

movement news and reviews

wín

september 15, 1970

30¢





HOME FOLKS

Ofelia Alayeto
 Marilyn Albert
 Maris Cakars
 Susan Cakars
 Bruce Christianson
 Donna Christianson
 Diana J. Davies
 Ralph DiGia
 Karen Durbin
 Jen Elodie
 Leah Fritz
 Neil Haworth
 Hendrick Hertzberg
 Marty Jezer
 Peter Kiger
 Dorothy Lane
 Marty Lauritsen
 Burton LeVitsky
 Jackson MacLow
 Mary Mayo
 David McReynolds
 Peter Merlin
 Don Mochon
 Jim Peck
 Lana Reeves (Photos)
 Paul Rilling
 Igal Roodenko
 Wendy Schwartz
 Connie Sohodski
 Bonnie Stretch
 Mayer Vishner
 Linda Wood
 Mike Wood

IN THE PROVINCES

Denis Adelsberger (Box 7477, Atlanta, Ga.)
 Ruth Dear (5429 S. Dorchester, Chicago, Ill.)
 Paul Encimer (c/o Venice Draft Resistance,
 73 Market St. No. 11, Venice, Calif.)
 Seth Foldy (2232 Elandon Dr., Cleveland Heights, Oh.)
 Jim Giddings (1028 E. 6th St., Tucson, Ariz.)
 Erika Gottfried (4811 NE 107th, Seattle, Wash. 98125)
 Paul & Becky Johnson (Somewhere in New Mexico)
 Wayne Hayashi (1035 University Ave., Rm. 203,
 Honolulu, Hi. 96822)
 Rose LaBelle (713 NE Adams, Minneapolis, Mn.)
 Timothy Lange (1045 14th St., Boulder, Co.)
 Mark Morris (3808 Hamilton St., Philadelphia, Pa.)
 Paul Obluda (544 Natoma, San Francisco, Ca. 94103)

Volume VI, Number 15, 15 September, 1970

ERRATA

In our August issue we failed to note that we'd done some editing of Gordon Yaswen's "Sunrise Hill: Post Mortem". The full text is available from Gordon at a cost of \$1 per copy. His address is simply Star Route, Montague, Mass. 01351.

In our September 1 issue we failed to credit Lowell Naeve for his art work which appeared on page 5 and Tom Lewis on page 16.

Apologies to all concerned.

—Eds.

menu

page	3:	Changes
page	4:	They Shall Not Be Moved: Squatters in NYC
page	7:	More Blood Spilled in NYC
page	8:	The Soldiers
page	9:	Semaphore and Some are Against
page	10:	The Fringe Benefits of Prison
page	12:	Notes from the Underground of Petty Crime
page	14:	A World Without Prisons
page	15:	Five Poems by Larry Eigner
page	16:	Imperialism for Beginners
page	20:	Cartoons
page	21:	Reviews
page	30:	Letters

Cover: Burton LeVitsky

win

peace and freedom
 through nonviolent action
 339 Lafayette Street
 New York, New York 10012
 Telephone (212) 228-0270

WIN is published twice-monthly (except July, August, and January when it is published monthly) by the War Resisters League in cooperation with the New York Workshop in Nonviolence. Subscriptions are \$5.00 per year. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. 10001. Individual writers are responsible for opinions expressed and accuracy of facts given. Sorry—manuscripts cannot be returned unless accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Printed in U.S.A., WIN is a member of the Underground Press Syndicate and Liberation News Service.



changes

CALIFORNIA FARM WORKERS PREPARE NEXT MOVE

Having settled their strike with California's grape tycoons, Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) have been propelled into a new phase of their struggle.

The same week that the grape growers signed with the union, the Teamsters Union settled a strike in the rich Salinas Valley, source of most of the nation's lettuce and carrots. The Salinas growers agreed that the Teamsters should represent the Valley's 5,000 farm workers for five years.

UFWOC's response was immediate. They had what they thought was a gentleman's agreement with the Teamsters: the Teamsters would represent cannery workers, UFWOC would represent farm workers, and neither would raid the other. UFWOC reports that Salinas Valley farm workers have been told they will lose their jobs if they don't sign Teamster cards, and that the foremen have been making these threats. UFWOC's idea about uniting all farm workers in a single union was dramatically undercut. The Teamster threat has now forced UFWOC to step up its organizing campaign.

Four UFWOC marches converged on Salinas on Sunday, August 2, where a rally of farm workers and supporters drew some 2,000 people. To shouts of "Huelga!" (Strike) Chavez brought the spirit of Delano and the grape strike to this largest political gathering in the Valley town in anyone's memory. He said the question of strike and boycott would have to be brought to the UFWOC membership, but implied the response would be favorable.

Chavez singled out two Valley firms as branches of national and international conglomerates: Fresh-Pic, a division of Purex Corp. (makers of Purex Bleach and Brillo soap-pads), and Inter-Harvest, a division of the United Fruit Company, well known for Chiquita bananas and an exploiter of labor throughout the hemisphere. United Fruit also owns A&W Root Beer and Baskin-Robbins Ice Cream.

Chavez emphasized that all Teamsters were not the enemy, rather it was a few Teamster officials who had sabotaged the gentlemen's agreement.

The evidence says that Salinas Valley farm workers, overwhelmingly Chicano, strongly prefer UFWOC representation over Teamster, and believe, with UFWOC, that the Teamster's contract is a sweetheart deal. If UFWOC had been wondering how to proceed in the wake of the grape victory, the question virtually answered itself.

—Todd Gitlin/LNS

PRISON VISITORS' SERVICE IN PENNSYLVANIA

Prison provides not an altogether easy existence for those on the inside of one of those big wall jobs or any of the other type prisons; neither is it one of easy living for their families and lovers on the outside. And one of the big hassles for those on the outside, is usually scraping together the money needed for transportation, hotels, etc. to travel to their loved ones inside the pens and spend the meager time allotted to them each month by the officials.

A group of people from the area around Lewisburg, Pa., which is inhabited by the Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary and the Allenwood Federal Prison camp, have realized some of the problems faced by visitors to the prisoners within, and have developed a project called the Prison Visitors' Service to help alleviate these problems. Basically, there are three stages to the project. The first concerns itself with the transportation of the visitors from the bus depot and airport to the prisons. Rather than the visitors having to dole out money for the expensive taxi ride from these two points to the prisons and back, free transportation would be arranged. Also, some visitors arrive a few hours before they are allowed into the prisons—facilities would be made available to them so they can rest and eat between the time of their arrival and the beginning of visiting hours. This part of the project has already been initiated on a limited basis.

As part of the second stage, a financial aid service would be set up to offset some of the transportation costs of those who cannot afford the expensive car, bus or plane trip to get to Lewisburg. And a miscellaneous fund would be available to meet any emergencies and unexpected expenses that may arise while visitors are in Lewisburg.

Stage three consists of trying to rent or buy a house which would serve as office space and a hospitality house. Those visitors who would plan on staying overnight, would be able to stay there rather than having to pay for a hotel room. Until this part of the project becomes a reality, visitors would be able to stay in the homes of people working with the project.

Needless to say, money is in great need so that all three stages of the project can be fulfilled. If you can help in any way, want more information, or are a visitor to the prisons, please write:

Prison Visitors' Service

P.O. Box 663

Lewisburg, Pennsylvania 17837

Pass the word along—we are here!

—Bruce Christianson

MARYLAND DRAFT BOARD FIRE

Reisterstown, Md., Aug. 20

An early morning fire damaged a draft board office in this suburb of Baltimore today. The Baltimore County police said the blaze was the work of arsonists. The fire did heavy damage to the office and most of its records. The police said that intruders apparently opened file drawers at random, doused them with gasoline and set them afire.

—Reuters

BLACK SIX ACQUITTED

Two years ago in May, Louisville had its long, hot summer. The West End, Louisville's Black ghetto, erupted in rioting. When the violence ended, the state of Kentucky placed six under charges of conspiracy to destroy private property. Their case became a major cause among those who felt the Black Six were being used to hide the real causes of the anger, the appalling conditions in Louisville's slums. With impetus from the Southern Conference Educational Fund and other groups many in Falls City rallied to the support of the Six. Because the Black Six had so much support in the Black com-

Please turn to page 27

THEY SHALL NOT BE MOVED

118 E. 11th Street looks like a normal New York Lower East Side tenement house on a fairly quiet block between 3rd and 4th Aves. Inside, the halls are clean and well lit. The apartments are large, in fairly good condition, with nice appliances. Recently, however, service has been decreased. The halls are no longer kept clean, and junkies and thieves are roaming around the hallways. Tin has been put on the windows of the five vacant apartments, and the whole building is looking run-down. In addition, there are plans for this building to be demolished completely, so that a luxury unit can be erected. To try and improve conditions in the building, and put a stop to the demolition plans, six families moved into the vacant apartments on Friday, July 10, around 11 p.m. These people were squatters, part of a rapidly growing, exciting new move-

they must be in the proper zoning area (which refers to density of people per square block.) E. 11th St. is presently in R-7 zoning (450 families per square block) and the landlord is waiting for R-10 zoning to go into effect (2000 families per square block.) While waiting for this to go through, the landlord does not rent apartments as they become vacant. This results in buildings full of empty apartments—an open invitation for junkies, thieves and drunks to start hanging around the hallways and breaking into the houses. At 118 E. 11th, at a time of severe housing shortage, there were six large 4-room apartments, with rents from 55-85 dollars, unrented.

On July 2, 1970, the tenants got together with Fran Goldin of the Metropolitan Council on Housing, and people from the Third Avenue Tenants, Artists and Business-



Photo by Karl Bissinger

ment, dealing with the housing problem in New York City.

Squatting originated in England. It grew out of a desperate need for housing, and people started to occupy abandoned buildings and castles throughout the country. The government responded by providing more housing; 65 to 80 percent of post-war housing in England was financed by the government. New York started picking up on it several months ago, first on the Upper West Side and then down on the Lower East Side. It is this area that I will discuss, since I was most directly involved in the actions.

There are over 50,000 apartments in New York, in fairly decent condition, with reasonable rents, which are vacant. Many landlords want to tear down these buildings and build luxury housing on the same site, in which apartments would go as high as \$150 per room. In order to do this,

mans' Association, and decided to move squatters into the building. The idea was to find families and single people, who needed a place to live, to move into the vacant apartments. The rent was to be collected and held in escrow for the landlord, if and when he decided to accept them as tenants. But it was more than just an apartment that these people were moving into—it was a commitment to an ideal and a movement. Eight families are involved, and by and large there was a real feeling of collective involvement, and support for each other. They moved in on Friday night, with the help of supporters, tenants, and organizers of the movement.

On Saturday afternoon a big rally was held on the block, to get support from the rest of the 11th Street residents. There was a great deal of enthusiasm generated at the rally. The general theme was: we won't let the

land
hous
ed to
and
O
occu
day
morr
form
him
Wedn
serve
mon
law
arms
John
by si
land
to pl
point
fact,
"kno
land
thou
out
at th
caus
apar
and
dy w
apar
118
rap
For
sides
ise v
whe
and
unti
iatin
it ga
com
Mon
from
stay
wou
men
secu
refu
mar
seve
to le
deac
be p
set l
T
East
morr
15th
in, a
are
buil

landlords tear down our buildings in order to build luxury housing that we can't afford to move into. People responded to the call for support of the squatters with money and volunteers.

Once the squatters were in, the apartments had to be occupied constantly. Supporters stayed in each apartment, day and night, replacing each other in shifts. On Monday morning we sent a telegram to the landlord, officially informing him that the squatters had moved in and asking him to grant them legal residence. Nothing happened until Wednesday, at which time the landlord sent a summons server to serve us with criminal trespass and burglary summons. We were instructed by our lawyers (from a radical law collective) not to open the door, but to just stick our arms out and take the piece of paper. It was made out to John or Jane Doe, and read "known to the complainant by sight". When we appeared in court that Friday, the landlord and his lawyer were there. They asked the judge to place us all under arrest immediately, but our lawyer pointed out that they had to first prove that we were, in fact, the people to whom the summons had been served & "known by sight" to the landlord. Of course neither the landlord nor the summons server could identify us, although they tried to convince the judge that if we held out our arms he could identify us. Even the judge smiled at that inanity. Eventually, the case was thrown out because there was no proof of identity. We went back to the apartments, and that evening the landlord returned to try and serve the summons once again. This time we were ready with about 30 tenants, squatters and supporters in the apartments. The landlord was intercepted on the stoop of 118 E. 11th Street, and the confrontation turned into a rap session between the landlord and his lawyer, and us. For an hour we talked, persuaded, cajoled, yelled—both sides trying to convince the other, and finally a compromise was decided upon—a moratorium for the weekend, where we promised not to move in any more squatters and they promised to remove the police and leave us alone—until Monday night. At that time, there was to be a negotiating meeting with the landlord. This was good for us, as it gave us the weekend to get more contacts with the community, and more press coverage for the movement. Monday night's meeting resulted in the following proposal from the landlord: that the squatters would be allowed to stay until December, although not as legal tenants, and would pay a lump sum of 80 dollars for the 4-room apartments and 100 for the 5-room apartments, plus two months security which would be returned when they left. If they refused to leave, the security would be used to pay for marshalls to forcibly evict them. The proposal was bad on several accounts—if it was agreed to, we would be agreeing to let the landlord throw us out of the apartments in the dead of winter, with no place to go, and we would also be paying more than the legal rent on those apartments, set by the city. At this time, negotiations are still going on.

There were two other squatter actions on the Lower East Side. The 13th Street actions got a civil court summons, had a trial by jury, lost it, and are appealing. The 15th St. squatters got busted two days after they moved in, and after negotiations with the landlord and the city, are living in another house while the original squatter building is being renovated for them to move back into.

The implications of the squatter movement can be very far reaching. There has been lots of publicity on them, and the city is realizing that they are not to be treated lightly. Eventually they will have to understand that if they can't provide decent housing for us, low rents, we will take the matters into our own hands.

The struggle is a potent one. It deals with a basic human right—for each person to have a decent place to live. And it is growing. There are three other buildings that I know of with plans for squatters actions, and more in other areas. On July 24, the *NY Times* had an article announcing that the city was declaring a moratorium on evictions for demolition purposes. They attributed their action directly to the squatters. That's nice, but it's not enough. Hopefully, the various squatters buildings will come together and draw up joint demands to the city—that there be an end to the demolition of habitable housing, that the 50,000 vacant apartments be opened up, and that the squatting be legalized. If we keep growing at the rate we have been, these demands will have to be dealt with.

Sally Ann Goldin

The current wave of squatting in empty New York City apartments had its pioneers this spring—150 families who occupied City-owned buildings on the west side and Mrs. Kinble who, with her 9 children, moved into a building owned by Columbia University.

Latest squatters include:

—6 families that moved into vacant apartments in buildings owned by the NY Eye & Ear Infirmary on June 5. The apartments, in modern, sound buildings on 13 St. between 1st and 2nd Aves., were vacant because the hospital plans to tear the buildings down and build nurses' residences (at \$70 a room) and a doctors parking lot.

The squatters got the support of tenants on the block, who were being forced out by the hospital's plans and who were worried sick about where they would go. Because some of the apartments were vacant, there had been robberies, drug addicts in hallways and on the roofs, and the landlord's agent, RMA, had been cutting services to the bone. He had even created leaks in the plumbing, to make it more difficult for the tenants to stay.

Higher morale on E. 13 St.

Move-ins by the squatters lifted the morale of the whole block and made the tenants feel they could change the hospital's plans, if all the apartments were occupied and the tenants were united. They suggested alternate sites to the hospital—build over the doctor's parking lot & convert the old Eye & Ear hospital to nurses' quarters, and use the air rights over the old hospital. The hospital has refused to even discuss these proposals.

At a trial of the squatters July 15-21, attorneys for the squatters turned the trial into a full-fledged attack on City housing policy which allows decent apartments to be kept off the market and which allows demolition of sound housing during a time of the worst housing shortage in the city's history.

The squatters lost in court but the decision will be appealed.

Squatters on E. 11th St.

Then, on July 11, 8 families moved into empty spacious four and five-room apartments at 120 and 118 East 11 St.

Here, the landlord has 20 vacancies out of 60 apartments in four buildings. He is waiting for the City to raise the zoning limit to R-10 along this 3rd. Ave. strip. This would increase the number of apartments he could put in a new building and make it profitable for him to tear the old buildings down. The new apartments would rent at \$150 a room a month or more.

Tenants still in the buildings formed a committee and selected their squatters whom they call "Refugees in Residence." The families included a young couple with a 3-month son and a woman with 5 kids—blacks, whites and Puerto Ricans. This was the first squatting in a privately-owned building and tenants all over the city are watching with great interest.

Squatters on West 15th

On July 17, a group of tenants moved into an empty building on W. 15th St. The building is being 'renovated' into luxury apartments. Three days later, they were evicted, roughly and abruptly, and arrested.

The next day, the tenants and their supporters, including MCH and the Chelsea Save-Our-Homes Committee, went to City officials and demanded that the City take over the building. After the visits and picketing of the landlord's home, the City agreed to buy the building for low-rent public housing after the owner renovates it.

Squatters in Morningside Heights

On Saturday, July 25, another move-in took place, and by the next day 53 families had occupied two buildings, 500 W. 11th St. and 1046 Amsterdam Ave., which Morningside House planned to tear down to build a home for affluent white elderly people. Within a week over 200 prominent individuals and organizations from the area came out in support of the squatters and negotiations were taking

place between Morningside House and the squatters. An agreement was reached to relocate all the squatters into good housing in the area if the supporting organizations would move no more squatters into the buildings. At a public rally called to announce this victory twenty-five families, carried away by their desperate need for decent housing and the strength of the movement, dashed into the buildings and took over 25 more apartments. Evictions are now being threatened but the spontaneity of the movement is obvious!

What it all means

With the help of the Metropolitan Council on Housing's Squatters Committee and a good deal of spontaneous movement, groups from throughout the city are getting help moving in squatters. People are desperate for apartments. Yet, at the same time, apartments are torn down for—

- * City-sponsored "urban renewal"
- * Expansion by hospitals & colleges
- * Luxury housing
- * Office buildings, parking lots
- * Luxury rehabilitation & renovation

The squatters are breaking this scandal wide open for everyone to see. The squatters are taking matters into their own hands. If this movement grows, it can reverse the demolition policy and stop it and also force the building of low and genuine middle-income housing on vacant or badly used commercial land.

We are demanding city take-over of ALL buildings in which squatters are living and conversion to public ownership with tenant control. A united squatters movement can provide the clout to force such a radical and meaningful approach on the city.

JOIN IT! Call Met Council (WI 7-6027) if you want to welcome squatters into empty apartments in your building. Or if you have found it impossible to find a place to live, call and sign up as a squatter.

Frances Goldin

Martin Zurla/Studio 70



TH
passe
it rea
seven
hy w
ition
onstr
anach
an, b
tinua
unrec
C
blood
to th
Cour
tippe
thick
over
towa
to vi
le ha
ing g
came
did n
arou
test,
blood
migh
gerly
taste
tastin
clini
some
ainly
togra
mong



Henry Gordillo

MORE SPILT BLOOD IN NEW YORK

The most common question from passers-by as well as the press was "Is it real blood?" Thursday, August 13th, seven persons expressed their sympathy with Dan Berrigan and their opposition to our inhuman society in a demonstration which may very well be an anachronism but which was also human, beautiful, political, good and a continuation of struggle in these times so unreceptive to opposition.

Carrying two gallon jugs of steer's blood each in paper bags, they walked to the top of the Foley Square Federal Courthouse, uncovered their jugs and tipped them over releasing a stream of thick red blood which moved slowly over the steps out onto the sidewalk, toward the people who had gathered to view the spectacle. After four people had been quickly arrested by building guards, a score of federal marshalls came out to stand on the portico. They did not arrest anybody but just stood around grinning, raping us and the protest, laughing because it was not their blood on the steps and they knew it might soon be ours. One of them gingerly dunked a finger in the blood and tasted it. Soon several marshalls were tasting the blood probably to provide clinical, definite macabre evidence at some later trial that, by God!, it certainly was blood spilt on the steps. Photographers and sight-seers walked among the remaining demonstrators.

The marshalls ordered photographers off the steps and took one slow moving photographer into custody. Though he was released, I thought it pointed out the hypocrisy of the system until I realized that the system was being completely honest but that I was being innocent. They're out to get us because we are unnecessary for their business and unwilling to prostitute ourselves for their pleasure. Merely our existence antagonizes them.

It was taking so long to get arrested

as planned that one demonstrator wondered out loud, "What are we waiting for? We can all go home for all it matters". Finally, tired of tasting our blood and refusing to accept the seriousness of the protest, the marshalls walked over to the last demonstrators, asked them if they had spilt the blood, and upon receiving a positive answer, the marshalls good naturedly placed their arms around the demonstrators' shoulders and, like some scene out of a big brother commercial, led them inside the building.

Other spectators walked by, marveled at the scene and then whispered, awe-struck, "They all got caught; none of them got away." This time the protesters agreed to get arrested; maybe next time we ought to "get-away" so that we don't build up the image of the omnipotent state. We were too nice. Berrigan jumped bail to build the resistance; the gentle people of Indochina steeped in Buddhist tolerance and pacifism have begun political struggle. Here, we've all objected to the system in various ways, the point now is to change it.

On the portico, a black maintenance man in an antiseptic white uniform was ordered out onto the steps to hose the blood off under the direction of a white marshall. The streets flowed with diluted blood—Pontius Pilate attempting to wash his hands.

Henry Gordillo



THE SOLDIERS

Part I: The Men

For what comfort numbers can afford,
we huddle together, mute, frowning,
appearing neither fearful nor bored
over the quick loss of our freedom.
No longer will we live at random,
for now our simple lives have meaning
although we don't matter. Some things
are more important, the noncoms tell
us. The world crawls like our trucks, destined
for a resolution of those things.
"Draftee soldiers, we ain't unkind,"
one says, then laughs. "But war is hell!"
It's just a game now, but tomorrow
a tougher game begins. Intuit
what we may, we are not soldiers yet.
A killer's knowledge can't be borrowed.
We must learn what soldiers can't forget:
To learn properly, we must do it.

Part II: The Place

The barracks are roofs and barren walls,
no more. All else is in addition
to their blankness. "Everybody's pals
in this outfit," the Sergeant says.
"All equal. I don't want no pissin'
and moanin', neither The Man nor me.
If you got problems, the chaplain's hour
is yours, not mine. I got no problems
but you, and you ain't no problems.
My job is to make killers of you,
and I will. Please do not misconstrue
what I have said. And take your showers."
So we are assembled; numbered first
then named, society's unseasoned
green youths, bound for an object lesson
in an art that never was an art.
But who's to say, if worst comes to worst,
that numbers are bad? They set us apart
and give us an identity
we couldn't feel in a battery
of similar names. Unfamiliar
as our numbers are, less familiar
are the shaven faces and shaven heads
bordering us in camphorized beds.



Part III: The Training

Late spring finds us inhaling the green
smell of leaves from behind spaded earth.
Each raw trench, fresher than a new grave,
opens in mock-warfare and gives birth
to yelling trainees, while a lean
tanned Medic looks on, impassive, suave.
But uncertainty matches resolve.
We are never allowed to forget
impassive, foreign, yellow faces
that wait with Oriental patience.
They are the problem we must solve:
We practice harder with our bayonets.
The burning days engender summer
and summer brings tanks. In earthen pits
reinforced with logs, we crouch and wait.
Fifty tons of armor eclipses
the worlds we occupy: we shiver,
inhale dust, and spit it out as mud.
Our training ends. Now our final end
focuses on a paper command
that means more than God to most of us.
Those who study war from high places
deploy us now, individualized rats
to individual races.

Part IV: The War

From the dark immobilization
of earth bunkers, our probing patrols
infiltrate jungles. A cold moonlight
is smothered by the trees, and we mold
ourselves to dark brush, hoping to sight
an unseen enemy. And they will come.
As soldiers, we forget tomorrow,
and finally, nothing matters
as much as it should. We have today,
and by the grace of Generals, a stay
of execution. Our lives narrow
around living's uncertain center.
It isn't likely a solution
to human problems will come of this,
but soldiers can't be human and be
soldiers. Patrols end. Bodies are placed
in blank graves. There, past human praise,
they lie in stiffened resolution.

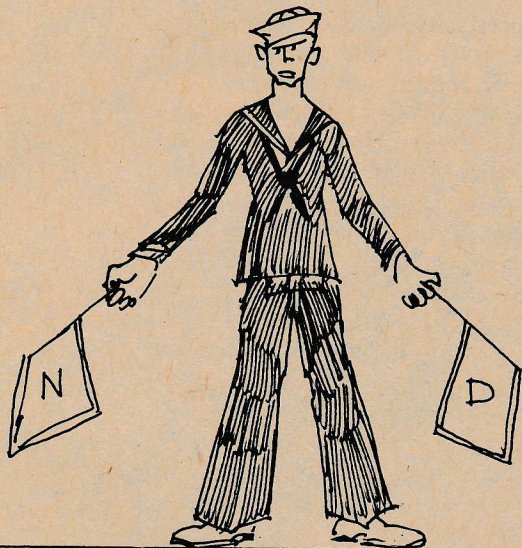
—William Childress





SEMAPHORE and SOME ARE AGAINST


The now famous peace symbol, adopted in 1958 at the Aldermaston Peace Marches in England is a stylization of the semaphore signal letters "N" and "D" for Nuclear Disarmament. Many libertarian and radical pacifists began wearing it reversed in 1961, signifying the semaphore signal letters, "U" and "D" for either Unilateral Disarmament or "Universal Disarmament."

But the symbol does have a history which long antedates its use by the peace movement.

In 1960 research was undertaken to ascertain actual earlier use of the Peace Symbol. What was uncovered at that time follows:



In the ancient Runic writing, common to the Scandinavian and Celtic lands, the symbol  signifies "Man Dying". Contained within a circle,  the symbol signifies "Man Dying in harmony with the established forces of Nature, to be reborn." Likewise, the symbol  signifies "Man Worshiping." Contained within a circle,  the symbol signifies "Man affirming Life in harmony with the Cosmos, the established forces of Nature." In both cases, the symbol is extremely positive, an affirmation of the place of the person in a creative Cosmos, and from this ancient use as well as from its later derivation from the Semaphore letter, it is most appropriate to signify the fact that surrounded by forces of hatred, death, and destruction we must choose love, life and creativity. In the words of the Old Testament prophet: "I have set before you this day life and death, a blessing and a curse. Therefore, choose life!"

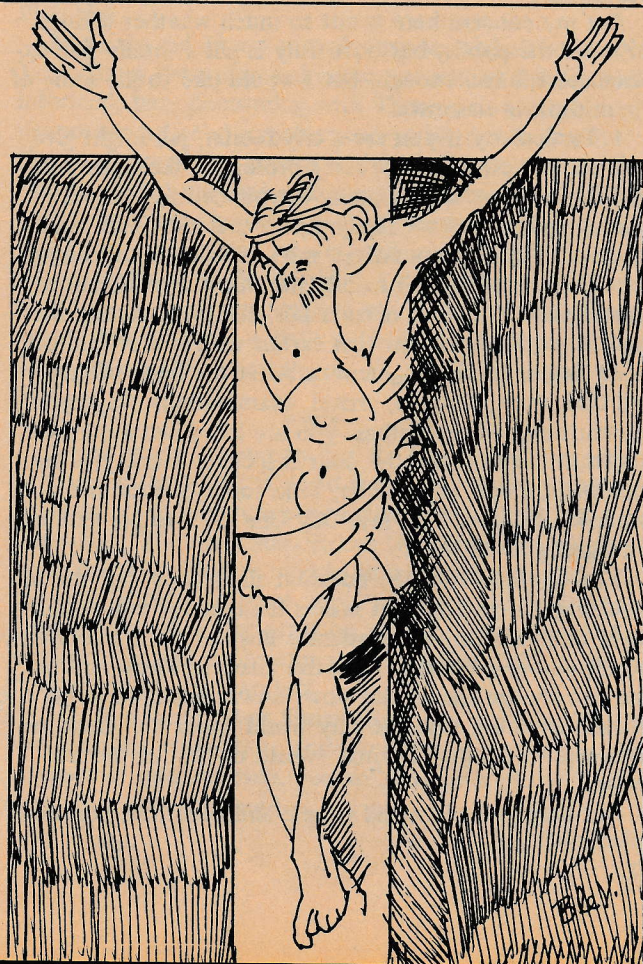
It is quite true that certain Medieval writers chose to designate a symbol similar to the Peace symbol but not identical, viz:  as being a "Devil's Foot," and "Sign of Witchcraft." If one investigates the history of the Medieval "Witchcraft" trials, one finds that in most cases the persons accused were merely following one of the old Nature religions, and were persecuted for primarily political reasons. The Church, in other cases, borrowed heavily from the Mystery religions and the so-called Pagan Nature religions, in the symbolism of the Mass, the Vestments, the adoration

of the Blessed Virgin, the cults of the Saints, etc. and which had maintained that all religions found their perfect fulfillment and culmination in the Christ Event, the Person of Jesus and the Mystery of Golgotha, saying with St. Augustine "The True Religion has always existed, even from the foundations of the worlds, until the coming of Christ Jesus, from which time on that same True Religion has been called Christian." That same Church, when it desired to persecute persons to achieve their property and or when persons persons persisted in carrying on the practice of their Old Religion, maligned them and accused them of being in league with the Devil and servants of the Antichrist, etc.

Of course, prior to the reign of Constantine, when the Church both became legitimized and began blessing violence it was possible for a person to be both a practicing Christian and still remain an initiate in the Mysteries or in the old Nature religion. It was the first Council of Nicea, which also violated the Gospel by allowing Christians to bear arms, which laid the groundwork for these later charges of "paganism" and "witchcraft."

If, as is said by many even within the Churches today, the Movement is that which presents the sole possibility of recalling Christianity to its revolutionary roots and dedicating it anew to the struggle for peace, freedom and human dignity, then it is indeed appropriate that it is that same Peace Movement which has, as it were, "baptised" the ancient Runic writing of the Nature religions and made it a part of that rebirth of the radical Faith.

Rt. Rev. Michael Francis Itkin, B.L.C.



The Fringe Benefits of Prison

There are many good reasons for avoiding jail and only one bad one: being afraid of it. In our white middle-class America this fear of jail is widespread and a voluntary going to jail is beyond comprehension.

We can understand Russian revolutionaries being jailed by the Czar, and Gandhians by the British Raj. And we understand (and denounce) the jailing of blacks here and in South Africa, Jews in Hitler's Germany, anarchists and Catalonian separatists in Spain, Nazarenes (and other pacifist Christians) in Yugoslavia, rightwing deviationists in Peking, leftwing deviationists in Czechoslovakia, gypsies in Britain, antifascists in Greece—it all feels right everywhere but here.

But political prisoners in America? We don't really believe it. If we did, we wouldn't act so surprised. Our minds know better! We see through Washington's denials just as we see through the denials of Lisbon, Moscow and Saigon. But our reactions of surprise and outrage are possible only if we still believe the great American myth of political freedom.

My political assumptions are that there is a great chunk of middle-America which has been moved and can still be moved by genuine humanitarian concerns; that we critics and activists have, by and large, been more involved in displaying our disgust than in creating dialogue with middle-America; and that one of the most direct ways of doing this is by going to jail. Since, to them, the American myth is still valid, they can explain middle-class whites voluntarily going to jail only in terms of personal integrity—a very rare commodity in American politics. At that point many will listen.

But my concern here is not so much whether jailings do move the public, but how truly is jail a totally bad experience? It's bad enough, but I would like to list some of the mitigating elements.

1. Particularly if you are a citydweller, jail might give you the first adult chance for a prolonged facing of yourself. Here we are so constantly surrounded by escapes from ourselves that we rarely get to that time and place of quiet to examine ourselves and our values and assumptions. (Not that jail isn't mainly life in a fishbowl, but in federal prisons there is often a fair chance of getting the kind of work assignment that carries with it a private cell.

At first it can be frightening. After the fever of arrest and trial, transportation, arrival, examinations, fingerprinting, showers, prison clothes—you are led down a corridor, shown into a cell, and the door is locked. There you are: four walls, a cot, table, chair, sink, toilet, a door and a window—and you. You say, Day One—999 to go, and how am I going to do them?

You try to answer the question all at once, but the total change in environment makes it easier for you to discover that there are no deadlines. Busy exploring your new world, you give yourself tentative answers, knowing that you can change them. Life slows down, horizons shrink—not all bad, anymore than the tiny world under a microscope is “worse” than the “normal” world or that of the telescope.

Out here you can avoid people and situations you don't



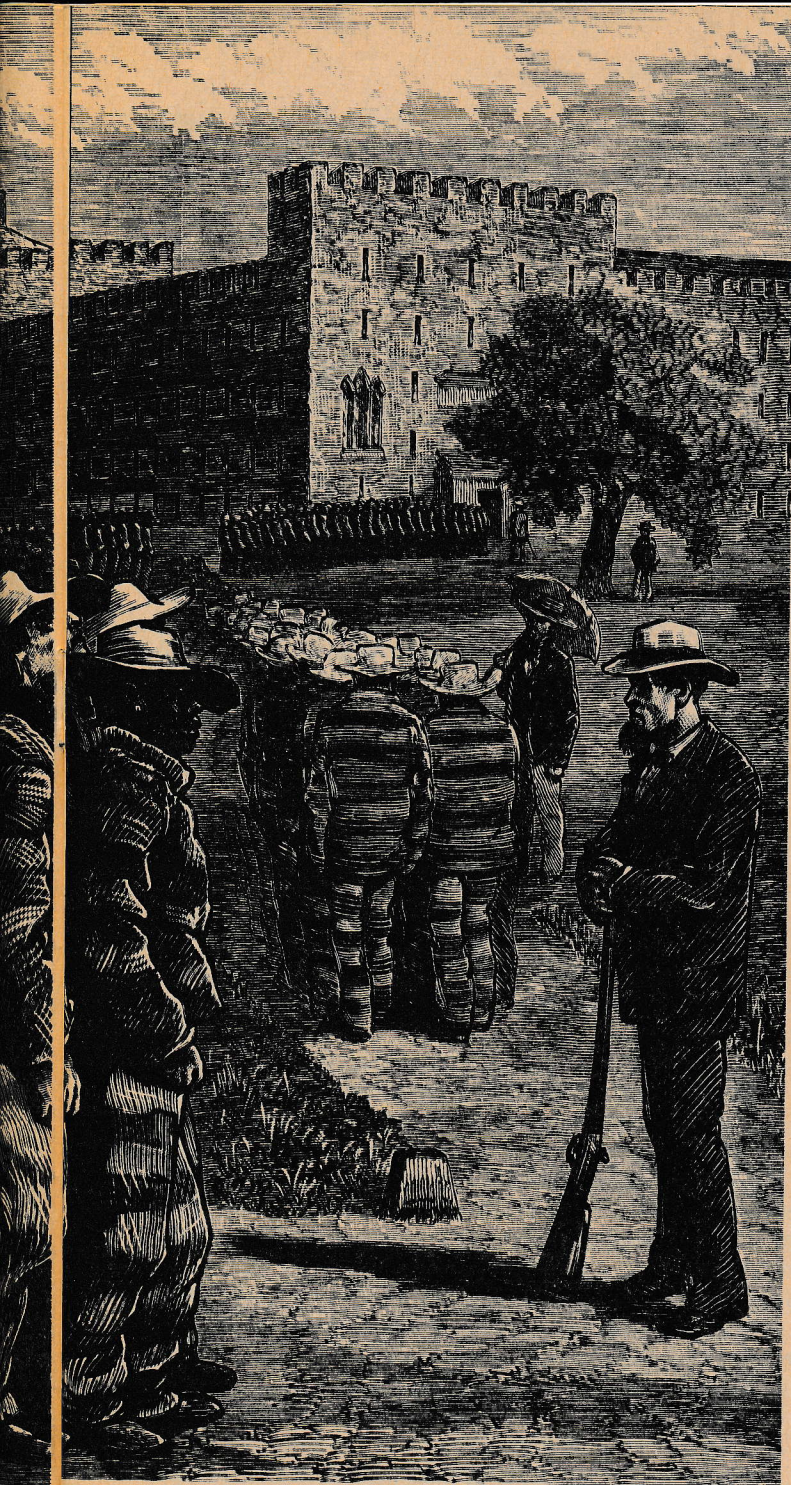
like; there you have to learn to deal with them. Here the beguilements are almost infinite in number and variety; there, much more limited. Since we were always locked in during bad weather, I soon began to yearn for the feel of rain on my face—and still relish it. In a life full of pastries, one forgets the taste of good bread.

2. For the first time you might find yourself free of doubts and guilt feelings about whether you're doing enough against the war and the draft, for the revolution, or however you express your goals. Now the record reads clear, for yourself as well as for the world to see. Or, at least, more clearly than before.

3. The clear record stays with you. When I stand up be-

fore
as on
civil r
I hav
this i
much
Vietn

Ur
ment
withi
jail se
withi
Germ



fore a group of strangers, youngsters, and am introduced as one who has done time—and some of the anti-war and civil rights offenses are mentioned—three-fourths of what I have to say is already said before I open my mouth. If this is true for one who resisted the anti-Hitler war, how much more is it, and will it be, true for resisters to the Vietnam war?

Unless you are not really divorced from the establishment—and dream of ultimately finding a comfortable niche within its structure—you needn't fear that a principled jail sentence will ruin your future. I even expect that within a few years after the end of the war, many "good Germans" will start claiming that they, too, had opposed

the war in Vietnam. (Look at the growing number of confessions by former LBJ cronies.)

4. Jail may be as close as you will ever get to a situation of identity with that 90% of humanity which is not white, middle-class and comfortable. Our Southern black brothers were right when they asked us to leave the South, saying that no matter how concerned and committed we were, no matter how much we put up with, we could always go home. In prison you can't. It is still not the same for us as for the broken, the black, the unschooled. But we begin to feel in our bones the misery, the anguish, the hopelessness of the suppressed. This is important for two reasons:

Personally, our jailmates become individual human beings to us instead of the neat stereotypes and statistics we pick up in sociology classes. You begin to lose the condescension for "our poor, unfortunate brethren." In its place you discover men of flesh and blood with that variety of lovable and rotten qualities that people have everywhere. To learn how to relate to people and their problems more on their terms and less on ours—this alone is almost worth the price of admission.

Politically, this brings us close to what may well be the major human conflict now and for the next few decades: the growing rebellion of those many who have nothing—within the nation and around the world—against the few who are fat and comfortable. Your lifespan is apt to be more full of that polarization than less, and—whether or not you like being white, middle-class, American—building a more decent world will in part depend on how many human bridges there are between the questionable lucky few and the many.

5. Some fringe benefits:

In some states, a felon is denied the right to vote. This is particularly useful when the choice is between Blah and Blah-blah.

Not only did I have enough time to read all of the New York Times every day and come out extraordinarily well-informed, but—discovering with Thoreau how much every newspaper is like every other except for minor details—I've hardly read any papers in the twenty years since then. This has saved me time and money, and has saved ecologically important chunks of good timberland for mankind.

I know several men who started work on the Great American Novel while in prison. I don't know of any completed work, but you, too, can try. In twenty months in prison (half of them with extra free time because of a work strike) I did not exhaust the Sandstone prison library.

* * *

Avoid prison if you can, but if what is most beautiful in you—most important, most holy—says that you must go, then go with a somewhat lighter tread. Read E.E. Cummings' *The Enormous Room* (Modern Library) wherein he describes his few months in a French prison during the first World War. More important than the description (as magnificent as that is) is his attitude, one almost of adventure. I've met no healthier, more self-assured, more buoyant approach than his!

Jail, like many other things around us, was not designed for your joy, edification, and growth. But if you approach it aware of its potentials, you will change some of its dross into your own pure gold.

Igal Roodenko

NOTES FROM THE UNDERGROUND OF PETTY CRIME

I teach a class of reading, writing, and discussion in a short-term county prison. The men in the group are mostly black, mostly drug addicts and almost all many-time repeaters. In general they like talking and reading, but many mistrust writing for a variety of reasons. When I asked them to write about prison and themselves, the writing poured in. This should not have surprised me, because I have learned that there is a large and complex literary culture shared by prisoners in all institutions, but unknown outside. One of my first students presented me with a ten-page ballad, sentimental and obscene, called "The Fall", about the perfect prostitute, the poet's abandonment of her and her revenge—his fall (or conviction). A sort of epic with many local variants, the poem is a communal endeavor (to which different prisoners lend personal touches. "The Fall" is one of a genre of poems called "toasts", all highly inflected poems which celebrate, rationalize, and laugh at the life they know and the special arts of the professional prisoner. "The Signifying Monkey" incites, among other things, the lion to fight the elephant; "Mexicali Rose", I'm told "is about a pimp who becomes a simp." There is a lot of individual poetry written as well, some about the fabulous lies and dreams spun in stir.

Writing about oneself in prison without the comforting support of these familiar forms may be more painful, but it is as natural. Whatever else is true, prison, for men who live in the streets, provides a rare and isolated opportunity for reflection.

I suggested that they describe prison life and attempt to define its functions in society. Many made the point that for them the prison isn't so different from the streets. *"Busted again and back in the slams! Man, this is a bitch. I thought I was getting over pretty alright, but here it is, the fall is for real. The same with the 90 days the judge gave me. All the fellas put me on the pan when I returned and I took it good-naturedly, outwardly that is. Inside I was one angry stud. Back in the stinking ass Penitentiary. 90 damn days to spend just surviving, waiting till it's over and I'm out again. No way to make time serve me because here they have nothing really that a man can improve himself by. You come in, get processed and receive the khaki pants and shirt. Then you get in population and into the bid. That is, if you're not kicking the "Jones" and need medical attention. In that case, if you perform long enough and loud enough you might get it. As for the food, the quality is passable most times but the quantity is nearly always insufficient. The cats working in the kitchen make nice money selling sandwiches on the side and there is no lack of customers. A lot of the dudes take up*

the same hustles they had in the street. The gambling, the dope-selling and shooting, pimping on faggots, taking off other inmates' cells, conning the police. It's almost the same ghetto thing here as most of the dudes were confronted with on the street. A bit more confined but no less savage. The man knows what is going on but as long as his rules are outwardly obeyed, as long as he can maintain a surface calm, then these things are seen and not seen, so to speak. I found out through my numerous visits back and forth to different sites of incarceration that there's really a lot of intelligent cats in jail. I think too what a strong force we could be against the evils of the System if we could motivate our energies to that end in a unified way. The man tries to cause conflicts in our ranks, by such petty means as coddling the cooperative ones and downing the cats who express their disapproval . . . I can truthfully only define prison in one way and that is, as a place where the society hides away those who are most qualified to point out to it the mistakes and injustices inherent within the System."

Others emphasize the stagnation they see at the heart of the Corrections system. One said, "Corrections isn't geared to change you, but to arrest your growth and make you repeat." Another writes, "The institutions are set up to keep the prisoners quiet and out of trouble while he is a resident there. No thought is given to the inmate as a man, an individual with problems. And no measures are taken to prepare the man to face these problems upon release."

The jail program aims only at running a smooth show. After work, you have Ping Pong, T.V., movies, and other assorted amusements to help you pass your spare time in idle abandon. As long as you are content, you are happy and quiet. This pleases the prison officials, because this is running a good show.

Just is being done to rehabilitate or prepare a man for taking a responsible position in society is quite beyond me. I can see no difference in the man when he leaves, except he's a little older, he's full of good intentions, false hopes, and future fears. And the fear is well justified, for what hope of a future does he really have, how is he any different than from when he came in? The most he could possibly have attained while he was here is a high school equivalency diploma. And the beneficial value of that is overshadowed and nullified by the conviction record he now bears.

"Time has stood still for the inmate, worse, it has regressed for him, he has to run twice as fast to get half as far . . . Many of the other skills available lead nowhere, because they are all union-held positions. And the union will not have you. You are scarred for life as surely as if you wore a number ta-

toed on your forehead." In a discussion of prison conditions, another prisoner used a curious expression: "I possess a great deal of larceny". I asked him to explain, and he said "They have me in a position where I have to steal my manhood or by force have it accepted."

I asked the men to write about why they were there, not in terms of charges and convictions, but in a larger sense. In response, a couple of the white prisoners have touched on the Oriental philosophy which is their main interest. One writes about self-denial and resolves "to remember and nurture the memories of unpleasantness, thereby foiling the intent and purposes of the incarceration system. The system of rewards, of pleasures and punishments. For all that is sweet is not good, and all that is bitter is not bad. By taking my punishment and embracing it all the more fervently and lovingly because it is my chosen companion. An exercise in love." Another white prisoner hints in a different way that conviction served a psychological need: "Curiosity played a large part in my coming to jail since this is my first arrest and somehow I knew this would be the best thing for me at this time. But most of all I was tired. Tired of carrying a lunch pail every day, tired of rules, war, and the semi-fascist society we're living in, so I turned to drugs and crime to obtain them. That's why I'm here."

The sense that external factors are as decisive as internal ones goes deeper with the black prisoners, even when they begin by denying it. "If I was to tell you I'm here because of my environment, I would be lying to you and me. The reason I'm here and most other people is because we don't have anything useful to do and because we are trying to be or live up to someone else's idea. For the time that I have spent in Elmira Reformatory I have gotten a more open mind about myself and others. I have looked the situation head on. But first, let me point out to you, being young and living in an age of machines brings a whole lot of problems. 1, there's little to do with your time; 2, you have too many drugs flying around; and, 3, there's too many stores and shopping areas to steal. This is just an outline of mine and others' situation. To try to understand this more would for me to write a book. That I do not have in mind for another year or two."

Ten years older than this writer, a repeater sees the double problem in a more political light:

I can't really see why it is I am in jail again. I'm not referring to the crime of which I was adjudged but to the real underlying reason as to why I got into the position to be confronted by the commercialized workings of this country's judicial system. I feel as though I had a lot of things in my favor when I was outside and I realize there were a lot of people willing to help me, with no thought of personal gain other than the satisfaction of seeing me intelligently and successfully applying myself. Yet the fact remains I am again here in the penitentiary serving 90 days. It's a prime example of the type of injustice a person like myself, black, poor and possessing a past criminal record, can expect. I'm referring to the fact that on the same charge for which I this time was sentenced to 90 days, I received a one year sentence on my last bust. A comparison of my circumstances then and now shows that then I was out of a job, using drugs and stealing heavily. Circumstances now were identical and yet I was given a lesser sentence, possibly due to the fact that I was attending college but still, this tells me a lot about the consistency of justice in America. If my attending college did

influence the judge's decision, I ask myself, then suppose I had been a little more prominent a personage or had a bale of cash? Chances are that I would have made bail and not ever seen jail. So, to what some would consider abstract reasoning, score another point, in that no argument can persuade me to ever believe that the "double standard of justice for some and pseudo-justice for others" is not a blunt fact. My major problem, I believe, is that I compulsively continue to commit individual acts of rebellion that seem to get me nowhere but back in jail. I have been jailing and living the life of the streets for a long time and I mention this because I believe that I am the sum total of my experience. The fact that I am motivated by this and tend to identify with what I have been doing for most of my life, I know is unfortunate for me, but also it is very hard to avoid. Like Pavlov's dogs, I have been conditioned to a way of life and when the bell rings, I unthinkingly respond to it. I struggle daily to break this pattern."

Another tries to explain why freedom didn't work for him.

Last year it was my disadvantage to be released on parole. I had no meaningful program to help motivate staying free.

"Upon leaving this prison, I didn't have any real strong feelings about anything, except I was going to see my daughter, which at the time was my only real enjoyment, also the reason I had motivated myself to learning as much as I can about the people in the country, as well as myself.

"When I did arrive home, I was picked up by the police, who stated they had a warrant for my arrest. When checked out, it was found to have been dismissed. My feeling at the time was to get a job, so I could be left alone.

"The very next day, after picking up my clothes from my mother's, my father and I were on our way home. He was asking me what my plans were. I had none except finding a job, which I told him. I was again stopped by the police and asked what I had in my bags. I wanted to grab his gun and kill him right there, but I merely said I didn't think it was his business to which he replied that I was to accompany him to the station. I was about to refuse since I felt he had no reason to stop me. Everything perverted that I believe possible, I wish on him. To me he was every white person in the world, whom I had learned to dislike in the last year or so. My father asked me to go ahead and he would come along. I knew he was disturbed. (Not at any time has my father been involved with the police, and although he knows I am not an angel of any kind, the police are no better. He feels I should have never gotten involved with the police from the start. I guess every father feels his son should know better and if he's black that's a fact.) I guess this was my real reason for being as angry as I was at that moment.

"The next morning I went to the State employment. After pulling my file, a great revelation took place. "You are a drug addict," she told me, to which I replied I had just returned from jail, also my problem was now I needed a job. She in turn told me she would have to get a statement from jail, stating I was off drugs. I said to myself, "Amazing!" She then informed me in the meantime she would have me tested to see what I was best able to do. She then made a call, and told me I would be tested in two weeks. Two weeks and nothing to do but be on the street to an addict is like putting a match to fuse with dynamite at the other end. At that very moment I saw my path leading to where I am now writing this."

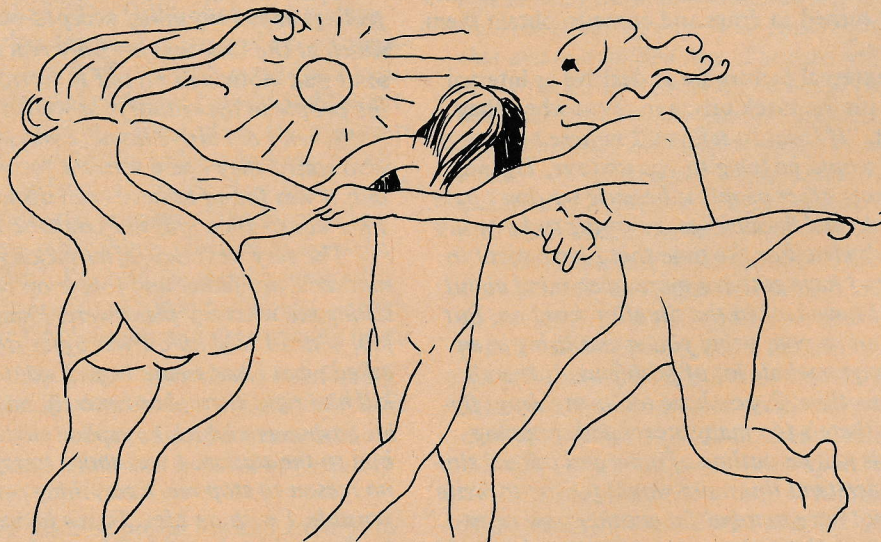
a world without prisons

After the revolution, let us hope, prisons simply would not exist—if by prisons we mean places that could be experienced by the men and women in them at all as every place that goes by that name now is bound to be experienced. All prisons that have existed in our society to date put people away as no human being should ever be put away. I tried to write about this in *PRISON NOTES*. They attempt a kind of insane magic—attempt to wish the “criminal” out of existence, because he is a problem to society. This not only commits an outrage (casts prisoners out of the human race) but is absurd of course, because the prisoners—unless they are in for life—return to society. And they return, after this experience—unless they are particularly hardy of spirit, which happily, some men and women are—not “rehabilitated” but wounded in their selfhood.

Of course it can be said of jails, too, that they try—by punishing the troublesome—to deter others. No doubt in certain instances this deterrence actually works. But generally speaking it fails conspicuously. There is one more thing that they can be said to attempt—that is, to

Before she had been given adequate medical attention or even allowed the rest that she needed, she was forced to go down to the police station for questioning. There she told the police that she doubted that she could identify her assailants, and was reluctant to try, as she didn't believe in punishment. But they would not let her leave. And so she had to endure now a prolonged second violation—their bullying questioning. No concern for the one who has been hurt. Only the one obsessive concern—to find someone to punish.

After the revolution, it might well remain necessary to place people where they could not do harm to others. But the one under restraint should be cut off from the rest of society as little as possible. There should be no censorship of mail. Family and friends should be allowed to visit at will—in fact, to move in with the prisoners if they wished. And if safety permitted, the prisoner should be allowed to make visits outside. He—or she—should be allowed to live as happy and productive a life as possible. The point would be to seek how to mend his relationship to society. These non-prisons



place people who are doing harm to others where they cannot do that harm. Though more often they put people who are doing harm to themselves—for example, drug addicts and alcoholics (those without money, that is)—where still more harm will come to them. After the revolution, surely the only good reason for institutions that could still be called prisons—because they take people and place them under restraint—is this reason: wanting to keep people from harming others.

But if institutions of restraint might still be necessary, they should no longer be institutions of punishment at the same time. Punishment cannot heal spirits, can only break them.

What would these institutions of restraint be like? A prefatory note: After the revolution, when one person injures another, society would concern itself most immediately to give help to the person who has been injured. Present-day “justice” is careless of both the “criminal” and the victim—wears its blindfold when either one stands before it and asks to be seen. (This “justice” has always been pictured as a woman, so I know that I am supposed to write not “it” but “her”, but I find that I balk at this.) I recall, just for example, the experience of a young woman who was raped by a group of youths.

should investigate in depth—with the help of the prisoner—the question: why did he act as he did? See the book about Chinese prisons (by the Ricketts, I think; was it called *PRISONERS OF LIBERATION?*) which describes methods of group discussion about prisoners' antisocial behavior.

But I would add emphatically: one question should always be raised very seriously in such discussions: Does the “antisocial” act perhaps reveal that society needs more changing—is it frustrating or oppressing its citizens in some unbearable way? For the act might have been one stemming from selfishness (counter-revolutionary)—and so the prisoner is the one to be helped to see this and to change—or it might have been one stemming very naturally from a response to some felt injustice.

These non-prisons, then, should above all be schools—in the most deep sense. And they should not be places that are considered, as prisons now are, beyond the pale—places from which “good citizens” (except for occasional grey ladies) keep away. They should be continually entered, as scholars, by those who are the most serious citizens—for here their society can be studied at its weakest point.

—Barbara Deming

Feb 23 69 number 291

oil at st .a barbara

grass-roots
sky-high

violence

earth mined

five poems by larry eigner

Feb 16 69 number 288

one little

thin saturn

spiritual rin

g in the big life circus sin

dig down

some other planets
beyond the pale

number 243 Sept. 16 68

the sound behind walls
a plane
sweeping the horizon

wherever it's going

what ways the streets are

what rabble cries

fish
on the landing

it makes its own wind
on the fields

dirt blows

hills

waters

the level forces

number 251 Oct 13 68

increase the bombing

along the road

quite a cigar

the lights
to burn when dusk comes on

the wires
underground
where the water seeps

miraculous

the distance
what speeds

should we take

clouds

there

horseback riding

it reads

horses and people

number 269 Dec. 3 68

why should there be death
over that hill

how bodily do you travel

years maybe
without a scratch on a finger

IMPERIALISM for BEGINNERS: THE BASS-COFFIN REPORT

Dear WIN,

In his review of Scott Nedling's and Joseph Freeman's *Dollar Diplomacy* in the July issue of WIN, Jerry Coffin claims: "Most of us know what imperialism was and what imperialism is." I disagree. As an economist, I think there is a tremendous amount of confusion and disagreement over imperialism. In particular, lots of people parrot the same old Marxist-Leninist clichés that the overwhelming majority of economists—radical, liberal, or conservative—reject. In fact, even Marxist economists who are more than party hacks frequently present such elaborate qualifications to the traditional Marxist-Leninist theory of imperialism that I would argue that they have basically conceded the point. Although, for sentimental reasons, there is lots of the old theory in their text, most of it is taken out in the footnotes and qualifying phrases.

There is a romantic notion that the Vietnam war is being fought over tungsten. Since most people don't know what tungsten is, much less its industrial uses and market sources, it is very easy for people to believe even the most outlandish fantasies about it. Those who read the financial page are aware that those Americans who control the companies that are dependent on foreign raw materials or markets are among the strongest opponents of the war. As intelligent businessmen, they realize that it is far cheaper to buy tungsten from the Soviet Union or anyone else than to fight the Vietnam war for even a few days.

Imperialism is far older than capitalism. It goes back to Alexander the Great wanting to conquer the world to give it the blessings of Greek culture—and even earlier. It includes the wars unleashed by Muslims to give the world the blessings of Islam and those unleashed by the Church to convert the Infidel. Economics has sometimes been important if only because countries imagined that colonies would bring greater riches than they did. More often than not colonies have brought their mother country closer to bankruptcy than anything else. Partly because the eighteenth century English ruling class believed colonies were profitable they struggled relentlessly against American independence. To practically everyone's surprise the profits of English business on its trade with America increased fantastically after the revolution. In fact, the growth of America unleashed by

the revolution was one of the most glorious things that ever happened to English Business. Liberal English economists like Huskisson argued on the basis that England should let all its colonies go. However, the glory of empire evidently moved stronger than strictly economic motives and so England held on to its colonies.

The most important motive of imperialism has been the persistent urge of nation-states and religions when they control nation-states to remake the world in their own image. As such it has afflicted not just capitalist states but socialist states, kingdoms, theocracies, and what not. For literally thousands of years men have heard the call:

"From Greenland's icy mountains,
From India's coral strand...
They call us to deliver
Their land from error's chain"

We will be afflicted with the ravaging and devastating effects of this call until we either do away with nation-states or nation-states learn to let other nations work out their own destinies. The former seems more likely to me.

Henry Bass
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Henry:

My thanks for the constructive criticism. One of my failings is the assumption that others have the same information I have. In my writing, especially, I'm prone to "throw-away" statements that simply assume the reader agrees, understands, etc. Such was the case with "Most of us know what imperialism is. . . ." It seems, as Henry correctly points out, most of us don't know what imperialism is about. At least, that is, if most WIN readers reflect your viewpoint since he either doesn't understand imperialism or rejects the dialectic which causes many of us in the movement to refer to the U.S. as an imperialist power.

I'm sorry you weren't able to spend more time on your letter. I'm really interested in seeing some sources and supporting evidence for a few of the rather sweeping statements you make. Specifically your feeling that the majority of economists have rejected Marxian economics as refined by Lenin. This statement certainly flies in the face of evidence available to me unless of course, one limits the title "economist" to those

who reside within the boundaries of the United States. But since I think there are many fine economists outside the U.S. I have to include in my own survey economists the world over. Contrary to you I find that at least a majority (and probably an overwhelming majority though I'm not so incautious as to state it as a flat fact) of the world's economists define themselves as Marxists.

These Marxist economists to be certain have not limited themselves to the rote use of Marx's 19th century writing on economics. They would be poor Marxists if they did! No, instead they have continued to develop and refine the economic theories and findings of Marx in light of the continuing development of capitalism. The understanding of imperialism has as a result gone beyond the initial writings of Marx. As for Lenin, he was responsible for a great step forward in the understanding of imperialism. In his classic *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* he laid the theoretical base for our understanding of current American imperialism.

For our purposes here, a simple definition of contemporary imperialism would be the export of capital from a capitalist nation-state to another nation-state and the import of profits (surplus value) accompanied by the political and military machinery necessary to make the process work. Many people make the mistake of labeling as "imperialism" things which quite clearly are not. This mislabeling is then used as "evidence" that the United States is not an imperialist nation-state. You did this by confusing the empire-building of Alexander the Great and the early expansionism of the Muslim religion with imperialism.

Alexander (and we might add Atilla, the Greeks, the Romans, the Phoenicians, ad infinitum) was involved in an entirely different pre-capitalist process. That was simply the military capture and forcible expropriation of the accumulated resource of another nation-state and/or peoples. No effort was made to turn the expropriated resources into production. It was ripped-off and used and that was that. There was some refinement of course including the earliest protection racket where the powerful told the less powerful to pay tribute or face getting trashed. Another refinement was to expropriate a natural resource and import the product to the conquering nation state. These were exception, however, the rule was rape, rip-off, and run.

The Muslims were in a slightly different bag. Their expansionism was largely fired by religious fervor. They were an early day Billy Sunday and they overran land and people in order to get to more people for the purpose of conversion. To be sure, they were engaged in territorial expansion and resource expropriation. They key difference was in their spreading what they had (religion, culture, etc.) through this expansion. There was very little—if any—carting back to the home place the resources of other peoples since their goal was to build a prosperous Muslim world not just to increase the wealth of a particular area. Also there was almost none of the wholesale enslavement of conquered populations since once people converted they were needed to work and

make prosperous the additions to the new Muslim world.

A capitalist country becomes an imperialist country when it has completed its primary accumulation; capital is invested, profits are taken and resultant capital reinvested until the full investment potential (investment in "profitable" ventures) is realized. At that point either capital is simply accumulated and the primary law of capitalism which is profit maximization—is broken or new outlets for capital investment are found. In the rudimentary capitalism of the late 18th and early 19th centuries these new outlets for capital investment were the great mercantile companies such as Hudson's Bay Company and the East India Company. These companies used tremendous amounts of capital since they had to hire armies and war ships to protect their mercantile ventures. These ventures couldn't be considered imperialism, however, since they were concerned with the export of goods and not capital. The goods were produced domestically and sold, bartered or traded in other areas. The difference between the cost of the product and its selling price was the profit. It mattered not that the goods were sold outside the producing country. The capital was invested domestically. This means the surplus value (the difference between the material cost of production plus labor cost and the selling price) was created by the workers in the producing country. The essence of imperialism is exporting capital other areas so the surplus value is taken from another peoples.

In the 19th century the industrial age broke and brought in contemporary capitalism for domestic capital investment. These new avenues for domestic capital investment were able to use the generated capital in reinvestment until the saturation point was reached in the late 19th century. At that point the weight of uninvested capital caused the great surge of capital exportation that became the classic age of imperialism. Capital was invested in other areas by the great companies, the military was soon needed to protect investments, political control soon was needed to efficiently manage the geographical areas of investment and protect them from competition by other capital-exporting countries and colonies resulted.

At this point I have to disagree with another of your sweeping unsupported statements. That is your feeling that "More often than not colonies have brought their mother country closer to bankruptcy than anything else." Again, I'm sure that you wouldn't have made such an obviously false and misleading statement as this had you spent more time on his letter. The statement takes a few facts and seeks to weave a convincing argument by ignoring the complex historic forces at work on capitalist nations. Italy in the 19th century had barely completed primary capital accumulation when her king for prestige sake alone attempted to colonize Ethiopia. It was a costly failure since at that time Italy didn't have any capital to export. At the end of WW II both France and England for tradition's sake attempted to hold their colonies in spite of the fact that

the war had devastated and impoverished both countries and every bit of capital was needed for domestic investment. A costly error (though not bankrupting) compounded by the power of the indigent peoples of the colonies who waged nonviolent and violent wars of national liberation. These instances support the Marxist-Leninist analysis of imperialism rather than yours.

You made a good point when you brought up the practices of the Soviet Union. It's quite obvious that the Soviet Union is behaving similarly to, say, the United States which is an imperialist nation. It doesn't necessarily follow, however, that the Soviet Union is an imperialist nation. Confusing? Yes, but let's use a little of that Marxism that some are fond of regarding as a collection of cliches and see if we can work our way out of the confusion.

Marx wrote in The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte that "men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past." Historically Russia was not ready economically or politically for a socialist revolution when it occurred. Lenin knew this as did Trotsky. They knew that if the socialist revolution in Russia was to survive it needed the economic and political help of the western working class. For Russia to survive as a workers state it needed to be surrounded by other cooperating workers states. Thus they spent their energies working for revolution in the areas to the west.

Stalin, being low man on the totem pole, and a damned smart bureaucrat of the Machievellian school, spent his time organizing and consolidating the Russian bureaucracy. At Lenin's death Stalin, acting in the historic role of a new tsar articulated his "socialism in every country" theory, chased out his one rival, Trotsky, (and was able to because Trotsky had no real Russian power base—though his popularity prevented Stalin from killing him—then) and trashed the remaining Bolsheviks. And then, damn poor Marxist that he was, he tried to turn a peasant economy into a socialist economy. Well, we're all familiar with the rest of the story. Primary capital accumulation came out of the hides of the small Russian working class and the large peasantry. There were few capitalists to expropriate so everyone was expropriated. Thus was "socialism" built in one country. Only because of the way it was done what was created was not socialism, not a workers state but what Trotsky called a "degenerate workers state." There were no capitalists, true, but there was in their place a top-down dictatorial hierarchy that made the decisions the workers should have been making.

In Russia by the eve of WW II the primary capital accumulation had occurred and the industrialization which makes possible socialism was well under way. And then came the war. In the course of the war the Russian people fought on Russian soil about twice the number of Germans as all the other allies combined fought in North Africa, Italy, and Europe. By war's end Stalin was in Berlin but Russia was ruined. The

capital accumulated at such terrible human cost was dissipated by the war. The industry so painfully built was ruined. The Russian people could not, would not, go through the process again. So Stalin ripped off eastern Europe. Factories, tools, everything portable in eastern Europe was used to rebuild Russia. At the same time the economies of eastern European countries were integrated into the Russian economy. Their economic life blood was used to revive the economy of Russia. Outside the economic sphere the military and social needs of Russia dictated the creation of a new strategic situation in Europe. Invaders could not again be allowed to enter the Russian homeland so Eastern Europe became the buffer between her and the Germany that devastated Russia.

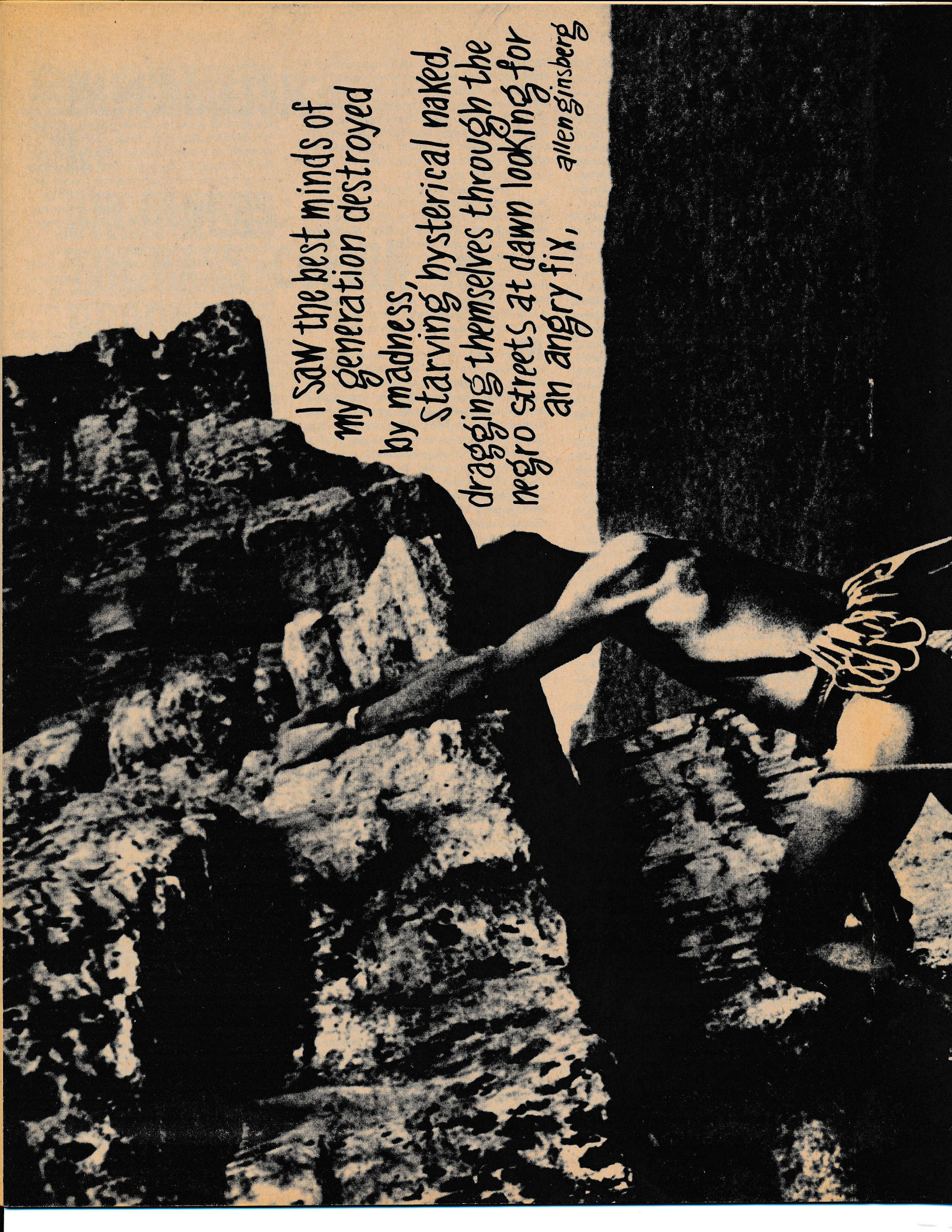
This history then is for the most part dictating the current Russian relationship with eastern Europe. Eastern Europe is still Russia's buffer and still integrated into the Russian economy. It's not imperialism because Russia did not export capital to eastern Europe. But at the same time it's damn similar because while the men who rule Russia didn't consciously set up the conditions that enabled the theft of labor value they sure as hell are stealing it. The Chinese call it "Social Imperialism". That means in crude form that while Russia isn't imperialist because it doesn't follow the model and isn't capitalist it sure as hell behaves like an imperialist. And I'll go along with that.

Finally, I don't know any whose thinking I respect that says the U.S. war against Vietnam is imperialist because the U.S. wants tungsten. The war is imperialist because the people of Indochina decided they want to better their lives by utilizing all the value of their labor. This precluded outside capital which expects to return profits (surplus value) to another country. The U.S. wages the war because it must keep that area—and all areas it possibly can open for the tremendous amount of capital the U.S. must export. Just in passing I'll add that the U.S. would fight Europe if U.S. capital were prevented from entering. But that's not likely since the gross product resulting from U.S. capital investment in Europe amounts to what would be the third largest GNP in the world.

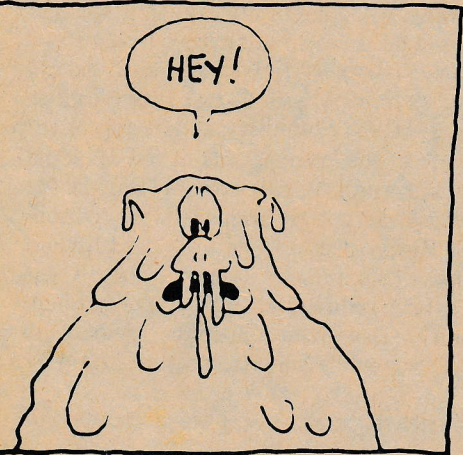
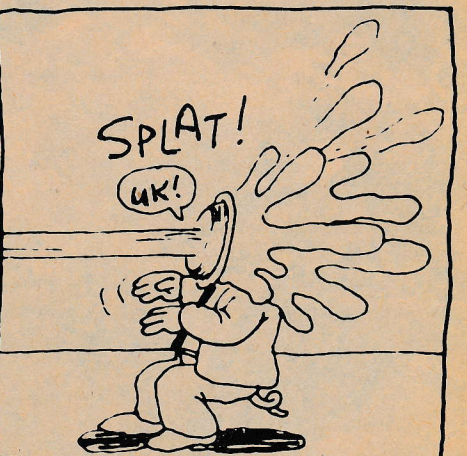
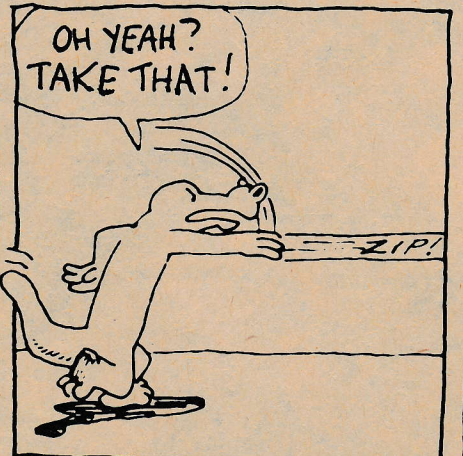
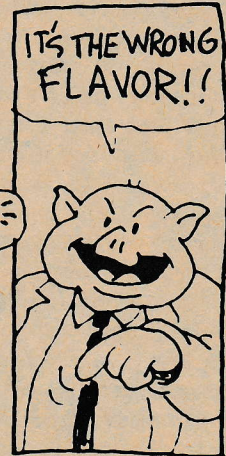
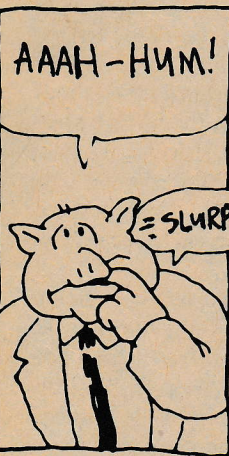
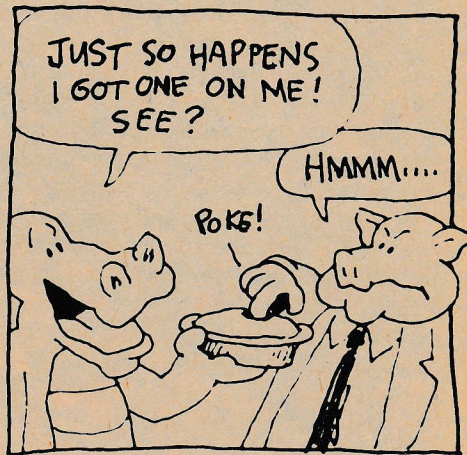
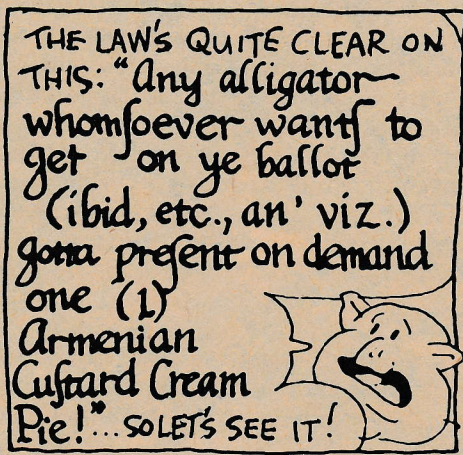
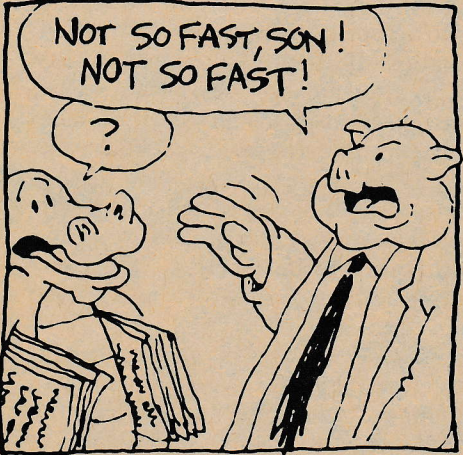
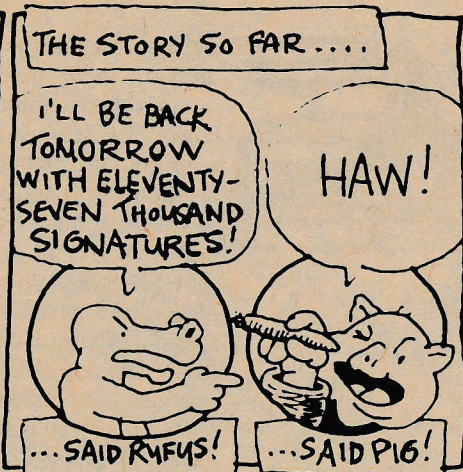
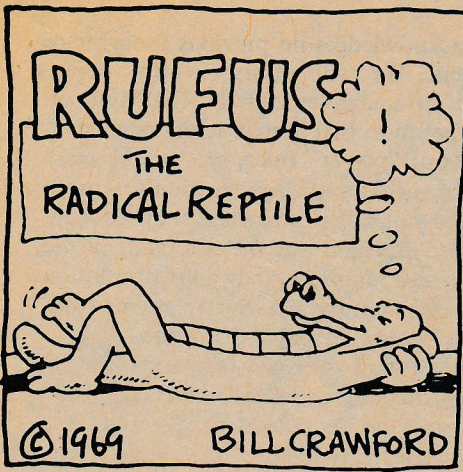
I hope this rather lengthy reply to your letter clarifies the confusion about imperialism which I neglected to address myself to in the review of Dollar Diplomacy. While this is long as a reply to a letter, it is, nonetheless, by necessity a very incomplete and simplistic overview of a complex subject. Imperialism is the driving force behind the Juggernaut we confront in this country and we'll never overcome the juggernaut unless we know and understand imperialism. Unfortunately my own understanding of economics is not as it should be. Perhaps we can all contribute to greater common understanding of this complex subject if WIN readers would share their insights using the pages and letter columns of WIN as our medium.

Jerry Coffin

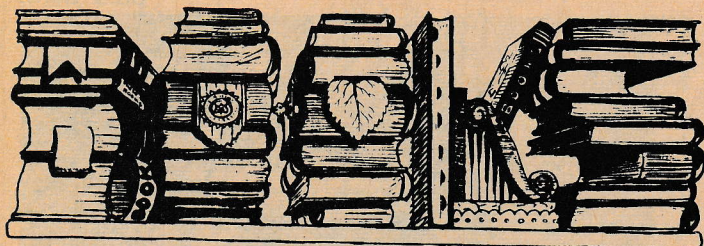
I saw the best minds of
my generation destroyed
by madness, hysterical naked,
dragging themselves through the
negro streets at dawn looking for
an angry fix, allenginsberg







Th
us a
and s
out th
becau
first r
and f
the b
the c
sis. S
longe
deal
in so
is the
the b
Now
the r
ready
Ju
called
state
exist
ident
indee
Red,
many
the c
root
depa
In
the
irref
not
can f
is to
"gov
mind
H
the
perf
the
prop
its p
the c
but
mean
Dave



GOLIATH

David Harris

A Sidereal Press Book

New York 1970

\$4.95

The front flap of Dave Harris' new book *Goliath* promises us a political alternative to "Spiro Agnew on the one hand and screaming street revolutionaries on the other." It turns out that the front flap is the most Right On part of the book because what we get inside is a collection of notes for Dave's first novel. Some of the notes are in the form of short stories and fantasies, some in the form of metaphysical raps ("In the beginning there is man"), some are good descriptions of the countryside, and some take the form of political analysis. Some of the stories could make it as parts of some longer narrative. Most of the metaphysics tells us a great deal about the metaphysician, so it too could find its place in some biographical (or autobiographical) narrative. But it is the political analysis which is supposed to be the crux of the book and therefore on which the book should be judged. Now Dave has the right ideas, he's given yeoman service to the movement, and I love him, but his book is just not ready for the publisher.

Just a few examples: He keeps rapping about something called "the state" but he never really tells us what "the state" is. He tells us, that "to achieve the assurance of existence in the practice of America is only possible through identification with the state." Now many Americans do indeed affirm their humanity by identifying with the old Red, White and Blue, but many of these same people and many others identify first with the company they work for, the conglomerate they hold stock in, the ball team they root for, the soap opera they watch, or the local fire department.

In a certain sense all these things are manifestations of the "state", or the state of America, and the statement is irrefutable. But in another sense, you can love the Mets and not care who wins the war, or who gets elected, and you can love the flag and not know who the governor is. Which is to say that the "state" may not be the same thing as the "government", but Dave never tells us just what he has in mind so we cannot go anywhere with the discussion.

He also tells us that a "social elite exists as a function of the state...serving as its priests, embodying its virtues, and performing its public rituals." Now I've heard it said that the state exists as a function of a social elite, (or more properly a socio-economic elite,) supplying the elite with its priests, embodying the elites' virtues and performing the elite's public rituals. Again, there's a good debate here, but we can't get into it until Dave tells us just what he means by "the state." (Of course it would be preferable if Dave himself got into the debate, but Dave gets into no

debates because he acknowledges no previous thoughts on any of these matters. We will return to this point.)

Another example: In a chapter called "The Myth of Power" he debunks the myth that human societies must always contain elements of "power" (meaning "power over" or oppression) and states that any change within this myth is a "realignment" and not a "reformation." Fair enough, this is an old anarchist idea and was the substance of the split between Bakunin and Marx that led to the dissolution of the 1st International a century ago. Surely any new discussion of the matter should go beyond the substance of these debates. Bakunin found the state (the army, police, national boundaries, protection of capital) inherently oppressive and felt that state power should be dissolved as a necessary precondition for the building of the good society. Marx felt that the objective interests of the old ruling class would never allow it to accept the institutions created and imposed by the revolution. He thought these institutions had to be protected by a temporary "dictatorship of the proletariat," a new state power. Bakunin thought this would slowly but irretrievably turn the revolution away from the goal of creating a good and just society. He further thought that the revolution must be lived, that ends and means were identical, that a revolutionary organization had to mirror the society it wished to create or be hopelessly corrupted. Marx believed in sacrificing these principles to revolutionary efficiency.

David Harris believes that the state is inherently oppressive and that state power must be dissolved (albeit non-violently) as a precondition for the building of the good society. He further believes that the revolution must be lived, that ends and means are identical, that a revolutionary organization has to mirror the society it wishes to create or be hopelessly corrupted. I believe it too, but I haven't written a book about it. And I haven't written a book about it because the Marxists have some pretty convincing arguments on their side (in theory and in practice) which I am not sure I can answer (though I can answer them better having read Murray Bookchin's terse pamphlet "Listen Marxist.") Dave has no trouble with these arguments because he doesn't acknowledge their existence.

His scenario for the revolution involves conversion through example. People come over to the revolution because they are shown that the revolution offers them a better way of life. "It is not the statement," he says, "but the practice of a reality that makes it available. People must repossess their lives by forming new communities based upon cooperation and sharing. "A community is organized: it is arranged. As it grows it becomes an alternative to the state. Its processes make it an alternative." So far so good: the old anarchist principle of exemplary action. But I have certain questions; like who does this exemplary action appeal to? When Kropotkin wrote of the "propaganda of the dead" he had in mind the mobilization of the working class in the struggle against the capitalists. Dave seems to want to mobilize everybody. Will Richard Nixon give up his wealth and power to join a new community? Henry Ford? Roger Blough? Maxwell Taylor? Teddy Kennedy? And what happens when they don't? Dave mentions some non-violent "tools" (he rejects "weapons") which center around non-cooperation.

In the conflict with the state, we have a number of

tools. The conflict takes place around the resource of authority. Both the state and the new politics need to be participated in if they are to exist, but they can't be participated in at the same time. Thus the choice of participation is a choice of realities. As the people deny the state's authority for the sake of new reality, the state loses power. A new reality can deny the state the lives it feeds off. This process continues until the orders of the state are ignored, and it splits apart like the shell of an egg, exposing a new reality. At the edges of this process, where the conflict is engaged in, it takes the form of noncooperation, occupation, boycott, strike, and organized disobedience. As these tools are used to establish a reality, the politics extends itself. America will not function without people to do it. As those lives do different, America atrophies. We engage in the conflict in an attempt to extend the experience of the politics to all involved. We organize the conflict as an experience. At each point of it, we come forward with an alternative reality to that of the police, the bankers, the functionaries, the frightened and the lonely. Our success is that reality's concrete existence. (page 132.)

But he never deals with the real problems. How for example does the new culture avoid being swallowed up by the old, as happened with the old utopian communities of the 19th and early 20th centuries, so many of which are now small Republican towns. (Nirvana, Michigan went for Nixon in '68...and the revolution records for Vanguard-right?) And if we avoid that, how do we defend our communities should that necessity arise? There were some great collectives going in Spain during the Civil War which got smashed, first by the Communists and then by Franco. Will we have to deal with that danger? Or are conditions different here? Dave doesn't mention that problem. And then if we get past that, what is the alternative reality to police, bankers, functionaries, lonely people and frightened people? Is it dope? Rock and Roll? Fucking in the streets? I mean what kinds of unalienating work can people do? How can we humanize (and ecologize) the great technological apparatus at our disposal? Or do we do away with it? How does production get organized? Distribution of goods and services? Sexual relations, family relations, child rearing, education, individual conflicts, etc. etc. etc.? And how do these communities relate to one another? Are they all self-sufficient, or do they compliment one another? We certainly don't expect a blueprint, but we don't even get any hints. Indeed, like all other problems, these remain simply unacknowledged. And I have still a heavier complaint.

There is a line in an Italian anarchist poem that goes, "Give flowers to the rebels failed." The greatest objection I have to Dave's book is that he doesn't even give them footnotes. He plunks himself down in the middle of the anarchist-pacifist tradition without once mentioning the words "anarchism" or "pacifism," or giving us even the slightest hint that such a tradition exists. There is not one word about any of the great rebels failed, or for that matter, the great rebels succeeded. Not a mention of Proudhon, Kropotkin, Bakunin, Gandhi, Tom Paine, M.L. King et. al. or even Marx and Engels, all of whose ideas he is constantly elaborating, debating or simply restating. Not a mention of the Paris Commune, the Barcelona Collectives, the Indian Revolution, the nonviolent civil rights movement, etc., etc. whose examples he is implicitly exhorting us to follow. Dave should acknowledge his ancestral debts because that's only honest.



Furthermore, he should avow the tradition he speaks from, because the tradition makes all of us strong. Communities make us stronger than we could ever be alone and the revolutionary tradition (or any branch of that tradition) is a great historical community that can give us the hope and sustenance to carry on. Indeed, if it is "not the statement but the practice of a reality that makes it available" then it is all the more important that revolutionary history be in the foremost parts of our consciousness.

Well, Dave has the beginnings of all the right ideas, but he hasn't decided what kind of book to write. As it is, *Goliath* at best is a kind of statement of faith to be used as a rough framework for the analysis that still has to be done, for the revolution that still has to be made.

— Fred Rosen

ADVICE FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS IN THE ARMED FORCES

By Mike Wittels

Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors,
1st Edition, April, 1970

The Pentagon reports that in Calendar Year 1969 over 2,300 applications for C.O. status were received at departmental headquarters. In the Defense Department's usual manner of reporting statistics, this number is accepted by military counselors and lawyers as much lower than the actual figure. In 1970 this figure may well double, especially in light of the recent Supreme Court rulings in behalf of moral and philosophical objectors. The need for a comprehensive handbook for C.O.'s in the armed forces and their counselors has been the reason for the failure of many applications. There was just no information other than the bits and pieces counselors could manage to collect from a wide variety of sources.

At long last, the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors has printed a thorough and sensitive handbook for C.O.'s in the armed forces written by CCCO's Western regional secretary Mike Wittels, a military counselor who was himself discharged from the Army as a CO. Mr. Wittels' treatment of thinking through the CO position and answering the questions on the application is very human

and, at the same time, practical. He outlines many thoughts and questions that should be considered and asked of oneself in order to fully express one's beliefs, sincerity and commitment. Particularly impressive is the section handling the question, "Under what circumstances, if any, do you believe in the use of force?" Mr. Wittels says, "There's nothing in the law that requires a man to refrain from the use of force at each and every level before he can be recognized as a CO. In fact, a recent Court of Appeals decision stated that: "Agreement that force can be used to restrain wrongdoing, especially as the last alternative, has little bearing on an attitude toward war." [U.S. v Purvis, 403 F. 2d 555, 1 SSLR (2d Cir. 1968).]"

He writes further, "One question that COs are often asked in personal interviews—and one that some people think is implied in the written question on the use of force—is: What would you do if someone were to attack your mother? Very few individuals could say for sure what they would do in such a situation, but one could say what he would try to do, what his ideal would be. And one could certainly say what he would *not* do. Most COs would not, for instance, drop napalm on the attacker. Or grab a machine gun and mow down his family. Or burn down the town in which he lived." These last few sentences are very important to this section of the book as Wittels tries to put force and violence into a rational perspective differentiating between individual force (of a restraining nature or the tactics of non-violent force), police force (whose ideal function is to restrain and prevent violence) and military force (whose purpose is not restraint but destruction).

The book also includes the procedure for filing the CO claim and what happens while the claim is being processed and after the claim has been ruled on. It deals with administrative and court remedies for the denied claim and, in effect, the whole system (with all of the possibilities) from start to finish. At times, the book seems rather naive in assuming that procedures will be followed because they are part of the law. I feel that Wittels deals inadequately with the problems that GIs face with harassment and the fact that the military doesn't always follow the rules. In fact, many counselors work on the theory that the military will do anything it can get away with and only backs down when it thinks it may be exposed (via Congress, the courts or a sharp counselor, lawyer, or brave GI). The GI should be aware that he should seek counseling if anything goes wrong with his application.

My only other disappointment is the chapter on "Confinement". In this chapter, Wittels says, "Most confinement facilities are reasonably clean, some even scrupulously so, as the military preoccupation with cleanliness extends to those charged with operating confinement facilities. Despite widely publicized exceptions, the incidence of physical brutality in most stockades and briggs is considerably less than in the rest of American society." My experience as a GI counselor and the reports of many GIs whom I have interviewed after being in confinement in various stockades and briggs across the country contradicts Wittels' statement completely. Many of them are not fit for animals and most others are sub-human. The large Federal-type military prisons (Leavenworth and Portsmouth) are exceptions, but the local confinement facilities are nothing short of nightmarish. Confinement is nothing like the romantic martyrdom that Wittels portrays.

As an overall guide and resource book, Wittels' handbook is a must for the GI thinking through or applying for CO discharge or non-combatant status. Counselors and military lawyers will find it an excellent guide for counselling COs and preparing CO applications. As a military counselor, I am very happy and relieved to see this handbook.

Copies are \$1.00 with special discounts for bulk orders and counseling agencies. To order *Advice for Conscientious Objectors in the Armed Forces*, write:

East coast: CCCO
2016 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19103

Mid-west: MCDC
711 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Ill. 60605

West coast: CCCO-Western Region
437 Market Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94105

— Jerry Wingate

RADICAL LIBERTARIANISM: A RIGHT WING ALTERNATIVE

**by Jerome Tuccille, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970),
109 pp. \$5.00.**

It should be said at the outset that Jerome Tuccille is not a good writer. He is not even a fair writer. But his book has importance since its author is one of the major warriors on the battlefield that the political Right-wing in America has become in recent years; it is the first book to document the breakaway from Conservatism made by many capitalists in the 1960's and the first document of the emerging Left-Right Coalition politics.

The American Right-wing has been schizophrenic since World War II, divided between a faction that prized "rugged individualism" and "free enterprise" and a larger segment that sought tradition, law-and-order, and victory over "international Communism." The larger segment, represented by the John Birch Society and William F. Buckley, succeeded in ruling the individualistic, libertarian faction by appealing to their shared fear of communism. But in recent years the lessening of that fear, combined with a recognition that America is becoming a police state, has led most of the individualists on the Right to break with Buckley and with his junior auxiliary, the conservative Young Americans for Freedom. Tuccille has been a major activist in the breakaway movement, and it was largely through his efforts that an adamant group of libertarians split apart the Y.A.F. National Convention in August, 1969.

RADICAL LIBERTARIANISM gives a dramatic account of that convention, and of the reasons and actions that have led to an apparently permanent schism on the Right. It also explains how the views of those breakaway individualists are compatible with New Left radicalism and calls for Left-Right cooperation in limiting the state.

Like many laissez-faire capitalists these days, Tuccille is an anarchist. He favors replacing the government with means of free enterprise and voluntary social order and cooperation. He believes that, without government, capitalism could become the most honest and efficient way of serving the people. He seems to want community control

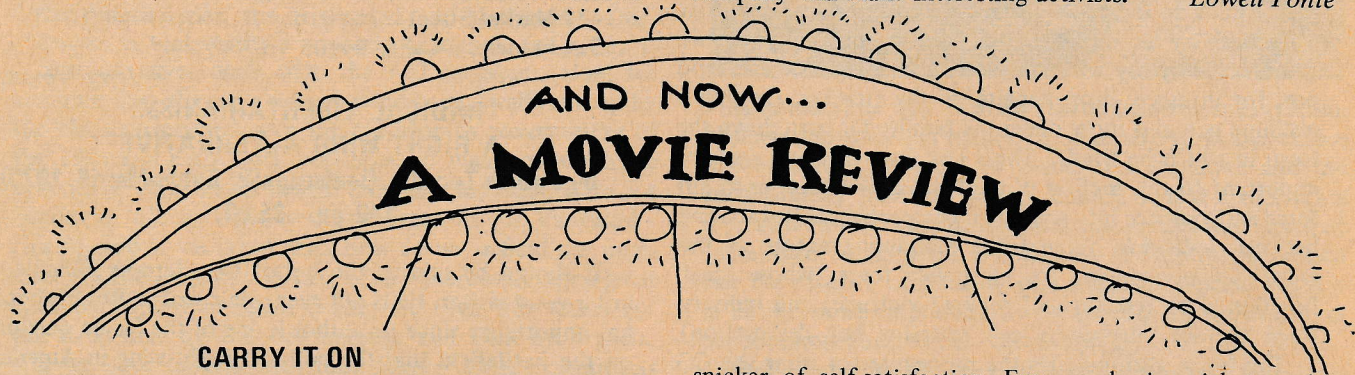
of communities and participatory democracy, goals that S.D.S. was advocating in 1961, and from the way he talks he makes Left-Right Coalition seem almost plausible.

His immediate hopes are that Right and Left can work together in tax and draft resistance, in support of Black Liberation and radical government decentralization, and in opposition to "foreign imperialism" and "domestic fascism." If Tuccille is indeed a "Rightist", then the Right-wing stereotype is shot all to hell.

The book has many weaknesses. Its explanations of how government would be replaced by capitalism are vague, imprecise, and raise more questions than they answer. Tuccille answers many obvious weaknesses with pat, dubious responses, often more emotional than factual: e.g., "Small towns *outside* the cities manage their police and keep them relatively honest with little or no effort." One wonders what was the last time Mr. Tuccille was in a Southern town, or what "honest" in such contexts means. In another in-

stance, he assumes that if and when all schools are private even the poor will be able to afford them; as with many other examples, he reasons here that when taxes cease everybody will have more money, a belief that overlooks the relativity of buying power *and* the question of how our society can make the transition into Mr. Tuccille's world.

Tuccille doesn't seem too sure about getting from here to there. He speaks of the need for "revolution," but the actions he speaks of are more along the lines of tax resistance and such, of boycotts and not bombs. As has been the trouble with most anarchists, his indictments of the government are valid, his schemes are interesting if vague—but his answer seems incomplete. Still, it seems very hopeful that Tuccille and many of his fellow radical capitalists can bed down with the New Left, and perhaps the movement spawned by their mating will come up with solutions. His book makes interesting reading; now, maybe Tuccille and company will make interesting activists. *Lowell Ponte*



CARRY IT ON

Produced by Christopher G. Knight

Directed by Robert Jones and Christopher G. Knight

United Productions of America

Carry It On, the cinema-verite documentary about the lives and work of Joan Baez and her husband David Harris, spans a four-month period last year during which Harris began serving his three-year prison sentence for refusing induction. There's not much to be said for the style of the film, which seems to have been designed to obfuscate rather than illuminate its subjects. No attempt has been made to impose an orderly sequence on the various episodes; without explanation, the camera simply cuts in on a situation and then just as suddenly cuts out again. An early sequence showing Harris conferring with authorities on his way from an evidently aborted speech at a school is photographed, for no apparent good reason (a tracking shot would have been not only clearer but more feasible), with a spastically hand-held camera. Later on, one of Miss Baez' concert performances is visually destroyed by frenzied jump cutting. In fact, Christopher G. Knight and Robert Jones have directed much of *Carry It On* as if any letup in pyrotechnics would result in boredom with their material. Their assumption may have been correct.

The first fifteen minutes or so, prior to Harris' incarceration, is devoted mainly to speeches before various groups. Harris, who has a strong, clear voice and knows how to bring home a point, would be a good speaker if content could match means. Unfortunately, he speaks as if teaching kindergarten, is content to state and then restate the obvious, and underlines every remark with a little

snicker of self-satisfaction. Even so, he is quick to point out that the Movement should not give rise to attention-seeking leaders, thereby forgetting for a moment his participation in the movie. His letters from prison, addressed to his wife but written for all the world to hear, as indeed we do, are given to poeticizing with all the facility of a greeting card versifier. I began to wonder what Miss Baez ever saw in him.

Her husband having been hauled away (one of the film's two good moments shows the "Resist the Draft" sticker that someone pasted on the Feds' rear bumper as they drove off with their prisoner), Joan vows to "continue the revolution" with her songs, and the cameras follow her on a U.S. and Canadian concert tour. Stopping off in New York, she appears on the Joey Bishop TV show, somehow not realizing how impertinent he would be ("My parents came to this great country to escape repression", etc.), and enjoys herself backstage, as on other occasions, by asserting her moral superiority. (At one point the film-makers chide her for having browbeaten the TV program's assistant producer into having doubts about liking her job.)

Joan Baez sings eleven songs in *Carry It On*, so there's something to be thankful for. Her compositions and her singing, of course, remain remarkably simple and, yes, disarming. But for those of her fans who would rather she be heard and not seen, the film is a disappointment. The other good moment, by the way, comes at a concert when she spontaneously joins a group of black women to sing "Oh Happy Day". The result is inspiring. But I suggest to you go instead to see Ely Landau's magnificent *King: Montgomery to Memphis*, which is inspiring from beginning to end.

— Martin Mitchell

UP AGAINST THE WAR

Norma Woodstone

Tower, \$.95

Up Against the War tells the stories of people WIN readers will be familiar with—some of whom have become legends of sorts in the anti-war movement, Peter Kiger, Howard Levy, Andrew Pulley, Dave Zimmerman and others. Norma Woodstone chronicles war resistance of recent years through interviews with several draft resisters, exiles, GI's against the war, draft board raiders, and draft and military counselors—attempting to demonstrate that war resisters are decent, thoughtful, courageous people who deserve support.

The author gives a lengthy account of her own background and political development. She makes no claims to be a revolutionary, but describes herself as a "weekend radical" who came to that position through moral outrage about the Vietnam war and the government's perverse economic priorities, and this comes through in the book. This is clearly a picture of the resistance movement by someone on the outside looking in. She defines resistance exclusively in terms of resistance to the draft. She characterizes those who have destroyed draft files, aided deserters, or who do the day to day work of keeping the peace movement rolling as "supporters of resistance," as if they are any less committed than a man who refuses induction into the army.

Indeed, the entire book seems not a call for stronger and more responsible resistance, but for support for those who have already resisted. Such a tone is counter-productive to the movement today, because what is necessary is not to have more people signing petitions in support of draft resisters (though this is certainly desirable) but to have those who up til now have *only* signed petitions to respond to the war in a much more active, perhaps more jeopardizing way.

Up Against the War is really the story of the anti-war movement of three years ago. Woodstone talks about the resisters who reacted to the emerging horror of Vietnam by burning their draft cards or refusing induction—who have by now either won or lost their cases and moved on. Now we have a broader war and a more sophisticated

consciousness, and we have a radical resistance of a different character than we had three years ago. Howard Levy says in *Up Against the War*, "The idea of making a moral point by inviting arrest is not applicable to a government not amenable to moral suasion." A conclusion that willing arrestees of the past are only recently coming to. Correct or not, Levy's observation is typical of definitive changes in the resistance movement over the past few years. *Up Against the War* sheds light on where we are now only insofar as it shows where we were before, and is of little help in understanding 1970 radicals.

Norma Woodstone falls victim to the subtle macho-politics of the Resistance movement that many of us—particularly the "chicks who said yes to the guys who said no"—did a few years back. She idealizes resisters and they receive from her the unqualified praise of someone who doesn't work with them every day and therefore recognize that even the most conscientious among us have faults. The book does not reveal any of the internal problems the movement faces—male supremacy, class prejudice, ego tripping, etc. and so presents a rather dishonest picture of movement life.

Norma Woodstone makes the mistake of characterizing the resistance movement as almost exclusively propelled by youth. It is dangerous to categorize a movement this way—as so many of us do—because it may cause us to lose sight of why people become radical. There are plenty of older people who have been fighting for years and who don't stop and there are more than I care to count of young people who have never been involved in social movements or who have dropped out, disillusioned or burnt out, after a couple of years. The point is that the factor of being young is not what makes one act (though youth's natural questioning, energy, and willingness to risk a bit more certainly helps). What makes people radical is the awareness of contradictions between the power structure's rhetoric and the reality of life in this country. We must be careful not to fall into the same kind of trap the psychologists who study rebellious students do by attributing the will to act politically to youthfulness rather than political consciousness, lest we alienate potential allies and channel

our energies ineffectually.

At the end of the book, Woodstone gives a factual and non-rhetorical run-down of exactly what is wrong with this country. But she barely misses drawing the logical conclusions (or the conclusions that seem so logical from a radical vantage point). She does not call for a bottom-to-top overhaul of the economic system, she does not call for revolution. However, in that, *Up Against the War* may be a good book for middle America to read, since it appears they cannot relate to the "revolutionary" manifestos movement mimeographs are currently spewing forth.

—M.A.

MOVING THROUGH HERE

Don McNeill

Knopf, \$5.95

The movement has produced a lot of verbiage but few really good writers. Marvin Garson, Julius Lester, Carl Oglesby, Ray Mungo, Frank Bardacke, our own Paul Johnson, and one or two others have been consistently able to maintain a sense of balance, humor and humanity without getting carried away by the political and cultural rhetoric to which it is so easy to descend. Don McNeill, who died in the summer of 1968 at the age of 23, belongs in the above group. *Moving Through Here* is a collection of his *Village Voice* articles during 1967-68 when the alternative or counter-culture was just getting itself together. McNeill's beat was the Lower East Side and the articles begin with the Be-In in the spring of 1967 and end with the Grand Central Yip-In of spring 1968 when the cops ran wild and McNeill wrote that "it seemed to be a prophecy of Chicago." It covers the Diggers, the smoke-ins, the summer of love, and the creation of Yippie.

The underground media has come a long way since the first underground papers were started in 1965 and '66. The influence has been great, even among established journalists. Few young newspapermen on straight newspapers accept the myth that they are "objective" reporters. There is no such thing as objective news. In a confrontation between the movement and the establishment a reporter has the choice of taking his stand behind the police lines or with the people. A war correspondent can report the war behind

NLF lines or by accompanying enemy troops. If the N.Y. Times was objective, as it claims, it would have a reporter stationed in Hanoi and with the guerrillas. The underground press made no bones about being objective. We took our stand and we took it openly. At the Pentagon we got busted, at Chicago we got beaten and at the Yip-In at Grand Central Don McNeill got tossed through a plate glass door by New York's finest. Our reports of these events were biased and subjective. We were with the people against the government. We never claimed to be objective.

But within this subjective framework there is room for objective reporting, for honesty and for a critical eye. It is not an easy thing to do, to be objective and part of the movement because to be critical is to criticize the only hope (at times) for civilization. It is very easy for a movement writer to close his eyes to things which he would ordinarily criticize with the rationalization that movement solidarity demands silence, or, even worse, a report that accurately reflects the going ideology. There are few of us who have written about the movement who have avoided this pitfall.

The beauty of these brief news reports is their honesty. Don McNeill was part of what was happening on the Lower East Side during these crucial years, and there was never any doubt on which side he stood. But he saw things clearly and reported the good with the bad. Sometimes he was wrong, as with his report on WIN's Flower Power Day, which he failed to see as the experiment that it was. But he was amazingly open and able to take criticism from the people he wrote about. He learned. When he first began writing about the Lower East Side (which was my turf at the time) I wondered who this young upstart was who wrote such shitty things about my neighborhood. At his death I considered him the best writer in the movement. Re-reading his news stories it becomes clear that even those stories which I thought terrible were more often than not right. Don had the honest eye all along.

I'm just learning to acknowledge that much of what happened in the movement should never have happened at all. This is a book worth reading.

Marty Jezer

IN THE SERVICE OF THEIR COUNTRY: WAR RESISTERS IN PRISON

Willard Gaylin, M.D.
Viking

Dr. Gaylin, a shrink analyst at Columbia, was asked by a friend to evaluate the various alternatives to the draft—prison, expatriation, etc.—with an eye to finding out which was least likely to have devastating psychological effects on the individual. On the way to discovering there is no winner, he managed to get the bureaucrats of the federal prison system to let him spend some time interviewing war resisters at Allenwood and Danbury; during an 18-month period he interviewed 26, 6 of whom (in somewhat disguised fashion) appear at length in this book. He describes his experiences in chronological fashion, making an effort to remain objective, but toward the end—happily—he begins to function as something more feeling than a periscope. He realizes that prisons aren't just lousy places for nice, clean-cut war resisters—they're lousy places for humans trapped in an institution, like war, tolerated only as a consequence of seemingly ageless familiarity.

In the process of evaluating the interviews, the comfortable myth that resisters are more or less masochist/martyr sorts is laid to rest after a thorough examination; Gaylin, in fact, draws interesting psychological paral-

els between the resisters and the astronauts.

The heavy majority of those interviewed indicated to Gaylin a loss of motivation, creativity, value-connection and energy—though probably the resister experiences major inner erosion less frequently than is the case with others who arrive at prison with little or no sense of motivation and self-worth.

There are good and bad reasons for having gripes about the book:

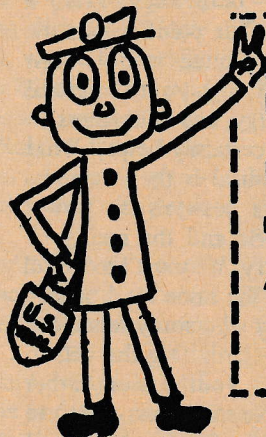
The bad ones include the idea that resisters ought to be portrayed more or less as heroes—no mental hang-ups, no deterministic factors in their personal biographies, no storms of doubt, no ego problems. Personally, I prefer the truth, and I respect Gaylin for being conscientious in trying to tell the truth. So we're human.

The good ones include the superficiality of insight Gaylin sometimes exhibits (not having experienced prison himself, it is difficult for him to understand how creative a response is frequently being made to the prison situation by the guys he's dealing with); also, until the end, he seems too much into the "good" guys in prisons and rather immune to the rest. Very likely he experienced a healthy flourishing of indignation about prisons as his writing of the book got beyond the resisters and into the more general evaluation that makes the concluding chapters, especially the last, his best.

— Jim Forest

LET THE FEDS DO IT!

Fill out this form. Have WIN delivered to your door by a uniformed representative of the United States government!



- I wish to subscribe to WIN for one year, \$5.
 I enclose \$3 for a six-month trial subscription.

I enclose \$ _____ contribution to WIN

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Zip _____

WIN Magazine • 339 Lafayette St. • New York 10012

more changes

Continued from page 3

munity, the trial was moved to Mumfordsville, a small rural Kentucky town where "Liberal" is a dirty word. The trial was moved back to Louisville when two supporters of the Six sent letters to all Mumfordsville residents (all listed in the telephone directory) supporting the Six and opposing the trial. (These two, Mike Honey and Martha Allen have been charged with jury tampering. Their trial has yet to come up.) On July 7, the Black Six were acquitted of the charges. Despite the conservative repression in the Bluegrass, Justice has triumphed.

Richard Chinn

VIETNAMESE STUDENTS BURN FILES OF STUDENT MILITARY TRAINING PROGRAM TO PROTEST WAR

On the morning of July 1, student delegates from different universities in Vietnam met in Hue to elect a Student National Council. At the end of the conference, thousands of Hue students marched through Hue boulevards and shouted anti-war slogans. They confiscated two rolls of films which the police were taking of them. The American military police tried twice to provoke the students by letting military jeeps run into them and removed some of the placards from their hands and took out their guns to threaten them. At noon, the crowd stopped at the School of Pedagogy, took out all files at the office of the student military training program and burned them in the street, to denounce the student military training program.

On the morning of July 6, the Saigon Student Union issued a communique in which they stated their decision to boycott all students military classes, all military examinations and all military training courses. They also decided:

1. To give full support to the decision of Hue students to struggle for the abolishment of military courses and training programs.
2. To give full support to the decision of Dalat students to boycott all military courses and training programs.
3. To call on students of all facul-

ties, colleges and institutes in Saigon to boycott military classes and training courses.

On the morning of July 17, students of Can Tho University burned all the files in the Office of the Student Military Training. They organized sit-in and hunger-strike demonstrations.

On the same day, Hguyen van Long, chairman of the Vietnamese Catholic Student Association, declared: Vietnamese Catholic Students cooperate with students all over the country in opposing the Student Military Training Program and boycotting all student military training courses.

Also on the same day, at 10 am, at the end of a meeting held at the Spellman Auditorium, more than 1,000 Dalat University students went to the office of the Student Military Training, broke the door, entered the office, took out all files at the office and burned them in front of the office.

— *Vietnamese Buddhist Peace Delegation to Paris*

NEW YORK MAY BECOME WAR TAX RESISTER

The city of New York will join the war tax resistance movement, if a resolution proposed by four city councilmen is passed by the City Council. Announcement of the resolution was made by Councilman Donald Mames on August 11 at a press conference of the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, which presently is campaigning to "take New York City out of the war—now." In support of the resolution, the Committee is conducting a citywide petition campaign to climax with a mass demonstration at City Hall October 15.

The resolution commits the city to withholding the portion of federal taxes for war which it withholds from its employees. Another part of the resolution would require the city to give legal counsel and sanctuary to draft resisters and calls for "total amnesty" for persons jailed for anti-war activities. The other three councilmen endorsing the resolution are Arthur Katzman, Theodore Weiss and David Friedland.

— *J.P.*

ONE UNION'S SPECIAL ISSUE

1199 *Drug & Hospital News* devoted its July issue to, in the words of Executive Editor Moe Foner, "the war in Southeast Asia and its impact on working people here at home." It consists of some 20 beautiful, full-page, captioned photos showing the horrors of Vietnam and the deprivations on the home scene.

In addressing a special copy to WIN, Foner writes: "We have attempted to put together a simply written and dramatic piece of material, in the hope that it can help in bringing greater understanding to trade union members and their families."

The final photo showing 1199ers demonstrating against the war, is captioned with a brief chronology of the union's peace activities since 1964. The final item is: "June 1970: Local 1199 delegation to Retail Wholesale & Department Store Union fights for and helps win passage of resolution calling for "early and orderly withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces from Indochina," as more unions, including Amalgamated Clothing Workers, join ranks of those opposed to war."

— *J.P.*

A COMPUTERIZED VOTING INDEX — FOR HAWKS

The American Security Council, a rightist organization whose letterhead includes top brasshats and businessmen, is presently computing a "security voting index" for the coming elections.

"It will serve as a vehicle for attack on 'doves' and for defense of 'hawks', supporting those who voted for more military hardware and a hard line against Communism and opposing those who voted for military cutbacks and a more rapid withdrawal from Vietnam," explains Wallace Turner in a New York Times feature story. Illustrating the story is a photo of "William K. Lambie, Jr., a former FBI agent presiding over American Security Council's library and index of 'revolutionary' organizations."

The Times story points out that "in 15 years of activity the Council has acquired sufficient influence for President Nixon to write it a thank you letter last year and for General William Westmoreland, the Army Chief of Staff, to be willing to make speeches whenever it needs him. The men who run the Council and its affiliates have about \$1 million a year to spend."

— *J.P.*

AMERIKA—LOVE IT BUT DON'T READ ABOUT IT

Do you ever notice that at these government supported demonstrations they never quote Thomas Jefferson or other founding fathers of America? Any one attempting to read the Declaration of Independence, at one of these "support Amerika" rallies, is liable to be arrested or stoned by the others present.

If you find this hard to believe then listen what happened to Miami Herald reporter Colin Dangaard. Only one person out of 50 approached on local streets by him agreed to sign a typed copy of the Declaration of Independence (Dangaard did this on July 4th). Two called it "commie junk", one threatened to call the police and another red-neck warned: "Be careful who you show that kind of antigovernment stuff to, buddy."

Again on July 4th, a questionnaire was circulated among 300 young adults attending a right-wing Youth for Christ gathering which showed that 28 percent thought an excerpt from the Declaration was written by Lenin! The right-wing youths were then asked to describe briefly what sort of person they thought would make such a statement. Among other things, the author of the Declaration of Independence was called:

"A communist person, someone against our country."

"A person who does not have any sense of responsibility."

"A hippie."

Next Dangaard typed up the Declaration in petition form and stood several hours on a sidewalk, in a conservative part of town, and asked middle-aged passersby to read it and sign it. Only one man agreed—and he said it would cost the pollster a quarter for his signature. Ninety (90%) percent of the people never got past the third paragraph without making such comments as:

"This is the work of a raver."

"Somebody ought to tell the F.B.I. about this sort of rubbish."

(Some say the F.B.I. is seriously considering banning the Declaration as subversive material)

Other comments were:

"Meaningless" and "Sounds like something from the new Left to me." The most truthful comment was: "The

boss'll have to read this before I can let you put it in the shop window. But politically I can tell you he don't lean that way. He's a Republican."

Ross Wheby

SO TELL HANOI!

Let's "tell it to Hanoi".

Remember the plan for Hanoi to trade American pilots for Black Panthers imprisoned by Washington? Hanoi doesn't seem to be pushing the prisoner-swap very hard at the Paris talks.

So send an air letter (for a mere 13c) to the Premier, democratic Republic of Vietnam, Hanoi, North Vietnam. Ask him to hurry up and free the Panthers by exchanging pilots. Get several of your friends to sign for you.

Hopefully the DRV government unlike our own, might listen when we petition for "redress of grievances". So give "legitimate channels" one more try.

Berkeley Barb

DRAFT BOARD SHOCKED

A young organist who pleaded homosexuality to avoid military service to avoid military service was fined \$250 today for sending explicit photographic proof of his sexual bent to his draft board.

The fine was levied in Federal Court against James Michael McClain, 20, after the prosecution charged that his pictures so shocked an unsuspecting female draft board clerk that she had to take five days' leave to recover.

McClain pleaded guilty to a felony charge of sending obscene material through the mails to his draft board in Baton Rouge, La. His draft status was still uncertain today. Meanwhile, mail reaching the Baton Rouge Board was being opened by a man. *NY Daily News*

RIVAL RADIO MEN HURL JAM AT B.B.C. OFFICE IN REPRISAL

Two program directors from a pop radio station were fined £25 (\$60) each for tossing bags of strawberry jam into the headquarters of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

"You ought to know better than to behave like children," the magistrate told Barry Everitt, 22 years old, and Hugh Nolan, 26.

The two were reported to have told the police: "The B.B.C. jams us, so we jammed them."

Mr. Everitt and Mr. Nolan work for Radio Geronimo, a pop station with headquarters in London.

NY Times

TOM FLOWER SENTENCED TO 6 MOS.

Tom Flower, Peace Education Secretary of the Texas-Oklahoma-Arkansas office of the American Friends Service Committee was found guilty and sentenced to six months in jail in San Antonio Municipal Court of charges of disturbing the peace stemming from a "sit-in" he staged in the offices of the I-112th Military Intelligence group on April 20, 1970.

Flower entered the offices of the I-112th after a series of articles in the San Antonio Express-News exposed the undercover surveillance of citizens and citizens groups by Military Intelligence units. The American Friends Service Committee was one of the organizations identified as being watched. The enclosed statement contains what transpired in the I-112th office that day.

In Flower's trial, the prosecution witnesses included Col. Robert Jones, the commander of the I-112th and Major Stephen Weiss, the commander of the local intelligence group.

An important aspect of the defendants defense was the establishing of the fact that the I-112 did compile information on him and his organization. On cross examination Flower asked Major Weiss if he, or any of the agents of the I-112th had ever had Flower or the American Friends Service Committee under surveillance. The Major refused to answer, the prosecution objected to this question, and was upheld by the court.

Col. Jones, in his testimony for the prosecution, explained how he had had told Flower that the I-112th had no information on him or the AFSC, and made the statement that Flower was irrational in persisting in his demand to see files or information which did not exist.

On cross examination Flower asked Col. Jones if the offices of the I-112th had at any time held files or information concerning him or the American Friends Service Committee. Col. Jones informed the Judge that he had no clearance from Washington to answer such a question, and it was dismissed.

The case is being appealed to a higher court.

San Antonio AFSC

CHA CHA JIMENEZ OF YOUNG LORDS KIDNAPPED

On Tuesday, August 11, Cha Cha Jimenez, former chairman of the Young Young Lords Organization, failed to appear in court to be tried for actions stemming from an urban renewal meeting last year. Attempts to investigate by the Young Lords Organization revealed that two men had assaulted the person with whom Cha Cha was staying at 3 AM that morning. When that person regained consciousness, Cha Cha was gone. His whereabouts are unknown.

The case that Cha Cha was fighting involved urban renewal in Lincoln Park. Over 8,000 families have been moved out of the community in recent years. Cha Cha, along with other members of the community, protested the city's vicious attempts to push poor people out of the area in order to build ex-

pensive housing for the rich. During this meeting Cha Cha was singled out and arrested because he was the Chairman of the Young Lords Organization and opposed the racist policies of the city.

During the last year, Cha Cha has been continually arrested and harassed for his political work. Numerous people in the community had planned to serve as witnesses for his defense; they had been present when Cha Cha was arrested on the trumped-up charges. Cha Cha has more charges pending than anyone else in Cook County. Cha Cha had made it clear that he intended to fight all his cases. There was a very good defense to show that the state was attempting to frame him through false evidence.

Cha Cha is a revolutionary, and therefore an enemy of the state. Whoever took him had to have a very good intelligence network—one with the

complexity of the Chicago Police Department. Our overriding concern at this time is Brother Cha Cha's safety and well being. The Latin community and the Young Lords Organization hold the Chicago Police Department responsible for insuring that nothing happens to Cha Cha.

Young Lords

DRAFT BOARD HEAD LOBBIES TO END DRAFT

Gerard Noonan, who heads a draft board in Dubuque, Iowa, journeyed to Washington on August 18 to lobby for the Hatfield amendment which would make possible an end to the draft.

After six years on the job, Noonan said he had reached the "unavoidable conclusion that you can't have a fair draft, so there shouldn't be a draft at all."

-J.P.

DOVETALES

PUSHING ON . . . The Chicago founder and former chairman of the Young Lords has been sentenced to one year in prison. Cha Cha Jimenez was accused of stealing \$23 worth of lumber. A co-defendant in the case, who is not political, got 30 days on the same conviction. One thing about Daley-land, there's no guesswork when it comes to the movement . . . Three people got arrested—I was one of them—at Riverside Research Laboratory in NYC where ABMs are made on Hiroshima Day. So far twelve scientists have quit and a few others are making rumblings in that direction since we blocked their doors. By the way, the judge who arraigned us was a groovy black man who was wearing a red, white, and blue tie with peace symbols on it. He asked a dozen questions about Riverside and seemed to note the address.

HAPPENING . . . The Institute for the Study of Nonviolence has opened a branch in British Columbia. Their first session will be in October; a reading list will be supplied upon receipt of application. Write to Lyn Bowman, Institute . . ., Box 977. Lake Cowichan BC Canada . . . Also in Canada, Ottawa this time, the Committee for Peace and Liberation is selling greeting cards to

raise money. They would like to deal in quantities so orders from groups are especially welcome. Write to them at Box 2382, Station D, Ottawa 4, Ontario Canada. Also, the Committee is sponsoring a talk by that famous peacenik male chauvinist Ben Spock on "Decent and Indecent, Our Person and Political Behaviour (sic)". He'll be in Ottawa at Glebe Institute on Friday, Dec. 4.

IN PRINT . . . WIN writers are getting around. In the September issue of *Esquire* there are articles by Donald Newlove and Craig Karpel. But we know about *Esquire* and its relationship to women so I won't suggest you buy it . . . And the Catholic Art Association put out a special magazine called *The Prophetic Generation* that's visually a welcome relief from some other and has some heavy articles too. There are pieces by Durbin, Jezer, Forest, and Schwartz (I finally get to plug my own thing). You can get a copy from Jane Garmey, 890 West End Ave., NYC for \$3 . . . The WRL—West packet on non-violence is ready. It costs \$1.50 and has many good articles in it and is produced in a nicely slick package. You can get it from them at 833 Haight St., San Francisco.

ON SILVER . . . Lots of movement

movies around. Actually just lots of movies that Hollywood thinks are movement movies. *Getting Straight* is a super-hype on college radicals but there are a few good shots of policemen beating on students that might win us some sympathy from liberals. And the dialogue is so damned creative that it's almost possible not to be insulted . . . On the other hand, *Strawberry Statement* stinks from the word go. It presents college radicals as real assholes who don't know what they're protesting. Though actually James Kunen, who wrote the book from which the movie was taken, might just be such an asshole . . . The best film I've seen in ages is *Joe*, the story of a hard-hat type person and how he relates to the hippie movement. It's really powerful and does more for the love generation than any supposedly pro-movement movie I've seen. And unlike most newer pictures that just seem to end when everyone who's making it gets tired, *Joe* has a genuine bang-up ending.

FINAL REMINDER . . . Don't forget to send material to Dovetales. This column's supposed to contain national bits and pieces but you people out there have been sluggish in passing the word East . . . Wave to a fireman soon; it gets very hot in those rubber jackers . . . Think peace.

Wendy

letters

Dear WIN people,

I just got your issue of "Schools and Better Places for Kids." It was great and about time a politically-oriented publication devoted time and space to our future. I was also sorry there hadn't been some way for you to have known about a very beautiful school here in the city. I am a parent and administrator at Beachbrook School in Brooklyn. Perhaps 25 years ago some politically "old left" parents organized and formed a nursery school. It began with politically aware people and was racially integrated long before it became fashionable. Arlo Guthrie spent two years there at ages four and five. We have always been a school that respected every child's individuality and provided an atmosphere of confidence and love. The individuality which is such a cliché lately is very much a reality here. Eight or nine years ago we began a policy which integrates kids with various "problems" into our basically "normal" school. Our kids now very successfully include yellow, black, and white kids and among those kids you will find mongolism, brain damage, physical handicaps, "retardation" and "normal" ranges. A free school should be for all kids to grow and love to develop. We have an atmosphere where differences are respected and where some diminish. No kid deserves a box with limited expectations—or restricted demands. We feel that everyone has the right to be who or what he can or wants to be. We've recently started a "primary school." So far we have kids up to eight. No group has rigid age restriction or a curriculum. Our "primary" group is of kids aged 5-8 together. We are desperate for publicity (and money). There has never been money to afford publicity or professionals to help us get money. Our tuition is \$450 a year for half days and \$850 for full days. It is urgent for the continuation of our "primary" group to have another building or any kind of additional space. I guess we're not alone in our problems but we are unique in our school and the REAL alternative it offers for kids and parents and staff to realize our humanity and value as people, not to be destroyed in a corrupt and manipulative society.

I hope I've been able to convey some of the excitement Beachbrook is. We would love to have you visit. If you have any help or advice or contacts for us—it would be out of sight!

Joyce Friedman
Beachbrook
2953 Avenue X
Brooklyn
NI-7162

Dear Home Folks,

Many thanks for the July issue and its attention to schools and better places for kids. I particularly enjoyed A Hard Reign Gonna Fall with that groovy checklist. Since I am in the process of helping to set up a free school on Long Island, I shall read it several times and pass it along to my radical teacher associates.

The only thing I would take issue with is something in Paul Goodman's letter.

He said, "Only the city and its on-going functions has sufficient scope to be an educational environment." Does that mean that there is insufficient scope out in suburbia, or out in the country, or in the mountains, or on the ocean? I think the only significant thing that can be learned in most cities is that they are no longer viable places to live, learn, or play, without paying too great a price to one's keeping one's self together...

Bob Barnes
Locust Valley, N.Y.

Dear WIN,

I am a kid, 14 years old. For the last 4 years I have gone to a very progressive community school in Plainfield, Vermont, from which I "graduated" this year. Since I have absolutely no desire to go to a public high school and know of no private or progressive high schools that I would like, I am starting a school. Since I don't have much money to spend on school, and since one shouldn't have to pay to learn anyway, there will be no tuition. The only expenses will be for craft materials and that sort of stuff. THERE WILL BE ABSOLUTELY NO TEACHERS OR ADULTS INVOLVED EXCEPT INDIRECTLY OR WHERE THE KIDS DECIDE THEY ARE NEEDED because I believe that after a certain age (about sixth grade age) kids can learn, even learn better, without adults. Therefore, the minimum age has been set at sixth grade, the maximum at the twelfth. One idea, or plan for the school year is to spend a couple months living at my home in Vermont, some time living at other kids homes, at friends and/or maybe communes.

I'm sure that there are hundreds of kids interested in starting a school and who have ideas about it. We only need six or seven.

I think that the important thing is to meet as many people and experience as many things as possible.

If you are interested in helping starting this school, and being a student, please contact me:

Fred Carlson
Route 1 Box 75 A
Marshfield, Vt.

Dear WIN,

Our files show that you have written to (and about) us concerning the handling of the case of *State of Alabama v. Frank Piazzola*. Your writings apparently stem from a widely distributed essay by Mrs. Piazzola on the trial and conviction of her husband, in the courts of Alabama.

Mr. Piazzola was one of several people arrested on marijuana charges at Troy State University. Some resulting civil and criminal cases were handled by Attorney George W. Dean, Jr. with the Alabama Civil Liberties Union maintaining an interest in them. The criminal cases have been through the Alabama courts with the degree of nonsuccess that would be expected on constitutional issues in southern state courts.

Then, under the auspices of the Alabama

Civil Liberties Union, Mr. Piazzola's case was taken to federal court with Morris Dees, Esquire, of Montgomery, Alabama serving as his attorney. Here based solely on the record made by Mr. Dean in the state court, Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr. of the U.S. District Court of the Middle District of Alabama issued an opinion and order on July 15, 1970. Judge Johnson held that the convictions had been obtained as the result of an unconstitutional search and seizure and ordered that Mr. Piazzola and his co-petitioner be immediately released from prison.

WIN Magazine solicited its readers to give Mrs. Piazzola "any contribution of information or help." We hope that this result obtained by the Alabama Civil Liberties Union will be sufficient "contribution."

Charles Morgan, Jr.
ACLU
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Friends,

I am writing to you with a couple of tasks in mind. First to tell you about our organization—Connections, what we do, and what we are trying to get together right now.

Connections is a group that was formed by ex-convicts and "prison widows" made aware of the faults in the penal system by our experiences with it. We provide rides and housing for visitors of various prisons, and also help to procure legal aid for those who did not receive a fair trial, or are unable to attain counsel due to their incarceration. And hopefully our goal is to educate the public about an archaic system that needs rehabilitation far more than the people it has victimized, both on the inside and the outside.

Jeff Segal, a member of the Oakland 7, is doing four years for refusing induction at the Federal Prison Camp outside of Safford, Arizona. He's been a one-man legal counseling service there, working particularly with Mexican nationals awaiting deportation.

To do this work Jeff needs some very expensive law books. These books are necessary for him to help our brothers who are being crucified by American justice. We need your money. If you can contribute to the purchase of these books, please make out your check to Connections Guidance Center, making a notation that the money is for law books. Your contributions will be acknowledged. If you have law books available please get in touch with us so we can send them where they are needed. Also, if you wish to know more about Connections please contact us.

Connections
330 Ellis Street
San Francisco, Ca. 94102
(415) 673-0298

Dear friends,

Thanks for printing Gordon Yaswen's fine account of his Sunrise Hill experience. I'd like WIN readers to know that, as the intentional community "movement" gathers strength, cumulative learning does occur. We who have recently founded a small intentional commu-

unity (ex-
learning
from Ne
experien
have gon

We an
ways. W
ion (Mar
religion,
plan to f
much as
Everyon
earn, in
and take
moving t
less, doir
at hand,
are great
our best
by our p
children
focus on
are given
relations
primary
ments, w
but deal
paying ch
than the
work-pla
We an
important
1. Our
have not
majority
many. Ne
the life o
revolve a
2. Our
drop of i
basis of i
cases goi
cases inv
together.
we had s
a group,
encounte
and lots n
of the gro
session o
involved
exploring
3. The
a success
libertaria
itarian ef
other wa
in before
courage
giant ste
4. All
with using
any appro
communa
of what w
to workin
change wi
5. Like
ure repug
one to im
that does
authorita
highly lib
to coordin
and to de
remain flo

unity (expanded family, educational center, learning experience, whatever) some 2½ hours from New York, have learned a lot from the experiences of the many Sunrise Hills that have gone before.

We are like Sunrise Hill in some important ways. We have no especially-labelled persuasion (Marxism, vegetarianism, Walden-II-ism, religion, primitivism, or whatever), and no plan to fulfill. Finances are communal as much as people like—in practice virtually all. Everyone puts in what he earns (or what we earn, in our developing communal enterprises) and takes from the pot as he sees fit. We are moving toward a simpler life-way, spending less, doing more for ourselves with what is at hand, eating more healthily (and the meals are great!) gardening organically, and doing our best to be aware of ecology and do well by our planet. Increasingly, we are raising the children communally, though the primary focus on their parents remains. Similarly, we are given to non-exclusiveness and multiple relationships, while still tending to focus upon primary pairings. We don't have rules, assignments, work-rotations, schedules, and such, but deal with needs together as they arise, paying close attention to our feelings rather than theories. We value spontaneous-ritual, work-play, and joyful madness.

We are unlike Sunrise Hill in some equally important ways:

1. Our land and initial operating funds have not come from one person, nor even a majority of it from one person, but from many. Not in this or in any other way does the life of the community depend upon or revolve around any one or two persons.
2. Our group came together not at the drop of an inspirational moment, but on the basis of interweaving relationships in some cases going back many years, and in many cases involving previous living and working together. We did not move to our farm until we had spent a good deal of time together as a group, mostly on weekend work sessions, encounter and gestalt therapy sessions, play, and lots more. Lots of self-selection in and out of the group took place before we took possession of our 37 acres. Only half the people involved in those months of preparation and exploring actually came to settle our land.
3. The nucleus of our group came out of a successful experience of operating a highly libertarian children's school, a more communitarian effort (economically and in many other ways) than any of us had been involved in before, and one that gave us much of the courage and experience we needed to take the giant step from that world to this one.
4. All of us have had previous experience with using encounter group and gestalt therapy approaches in dealing with personal and communal problems and growth. At the heart of what we're about is a strong commitment to working on radical personal and social change with the help of these approaches.
5. Like Sunrise Hill, we find lots of structure repugnant and resist any attempt by anyone to impose anything on anyone else. But that doesn't mean there are only two choices, authoritarian structure and chaos. We are highly libertarian, but we do come together to coordinate, to make consensual decisions, and to develop day-to-day structures which remain flexible, personal, and experimental.

Similarly with leadership. Despite our bad experiences with imposed pre-structures and engineered leadership in our society generally we reject only that which is in fact unwanted, not that which emerges spontaneously, feels OK, and remains flexible, non-coercive, and our own.

None of this, of course, means we will necessarily last any longer than Sunrise Hill did. It does mean, I think, that we've learned from past experiences a few things that have helped us make a more solid beginning. In any case, longevity is not the main thing and certainly is not the measure of success. Our learning, quieting, and growing so far is already such that if our community were to close down tomorrow it would have to be judged, in the most important sense, a success—our lives (and perhaps this is true, too, for some of the dozens who already have visited) are richer for it.

One of the things we're excited about at the moment is a workshop we'll be offering in September for people interested in a communal alternative for their own lives. A few of us have led gestalt and encounter groups elsewhere since our community began, but this will be our first workshop at our place, using all of us and the place itself as resources. Our hope is that this workshop, planned for September 4-6, will be successful enough that it will be followed by others and become an important part of our outreach.

There's much, much more to say about the origins, nature, and development of our community, and we're happy to share it. Let us know if you'd like us to send along a more full-scale diary-type account. Meanwhile, all our best wishes to all of you in your good work and play.

Jerry Friedberg

P.S. Any WIN readers who are interested can reach us c/o Jerry Friedberg, 1165 East 54th Street, Brooklyn, New York.

Dear WIN,

We thought some of your readers would like to hear about the collective growing out of our work with Jews for Urban Justice here in Washington.

Six of our people are now living in two houses. Three of these people have recently quit professional jobs (lawyer, engineer, mathematician) to work on Jewish organizing and the possibility of a rural kibbutz-type collective built around a farming community. About a dozen other people are associated with the collective although they maintain outside work and homes. The group gathers on Friday evenings and Saturday mornings to share worship, meals, singing, dancing, and celebration. Most of the group is also involved in political activities such as peace work, Panther defense, grape boycott, and local congressional and sheriff campaigns.

We would enjoy visits from others interested in communal/collective living. Call 332-3307 or 829-1366 when you're next in Washington.

*Sharlene Kranz
Jews for Urban Justice Collective
1808 Wyoming Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20009*

Brothers and sisters,

Please don't send WIN to my old address anymore. I'm not living there, and while my brother digs it, Dad works for the CIA and isn't turned on by it at all. Too bad.

Please warn me when my subscription is about to run out. I don't want to let it lapse.

*Kirk
Washington, D.C.*

Dear WIN,

For the antiwar movement to grow strong enough to win, it must convince a majority of Americans to put it in a position of national political power. Furthermore, it is not enough for Americans merely to sympathize with our protest; they must be convinced that we have a better way of running the country than does Nixon, a task which we have largely ignored.

Mass mobilization tactics, which were once essential in the late 1960's, for politicizing millions of people, are no longer very useful. The traditional mobilization strategy has attracted about as many people as it ever can, so at this point, the antiwar movement is reduced to merely finding new things for the same people to do, rather than expanding our constituency.

As a result, the antiwar movement is subsiding as an independent political force, primarily because its failure to propose a better way of running the United States has left it with no constructive alternative other than to support any political candidate who echoes our protest—none of whom can solve America's problems.

In this light, I would like to offer the kind of principled criticism of the SWP-YSA-SMC that Sandy Knoll solicited in the August issue of WIN. I agree with Sandy's criticism of the Independent Radical Caucus at the February SMC Conference. The IRC's loose collection of "radical" demands was certainly no improvement over the SMC strategy; in fact, it was merely a logical extension of SMC's outdated collection of demands: Immediate withdrawal, End repression, Support the GE strikers. Just as the IRC had no way of actually organizing around its mish-mash of demands, neither did the SWP have a way of convincing Black Panthers to support the GE strike, or of convincing GE strikers to oppose black repression.

As a constructive alternative to both the SWP and the IRC, we in the National Caucus of Labor Committees distributed a proposal for the antiwar movement to adopt an economic conversion program, demanding the creation of millions more productive jobs by converting the aerospace-defense industries to useful production, financed by taxing banks and corporate profits. This is the only way that the Left can intervene in the current period of capitalist crisis, and provide a material basis for allying such diverse groups as the GE strikers and Black Panthers.

*Les Levidow
National Caucus of Labor Committees
Silver Springs, Md.*

Classifieds

BIRTH CERTIFICATES!

Make your own birth certificate. Blank state birth certificate form. Sold for amusement purposes only—\$10.00. P.O. Box 18223 San Francisco, Calif. 94118

Couple in late 20's wishes to make lowest phosphate, highest concentration, safest laundry product available to beautiful, turned-on clean clothes buffs.

Direct sales method frequently means you and "your distributor" may never get together. He may be more afraid of live freaks than dead lakes.

We will be your personal BESTLINE distributor. B-7 Laundry Compound, 10 pound box (smallest size avail.) retails @ \$6.25—if you can get it. We'll need \$7.00 to send ppd and hopefully cover cost of this insane undertaking. Communes note: 25 lbs. ppd \$14.50 50 lbs. ppd. \$21.00.

For Poverty Patrons: Computed on Dot-han, Ala. discount supermarket prices.

	per load	SAVE
Tide/All/Cheer	15¢	
B-7-10 lb. box	08¢	\$5.15
B-7-25 lb. box	06½¢	\$17.00
B-7-50 lb. box	04½¢	\$41.25

We'll include Bestline Catalog of eleven products. All are Parents Magazine Guaranteed and Eco-people supported, and harmless to hands, pets, war resisters, grapes, grass, children & all other living things. For cleaning performance alone, you can't beat this line. Nor for cost. Nor for eco-balance. THERE ARE NO EXCUSES LEFT, now that you can get it by mail.

Let's get this stuff in every sewer in the country!

10 pound box—\$7.00 each. That's 160 frontload washes, a full year's supply for this family.

Send to H-N Nihilicides
Box 152
Stone Lake, Wisconsin 54876

OUTSIDE THE NET: A new magazine in education needs manuscripts and subscriptions (\$4.00/year). Write 223 Delta St., No. 112-B, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

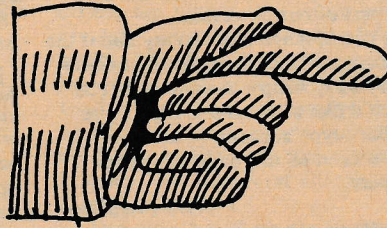
"LIVING THE GOOD LIFE": Write for free leaflet describing Scott and Helen Nearing's book on natural foods, organic gardening, stonehouse building, Forest Farm, Harborside, Maine 04642.

"The Right to be Lazy" by Paul Lafargue. Written by Marx's son-in-law, this little pamphlet is an excellent antidote to the Marxism that glorifies the work ethic. 48 pp., offset, available from Solidarity Bookshop, c/o IWW, 2440 N. Lincoln Ave, Chi, Ill. for \$1.

from The Spectacular Society, by Guy Debord (Vol. IV, No. 5 of Radical America)

"Ever-increasing capitalist alienation at all levels makes it increasingly difficult for workers to recognize and name their own misery, thus placing them in front of the alternative of rejecting the totality of their misery or nothing. From this revolutionary organization must learn that it can no longer combat alienation with alienated forms."

"Revolutionary theory is now the enemy of all revolutionary ideology and knows it." 120 pp, lavishly illustrated, \$1. Or \$5/year (10 numbers) of RA. Special offer with this ad: free copy of Paul Lafargue's classic text, "The Right to Be Lazy, in a new, illustrated edition, with every new subscription, including joint subscriptions (RA with Socialist Revolution for \$9/year: RA with TELOS for \$5.50/year). 1237 Spaight St., Madison, WI 53703. Write for new lit list.



New Peace Labels, Self Stick
100 @ \$1.00 Spread the Word!

New Ecology Labels, Self Stick
100 @ \$1.00

New Equality Labels Self Stick
100 @ \$1.00 Spread the Word!

Write—White—Tonight

Julian White, Advt.—611 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10012

DIRECTORY

Directory of Communes - \$1.
Directory of Free Schools - \$1.
Directory of Social Change - \$1.
Directory of Nudist/Sex - \$1.
Directory of Personal Growth - \$1.
All 5 for \$4.00 plus newspaper:

ALTERNATIVES-56, 1526
Gravenstein, No., Sebastopol, Calif.

Editing, revision, rewriting, from somebody who learned the HARD way—at WIN. Super-reasonable rates; my needs are small, but pressing. Will consider any job that doesn't require leaving the Southwest. Write to: Paul Johnson, Somewhere in New Mexico, c/o WIN.

WIN classified ads reach more than 8,000 lovely, turned-on people! Advertise your thing in WIN! Rates per ad, per insertion: first 15 words \$2; each 10 words thereafter \$1. Make check or money order payable to WIN MAGAZINE. Payment must accompany order.

THE ECOLOGY FLAG . . .

Greek letter, Theta, warning of death, symbolizes the threat to earth and its atmosphere. Green stripes are for unspoiled land; white for pure air.



Actual Size

PRICES

55¢ each
4 @ \$2.00
100 @ \$40.00
1000 @ \$340.00
Shipped prepaid!

Send check or money order.
Write—White—Tonight

Green & White Color
Gold Finish Brass
% of every dollar of each sale goes to WIN

Julian White
611 Broadway Rm.528
New York, N.Y. 10012

Up

from under

a new magazine
by, for, and about women

339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012

I enclose \$3.00 for my 5-issue subscription.

I enclose a contribution of \$

I would like to help distribute

Up from Under. Please contact me.

Name

Address

City

State

Zip

SPECIAL ADDED ATTRACTION!

Some years ago, in the course of the Quebec-to-Guantanamo Walk, we were staying in a large Negro church in a southern city. We invited the church's elders and minister to join us at supper. The minister remained silent throughout the meal. Finally, he turned to me and I expected him to ask us about our views on international relations, the race question, and nonviolence. Instead he asked, "Why are you a vegetarian?" He listened intently to my explanation.

I was brought up a pacifist but not a vegetarian. As a young child, though, I found it distasteful to kill fish. I gave up fishing. Later, I abandoned as well hunting birds and small animals with air rifles. I remember suffering deep remorse on killing a songbird, and pledged myself never again to hunt for pleasure. However, up until my late teens I had only mild curiosity about vegetarianism. Through my reading, I learned that George Bernard Shaw, Tolstoi and Gandhi had been vegetarians and that most Hindus were vegetarians. By the age of 25 I had come to believe that vegetarianism was a logical extension of nonviolence. However, probably because I lived in the United States where meat is universally eaten, I had not changed my habits.

When I was 27 I undertook a trip around the world to study peace movements and communitarian societies. I stopped first in England and one day visited the Peace News office in London. The first person I met was a short, wiry gentleman in a suit, vest, derby hat and suspenders, who poked a finger at me aggressively and asked me if I was a vegetarian as well as a pacifist. On hearing my negative reply, he began a diatribe of such hostility that for some minutes I was unable to reply. Then, glancing at his shoes, I asked him how he, a vegetarian, could wear leather shoes. He grew livid and broke off the discussion, leaving me with the last word and an apparent victory.

I never saw the man again, nor do I recall his name, but one of his arguments had struck home. It was, "If you had to kill with your own hands the animals you eat, would you do so?" I knew I would not and that, therefore, I was paying butchers to do something that I felt wrong.

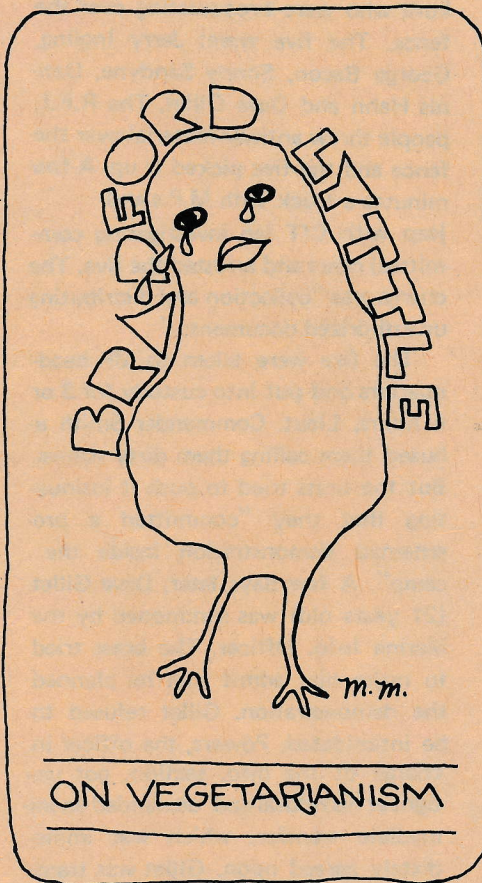
I knew that to be consistent and socially responsible I would have to become a vegetarian. However, for almost six months I remained a meat eater. My travels took me through Austria and Germany, where Weiner Schnitzels and other fleshy delicacies distracted me from the truth of vegetarianism.

In India at last, I went to Sevagram, Gandhi's last ashram. Fare at the ashram was vegetarian. I adjusted to it easily and found I didn't miss meat. Moreover, I thought that to eat meat would be risky, since many of the cows and other animals in India looked diseased, and refrigeration facilities were poor or nonexistent.

After some days I left the ashram and undertook a trip to other Gandhian centers and cities. I stopped at Agra, planning to visit the Taj Mahal, and lodged at a third class European hotel. That night at supper I read "Beefsteak" on the menu and resolved to have a last fling with meat before giving it up forever.

The "Beefsteak" looked grey and tasted strange, but I downed it. The next morning my stomach was upset and though I visited the Taj, my mind was as much occupied with speculations about whether nausea would overcome me as it was with the glories of Shah Jahan's wife's exquisite tomb. On the way back to the hotel in a horse-drawn waggon I reflected upon the justice of my discomfort. My departure from virtue had cost me full enjoyment of the Taj. I decided never to eat meat again and I have kept the spirit of that decision.

Some non-vegetarians claim that they can't see this distinction between forms of life. All forms are equal, they say. One has no right to distinguish between degrees of life; doing so is a "subjective" judgment. To me, such distinctions are natural and right. No one with normal feelings has the same reaction to glistening the throat of a pig as he does to uprooting a radish.



My vegetarianism is not immutable. My basic principle is that I try to destroy as low forms of life as possible in sustaining my own. Thus, I eat eggs, milk and milk products, nuts, vegetables and fruits, but not the flesh of

warm blooded animals, fowl or fish.

I have carried my vegetarianism to the point of trying not to wear things made from leather. Fabric belts are quite satisfactory but canvas or plastic shoes are less so. For several years I tried to find someone in the United States who would make me shoes from the hides of animals that had died a natural death. Someone told me that such shoes were available from India and put me in touch with a Gandhian village leather working center. I now order all of my leather shoes from there.

There are many degrees of vegetarianism. Some vegetarians won't eat the flesh of warm blooded animals but will consume fish and fowl. Others will eat no animal with a backbone. Still others forego all forms of meat and eggs and dairy products besides. There are vegetarians who subsist on fruit, vegetables and nuts. I have met a man who wouldn't eat anything that was a seed or had a seed in it. He wouldn't destroy even the germ of life.

Vegetarians who abstain from dairy products usually do so because modern processes of milking can be painful to cows and male calves are slaughtered. Some don't eat eggs because the hens, in their opinion, are cruelly treated. I feel this latter argument strongly, for I know that in modern egg factories, hens may be kept all their lives in tiny wire stalls, little prisons. They are reduced to egg producing machines and never know freedom or the love of a rooster.

Vegetarianism is much more common in Europe than in the United States. About one third of those in the English pacifist movement are vegetarians. Over the past decade the custom has spread among American pacifists so that today, as in England, meals at conferences for American pacifists will generally have provisions for vegetarians. However, I have been surprised by how strongly some American pacifists resist vegetarianism. Some avow that they have no repugnance toward killing animals. One I know goes so far as to say that he thinks vegetarianism is immoral. He claims that man is naturally omnivorous. To buttress his arguments he cites the Old Testament, which he never does in other matters.

The advantages of vegetarianism are manifold. It is a more sensitive and morally consistent approach toward food than meat eating, and it is more socially responsible, possibly healthier, less expensive and cleaner as well. Why, then, aren't more people vegetarians? Partly, our persistence in meat eating comes from the Judeo-Christian tradition. The Bible says all living things are for man's use. Social pressure is also a powerful reason. People, particularly in a competitive society where conformity is a requirement of certain kinds of success, don't want to have individualistic ways. And certainly the love of luxury is a strong motivation. (Meat protein derived from grazing livestock requires seven times as much land as vegetable protein.) Most Americans accept the privileges of an affluent culture, which consumes half of the world's goods while hundreds of millions starve and die of malnutrition. Large numbers are not yet willing to be influenced by mainly moral reasons to give up a habit they enjoy.

—Bradford Lytle

EVEN MORE! ...changes

ANTI-WAR ACTIVITIES OF THE G.I.'S IN JAPAN

The Spring brought a strong antiwar movement to the G.I.'s in Iwakuni. As of June 1970, Iwakuni, an international air base taken over by the U.S. in WW II, became the largest base because of the withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. The antiwar movement at Iwakuni is the strongest of all the bases in Japan. Marines from Vietnam are sent directly to Iwakuni. Nixon's policy since last August (1969) has been to withdraw troops from front-lines of Southeast Asia and replace them to the second lines of Japan, Okinawa, Korea etc. The break-up of personnel at Iwakuni is as follows: base corps (permanent officers, etc) : 1000 persons under Capt. Wm. R. Quinn; 1st (rear) division of the Marine air force: 3,300 persons (2 battalions, 4 companies; under Commodore W.G. Johnson); 6th group of the Navy air force of the Pacific 7th fleet: 400 persons; support corps for the 6th group (also of the 7th fleet): 300 persons; a total of 5,000 persons.

In the autumn of 1969, there was a clash between the black and white G.I.'s at Iwakuni. Several times small fights broke out between the groups and the brass tried to hide it. On the evening of the 5th of January, a large fight between the black G.I.'s and white G.I.'s including injuries and a considerable number of arrests led the brass to form a special patrol to keep the two groups separated. In late January, radical white G.I.'s formed the third antiwar newspaper called *Semper Fi* (the first being "Hair" put out by the G.I.'s at Nusawa and the second "Kill for Peace" printed by the G.I.'s at the Asaka army base). The publication was the first indication of an antiwar movement by the G.I.'s on Iwakuni. In its first edition, *S. Fi* disclosed that the brass's attempts to talk with the black G.I.'s "was just an effort to appease our black brothers." The brass then tried to get liberal and formed a "round-table" conference on Feb. 5th, which was taped and sent to Beheiren, the Japanese "Peace in Vietnam" Committee, Beheiren helped organize these

antiwar papers by supplying equipment, space etc., as well as counselling services for resistance within the military, and aid to deserters. Of course, the brass tried to cover all of it up, but Beheiren made the tape public to the press in April. In early March, Beheiren began to print and distribute *S. Fi* and organize Radio Free Iwakuni. Every Saturday they bring electric megaphones to one side of the base to broadcast inside.

May 16, Memorial Day, usually an open house day for army bases found the bases closed to all but "invited Persons". At 2:30 pm, 5 antiwar G.I.'s wearing black armbands came to meet the Beheiren people of Radio Free Iwakuni who were broadcasting over the fence. The five were: Jerry Ingling, George Bacon, Sonny Sandyne, Dennis Hahn and Dave Gillet. The R.F.I. people threw antiwar material over the fence and the five picked it up. A few minutes a truck with M.P.s and jeep with CIT (an investigating committee) came and arrested the five. The charge was "collection and distributing unauthorized documents."

The five were taken to MP headquarters and put into custody for 3 or 4 hours. Lieut. Commander Smith abused them calling them dirty names. But the brass tried to push it insinuating that they "committed a pre-schemed demonstration inside the camp". A few days later, Dave Gillet (21 years old) was summoned by the Marine Info. Officer. The brass tried to make him admit that he planned the demonstration. Gillet refused to be intimidated. Powers, the officer in charge of the info. section, got uptight at his refusal and demanded an immediate transfer, which was immediately agreed upon. Gillet was transferred to Okinawa on May 22nd. Upon leaving, he left the following message to his brothers at Iwakuni: "You remember Medusa? You cut one head off and two grew back in its place. The brass is kicking us from one part of the Pacific to the other. Do you think that they are expecting us to stop printing the paper? To stop thinking?

The next targets were Dennis Hahn (22 years old) and Lonnie Kenner (23).

Both were editors of *S. Fi*. Lonnie Kenner arrived in Japan last year from Vietnam. He loves Tolstoy and Thor-eau. He is a pacifist. On June 2nd, they received an order to be transferred to the Cherry Point Marine air base in N. Carolina. They had 2½ hours to prepare. 20 G.I.'s saw them off with the V-sign. The members of the ASU at Iwakuni sent the following message to their friends at Beheiren: "The generals are expecting G.I.'s to stop resisting if they see other G.I.'s transferred. They are wrong! The harder the oppression becomes, the stronger we become. If every one of the G.I.'s in Japan know what has happened to us, more G.I.'s would join us. The Brass is learning fast. They are beginning to understand that they can transfer revolutionaries but they can never transfer a revolution."

On June 3rd, George Bacon, a founder of *S. Fi* was arrested on base and kept under guard "to prevent me from talking to anybody" . . . and not allowed to take any personal belongings, was sent to Okinawa (on 2 hours notice) "They assured me I was going to be on the next plane for the U.S. The next day I found out to my horror that I was being sent back to the war. And here I am. (in Chu Lai, Vietnam) My new commanding officer told me if I tried any of my 'subversive bullshit' in his outfit, I would get a bullet in my back."

Another tape was released to the press on June 4th in which the G.I.'s assured the press of their determination to continue their resistance. By June 5th, ASU members at Iwakuni numbered around 300.

Elaine Iyanage and Kenichi



Put
flag
bur
For
mis
WII



©1969

Put this decal in your car window and let the American flag freaks know where you stand. The best idea since the bumper sticker, it comes in patriotic red, white and blue. Four and a quarter inches in diameter so that it can't be missed at any speed. 75¢ each, three for \$2. Order from WIN, 339 Lafayette St., NYC 10012.

Is a popular revolution possible in an advanced capitalist democracy?

Is any particular sector of the proletariat the key to a revolutionary strategy?

What is the relation between women's liberation and capitalism?

Why have past Socialist and Communist movements always failed in the United States?

socialist revolution

... is attempting to deal with these and related questions. Among the articles we are publishing are James O'Connor on the Fiscal Crisis of the State, James Weinstein on the I.W.W., Serge Mallet on the Soviet Union, Ellen Willis on Consumerism and Women, Saul Landau on the Contemporary Film, and Robert Fitch and Mary Oppenheimer on Finance Capital. Subscribe.

SPECIAL OFFER: For a New America: Essays in History and Politics from "Studies on the Left," 1959-1967. \$1.50 with subscription.

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION
1445 STOCKTON STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94133

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Single Issue • \$1.50 _____ Foreign Subscription • \$6.50 _____

Subscription (6 Issues) • \$6.00 _____ SPECIAL OFFER • \$7.50 _____

literature

THE ESSAYS OF A.J. MUSTE. Compiled by Nat Hentoff.

Includes sections of A.J.'s uncompleted autobiography. Finally in paperback, \$3.45.

TRIALS OF THE RESISTANCE. Compiled from the New York Review of Books.

Accounts of recent political trials with commentary by Chomsky, Ferber, Kempton, and others. 246 pp. \$2.45.

SAIGON, U.S.A. Alfred Hassler, Executive Secretary, FOR

An account of the U.S.-supported Thieu-Ky dictatorship; introduction by Sen. McGovern. 320 pp. \$3.25.

SEARCH FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. American Friends Service Committee.

Concrete proposals based on a 2-year international survey. 68 pp. 75¢

THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX. Sidney Lens.

Analysis plus a complete reassessment of U.S. foreign policy. 161 pp. \$2.95.

WEAPONS FOR COUNTERINSURGENCY

A manual for organizing local projects to protest aspects of the military-industrial complex. 104 pp. \$1.

SAL SI PUEDES: CESAR CHAVEZ AND THE NEW AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Peter Mattiessen.

"At a time when violence seems to have become a fact of public life, Chavez has maintained the principles of non-violence," (*N.Y. Times*) Hardcover, 372 pp. \$6.95.

BUTTONS



WRL broken rifle button
Nuclear Disarmament button
each 10¢; \$1/12; \$6/100



NEW-ND button in colors—10¢; \$1/12; \$7/100
WRL BROKEN RIFLE PIN in heavy metal, \$1.
ND PIN in black enamel on steel, \$1.

To: **WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE**

339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012

I enclose \$ _____ for items checked.

I enclose \$ _____ contribution to the WRL.

Name _____

Address _____

Zip _____

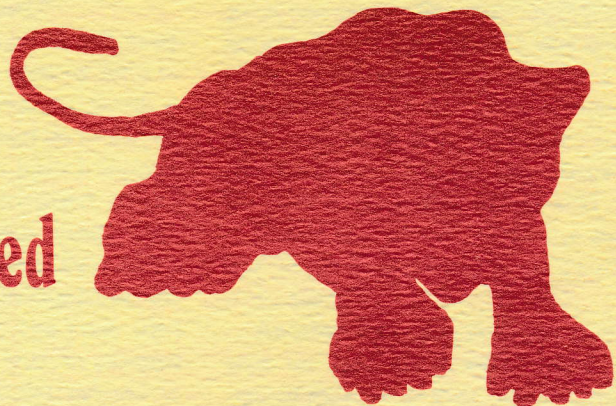
M/M Leslie L. Feldy
2232 Blenden Dr
Cleveland Hts OH 44108

SUPPORT THE PANTHER 21

Join The Jury Day-Sept. 8

Rally
12 Noon
Foley Sq. Films/Workshops

funds urgently needed



COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE PANTHER 21

box 628
new york, n.y. 10025