Spring 2015

WIN

through revolutionary nonviolence

FINAL ISSUE

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FAREWELL!

WIN
through revolutionary nonviolence

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THE WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE AFFIRMS THAT ALL WAR IS A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY. WE THEREFORE ARE DETERMINED NOT TO SUPPORT ANY KIND OF WAR, INTERNATIONAL OR CIVIL, AND TO STRIVE NONVIOLENTLY FOR THE REMOVAL OF THE CAUSES OF WAR, INCLUDING RACISM, SEXISM AND ALL FORMS OF HUMAN EXPLOITATION.

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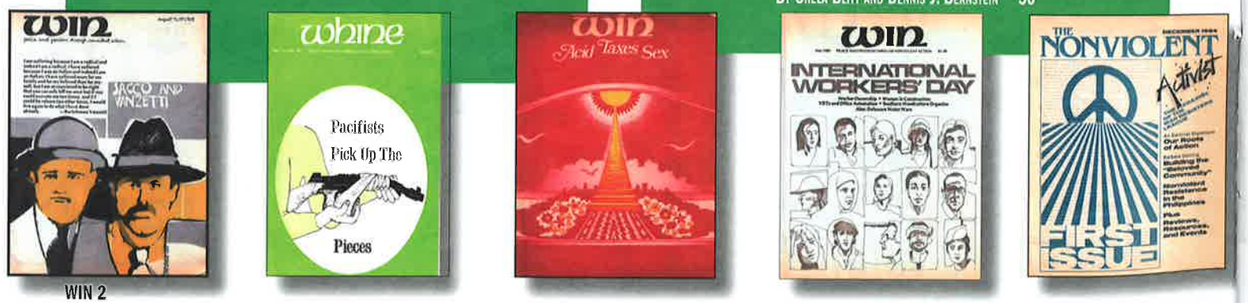


EDITORIAL: MY FAVORITE ISSUE

Advocating revolutionary nonviolence is never easy. It's a daunting task just to communicate the *why* and the *how* of turning the world upside down, of achieving profound social justice and peace using no weapons but our bodies and our faith in the rightness of the goal. The hours are long, the pay—when there is any—is low, and the task doesn't come with an instruction manual. We who work at it can sometimes see, at a distance, glimmerings of that goal achieved; more often, it's out of sight, maybe real in some distant future, and maybe existing only in our hopes.

And yet, the people whose words you're about to read have given much of their lives to that task; indeed, the pages that follow, read carefully, may be the beginnings of such a manual.

A TALE OF THREE MAGAZINES

As one facet of its resistance to war, WRL has been in the publishing business for a long time. It started sending members a newsletter, *WRL News*, in 1945. The New York Workshop in Nonviolence began publishing the first *WIN* in 1966 (its full name was *WIN Peace and Freedom Thru Nonviolent Action*). *WRL News* welcomed *WIN as* "constituting a sprightly new addition to pacfist literary endeavours," and WRL became a co-publisher of the magazine. When *WIN* folded in 1983, WRL expanded its newsletter into a new magazine, *The Nonviolent Activist*, which was revamped in 2006 and re-named *WIN*, in honor of its great predecessor.

But this, as many of you may know, is the final issue of *WIN*. The changing economics of publishing have hit the publishing side of WRL, which can no longer afford the price of putting out a magazine. This is not to say the organization is giving up publishing altogether. It will still produce important resources like its annual Pie Chart flyer. There's a new edition of "What Every Girl Should Know," the brochure for young women, queer and trans youth, youth of color, and poor youth, about sexual and gender-based violence in the military (co-published with the Women of Color Resource Center). Right now, we're proud to announce the upcoming publication (with Tadween Publishing) of Field Organizer Ali Issa's new book, *Against All Odds: Voices of Popular Struggle in Iraq*. Beyond print, WRL will be soon putting more news and information online, in a more dynamic way. So stay in touch—there'll be plenty to read.

Meanwhile, we decided to make this last issue of *WIN* one to remember. When I took on the task of coming back to put it together, I imagined that I was going to help create an extended obituary, a reflection on the highs and maybe some of the lows, the achievements and the struggles, of that half-century of activist journalism.

I was wrong.

NOT AN OBITUARY

An obituary is the final word on a subject. It's about the past of someone or something with no future. This isn't an obituary because every piece in this final issue of *WIN* speaks to the future of this endeavor as well as of its past. As a print publication, *WIN* may be over, but the business of communicating the whys and the hows of revolutionary nonviolence *will* go on. And this extraordinary collection of articles by people who have toiled in the field for decades is, collectively, a broad and deep look at the multiple intersections of movement journalism and activism—activism in general, and specifically the project of nonviolent revolution—and the ways in which that history, those intersections, point us to the future. It may well have more pointers on how we can best communicate that goal than anything heretofore put between the covers of one magazine.

A roundtable conversation among five former editors looks at the nuts and bolts of activist publishing; four "continuities" pieces highlight current activist projects; and editors and "unindicted co-conspirators" from all three magazines describe their favorite issue(s).

That said, it's by no means the last word on the subject. There are missing voices. The contributors are a diverse bunch, age- and gender-wise, but—reflecting the face of the U.S. peace movement over those same 49 years—far less diverse in race and class. (Reflecting the close-knit radical pacifist community that generated all three magazines, by the way, you'll find a lot of names repeated Not a few of the writers of articles in this issue quote other writers appearing here.) There are missing subjects, as well. There are pieces here on Africa and the environment, on prison work and Palestine, on poetry and gay life in the '60s, and on what defines an action as "nonviolent," but space considerations, if nothing else, prevented a comprehensive look at all the subjects touched in those 49 years.

But it's a start, and as a start, it covers an amazing amount of ground in its 50+ pages. More significant, it looks back at almost 50 years of activist journalism in order to point the way to the next 50 years. Which is why, out of the 60 issues I edited—59 *Nonviolent Activists* and this issue of *WIN*—this is my favorite issue.

—Judith Mahoney Pasternak

A necessary postscript: Among the chronicles of the broad community the magazines covered were activists' obituaries. The revamped WRL website will, of course, continue to post obituaries for those we've lost; please look there for ongoing news, including obits for war-tax resistance pioneer Juanita Nelson, Narayan Desai, one-time Chair of War Resisters' International and one of the creators of Peace Brigades International, and Living Theater co-founder Judith Malina, all of whom died as this issue was being put together. And please *bring* your *thoughts, comments and reminiscences to* WIN's *Facebook page (facebook.com/wrlmagazine).*

Longtime writer and journalist Judith Mahoney Pasternak was the editor of The Nonviolent Activist *from 1995 to 2005. She now lives in Paris, France, where she writes, edits, translates, and works for peace in Palestine.*

Pushing for Radical Transformation: WRL's 2015 Anti-Militarization Campaign

By Skanda Kadirgamar and Tara Tabassi

As War Resisters League organizers, and as people committing our lives to challenging militarism, we don't often see moments when our work comes together and people power is stronger than people in power. But a lot came together last September 5, when for once we could truly feel that people power strength.

It was a cross-community rally outside of the Oakland Marriott—the host of cop-shop weapons expo Urban Shield, the culmination of months of local and national organizing. Toward the end of the day, we were excited to hear the announcement from Oakland Mayor Jean Quan: Urban Shield would end its eight-year run and not be hosted in Oakland next year.

As organizers celebrated this development, we also understood this was just the beginning—not only of our work against Urban Shield, but in forging synergy between movements against war, militarism, and police violence, and for the self-determination of all communities. As the Stop Urban Shield coalition said in our statement the next day:

"Organizers have asserted, however, that their work is far from over. While Oakland will not host the trade show and training, they have not received guarantees that the city will completely withdraw participation, i.e.. providing city funding, sending city agencies and offering city sites for future Urban Shields. In the words of Lara Kiswani of the Arab Resource and Organizing Center, 'We say no to Urban Shield anywhere; we say no to militarization everywhere.'"

For antiwar activists, saying no to militarization everywhere means resisting the obvious, such as armored tanks and drones, but it also means fighting—and transforming—a state of mind. Militarized mentalities have permeated U.S. police departments and dramatically amplified the force of police violence affecting a variety of communities. Militarized mentalities have also begun to infuse emergency preparedness as we saw in Oakland and Boston's Urban Shield expos, where firefighters and EMT train right along with heavily armed SWAT teams, all funded by the Department of Homeland Security. Urban Shield, a private entity despite its DHS funding, doubles as war expo for arms vendors to show off their high-caliber products, while also providing a space for global police departments to play-act counter-terrorism with war weaponry.

In response, WRL is challenging a significant support structure for this militarization, by striking at the more than half-billion-dollar federal grant program, the UASI—Urban Areas Security Initiative, which strengthens and unifies state repression by funding for "emergency response" in more than 38 "at-risk" urban areas. That the emergency scenarios they train in, and the language they use, are steeped in the "War on Terror" is not an accident.

READYING THE GROUND

The mid-1960s and the '70s and '80s saw the introduction of high-level military equipment and techniques to U.S. police forces via the wars on drugs and crime. These early model SWAT teams were upgraded in the following decades under the National Defense Authorization Act, which contained weapons transfer programs between the military and police, first for "counter-drug" activities, and later for "counter-terrorism" purposes and the "enhancement of officer safety." It is in this light that we must understand the "War on Terror" because that is the rationale or with which the Department of Homeland Security continues to further consolidate police and military infrastructure. (One example gaining much notoriety of late due to the Ferguson uprisings is the Pentagon's 1033 "Excess Property" program, the 1997 extension of the NDAA that allows for the transfer of military arms and equipment from the federal government to state and local law enforcement agencies—*free of charge.*)

The Urban Areas Security Initiative, the billion-dollar grant program under the Department of Homeland Security that subsidizes the transformation of police forces from civilian to quasi-military agencies is another example of how the relationships between federal and city institutions have continued to deepen since the Bush administration in the early 2000s. (For more detail on this, see the DHS "Fact Sheet: Office of State and Local Government Coordination & Preparedness," pbadupws.nrc.gov/docs/ML0427/ML042740697.pdf.) UASI, which is perhaps of greater concern than the 1033 program due to the nature and scale of its operations, bankrolls massive trainings in SWAT techniques, helping sequester practice areas in city neighborhoods (rural areas are not necessarily excluded), often without residents' foreknowledge. Most alarming, it requires all agencies accessing its funds, from fire departments to emergency responders, to have a "nexus to terrorism" in all trainings and activities. By calling for increased coordination between law enforcement and emergency management offices, as well

FY 2014 UASI Allocations

State/Territory	Funded Urban Area	FY 2014 UASI Allocation
Arizona	Phoenix Area	$5,500,000
California	Anaheim/Santa Ana Area	$5,500,000
	Bay Area	$27,400,000
	Los Angeles/Long Beach Area	$67,500,000
	Riverside Area	$1,000,000
	Sacramento Area	$1,000,000
	San Diego Area	$16,874,000
Colorado	Denver Area	$3,000,000
District of Columbia	National Capital Region	$53,000,000
Florida	Miami/Fort Lauderdale Area	$5,500,000
	Orlando Area	$1,000,000
	Tampa Area	$3,000,000
Georgia	Atlanta Area	$5,500,000
Hawaii	Honolulu Area	$1,000,000
Illinois	Chicago Area	$69,500,000
Indiana	Indianapolis Area	$1,000,000
Louisiana	New Orleans Area	$3,000,000
Maryland	Baltimore Area	$5,500,000
Massachusetts	Boston Area	$18,000,000
Michigan	Detroit Area	$5,500,000
Minnesota	Twin Cities Area	$5,500,000
Missouri	Kansas City Area	$1,000,000
	St. Louis Area	$3,000,000
Nevada	Las Vegas Area	$1,000,000
New Jersey	Jersey City/Newark Area	$21,800,000
New York	New York City Area	$178,926,000
North Carolina	Charlotte Area	$3,000,000
Ohio	Cincinnati Area	$1,000,000
	Cleveland Area	$1,000,000
	Columbus Area	$1,000,000
Oregon	Portland Area	$1,000,000
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia Area	$18,500,000
	Pittsburgh Area	$3,000,000
Texas	Dallas/Fort Worth/Arlington Area	$15,500,000
	Houston Area	$24,000,000
	San Antonio Area	$1,000,000
Utah	Salt Lake City Area	$1,000,000
Virginia	Hampton Roads Area	$1,000,000
Washington	Seattle Area	$5,500,000
Total		$587,000,000

Stop Urban Shield Rally, Oakland, CA, September 5, 2014. Photo by Ramsey ElQare/www.elqarephotography.com.

Skanda Kadirgamar is a student and volunteer with WRL's Demilitarize Health and Security Campaign. Based in the United States, with family from Sri Lanka, he believes strongly in organizing to undermine state repression. Tara Tabassi, WRL's national organizer, is currently campaigning against domestic police militarization, as well as weapon industries and warfare globally. focused on the self-determination of LGBTQ youth of color communities.

as corporate and nonprofit institutions, UASI is, in the words of the New York City Office of Emergency Management, creating a "one-stop-shop."

This rapid amalgamation of city agencies will only lead to a tighter web of repression used against those already deemed disposable, dangerous, and/or "radical." We reject a furthering of these cultures of fear. Fostering paranoia and normalizing a constant state of emergency, these UASI allotments, undertaken in the name of security, have incredibly repressive potential, the effects of which we can see every day—if we know where to look.

The road to police militarization in Ferguson was paved in other cities by UASI, among them Oakland and Boston. Both cities have made the news for SWAT activity. One famed moment during Occupy Oakland in 2012 was what NBC News described as the police's "overwhelmingly military-type response" to the protesters' encampment. On April 15, 2013, the same day as the Boston Marathon Bombing, armored police indiscriminately raided homes in Dorchester and Roxbury—primarily neighborhoods of working-class people of color—arresting 30 individuals on suspicion of selling marijuana, oxycodone pills, and crack cocaine. Perhaps more controversial, both cities have hosted Urban Shield expos.

MAKING THE ROAD

WRL's current campaign, Demilitarize Health & Security: A Campaign to End the Urban Areas Security Initiative, takes nonviolent aim, so to speak, squarely at UASI to challenge militarism and lift up community wellness and safety. The campaign is grounded in the conviction that if we dismantle police power internationally, we challenge U.S. militarism locally.

However, this campaign is also rooted in the understanding that across communities, there is a need for solutions to poverty, violence, and trauma, and that these very solutions can and will be made by the communities themselves. Through lifting up self-determination and reallocating of resources to allow for community wellness and resilience, we further support imagining a world where we get to decide how to take care of one another, where funding and resources for climate emergencies or family safety don't come through the Pentagon and police departments, and where communities have the resources and political power to define priorities for public safety and emergency preparedness—a world that allows all people the ability to transform violence and empower peace.

The campaign is anchoring three coalitions nationally, starting in the San Francisco Bay Area, Boston, and New York City, and using a diversity of tactics to further build people power against police militarization.

➢ *The Bay Area's "Stop Urban Shield" Coalition:* As described above, after two years of campaigning against the war-expo and SWAT team-training, Urban Shield expo, the Stop Urban Shield cross-community coalition was successful in creating enough local and national pressure so that Oakland's mayor banned Urban Shield from that city. While this victory is great, the coalition continues to organize together as the arms expo moves to the nearby city of Pleasanton for fall 2015.

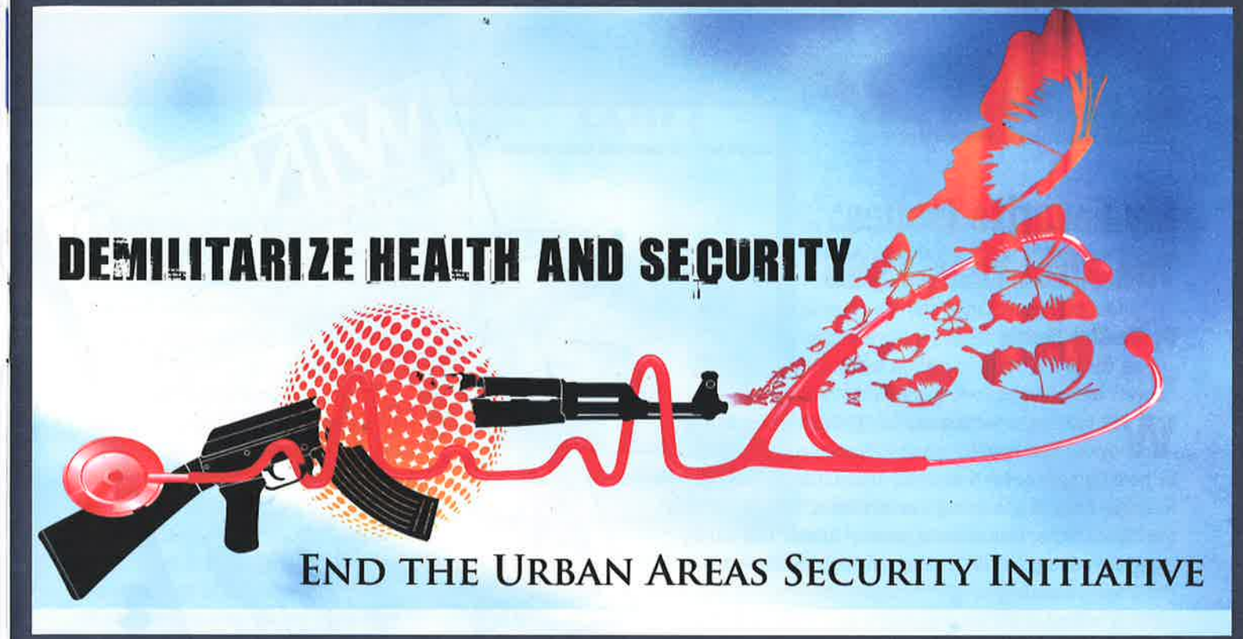
➢ *Boston's "STOMP":* The Boston STOMP coalition, "STop Oppressive Militarized Policing," was formed around an awareness that Urban Shield was also a presence in their town, one that extended the violent logic of policing there and was also very connected to the lockdown of the town of Watertown after the bombing at the 2013 Boston Marathon, and the lockdown's heavily militarized parades in residential areas that so disturbed the entire country. STOMP had leaders from many movements, including Youth Against Mass Incarceration and Black and Pink. Building on that momentum, the forces of this coalition are gathering for renewed action this spring.

➢ *New York City's "Demilitarize Health & Security" Coalition:* With the largest and wealthiest police department in the country (with offices in 11 cities around the world), as well as vibrant and far-reaching organizing against police violence, New York City is a key site of struggle. Early this year, Police Commissioner Bill Bratton's announcement of new militarized units, equating protesters with terrorists, only underlines how what used to be Mayor Bloomberg's army continues to grow. Living in the largest recipient of UASI grant funding (at around $179 million in 2014), New Yorkers are increasingly raising the call to demilitarize. As a recent cross-community statement opposing the new NYPD units states:

"We, the undersigned, demand the immediate dismantling of the new NYPD counterterrorism auxiliary unit and Strategic Response Group, which will only deepen the crisis of police violence and repression faced by our communities. Instead of building the NYPD's power to criminalize, control, and kill people, we need resources that keep communities healthy, whole and free to flourish. We will not stop until we have them!"

Not stopping means knowing where we are going, knowing what world it is that we want, and living that in our practice of resistance. It means transforming what at times seems like the endless repression and fear around us to caring, support, and the beauty of solidarity. It means pushing for something radical we might call revolutionary nonviolence. Ω

For more information on the Demilitarize Health and Security campaign, see www.facingteargas.org/p/139/demilitarize-health-security.



Militarism is guns, armored tanks and drones, but it's also a state of mind. Militarized mentalities have permeated U.S police departments and amplified dramatically the force of police violence against our communities. It has also begun to infuse emergency preparedness. Now Fire-fighters and EMT are training right along with heavily armed SWAT teams, all funded by the Department of Homeland Security (the original DHS).

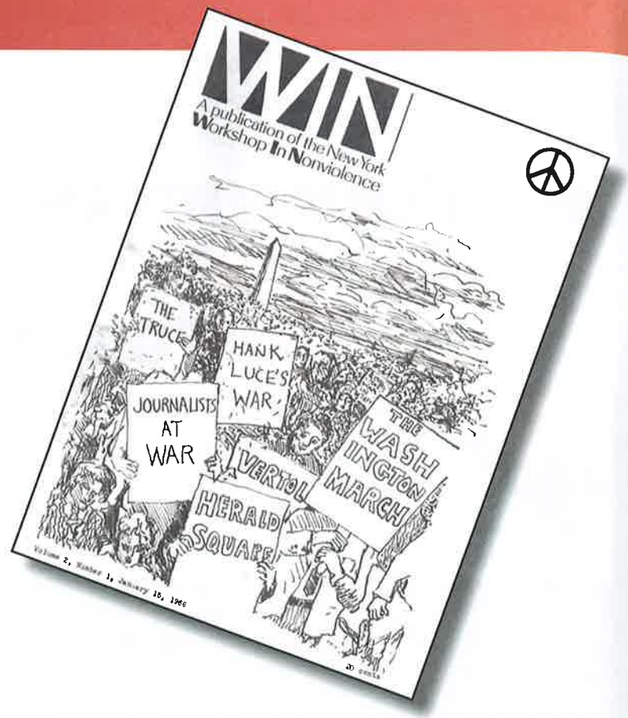
Join us in challenging these harmful forces, striking at the $500 million (plus) grant program—UASI—that strengthens and unifies state repression. Support imagining a world where we get to decide how to take care of one another. Lift up community wellness, resilience, and safety. Together we can Demilitarize Health & Security!

Learn more and join us at www.facingteargas.org/p/139/demilitarize-health-security

win
PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

My Favorite Issues: The First Year, 1966

By Markley Morris



WIN first appeared January 15, 1966. It was published by the New York Workshop in Nonviolence, sponsored by both Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA) and War Resisters League. The timing was fortuitous. WIN appeared as the United States was entering years of tumult. This rapidly changing world gave WIN a variety of opportunities and challenges, including:

➢ The Vietnam war was tiny but steadily growing bigger. More and more U.S. soldiers were coming home wounded or in body bags. Opposition to the war was also escalating. *WIN*'s role became reporting on nonviolent direct action against the war, especially civil disobedience. It also reported on the wide range of writing about the war and nonviolence.

➢ This was also the era of the Human Be-In, of flower power, of dancing in the parks and on the beaches. Youth culture blossomed. *WIN* covered these peaceable happenings fully. Our pages were infused with positive energy, a certainty that although our work is urgent we should strive to accomplish our tasks with joy, simplicity, and love for each other.

➢ The New Left was also flourishing. These educated youngsters tended to be more interested in tactical nonviolence than pacifism, and they loved to argue. There were debates between those fully committed to nonviolence and those who had doubts. These tensions and arguments spilled into the pages of *WIN*. Perhaps some of us learned a little from one another.

➢ This was the golden age of the Underground Press. *WIN* proved to be just barely hip enough and funky enough to sometimes be considered a part of the counterculture—without being too offensive to more staid and older pacifists.

➢ And it should be pointed out that we were part of a world encumbered by towering white male privilege. Perhaps we nonviolent activists were a bit more enlightened than the country at large but we had enough racial prejudice, sexism, and homophobia to give us things to work on for years.

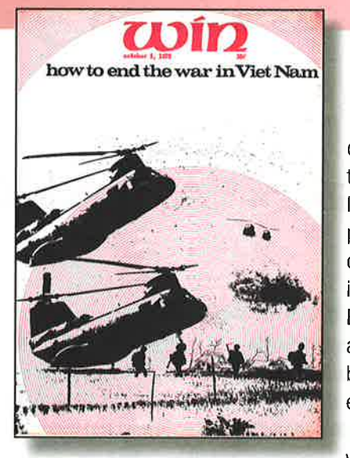
With all this in mind, let's look at Issue No. 1.

The lead article is "The Washington March," by Martin Jezer—with the delicious subtitle, "proselytizing the liberals." It is followed by reports by Don Newlove and Bradford Lyttle, respectively, on a peace rally at New York City's Herald Square during the Christmas rush and a civil disobedience demonstration (14 arrests) at the Boeing-Vertol helicopter factory near Philadelphia. The next 10 pages are devoted to reviews—written mainly by Paul Johnson—of books and magazines about the war.

All in all, an excellent issue, both hip and well written.

No editors are credited. A staff list did not appear until Issue 3, February 11, 1966. It named Marty and Paul as "editors this issue." They were the ones who had persuaded the Workshop in Nonviolence to publish a magazine. Other staff members listed are Henry Bass, Judy Brink, Maris Cakars, Leonard Fetzer, Rebecca Johnson, Dorothy Lane, Martin Mitchell, Gwen Reyes, Bonnie Stretch, and Robert Sievert.

Markley Morris (called Mark Morris back then) was the first Managing Editor of the original WIN *magazine. After six issues, seeing* WIN *was in splendid shape, he moved on to other work but remained close to* WIN*, contributing graphics and writing over the years. He is now 81, lives in San Francisco, and takes part in a weekly Quaker vigil against all wars. See his website about the LGBT civil disobedience at the Supreme Court in 1987: supremecourtcd.org/Home.html*



Maris Cakars was the third major figure at *WIN*. When the magazine began, he thought of himself primarily as an organizer and was concerned that work on the magazine might take energy away from organizing demonstrations—the heart of the Workshop; but by issue 2, January 28, 1966, Maris stepped up as a writer, contributing a strong essay, "The Political Relevance of Public Witness." And it was Maris who championed *WIN* for years.

Issue 3 also contains the first examples of what is probably *WIN*'s greatest contribution to journalism—coverage of demonstrations with first-person accounts by several participants, woven together to create vivid, multi-dimensional reports. The same issue also marks the first appearance of Henry Bass's "Alphabet Soup," an effort to make sense of the myriad progressive organizations known by their initials.

Issue 9, May 28, 1966, includes a reading list. *WIN* invited writers and activists to recommend books. Responses came in from journalist Nat Hentoff; poet Allen Ginsberg; WWII conscientious objector and anitwar coalition genius Dave Dellinger; co-founder (with folk singer Joan Baez) of the Institute for the Study of Nonviolence Ira Sandperl; WRL's David McReynolds; playwright Arthur Miller, writer and labor organizer Sidney Lens; two profoundly influential pacifist thinkers, A.J. Muste and Barbara Deming; and critic Edmond Wilson, although Wilson refused to recommend any books. Amazingly, no book was recommended twice.

With Issue 16, October 5, 1966, *WIN* went national, distributed by both CNVA and WRL, and I became managing editor. I found myself working on an exciting and relevant magazine, well edited and well written by the peace workers and writers who started it, helpful to and loved by nonviolent activists everywhere and making a real contribution. We were off on the long, difficult, and gratifying struggle to end the Vietnam War. Ω

win
PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

My Favorite Issue: The One on Gay Liberation, Nov. 15, 1969

By David McReynolds

I was asked for this final issue of *WIN* to comment on the Gay Liberation issue of 1969, which had an article by Paul Goodman and a long one by me ("Notes for a more coherent article"). The irony is that I cannot claim to have been an activist in the Gay Liberation movement, yet this article of mine, and this issue of *WIN* were important. Let me take readers back to that "homosexual world" as I knew it (and as I had known it since becoming aware in 1949 that I was homosexual).

I would never, in 1969, at the age of 40, have guessed this "deviant world" would morph so radically into what it is now, when I'm 85. I never even liked the term "gay," as I didn't, in my experience, find that much about it that was gay. It was a neurotic world, filled with guilt, too much alcoholism, and centered around youth. After 40, one truly entered the dark ages.

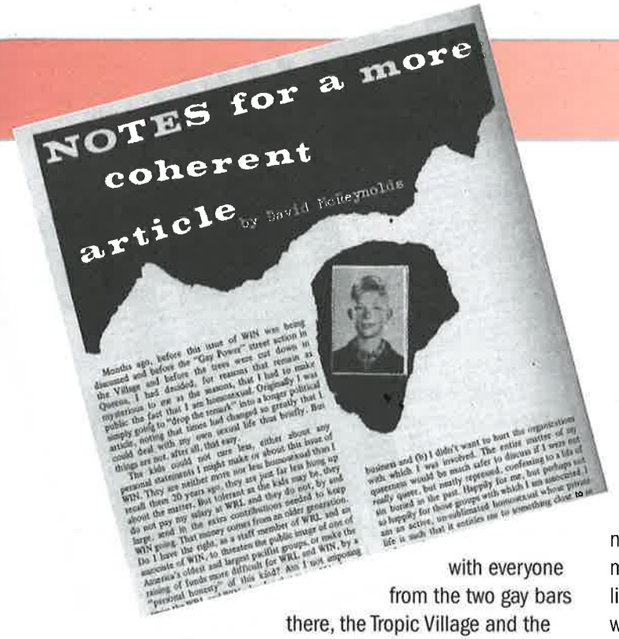
Nor am I clear *why* I wrote the article, what drove me to "come out in print" with one of the very first such articles. While I was certainly influenced by the Stonewall riots, the Stonewall kids were not my crowd. I had tried to go to Stonewall once, some time before the riots, but was turned away at the door. Too old? Too straight? It was a gathering place for young cross-dressing fellows—frankly the last people from whom I would expect a revolution. (But looking back, all power to them!)

Many of us in the gay community went over to the West Village immediately after the first riotous night. I ran into Allen Ginsberg there, observing, as I was. (One of the things about Allen that most deeply impressed me was that he was an openly gay man, at that time almost the only writer or poet in America who was.)

In 1969 there were virtually no openly gay men in public life (and fewer open lesbians, if any). The exceptions proved the rule. Everyone knew Liberace was a bit queer—everyone except his audience of middle-aged women, who adored him. Gay writers such as James Baldwin were not "out." Major cultural figures, such as composer Leonard Bernstein, had felt it best to get married, so deep was the bias against anyone openly gay. Novelist Truman Capote served as a shield for a host of other gay writers—Capote, so obvious and flamboyant, was what people thought homosexuals were like.

In reality the vast majority of us moved through the world invisible to all except very close friends. What characterized gay life in those days was the need for secrecy. What would our families, our fellow workers, our employers, think if they knew we were queer? Readers of *WIN* know that civil rights and peace icon Bayard Rustin spent much of his life worrying that his arrest on a morals charge in Pasadena in 1953 would destroy his value to the movement. But it was not just Bayard who suffered. My close friend at UCLA, Alvin Ailey, who would go on to fame as a dancer and choreographer, as a youth spent 30 days in the Los Angeles county jail on a morals charge. My friend Johnnie Labarge was picked up in Ocean Park by the vice squad and spent 30 days in jail. (What a grand party I threw for him when he got out,

David McReynolds joined the staff of Liberation *in 1957 and the WRL staff in 1960. He was long involved with* WIN *and the* NVA. *He also ran for Congress on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket in 1968, for the New York Senate in 2004 as a Green Party candidate, and for the U.S. Presidency on the Socialist Party ticket in 1980 and 2000. He retired from the WRL staff in 1999. He has never retired from radicalism.*


NOTES for a more coherent article

by David McReynolds

Months ago, before this issue of WIN was being discussed and before the "Gay Power" street action in the Village and before the trees were cut down in Queens, I had decided, for reasons that remain as mysterious to me as the reasons, that I had to make public the fact that I am homosexual. Originally I was simply going to "drop the remark" into a longer political article, noting that times had changed so greatly that I could deal with my own sexual life thus briefly. But things are not, after all, that easy.

The kids could not care less, either about any personal statements I might make or about this issue of WIN. They are neither more nor less homosexual than I about the matter, as the kids may be, they do not pay any attention to older generation. Do I have the right, as a staff member of WRL and an associate of WIN, to threaten the public image of one of America's oldest and largest pacifist groups, or make the raising of funds more difficult for WRL and WIN, by a "personal honesty" of this kind? Am I not imposing

business and (b) I didn't want to hurt the organizations with which I was involved. The entire matter of my queerness would be much safer to discuss if I were not really queer, but merely repressed, confessing to a life of sin buried in the past. Happily for me, but perhaps not so happily for those groups with which I was associated, I am an active, unrehabilitated homosexual whose private life is such that it entitles me to something close to

with everyone from the two gay bars there, the Tropic Village and the Captain's Inn, turning up at the home of lesbian friends of mine, after the bars closed. I think the great—and today almost unknown—lesbian singer Aggie Dukes joined that party. Who now, reading this, even remembers the Tropic Village or heard Aggie Dukes sing? Johnnie, I fear, is long dead. And I only barely, and by the grace of God, avoided being picked up by the same vice squad agent who arrested Johnnie).

We were all potential felons, immoral creatures, our private lives, our loves, in violation of church and state. None of us then would have believed the time would come when openly lesbian TV stars Ellen DeGeneres and Rachel Maddow would be such accepted figures, or that two of the CNN anchors, Don Lemon and Anderson Cooper, would be openly gay?

We would certainly not have believed gay marriage was on anyone's agenda. That is the great sea change in what is now called the LGBT community, that and the number of same-sex couples who are raising children. I can think of no other change so radical, so unexpected. It may, in part, have occurred because of the AIDS epidemic. The sexual part of gay culture in the sixties was the freedom of the scene, and few were the liaisons that lasted more than a single night or at best a few weeks. That youthful abandon ended with a generation of young men seeing most of their friends die of AIDS. I know that if I were ten years younger I'd be dead—I was just old enough when the frenzy hit that I wasn't part of it. But even I lost several friends. I remember visiting one in hospital, early in the plague. The room was curtained off, and one had to wear a mask, gown, and gloves before entering, since in those early days no one knew how the disease was transmitted. I think it was this that caused men to look for liaisons that lasted more than a week or so.

What moved me, then, in 1969, to write that article, when silence was the iron rule?

I'm not sure. I was then descending into the personal darkness of alcoholism. Perhaps one part of me thought such an article would gain me some attention. But that is not really fair—Bayard taught me that all of us act from mixed motives. I think the key reason was that I was tired of living a lie. I had visited Bayard in jail after his Pasadena arrest (he was utterly broken by the arrest) and when he got out had him down to my beach shack in Ocean Park for dinner. As I drove him there, I said that one of the reasons I admired him so deeply was that he was the only man I knew who was aware that half of what he said was a lie.

I didn't mean just the things which, on reflection, are obvious. If you were sheltering Jews in your basement in Germany, and a Gestapo officer asked if you were hiding Jews, you would certainly violate the principle of absolute honesty by saying no. (As Bayard pointed out, "moral absolutes, in the real world, can conflict," a point Bertolt Brecht—himself no stranger to homosexuality—would have appreciated). No, what I meant was that those of us who were homosexual hid this fact when we spoke of the Gandhian principle of absolute truth. Yes, truth and honesty about everything ... except our own lives, which were in violation of the laws, and about which we had to keep silent in order to speak the truth about war and peace, racism, capitalism. Truth about everything... except the one thing that could destroy us.

My article was an effort to be honest at last.

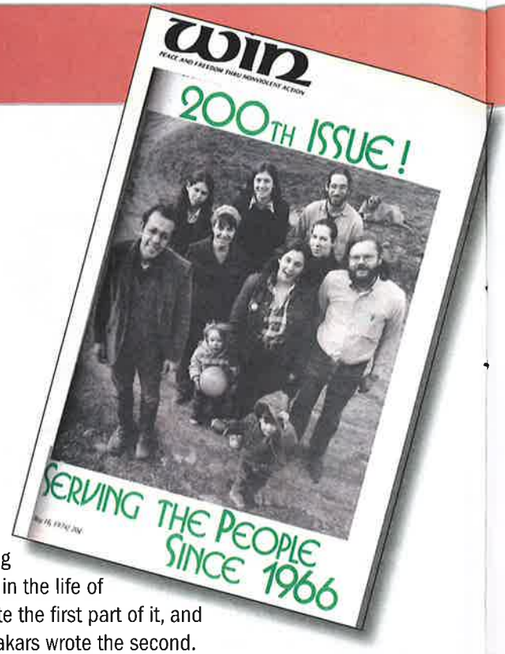
You, reading this now, cannot believe how underground homosexuals were in 1969. If I helped crack open that underground, then the article was important and *WIN* magazine played a crucial rule in publishing it. I did not know, in writing it, what would happen to me—what would be the reaction of the War Resisters League for which I worked. Indeed, when Bayard read the article, he called Ralph DiGia, on the staff at WRL and an old friend, and said, "Ralph, you folks have to get rid of David. He will destroy the league." I did not feel betrayed by Bayard—one of my personal heroes—because I understood very well the fears that moved him.

But to the credit of WRL (which obviously survived my article), I remained at my post there for many additional years. Ω

win
PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

My Favorite Issue: No. 200, May 16, 1974

By Martha Thomases



Here's what I think when I remember the 200th issue of *WIN* magazine:

We were right.

It is the conventional wisdom of many in today's popular culture that the antiwar hippie movement was a monumental failure. It was, they say, the precursor to the selfishness of the "Me Decade" that followed.

They are wrong.

I first became aware of *WIN* in 1968, when I was 15 years old, a freshman at a girls' boarding school in Connecticut. It had only been a year or so since I decided I was a pacifist. Through one of my friends, I discovered the War Resisters League, and, through WRL, *WIN*.

My tenure as a staff-person at *WIN* was brief, from early 1974 to mid-1975. This happened during the time *WIN* had moved to upstate New York, onto a small farm near Kingston, and almost all the staff lived and worked together. There were two buildings, a farmhouse and a converted barn. The barn had bedrooms, the office, and chickens on the ground level. For a time, we had a goat. There was a housecat, Ho Chi, and barn cats, Matilda and Hillary.

If you believe the popular narrative, communes were places for maniacal and charismatic leaders to brainwash their supplicants. The social structure would be dominated by a religious zeal, one that encouraged participants to abandon their families and ignore the outside world.

We weren't like that. We had a magazine to produce every week, without fail. And we did, except for a few rare double-issues that let us skip a week.

The 200th issue was special because it was about us. It shows what life on our commune was really like, as much as paper is able to do. There are pictures of our friends and neighbors and contributors, both local and around the globe. Besides this photo gallery, there is a two-part story describing a typical week in the life of the staff. I wrote the first part of it, and editor Maris Cakars wrote the second.

Back in those days, putting together a magazine was hands-on work. Every word was typeset on a typewriter. Every image was printed on paper. The printed papers were then cut up and pasted on cardboards, to be sent to a printer in the city, who would also do the mailing. To be an editor on staff at that time, one had to be able not only to edit and proofread, but to use rubber cement and a straight-edge. Reading the description of what we did, I'm struck by the fact that we spent at least three days doing things that today could be done in an afternoon with a two-year-old iMac.

I'm also struck by the description of the editorial process. Three of the men who worked on the magazine—Maris, along with Marty Jezer and Fred Rosen—selected the feature stories. Marty (and, later on, I) would edit the news section. I edited the arts section, and Susan Cakars did the letters. In other words, men made almost all of the editorial decisions. My memory is that it was more of a consensus process involving the entire staff. My memory might be fogged by nostalgia.

Along with putting out a weekly magazine, we had a garden, where we grew vegetables. With the chickens and the goat, this meant there were always chores to do. I found that, when something irked me, I could go outside and rip up a few weeds and feel better. Weeding was also good for writer's block. I might not be able to form a beautiful sentence, but I could clean up a row of tomatoes while I worked that out.

We had about 10,000 subscribers at that time, and I felt like I knew almost all of them. Not because we got that much mail (although sometimes, we did) but because we did all of our fund appeals by hand. We stuffed envelopes and stuck the printed labels on every piece. We noticed when there were new names, and when familiar names dropped off.

Our days were not drug-filled orgies the way modern pop culture would have you believe (or, if they were, I wasn't invited). We had a rhythm to our tasks, and to our little joys. We liked to read the mail. We liked to play board games. I've always said you haven't lived until you've played Monopoly with socialists and Risk with pacifists. It brings out all those repressed impulses without causing any actual damage.

We got to watch Nixon resign. We laughed when President Gerald Ford proclaimed he would "Whip Inflation Now" because it meant we could get promotional materials using those initials quite easily and inexpensively for our own supporters. We knew the FBI was checking us out, not only because of our antiwar activities, but also because they thought that maybe we were hiding Patty Hearst. I mean, all communes are the same, right?

We weren't the Symbionese Liberation Army. We weren't the Manson Family. We were friends and family who shared a common goal: to end the war, keep the peace movement connected, and maybe, just maybe, grow some corn. Ω

Media goddess Martha Thomases blogs at "Brilliant Disguise," mdwp.malibulist.com, and is the author of the Dakota North comic books. She is currently the chair of the A.J. Muste Memorial Institute Board of Directors.

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PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

My Favorite Issue: The Tenth Anniversary Issue April 29/May 6, 1976

By Susan Kent Cakars

To celebrate its tenth anniversary in 1976, *WIN* re-published a range of articles from its earliest years. Editor Mark (now Markley) Morris chose to focus mostly on the first two years both for space considerations and to represent the beginnings of both the magazine itself and the peace movement it represented.

Included are many reviews of demonstrations against the Vietnam War. Coverage of a 1966 U.N. vigil and Times Square sit-down and of the 1967 "Siege of the Pentagon" protest follow the same multi-voiced format of participants writing briefly about their experiences. Draft resistance pieces feature dumping excrement into draft board file cases, eating a draft card, and a resister's day in court. The Bread & Puppet political theater troupe is extolled for its effectiveness at demonstrations. A 1967 essay on how the October 22, 1966, "Yellow Submarine" demonstration was conceived points out that it was one of the first designed to be fun rather than glum. A 12-foot wood and canvas vessel was carried joyfully across New York City and launched in the Hudson River. Participants sang, danced, played instruments, and passed out flowers to show what we were for, not just what we were against.

The issue includes both a speech given by peace movement leader A. J. Muste at a demonstration in Saigon in April 1966, and sadly, commemorations on his death in February 1967. There's a 1967 letter from folk giant Pete Seeger saying how much he loves *WIN*—and more.

But I'd like to switch now to some of the issues covered during the rest of the ten years. (My brief overview will omit the names of our many wonderful unpaid contributors so that no one can complain about being left out.)

Without dropping coverage of demonstrations, resistance, and political analysis, the magazine began to branch into considering the necessity of improving our own lives and values as a way of improving society and ending wars, racism, and injustice. The coverage of the assassination in 1968 of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. calls on whites to continue his work by dealing nonviolently with the institutional forces of racial oppression—an ongoing concern of the peace movement, if not one of its noticeable successes.

The January 1, 1969, issue focused on alternatives--mostly communes of many sorts. The August 1969 issue was on ecology, expanding *WIN*'s focus from improving our institutions and ourselves to protecting the world we live in.

The magazine had an early issue on Gay Liberation on November 15, 1969. And although women's concerns had been written about earlier, it wasn't until January 1, 1970, that an issue was devoted to the Women's Liberation Movement. One article pointed out, "There are not male supremacist 'attitudes.' We live in a sexist system!" Remedies proposed included women talking to women, women working with women—in feminist, lesbian, and antiwar groups—and women doing what they themselves felt was right. Many more articles on both gay rights and feminism would appear in the following years.

WIN's coverage of lifestyles included a feature titled "Rock and Revolution" as well as articles on food, cooking, child-rearing, schools. There were comics, cartoons, and photographs and coverage of concerts and theater. A 1972 issue had a recording tipped in of songs by poet-publisher-rock band leader Ed Sanders. And of course wars and the many, many demonstrations in protest against them, including draft board break-ins and file burnings, were covered. All of this earned us

Susan Kent Cakars wrote, edited, kept books, and helped with whatever was needed to keep WIN afloat for eight of its first ten years.

the sobriquet "the liveliest publication on the left" from *Village Voice* columnist Nat Hentoff.

In 1971 we moved *WIN* from offices at the Lafayette Street "Peace Pentagon" in New York City to a commune in Rifton, New York. (How we managed to put out a magazine in the country was described in our 200th issue, May 10, 1974.) On May 15, 1971, we published the Vietnam diary of Sgt. Bruce Anello, who had been killed in action May 31, 1968. It is as well written as anything on the subject and is heartbreaking in its similarity to accounts from Iraq and Afghanistan.

In March 1972 we published the complete collection of political documents stolen by a group of peace activists from the FBI office in Media, Pennsylvania, a year earlier, on March 8, 1971. Several newspapers had published selected documents the group sent to them, revealing that the bureau had spent much of its effort infiltrating antiwar activists and Black student groups in order to stifle dissent and enhance "the paranoia endemic in these circles." *WIN*, however, received and published *all* the political files, answering a Justice Department official's claim that the files reported in the press were taken out of context.

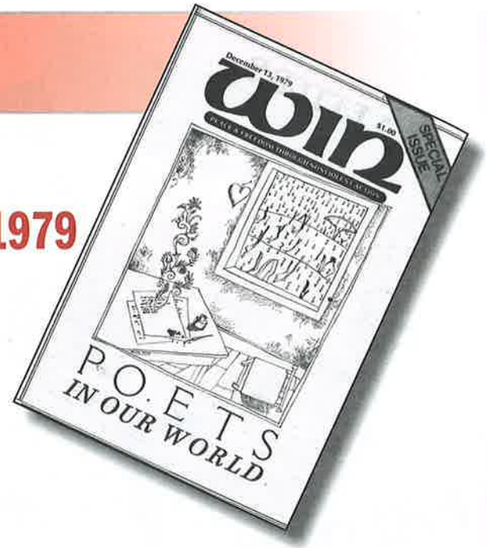
The November 1, 1972, issue focused on the "Pentagon Papers," the massive collection of documents leaked to the press by former Department of Defense analyst Daniel Ellsberg, with interviews with Dan and his wife Pat. In 1973 there were many articles on activist-priests Dan and Phil Berrigan, and on April 5 of that year we switched from a twice-monthly to a weekly schedule to get speedier postal delivery. On April 11, 1974, we published a special issue on men, focusing on the role of feminism in the lives of straight men. The June 27, 1974, issue was on fighting against nuclear power plants. And on December 19, 1974, we published a special issue on money (always a hard subject to talk about).

1975 saw more reports from other countries, issues on "Women 1975," lesbian culture, anarchism, and the WRL-initiated Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice, and of course the same year saw the end—finally—of the Vietnam War, something we all thought would have happened many years before and the reason we started *WIN* in the first place.

So much to cover and so much I've left out (including the last year)! I see now why Markley chose to stick to the first few years. I hope you enjoyed this walk through *WIN* and will seek out these early issues. They are well worth it. Ω

win
PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

My Favorite Issue: "Poets in Our World," December 13, 1979



By Mary Jane Sullivan

Here we are in the 21st century where social relations are compromised. We live in states of exclusions from one another and refrain from attesting to states of ignorance that lead to violence. It is complicity that leaves wounds one can barely count. How do we come to know intellect, language skills, skin color, sexual identity, social status, and stories that challenge this disorder within this field of ignorance? The fabric of our civil discourse is fragmented, for the concepts of the common good and community based on equality and transformation are rendered inactive. Human relations are shaped by the realities of history and the struggles that convey how forces of oppression and domination maintain inequality, violence, and cruelty.

There is no one elixir, but I continue to recommend the power of poetry as a force field of human transformation to counteract verbal hypocrisy and the militarization of the mind. Poetry is intrinsically just because it is based on mutual consent between the poet and the one who engages the poem as a body, engages the one who suffers injustice in the small ways of everyday life and perhaps just needs to dive into the wreckage of destruction, now more than ever bound to the future of existence on this planet.

In 1979, I was a member of the editorial collective at *WIN*. From the top floor of a loft on Atlantic Avenue in downtown Brooklyn, we absorbed and printed the voices of the nonviolent movement for peace and social justice, a goal beyond categories. Without the currency of social media, we were able to reach out across the globe with hard-working, relentless activists and theorists at the height of the antinuclear, anti-apartheid, antiracist, and feminist movements. It is my belief that what motivated us more than anything was the power to imagine a just world based on fearless speech. *WIN* was never about the singular "I." It was about contesting, the interdependent "we." And our tools were those of language and nonviolent action, which challenges the passivity and submissiveness of the status quo. Yes, that was 35 years ago. Many of us are still at it, for it is a way of living.

In the fall of 1979, after the meltdown at Three Mile Island and the protests against Seabrook and Shoreham nuclear power plants, several of us attended a benefit called "Writers Opposed to Nuclear Power and Weapons" for the Shad Alliance, the War Resisters League, and Mobilization for Survival. It sparked an idea; we decided to publish renowned and younger poets who held forth that poetry weighs in at its historical moment and lives in it insofar as it remains the news of human life. Poetry is at the root of communication. Among the poets were Muriel Rukeyser, Jane Cooper, Joseph Bruchac and Peter Blue Cloud, Jean Valentine, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, and Grace Paley, ranging from Kathy Engel to Jan Barry to *WIN* staff members Mark Zuss and me. Those poets mentioned were our teachers, as we have become teachers to a younger generation in the 21st century. As Muriel Rukeyser said in her timeless essay book, *The Life of Poetry*: "But there is one kind of knowledge—infinitely precious, time-resistant more than monuments, here to be passed between the generations in any way it may be: never to be used. And that is poetry." It was a radical idea to make a whole issue one of poetry. The news coming to us every day was so intense that we really had to sort out what to print, in a time of global/national urgency. We were being formed by the connective tissue we held amongst us from Brooklyn to the four corners of a growing movement.

Poetry often fell through the cracks of activism and, like seedlings in the cracked pavements of Brooklyn circa 1980, waited. For many of us, it lived in our nonviolent movement for social change. Poetry was not the foreigner. As it is today in spoken word and performance poetry by the younger generation, it was a meeting place where those false barriers between us were and are taken down, stripped of their power. Poetry is of the people, and sometimes we might not want to hear about our faults, our deviations from revolutionary friendship. We are compelled via civil discourse to witness our own becoming in this place called America.

Mary Jane Sullivan is a poet, filmmaker, and Film and Humanities instructor at the University of Colorado-Colorado Springs.

Poems say wake up, use language as weapons of nonviolent mass creation that see and hear and reconfigure Whitman's "I sing the body electric." Poems shout, "Bring justice to the victims of systemic social injustice." Poems employ Satyagraha to speak language with the force of one's entire body.

Denise Levertov speaks it forward in her poem, "Beginners," published in this issue and dedicated to the memory of Karen Silkwood, who blew the whistle on faulty nuclear plant practices and paid for it with her "mysterious" death, and to Eliot Gralla, who had also died not long before the poem was published.

BEGINNERS

'From too much love of living,
Hope and desire set free,
Even the weariest river
Winds somewhere to the sea–'

But we have only begun
to love the earth.
We have only begun
to imagine the fullness of life.
How could we tire of hope?
—so much is in bud.
How can desire fail?
—we have only begun
to imagine justice and mercy,
only begun to envision
how it might be
to live as siblings with beast and flower,
not as oppressors.
Surely our river
cannot already be hastening
into the sea of nonbeing?
Surely it cannot
drag, in the silt,
all that is innocent?
Not yet, not yet—
there is too much broken
that must be mended,
too much hurt we have done to each other
that cannot yet be forgiven.
We have only begun to know
the power that is in us if we would join
our solitudes in the communion of struggle.
So much is unfolding that must
complete its gesture,
so much is in bud.

PRESCRIPTION FOR THE NOW

As I write this I have just returned from a compelling, contentious conference in Missoula, Montana, called Thinking Its Presence: The Racial Imaginary. Fellow writers and filmmakers pushed my understanding of white privilege and the incomplete conversation concerning the relationship between race and the imagination. Without doubt the reproduction of stereotypical intuitional forms of violence censor the need for open dialogue amongst all of us. Many of the stories and poems have been torn from the archives of history. These stories seize the trauma of history for all of us who live in this country.

I am a mature woman now. There are films and poems to stitch and share, but I want it to be a part of an opening to what is unfolding. The generations now writing at this time of collision and collusion against the imagination are being challenged by what Amiri Baraka calls the "motion of History." In the 21st century, writers of color keep arriving on that nonstop train giving voice and sense to dialogues that need to continue to move off the page into direct and forceful activism. For as we know we think, we speak, we act, and the conflict between saying and doing has to be challenged and transformed by those who walked the rim of privilege and violence. It is now being done and it requires all of us to listen and read and walk the talk. Ω

AIR TEXTURES

Nuclear winter begins In the gullies of aquifers
The testing grounds of the thermonuclear.
Evidence of the burn is found in follicles of the tree

The arsenals of thinking follow the laws of human consent
The geiger counter recalibrates plutonium, cesium
a tail winds circulate in pacific gyres
Sleeps in the screens of scripted dialogue
Out of terror
the familiarity of estrangement
is the book of rules

The sonic impulse of water fragments into the hydroelectric
Mating rituals interrupted
What sings waggles in the dance of the bees
the landscape of the speaking eye
What whispers is ground to wind,
The stones of languages lost to human war

So why do I stay quiet in disenfranchised emergencies
That require no thought or obligation
Why do I avoid the knowledge that blue corn comes from the sun?

Remote sensing is beyond a large screen tv
It marks the surface of your lover's body who knows consent or violation
The beauty of resonance where forgiveness is unspoken.
The children who sing forth that song in its desperate longing.

Are they themselves violated?
They walk to the unknown of sensing.
As chains of tyranny target.

—Mary Jane Sullivan

A Call for "Climate Satyagraha!"

THE CRISIS, THE CALLING, THE STRATEGY, AND THE HORIZON

By Ecosocialist Horizons

ecosocialisthorizons.com/2014/11/call-for-climate-satyagraha

This document emerged from an invitation to discussion put forward by Ecosocialist Horizons at the first Pan-African conference on nonviolence in Cape Town, South Africa in July 2014, where delegates and representatives from 34 African countries and over 50 countries from every continent helped give birth to the PanAfrican Network for Nonviolence and Peacebuilding. Refined and revised by participants around the world, this document is a dramatic calling for massive nonviolent action in defense of life on Earth. From the birthplace of humanity and the continent which stands to lose the most to climate catastrophe, we must join together in a movement to remake the world.

THE CRISIS

Catastrophic climate change is coming to a village near you, and it's coming sooner than you think. It's not complicated to understand. Africa is going to burn, unless we resist. The numbers are staggering: One half of all the species alive on earth today will probably be extinct by the end of the century; already we are losing them at the rate of hundreds a day. Millions of human beings will soon be refugees, as their homes are lost to the oceans or to the deserts. Already hundreds of thousands perish every year as a direct result of climate change. Africa stands to lose the most, but all life on Earth is at risk.

There is an international scientific consensus: only by containing global warming at less than two degrees Celsius can we prevent the full onslaught of catastrophic climate change. Once this point is passed, earth system feedback loops (for example, the release of methane trapped in melting permafrost and the ocean floor) will overwhelm any human effort at mitigation. To prevent this, according to the same international scientific consensus, carbon emissions must peak by 2015, followed by a rapid and permanent decline. Such words, however, contradict the logic of our economic system, which is based on the imperative of infinite growth. This system has a name: it is capitalism, and it is the enemy of nature.

Decades of international conferences and decades of missed opportunities demonstrate beyond reasonable doubt that neither governments nor corporations nor NGOs are willing or capable of bringing about what every doctor has ordered. This is the nature of our terminal crisis—not only ecological and social, but also political. In the 11th hour, we are building more pipelines through the last stretches of pristine land, damming the last of our rivers, and felling the last of our forests. The crisis is absolute and threatens to consume much of the life and beauty that remains in the world. In our moment of greatest need, we hear a calling to the horizon.

THE CALLING

The ticking clock is not in your imagination. It resounds in the ears and hearts and minds of every one of us who is not content to simply wait for the coming storms and the mass graves. We have a duty to resist the exploitative, extractive, unequal, and unjust fossil fuel war economy. We need to replace it with a just peace. And we must restore a safe climate, sustainable livelihoods, and food and water security: the rhythm of humanity living in harmony with ourselves and with the earth. To those of you who feel that pulse, we say one word: *Satyagraha*.

It means "soul force" and was popularized by Mohandas Gandhi against two superpowers that many believed would last forever: one was British colonialism in South Africa, the other was the British Raj in India. Both were overthrown, with mass movements of nonviolent resistance changing the course of history. But satyagraha is bigger than Gandhi, and our movements must move beyond him. Today, we are up against powers that far exceed previous empires in their globalized intelligence and coordinated military power. It is unthinkable to approach them in anything but massive numbers, wielding anything but those weapons identified so many years ago: truth (satya) and power (agraha).

The tireless work of activists, well-intentioned officials, and enthusiastic schoolchildren has made one thing clear: Rallies outside office buildings and conference centers will not turn the tide. The time for symbolic protest and for demands is over. It is too late to speak truth to power. Now we must speak to the power within ourselves, because only we the people of the world can keep the oil in the soil. We must resist the war on Mother Earth with a climate satyagraha; an overarching strategy to end the war on Mother Earth.

THE STRATEGY

If our goal is a carbon emissions peak, we must focus our dignified rage on the parts of the fossil fuel economy that are most vulnerable: the choke-points and bottlenecks through which the vast majority of global production passes on a daily basis. Choke-points are everywhere, from big international ports to your local gas stations, airports, trains, pipelines, or highways. They can be found throughout the sup ply chain, from the point of extraction to the point of consumption. An alliance of organized labor in the big ports and logistics and distribution centers, together with the support and coordinated local actions of communities around the world, can stop the movement of oil and coal.

By blocking these arteries, defending them, and transforming them, soul-force can bend the arc of history toward climate justice. In particular we call attention and action to those targets that are the biggest perpetrators of catastrophic climate change: coal-fired electricity, the oil industry, industrial agriculture, and the military account for the majority of global carbon emissions. The biggest bottlenecks in the global economy, where all these climate criminals meet, are the logistics and distribution centers through which all supply chains must pass. These are the points at which we can leverage the international revolutionary political

RESISTING FOSSIL FUELS

An exciting, only months-old project called Beyond Extreme Energy is connecting anti-fracking activists all along the U.S. East Coast. BXE's main focus is the Federal Energy "Regulatory" Commission—"regulatory" in quotes because the FERC in reality rubber stamps virtually all fracking infrastructure projects, such as pipelines, compressor stations, and the first East Coast liquified fracked gas export facility now in the early stages of construction by Dominion Resources near the town of Lusby, MD, at Cove Point on the Patuxent River and Chesapeake Bay.

BXE has held two action camps at FERC's Washington headquarters and has another scheduled for May 21-29. BXE activists have protested at gubernatorial inaugurations in Pennsylvania and Maryland, joined New York activists protesting the Seneca Lake gas storage site, and joined a march against Dominion Resources in Virginia where homeowners are suing to keep pipeline surveyors off their property. BXE has inspired locals to rise up and resist the "done deal" liquefied natural gas export facility now under construction. Local neighborhoods right on the doorstep of the plant were ignored in Dominion's permit application that FERC rubber-stamped. No other LNG terminal anywhere in the world is in such a densely-populated neighborhood, with only one two-lane road for evacuation should a chemical spill or gas explosion occur.

BXE's "We Are Cove Point" project has facilitated civil resistance actions, meetings with attorneys for advice about legal steps against Dominion, canvassing, flyering and petition gathering in Lusby. The Cove Point export facility would ship fracked gas from all over the U.S. eastern seaboard for sale to Europe and Asia, so slowing or ending it will have an impact on dangerous and polluting fracking projects in multiple states.

For more information, see beyondextremeenergy.org or weare-covepoint.org.

— *Ellen Barfield*

Ellen Barfield is a long-time antiwar activist with WRL and Veterans For Peace who organized November 6 with BXE at FERC to publicize the U.N. day against exploitation of the environment in war and challenge the Pentagon as the world's biggest fossil fuel burner.

change necessary to transform the world economy.

THE HORIZON

There is an alternative. It is being imagined and created all over the world, and now is the time to realize it. But we cannot move beyond fossil fuel, war, or capitalism without a positive vision of the world we wish to create and care for. Every action to stop the fossil fuel economy, war and capitalism, must embody its goals, must prefigure the world we wish to see. So together with satyagraha, we invoke and honor the history, vision, and practices of *ubuntu* and *ujamaa*.

IsiZulu for "we are who we are through others," *ubuntu* expresses our fundamental interconnectedness. Kiswahili for "unity," *ujamaa* represents a vision of grassroots cooperation, the spirit of inter- dependence, and community. Together they mean a new economy and a new humanity, emerging from sustainable and egalitarian productive communities that prefigure a new mode of production. Our calling is for satyagraha, and it calls from the horizon of *ubuntu* and *ujamaa*—together these African philosophies are a revolutionary light at the end of the tunnel of capitalism, patriarchy, and war.

Gathered together in Cape Town at the first Pan-African conference on nonviolence, hailing from every continent, this is a call for a coordinated global uprising. We share a vision built on beloved communities of care and trust, making use of modern technologies but most of all returning to our ancestral roots of wisdom, unity, and ecological balance. This call is in solidarity with every movement for peace and justice, with every people struggling to build a new world in the shell of the old. We believe that a movement of billions, united for climate justice, armed with truth and love, is only a hair's breadth away. In every place, the world's peoples are already discussing amongst themselves the necessary tactical plan to make the impossible inevitable. With this common vision, we can rendezvous with victory on a global horizon, in truth and in power. Ω

PAN-AFRICAN NONVIOLENCE NETWORK SOARS

"I feel younger now than I felt years ago!" declared former South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission investigator Zenzile Khoisan. He was voicing the feelings of many, not about life in post-apartheid South Africa—where wide, deep inequalities leave much work still to be done—but about the burgeoning unarmed civil movements sweeping Africa. Many of these movements are part of and supported by the Pan-African Nonviolence and Peacebuilding Network, which convened a series of events around the War Resisters' International conference held in Cape Town July 4-10, 2014.

Founded in 2010 at a WRI Training for Trainers meeting in Johannesburg, PANPEN played a major role in developing the WRI conference and has continued to grow and expand since then. "With attendees from 33 African countries and every region of the African continent," noted PANPEN co-chair Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge, "PANPEN is set to deepen our networking capacity—sharing best practices, urgent information, and strategies for change."

In the weeks following the July conference, for just one example, Liberian PANPEN member B. Abel Learwellie found himself in the middle of the Ebola crisis spreading through his city, country, and region. PANPEN helped him spearhead a multilingual "Know the Facts" campaign throughout Monrovia and other key cities and towns. A former child soldier, Abel noted that "peace to us now means being safe," with safety meaning freedom from disease, poverty, repression, and military control. In another example, PANPEN is a co-sponsor of an upcoming conference of the Africa Peace Research and Education Association being held this April in Abuja, Nigeria—the first of its kind on the continent. PANPEN has also convened and led nonviolence trainings for newly emerging coalitions between Congolese, Burundian, and Rwandan activists, and for campaigners from Eritrea and the Horn of Africa.

In other words, though PANPEN is still in its earliest stages, it is clear that a passionate new energy is spreading. As Inter-Press Service journalist Kanya D'Almeida put it in her report on the work, the "actions may be small, but their impacts are felt at the highest level."

PANPEN may be contacted through its co-chairs, Moses John (mosesjoa@gmail.com) and Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge (nozizwemr@gmail.com).

— Matt Meyer

EDITORS' ROUNDTABLE

How We Worked: Five Decades of Movement Journalism

For this final issue of *WIN*, we thought it would be useful to take a look at the processes of putting out activist news and analysis and the thinking that went on around that task. So we asked five experts to discuss the subject as they experienced it—five former editors of the three magazines published or co-published by WRL between 1966 and 2015:

MURRAY ROSENBLITH, from the original *WIN* Magazine. Murray was was a member of the *WIN* staff from 1974 to 1981 or so and then served on *WIN*'s editorial board until the magazine ceased publication in 1983. He served as executive director of the A.J. Muste Memorial Institute from 1985 to 2008. He is currently a director and fund manager at New Alternatives Fund, the oldest U.S. mutual fund investing in renewable energy and energy conservation. A long-time WRL activist and member, he has served on the National Committee and the former Executive Committee and is still active as a member of WRL's Finance Committee.

RUTH BENN, from *The Nonviolent Activist*. Ruth is the Coordinator of the National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee, co-writes the annual Pie Chart flyer for WRL, and is active with New York City WRL. She edited *The Nonviolent Activist* from June 1987 to June 1993 and served as director of WRL's National Office from 1994 to 2000.

ANDY MAGER, from *The Nonviolent Activist*. Andy has been an organizer, trainer, activist, writer, and speaker in movements for peace, social justice, and environmental protection for more than 35 years. Andy edited *The Nonviolent Activist* in 1994-95 and worked on the team for the War Resisters League organizer training program from 1989 to 1993. He now works as the sales manager for Syracuse Cultural Workers.

FRANCESCA FIORENTINI, from the new *WIN*. Francesca was hired in 2005 to replace outgoing *Nonviolent Activist* editor Judith Mahoney Pasternak and the next year conceived and oversaw the transition from the *NVA* to *WIN* through nonviolent revolution. She's now a host and producer with the online news channel AJ+ of Al Jazeera Media. She also moonlights as a stand-up comic. She lives in San Francisco.

CALVIN REY MOEN, from the new *WIN*. Calvin followed Francesca as editor from 2008 to 2012 and has remained on the publications committee since then. He was a facilitator and organizer with the Icarus Project in New York City and continues to investigate grassroots alternatives to mainstream mental health models. He currently works doing outreach and advocacy with psychiatric survivors in hospitals and communities in southern Vermont.

THE ROUNDTABLE

WIN: What was/were the magazine's most significant contribution(s) to the theory and/or practice of nonviolence, peace, and war resistance? To other social justice movements?

Murray: In the early years, *WIN* served as the voice of a nonviolence movement emerging from the counterculture. It was looser, irreverent and certainly more profane (just like the '60s) than the publications and style of established organizations like the Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters League, and various Quaker-inspired groups. It represented a mostly younger crowd of peace activists who were nurtured by these same organizations but who also embraced a more "hippie" approach.

WIN also served as a bridge from the previous generation of nonviolent activists who had emerged in the post-World War II years from the prisons and Civilian Public Service camps and who became active in the civil rights movement, campaigns against nuclear weapons, and anti-colonial struggles in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. These were the folks who started the Committee for Non-Violent Action, A Quaker Action Group, and Peacemakers, among other groups, to promote a greater direct action approach to their nonviolent activism.

Originating in the New York Workshop In Nonviolence (NY WIN), a local group that staged direct action protests at the annual Veterans Day parade and the civil defense drills of the early 1960s (and co-published by WRL), *WIN* started as an irregular newsletter in which workshop participants would report on their actions, discuss tactics, promote upcoming events, and even tell jokes. Soon activists in other parts of the country were sending in reports, and the publication became the place where you could find news from dozens of small and larger actions. Once *WIN* settled into being a regular, weekly publication, it became the place that tied the national and international peace movement to local movements and groups.

Ruth: *WRL News*, published from 1945 to 1984, was WRL's house organ, an eight-page newsletter that kept members in touch with activities, from the national office to local organizing. *WRL News* also served as a forum for presentation of arguments within the organization, such as WRL's role in electoral politics or the pros and cons of war tax resistance. The great *WIN* magazine, founded in 1966, was close to WRL but editorially independent; after it folded in 1983, many felt the loss of a news magazine from a pacifist perspective.

The Nonviolent Activist: The Magazine of the War Resisters League was created to combine these missions and publish WRL news along with journalistic articles of importance to the nonviolent movement around the world. The first issue of the *NVA* was published in December 1984. The first editor was David Croteau, and my first issue as editor was June 1987. We were challenged to inform WRL members and produce a magazine that might inspire a casual reader toward nonviolent activism and to join WRL.

Compared to the cultural breakthroughs of *WIN* and the intellectual contributions of the earlier *Liberation Magazine*, the *NVA* cannot claim such fame. However, looking over a pile of magazines, there's a helluva lot of valuable information, along with striking art, photos, and graphics; inspiring stories; and contributions by nonviolent activists from every corner of the earth.

For instance, the cover of my first issue as editor included these lines (and a few more) from Wilfred Owens' poem, "Dulce et Decorum Est": "If in some smothering dreams, you too could pace/Behind the wagon that we flung him in..." It seems appropriate to note this at this time of events marking the centenary of WWI. In a few lines Owens made vivid the horror of war. The poem accompanied an article about Veterans For Peace, still a partner with WRL in the struggle to end that horror.

We also sought out writers and reports from activists representing many organizations, which facilitated and strengthened networking. It's impossible to say if the *NVA* brought in new members, but it certainly played an important role in connecting people once they got on the mailing list.

Andy: My activism was born in the late 1970s/early 1980s movements to stop nuclear power and prevent the reinstitution of draft registration. As a college student, I came across *WIN* magazine and found it to be an invaluable source of ideas, information and inspiration on the power of active nonviolence. As I grappled with the decision about how to live out my refusal to register for the draft, I found my way to the War Resisters League, which served as my philosophical and activist home for many years.

When *WIN* folded in 1983 and WRL launched the *Nonviolent Activist* to replace both *WIN* and *WRL News*, the *NVA* sought to balance the dual role of movement magazine and organizational newsletter. I believe that an admirable job was done over the years in maintaining that balance. The *NVA* included a robust section of concise reports, updates and upcoming campaigns from around the globe (Activist News). The dialogue that took place in the letters column provided a forum for thoughtful, and at times pointed, exchanges of ideas and perspectives.

WIN/NVA/WIN placed active nonviolence in the forefront, advocating for a model of organizing and activism that we believe is most principled and effective for creating the just, peaceful, and creative world we seek. As part of that, we were a primary source for information about the struggles and occasional triumphs of war resisters and conscientious objectors around the world. In this case, as in most, we linked information to action. WRL and the publications served as a challenge to broader movements for social justice to dig deep and consider the long-term ramifications of the tactics and strategies we chose.

Francesca: So much of the magazine was about sustaining WRL members' appetite for movement news, political discussion, and antimilitarist analysis. But a moment when we really broke out of reaching the usual suspects—our membership—was in 2007, when we decided to conduct a series of interviews with various movement

leaders in what we dubbed the "Listening Process." The energy of 2003-2005's antiwar movement had largely petered out, and many antiwar forces were trying to regroup and figure out how to build for the long haul. Our way of doing that for WRL was to showcase various activists in a "cross-pollination of ideas" to reflect the "wisdom from an array of sectors and perspectives."

That meant hearing from racial justice, climate, veteran, student, and immigrant rights organizers. It was a rich experience for the magazine and WRL as a whole, and one that certainly brought up more questions than it gave answers. It's much easier to interview and opinionate and much harder to implement a political action plan for a then-84-year-old organization.

Calvin: The guiding social justice principle, in theory and practice, during my time at *WIN* was (and continues to be) intersectionality. To focus on any single organizing topic, like resisting war, and ignore how war affects communities based on race, class, gender, citizenship status, sexuality, etc., is to recreate the same colonizing dynamics that we purport to resist. What we did in the second incarnation of *WIN* with the themed issues was to dig deep into the root causes of war, which the WRL pledge identifies as "racism, sexism and all forms of exploitation," and find where those different roots were tangled up with militarism, imperialism, and a global war economy.

This was at a time when WRL organizing was making a conscious shift into connecting with and supporting the work of people-of-color-led grassroots groups in the United States and internationally: Iraqi labor unions, U.S. immigrant youth, resisters in occupied Palestine, indigenous activists in uranium-impacted communities in New Mexico, and queer organizers in the South, to name a few. The magazine endeavored to be an organizing tool, both to introduce new voices and visions to WRL members and *WIN* readers and to build bridges between struggles on the ground. We occasionally got some pushback ("I thought we were an antiwar organization. Why are we talking about farming?"), but overall, the responses—from incarcerated people, environmentalists, vegetarians, boycott-divestment-sanctions supporters, classroom teachers, trauma survivors, and others—were of mutual recognition, of seeing and being seen.

WIN: During your tenure, what issues/topics emerged as the most pressing, and how did the magazine respond (or fail to respond) to them and to specific historical moments?

Murray: For most of its original existence (1964-1983), *WIN* was pretty non-ideological. Although it was affiliated with WRL for most of its existence, the main criterion that was loosely applied to the articles was to promote nonviolent action in the pursuit of social change. This included, at times, a vigorous debate as to whether this was possible and also what constituted nonviolence—i.e. was property damage violence? If forms of oppression were expressions of violence, what is the best way to counter them? *WIN* was born out of the growing anti-Vietnam War movement, but had a historic tie to earlier political movements, and so these discussions were carried out across the spectrum of issues emerging from the mid-sixties and onward—the Black power movement and civil rights, women's liberation, gay rights, indigenous rights, prison and death penalty abolition, the nuclear and conventional arms race, nuclear power, tax resistance—name the issue and campaign and you would likely find a lively discussion of the politics and tactics of it taking place among local organizers in the pages of *WIN*.

Among the notable achievements in the early years was a special 1972 issue containing the entire contents of the FBI files stolen by the "Citizens Commission to Investigate the FBI" from a branch office in Media, Pennsylvania, in March 1971. These documents were the first revelation of a concentrated effort by the FBI to spy on and actively disrupt social change movements across the country.

I joined the *WIN* staff in late 1974, as the war in Vietnam was winding down. *WIN* had never been solely focused on the antiwar movement, but it had formed the overarching concern during the magazine's existence to this point. Over the next few years, there was a parade of issues and campaigns across our pages reflecting the organizing work taking place in communities around the world. The list could take up ten pages, but among them were: liberation struggles in Latin America, the anti-apartheid movement, economic inequality (sound familiar?), the second and third waves of the feminist movement and the rise of the so-called men's movement in support; the continuing growth of gay and lesbian activism, the reinstatement of the draft, growing threats to civil liberties, and, as always, the ongoing efforts to halt the nuclear arms race and impede the spread of militarism internationally.

One of *WIN*'s notable contributions during the mid- to late 1970s was to serve as a crucial news source and communication tool for the direct action movement against nuclear power and the dozens of local "alliances" across the country that carried out occupations and blockades of nuclear power plant sites. I've come to believe that *WIN* provided a valuable bridge between the established movement against nuclear weapons and the new activists opposing the spread of nuclear power reactors.

Ruth: Over the six years I edited the magazine, we wrote about war toys, third world debt, apartheid in South Africa, the death penalty, Israel/Palestine, disarmament, nuclear power, peace politics in Japan, the first Gulf War, military resisters, legacy of the war in Vietnam, racism, vegetarianism, gay rights, Sudan, arms race in space, and on and on. There were arguments over things like vegetarianism and "nonviolent lifestyle" vs. nonviolent action as a force against war. Is "war" armies on a battlefield or does it include the "war at home" perpetuated on communities of color in particular? Do gay rights, abortion rights, or animal rights need to be discussed in a primarily antiwar organization? What about wars of liberation and nonviolent philosophy?

I see the recurring theme as the role of nonviolent activists in all these struggles. As the only national secular pacifist organization, WRL has a unique voice in progressive struggles. The magazine was a place both to present that voice and to act as a forum for debates. The decision-making bodies of the organization could take guidance from the responses that came as letters to the editor (or dropped subscriptions!).

Most important, I think, was to help individuals feel more connected to a wider movement—whether we all agreed or not—by telling the stories of nonviolent activists and giving readers inspiration to push on in our Sisyphean task.

Andy: During my brief tenure editing the *Nonviolent Activist*—summer 1994 to fall 1995—the question of "humanitarian" intervention was a major issue facing the left. War in the Balkans, genocide in Rwanda and U.S. intervention in Haiti were the most visible examples of the government's effort to portray the United States as using its military power to help those facing violence and persecution. Many progressives were swayed by President Clinton's rhetoric and supported such policies. As part of analyzing and debunking this approach, we published several "think pieces" that looked at the "Spectator Culture" that emerged with the election of a Democratic president following 12 years of Republican control of the White House.

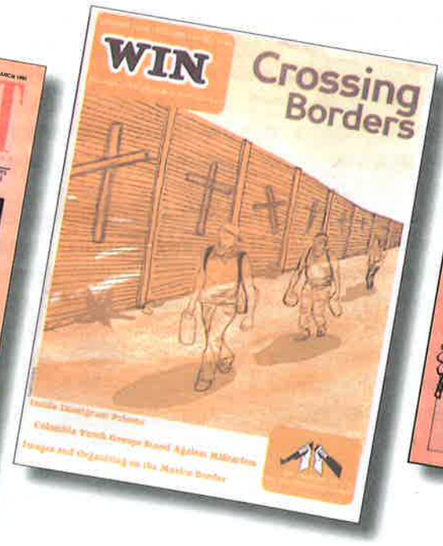
After decades of imprisonment, Nelson Mandela was elected President of a non-racial South Africa during this period, accompanied by thoughtful analysis of the progress that had been made and the long struggle still to come before true equality was achieved by that nation's black majority.

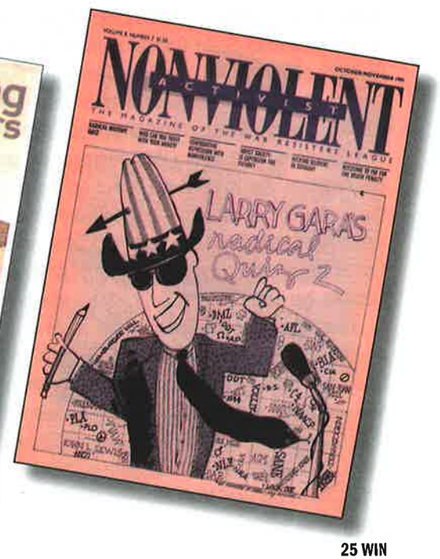
The 50th anniversary of the end of World War II, including the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, occurred during this time. We developed a special section of the *NVA* throughout 1995 that addressed the Holocaust, Japanese internment, the firebombings of Dresden and Tokyo, the atomic bombings, reflections of WWII resisters, and more.

On the other hand, the horrific genocide in Rwanda took place in spring 1994 and didn't get the attention it deserved, part of a larger pattern of relative inattention to Africa.

During the same period, by the way, the *NVA* and WRL saw the retirement from the paid staff of our beloved Ralph DiGia. Ralph was one of the WWII total resisters who played an often quiet, but central role for WRL over 40 years. In the end, his "retirement" consisted entirely of no longer drawing a paycheck; he continued as a volunteer, working almost full-time for more than a decade, until a 2007 fall that broke his hip and led, eventually, to his death at the age of 93.

Francesca: When I came on as editor it was becoming clear that grassroots organizing for the peace movement meant organizing with veterans' communities and youth who were being poached by the military. Lifting up the stories of vets was critical, as was the resistance of youth via counter-recruitment—specifically resistance of Black and Latino youth. At that time you didn't see or hear the stories of Iraq and Afghanistan War vets the way we do today. Nor was there was as great an understanding of the so-called "poverty draft" in the military, which still has yet to enter popular consciousness when it comes to the military





recruitment.

We highlighted intergenerational organizing. I was the youngest person on staff at the time, new to an organization whose members held so much movement history and knowledge. I was constantly learning from older membership, and also felt empowered to offer up my own ideas and insights. I hoped and tried to cover that crucial intergenerational conversation in the magazine. The first issue of the re-born *WIN* featured a roundtable on intergenerational movement building, complete with the wisdom of the inimitable WRL legend, Ralph DiGia.

Calvin: Spring 2011, otherwise known as Arab Spring, saw the eruption of the biggest, most inspiring nonviolent revolutionary movement a young generation had ever seen. There was no way we were putting out that quarter's issue without devoting the majority of it to the uprisings happening in North Africa and the Middle East. "Rising Up" also covered the union-led occupation of the Wisconsin State Capitol building following Governor Scott Walker's attacks on labor unions, Medicaid, public education, and transportation. Tying the two together was a letter of solidarity to the U.S. labor movement from the president of the Iraqi Federation of Oil Unions, with whom WRL national organizers were building connections. Sadly, because of our tight production timeline and the limitations of our publishing software, the Arabic version of the letter (we had printed the original Arabic and its English translation in two adjacent columns) became garbled and was ultimately illegible. No one caught it until after it was printed.

One year later, we covered Occupy Wall Street, the encampment that had taken place the previous fall in Manhattan's Zuccotti Park—less than two miles down Broadway from WRL's national office—and the subsequent national movement. The contributing writers were also close to home, organizationally if not geographically: National Committee member Isabell Moore shared her open letter, "Why I Occupy," Matt Meyer of the Administrative Coordinating Committee wrote about his Brooklyn-based anti-racism group's participation in Occupy Wall Street, and then-development intern Isham Christie contributed a piece informed by his international solidarity work connecting U.S. Occupy with global resistance groups. Providing context and a broader conversation was an expanded reviews section that made up the second half of the issue, which we called "Occupy Reading."

Comparing the Arab Spring and Occupy issues, we had it easier with the second one, both because of the timeline and because of our proximity to the source. A lot of the action had taken place months before, and we were able to comfortably reflect on and analyze the impact of the initial encampment on the ongoing movement. Much of the content of the Arab Spring issue relied on connections through field organizer Ali Issa, while the Occupy issue drew from among familiar WRL voices and adjacent organizations. With "Rising Up," we were taking risks necessary to show up as allies to an international struggle against U.S.-supported imperialism, and we may have been in slightly over our heads, as shown by the botched printing of the letter in Arabic. But even highly visible, embarrassing mistakes like that one can be chalked up to growing pains, evidence that we were stepping up to our responsibilities while learning our limitations—as long as we stayed accountable for our mistakes.

WIN: What challenges did the magazine(s) face, and how did it/they respond (or, again, fail to respond) to them?

Murray: *WIN*'s greatest challenge, which eventually led to its demise, was its inability to survive financially. Like so many institutions of that period, it was almost founded on a whim and relied on a devoted group of people who were willing to be self-exploited to keep publishing. Although we tried many different forms of fundraising and marketing to sell subscriptions and advertising, none of our efforts ever provided more than a temporary fix to a constant lack of consistent funding. When *WIN* was founded, it was relatively inexpensive to maintain production. People could also live on relatively small incomes. Our passion for the magazine's mission led us to sometimes work second jobs when *WIN* couldn't bring in enough money for payroll. In the end, it was not a sustainable situation.

Ruth: While I edited the magazine, I was also a full-time staff member and part of all the organization's decision-making meetings. Therefore, it's impossible to separate challenges to the magazine from organizational challenges, which have been many—money, political disagreements, debates over tactics, personnel changes, the deaths of too many wonderful people (quite a few much too young), and the powerful web of institutions and structures that we're up against.

Since I touched on editorial responses in the previous question, I admit that what first came to mind were the technological challenges. At the time I took over the *NVA*, the WRL office had one computer for the database. The magazine was sent to a typesetter and the galleys were pasted-up on "boards" and sent to the printer. I don't miss the struggles as we shifted everything to computer (the damned thing crashed ten times a day), but in the process I became lifelong friends with Rick Bickhart, the terrific graphic artist and designer who has volunteered his skills—and high-quality work—as layout artist, designer, and desktop publisher to WRL for decades.

Whatever the challenges, when you look back it is the people that are most important. Looking at the magazines there are so many names of others who continue as friends and colleagues in the struggle for peace and justice. The magazine was something members could participate in with their reports and writing, and one of the tools for maintaining and building the beloved community.

Andy: I was hired to edit the *NVA* following staffing problems in the national office. I worked primarily from my solar powered, wood-heated home in an intentional community in rural upstate New York, traveling to the office for several days each month. That was a challenge in some respects, but working within it, I built a base for the magazine in my community, with a group of longtime activists meeting to proofread each issue and share ideas for future content. I found this to be very helpful in providing a broader vision for the magazine, which I often perceived to have a very New York City-centric approach.

Francesca: The biggest challenge was the major rebranding the magazine underwent halfway through my time as editor. We wanted to revamp the look and feel of the *Nonviolent Activist*—add more images, color, better paper—and change the name to be something more appealing and accessible. Whether or not we succeeded is another question.

The internet isn't the only reason print is dying. It's expensive to produce a magazine! We brought the magazine closer to the 21st century, but not all the way into it. It was a time that I think exposed a fundamental question about the project: Was it more of a WRL newsletter for members, or was it meant for the general antiwar public, both active and not? To fully do the latter I think

required more resources and staff time. We kind of straddled the divide and that was a huge challenge.

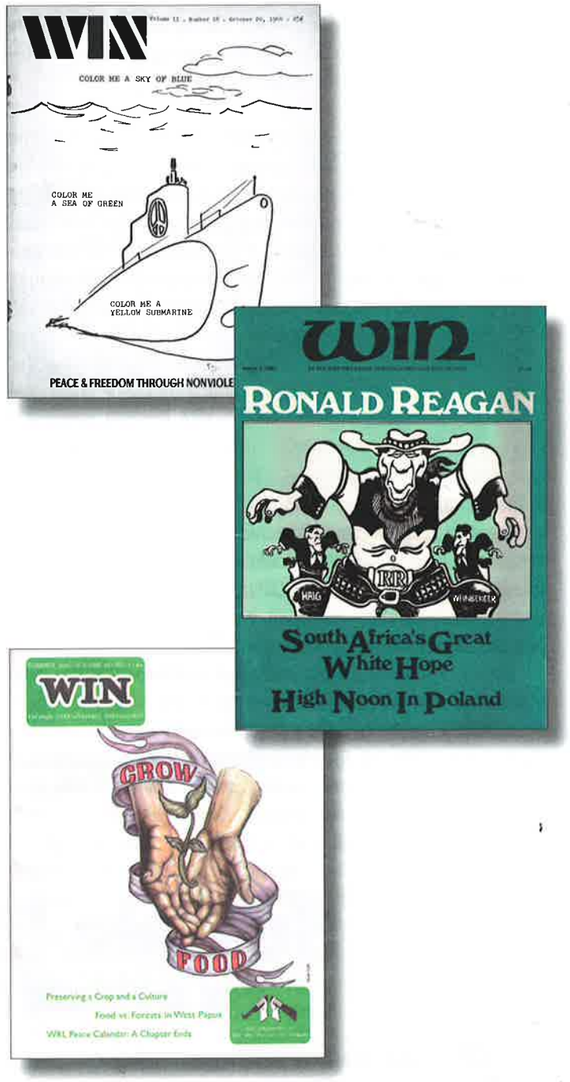
I think fundamentally a magazine is only as strong as the community of writers and readers that contribute to it and in some way feel ownership of it. And while we certainly brought new voices and writers into the WRL fold during my time, we weren't able to create a new crop of committed readers and writers who felt that ownership. Or maybe we didn't connect well to the readership we already had.

Calvin: It always weighed heavily on me that there was no money in the budget to pay contributors, either authors or artists. I believe strongly in paying people for their work, and writing and illustrating are work. The challenge for the Publications Committee, in seeking out authors, was always, "Who can we get?" Particularly with authors, we risk favoring two types who will often work for free: writers or organizers who will put in the time and effort in order to get broader recognition for their own work or their organization and therefore are not providing an objective, nuanced analysis or perspective; or well established writers or experts who will do it out of fondness for or allegiance to WRL or *WIN* but are not offering a fresh take on a subject or exploring a topic more deeply than they have previously. The challenge as editor was to work closely with them, asking questions that would elicit unique, thoughtful pieces while respecting the fact that they were donating their time.

WIN: Finally, given the profound shifts in the role of print communications vs. the internet and its wide range of communication media (e.g., organization websites, blogs, 'net magazines and journals, social networks, etc.), what do you see as the optimum mode(s) of communication between and among WRL and its present, future, and potential membership/constituents? How do you think WRL can continue to share new, outside visions and ideas with members and supporters, and how can we continue to draw visionaries and activists to our work and keep building those relationships?

Murray: I guess I'm still old fashioned. I believe that good organizing and direct actions are still the best way to build our movement. Of course, effective communication and publicity play an important part. There seem to be an increasing number of venues to get our message out and I don't know that I'm qualified to evaluate which ones—blogs, Twitter, other social networks, email, web sites, and yes, even printed matter—work the best. I suspect it's a balance. It does seem to me that all this new communication technology has made the dissemination of information more decentralized and democratic.

The final challenge (well, that may be a little dramatic—a big challenge) is instilling a long-term vision to a new generation of activists who are growing up in an environment where everything



seems to happen faster. We know that our vision of a nonviolent world is still a long term project. But it's one that will be made up of thousands of small steps. With commitment, hard work, and more than a little luck, we will find the right combination of communication to show people that each of these steps is taking us a little further along the right path.

Ruth: In July 1993, John M. Miller (this issue's desktop publisher) wrote an article about a new thing called Peacenet that WRL had joined. He printed our first email address and explained a bit about the internet and the wonders of instant connection to a worldwide network of activists. A magazine that came out monthly at most (during my years there were eight then six issues per year) could not offer much of a discussion platform. With that first email address the discussions began to

take place instantly, but it is also easier to leave people out (yes, there are still some who avoid all this technology). Online forums have the potential for wide input, but it's easy to jump from one place to another and never fully absorb anything. It's easy to get your message *out*, but not have a channel coming *in* that is shared, like the letters-to-the-editor section.

In this information-glutted world, maybe it's more important to promote and provide opportunities for face-to-face interactions: conferences, trainings, dinners, protests, civil disobedience actions. Lifelong friends were made in WRL training programs, workshops, jail cells, and even during endless meetings. A new print publication may return to the organization's priorities in time. For now, I'll mourn a little the loss of a WRL print publication, but Joe Hill's voice is calling: Organize!

Andy: I haven't been active with WRL or the *NVA/WIN* for the past 15 years and wasn't part of the decision to cease publication, so can't comment on the factors that led to it, or the wisdom of the choice. In my organizing work, which has continued throughout that time, I continue to believe that we need to utilize all the mechanisms available to communicate with our constituency, to recruit new activists, and to speak to the general public. Social media and the instantaneous communications available now can keep our message and work before people on a daily or even hourly basis. However, those media offer little opportunity for the more in-depth analysis and discussions that are so important for building powerful social movements. I believe WRL still has a significant older membership, many of whom find Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram to be completely foreign. If we are to remain relevant, we need to reach young people for whom these are primary sources of information.

Years ago WRL did more to directly engage people through speaking tours and national organizers' meetings with activists and organizations around the country. Despite the opportunities afforded by digital technology, face-to-face organizing remains critical, and I'd like to see that prioritized in the coming years at the same time that new media help us connect with people around the country and the globe.

Francesca: I think the WRL has and will always draw visionaries and activists with or without *WIN*, based on its history and current work. But one of the most amazing things for me during my time was stumbling on the archived volumes of the first *WIN*, beautifully illustrated movement relics from the '70s and '80s. Those volumes, the *Nonviolent Activist*, and the new *WIN* should certainly be archived online in a way that can be readily searchable.

Having a regular online presence on social media is indispensable for building and sustaining the message and membership of the WRL. Facebook, Facebook groups, Twitter, Tumblr, Instagram, and other NSA-approved communication go a long way to growing and keeping WRL and antimilitarist politics alive.

More than a magazine, a solid movement media strategy I believe is so key for the organization. Just as in any successful nonviolent direct action, getting the coverage is nearly half the action itself. This messaging should be part and parcel of WRL's organizing work, and lift up the past and present heroes and sheroes of nonviolent resistance. As we've seen with #BlackLivesMatter, #YaMeCanse (Mexico), and other movements partly born from online action, we shouldn't underestimate how a strong and clear message can galvanize a nation and the world, and push this revolution of values to its brink.

Calvin: The most compelling argument for keeping *WIN* in print as long as we did, despite budget concerns and subscription tracking complications, was getting the content into prisons and other places without internet access. Otherwise, it's easy to point to online resources that cover the same topics, or even to WRL's own website and blog, as filling the gap left by a print magazine. So it is imperative we not forget about members, resisters, and other revolutionaries on the inside and that we continue to nurture those connections and lift up those voices. Consider supporting (or starting!) a local chapter of Books to Prisoners (bookstoprisoners.net) or Black and Pink (blackandpink.org), which supports queer and trans prisoners by connecting them with pen pals on the outside and publishes a newsletter featuring queer and trans prisoners.

In addition, we need to work to ensure net neutrality and greater access to technology. I had the good fortune recently to attend a panel discussion by #BlackLivesMatter organizers from Western Massachusetts alongside an audience of mostly middle-aged white folks. Others in attendance were asking how they could know when they were being called to support the actions of the young organizers, who communicate with their networks exclusively via Tumblr, Facebook, Twitter, and text messages. Some of us 30-somethings began to see a potential role for ourselves as educators, bridging the gap between the tech-immersed millennials and our parents' generation, rather than insisting that these young, capable organizers cater to their elders' existing skillset. If you know how, consider teaching a baby boomer to tweet!

Francesca: One final comment: What an honor it is to have worked on *WIN*! What an honor to inherit the magazine's editorship from the fierce and skilled Judith Mahoney Pasternak, who was a superb coach and mentor, despite leaving me the biggest pile of papers I'll ever see in my life. What an honor to work with the members of the Editorial Committee like John M. Miller, and to be given the reins and the opportunity to re-envision the magazine. Thank you all. It's was a great run. Onward! Ω

THE NONVIOLENT Activist
THE MAGAZINE OF THE WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

My Favorite Issue: The Essence of Nonviolence—The Inaugural Editorial, Vol. 1, No. 1, Dec. 1984

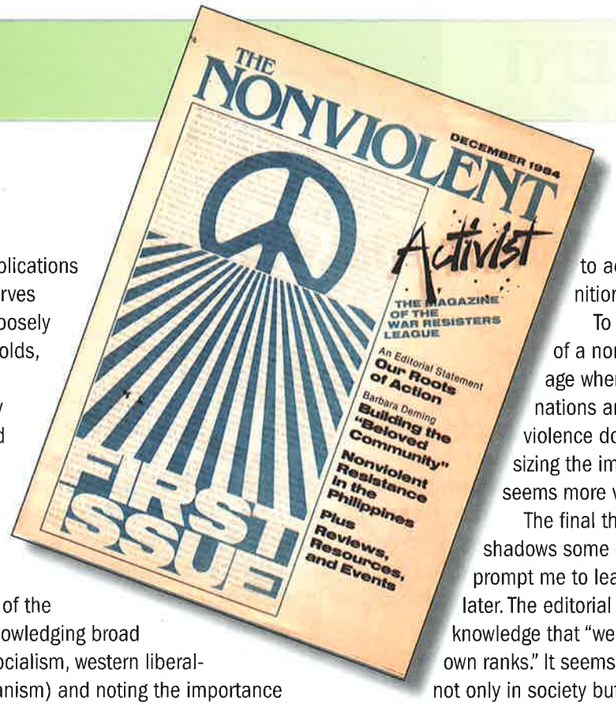
By David Croteau

In 1984, WRL hired me to be the founding editor of *The Nonviolent Activist.* In retrospect, the inaugural issue that appeared in December was a reflection of the state of WRL at the time—and its publication was an important moment in my own life.

"Founding editor" sounds much more significant than it actually was. In reality, I took the part-time job as a working-class kid fresh out of college. I had helped start an alternative student publication, been politically active during the Reagan-era military build-up, and had a work-study job with ISTNA (International Seminars on Training for Nonviolent Action), which had received financial support from the A.J. Muste Memorial Institute. I knew the mechanics of putting together a publication, was familiar with and supportive of WRL's approach to nonviolent action, but had no significant track record in either.

I started at WRL with the able guidance and support of a Publications Committee made up of Rick Bickhart (our graphic designer), Ed Hedemann, David McReynolds, Matt Meyer, John M. Miller, Susan Pines, Murray Rosenblith, and Wendy Schwartz. Those names are all familiar ones to anyone who followed the evolution of WRL in the ensuing years. In working with them and the other WRL staff, I received a crash course in WRL and movement history. It was an educational experience I value to this day.

The most significant article in that first issue of the NVA was a two-page editorial statement called "Our Roots of Action," signed by the Publications Committee. If memory serves me well, the article was loosely drafted by David McReynolds, and my job was to revise it, incorporating the many comments and suggested changes from other committee members.



Re-reading it now, years later, it strikes me as a piece written by committee. The first third of the article is devoted to acknowledging broad influences (anarchism, socialism, western liberalism, and a general utopianism) and noting the importance of the feminist critique of patriarchy and the role of environmentalism. That's a lot of terrain to traverse in a few hundred words and it threatens to be a laundry list. (Yet, notably, the all-white committee makes no mention of anti-racism work in this part of the piece.)

The article's strongest part, by far, is its middle third, where two connected themes are developed. First, the idea that "the link between means and ends has served as the thread connecting all nonviolence thinking" is introduced. This analysis condemns the tragedies of totalitarianism, where means inconsistent with stated ends paved the road to slave camps and mass executions. It also condemns a variety of American efforts where, despite sometimes good intentions, the arrogant use of violence undermined the ability to achieve worthwhile goals, declaring, "The United States has all too often brought destruction to others through our inability to limit ourselves."

This segues to the related theme of acknowledging limits. Here, there is a pervasive sense of humility that remains appealing, as in, "Those of us working on this magazine have barely enough wisdom to run our own lives. Often not enough." Such statements were not just personal acknowledgments; they were building blocks of a political analysis. The editorial illustrates this with, "We cannot possibly profess to know what is the 'correct' line of action for people living in El Salvador, in Nicaragua, in Poland, in South Africa, in Afghanistan, or in other situations." And finally, "We are imperfect in a world that is imperfect. We cannot claim to know truth. Yet, this lack of absolute knowledge must not prevent us from acting on our beliefs. We use nonviolence both because of our commitment to action and because of our recognition of our limits."

To me, that remains the essence of a nonviolence philosophy. In an age where the hubris of drone assassinations and the fanaticism of religious violence dominate the headlines, emphasizing the importance of a little humility seems more vital than ever.

The final third of the article sadly foreshadows some of the problems that would prompt me to leave the *NVA* just a few years later. The editorial statement is forced to acknowledge that "we have many divisions within our own ranks." It seems comfortable with marginality, not only in society but even within already marginal movements by noting, "We are the left, yet we are a problem for the left." Even the first letter published in the *NVA* was from readers who were "dismayed, discomfited, and amazed" by earlier *WRL News* articles implicitly supporting voting for a Democratic presidential candidate.

Such a focus on somewhat esoteric debates—while the world outside went on without noticing—became disillusioning for my younger self. More important, I think it was part of why I doubt the *NVA* had a significant impact while I was there, either within WRL or, certainly, the broader progressive community. It was largely an inward-looking publication that rarely reached out beyond a small choir.

But even choirs must be sustained and I hope that some readers of the *NVA* learned from it and felt supported by its message. My own siren called me back to more mainstream work. I felt more useful promoting a basic message about social change and the potential power of nonviolence to more diverse audiences. However, the lessons I learned in working on the *NVA*—the lessons articulated in the best parts of the inaugural issue's editorial statement—stayed with me. I hope I am not alone.

Today, unlike in the era of paper periodicals, digital platforms dangle the possibility of WRL having unprecedented reach, looking outward to engage with a broader audience about the relevance of nonviolence. While doing so effectively will require creativity and experimentation, it is an opportunity I hope the next generation of WRLers takes up enthusiastically. Ω

David Croteau is a sociologist who teaches and writes about the media, social movements, and class inequality. His books include Politics and the Class Divide *(Temple University Press, 1994) and* Media/Society *(with William Hoynes, Sage Publications, 2014). He is one of the editors of* Rhyming Hope and History: Activists, Academics, and Movement Scholarship *(University of Minnesota Press, 2005). His current work experiments with innovative uses of digital technology in teaching and learning.*

THE NONVIOLENT Activist
THE MAGAZINE OF THE WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

My Favorite Issue: Looking at the Middle East, Jan.-Feb. 1994

By Virginia Baron

How can I choose one issue to call a favorite? Easy. Select one on a subject that continues to obsess me. It happens that I still have a copy of the January-February 1994 *Nonviolent Activist* (edited by Sharon Seidenstein and designed by Rick Bickhart) stuck in an old folder on the bottom shelf of my bookcase. The cover theme, screaming in red-violet letters over a dramatic line-drawing of a handshake by Dorit Learned, is "Middle East Peace: A Perilous Process." What could be more relevant?

(Disclosure: Because I had spent so much time in Israel and Palestine, including several trips and a prolonged sabbatical stay during the 1989 Intifada, the *NVA* asked me to find if the Oslo Agreement were celebrated as a breakthrough in the region. My own article is thus among those I am reviewing.)

At the time, the theme was inspired by what appeared to be a significant blip in the on-again-off-again 60-plus-year Israel/Palestine peace process. Middle East junkies were celebrating the Oslo Accords. The handshake between Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestinian Liberation Organization chief Yasir Arafat had taken place in September 1993 on the White House lawn, hosted by President Bill Clinton in spite of the fact that Americans had had no involvement in the deliberations. (Former President Jimmy Carter in *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid* noted that Johan Jørgen Holst and Terje Rød-Larsen, the Norwegians who had originated the secret talks, were stuck in the back rows, unacknowledged at the ceremony.)

In the public hoopla about the agreement, it was widely overlooked that critical stumbling blocks were put off for further negotiations. The *NVA* didn't overlook them, however. My article listed them as "Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and cooperation with other neighbors and other issues of common interest." There was no specific timetable for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the West Bank and Gaza. Israelis succeeded in getting rid of responsibility for the welfare of Palestinians living in what were then referred to as the Occupied Territories. That responsibility fell to the new "Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority," with no mention of where the resources were to come from. It should be noted that all these issues remain unresolved.

The reactions I found disappointed some on the WRL staff. It turned out that the accords were not a big hit, at least in activist and intellectual ranks. As usual, some Palestinians chose to be hopeful. Merchants updated their stores, restaurants were enlarged, and the optimists waited for the tourists to flood back in. But activists on both sides knew that nothing of real consequence had been achieved even though Rabin seemed to have experienced a transformation. He had shed his "break their bones" Intifada personality and seemed to have a new awareness of the urgent need for a resolution to the endless conflict. But the accords had not achieved anything of substance, and even though Rabin was on a constructive path, no breakthrough had occurred. Alas, even this hopeful era was to be cut short by Rabin's assassination in November 1995.

In my article, Israeli feminist-activist-scholar Simona Sharoni noted that there was no mention in the Oslo Accords that Palestinian statehood was a goal, and that it was significant that those who had long experience working on peace issues had been cut out of the process. She urged the U.S. peace movement not to get excited by handshakes, but to stay engaged and to continue to lobby Congress against the military budget.

FORECASTING THE FUTURE

Rabab Abdul Hadi, a member of the National Board of Palestinian Women's Associations in North America, expressed surprise at how much had been extracted from the PLO in the agreement. She bemoaned the lack of improvements for the lives of impoverished Palestinians. She, too, urged, "You must address the question of military aid."

The semi-gloom of the article and the satirical cover turned out to be a forecast of the future.

And now, after 20 years of U.S.-sponsored Middle East peace initiatives, what has changed? What have we learned?

Virginia Baron is a former editor of Fellowship *magazine and has served as president of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. She has devoted her attention to the Middle East for many years and has focused particularly on the practice of nonviolence in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. She is currently on the board of* Palestine/Israel Report *magazine.*

Except for the most faithful and stalwart members of the left in Israel, there is next to no enthusiasm for the two-state solution that has been the goal since 1948. [Editor's note: This article was written before the March election that won Benjamin Netanyahu a fourth term as Israel's Prime Minister, apparently on the strength of his "no Palestinian statehood" pledge, leaving "next to no enthusiasm" an apparent understatement.] All Palestinians want is a better economy, however it may be brought about, and reconstruction and rescue for the people of Gaza. Things have deteriorated so far that the greatest fear for Israelis is that international pressure will finally force Israel into serious negotiations, or the cost will be isolation and sanctions.

All is not lost. Here in the United States, the boycott-divestment-sanctions movement has taken hold. A new generation has taken up the cause, and the words "boycott, divestment, and sanctions" are familiar on college campuses. Every week there are more divestment votes, or news of colleges and universities that are forbidding votes and being met with student uprisings. Jewish Voice for Peace and other Jewish groups have shaken the stalwart pro-Israel camp. Peace and justice organizations have joined the BDS movement. National church denominations have voted in favor of divestment. Even *The New York Times,* through the voice of op-ed columnist Nicholas Kristof, dared to condemn the occupation. It's finally happening after all these years, and we can gladly claim all those voices that spoke out through *WIN* and the *NVA* to raise unpopular but necessary issues. It's impossible to shut us up. It's that old truth to power story. We'll keep talking, one way or another.

The rest of the issue proved to be impressive and instructive. In an article on "The Economic Dimension of Nonviolence: Is Rich Pacifist an Oxymoron?," Charles Gray told us how he lived on his "equal share of a sustainable world income." In the Reviews section at the back, Simon Meyer favorably reviewed Gray's book, *Toward A Nonviolent Economics,* concluding that we read these books but "in large measure we seem to be unwilling to reduce our own lifestyles to achieve the kind of equity Gray hopes for." Charles Gray represented the ultimate model.

I read the next article at least four times. I wondered how I could have forgotten this valuable source of information. In the "Hidden Wars" series, professional cartographer Zoltan Grossman wrote an extensive explanation of the "War in the Caucasus," including a map for clear reference and a chart of the autonomous republics, including their major ethnic groups, history, dates, etc. The 22 republics of the Caucasus have been fought over for centuries by three major powers: the Russians, the Ottomans (Turks), and the Persians (Iranians). As Grossman explained, "The Caucasus region [lies] along the 'fault line' between Christianity and both the Sunni and Shiite branches of Islam." Maybe we understand the significance of this better these days. Three main sections covered the history of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, but the complications of ethnic group struggles, Russian and Turkish takeovers, NATO, and threats of U.S. bombing are mind-boggling. There's even a list of peace and human-rights groups that were working in the region in 1994. It's all about the ongoing and eternal question of self-determination.

There are also ads for a trip to Cuba (for $1100) and job openings. A news story describes the release of "shadow painters" Susan Crane and Maxine Ventura after being jailed for painting human forms in the lobby of Lawrence Livermore National Lab in protest against Livermore's legacy of toxic and radioactive contamination from nuclear weapons design and production. Other news items tell of Selective Service being funded, civil disobedience arrests, war tax resistance, a conference on nuclear war, a people's fast for justice, a conscientious objector imprisoned in Croatia, the Balkan Peace Team, and a peace museum in Samarkand. There are photos of WRL staff member (and WWII CO) Ralph DiGia and WRL West staff member Mandy Carter, taken by WRL staff member David McReynolds. There's an obit for Freedom Rider Jim Peck by historian Bob Cooney, the Organizing Network, and the NVA's 1993 Index, with Good Reading ads on the back cover.

I love this 20-year-old issue. It stood up to many readings for this summary. Now who will write the nonviolent history of our times from all these published treasures? Ω

THE NONVIOLENT Activist
THE MAGAZINE OF THE WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

My Favorite Issue: Solidarity and Self Reflection, Nov.-Dec. 1999

By John M. Miller

I started reading *WIN* in 1976. A roommate subscribed while I was living in Washington, DC, and I was captivated by the then weekly magazine as it chronicled the Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice and the beginnings of nonviolent direct action against nuclear power. I soon had my own subscription and a WRL membership card (yes, we used to issue them). And not content to read on the sidelines, I become active in the local Potomac Alliance opposing nuclear power.

In early 1981, I moved to Brooklyn to join the *WIN* staff for its last three years. Two of us oversaw its final issue, as *WIN* went out fighting (so wrote the *National Guardian*) with an October 1983 final issue focused on the global struggle against nuclear weapons. I helped plot the launch of the *Nonviolent Activist* and later its transition back to *WIN*, serving over the years as a member of its Publications Committee, doing layout for too many issues to count, rewriting many a headline, and working once or twice as temporary editor.

When I first joined *WIN*, among the tasks I was responsible for was editing the regular columns (including "Serve the People," on food and cooking, where I learned what *al dente* meant by asking the other staff) and the "Changes" section, a round-up of short news items. "Changes" became "Activist News" when the *NVA* launched.

Over the years, I've proposed and written (and re-written) many of these short news items, but have not submitted many feature articles. (My first was a report in the Nov. 15, 1979 issue of *WIN* on a blockade of the headquarters of the Department of Energy; a version also appeared in *WRL News*.) With so many issues of *WIN/NVA/WIN* to choose from, I'll focus on the November-December 1999 issue of the *Nonviolent Activist* that published my account of East Timor's historic and bloody vote for independence. By then, I had been working toward that vote for nearly eight years.

Among my first introductions to East Timor were articles in the April 1, 1980, and September 1, 1981, issues of *WIN*. I became active on the issue a decade later, after a November 1991 massacre at a cemetery in Dili inspired me to help found the East Timor *Action* Network (ETAN) with, among others, Charles Scheiner (a former WRL Executive Committee member), who is also featured in the *NVA* issue. The U.N.-organized vote was made possible by decades of East Timorese resistance to Indonesian rule, the fall of Indonesian dictator Suharto, and changes in U.S. and other government policies brought on by grassroots campaigns like ETAN's.

The issue contains five pages on the referendum, including background on the issues (one underlying theme throughout *WIN/NVA/WIN* is that action should be informed by information and analysis). Charlie wrote about the organizing and implementation of the International Federation for East Timor's Observer Project, the international non-governmental observer mission that ETAN initiated. IFET-OP recruited 125 activists from the global East Timor solidarity movement to observe the vote and—we hoped—to prevent violence.

My more personal account ("Eyewitness, East Timor") was written in the heat of the vote's aftermath, as East Timor's towns were still burning, as most East Timorese were hiding in the hills or being forced over the border into Indonesia, and as journalists and the U.N. and peacekeeping troops were only begin to filter in.

SUBJECT TO DEBATE

WIN and the *NVA* have always been open forums where issues and controversies within the left, the nonviolence, and/or the peace movements were debated. *WIN* and the *NVA* often featured two or more writers arguing their take on issues, including the right to die; property destruction; the perennial quadrennial discussion of whether or not to vote; and, most controversially in 1980, on abortion rights. The discussion would then carry over to the readers. The surest way to generate letters to the editors was to mention choice (from 1980 on *WIN/NVA* was firmly pro-choice) or meat eating.

Occasionally, writers would wrestle with their principles within their articles. Charlie and I both had to do that in this issue. In his article, Charlie wrote about "re-evaluating long-held pacifist beliefs" in the face of East Timorese requests for armed peacekeepers to help oversee the vote. I wrote, "It will take both an arms cutoff [of Indonesia by the United States and others] and the introduction of multinational force to end Indonesia's ravaging of the country. ... While an earlier cutoff might have forced Indonesia to stop the violence before it began," it was at that point too late. "Options become limited," I continued, "as violence escalates and genocide is threatened."

As we had said in the *NVA*'s inaugural editorial, "We cannot possibly profess to know what is the 'correct' line of action for people living in El Salvador ... or in other situations. ... We are imperfect in a world that is imperfect. We cannot claim to know truth. Yet, this lack of absolute knowledge must not prevent us from acting on our beliefs." And solidarity, if it means anything at all, means listening carefully to those whose rights you are acting to defend.

Elsewhere in the issue is another eyewitness account. This one focuses on a visit by congressional staffers to Iraq, the first since the 1990-1991 Gulf War. A report on WRL's A Day Without the Pentagon 1999 focused on military recruiters rounds out the features. A holiday centerfold of WRL resources for sale reminds readers that the *NVA* also needed to serve WRL's promotional needs. Activist News contains reports of David McReynolds' bid for presidency under the Socialist Party's banner and an action blocking a missile systems factory in Massachusetts by a new WRL local. The magazine lists three new locals (alas, none is still active). There are also obits for "African freedom fighter, socialist and peacemaker" Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Walter Bergman, a Freedom Rider who attempted to desegregate transportation in the South in 1961. He was paralyzed after a beating by KKK members, but lived to 100.

In many ways, this was a typical issue of the *NVA*, which had become bi-monthly by then. There is a strong action focus. The issue is full of stories about people taking action and urging readers to do likewise. And these actions are not only those of direct action or pickets. The periodicals were almost as likely to feature a lobbying campaign as a sit-in.

The issue also includes stories related to WRL's then program priorities, as well as other reports of interest to those seeking to change the world for the better. We are introduced or reminded of interesting people, and not only in the obits. There is also a short report about Dennis Lipton, an Air Force doctor threatened with court martial after he became a pacifist.

For me, one of the most important functions of *WIN/NVA/WIN* was as a forum where we could express the varied interests of WRL members and friends beyond our national program, in this case an issue that had occupied my attention throughout the decade and beyond.

Regular readers of WIN will know that East Timor is now the independent Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste and that ETAN has become the East Timor and Indonesia *Action* Network. Yes, I confess I picked this issue of the NVA to take one last chance to talk about the issue I have worked on for nearly two dozen years. Not quite as long I as I have involved in *WIN/NVA/WIN*.

WIN readers will have to get their updates on Timor-Leste's progress elsewhere. You can start with the ETAN website etan.org. (And that's my last plug, at least within these pages.) Ω

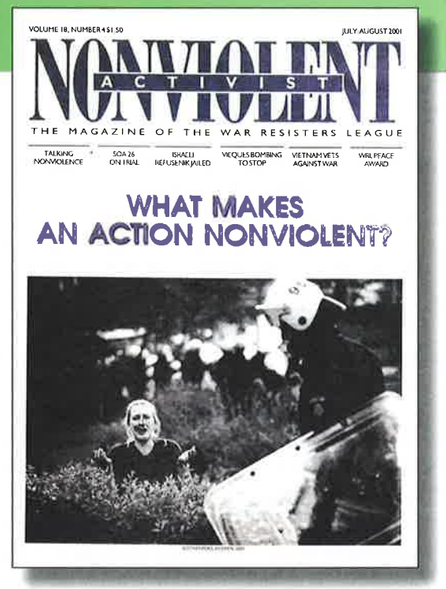
Destruction in Dili. Cover photo by John M.Miller from November-December 1999 NVA.

John M. Miller is a long-time member of the WRL National Committee and National Coordinator of the East Timor and Indonesia Action *Network.*

THE NONVIOLENT Activist
THE MAGAZINE OF THE WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

Still Relevant: What Makes an Action Nonviolent? My Favorite Issue: July-Aug. 2001

By Joanne Sheehan



The July-August 2001 *Nonviolent Activist* asked "What makes an action nonviolent?" The question had acquired urgency among peace and justice activists in the wake of the November 1999 massive protests in Seattle against the World Trade Organization. I picked this issue to review because I'd wished that discussion had gone on longer and gotten deeper, and because we are once again in a time of protest with a considerable urgency.

This time, in the wake of the police killings of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, and Eric Garner in Staten Island, New York, "Black Lives Matter" has become the rallying cry of a Black-led grassroots movement. This time the discussion is not about property destruction, as it was 14 years ago, after Seattle, but about the appropriate and effective response to violence committed by official or quasi-official forces. And if the question is still, "What makes an action nonviolent?" we need to explore what we mean by that in this context. How does WRL, which holds that change happens through the implementation of revolutionary nonviolence, and that those most affected need to be at the center of change efforts, engage in this movement?

Let me begin with the definition that nonviolent action is an empowering way of engaging in conflict, an active form of resistance to systems of violence and oppression that is committed to not destroying other people. We need to explore how that is different from actions that are "not violent." What is the difference between nonviolent direct action and other direct action in terms of strategy and tactics?

We also need to be conscious of the historic context. In the 1950s and early '60s, the single largest group of people practicing nonviolent direct action were Black people protesting Southern segregation with their bodies. By the time of the 1980s actions against nuclear power and weapons, and by the time of Seattle, that was history. Most nonviolent civil resisters, including the vast majority of the Seattle protesters, were white. In the past few years, that has been changing again, as immigration rights activists and low-wage workers, many of them people of color, have been engaging in sit-ins and walk-outs. And since Ferguson, as the shift in the demographics of protests has become swifter, so, necessarily, have the dynamics of protest and the stakes involved.

This article is therefore an attempt to look both at how the *NVA* examined the question of nonviolent action after Seattle, especially in its July-August 2001 issue, and how we might examine that question now, in 2015.

There were discussions on nonviolence and property destruction during the Seattle protests, and in the *NVA* immediately afterward, in the January-February 2000 issue. The headline on the cover was, "Nonviolence at the turn of the century, Showdown in Seattle." Inside, an editorial said, "On the opening day of the WTO meeting, tens of thousands of environmental, labor, human rights, and religious activists joyously and nonviolently blockaded the meeting site, while some 40,000 U.S. labor union members attended a city-licensed anti-WTO march and rally; during the same day, a small band of protesters who rejected nonviolence rampaged through the street near the meting site, breaking windows and damaging property."

In the next issue after "Showdown in Seattle," a member of one of WRL's YouthPeace groups objected to the suggestion that property destruction was a rejection of nonviolence. "[N]onviolence means not engaging in harmful acts toward living beings," he wrote. "The anarchist black bloc that engaged in property destruction only targeted the property of multinational corporations and made sure not to harm individuals."

The discussion continued in many circles, including the *NVA*. In the May-June 2001 issue, in "Microcosm of a Changing Movement," student-activist Lelia Spears wrote about the National Conference on Organized Resistance, "In the movement, as well as at the conference, there is now a move towards acceptance of nonviolence as a tactic among other tactics. Although many see this as a positive move, people new to the movement may be not getting a background in nonviolence, which most agree is useful at least as a tool, a tactic and a strategy." That article provoked more letters challenging the acceptance of a "diversity of tactics" that includes property destruction.

THE 2001 NONVIOLENCE SPECTRUM

It was in that context the July-August 2001 *NVA* asked nine activists (including me) to respond to the question "What makes an action nonviolent?" And as I reflect on the nine responses, I see the respondents standing all over the place on the cross-spectrums of what is nonviolence and violence and what is effective and not effective, another issue raised by several of them. (We use cross-spectrums in a nonviolence training exercise—participants place themselves on a grid formed by two perpendicular axes representing polar opposites, in this case, nonviolence/violence and effective/not effective. For more on the exercise, see wri-irg.org/node/23374.)

Activist-poet-priest Dan Berrigan wrote that the main discussions in planning both the draft board raids of the '70s and Plowshares symbolic disarmament actions consisted of spiritual preparation and the search for symbols. "So wanton thoughtlessness and mere destruction were out, from throwing trashcans to throwing bombs," he wrote, but "[t]he use of homemade napalm on draft cards and the pouring of blood on nuclear warheads seemed to speak to people."

"I would rather not focus on whether one form of property destruction or another is violent," wrote Melissa Jameson, then the director of the WRL National Office, "but on why we do what we do, and how we get there from here. Since one of the tenets of nonviolence is at least the recognition of the humanity of one's opponent or oppressor, actions that do not allow that, for me, would not be a way I would choose to express myself. If nonviolence means without injury, then nonviolent action would have to mean things that do not bring harm to another living being."

Anarchist Kadd Stephens wrote that this discussion of property destruction too often leads to the "the crusade for the rights of property," as he sees it. "Nike's right to an immaculate storefront takes priority over the tens of thousands of workers exploited beyond the reaches of our imaginations within their factories. ... This is not to suggest that targeting property is a universally viable or even preferable target. ... [It] often serves to alienate sectors of the population critical to the success of any movement."

Mandy Carter, who was on the staff of WRL/West in the 1960s, wrote, "During a 'Stop the Draft Week' in Oakland, some protesters turned over cars, slashed tires and committed other acts of physical destruction. They never stayed around to be accountable for their actions. ... [But] the folks doing nonviolent civil disobedience were accountable. ... I am very grateful that the first two groups I got involved in were the American Friends

Joanne Sheehan, nonviolence trainer and WRL New England staffperson, encourages people to see War Resisters' International's Handbook for Nonviolent Campaigns *for more on pragmatic dimensions of nonviolent action, campaign development, organizing effective actions and training exercises. wri-irg.org/pubs/NonviolenceHandbook and warresisters.org/store/handbook-organizing-guide/handbook-nonviolent-campaigns-second-edition.*

Service Committee and the War Resisters League. Both are longtime, pacifist-based national/international organizations. They gave me the philosophical underpinning that has stayed with me for the past 32 years and counting."

Lelia Spears ended her response by saying "I accept the destruction of property as a tool in an activist's toolbox, but because I personally do not consider it the most communicative tactic I feel it should be reserved for times when all other means of expression have been exhausted."

In her earlier article Spears had acknowledged that while any activists were embracing "diverse tactics," new activists were not getting the training in nonviolent action needed for what she agreed was a useful tool, tactic, and strategy. Unless we have those "other means" in our activist toolbox, we can't effectively use them. This discussion might have become deeper and more fruitful if it had been able to continue, but it was derailed after September 11 of that year.

Plowshares activist Sachio Ko-Yin, who served more than two years in prison for hammering and pouring blood on a missile silo, asserted his "respect for the Black Bloc participants" and their "sincere in their desire to end the corporate globalization!" Yet he wrote of their actions, "When several people destroy property in a frenzy (and my impression is that some Black Bloc actions have been frenzied) ... I would call it rioting. ... But because it is so challenging to a property-conscious society, our emphasis on nonviolence and non-hatred has to be so much stronger, ... out of reflection rather than rage."

Yes—what about the rage, the anger about injustice? There is a distance between the activists and the injustice we were/are protesting. This was not a discussion by people who felt a *direct* impact. Surprisingly, there was no mention of race, and I was the only one who raised the need to look at gender issues, even though the writers were gender diverse. No one mentioned that people of color are already targets of the police and therefore may not want to engage in property destruction or civil disobedience that could subject them to more abuse by the police and courts.

THE SPECTRUM IN 2015

Fast forward to the present day. In the wake of the police killings of Michael Brown and Eric Garner, a new movement has risen up, led by those most affected, those whose lives are threatened. African-Americans are organizing local groups around the country. Studies such as "Operation Ghetto Storm," conducted by the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, which shows that a Black man, woman or child is killed by police or vigilantes every 28 hours, expose the perpetual war on the Black population.

As described in the last issue of the ***WIN,*** Black activists and their allies have organized highway blockades and occupied shopping centers. Groups including the Blackout Collective have shut down public transportation. Black Lives Matter, Asians 4 Black Lives, and white allies shut down the Oakland Police Headquarters. Black Brunch teams go into restaurants crowded with primarily white customers reciting the names of Black people killed by police. Through these actions they are speaking to both the police and the society, forcing them to confront the issue. They are doing what Martin Luther King, Jr. described as the goal of nonviolent direct action in his "Letter from a Birmingham Jail": They are "dramatiz[ing] the issue so that it can no longer be ignored." Some identify their actions as "nonviolent"; others say only "direct action." None have promoted destruction of property.

In "Turn Up: 21st-Century Black Millennials Are Bringing Direct Action Back," Malkia A. Cyril wrote in the *Huffington Post*, "This amazing display of strategic coordination and tactical discipline represents a new era of social protest methodology that seeks cultural as well as political and economic change." Cyril reminded us that, "The tradition of Black nonviolent direct action in the Americas isn't new. From enslaved Africans to Black labor activism, Black communities have long used tactics of nonviolent confrontation and non-cooperation to resist extreme repression, expand political imagination and point the way toward a long-term vision for change."

As #Black Lives Matter proclaims "This is Not a Moment, but a Movement." Demands have been formulated, strategies developed, trainings held. Creative actions are being organized. Allies are engaging in nonviolent actions around the country. For example, last December students at more than 70 medical schools around the country held die-ins to spotlight racial bias as a public health issue.

What should WRL be doing now? With our history of revolutionary nonviolence, resources on nonviolent actions and nonviolence trainings, our international network of nonviolent activists, and campaigns such as Demilitarize Health & Security, WRL has an important role to play. An organization consisting of primarily white members, we have developed resources on being good allies and are fostering a deeper understanding of gender and racial justice. It is our obligation to keep offering our resources *through* a diverse groups of activists, organizers, and trainers *to* a diverse group of activists, organizers, and trainers.

We should not judge those who, for many reasons, do not embrace the term "nonviolent." But we should not shy away from the use of the word. We must continue our exploration of the power of nonviolent actions, campaigns and movements. We must engage in this movement for racial justice. We are now witnessing empowering ways of engaging in conflict, resisting systems of violence and oppression, resisting the destruction of people without harming the perpetrators. That is what makes an action nonviolent and has the potential for revolutionary social change. Ω

Prison Abolition and Critical Resistance
An Interview with Linda Thurston

You have a long history of working not just for political prisoners, but for the rights and freedom of prisoners in general, as well as for prison abolition. What motivated you to get involved in this work?

Linda Thurston: In the very beginning it was extremely personal. My first memory in my entire life is of police showing up at my front door and taking my father away when I was four. I remember being very upset that the grownups weren't acting the way grownups usually act. I was upset that these unidentified, unknown, large, loud white men were taking Daddy away. But I had also been freaked out because Daddy had been hitting Mommy. I was in this situation where my parents were arguing and the police dealt with it by dragging Dad away. Everyone was in pain, with screaming, yelling, and chaos.

It was instinctively clear to me at this point that something was desperately wrong. This was not a solution to anything. I think that every single time during my life, when I was working with prisoners, all these issues came up again. I would remember what it felt like and think about the children. It wasn't at that moment that I committed myself to working with prisoners or even to being an activist. I didn't come from an activist family in the sense of people having a political analysis, although we did things in the community and with the local church. But it framed my thinking about imprisonment and police for the rest of my life.

When I was in junior high school, I started doing work through my church with what was euphemistically called the Children's Center in Providence, Rhode Island. It was basically a maximum-security prison for kids, with such horrendous and repressive policies that it was later shut down. It was very interesting to be the same age as those kids, from the same neighborhood as those kids, speaking the same language as those kids, and be acutely aware that there but for the powers that be go I. Even before I knew how badly the kids were treated and abused, the entire situation seemed wrong to me.

The next significant moment in my political development regarding prisons was as a college student, running the Black theater group as a Harvard undergraduate. The group was called the Black Community and Student Theater, but given that this was Harvard, many folks had unfortunately forgotten the community piece of it! I remember sitting in a board meeting when a letter came in from one of the prisoner organizations asking if we would please come out and do a play for the prisoners. The entire group swung their heads in my direction, because I was already involved in some political activity on campus. They knew that I'd be interested in doing it. We took a play out to the prison, and I remember being profoundly affected by that experience. I actually ended up working with the "prisoner self-help groups" at Walpole prison outside of Boston, helping with issues involving prisoner mistreatment, use of pepper spray, tear gas, and such.

Coming of age in the late 1970s and 1980s, paying attention to these issues, it was hard not to notice that at one moment there were 300,000 prisoners in America, and a moment later there were 500,000 thousand. Just a few years later, there were a million prisoners in America and today there are two million people locked up in America. My lifetime has been the period of time when the United States has used prisons as its solution to everything.

You've worked with a number of the key regional and national organizations in this field. Would you share some of those experiences?

LT: When I became the director of the New England Criminal Justice Program of the Quaker-based American Friends Service Committee, one of the big issues was a tendency to lock up any prisoners who spoke out on any issues in solitary confinement—sometimes for years. These were clear cases of political repression, locking people up, not because they posed any threats, but because they were willing to fight for their rights, even as prisoners. Many folks whom I worked with then may not have landed in prison because of political activities, but they certainly got politicized once in prison.

Partly because I was in Boston, where there was a very strong anti-apartheid movement and a very strong Central American solidarity movement, I learned about many people doing time because of refusal to cooperate with federal grand jury investigations. At the Red Book Store in Cambridge, I remember meeting some people—like Tommy Manning and Jaan Laaman of the Ohio 7 case—who are still political prisoners to this day. Kazi Toure, now out of prison and the national co-chair of the Jericho Amnesty Movement, was around in those days, along with his brother, Arnie King, who is also still doing time despite an incredible record of community support and work. I think there are some regional cultural differences that have shaped people's political development differently. In New York City, for example, most of the political prisoners came directly out of the local Black Panther Party. But in Boston and later, in Philadelphia, with the case of MOVE and the MOVE 9, I had a different framework. While I was working for AFSC, I began to learn more about political prisoners through my own writing and radio projects.

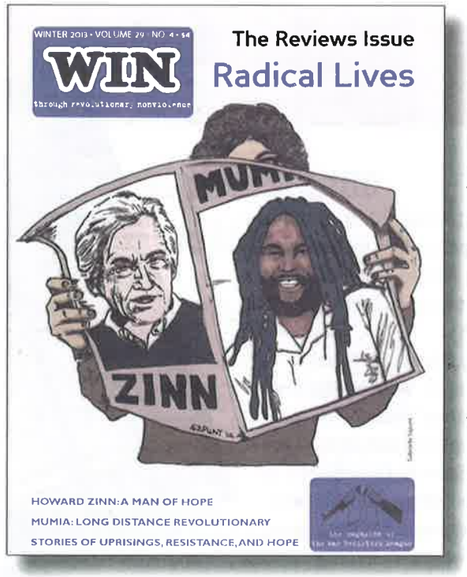
As an AFSC staff person, I was involved in the 200 Years of Penitentiary project, recognizing Philadelphia's Walnut Street Jail as the first prison in the USA. The campaign was a way of doing prison abolition work in the 1980s, and I got to dress up in my Sunday best and speak to all the Quaker groups, Methodists, Presbyterians, and United Church folks. From there, I got to work with the National Inter-Religious Task Force on Criminal Justice. Those networks, with people like Episcopal Minister S. Michael Yasutake (founding chair of the Prisoner of Conscience Project) building bridges between social and political prisoners, helped create lasting relationships and commitments. Fast forward some years, to the early 1990s, and I ended up working with Amnesty International USA on death penalty issues.

I actually had, from the beginning, some very real issues with Amnesty International. In part, this was because Amnesty refused to name Nelson Mandela, or any number of other people, as political prisoners. I didn't understand at that moment the human rights movement's nuanced differences in definition regarding political prisoners, prisoners of war, and prisoners of conscience. Nor did I understand how amazingly egg-headedly legalistic and academistic the whole human rights framework could be. But at that particular moment, between 1994 and

WIN issues on prisons.

Linda Thurston is the Coordinator of WRL's National Office, in which capacity she's been the glue holding the office together—and keeping its computers and the website running—since 2007. But in the spare time that Herculean task allows her, she works, as she has done since her high-school years, against the prison-industrial complex and for the rights of all prisoners. Since the late '90s, she's done most of that work in the context of Critical Resistance, the grassroots prison abolition group, and also with the groups working in support of Pennsylvania prisoner Mumia Abu Jamal. This interview is adapted from Let Freedom Ring: A Collection of Documents from the Movements to Free U.S. Political Prisoners, *edited by Matt Meyer (PM Press, 2008).*

1995, executions in the USA had almost doubled in one year. It seemed important to do that work with those resources, but it was one of the most frustrating experiences of my life. Amnesty is an organization that grew out of the Cold War mentality. They began as a group that issued bulletins on behalf of prisoners of conscience, one prisoner from the West and one from the Soviet Union, trying to embarrass those governments by bombarding them with letters. While I was there, we did begin trying to get Amnesty to pay attention to the case of Black Panther death row inmate Mumia Abu Jamal. But I could not stay at Amnesty for long.



The job I had at the Center for Constitutional Rights was Coordinator of the Ella Baker Student Program, which I used to refer to as my job of training little "baby radical lawyers." These were young people that we would recruit from various law schools who thought that they wanted to be "movement" lawyers. Whatever issues they were eventually going to work on, it was crucial that they get an education in the history and the current way of looking at the role of prisons in society and the reality of political prisoners. I remember bringing Attica prison rebellion survivor and representative Big Black in, to come and talk to these law students after we'd shown them the film *Attica*. It was a strong way of educating and radicalizing people who could have a direct effect on the lives of prisoners.

What were and are some of the issues involved in building bridges between the people who do work around political prisoners and those who work around the prison industrial complex or prison abolition?

LT: I think there are people who come out of a political context, who make many assumptions about categories such as "social prisoners." Some people who work on political prisoner cases have, in a general theoretical sense, the idea that prisons themselves are bad, but also that prisons are where bad folks are. If you stole something, you're a thief. If you killed somebody, you're a murderer. And that is what you are, that is who you are, and that is all you are. I really have a problem with that idea, maybe coming from my spirituality or maybe just my common-sense political analysis. Nobody is only one thing, and no one is only as bad as the worst thing they ever did. If that were true, we'd all be in big trouble because we're all human. Some people who won't do work around social prisoners or politicized social prisoners have this perspective, and many people who do work with the general prison population do it purely from a social service perspective and aren't interested in working on political prisoner issues. The key is to see the connections between these struggles, and not to pit them against one another. We've got lots of work ahead of us.

It also has now gotten way more complicated because more and more political prisoners are spending vast, unbelievable amounts of time in prison, and not getting out. Political prisoners are dying in prison, so the issue becomes more urgent. At the same time, as I've said, vastly increased numbers of people are being sent to prison—also for long periods of time. In countries where the concept of "political prisoner" is recognized as a legal category, there may still be human rights problems and justice issues, but the complications and divisions between them tend to be easier to deal with. It is agreed that there are political prisoners, and it is agreed that there are major problems in the prison industrial complex. Here in the United States, an urgent task is for folks doing political prisoner support work to recognize the broader context of the prison industrial complex.

One place where we've seen this take place is around the case of Mumia Abu Jamal. Mumia's case has brought so many people from different political movements and perspectives together. In general, though, with all the cases, we need to make

WIN promotes *WIN* through the years.

more opportunities for all kinds of interaction and discussion. Not to be naïve, but these dialogues between those of us doing basically similar work are an urgent necessity. We've got to find greater ways to work together.

You've been active, since the beginning, in the development of Critical Resistance, which in some ways tries to present a new framework about how to do some of this work. And you continue to help bridge the gap between work around prison abolition and around political prisoners. Could you describe the current national scene, around the time of the tenth anniversary of CR, and discuss how things have changed, and how they've stayed the same?

LT: It may be a new framework and a new concept in this current iteration, but the notion of prison abolition is much older than the 1998 founding conference of CR. I actually didn't get involved in CR until after that initial national conference in Oakland, but I did attend the conference. There were many folks at the first Critical Resistance gathering who were overjoyed that people were talking about prison abolition again. We didn't know that over a thousand people would show up, with energy to build local and regional chapters. We clearly hit upon a moment when people were ready to work on issues involving the role of prisons in U.S. life.

One issue that we've been dealing with, and need to continue to deal with, is the role of people who have been most impacted by the prison industrial complex. Our organizations can't just be made up of people who want to work on an issue. It has to include people who did time, people whose family members have done time. These folks must be in the leadership of the movement and the leadership of the struggle, because in many ways they can best understand and convey the complexities of the system on a local and national level. As we all need to step up and become active when that's needed, we also need to learn to step back and take leadership from the folks who haven't been in leadership. Some of us older folks need to learn that in regard to the youth, too.

Another thing that's fairly unique about CR, in my experience, is the way in which the regional organizations reflect the national program as well as the specific political context in a given region of the country. We've been weaving a sort of web between the local networks and the national group.

There's also a great deal of attention in CR given to political education. Far too often in our movements we don't find out where people are coming from. If somebody shows up for a meeting, we're so glad that they're there, we'll just give them some things to do and tell them when and where to go for the next meeting. But CR really works to build community. I feel very connected to the local folks in the organization, even though I work more with the national. We are in a situation where someone can put a call out and say, "Yo, the sister who was at the meeting last night—her kid just got arrested. Can any of you get to court?" And people do it. It reminds me of working with the groups in Boston when I was younger: that sense of community, of family, of connectedness. That feeling also comes up when I get emails from different political prisoner support groups saying, "So and so on the inside is sick, we've got to jump in here and deal with this."

I guess I've come full circle after all these years, realizing that we need the political analysis, we need the political education, we need the strategizing, we need more bodies, and we need resources. But we also damned sure better remember that we're human beings and we need to support one another on all levels or we're not going to make it. Sometimes our failure is as simple as calling a meeting at dinnertime and not having so much as a pitcher of water at the table. If we're going to survive, if we're going to succeed, if we're going to win, if we're going to free folks, we've got to get better at doing the human piece of building movement by building community. Ω

WIN
through revolutionary nonviolence

My Favorite Issue: The (Brand-)New *WIN*, Summer 2006

By Matt Meyer

2015 needs *WIN*. Not just this year, not just the very magazine you hold in your hands (or are reading online). Our overall moment in history, in the adolescence of the 21st century, needs the politics of revolutionary nonviolence.

That politics is proclaimed on the cover of this unique publication, often described within its pages, but scarcely elsewhere noted or heeded. Even we may not have the right words just yet to adequately describe what unarmed revolution looks like. And we are surely—in the footsteps of iconic nonviolence thinkers Barbara Deming and A.J. Muste—still experimenting with the practical meaning of our deeply held beliefs. We may not know the exact best ways to bring these words to you, as print fades to flat screen, and ever-smaller electronic machines transmit messages to shake our psyche. But we know that we must be on a better path to build the world anew.

For all these reasons, I pick as my favorite issue the new *WIN*, Volume 23, Number 3, Summer 2006: a deceptively humdrum set of numbers to signal the re-birth of its illustrious predecessor. As someone who had the honor of both writing for, and being written about in, all four WRL-related publications (*WRL News*, *WIN*, the *NVA* and *WIN* again), I heard this issue, more than any other, shouting out, "We're STILL HERE, refreshed, renewed!"

With the beauty and brilliance of two doves on the cover carrying movement-building messages, with the challenging and dazzling energy of new editor Francesca Fiorentini, the re-born *WIN* promised to "explore the cracks in this empire that are bringing us closer to the just world in which we have yet to live—from free health clinics and collective childcare to alternative economic systems and alternative energy." The 21st-century *WIN* dedicated itself to "harness[ing] the revolutionary imagination, bringing stories from a movement bold enough to act and smart enough to dream."

We still need workshops and trainings in nonviolence; we need grand remembrances of past glories without getting stuck in a "we tried that back then and it didn't work" mentality. When Francesca led us to revitalize *The Nonviolent Activist* into a newly re-named *WIN*, she did it with acute awareness of the need to learn from past efforts while building bridges to cutting-edge movements of the future. She also understood, from her own experiences and as a wise younger activist sensitive to the lessons surrounding her own present moment, that the issues of race, class, patriarchy, and the gender binary were vital in examining and resisting war in all its forms. It should come as no surprise, then, that the cover article brought together five inspiring voices, diverse yet united in their commitment to building new movements in creative ways:

WRL elder and WWII conscientious objector Ralph DiGia implored us to find new energy: *The army grows all the time. They get better equipment, have better wars, and what the pacifist movement needs is some inspiration—what's the next step? We can't always just have demonstrations and petitions and people being arrested. That doesn't seem to work. ... We need a spark.*

WRL New England staffer and longtime nonviolence trainer Joanne Sheehan proposed that we make space for a more rigorous process of self-reflection: *The government has learned much more than the activists have about the lessons from the Vietnam War era. ... Analyze. Evaluate. How did it go? What did we do well? What could we have done better? ... Can we honestly look at these lessons in an inter-generational way?*

Black Panther and former political prisoner Ashanti Alston noted the tightrope quality of movement-building across the generations: *I'm not trying to be the leader. But I do want to participate, because I think that I'm on to some things that can be helpful. And at the same time, be humble enough to be able to listen to others and engage in things that might show me shortcomings in myself or open me up to new learning. We gotta interact. We can't do this work without taking risks—comfort zones have got to be shaken up a bit.*

Sista II Sista member Ije Ude discussed working with young women of color: *An important part of our development is being able to communicate and express ourselves. Especially for young women, who are taught to be quiet and not express ourselves or have an opinion. We create opportunities for young women to experience their own voice and the impact that that can have.*

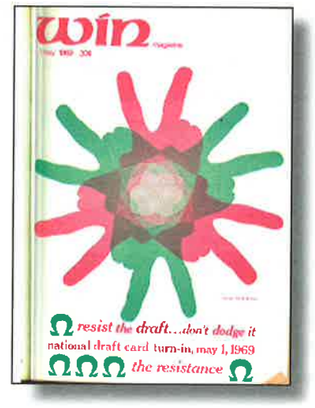
Youth empowerment activist Hannah El-Silimy commented on the disconnect regarding not only age, but the ways different generations look at the question of pacifism: *A lot of people coming from the peace movement from older generations are not open to dialogue about nonviolence and other methods of change. It's just like, "No, nonviolence is the answer and that's all there is to it." ... Part of it is the messenger. ... There has to be an understanding of why people wouldn't choose nonviolence, a context to different struggles. ... We also need to talk about violence not just in the context of U.S. foreign policy, but to see violence and racism in our own country.*

In addition to this far-reaching first feature, the new *WIN* contained shorter commentaries and reviews from a wide range of peace and justice stalwarts. *Indypendent* editor and co-founder Arun Gupta wrote about brewing war prospects with Iran, and Fellowship of Reconciliation leader Virginia Baron described her recent visit to that country with an FOR delegation. Then-arms trade expert Frida Berrigan presented an action update on Alliant Tech, the "merchant of death of the month." The reviews included pieces by WWII conscientious objector Larry Gara, a founder of the field of peace studies, on Ira Chernus' key new work, *American Nonviolence: The History of an Idea;* West Coast New Left activist Max Elbaum on *Letters from Young Activists;* young Catholic Worker Amanda Daloisio on *Don't Call Me a Saint*, a new documentary about Catholic Worker co-founder Dorothy Day; the late, legendary veterans rights and military organizer Tod Ensign on *Sir, No Sir!* the just-released film on antiwar veterans and active-duty members of the armed services; editor extraordinaire Judith Mahoney Pasternak on a new book by women's suffrage historian Robert Cooney about that movement's legacy; and (required disclosure) this writer on a recent biography of the great U.S. pacifist coalition-builder Dave Dellinger.

All those pieces spoke in one way or another to the mission of the new *WIN*, but perhaps none more explicitly than the look at the career of Dave Dellinger, who understood more than most that revolutionary nonviolence is, in fact, not a contradiction in terms. Rather, it's a necessary amalgam of cutting-edge concepts, or, as I wrote, a "dialectic: a springboard to action and thinking outside of the box, as opposed to a fundamental flaw."

Under Francesca's leadership, that 2006 issue of *WIN* embodied this vital dialectic, as does the War Resisters League under the leadership of national program officers Ali Issa and Tara Tabassi. WRL's recent work has brought us correspondence and campaigns especially relevant for the challenges of this century. They have boosted the very unfinished broader project of making the organization and its publications, including (if to a lesser extent) this favorite issue of mine, more than the extremely segregated spaces we continue to be. If we are to finish the job of making war irrelevant, of bringing about a beloved community of justice, we must imagine a space beyond board rooms and carefully kept endowments, taking calculated risks based on broad visions of effective, lasting social change.

Perhaps then, *WIN* will rise again. At the very least, perhaps—one campaign at a time—some victories will be won. Ω



Matt Meyer's first article in a WRL-related magazine, published when he had just turned 19, was "The Coalition Proliferation Principle," in the December 15, 1981, issue of the original WIN. *He has since published extensively in WRL publications and elsewhere and currently serves as War Resisters' International's Africa Support Network Coordinator.*

WIN
through revolutionary nonviolence

My Favorite Issue: WRL's 90th Anniversary, Fall 2013

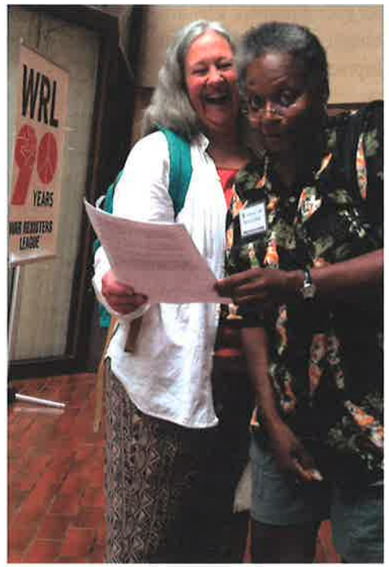
By Rosalie Riegle

Conversations are a crucial component of WRL work, conversations about specific nonviolent strategies, about how racism and sexism affect our decisions (sometimes when we don't realize it), even lively discussions about brewing beer or whether the anarchists or the socialists will win a WRL softball game. So it seemed singularly appropriate for the WRL anniversary issue that Kimber Heinz, our national organizer in 2013, published the deeply personal conversation she had had with two long-time WRL leaders (and long-time friends), Mandy Carter and Joanne Sheehan. (Disclosure: The issue also contained a cogent review by WRL and Veterans for Peace stalwart Ellen Barfield of my 2013 book, *Crossing the Line*.)

Mandy Carter first came to WRL West through nonviolent civil disobedience as part of Stop the Draft Week back in 1965. She was impressed with the number of gay men on the staff, the diversity in ages, and the strong women with whom she worked. Among her many contributions was organizing WRL's 50th anniversary gathering in California in 1973.

Joanne Sheehan came to New York a few years later, first working on defense for the draft board raids, thus meeting WRL folks who shared the building on Lafayette Street with other anti-war groups. She soon gravitated to WRL and tax day protests, then became a member of the Executive Committee (now called the Administrative Coordinating Committee), and today serves as New England staff, coordinating nonviolent trainings and a host of other projects.

One thing that struck me in this deeply contextualized conversation was Mandy saying, "I've got to bring all of who I am to the table." For Mandy and for all of us, part of that means telling our stories to each other, something I value immensely as an oral historian and something we need to spend more time doing whenever WRL folks get together. In this interview, Mandy and Joanne do just that, sharing their backgrounds and what drew them to WRL. I didn't know, for instance, that Mandy grew up in an orphanage, or that Joanne used to be a Roman Catholic.



Joanne Sheehan and Mandy Carter at WRL's 90th Anniversary conference. Photo by Linda Thurston.

I think bringing who we are to the table means more than letting people see all of us, though, and it's something I see shining through this interview and through the entire issue. WRL volunteers bring their whole selves to the work. They don't just put in the hours, they live the life. So we see Joanne and Mandy working to subvert the tyranny of structurelessness that so plagued movements in the '70s and saving the 1976 Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice by winning participants to a more participatory process.

As Matt Meyer and Judith Mahoney Pasternak wrote in "Ninety Years of Resisting War," their historical survey for the anniversary issue, WRL's longevity may be based on its ability to combine "a principled radical vision with an understanding of the need for tactically reformist organizing efforts." What began in WRL as an emphasis on individual acts of non-compliance has grown into a vibrant radical community that sees the value of strategic organizing and grass-roots coalitions.

This sense of bringing our whole selves to the work shines through the anniversary issue, especially in the photos, some by David McReynolds who, since 1956, has given his whole self to WRL (including but not at all limited to 39 years on the staff, from 1960 to 1999). I remember his telling me how, in 1960, WRL turned the anti-civil defense drill witness of a few Catholic Workers into a full-fledged protest that filled City Hall Park and finally forced the demise of the civil defense drills. Meyer and Pasternak nicely summarize that event but neglect to point out that it was WRL strategic planning that led to real change.

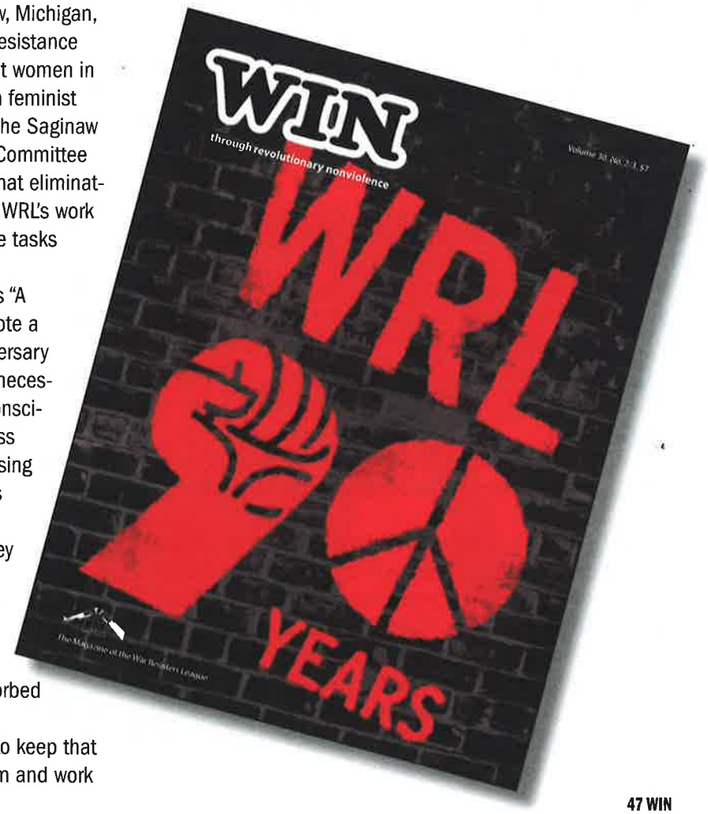
As someone who loved to poke around in old issues of the first *WIN*, I resonated with the "From the Archives" sidebars in this anniversary issue and with priceless quotations from *WIN* as well as from *Liberation* and *WRL News*. An interesting sidebar was the flyer for the Women's Pentagon Action on November 16, 1980. The late poet-activist Grace Paley, one of the organizers for that action, told me in an oral history interview: "The guys were so mad at us. Said we were taking people away." She told them. "Oh no! There will be more people in WRL than ever before." And there were, this time with women in leadership and staff positions.

Until 2004, I lived in the hinterlands of Saginaw, Michigan, and when I first started noticing WRL, through tax resistance and the anti-war toys campaign, I didn't realize that women in New York and San Francisco had to fight to make a feminist perspective part of WRL practice just as we did in the Saginaw Valley Peace Watch. Now I'm on the WRL National Committee and a contributing editor of *WIN* and I've learned that eliminating racism and sexism are still hugely important to WRL's work and also that we have to be ever alert so that those tasks remain central to our practice.

In 1976, the first *WIN* published George Lakey's "A Manifesto for Nonviolent Revolution," and Lakey wrote a reasoned reflection on the manifesto for this anniversary issue. In the manifesto, he defined the five stages necessary to bring about a truly nonviolent revolution: conscientization, building organization, confrontation, mass noncooperation, and parallel government. In assessing the dream and demise of several mass movements since the manifesto's publication, including the Battle of Seattle, Occupy, and the Arab Spring, Lakey pointed out the difference between participatory tactics and participatory strategy, which is "putting tactics in a sequence that leads to victory." He then calls for radicals to study the successes of reformers, who, to him, appear much less self-absorbed and able to turn tactics into strategies for victory.

In my work on the National Committee, I need to keep that in mind as we design and implement WRL's program and work with our grassroots networks. It's all too easy to get caught up in our singular successes and fail to carry them on to the next step. Lakey calls us to remember that "the police are the enforcers, not the deciders" and to get out of our radical boxes and "mobilize cross-class coalitions." In its new Urban Areas Security Initiative (UASI), WRL is doing just that: building coalitions with populations targeted by militarized police and addressing the decision-makers who target them by weaponizing their police and emergency response teams with Pentagon surplus.

Yes, WRL volunteers and staff bring all of who they are to the table, and the anniversary issue both recaps 90 years of these contributions and points to the promise of the future as we live out our mission, not only to nonviolently resist all wars, but to eliminate the "causes of war, including racism, sexism, and all forms of human exploitation." Ω



Rosalie Riegle is a Contributing Editor of WIN *and also serves on WRL's National and Fundraising Committees. A peace activist since the Vietnam War, she is the author of four oral histories:* Voices from the Catholic Worker, Dorothy Day: Portraits by Those Who Knew Her, Doing Time for Peace: Resistance, Family, *and* Community, and Crossing the Line: Nonviolent Resisters Speak Out for Peace.

Closing Guantánamo

by Frida Berrigan

Excerpted from It Runs in the Family: On Being Raised by Radicals and Growing into Rebellious Motherhood *(O/R Books, 2014)*

In 2005, I helped to establish Witness Against Torture when 25 of us flew to Cuba with the hope of gaining access to Guantánamo Bay, the U.S. naval base where more than 700 men, called "enemy combatants" by our government, were then detained. We were only taking up an invitation that President George W. Bush made to European Union leaders in response to allegations of torture and human rights abuses there. "You're welcome to go down yourselves ... and tak[e] a look at the conditions," Bush said.

So we did. The naval base authorities denied our requests for entry and so we fasted and vigiled for five days before returning home to organize a movement to shut down Guantánamo and to end torture and indefinite detention. The first "unlawful enemy combatants" arrived at Guantánamo on January 11, 2002. The American people have since learned the truth—the vast majority of these men were not the "worst of the worst," as Bush administration officials claimed. They were chicken farmers, illiterate tribesmen, and well-traveled, well-meaning students: 93 percent of the men at Guantánamo were captured by bounty hunters or allied governments such as Pakistan and handed over to U.S. forces, according to a study by Mark Denbeaux, a professor at Seton Hall Law School.

Our walk began in Santiago de Cuba on December 7 and over five days we walked about 70 miles, camping on the side of the road at night. Sometimes we walked in silence, meditating on the stories of prisoners in Guantánamo. I walked, thinking about Mohamed and Murat, two teenagers who were inside Guantánamo.

Mohamed el Gharani was 14 when he was arrested in an October 2001 raid on a religious school in Pakistan. Transferred to Guantánamo a few months later, he was subjected to routine abuse. According to his lawyer, Clive Stafford Smith, the Chad-born teenager had been singled out for mistreatment because he vocally objected to being called "nigger." Mohamed is not the only juvenile imprisoned at Guantánamo Bay. There were 13 other young men who came to Guantánamo as teenagers. El Gharani was repatriated to Chad in 2009.

Murat Kurnaz was born to a Turkish family in Bremen, Germany. After September 11, he traveled to learn more about Islam in Pakistan, where he was arrested. He was eventually sent to Guantánamo. As the son of "guest workers," Kurnaz does not have German citizenship, even though he was born there. For a long time, Turkish officials maintained that Kurnaz was German and therefore not their problem. Even after conceding their responsibility, Ankara did not pressure Washington to release Kurnaz. His mother begged "for a sign that my son is alive, that he is being treated justly, that he has not been tortured." Kurnaz was released on August 24, 2006. Like other released Guantánamo captives, he was transported by plane in shackles, wearing a muzzle, opaque goggles, and sound-blocking earmuffs. He was reported to have been denied food and water during the 17-hour flight. He now lives with his parents in Germany and has a desk job, which he enjoys. He says he does not hold ordinary Americans responsible for the abuse he endured.

Inside the huge base, which straddles both sides of Guantánamo Bay, is Cuba's only McDonald's, state-of-the-art recreation and sports facilities for American soldiers and their families, two airstrips, and a desalinization plant, because Cuba cut off the base's water supply. Also somewhere in the far-flung slice of stripmall Americana were Camp Delta, Camp Echo, Camp Iguana, and Camp V, where Murat, Mohammed, and 500 other men were imprisoned.

We set up our camp along the Cuba fence, five miles from the prison, closer than Mohamed's father or Murat's mother have been to their sons in years. The dust and scrub brush next to the fence was our home for the next five days as we prayed and fasted.

Our principal aim in going to Guantánamo was to let the prisoners know that they were not alone. Despite the reflexive fear that Americans have toward those held in Guantánamo, coverage of our witness in the U.S. press was positive and extensive. Our march received widespread attention in the international press, including Arabic-language outlets. A network of lawyers representing the prisoners brought news of our proximity and solidarity to the men. They knew we had tried, and are still trying.

There are so many issues, so many injustices, so many transgressions that tug at the heartstrings and the conscience, and there is only so much time, only so much energy. I am haunted by the families shattered by indefinite detention. I am undone by the fact that they suffer for our "security." I do what I can because I cannot sit idly by while children are kept from their fathers.

Even before I really understood time, I always knew that my mom and dad would come home from jail. It was not forever. It was not endless. Six months, 18 months, two years, even the longest sentences had a "come-home date." ... He was always coming home. And so was Mom.

But Faris, Johina, and Michael's father has not come home. Shaker Aamer is originally from Saudi Arabia, but he has lived in the United Kingdom since 1996, where he is a legal resident married to a British citizen. Shaker and his family were in Afghanistan in 2001, doing charity work before he was seized by Afghan bounty hunters and turned over to U.S. forces. He recalled his relief at ending up in American hands after being held and mistreated by various Afghan groups. But that relief was short-lived.

He was brought to Guantánamo in February 2002. Shaker was tortured repeatedly, singled out as a ringleader, and subjected to gross abuses. Shaker Aamer has been cleared for release since June 2007 and the Bush and Obama administrations agreed that he is not a terrorist, that he poses no threat to the United States or its interests, and yet he continues to languish at the prison....

When [my father] was in prison, my mom received a letter from him every day. Their correspondence was so steady that even the smallest blip was cause for alarm. After September 11, she went days without hearing from him. After being stonewalled by the prison officials, Mom appealed to Maryland Sen. Barbara Mikulski, who eventually found out that Dad was being held incommunicado in solitary confinement. He was placed there on September 11, right before lunch. The senator's office was told that he was put in the hole for his own protection. He was released back into general population after ten days.

...

Without that outside pressure, that solitary confinement could have been indefinite. ...

I remember those days of uncertainty and anxiety as my mom frantically tried to figure out what happened to Dad. I remember the relief that came with knowing for sure what had happened. I remember how the relief was quickly replaced by outrage. For his own protection? He was in no danger. He was in a position to help other inmates understand and process the horror they were watching on rec room TV screens, to contextualize and explain and educate. So were Marilyn Buck, Comancho Negron, Sundiata Acoli, and others who were isolated and silenced. Maybe the prison industrial complex sought protection from an informed and motivated population.

We only had to wait ten days, but we had a U.S. senator and her office on our side. Ten days, not ten years, not 12 years, not forever.

When I stay up too late working on a press release, when the last thing I want to do is brainstorm ideas for the next action, when I am hungry and delirious on day two of a ten- or 12-day fast, when I spend the night on the hard and grubby floor of a police holding cell, when the handcuffs are too tight, when the orange jumpsuit is too unflattering or too hot or too cold or too stinky from the last person who wore it, when the last thing I want to do is go to another demonstration to close Guantánamo, I think about those ten days our family spent working to get my dad out of the hole, I think about how precious that first letter after the long silence was, I think about how happy I was to hear his voice on the phone, I think about how even when he was incommunicado, he was always coming home. And I want that for Faris and Johina and all the parents and children of Guantánamo. Ω

Witness Against Torture demonstration in Washington, DC, January 2008. Photo by ResistanceMedia.org/Ted Stein.

A member of WRL's National Committee, Frida Berrigan is a columnist for Waging Nonviolence (wagingnonviolence.org) and a "stay-at-home" mother in New London, Connecticut, where she lives with her husband Patrick Sheehan-Gaumer and their three children. She is the daughter of Plowshares activists Liz McAllister and the late Philip Berrigan, and the book from which this is excerpted is, as the title declares, a memoir of her childhood as their daughter and her adult life as an activist and a mother.

Post Script

How One *WIN* Moment Changed Three Lives: Anne McVey Upshure's 94 Years of War Resistance

By Chela (Connie) Blitt and Dennis J. Bernstein

The year was 1978. Connie Blitt had come to New York after college, looking to find others with a passion for social change. She joined the staff of WIN, where she became immersed in the issues of the day. Her life changed forever when a call came in to the WIN *office: Ninety-year-old peace activist Anne McVey Upshure needed a home care companion. Connie accepted the short-lived position; before it ended, she had become devoted to Anne, whom she saw as a role model.*

The next year she asked fellow journalist and her partner at the time, WBAI producer Dennis J. Bernstein, if he would join her in a special project. Anne wanted to move back to the country after six decades in New York City. Dennis agreed, and off they went looking for a place where they could live and support Anne in her final years. They received far more than they could have imagined: They inherited Anne's legacy.

Anne McVey Upshure was a lifelong advocate for peace and justice. She lived her activism; her values permeated her personal interactions, as well as her political stands. During the Vietnam War, the War Resisters League chose to honor Anne with their annual Peace Award. She respectfully declined, saying that peace was not the work of an individual, but of entire communities.

"In declining, Anne pointed out the elitism of this sort of gesture," recalled longtime WRL staff member Karl Bissinger years later. "However, she joined us for dinner, we all had a wonderful time, and Annie is still awardless except in our hearts."

When Anne was 91 and could no longer take advantage of New York City's many offerings, we moved with her into a reconstituted farmhouse in Middletown, New York, on an old back road in the middle of hundreds of acres of farmland. Our living room was filled with art and sculpture from her many years of living in New York. There Anne welcomed activists and friends of various generations as they found their way to visit her.

Our home in the country brought back memories for Anne of her upbringing in Centerview, Missouri, and she began to tell us vivid stories of her life. Her mother had died giving birth to her on August 25, 1887; Anne was raised by her father, a homeopath and, as she said, a "Eugene Debs socialist." In the morning before going to their one-room schoolhouse, Anne and her sisters would brush each other's hair until it shone, while their father read to them from Walt Whitman and Emma Goldman. (Decades later, Anne's father opposed U.S. participation in World War I and went to jail for his courageous resistance to that very bloody war.) When she was eight years old, Anne was shocked by the way Native Americans were portrayed in class. She remembered stamping her feet and saying "How would you like it if someone came and took your land away?"

Early in the 20th century, Anne went to California and studied theater at UCLA, then moved to New York, where she directed her favorite play, Ibsen's Enemy of the People. In 1926, at the age of 38, Anne met her soul mate: Luke Theodore Upshure, a disabled composer and philosopher, and the son of a former slave from the deep South. Together the interracial couple set up a loft in Greenwich Village that was alive with music, poetry, and political discussion. I inherited an archive of hand-written letters, flyers, and leaflets that opens a window into their life and concerns through the years.

In an invitation to a party at their home on May 6, 1934, Theo wrote, "Please, come rest, meditate, make merry a while among friends in an atmosphere of tranquility far removed from the chaotic muddled world with its ghastly hypocrisies and eternal stupidity. It is my desire to give you a musical feast with wholesome music, just a sip of nectar before we are hurled back to the alcoves of the unknown." Anne had poignant and vivid memories of many gatherings at the loft, including those that both preceded and protested the state murders of Sacco and Vanzetti and of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

Chela (Connie) Blitt creates short documentary videos and social media campaigns for progressive non-profits. She is an advisor to the Urgent Action Fund for Women's Human Rights. For a short video by Chela (Connie) about her relationship with Anne, go to bit.ly/AnneMcVey. *Dennis J. Bernstein lives in San Francisco and is a poet, journalist, and radio reporter specializing in human rights and international affairs. He is currently the host/producer of* Flashpoints, *a daily news magazine syndicated on Pacifica radio.*

Anne McVey. Photo courtesy of Chela Blitt.

Eventually Anne and Theodore moved to a low-income housing project in Harlem. In 1965, Anne wrote to Dr. Martin Luther King about the Selma-to-Montgomery march. "We have followed the moving events of the past days with full hearts. ... We have witnessed the moving of mountains by a people possessed of faith and a burning desire for rights and justice. ... But Dr. King how can there be justice without peace in the world? Vietnam hangs as a dark and threatening cloud over our rejoicings," she lamented. "You Dr. King have been honored with the Nobel Peace Prize. You have been destined to lead your (our) people out of the wilderness. ... Selma has become the symbol of the might of a people when united in the right ... how wonderful if our people, in the middle of their triumph, were to extend themselves beyond their horizons, to include all suffering people of the world." (Dr. King did publicly oppose the Vietnam War three years later, shortly before he was assassinated.)

After Theo's death in 1969, Anne redoubled her efforts for peace and justice. She continued to keep her doors open as a community gathering place—and to speak truth to power. Over the time we lived with her, we heard many tales of her political resistance and personal testimonies of her compassion from the waves of people she had moved over the years.

"I knew Anne when she lived in the Grant Projects in Harlem," Rose Lilly told us. "[When I was 18], my father was beating me with belts. Anne knew of my home life situation, so she gave me the key to stay with her whenever I needed to. When I was thrown out of my home, I don't know where I would have gone if it wasn't for Anne."

Anne's home in Harlem was a way station for draft resisters during the Vietnam War. Years later, while visiting Anne in Middletown, Chuck Matthei, founder of Equity Trust, a local community economic development organization, told us he had been staying with Anne in Harlem when the FBI came to arrest him for his refusal to fight in the Vietnam War.

According to Anne's FBI file (which we obtained through the Freedom of Information Act), "Mrs. Upshure began crying and weeping and quoting poems by Walt Whitman and praising the subject [Chuck Matthei] as a man of peace and verbally abusing the agents. She expressed her dislike for the FBI, terming it an evil organization. She voluntarily stated that she is 81 years of age, had been a socialist all her life, and that her father was arrested during World War I for anti-war [sic] activity."

Chuck remembered it this way. When they came to arrest him, in an act of nonviolent resistance, he refused to cooperate. So they picked him up, and carried him down the hall horizontally in the air, with an FBI agent holding each arm and leg. When the elevator door opened, the elevator was full of people.

"The FBI men flashed their badges and shouted 'FBI, we have a prisoner, clear the elevator,'" Chuck recalled. "But before anybody could move, Anne, who was about 5'1", white haired, and well known to everyone in the project and much loved, jumped into the elevator doorway, spread her arms and legs blocking the doorway, and said 'Darlings stay where you are, do you know what they are doing? They have come to take him away because he won't kill people. Save those beautiful babies in Vietnam, stop this bloody war, resist the draft, don't pay war taxes, and stay in the elevator!'" Chuck ended the story with, "I am hanging in mid-air, and thinking if you have to be sent away this is the way to do it!"

As she was slowing down in her 93rd year, Anne was determined to make a public stand for peace. "Wild horses couldn't hold me back!" she said, when she heard about plans for women to encircle the Pentagon and disrupt the business of making war.

So late one cold November night in 1980, after much preparation, Dennis helped Anne into the car, then she and Connie headed off to Washington. There they joined the historic Women's Pentagon Action, where 2000 women encircled the Pentagon and (as WRL described it years later) "put gravestones in the lawn, wove yarn across the entrances to symbolically reweave the web of life, and created rituals of mourning and defiance by chanting, yelling, and banging on cans." In an extraordinarily beautiful moment captured in a film by WRL's Kate Donnelly, there is Anne at 93, steadily beating her drum, first softly, then louder and louder, as younger women around her whoop with joy and solidarity.

Anne's conviction that there really is power in the people never wavered; memories of her inspire the two of us and countless others to this day. Ω

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
339 Lafayette Street
New York, NY 10012

The War Resisters League affirms that all war is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive nonviolently for the removal of the causes of war, including racism, sexism and all forms of human exploitation

Graffiti on Berlin Wall, from notecard collection published by WIN in 1982. Photo by Harriet Hirshorn.

That's all folks!