see reason and make peace, thereby putting us out of business. Now, nine years later, the war continues as does WIN.

The pressures of all those years have shoved us in many directions to the point that even if the war were to end, the other concerns that have now become very much part of WIN would make the Crusades look like a hometown parade.

And in April the war ends. For those who struggled so long and hard to see the day the Americans "GET OUT NOW!" the images are unforgettable. WIN swings into action. Fifteen of the most articulate people in the antiwar movement are invited to comment and they all do (5/1/75). Two quotes: "We live in times when the occasions for rejoicing are short lived; the need for struggle endless" (Pat Swinton); and "There is hope for the world, and for America, too. There is no place to run to. Take it easy but take it" (Pete Seeger).

At the same time guerrilla warfare breaks out within WIN: feminism vs. the left establishment. Meetings, memos, resignations.

Although WIN seems as vital in 1976 as ever, I am not and resign. In May the typesetting machine, the files, the furniture, the people all leave the barn for the move to Brooklyn. Good work has been done and more is to come. The proofreading has improved immeasurably and so have the politics. Why, we did what Superpacifist couldn't. We survived.

P.S. On May 29, 1983 the barn burned to the ground due to a dumb accident. The end of an era. Ω

WIN's Last Years

by Murray Rosenblith

Among other things, WIN celebrated its 10th anniversary in 1976. Writing in the commemorative issue in May, Mark Morris wrote: "...the magazine never became established, at least in a financial sense....WIN faced this by learning to function in the throes of perpetual financial chaos."

Several years later, in 1979, I passed my fifth anniversary as a WIN staff member. Of course, we decided I should write a fund appeal message on the occasion. "Think of what a loss it would be," I wrote in November, "if someone can't sit down and reflect on WIN five years from now."

That was four years ago. I mention both statements because they reflect the sense that always existed that WIN would somehow magically transcend its financial and logistical problems and go on forever. It is no small miracle (no miracle really, the result of years of hard work by many people and the generosity of many more) that WIN existed 17 years.

Murray Rosenblith was on the WIN staff for a tad over seven years and still can't meet a deadline.

Even when, on occasion, I did not agree with what was written—or like the way it was written, I always believed WIN connected me to important issues and events. I shall miss it—and WIN conspirators—very much.

—Sandra Adickes

I first became acquanted with WIN in the late 1960s, at a time when my new-found opposition to the ongoing war in Vietnam was broadening into a critique of the society and system that had produced such a barbarity. (There! I can't say I didn't learn anything in college ROTC!)

I gradually became more and more familiar with WIN, finally motivated to subscribe after it published its infamous gay issue at the end of 1969, just as I was coming out. At a time when the various factions of SDS were clawing each other's eyes out like a bunch of medieval theologians disputing obscure dogma, it was refreshing to find a journal of the left that avoided rhetoric and spoke in plain English, just as it opposed the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia for the very same reasons that it opposed our war against Southeast Asia.

—John Kyper

WIN. All the way from 5 Beekman Street to 339 Lafayette, the floor just above my desk, out to the farm, back to Brooklyn, and then Brooklyn once more in a final move. Now the doors close, the lights go out. The magazine, which both recorded history and helped to make it, becomes part of it.

Some things need to end so they can begin again. I think of two things now at this time of a final issue. One is debt—both the **literal** debt of dollars and the psychic debt of energy and love—which is owed to the staff who, even as the last issue goes to bed, has worked with weeks and weeks of wages due. The other is the line from a poem by Kenneth Patchen
"pause
and begin again"
So now we pause, in some hurt and confusion, pause as autumn comes near with the chill swift flash of color, the signs of winter. Pause. But we shall begin again. To this magazine as we have known it we truly are saying goodbye. But to one another, the fabric of people who made the magazine possible, we are only parting for a time. Pause. And begin again.

—David McReynolds

Sayonara, WIN. Memorable issues stand out for me—the papers reprinted from the Media draft board in 1971, the special Seabrook issues, a poem written after Three Mile Island. I remember being moved by annual proof that Hiroshima-Nagasaki demonstrations were indeed all over the country. The annual book review issues were especially important portraits of movement thinking. (Sorry WIN won't be around to review my forthcoming book on Northern Ireland. . .) Cantankerous and articulate, informative and rebellious, WIN almost always reflected movement concerns, values, issues and debates. WIN's spirit will rise again!

—Lynne Shivers

I remember as the most beautiful issue of WIN—the one describing the Sheep's Meadow demo on April 15, 1967, which had an article by Marty Jezer called, "The Bread Is Rising."

—Alice Lynd

Nineteen-seventy-six was the last time I feel we came closest to folding. It was the spring when we left the farm in Rifton, New York, and when Maris and Susan Cakars left, to be followed several months later by Mary Mayo. I've always felt the move back to the city was the right thing to do, but it was severely dislocating at the time. Maris, Susan and Mary had been together at WIN for a long time (by WIN standards) and formed the magazine's "vital center." They all had good reasons to leave (most staff have), but it took those of us left more than six months to get our equilibrium.

Nineteen-seventy-six was not all doom and gloom. We got our trusty Compuwriter Jr. typesetting machine, which is still spitting out the copy you're presently reading. Ruthann Evanoff and Peg Averill joined the staff, while Mary and Dwight Ernest departed.

S-1 and the Continental Walk

In January, Charlie Scheiner wrote an article describing the political drawbacks of new omnibus crime legislation, known as Senate bill One (S-1). Though defeated, S-1 continues to reappear in slightly modified form and Charlie has continued to chart its dangerous course; each succeeding generation has been labeled in WIN as the "son," "grandson" and, most recently in 1982, "great-grandson" of S-1.

The Continental Walk for Peace and Social Justice left San Francisco and WIN followed its progress across the country to its final climax in Washington, DC in October. Over 50,000 people rallied in Philadelphia, brought by a coalition that fused peace, labor and third world groups together for the first time, to provide a "peoples' alternative" to the official Bicentennial observance. In a small new Hampshire town, Seabrook, local citizens began a series of small sit-ins at a nuclear plant site that would spark the antinuke movement in a way no one could even guess.

The pages of WIN were full of the kind of news and analysis that, even today, still sounds familiar: amnesty for Vietnam draft resisters, crises in Lebanon, the Philippines, Central America, Iran. Major articles discussed developments in the women's, gay and lesbian, peace and international movements.

The Antinuke Movement Arrives

Most people remember 1977 as the year of Seabrook and the vigorous "coming-out" of the antinuclear power movement. It was, and maybe even more so in WIN, when most of the staff (Susan Pines, Peg Averill and me) found ourselves plopped (literally) down in the middle of 1400 people arrested for occupying the Seabrook nuke in May. Our inside view and extensive contacts made it possible for WIN to produce what many people hailed as the best coverage of Seabrook anywhere. What always struck me was not our subsequent articles, but that many of the people I talked to in jail credited WIN with providing the impetus for their decision to go to Seabrook. To me that was WIN's fulfillment.

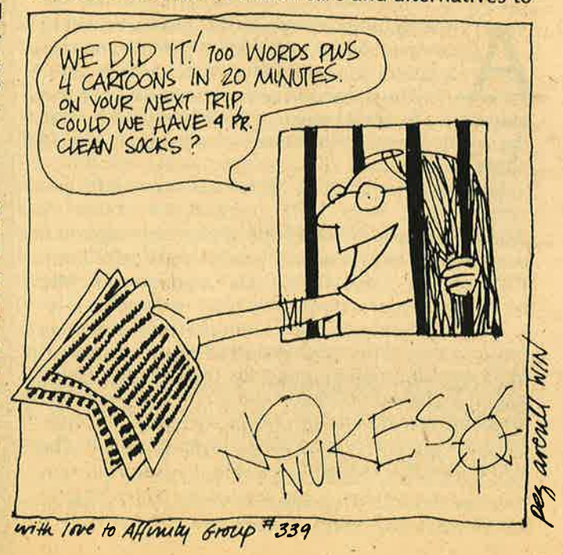
The year started out with news from Jamaica, the trials of the Wilmington Ten, reconciliation with Vietnam—a controversy that kept WIN's letters page snapping for most of the year. We also witnessed the return of capital punishment, the founding of Mobilization for Survival, the start of the Nestle boycott (still vexing that multinational today!) and actions at the Trident base in Bangor, Washington, and the operating Trojan nuclear plant outside Portland, Oregon.

Peg and Ruthann both departed the staff. Lauri Lowell, Pat Lacefield and Susan Beadle all signed on. Vicki Rovere did a valuable six-month stint. I was supposed to leave but, procrastinator that I am, didn't get around to it for another four years (Do I regret that? Well.....NO!)

In December WIN published the first map of the "Military-Industrial Atlas of the United States," beginning a regular relationship with NARMIC that would extend for years. The WIN/NARMIC partnership produced the October 1977 *Peace Conversion* and July 1981 *Conversion Organizing* issues.

The Re-Birth of Disarmament

The First UN Special Session on Disarmament took place in 1978 and with it, demonstrations around the country that foreshadowed the rebirth of the nuclear disarmament movement. WIN was at Rocky Flats, Barnwell, Bangor, and back at Seabrook where a planned occupation went awry (and we wrote about why it did). The Gallo boycott ended; the J.P. Stevens boycott started. Native Americans marched across the country for justice. The Camp David accords were signed, amid great fanfare. WIN correspondents Joe Gerson and Allan Solomonow contributed essays on why this "separate peace" would not spread over the Middle East. The new "witch hunt" against gay people was explored. A special issue: *Profits, Privilege and Peoples' Health* examined the state of health care and alternatives to



traditional medicine. A series of essays on movement-building strategy and style graced the fall months of WIN as leaders engaged in a national dialogue. Another special issue on Karen Silkwood, published to coincide with a national organizing effort, sold out in two weeks and had to be reprinted.

Susan Pines rested her fingers after five years and was replaced by Mike Lardner at the typesetter. Mike, unfortunately, only made it to December, when Cathy Carson joined the staff.

The civil war in Nicaragua escalated as the Sandinistas continued their opposition to the US-backed rule of Anastasio Somoza. While the level of bloodshed rose, American activists tackled ways to cut US aid and military supplies to Somoza's puppet regime.

Staughton Lynd published a manifesto for rescuing American industry through worker ownership; Janey Meyerding mused on the relationships between feminism, pacifism and anarchism; an essay by Mary Crane opened a special issue devoted to rape resistance. Earlier in the year, WIN devoted an issue to raising children. The return of the draft hovered near and the launching of the first Trident submarine once again drew the staff personally to the front lines of protest.

After several robust years, the nuclear power protests seemed to be settling down—until March 27, when Three Mile Island brought many of our worst fears to reality. Cranking out several special issues, even while under the cloud of the not-too-distant crippled reactor, we strived to keep protesters across the country in close touch with one another. Our special *Nuclear Madness* issue was handed out free at the May 6 rally that brought 100,000 people to Washington.

The summer brought another special, *Madness, Mental Health and the Movement*, an in-depth look at the politics of psychiatric care in the US. The issue was dedicated to Larry Friedman, a former mental patient and mental patients' rights activist who had taken to hanging around the WIN office when we moved to Brooklyn. Larry helped out and dropped by, sometimes every day, with tidbits of information gleaned from the numerous meetings he attended. He was consumed with struggling for the dignity and justice of mental patients after experiencing first hand the injustice of the system. He drowned in a swimming accident two months before the issue was published.

Bi-weekly

Pat Lacefield moved on in May; Mark Zuss came on in June. While circulation had risen slightly during the year, money was in short supply. After spending numerous editorial board meetings and several staff retreats grappling with a demoralizing situation, we decide to publish bi-weekly starting in 1980.

The year went out on rising notes of gay and lesbian activism, marked by massive rallies across the country. And while MUSE brought thousands of new dollars (and, perhaps, some new activists) to the antinuke cause, the struggle at Seabrook took a sour turn

Not all radical publications are done well enough to merit longevity. But WIN was. The trouble was that its constituency and promotional funds were inadequate to sustain it. I mourn its demise, but I'm sure that six months, a year from now there will a new WIN, a new effort by dedicated young people to keep the candle aflame. **—Sidney Lens**

When something dies, people tend to either accept its psychological and physical demise or only its material end. I'm sure that something that's no longer active in itself can carry on in spirit, strength, and deed through other agents. WIN Magazine as a collective of workers, as a subcriber pool of activists and thinkers, as a resource, archive and hopefully as a catalyst has a lot to teach us. When something ends, we reflect upon it, and try to distill it for our memories. Sometimes we block the bad from our minds, without really discarding it; it stays and poisons us.

My wish for WIN and all that rests with it, is that we as individuals, working concertedly with others on issues and projects which we feel will move us closer to a truly free, equitable and cooperative world, will throw out the worst and carry on with the best.

I met a lot of wonderful, sincere, hardworking people through WIN. One said to me, "What we need is a unity of separatists." I agree that many different people share a common vision to which there are many equally important paths. Another said, "What we need is bigger and better demonstrations." This person likes active sorts of manifestations. So do I. And I can't think of any better approach to our problems than coalitions of basically likeminded people working nondivisively.

Now is the time for us to carry on the discussion in other forms of why WIN folded. To compare notes, learn and to create new forums. **—Lisa Lincoln**

The life of a latter-day WIN staffer. Late nights, money troubles, steaming office, ailing typesetter, leaky ceilings. Coffee—lots of coffee. Pizza & beer. (And you thought a WIN staffer would eat healthy!) Tickets from the Trash Police for putting out our garbage for city pick-up (who could afford a private carter?!) before we were tax exempt. Believe it or not, my first appearance before a judge.

Articles & other publications from all over the world—inspiring hope through hearing of people's work to build a peaceful, non-oppressive, non-sexist world. And those precious moments, shining through the missed paychecks & staff squabbles, of awe & pride at what we were managing to do. That under such unfavorable conditions, we could, with amazing regularity, create a magazine that went so far (though sometimes unevenly!) towards putting ideas & communities together. It may be years before we all realize the particular importance of putting together the peace movement and feminism (not to mention all the other issues and communities which, if I started listing them, would make me sound like I'm writing promo copy again!). Despite the hard times, the impossible work, the fights & the worries, the pride & awe make me know that when I look back at WIN I will, in the words of Charlie King, "count it all (well, almost all—sorry, Charlie!) joy." **—Judy Ornstein**

when protesters attempted to move their struggle to "direct action" in a way that allowed the State to bring its true force to bear.

Mary Jane Sullivan joined the staff and Dan Zedek took over WIN's design in November. Cathy Carson left, followed shortly by Susan Beadle. We closed the year with special issues on poetry and community organizing (*Loisaida*). Optimistically, WIN entered 1980 with its most successful gift subscription drive in many years.

The Eighties

Organizing in the 80s went in many different directions and WIN took off in earnest pursuit of most of them. While peace and nonviolence have always remained the core of WIN's content, the range of coverage appearing in our pages over the years is astounding. The new biweekly issues, glossy cover and all, become more thematic. Often the major articles supplemented some current organizing effort around the country: opposition to the Olympic prison, electoral politics (pro and con), International Womens Day and May Day, the new rise of the Klan, Big Business Day, the new antidraft movement.

WIN's letters page had been burning with correspondence on abortion for nearly two years. Nonviolent activists come down on many sides of the question. As a staff member, I always thought we were getting a bum rap from both sides. While steadfastly maintaining a pro-choice position, we didn't censor those opposing abortion. For some pro-choice people this made us "soft" on abortion rights; for anti-abortion folks, our stand made us unfair and, possibly, not "truly" nonviolent. We could never make everyone happy, but we could get things more out in the open, so the August 1 issue was devoted to a roundtable discussion of abortion. I don't think it changed anyone's mind, but it gave everyone a chance to be heard.

WIN was forced out of its office that year. So from the dark, but spacious, Atlantic Avenue loft we scooted around the corner to bright, but cramped, Livingston Street. Lauri Lowell resigned in May, Mark Zuss in July. Lynn Johnson stepped in in February, Sharon Bray in October. An emergency fund appeal in July boosted the cash flow enough to get us through the year.

1981 opens with departures by Mary Jane and Dan. After some searching, Lisa Lincoln and John Miller join the staff. Activism around the country and the world continues unabated and WIN is crammed with hopeful news.

The Plowshares Eight are tried and convicted; WIN's correspondent is arrested during the trial. A demonstration in Washington on May 3 against US intervention in El Salvador draws a surprising 100,000 people. But the coalition behind it is an uneasy one and, in a flash of an earlier style, WIN dissects it. Women and gay people see earlier gains being eroded through direct physical violence and the rise of the New Right. WIN runs major features on the Family Protection Act, feminist health networks, "queer-bashing" and enters the debate on pornography. International coverage highlights events in Central America (more and more), the Middle East (as usual), Ireland (the IRA hunger strikers), Europe (the rebirth of the nuclear disarmament movement) and Africa (war in the Sahara).

15 Years

In the midst of financial crisis, we celebrate the 15th anniversary. It seems fitting that the grand retrospective essay falls through (blame Marty "Mudd" Jezer) and we end up throwing together old articles, but we sell lots of ads and everyone says such nice things about WIN, we can't help but feel good. In the middle of the good vibes, we launch our $50,000 fundraising campaign. We succeed and feel safe in a way that I've never experienced in seven years on staff. But by the next summer, we're in trouble again. After having raised all that money, most of us start to realize that keeping WIN going may be beyond any of our means. Meanwhile, Lynn Johnson leaves in November. Mike Fleshman is hired to replace her and Judy Ornstein joins to take over my chores after I resign at the end of 1981.

WIN opens 1982 with a comprehensive guide to European Nuclear Disarmament, the shoot-out/robbery in Nyack and the suppression of Solidarity in Poland. The late winter and spring are largely taken up with preparations for "disarmament summer" but articles in WIN range over events in El Salvador, tax resistance, the legacy of Martin Luther King, wife abuse, investing for peace, pornography, housing and the first indictment for resisting the new draft law. On the heels of June 12, WIN publishes a Nuclear Free Pacific issue and, in November, *Directions for Disarmament*, exploring a multitude of strategies in the midst of a "Freeze Frenzy."

After the success of 1981, fund appeals do poorly in 1982. WIN is forced (for the first time) to skip an issue in November. Sharon Bray leaves in the spring, Harriet Hirshorn arrives (she and John will constitute the final staff). Mike Fleshman returns to *Southern Africa* magazine (which will fold faster than WIN); Elizabeth Dworan joins the staff. Rick Bickhart replaces Lisa Lincoln. WIN markets a set of holiday gift cards which sell well and bring in some badly needed money.

We started 1983 feeling optimistic. The magazine looked good, the articles were lively, controversy spilled out on the letters page. The peace camps spread in England, churches in the US were giving sanctuary to refugees from El Salvador, the Jobs With Peace campaign was active in cities across the country. But, fairly quickly, there just isn't any money. We decide to go monthly and regroup. Most issues became a special focus: International Womens Day (a tradition by this time), International Workers' Day (May Day), Gandhi, the media, King's Vision (to coincide with August 27). Sandwiched in with the thematic articles are the usual potpourri of coverage: the peace movement in Turkey, incest, pornography and fascism, Cuba, dealing with nuclear psychosis and direct actions all over the place. Ironically, the last issues receive continuing high praise. Though WIN's circulation limps around 3000, issues are still touted around the movement as valuable organizing aids.

One by one, the staff moves on; despite their dedication, they must make a living. Harriet and John persevere with admittedly spotty help from the editorial board and volunteers. The board, reluctantly, but also with some relief, decides WIN's time is done. This is the last issue.

I could be melancholy, but you can read Wendy Schwartz for that. As I see it, WIN magazine succeeded beyond anyone's wildest dreams. For 17 years, WIN has served as the national bulletin board for a movement that stubbornly refuses to surrender its vision of a world without exploitation. It continued consistent to its original vision that lasting change can come from nonviolent direct action. We have seen this to be true in ways that people would've never thought possible in 1966. WIN was part of what made that happen. I know I'm glad to have been around it. WIN's impact on the lives of thousands and thousands of people from 1966 on will continue for years to come. That's reason to celebrate. Ω

How We've Changed: A Personal View

by Wendy Schwartz
Illustrations by Tom Keough

It is a cold February evening in 1966. John Hawkins and Mary Bradley, graduate students in social science who are studying to make the world a better place to live in, are freezing from leafletting all afternoon at the Times Square Recruiting Station. They shake icicles out of their hair—his newly grown long, hers newly frizzing naturally—and pull off their snow-caked bellbottoms. Then they dive under the blankets that cover the mattress on the floor of their East Village apartment. "Thank God for flat feet," says John, who got his 4-F deferment in the mail only yesterday. "We'll do that later," answers Mary, grabbing John in a place that will demonstrate to him how successfully she had sexually liberated herself. "Later we should also read WIN, *that new pacifist magazine," John adds just before he stops breathing normally.*

* * *

It is now late in 1983. Abraham Minh Bradley-Hawkins, born because his parents put off thinking about

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Wendy Schwartz, executive director of the A.J. Muste Memorial Institute, is in the final stages of labor on a novel about the 1960s. She has been involved in WIN since 1968 and was on staff for six months in 1969.

There is only a handful of journals in the history of the American left which still evoke strong passions. W.E.B. DuBois' NAACP journal, **The Crisis,** and A. Philip Randolph's **Messenger** were the theoretical spark which ignited the Black Freedom Movement in this century. The Lyrical Left of the 1910s created **The Masses** and **The Liberator.** Radicals of the Old Left gave us the **Partisan Review.** WIN is one of only a few journals born in the 1960s which will be viewed one day in this light. Its editors and contributors had (and **still** have) a deep belief in human equality and peace, a vision of a world freed from sexism, racism, economic and political repression. WIN was one of only several journals which comprised a bridge between our various movements for social justice. It was a very special publication for me and I am deeply saddened by its loss. **—Manning Marable**

WIN once published a play of mine as a whole issue. They got it out in 2 weeks flat, and priced it at 20 cents a copy. . . Now, I ask you, what other magazine, ever, would have done any of this? A grateful and affectionate goodbye from **—Eric Bentley**

To me, emerging from the timid, red-baiting atmosphere of the 50s into the increasingly vocal 60s, WIN represented a truly subversive voice—a refusal to accept dogma or usual ways of doing things. I valued its emphasis on the radical aspect of nonviolence and on grassroots actions. I still value that spirit and hope that it will be carried on in future publications. **—Ruth Dear**

How does one say goodbye after so many years? Or distill into a sentence the value of an old and steady friend who helped guide me through the hard years of my political maturation? May the community of love and caring that made WIN possible remain with all of us through the hard years ahead. There's still so much to be done. Yours for peace, **—W.D. Ehrhart**

WIN. Reminds me I'm from New York (not Brooklyn!). Yellow Submarine. My first introduction to Leah Fritz. Unindicted co-conspirators. Indicted ones too. Seth Foldy—and his parents in Cleveland who have this wonderful tape of "Songs of the Auvergne." Best letters column I've ever read—people as argumentative as I am. Peg Averill's wonderful drawings. Ruth Dear, who I wish lived in Philadelphia. (George too!) Mark Morris, Sue Pines, Murray Rosenblith, and Barbara Deming at Rifton farm. (I had hay fever!) WIN promoted by Gerry Ford (wish I still had a button). Larry Gara, who reminds me that if they're not trying to put me in jail, I must be doing something wrong. All those calendar events I couldn't get to, and fundraising appeals for which I had no money. New York Book Fair, where we were arranged together as if drawing up the wagons against the national guard. Blessed are the poor, for where will they go now that WIN can't owe them six months back pay anymore? Thank you, WIN, for helping make us who we are. **—David Albert**

Sorry to see you leave. You were indispensable to us—particularly to one who remembers when WIN began. It's a hard time. **—Murray Bookchin**

birth control the way they put off reading WIN, *is getting ready for a Police concert. "Your mother and I ran away from the police," Abe's aging father says, shaking his still-shaggy head, "and our son pays money to see them sing." Abe smiles indulgently and keeps shaving his scalp in-between the twin orange Mohawks that shoot out above each of his eyes. Concentrating on his appearance keeps his mind off registration for the draft. Tomorrow he'll thumb through some issues of* WIN*—the radical rag his parents have been subscribing to since the Stone Age—and see what it says about the return of the draft, he decides. Then, satisfied that he has found something constructive to do about his predicament, Abe puts a safety pin in his left ear and heads out the door.*

Ah, 1966, I remember it well. It was the year that the New York Workshop in Nonviolence begat WIN Magazine, which named the flower power movement and became one of its most important blooms. It was when the peace movement was still bathed in the afterglow of the civil rights movement's successes, and a hand holding a single sun-yellow daffodil was believed to have the strength to disarm nations. It was when going to jail instead of war was an act of great liberation, and when sleeping with a draft resister was an act blessed by Joan Baez. It was when we made love for peace, smoked dope for peace, grew our hair long for peace, and sometimes even worked for peace. It was a simple time, when everyone was young and our banners had but one slogan.

But soon, one by one, then two by two, the petals fell off the flower power movement like so many flowing tears. The horror of cluster bombs eclipsed the horror of napalm. The war in Vietnam became the war in Indochina, and the good vibes turned angry as protesters realized that no bouquet, no matter how bright and beautiful on a clear spring day, could transform the ugliness of the escalating war. The kaleidoscope dreams of the flower children became drug-drenched nightmares whose lingering darkness obscured their way home.

It was the late sixties, early seventies, by now. Nonviolent action, which had worked well, if not quickly, in the South, was not working for the antiwar movement. People were tired of protesting, tired of losing, tired of living the life that was supposed to be protection from father's ulcers and mother's migraines. By the time the draft finally ended, many people thought they were ready to declare a victory and go home.

But they couldn't. Scenes of yellow people dying blood-red deaths kept spotting the nightly news. They stuck in the mind the way white phosphorus clung to the skin. We were compelled to continue protesting. WIN restored spirits up as article after article reported the myriad creative ways people were opposing the war, and photographs leapt off the pages: resisters, in the clutches of police, their faces alive with the truth that going to jail was making them free.

Who's Who

Around this time, we also started mobilizing against the other problems in our country. Minorities had won a seat on the bus, but a lot of them still had no money for the fare; women were in the bedroom on our backs or in the kitchen on our feet much too much of the time; the closet door was held shut against gays trying to get out; handicapped people couldn't even reach the doors. Like a thousand shooting stars, liberation movements cast lights into the many dark corners of American life.

It turned out that the peace movement itself was one of those dark corners. With a mixture of incredulity and shame we rushed to offer reparations and support. As the agenda of the movement grew, the speakers' list at demonstrations began reading like a Who's Who of Oppressed People.

In spite of its attempts at broadening the peace agenda, the movement failed to make a persuasive case for linking government decisions with corporate influence; the issue of capitalism became the domain of only a few groups whose alienating style and confrontational tactics made a mockery of their concerns. Postwar organizing was severely hampered by the widespread belief that a good many of America's problems would disappear automatically with the restoration of peace.

Now, back to the early seventies: once the movement realized that it had paralleled establishment America in its disenfranchisement of the oppressed, it struggled to find ways of running itself that would more fully express the needs of all its constituency. The pacifist wing was particularly concerned with applying the rules of nonviolence to interpersonal relationships, and a wing of the wing developed a new method of human interaction to institutionalize mutual decency. It advocated touching and feeling, but not, usually, pressing someone else's buttons. It particularly encouraged hugging, which, since the sexual revolution, had become nearly passe, but which was still a damned pleasant pick-me-up during a long hard day of revolutionizing. Great emphasis was also placed on the sharing of feelings, a concept welcomed by some as an overdue attempt to humanize political organizing. Others, however, were no more able to share what they felt than they were able to consider their toothbrush communal property. After considerable debate, the movement, through consensus, decided that people could do "whatever spread their toes."

Although many groups had for a long time operated as a collective, it now became the basic movement unit; this ensured that each staff member had equal work and responsibility whether that was wanted or not. Consensus to a large extent replaced voting, thus increasing meeting time by half. (This in turn led to the introduction of breaks in the middle of meetings during which people were compelled to relax in a way determined by consensus.) Some thought consensus was the greatest step toward equality since the one-person-one-vote concept; others thought it was simply a way for the more forceful to wear down the opposition instead of being outvoted by it.

WIN published articles on how to relate to one another, both personally and while organizing, a process subsequently called "process," putting its readers in touch with the New Anti-Authoritarianism. Author after author directed, in a non-directorial manner, how to stop directing and start being directed by the consensus, which because of its unanimity was not at all directorial.

Political organizing within the pacifist movement began to be institutionalized along the lines of the New Anti-Authorianism. There appeared a managerageral class of organizers—whose fervor to disarm America was matched only by the zeal with which they denied they were, indeed, managers. They elevated the act of committing nonviolent civil disobedience to an exercise with the precision of a military marching band, all the while successfully convincing the participants that what seemed like Marine maneuvers were really logical extensions of anarchist theory.

The New CD

WIN reported on the New Civil Disobedience (NCD) and promoted Nonviolence Training, now a prerequisite for getting arrested. While formerly one had only to be spiritually moved to participate in CD, NCD required a course in role-playing; memorization of a printed sheet of peace songs, which were to be sung spontaneously at a predetermined time; membership in an affinity group, and the acceptance of group responsibilities such as carrying first-aid supplies and water even though the demonstration site may be across the street from a hospital; and a promise to get arrested only in the area designated for that purpose by the police. WIN hailed the organized spontaneity of NCD, and certainly the increased number of participants in actions attested to its effectiveness. But on WIN's pages, at least one old-fashioned civil disobedient waxed nostalgic about the days when no prior certification was needed to resist illegitimate authority.

Remembrances of WIN come in all shapes and sizes, good and bad (though overwhelmingly good) and throughout all the seasons of the year. As a movement activist in the hinterlands, WIN brought me words of wisdom and controversy that otherwise would have escaped me. As a WIN staffer for two years, I recall the fights and the feuds and the love. I remember how hot the summers were bending over a typewriter in the dog days of August without air conditioning and how chilled the winters could be working late on production nights when the boiler conked out at 7pm. It was all so inconvenient and mad and vital.

WIN will be missed by many and mourned by more. Yet WIN will be forever with us for, above all else, WIN is a community. Long after the files are shipped off, the posters taken down from the walls and the debts settled, what WIN was will be carried on by us all in our different ways and different forms.

—Patrick Lacefield

Real grief in the heart to see WIN going under! While I have been a long swim away from you for nearly seven years, WIN has continued in that time to be one of the important links with the US. Sometime it has been infuriating (I suppose every reader makes that admission), but more often it has been a steady source of encouragement. Perhaps more than any other journal of the American peace movement it has been **the** publication in which people in diverse parts of the peace scene could be aware of each other, in fact in communication with each other. A kind of Hyde Park Speakers' Corner, only in print. **—Jim Forest**

I was new to the magazine when I came on staff in the fall of 1977. I'd been reading a friend's copy of WIN for a couple of years, and he was the one who pointed out to me their ad for a copyeditor and urged me to apply. I didn't know how to edit but I could read and write, and I was enthusiastic.

My first day at work they told me that WIN's bank account had been frozen by a creditor who had gotten impatient and lost faith. Would it be okay if I didn't get paid for a week or two, they asked me. I said sure, not recognizing it for the omen it was. But that was okay because I was just out of school and I'd never gotten used to having much money, so I didn't know what I was missing.

What I loved most about my stint at WIN during the last years of the 1970s was the excitement and freshness of the antinuclear movement. I'd been involved with the left in college and law school, but I found it cynical and lifeless, without spirit or hope. In those first years of demonstrating and organizing around nukes, the movement was small and fiercely dedicated. We had a vision about the future that was positive and passionate and life-affirming. (Come to think of it, WIN has always had that vision and spirit.)

I remember schlepping stacks of WINs everywhere, and shipping them to places we couldn't get to ourselves. WIN was at Rocky Flats and Diablo Canyon, Seabrook, Shoreham, and Indian Point. Our Silkwood issue was distributed in the thousands in November '78. When Three Mile Island happened, six months

Despite all these changes, it became increasingly difficult to wait for peace so our lives could begin. Some risked getting married anyway, went back to school, or took jobs that would not be too humiliating to talk about when they met old comrades on the appetizing line at Zabar's on Saturday mornings.

Then finally, the war in Indochina ended. The dying stopped, the prisoners of war came home. America was supposed to forget the last decade and get on with the business of peace.

It didn't quite work that way. The economy began declining precipitously and people who previously thought poverty existed only on the other side of town found it had crept through their own doorways.

Instead of focusing on the poor, people in the movement resumed concentration on personal liberation, refining the "process" process until the means not only equalled the ends but replaced them. The guilt threshold in the movement was raised as people became embarrassed by their lack of oppressedness and their continued preoccupation with peace.

WIN expanded its coverage of personal liberation issues, presenting as many sides as it could find writers to present. Women and gays, however, still felt WIN's allocation of space to their concerns was woefully inadequate, while people who believed that the peace movement should only be concerned with peace were concerned that WIN had lost its calling.

Movement Mergers

Meanwhile, the issue of nuclear energy put the movement on the march again. Unlike the antiwar organizing of a decade before, right from the start there was support from the liberal establishment, which had been trying to clear the environment of noxious carbons and oily sludge, only to be faced with the ultimate polluter: nuclear fallout. A tentative merger of the peace and environmental movements, and the radicals and liberals, was forged.

At no time was the tension greater than during the planning for the June 12, 1982 antinuclear rally in New York, and frequently it seemed that the antiwarriors were at war with each other. But, also, at no time was the unity of the peace movement more evident than at the rally itself, when a million people, largely ignorant of the political battles that nearly sabotaged their day of protest, came together to express their yearning for peace. They demonstrated what the peace movement used to predict would one day happen: the people would rise up above the macho machinations and petty politics of their leadership and demand peace themselves.

WIN, unsure whether coverage of the infighting would exacerbate or reduce it, opted for silence prior to the rally. It was, in retrospect, a decision out-of-step with the irreverence and honesty of the WINs of years gone by, and a signal to people close to WIN that its energy and relevance were dwindling.

After a year of discussion, prayer, and running numbers through a calculator, it became clear that WIN's tenure as the "liveliest publication on the left" had to come to an end. Though there are people with a fresh commitment to peace who could learn and take sustenance from WIN, they won't be able to do that. This is WIN's final voyage in the Yellow Submarine.

The constituency that WIN has served for 17 years seems larger and stronger today. While this is heartening, it is true also that great divisions wrench it apart, since the definitions of peace vary so widely among individuals and member groups. For our dreams to be realized, the pluralism we so value in our world must be equally cherished in our movement. To do less is to violate the memory of those whose number has comprised the daily death toll of every war to date.

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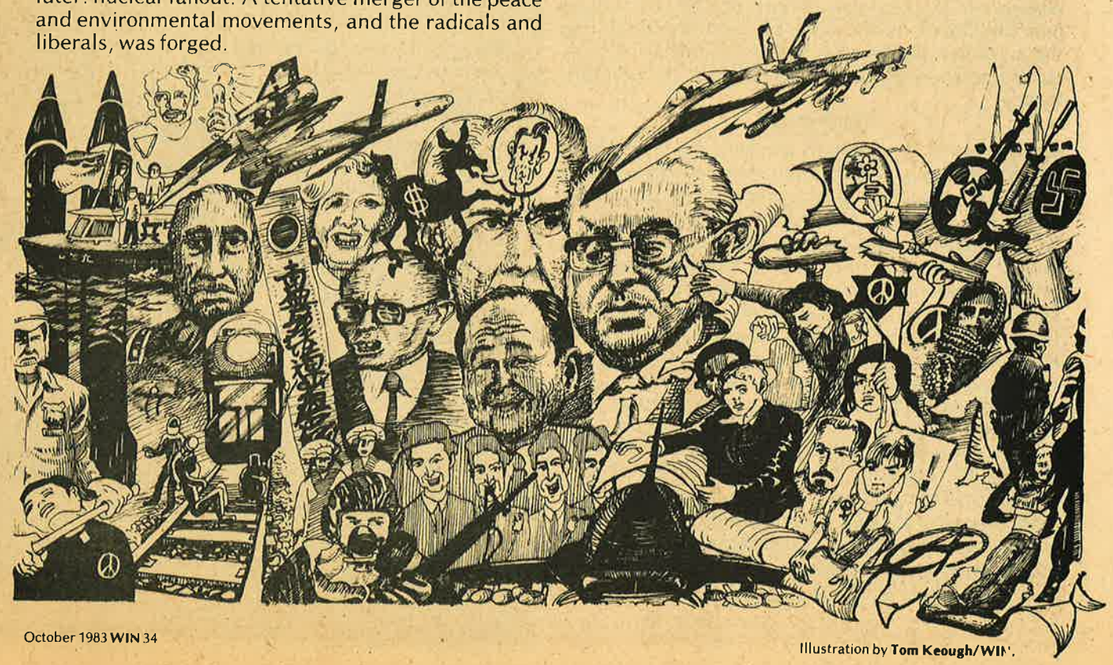

Illustration by **Tom Keough/WIN**.

later, we stayed in the office day and night, glued to the radio, putting together an emergency special issue expressing our enormous horror and outrage.

We did everything to the hilt in those days, at breakneck speed, with superhuman intensity, as though the future of our beloved planet rested on our shoulders. **—Lauri Lowell**

Infinitely repeated scenario: I meet an activist. We introduce ourselves. S/he says, "I think I know your name." "Do you read WIN?" I ask. "It's on the masthead." When WIN folds, I can resume my movement anonymity. **—Anonymous**

My involvement with WIN helped nurture my thoughts about nonviolence to a point where pacifism has become not just a sympathetic leaning, but a conscious political identification. I also felt WIN was among the best, if not **the** best of American peace movement publications on issues of sexism, racism, classism and anti-Semitism. Yet as a radical feminist with political roots in the autonomous feminist movement, I still felt frustration over a lack of commitment to a conscious, militant feminism. Perhaps it is the whole peace movement—as much as or more than WIN—I want to ask, why doesn't **peace** mean as central a commitment to women's freedom from male violence, and poor people's freedom from economic violence, as it does human freedom from military violence? Or is this an academic question: Could WIN have made these connections thoroughly and consistently and still maintained its focus? I think it could have.

Despite the unresolved nature of these important questions, WIN's death will leave a real void in a progressive movement which has an increasingly tenuous relationship to nonviolence. I hope the void will be filled soon. **—Elizabeth Dworan**

The hardest part for me is accepting that it's really been 17 years since those all-night arguments over the name, which I positively hated when Maris foisted it upon us, but then came to accept as completely as my own or any friend's name, and stubbornly defended when Maris later wanted to change it to something else, I forget what. 17 years since those mimeo'd first issues, pages stacked around the long table at 5 Beekman St., where we'd slow-dance the circumference for hours, collating by hand. Cold coffee, warm beer lugged up from Gar's Bar around the corner, cardboard pizza, or chancy sandwiches from Peter Kiger's anarchic refrigerator. I wasn't going to be an editor, of course, and neither was Maris; Marty Jezer was the logical choice, I thought, and I'd just write for it occasionally. Ha. Suddenly Susan Kent Cakars and I were stuck in that cubby of an office for an unbelievable number of hours every week, together with countless typists and art directors, one after the other—they wilted so quickly in that atmosphere—and all those doggedly wonderful volunteers. No money. No time. Continual crises. Yellow Submarines, and lots of love and laughter. 17 years of those last two things, I'm sure. Three years were almost more than I could take, but starvation wages and the rush and the worry kept the staff forever young and free both from cynicism and complacency. 17 years, and here I am again and the coffee and the pizza haven't changed a bit, but I'm helping to proof what they say is The Very Last Issue. I don't believe that either. "It never really is The End for these guys," as R. Crumb once said. "All things fall and are built again"—William Butler Yeats said that. "And those who build them again are gay." I guess Willie didn't mean that quite the way it sounds today, but that's alright. "Gaiety transfiguring all that dread." That's what he meant, and it's what we need right now, as much if not more than we ever did. Well, folks, I'm sure we'll find it because we've got to have it, even if its name will no longer be an acronym for the (New York) Workshop In Nonviolence.

—Paul Johnson

I wanted news of nonaggression—methods of enriching, magnetizing, pacifying & destroying political warminds bodies & speeches—during the 60s & 1970s. Workshop In Nonviolence Magazine published history and literature of that order. The seed of that new old consciousness was thus planted into main culture fields & many new age hip journals & magazines, coevolutionary & earth newsy for these high times flourish and proliferate leaves of wakened mind. Happy birth & death day! Continued success throughout eternity! **—Allen Ginsberg**

My favorite thing about WIN was that people wrote in a conversational tone of voice. Instead of taking positions, we exchanged experiences. **—Staughton Lynd**

In the 60s WIN said, "No one knows how to stop a war. But we've got to try." I loved it for that line. Later I was bored by bitter nitpicking. It's a small tragedy that we were not able to keep it going. But its work will go on in many other forms. For peace must come. **—Pete Seeger**

WIN cannot perhaps win forever, but it has served the radical peace movement well in the years of its existence. The A.J. Muste/Martin Luther King route is an important one for permanent disarmament and justice, and WIN has helped implant this method in many American, and, world, hearts. Long may the memory of WIN endure! **—Homer A. Jack**

You say, "WIN is no more. . . with this last issue." To this political animal—who goes back to Bronx Depression youth & forward to the ghostly Ground Zero nuke threats of today—the mag was first a journalistic "fix" that cleared the head at just those moments of dizzying, spiralling crises like the wasting years of Vietnam, and the present round (from 747 shootdowns to Reagan baiting in Central America) of cold-war revival. WIN will be missed. **—Sidney Bernard**

I am going to miss you! **—Michelle Guimarin**

WIN's work and more importantly WIN's commitment to the work has been a real example for other activists and organizations. And although we are losing WIN the example continues—and will continue—to be important. **—Kathy Gilberd**