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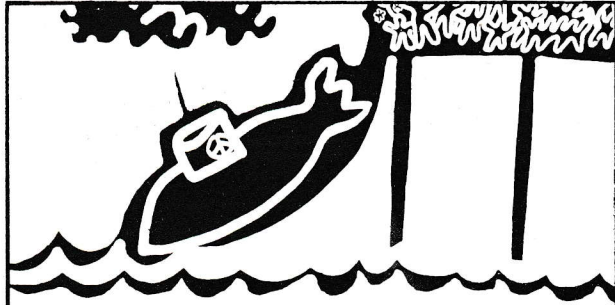
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## how to end the war in Viet Nam







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Volume VI, Number 16,

1 October, 1970

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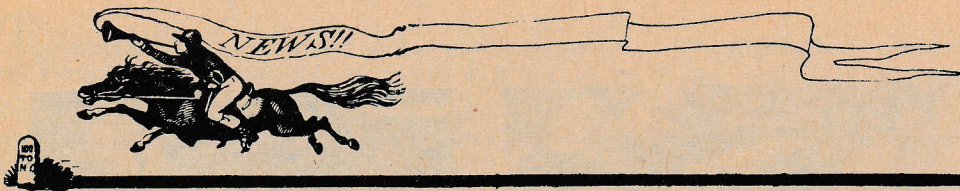
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# win

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# changes

## DRAFT BOARD RIP-OFF IN ROCHESTER, N.Y.

Over the Labor Day weekend, in Rochester, New York, raids were carried out simultaneously at the offices of four local draft boards, the F.B.I., and the United States Attorney, all located in the Rochester Federal Building. At the four local draft boards, 1-A files were destroyed, as were critical portions of the cross-reference system. At the U.S. Attorney's office, files were destroyed, and at the F.B.I. files and weapons were disrupted.

Eight pacifists were arrested leaving the Federal Building at 4:15 A.M., after the destruction had been completed, on the morning of September 6. They are being held on charges of breaking and entering a federal building, and destroying government property valued at more than \$100. Bail has set at \$100,000 for each of the eight.

The eight who were arrested are: Suzanne Williams, a former staff member of New England C.N.V.A., and recently released from federal prison for destroying draft files in Boston; DeCourcy Squire, also formerly of New England C.N.V.A.; Joanie Nicholson, of the New York 8, who destroyed files of draft boards in the Bronx and Queens last August; Ted Glick, of the East Coast Conspiracy to Save Lives, raided draft complexes in Philadelphia and G.E. offices in Washington, D.C. in February; Frank Callahan, an aspiring renaissance man; Wayne Bonnekemper, a fugitive from justice (on a demo rap); Jane Meyerding, a former student; and Joe Gilchrist, a draft resister from Ithaca.

Although draft files destruction has become commonplace, this is the first instance that the offices of the F.B.I. of U.S. Attorney have been assaulted. These offices were described in a statement of the group, as, "immoral tools of an immoral government," and condemned for prosecuting draft resisters, harassing the Movement, suppressing dissent, and locking people in cages. The group felt that they treasured life, liberty and human dignity, more than the property that is used to compromise these values.

## WIN DECALS BANNED AT AIR FORCE BASE

"Security officers at Shepard Air Force Base began today enforcing orders to remove from all base vehicles decals showing the American flag with a peace symbol overprint," said a UPI dispatch August 19. "Any civilian at Shepard with such a decal on his automobile will be escorted to the main gate and asked to leave. The orders include books, jackets and personal belongings of the airmen."

The decals described above can be obtained from WIN-75¢ apiece, three for \$2.

—J.P.

## "HARD HATS NOT ALL STORMTROOPERS"

So stated the placard carried by Walter Stack, a hod carrier for the past 15 years, as he recently rode the length of San Francisco's Market Street wearing his own hard hat. (Stack, a former seaman, is the brother of Joe Stack with whom I recall being clobbered one day by goons on the New Orleans waterfront back in 1936 as we were distributing union literature.)

Where he started his ride, there was a large concentration of construction workers, but he reports no sign of hos. And the next morning when he came to work—his picture was in the paper—there was a lot of kidding but, as he said "It was all very friendly and congenial and nobody went into the issues."

The slogan on Stack's placard is true, concerning San Francisco. The nation's newspapers gleefully reported the hard hats' pro-war demonstrations in New York last May. But they gave very little attention to the fact that at the same time in San Francisco 53 local building and metal trades officials were among the signers of a full page newspaper ad concluding "We want a cease fire—Now! We want out of Cambodia—Now! We want out of Vietnam—Now! We've had it!" In fact every AFL-CIO county Central Labor Council in the Bay area was joined in censuring Nixon "for his deception, dishonesty and violation of our Constitution." —J.P.

## AND EVEN MILITARY ACADEMY GRADUATES . . .

. . . now have a group opposing the war in Indochina. Organized in June in San Francisco, Concerned Academy Graduates recently opened an office in Washington and launched a campaign to convince Americans that "the only honorable peace now is to admit our mistake and get out of Vietnam."

Among the group's membership are 125 alumni of West Point, Annapolis and the Air Force Academy. —J.P.

## DRAFT BOARD ENDS PROTEST

The Door County (Wisc) Selective Service Board No. 16 agreed finally to end its protest and continue calling for induction.

The board had voted unanimously Aug. 10 not to draft any men beyond August until violators of Selective Service laws were apprehended and prosecuted.

The board had said it would refuse to induct men because "it was an injustice to the honest citizen who reports for induction to fulfill his military obligation to permit the violator to escape without penalty."

*Milwaukee Journal*  
Please turn to page 30



YOU . . .

Can support WIN by sending in news, articles, photos, poems, pictures.





Brad Lyttle

HOW TO END THE WAR IN VIET NAM #1

**ISOLATE  
THE FORCES OF FASCISM,  
EXPOSE CORPORATE  
LIBERALISM,  
HEIGHTEN ANTI-IMPERIAL-  
IST CONSCIOUSNESS,  
SOLIDIFY MASS POWER**

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The weakest link in the chain of American imperialism was Vietnam—and is now Indochina. The U.S. is close to defeat in that area. Those voices in the ruling circles who argue that the U. S. will never suffer its “first” defeat are quite prepared to pursue military victory through nuclear power and gamble the risk of a third world war. They may even “seize the time” to effect preemptory nuclear strikes at China. They are prepared to institute military fascism at home and justify all with the need to “Save American lives”, the same rationale that was offered twenty-five years ago to justify the Hiroshima-Nagasaki atomic bombings. A military coup by this section of the American ruling class is an immediate danger in the period ahead.

But within the ruling class there are powerful interests who are prepared to accept defeat in Indochina just as they were able to retreat in the face of defeat in China, Korea, and Cuba. They did miscalculate in Vietnam. For them, it was a mistake, only in the sense that they did not foresee the tremendous will to resist forged by the movements for national liberation in Indochina. They assumed that a more sophisticated military-political approach than the French were able to advance would result in a relatively quick seizure of South Vietnam. Now they see the futility of this strategy. McGeorge Bundy stated it over two years ago. Clark Clifford has put it even more bluntly in his *Life* article after the Cambodian invasion. Averill Harriman is The Moratorium personified. The Eastern Establishment wants out! It wants an end to the war because it is not prepared to seek military victory at the risk of waging a world nuclear war, in which the U. S. industrial complex would be militarily vulnerable to destruction for the first time. It wants out because American investments in Europe are becoming increasingly jeopardized by the imbalance of payments, and the consequent devaluation of the dollar economy. The Euro-Soviet detente may also signal a whole new commercial and trading relationship leading to the isolation of American interests. It wants out because the war has led to an intense process of radical anti-imperialist consciousness among youth, blacks, and women in this country—as well as among similar groups, including young workers, in

“western allied” countries overseas. It wants out because of the developing revolutionary consciousness among blacks and Chicanos internally which necessitates a big carrot at home, instead of the big stick in Indochina. They call it a policy of establishing new priorities for America. This division and polarization within the ruling groups of our country provides the popular struggle against the war with real opportunities.

As the October 15th Moratorium so clearly evidenced, those ruling groups who wish to cut bait in Vietnam must have the people in the streets. They need a peace movement they can call their own, and they nearly got it. It would be single issue, anti-communist and slow on the question of withdrawal from Indochina. They would love an Old SANE with the likes of Homer Jack and Norman Cousins clothed in the youth culture of a Gene McCarthy children's crusade. For they only want people in the streets for the time it takes to sing “give peace a chance”—and then all hearts are to turn to door bell ringing and the election of an anti-war Congress. They are the chief proponents of the Princeton Plan.

In the face of the potential thrust toward military fascism, this section of the ruling class provides a sustaining power check which allows Vietnam to be a major political and Congressional issue, opens the streets to the people and maintains a climate of media opinion congenial to the growth of a majority movement to end the war. At times, it is even compelled by outspoken pressures of youth and blacks to yield on the political repression of anti-war militants and and black revolutionaries. Finally, it has opened the labor movement up to the issue, recognizing full well that the inflationary character of the war and the drop in real income for American workers could lead to a process of intense radicalization among the rank and file of labor. While the forces of military fascism move to mobilize the most racist sections of labor in the construction industry as storm troopers, the forces of corporate liberalism seek to move industrial workers into an anti-communist, single-issue, moderately toned peace movement.

The strategy of popular forces struggling to end U.S.

Maury Englander







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imperial aggression in Indochina should be based on the principle of a united front among those who are opposed to militarism, racism, sexism and fascism. The strategy must be based on the development of a broad, mass movement which stands for the right of national self-determination, struggles against chauvinism in its racial, national and masculine forms, and practices a policy of political non-exclusionism. It must wage a principled fight against political and military policies which are genocidal in consequence. The main tasks of the mass based political front would be to isolate the forces of military fascism, expose the cooptation efforts of corporate liberalism, heighten an anti-imperialist consciousness, and initiate tactics that consolidate mass power, legitimate widespread involvement, intensify direct resistance to established authority, cultivate international solidarity with the Indochinese and defeat U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia.

There is an immediacy to the question of tactics because popular forces in the United States are in a strategic position to help prevent nuclear escalation of the war abroad and political supremacy of military fascism at home. Ordinarily, one might look to the youthful and restive groups in the American working class as the key force in the development of a powerful resistance movement in the United States.

In the long run, that is where we must look for the development of a socialist revolution in America. But our immediate task is to defeat the forces of imperialism where it is the weakest, and where it is perpetrating a blatant policy of military genocide against the revolutionary aspirations of the Indochinese people. In the short run, it is im-

perative that we move fast with those forces who are prepared to legitimate the will to resist and heighten the consciousness to strike. Given a majority movement against the war, we must prevail among progressive forces in the established clergy to move rapidly in the development of nonviolent direct mass action against the imperial policies of military genocide in Indochina. Marching tactics should still be used periodically to surface mass dissent and heighten anti-war consciousness, but the current period calls for the widespread diffusion of mass nonviolent civil disobedience comparable in scope and quality to the civil rights movement of the early sixties.

Massive nonviolent direct action implies that many people will get hurt and some may die; that was the case of Birmingham and Selma. Those who went South knew that they faced death. And, it will take the lives of many of our friends and comrades before we are able to wield the leverage of mass international opinion and disruptive internal turmoil to bring the war machine to a halt in Indochina. The powerful appeal of nonviolent mass disobedience is that the cause is so just as to risk life itself. Backed by the moral thrust of committed clergy, nonviolent direct mass action provides a powerful tactical alternative to both liberal politics and elite violence.

Indiscriminate acts of trashing and targeted acts of bombing usually turn the people to the very forces of reaction, those quick to offer the remedy of law and order. The premature development of physical warfare in the United States on the part of popular forces would subject the movement to intense repression if not fascism. It would



compel liberal sections of the ruling class to succumb to the hard-line military in closing off the streets, shutting up the media, and putting an end to political debate. It would help consolidate a mass base for fascism in the working class where the greatest potential support for political democracy now exists.

The use of direct physical violence by sections of the movement who place themselves above the people represent a clear and present danger to the growth of popular forces. Infantile leftism has never frightened ruling groups, rather, it has enabled them to consolidate power quickly. Little wonder that it is the ranks of elite-minded revolutionaries that are most infiltrated by agents and provocateurs of the police. The tactical actions of popular forces should be designed to widen the divisions within the ruling class and unify the tendencies within the people. Violent actions by small elites have just the opposite result.

The present divisions within the anti-war movement over tactical questions is a serious danger. In my opinion, the Socialist Workers Party, and its youth affiliate, the Young Socialist Alliance, made a profound error in prematurely initiating a new anti-war coalition committed to a single issue, marching tactic approach. They are creating a divisiveness throughout the country and are lending themselves to a potentially anti-communist role. In their search for broad respectability via legal, peaceful, orderly demonstration, they will be contrasted to the "illegal, violent, and disorderly" types, i.e., communists, who seek to destroy the system. The Trotskyists must come to understand that forms of nonviolent resistance can imply direct mass action based upon a powerful moral appeal to the American conscience. Nonviolent direct action may at times include a mass mobilization marching tactic—and, *most often would* if the action was to be of mass character. The setting of a mass demon-

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stration target should hardly become the basis for bringing a new anti-war coalition structure into being.

The Strategy Action Conference in Milwaukee was called for the primary purpose of establishing a "working unity", at the community level, among progressive and democratic forces in the country. Concerned with the interrelationship of the issues of imperialism, militarism, racism, sexism, and fascism, representative groups also looked forward to unified national actions which could help bring the war to an end. The political composition of the Strategy Action Conference was excellent in many respects, but the sense of distrust and local parochialism which prevailed made it difficult for the beginnings of a solid united front to emerge. As a result, a political void exists where there should be profound and broad unity. When the ruling class is divided, the people must be united, otherwise they cannot hope to prevail.

One good consequence of the Strategy Action Conference was the appeal by Rev. Ralph Abernathy to the August Convention of S.C.L.C. for a "new march on Washington to bring the Pentagon to a halt" and "tie up the whole Washington scene, if necessary." S.C.L.C. should not go it alone. It should be joined immediately by progressive clergy organizations, women, student and labor groups. It is imperative that S.C.L.C. initiate the formation of a pro tem unity council and delegate to it the responsibility for the formation of several task groups to plan the Washington action in great detail for the spring of 1971. Meanwhile, the pattern of nonviolent disruptive mass actions should proceed against Vietnam military targets around the country. Every effort should be made to stop the flow of war personnel and materials to Vietnam. The struggle against University complicity with the military must be intensified. The National Action Group and/or the New Mobe should give serious consideration to the immediate implementation of the Brad Lytle proposal to "shut down the Pentagon" in conjunction with a solid month of decentralized anti-war activity in October.

The American movement should also issue a call for actions of international solidarity among progressive forces throughout the world during October leading to the development of a firm international anti-imperialist united front against U.S. aggression in Indochina.

Finally, we will get nowhere without a national coordinating structure. This structure must constitute a broad political front—based upon essential unity on the issues of militarism, racism, sexism, and fascism—and moved by the immediate demand to effect the total and unconditional withdrawal of American forces and hardware from Indo-China. A working committee of representative national and regional groups should be empowered to convene a delegated, mass conference leading to the establishment of a broadly based democratic front of popular forced committed to the struggle against imperialism, militarism, racism, sexism and fascism. The conference should be held no later than the July 4th weekend, 1971. It will take nearly a full year to prepare for the conference. A national coordinating council, or central committee, must emerge which serves the people, and is accepted and supported by the people.

In sum, the basic division within the American ruling class and the unified resistance of the Indochinese people provide significant opportunities for the anti-war movement in the U.S. First of all, we must move to establish a broad, united front against the war. Second, we must press the struggle against genocide and move progressive clergy to active leadership roles. Third, nonviolent direct mass action, legitimated by clergy leadership, must be set in motion as a major tactical step in the prevention of nuclear war abroad and fascism at home. Fourth, the month of October should be viewed as a time of concentrated international solidarity with the Indochinese people. Decentralized demonstrations and actions should proceed around the country at the same time that a "shut the Pentagon" project is initiated. Fifth, a pro tem council to implement the S.C.L.C. Washington Action in Spring, 1971 should be formed immediately for practical organizing purposes. And, finally, preparations should get underway for a mass delegated conference by July, 1971, leading to the establishing of a popular, democratic front oriented to the struggle against imperialism, militarism, racism, sexism, and fascism.

—Sidney Peck

\* I would like to refer readers to two earlier papers on this topic:

- (1) "Strategy and Tactics of the Anti-War Movement" *New Politics*, Summer, 1968.
- (2) "The Anti-War Movement and Radical Politics" *New Politics*, Spring, 1970.

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# THE SINGLE ISSUE APPROACH

HOW TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM #2



Diana Davies

**T**he savage Los Angeles police attack on the Chicano Moratorium Against the War in Vietnam August 29 underlined the interrelationship between the imperialist aggression in Indochina and the racist, capitalist oppression at home.

It also underlined the continuing, imperative need to build a massive movement against the Vietnam war capable of relating to and buttressing the struggle against oppression at home. The Chicano Moratorium Against the Vietnam War is



itself a living example of this.

The question of what next for the antiwar movement has been debated since the very inception of the movement against the Vietnam war. Inevitably, any continuing debate will bring a restatement of previous arguments. But there are also significant new developments which shed light on old arguments and help to resolve in the concrete issues which previously were considered primarily in the abstract.

The principal new fact in the situation, I believe, is that opposition to the war has developed to a qualitatively new stage. It reaches into and affects every layer and stratum of the American people.

It is no longer simply the students who are against the war. Opposition is virtually unanimous in the Black and Third World communities. It has assumed major proportions among GIs, as reflected in the widespread wearing of the peace symbol by combat troops and by the proliferation of GI underground papers at bases here and abroad.

And, a serious examination demonstrates, opposition of a significant character is beginning to crystalize and surface within the organized trade union movement.

If there was any question about the massive character of the opposition to the war, the question was definitely answered by the campus explosion following the Cambodian invasion and the Kent-Augusta-Jackson events last May. In a number of key aspects this explosion was historic. It involved the biggest student strike in U.S. history, embracing more students on more campuses than any previous action on any issue.

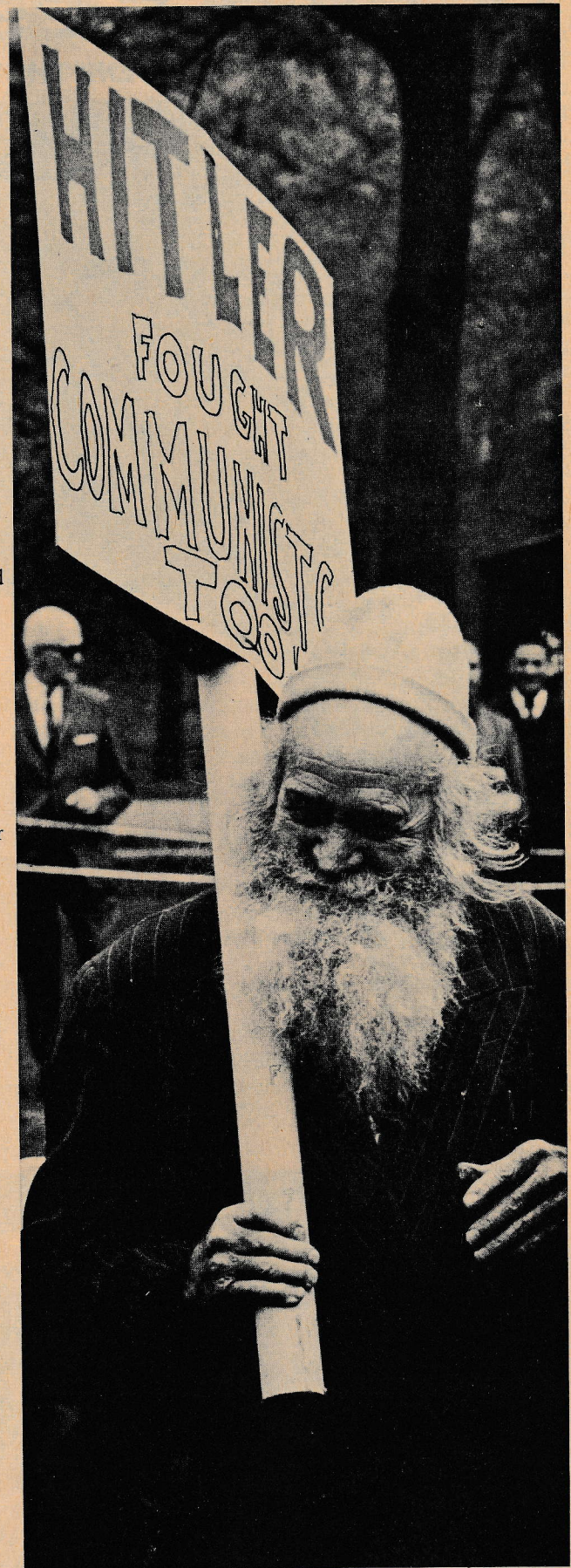
The near spontaneous movement of students on campus after campus to open up the schools as antiwar universities, rather than simply shut them down and disperse, was also of the deepest import. Moves to secure control of campus facilities—moves that proved astonishingly successful in a number of areas—and the attempt to use these facilities to build the antiwar movement and reach out to the surrounding communities—expressed a political consciousness among students that goes significantly beyond the issue of the war. The students asked: In whose interest shall the university be run and by whom shall it be controlled?

The growing antiwar sentiment has been buttressed by the development of a general radicalization—an unprecedented questioning about the social system responsible for the host of evils we now endure and a growing realization that the struggles around these issues are interrelated and relate to the system itself.

The most dramatic example of this swiftly mounting radicalization is the development of the women's liberation movement. It questions what had been deemed the eternal verities regarding the family and the status of women. The big turnout in New York and elsewhere for the Aug. 26 Women's Strike offered inspiring testimony to strength and potential of this movement.

Long overdue, there is the fact of the beginnings of significant motion among the white workers. The totally unexpected postal strike, and the near-crippling of industry and government resulting from it, were like a flash of heat lightning in suggesting the power of organized labor when it moves. And the futile effort by the powerful General Electric trust last year to smash the electrical unions provided one more proof of the capacity of the workers to defend their interests when they see and understand the attack.

All of the foregoing may appear at first glance to be un-



Dan Hemenway



related to the issue under discussion—what next for the antiwar movement? But there is a direct and significant relationship which can be summarized in the statement that the opportunity to build a mass movement against the war is now greater than ever—and just as urgent as ever.

It should be quite plain since the extension of the war into Cambodia that U.S. imperialism intends to hang on in Southeast Asia as long as it is able. Any notion that the war was virtually over and that it was simply a matter of time before Washington carried through the process of extricating itself were totally dispelled by the attack Nixon ordered. Washington will not get out of Indochina one day sooner than the Indochinese revolution coupled with a powerful American antiwar movement compel it to.

This reality is gaining increased recognition and, along with the increased general radicalization, offers the opportunity to extend the movement against the war to significant new constituencies. But this will be achieved only if the movement to end the war proceeds on the basis of a sound and realistic perspective.

The need for a single-issue approach remains key. Immediately after the massive Washington demonstration of last Nov. 15, the sponsoring New Mobe yielded completely to the multi-issue forces within it, drastically changing its course. The Radical Caucus, joining forces with a sector of the Mobe officers, transformed the New Mobe into a “multi-issue”, “radical” formation. The attempt was made to broaden and extend that kind of coalition with the Strategic Action Conference in Milwaukee this past June.

For nine months, the advocates of building a multi-issue, “anti-imperialist” coalition have had full opportunity to demonstrate in life the validity of the approach. The fact that the Strategic Action Coalition, ostensibly organized in Cleveland, never got off the ground and that the New Mobe is virtually extinct provides rather somber verification of the utopian quality of that particular approach.

Meanwhile, the single-issue approach is also being tested in life with the current efforts to build the National Peace Action Coalition which was launched by a Cleveland conference also held in June. Here the picture is much brighter. NPAC is becoming increasingly broad and drawing in forces never previously involved in the antiwar movement.

It is not merely of symbolic importance that the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees, at its August national convention, voted to endorse NPAC and to support the Oct. 31 demonstrations against the war being organized by the body. This is, to my knowledge, the first time that a national union has officially endorsed an antiwar demonstration.

A similar manifestation of the increasing labor was the endorsement of NPAC and the Oct. 31 action by Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the influential Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butchers Workmen.

Recognition of the viability of the new coalition is indicated by the adherence of a number of antiwar activities long associated with the Mobe. These include such figures as Abe Bloom and Helen Gurewitz of the Washington Mobe; Katherine Camp, president of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, and others.

But does the growth of such a single-issue coalition, dedicated to organizing massive demonstrations for immediate withdrawal, just mean continuous marching and little more? No. It certainly does include continued marching because

continued marching is necessary to keep the opposition to the war visible, growing and capable of keeping the pressure on Washington—a pressure to which the administration is in fact compelled to respond. The massive eruption of protest in response to Cambodia was responsible for the withdrawal of U.S. ground troops.

But the marching also means something else. Mass demonstrations have proven the organizing vehicle for involving people in the antiwar movement and—equally important for those of us committed to revolutionary social change—have helped set significant numbers on the road to a generally radical outlook.

Mass actions around the demand for immediate withdrawal constitute effective acts of solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution and by the same token strike significant blows at U.S. imperialism. Time and again the Vietnamese have expressed their appreciation that this is the case.

But this does not mean, as some critics mistakenly argue, a mindless repetition of the withdrawal demand without any effort to relate it to other social issues and particular constituencies. Creatively applied, it is the most effective way of relating the war to other key social issues. Again, the Chicano Moratorium provides an excellent example of how a single-issue mass movement against the war can be utilized as a focus for involving the Chicano community in struggle on an issue of crucial relevance for them while at the same time carrying them into motion on other related issues—particularly those of their own oppression and of the need and right to control their own communities.

What next for the antiwar movement? Concretely, building the Oct. 31 demonstrations against the war into the most massive possible ones—involving labor, GIs, the Third World communities and everyone that wants the U.S. out now. Doing this, I am convinced, will prove a significant contribution to fighting against this monstrous, genocidal war and to building a movement for the abolition of the system responsible for that war.

*Harry Ring*

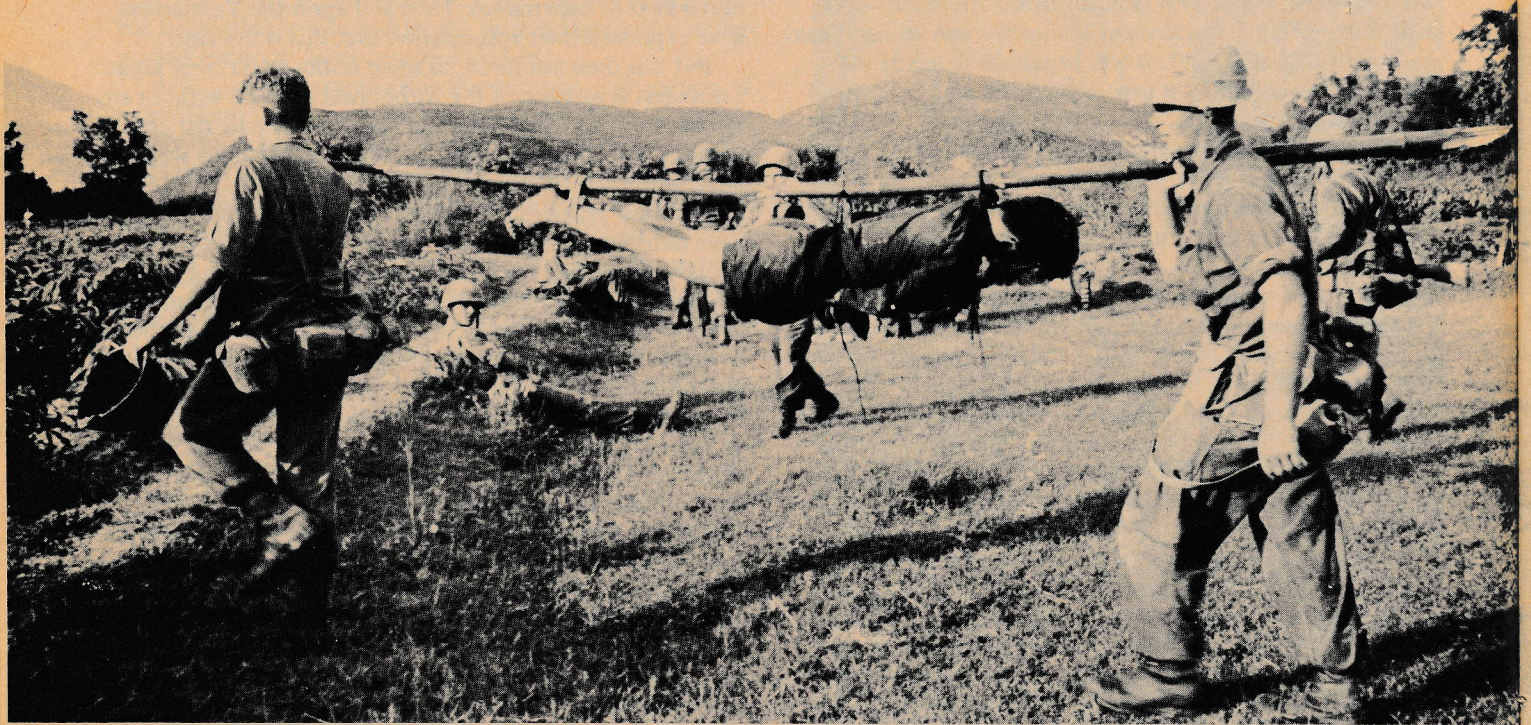
*(Harry Ring is editor of The Militant, a Trotskyist weekly reflecting the viewpoint of the Socialist Workers Party.)*





# END THE WAR BY FRIDAY, MONDAY AFTERNOON AT LATEST

HOW TO END THE WAR IN VIET NAM #3



UPI

That is the note on my desk, reminding me to get in my article "How To End the War" before WIN's deadline. Its accidental humor applies, however, to the whole discussion. The fact is no one really knows how to end the war, or we "know" how to do it only in an abstract and unreal way—i.e., "if" everyone stopped fighting the war would end or "if" we had a socialist government the war would end. Unhappily none of those "ifs" are possible *at the moment*. At the moment the peace movement really does not know how to end the war *now*.

It is easy for me to play wise man in this particular set of articles since before writing mine I read through the other two. My first impression is the following:

"The savage continuing imperative underlines the imperialist buttressing so obvious in ruling circles. Inevitably the repressed struggle against repression becomes the key crisis in the forces of coalition. Millions of struggles, collectively perceived as individual, but theoretically massed as isolated, runs directly contrary to the develop-

ment of desperation. The Third World proliferates through saturation intervention, truly representing itself as the strongest link in a weak chain, while the ruling circles stand revealed as being equal, but less so than before. But neither can it be said to be invincible, necessitating, as any serious examination will demonstrate, a massive shift toward revolutionary rhetoric."

Which is to say that it is probably as hard to write interesting political analysis as it is to write an interesting text for a book on mathematics or economics. The problem—and this applies particularly to Harry Ring's article—is that the use of jargon can hide the fact that (1) the conclusions to which one arrives have nothing to do with the reasons set forth or (2) one really isn't saying anything at all.

While I do not think Sid Peck's article is free of jargon—in fact it is loaded with it—Peck has something significant to say on at least two counts. First, he understands that the Establishment is actually divided internally and while he makes no allowance for the role that simple decency may

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have played in creating that division, at least he understands it exists. Second, he does argue persuasively against either random terrorism and trashing or the absorption of the movement into the Democratic Party. He is among the very few theorists of the movement who understand that civil disobedience is not necessarily limited to small acts of witness but can be massive, and who, at the same time, understands that even mass civil disobedience needs to be given some political form. (I think there is no doubt that the "mass delegated conference he urges for July of 1971 would hopefully do the job the New Politics Convention of unhappy Chicago memory failed to do—create a new party).

Generally, I agree with Peck, and readers who want to track down his two earlier articles in *New Politics* can get them by writing: *New Politics*, 507 Fifth Ave., NYC 10017. My really sharp disagreement is with Harry Ring of the Socialist Workers Party and I think the real issues should be up front and not obscured, as I feel they are by his article.

Some background is needed. The SWP is an organization committed publicly through its writings and actions to a Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist view of social change. They are decent, determined, intelligent, and often courageous people. In World War II a number of their leaders were imprisoned for opposing entrance into what they termed a capitalist war. In my view (and they would dispute this) their concept of a socialist society is anti-civil libertarian. More important for the discussion at hand, they view themselves not as part of a broader movement but as a kind of theoretical vanguard for that movement. Their organization is frankly "democratic-centralist" which means that, after full internal discussion, when a decision has been reached, it applies across the board to all SWP members and they are not supposed to disagree with that "line" of policy in public. This means that an SWP or YSA group will have very much the same position in Seattle, in Atlanta, in Chicago and in Boston.

This has to be contrasted with the loose, anarchic way in which the War Resisters League functions. No member is ever bound to take an action he doesn't agree with, and the public positions or actions of the WRL differ a great deal from one part of the country to the other. The same kind of informality is true of FOR, AFSC, WSP, etc. In the long run this is a great strength, but in the short run it means that even an organization as relatively small as the SWP, because it acts in unison, can have very real impact.

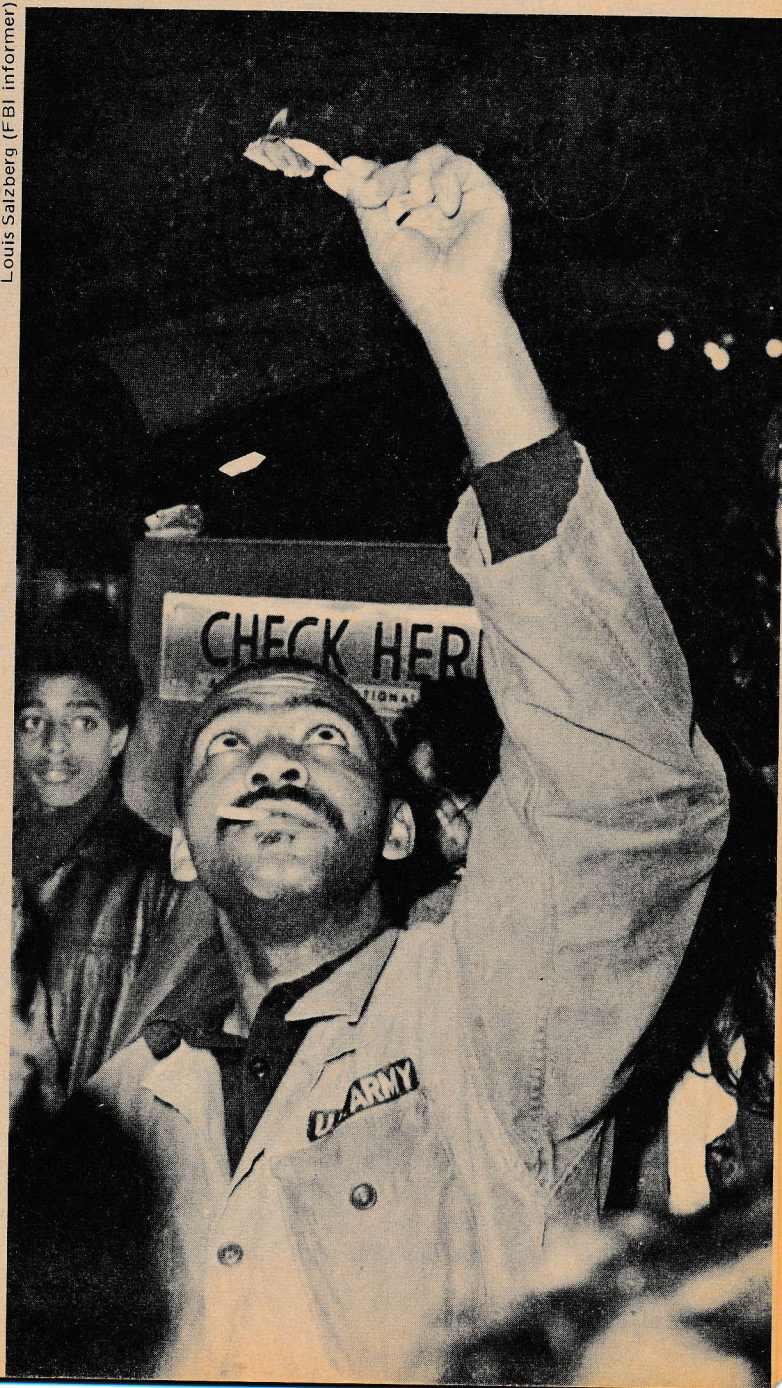
Harry Ring writes a long article explaining how radicalized people have become, how much ferment there is in labor, among Blacks, students, etc. Then at the end he concludes that this emergence of radical attitudes means the peace movement must limit itself to one issue—Vietnam. It must not discuss Vietnam in terms of imperialism, it must not link it with the youth culture and its demands for a new society, etc. Only one slogan—"immediate withdrawal". And only one tactic—mass demonstrations.

Why is the SWP fighting so hard to keep the movement from deepening its program? Why did they withdraw from New Mobe when New Mobe experimented with civil disobedience and linked the peace issue to economics, racism, repression, etc.? For what I think is a very simple reason. A multi-issue coalition may provide the basis for a new "political formation" of some kind, in fact, it may mean a new socialist party. But such a party would not be guided by the SWP, it would not have the "proper analysis", and therefore

(given their conception of their own role in history) any such party would tend to be reformist and would fail to achieve a "real" socialist revolution.

Now in fact I don't think the SWP is opposed to a multi-issue peace group. But it wants to control that group, as it controls the Peace Action Coalition which it set up in opposition to New Mobe. The demand to broaden the movement is not a demand being put forward simply by extreme "left-left" and "ultra-left" radicals. True, they do demand that every peace demonstration includes all 57 essential revolutionary points, no matter how obscure those points might be to the general public. No, the demand for a deeper and more radical program comes from within the heart of the movement. The pacifists, the blacks, the women's groups, the broad student movement—these demand a fuller program. Not just "peace now!", but "change American society, liberate the poor, end racism, etc." No black leader in his right mind is going to be involved very long in a peace movement that does not speak out on racism. Welfare

Louis Saizberg (FBI informer)





rights workers, the poor—they are not drawn to a program simply calling for “withdrawal” because there are other, far more urgent, problems in their own lives.

So, it is inevitable that if the “Peace Action Coalition” stays afloat this fall that it will broaden its program and the SWP will not oppose that, because it dominates PAC. The SWP is in a very odd position of using the “let’s-keep-the-movement-to-this-one-demand-which-unites-us-all” ploy to rally the moderates around its new grouping, putting the Trotskyists in the position of being the most moderate of radical groups in sight. But that is only temporary, because if New Mobe did fall apart (and it hasn’t, despite Ring’s cheerful death notice), I can guarantee that PAC would then move to the political Left to pick up the pieces. This is not the first time the SWP has made a play at taking over the

the SWP says “the movement must limit itself to one issue only—withdrawal” and then turns around and says in informal discussions that “obviously something in American society is basically wrong and the peace movement, limited to this one issue, cannot deal with it—join the SWP (or YSA) and work for a more fundamental change. After all, Vietnam is only a symptom, etc.”

It is surely incredible for the SWP to argue at this time and place in history that the massive peace movement is going to collapse, splinter and vanish if it responds to the demands of its own constituency. I repeat: without that broadening of a program, the movement will remain isolated from Blacks, Chicanos, workers, and students. A “limited program” may be great for “round one”, as with the Chicano Moratorium, but if Harry Ring thinks he could now sell the Chicano community in Los Angeles on another march limited to that single demand he is crazy. That demonstration was a very important first step toward involving that community, but after the impact of the riot that occurred in Los Angeles it is certain that next time around the Chicanos themselves would insist on adding more radical demands. It is a tactical mistake to push a movement too far before it is ready, but it is no less a mistake to mis-read the hour and try holding back a movement when it is prepared to go much further.

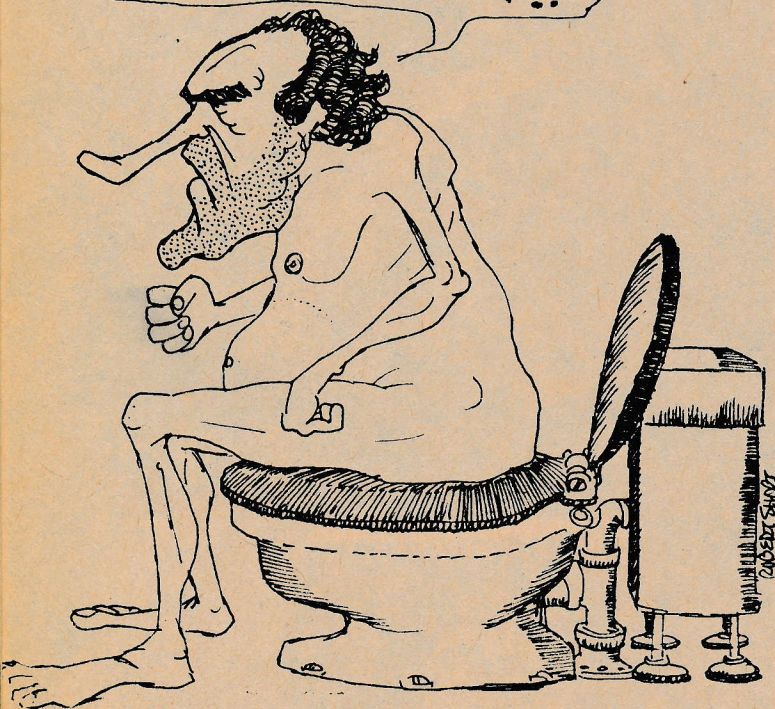
Finally, one has to ask Harry Ring what he expects will really stop the war. He talks about marches and more marches, about educating people and more educating of them. But if Nixon did not respond to the million in Washington last November, and if Congress could still defeat the McGovern-Hatfield bill after the tremendous unrest caused by Cambodia-Kent-Jackson, what does he propose for an encore? Governments are never happy about large demonstrations, but they are rarely overthrown by them. We could drive Johnson from office but we couldn’t stop the war.

There is the simple fact that people can become disillusioned with the “annual march”, that wars can go on and marches get smaller, that the kind of elite terrorism Ring (and Peck and I) deplore will take place precisely because the movement does nothing but march.

The Trotskyists played a vital role in helping to build the movement and in helping create massive, orderly peace marches and rallies. But their present decision to pull out of New Mobe and set up their own framework is a real is a real movement fuckup, it means a kind of political guerilla war all across the country. This is a step backward for the movement as a whole, and in the long run it will leave the SWP more isolated than before.

Finally I indicate again my general agreement with Sid Peck’s suggestions for action and add that the movement must learn there is no magic way to end the war tomorrow. I do know, however, how to resist the war. I know that even though I can’t stop the war tomorrow I can refuse payment of taxes, that I can help close down the draft system, that I can put my body on the line. This is also a kind of politics. David Miller burning a draft card was both individual witness and also a political act. Neil Haworth jailed for non-cooperation with IRS was making a personal witness—and helping build tax resistance into a movement. Bill Brakefield’s decision to “desert openly” by taking sanctuary at City College in New York was personal witness—and helped build the military resistance which is now a political factor. I know that none of these individual actions

IT IS ABSOLUTELY DISTRESSING  
THAT I, THE PRESIDENT OF THE  
UNITED STATES, SHOULD HAVE TO  
SUFFER THIS INDIGNITY!!



peace movement and, just at a moment when the movement is weakened and confused, it has chosen not to work within it in a fraternal way, but to withdraw altogether and create a new framework it can control.

Ring makes his own motives perfectly clear when he writes, with charming frankness, that “Mass demonstrations have proven the organizing vehicle for involving people in the antiwar movement and—equally important for those of us committed to revolutionary social change—have helped set significant numbers on the road to a generally radical outlook.” Now where do people acquire that “generally radical outlook” if the movement limits itself just to repeating the demand for withdrawal? Obviously not from the movement, but from the contact with the Trotskyists within the movement who have effectively used it for what we used to call “an arena for recruiting”. On the one hand



can end the war. I know we need to build toward the kind of movement Peck outlines. But I know that without these individual acts of resistance there cannot be such a movement. So, unlike the Trotskyists and the other moderates who will march endlessly and do nothing, trying to end the war, our job is just to resist, to resist again, to resist steadily.

(P.S. One of the factors pushing the government toward ending the war is precisely the degree to which the continuation of the war does radicalize the public, leading increasing numbers of people to link the war with the American economic system, linking that system to a generally repressive and militaristic foreign policy everywhere in the world,

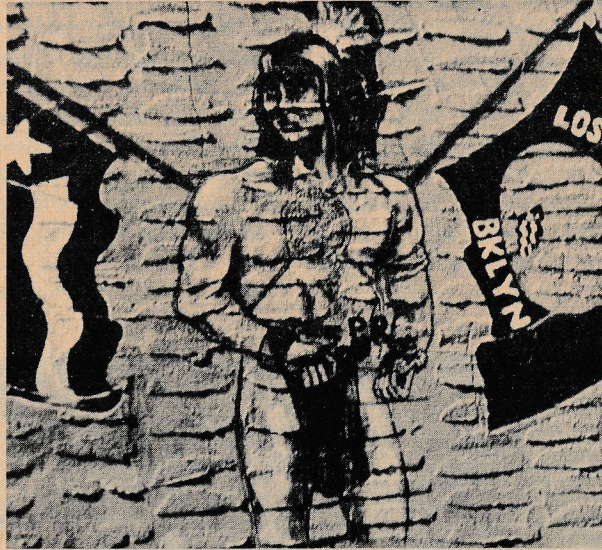
linking one issue to another. The SWP with its "one issue" slogan guts the movement, leaves it impotent, unable to frighten the government into any significant change. This is so obvious that I *know* Harry Ring understands this, and when he argues for a limited, gutless, single issue program I must assume it is because the SWP is more concerned with maintaining the peace movement as a recruiting ground than with ending the war. After all, a radicalized movement that dealt with a range of issues would leave the SWP to one side. Who wants to join the Trotskyists if there is a broader, healthier, less sectarian movement in existence?)

*David McReynolds*





# Los Tintos Indios

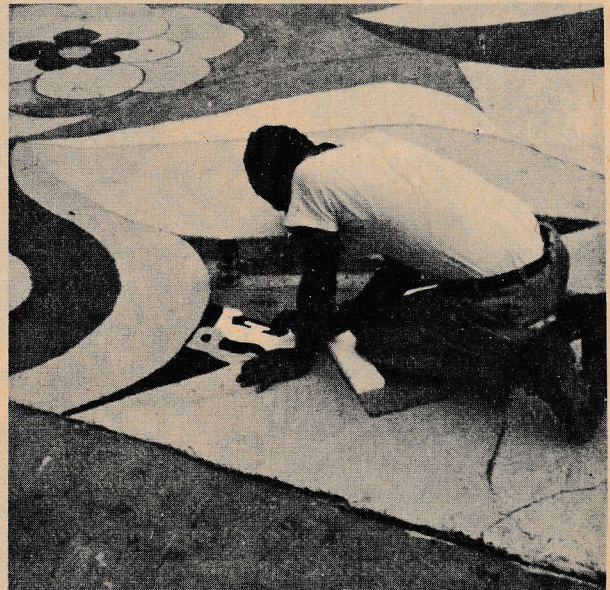


About two years ago a group of men in a Spanish-speaking ghetto in Brooklyn got together and began to work to improve the living conditions and mental outlook of the Puerto Ricans in their area. Jose Flores, Joe Denis, Dominick Meredo, Tito Estrada, and John Casanova cleared the rats and garbage from a lot on Columbia Street in Brooklyn, begged donations of boards from the local lumber yards, and built a *placita* similar to little parks to be found in every town in Puerto Rico, where people meet and hold fiestas. The men building this park worked at jobs during the day and so could only work in the evenings and on weekends. They called themselves Los Tintos Indios.

When the city got a whiff of what Los Tintos were doing the NY Commissioner of Parks offered to allocate them \$30,000 and were going to build a concrete park with swings in place of the *placita*. The city's offers were rejected

and at the present time the *placita* is being expanded by the people to suit themselves. It was named after one of the boys in the neighborhood who was sent to Vietnam: La Placita de Gabriel. Gabriel Cordona, who was a member of Los Tintos, said before he left, "When I get back I want to watch the trees fight the winds." But he did not come back alive.

The idea of Los Tintos Indios is to educate the Puerto Rican people in their neighborhoods so that they can stop being submissive to oppression, can realize who their enemies are, and become aware that we should not fight each other but should contribute help to each other. It is with this spirit of community effort Jose Flores, Joe Denis, and their friends hope to unite their people into a spirit which will stop the crushing, depersonalizing war on poverty and make a chance for the forgotten few.

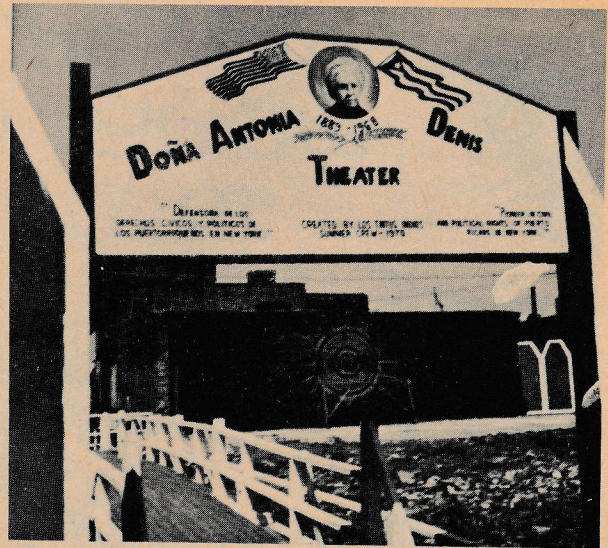






Jose says, "I feel that the Young Lords and Black Panthers and any other extreme radical group are very necessary. They are the ones that open up the eyes of the people by focusing attention on the rights of the movement and why we have to have this movement." He feels that there has to be another way to get things you want besides violently. "There is already a constant battle against the people who are for the people." The power of the people comes with a paint brush, a hammer; with sweat and work."

Ending the war in Vietnam cannot be a central issue for these people since they have to focus their attention on the war that goes on in their streets, though they realize that they are losing potential leaders to the Vietnam war. Jose has indicated we must first help our people to equality and self respect through education. With education, he feels, our people cannot be brainwashed or forced into the situation of our parents and grandparents who, partly due to language problems, humbled themselves to Americans here. The majority of the imitators of the second and third generations are giving up their cultural heritage to imitate the success of their oppressors. The drive of Los



Tintos is to restore pride in our cultural heritage among the Puerto Rican people here so that we may begin to pave our own way in a society of oppressors.

Los Tintos are now completing an outdoor theater to be named after Dona Antonia Denis, one of the first freedom fighters for Puerto Rican civil rights in the U.S. A play is being written for the theater based on the life of Dona Antonia Denis. She had helped hundreds of people including Herman Badillo, but when she died in 1968 she was so poor that people had to ask for contributions to bury her. The Theater is located on a 1 1/2 acre lot which was cleared in a month and a half by Los Tintos, neighbors and Youth Corps kids. The construction is being done in cooperation with a Puerto Rican group from Jersey City. Among them is Ricci Diaz, a sister who is very active in Puerto Rican community activities in Jersey City.

The first play to be performed in the theater will be "Golden Streets" written by Piri Thomas (author of *Down These Mean Streets*). It will be directed by Miriam Colon and will be played by the Puerto Rican Traveling Theater. I will be there and it will be a glorious moment in my life to be able to be there experiencing a dream come true.

—Belinda Rey









# The Women's Strike or Did Betty Friedan Give Her Maid The Day Off?

Twenty-five thousand women demonstrated on Fifth Avenue in New York City on August 26th, the 50th anniversary of the passage of the women's suffrage amendment. The day's actions, sponsored primarily by the National Organization for Women in alliance with other feminist groups, included "dialogues" with civic officials, "tot-ins" where women attempted to dump their children into the laps of the city fathers to dramatize the need for 24-hour child care, a rally in support of the Equal Rights Amendment, and a victory party at the end of the day (at \$5 a head, or \$3 for students and "hardship cases".) The event was publicized as a strike, but as time went on, it became clear that this was for propaganda purposes only. In reality, the main activities took place after working hours (this was a concession to women in the planning committee who complained that actions during working hours would not be well-attended and might jeopardize the jobs of working women who decided to take part. So, women were encouraged to "do their own thing" on or off the job: talking to other women during the day, wearing buttons, symbolically stopping work for a period of time, or taking the entire day off. It all culminated in a march and rally in the evening, both of which attracted much attention from the media and spectators, sympathetic and hostile. The march was spiced with a lot of militant energy and sisterly good feelings, and practically everyone was astonished at the turn-out: a mixed bag of radical feminists, reform feminists from NOW, and some men. Most significant, though, was the presence of a few young working women, blacks, housewives, and older women who marched while their sisters from the same offices, same neighborhoods, same backgrounds, ridiculed them from the sidelines. The existence of these women on the sidelines opens up serious questions about the women's strike and about the problem of building a strong women's movement.

Before it happened most of the radicals in women's liberation viewed the women's strike with extreme skepticism at best, at worst, hostility and disapproval. Some groups decided to ignore the strike altogether, choosing to concen-



Diana Davies



trate on the ongoing work of organizing women rather than expend energy on one day's events. Others thought that as long as the strike was being called, we should use it to focus as much attention on radical demands as we could. The three basic demands of the strike: free abortion on demand, free 24-hour community-controlled child care, and equality in education and employment opportunities were designed to minimize controversy within the coalition but radicals thought that they did not go far enough. The style in which the strike was organized and publicized was offensive to most radicals (fund-raising parties in East Hampton) and considered counter-productive in the long run of building a feminist movement. Questions which have plagued the radical movement in this country for years are now causing confusion among women's liberationists: with whom do radicals ally themselves, when do we participate in coalitions and when don't we, what is the value of one-shot actions, such as a symbolic strike, as opposed to ongoing work (are the two mutually exclusive or do they supplement one another?) It is probably too early in the development of the women's movement to have pat answers to these questions. However, actions that are as geared to the media as was the women's strike, actions organized by primarily white middle and upper-middle-class women such as Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, and socialite Ethel Scull—women who don't bear the brunt of either class, race, or sexual oppression and yet say they speak for all women—must be subjected to critical analysis by radicals seeking to broaden the scope of the women's movement.

As the anti-war movement has sadly learned, spectacular mass demonstrations do not a strong, ongoing movement make. The proof of that is in the day-to-day struggles women engage in. NOW's suggestions that we can now carry the struggle to the next stage, that we no longer need concentrate on raising consciousness, that we must go now to the legislative and judicial branches of government for redress indicates a reformist and liberal approach to a problem whose roots are deep in an economic system and cannot be solved by piecemeal legislative reform. (Which is not to say that legislative reform doesn't have a place in a broader fight.) Do they really think that the passage of an Equal Rights Amendment (even leaving aside the fact that the ERA would abolish the few laws that protect women workers from exploitation) will significantly change the condition of most women's lives—an oppression which buttresses an entire economy that the power structure has no intention of getting rid of?

One of the arguments among the march coordinators was over the route of the march. According to the NY Times, Friedan wanted the march to start further uptown from Columbus Circle where it did start out, because she "didn't want the women of Harlem to be left out." What Friedan doesn't realize is that it wouldn't make any difference—the women of Harlem *were* left out, and only one thing will keep that from happening again: a higher degree of consciousness about class and race on the part of the women in the movement now, in both theory and practice, in addition to a relinquishing of the privileges which come along with being white and middle class. How many poor and working women have been asked what they think of the women's liberation movement and responded by complaining that it's nice but doesn't relate to their problems?

This is the difference between equality and liberation. By calling for equality, middle class feminists demonstrate their ignorance and lack of involvement with the lives of working men, or they wouldn't be calling for equality, but for basic changes in the society that would better the lives of both poor women *and* men.

Some of us have learned that the rhetoric of the women's liberation movement was in fact wrong, that there are concrete differences that prevent us from all being sisters—that may prevent us from building a feminist movement which crosses class and race lines. For example, women who seek higher positions of power (in the name of equality) in a society that can only exploit the majority of women and men are not doing anything to improve the lot of anyone but themselves. Women who have the option of hiring other women as secretaries or maids cannot possibly understand or work to find solutions to the problems of the women they employ. As their bosses, they *are* the problem. Women who persist in seeking the attention of the media and being recognized as leaders—at the expense of other women who have not had the same opportunities to speak and write and whose confidence in their own abilities is undermined by these supposed "leaders"—do nothing to democratize and strengthen a movement. Women who look as if they just emerged from the pages of Vogue only alienate the women who buy and read the fashion magazines for day-dreaming escape and can never have the clothes they advertise. A woman whose consciousness about class leads her to angrily refer to the men who hooted her out of an all male bar as "lower class men who have hangups about their masculinity," as did NOW vice president Lucy Komisar, only exacerbate divisions between women. Women who organize a strike and do not even consult the unions that represent so many working women in New York and other cities, show how much respect they have for union women and how much working women are even a part of their consciousness.

There are lessons to be learned from the history of the early feminist movement which will help us deal with divisions within the movement today. A reading of the history of the suffragists will disclose that in their ardor to obtain suffrage, middle class, white suffragists appealed to the race and class prejudices of Northern males by suggesting that through female suffrage, black and poor white men could be outvoted and kept down. Middle class women sold out their working class sisters for the vote, and as a result feminism died and took fifty years to be reborn. The women's liberation movement will fail if it doesn't openly confront the issues that divide women, as well as build strength upon those things we all have in common.

What diversity in participation there was in the August 26th "strike" is a sign that it may be possible to overcome divisions and to struggle together as women. The sense that maybe we are being taken a little more seriously than before momentarily blurred the lines that divide us. But if we are going to come the long way we have to, baby, the middle class women of NOW and those of the "radical" feminist groups must accept the responsibility for changing. If they can develop that consciousness, we can work together for the liberation of all of us. If not, working class and class-conscious women will have to establish an independent women's movement of our own.

Marilyn Albert



## don't burglarize

The following editorial is reprinted from *On the Other Side*, the right-on Delaware pacifist/activist/anti-imperialist tri-weekly. (For a free sample copy write OTOS, 530 Tamara Circle, Newark, Delaware.) —Eds.

Political maturity is the mainstay of any liberation struggle attempting to survive long enough to witness social attitude change as a result of its' efforts. Because of the wide divergence of commitment to that change, some in the movement practice more political maturity than others. Although this is understandable, and perhaps even healthy at this point in history, continued political immaturity can lead to group destruction as a result of two emerging tendencies.

Elitism and parochialism are both poor substitutes for firm political ideology. Elitism on the one hand is caused by unbending dogmatism which ignores the larger mass, while on the other hand, parochialism is a result of self-imposed isolation and a refusal to acknowledge the struggle of others.

At the recent anti-war rally in Rodney Square, Wilmington on Aug. 7th, both these attitudes emerged forcefully. This demonstration, not planned for the people, failed to reach people looking for democratic alternatives to present day society. It was not designed to, and therefore did not address itself to the problems facing the people, (Southeast Asia, racism, inflation) but instead was an opportunity for out of town "heroes" to trumpet a little self praise.

For those not familiar with the rally, and we don't think anyone locally is clear as to what was supposed to happen, we'll touch briefly on the events prior to the rally. As most people now know, the Delaware draft boards were not ripped-off by local people. A group from New York, unwilling or unable to undertake low keyed community organizing, took it upon themselves to show us in Delaware the 'correct' way. Ignoring local movement groups already at work in the area, these 'liberators' burst upon the scene, did their thing, then split back into hiding. No follow up was undertaken by the group, and nobody locally was prepared to fill in with the increase in draft counseling an action like this necessitates. The OTOS collective, already spread thin with their own summer project, nevertheless did manage to print and distribute 2,000 leaflets to Wilmington area males. This was all the follow up done locally.

The group, wishing to surface in Wilmington, contacted the Wilmington Anti-War Committee (WAWC). The committee, inactive since last March, agreed to organize for the rally. Plans were made in such secrecy, that some members of the committee were left in the dark. Catholic Peace Fellowship undertook the N.Y. organizing, while individuals were contacted in Philadelphia. The OTOS collective on the fringe knowledge-wise, decided not to actively organize until more information was forthcoming concerning rally plans. In light of this decision, the charges of over organizing, leveled at Philadelphia people and the OTOS collective, seem ludi-

crous at best. At this point, OTOS stopped all organizing for the rally. It was clear that local people were going to be ignored, and the rally, rather than commemorating the 25th anniversary of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as billed, would be a lesson in self righteous attitudes for ending the war in Southeast Asia.

The rally was a dismal failure. Only about 25 of the nearly 200 people were from Delaware. The rally was conceived, organized and conducted, not for the benefit of the community affected, but for the hand picked out-of-staters who take the easy tactics of elitism. Treating Delawareans like relics from the original American revolution, the rally was reminiscent of the way white liberals dictated policy to SNCC rank and filers during the mid-sixties. The main out of town speaker, William Stringfellow, failed to show, as did also the "internationally known folk singer." Dan Berrigan, famous draft file destroyer, was arrested the following day at Stringfellow's place, after it was rumored that he might show in Wilmington. The mood prevailing at the rally was one of "well, we started the job, now you local people go out and finish boards 3-4-&5. We showed you how, so what are you waiting for?"

Throughout the rally, the WAWC, sponsor of the rally, was pushed into the background. In a very confusing and strange move, six members of the committee stepped forward on the following Monday and claimed responsibility for the raid. This was three days after 100 people had claimed responsibility at the rally sponsored by the WAWC! This clearly points to the manipulative actions and secrecy the raiders employed.

The rally was billed as a memorial to the victims of the A-Bombs; in reality it was a lesson in parochialism. It served to point out the absence of true revolutionary love for the people, as they claimed by their action. We must not let elitism tear down what we have struggled long and hard to build up. We can't afford to lose sight of our goal through the fostering of bad politics. We must meet this criticism at with revolutionary love and understanding; and then rise to the task at hand. We will struggle—we will win.

*Some of us find draft file destruction counterproductive. Rather than being an aid in building a serious nonviolent movement, it has furnished a catalog of what not to do.*

*I have been particularly dismayed by the claims of non-violence made by the draft file destroyers. Surely non-violence entails more than being groovy and avoiding the physical injury of human beings. The beauty and strength of non-violence is that it enables us to wage a struggle without dehumanizing ourselves or our opponents. This involves fellowship with our comrades, confrontation with our opponents. The draft file superstars cut themselves off from this whole dimension of nonviolent action.*

—Mark Morris



# A Casualty Report

There won't be many names in this news story. If you already know the place or the people involved, there's no need; and if you don't, they wouldn't add much to your understanding of the situation. It's just one of those tiny towns in northern New Mexico with a common Spanish name, and just a bunch of freaks, most of whom have lost their surnames anyhow, and probably changed their first names to something considered either more appropriate or less likely to invite pursuit by parents or police.

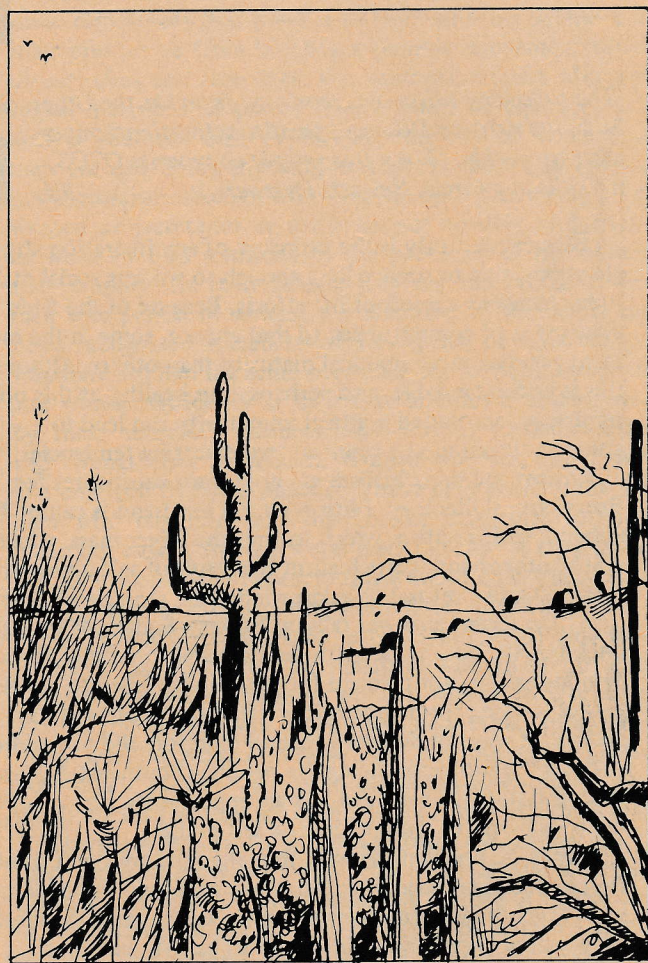
The one name I do know in full is Michael Press; that's because I read it in the papers. I knew him, but not well. We had friends in common, in the L.A. Resistance, who told him to look us up, and so he did, a month or so ago—not more than a couple of weeks before it happened.

Michael Press, long dark hair and beard, somewhere in his early 20's, talkative, laughed easily, wouldn't squash a bug, found dead at the Kingdom of Heaven on the morning after Hiroshima Day. Shot in the back. Refused to fight in one war, only to fall a victim in another that he didn't know had been declared.

Now I'll have to tell you about the Kingdom. It wasn't a commune, it was open land, bought by a New York doctor for his dropped-out son, and deeded to God. Hence the name. I say "was" because within 48 hours of Michael's death, all but two or three of the population—which fluctuated between 20 and 60, with the weather—had gathered up their scanty possessions and vanished. Many didn't go far, but they went. The land remains, and is still as lovely as a landscape out of Tolkien, but if anyone's there it's most likely narcs, looking for more grass plants—they found 425, and made much of it in the local media: dirty dope-crazed hippies, they had it coming to them.

I wish I could describe that land to you, that's the most important part of this story, but when I close my eyes and try to see it, all I get is a picture of narcs in nylon suits wandering through the scrub oak, stumbling around the dozens of holes in the ground that now won't ever be the foundations of anything, stubbing their toes on pitiful heaps of field stone, laboriously gathered, or scrounged boards. The Kingdom lasted eleven months, I guess; it was never a community in any true sense of the word, except possibly during the winter, when small numbers and a great deal of hardship made it so. Otherwise, it was a rural crash pad, with refugees from the communes and bad city scenes drifting through constantly, spreading bad vibes both through the Kingdom itself and in the nearby town. Those who stayed did so because they were tough, because of the land's hold on them, because they couldn't quite get it together to acquire land of their own.

They—the oldtimers—did their best to keep up good relations with the town; I've seen them warn storekeepers not to cash checks for this or that supposedly fellow freak, and make good with their last dollar a debt somebody had run up with a phoney credit card, and try to explain to newcomers that you have to wear pants when you go to the

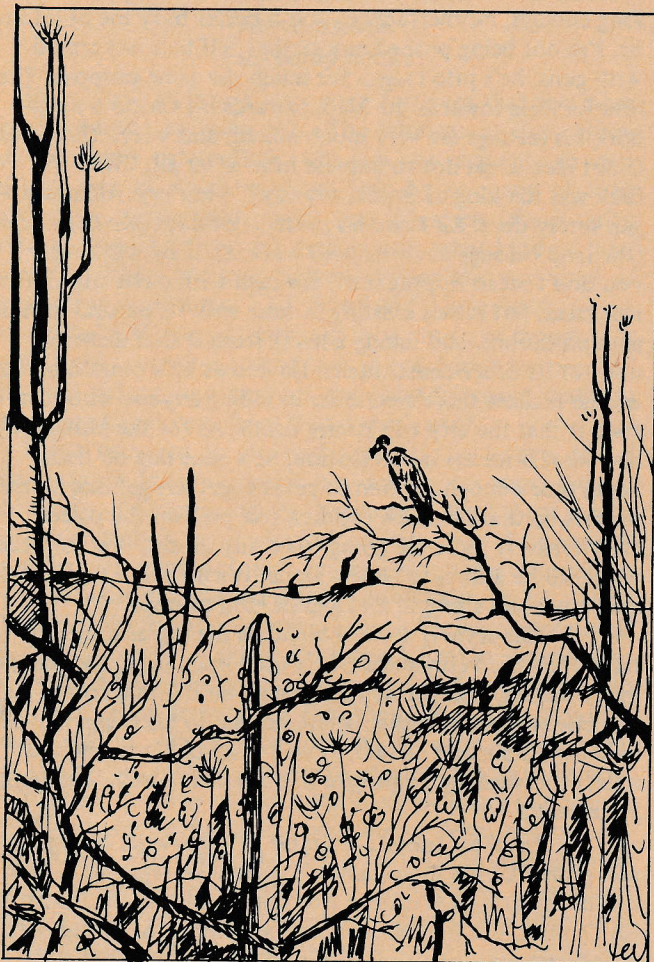


post office, and that all the empty houses around belong to someone, you can't just break in and take things . . . well, it didn't work, it wasn't enough.

Okay, I'll try to explain the town. Spanish of course, formerly Penitente, and like all of this region, it has steadily gone down in the census ever since the paved roads brought in the cash economy in the '30's, and the wars took the young men out and showed them the glories of urban civilization. Those who stayed abandoned traditional subsistence farming, too, and took to running beef cattle on what used to be their brothers' or cousins' 30- or 40-acre shares. Cattle bought pickup trucks and chain saws to cut Christmas trees with, and cash from that bought more cattle. The land suffered much worse that it had with four or five times the present population. Orchards went to ruin, family gardens went out of style. You just jump in your pickup and drive 60 miles to the city once a week, and buy all kinds of canned and frozen stuff. It's so much easier than the old way . . .



Seven of these local people are now in jail or out on bond for the events that climaxed with the killing of Michael Press. There were three consecutive nights of terror, and besides murder, the charges include rape, kidnapping, assault, you name it. I knew five of these people by sight, two well enough to call them friends; one gave us a pig, another



plowed our garden—all right, he was paid for that, but he pulled me out of a ditch once, and we've bought each other beers. If there's a war on here, as I've said, they're not the Enemy.

We visited the parents of a pair of the alleged culprits last week; nearly 80 years old, speaking very broken English, they've been kinder and more helpful to us and all the other freaks around these parts than anyone I can think of. She's a herbalist, has never been to a doctor in her life, taught us the wild edible and medicinal plants, gave us locally grown seeds for our garden. Her grandmother, she says, was born in the room where I'm writing this. She wept, she couldn't understand it, it must've been the drinking, and she asked us to pray for her sons. I would, too, sincerely, if I could only remember how.

\* \* \*

"You can't believe the newspapers or the D.A.'s office, man—the whole fuckin' town was in on this. The se-

cond they caught this one cat, and they marched him down the road and right through town at dusk, with everybody on their porches watching, with a shotgun at his back, and they pointed him down the highways and told him he'd better never come back, and *nobody* said a word to stop it. . . . And don't you try to tell me it was just a local thing, either; there was about 30 of these guys running around with a gun in one hand and a beer can in the other, and a lot of them we'd never seen before . . ."

That from someone who was there through it all; this, from someone who lived there last winter, to whom I sent the news:

"It sounds as though it was another, different version of 'Easy Rider', an object lesson in fear and total nonsense. I could write about this all day, but the understanding is past; so is the action . . ."

I can't doubt that most of the town was complicit, at least to the extent that they knew pretty much what was happening, and didn't choose to interfere. The rape and beating were somehow reported, a cop came out from the city, found no one willing to press charges, and marked it "Case closed". That same night, Michael got it. I wonder if there'll be any witnesses at the trial, and also whether this will show other Chicanos how easy it is to run out a bunch of freaks—very few long-hairs out here want anything to do with the law, and a lot, for reasons like the draft and probation violations, simply can't afford to get involved officially.

Twenty days have passed between the event and this attempt of mine to write about it. Twenty days of mulling it over, talking with people, waving at neighbors as we pass on the road and wondering what they really think and knowing they know I'm wondering. "The understanding is past", all right, but I can't help the wondering. If certain of the people who left the Kingdom earlier this year could have stayed, I'm pretty sure it wouldn't have happened; but then, there was the rustling.

The hides and heads of three cows were found in fields around here earlier in the summer. No good to point out that most of the people at the Kingdom were vegies, or that any freak together enough to slaughter and butcher would sure as hell find use for the hide, too. The facts, as the town understood them, were clear: no rustling up here in 30-odd years, then the heepies come, and three cows, just like that.

Sure, it's not that simple. It's not merely the rustling, or any visible aspect of the culture-clash: hair, nudity, dope, what have you. What's being attacked by us, the drop-outs, is the whole system of values the Chicanos have opted for. And they may not be able to articulate this, but they can sense it, and resent it. They see us leaving the cities, eagerly buying or renting the old homesteads they want to get away from, imitating the lifestyles of their grandparents, and it's confusing for them, to say the least; like Dylan's Mr. Jones they don't know what it is, but they begin to sus-



pect that something may have gone wrong, somehow, out there in the Great World, and they're too late, they're gonna get screwed—again. Which, as we see it, is of course true.

None of the Chicanos I know will talk about causes, beyond the supposition that the assailants were crazy, or drunk. But some of the few non-longhair Anglos (that's anyone who's not Chicano) have been heard to murmur that the "ringleaders"—whoever they may be—spouted a militant "Brown Power" line. This may be the paranoia of any tiny, guilt-ridden minority, I don't know. I certainly wouldn't believe, without thorough proof, the vague rumor that Alianzistas were in any way involved; but the mere notion, once released, shoves us immediately into the crux of the whole problem: the land out here, and who it belongs to—or, more accurately, who belongs to it.

Tijerina's Alianza, the Land Grand Movement as it's usually referred to by the English-speaking, is but one (and that the lower-class) arm of an amorphous Chicano Rights Movement that bears a great deal of comparison to—in fact, was largely modeled on—the Black Movement; and since they're roughly a decade behind the Blacks, right now what's mostly happening is what sociologists like to call "upward pressure," the movement of educated Chicanos into white-collar positions formerly occupied by Anglos: schoolteachers, welfare workers, legal and political clerks and bureaucrats. And I know I'll get a clobbering for saying it, but nothing much has been happening for the past couple of years, at least that makes the papers, with the Alianza per se: For several reasons, most importantly, the poor Chicano doesn't want land, he wants money, and all the consumer-trip stuff that money buys. Naturally, it blows his mind when a lot of freaky-looking Anglos (but Anglos nevertheless) come in and tell him by word and deed that the money-trip is burnt out, the only enduring values reside in the land.

The Alianza, in any case, was never able to organize in the area we're talking about—too poor, too independent, too Penitente (if you don't know what that means, spend a couple hours in a good library; it's much too complicated for a footnote), or whatever. And in no sense could it be maintained that the influx of hippies has, or even threatens to, crowd the Chicanos out. This region is sparsely populated by *anyone's* standards.

Which brings us back to what's happening with the freak scene out here. The communes are dead, in case you hadn't heard. Oh, sure, a lot of them are still there, physically, but that's not what's happening. New Mexico's not what's happening, either, anymore, for which those of us left are

entirely grateful. The thundering herd seems to be headed for British Columbia and other parts of Canada, and we wish them well, but it's likely to be a long, cold winter up there without food stamps.

The typical freak who's left out here is tough, and stubborn, and quite soured on the notions of love and community. More often than not, he's armed, and his back's to the canyon wall, and his attitude is, "I've been pushed around long enough, motherfucker—you'd better bury me or let me be, I'm not being pushed any farther." If he's not armed with guns, he's into magic, for much the same purpose. That's how he feels towards the Man; towards his Chicano neighbors, his feelings are very much mixed, and wary. The Land Grant idea is apt not to impress him—after all, "Who the fuck was the king of Spain, anyway?"—but one Alianza slogan surely does: *La tierra les pertenecen a los que la trabajan* (the land belongs to those who work it), if by working it you don't mean ripping it off for cash with cows and Christmas trees, but rather existing in tune with its natural rhythms and limitations, and taking a living from it that disturbs none of its other constituents. He knows he's outnumbered, and he realizes there's no sense in telling anyone who hasn't tried it that the city trip is sure death. As for the Movement, and what it means by revolution, he's counting on there being time enough for him to get it together, get dug in, and survive, so that he or his children can pick up the pieces afterwards. If there are going to be any pieces, that is. Meanwhile, all he asks is to be left alone. It's no easy life, but the land gives him strength and a grim kind of hope.

The style is a wierd blend of the hip and the hill-billy. He's tried communes, he's tried open land: too damned many hassles. Somehow, somewhere, he'll find a corner no one else wants too badly, where he can do his thing. Maybe he'll have a partner or two, as well as an old lady and the kids; otherwise, he's a private in a one-man army. Anarchism *in extremis*.

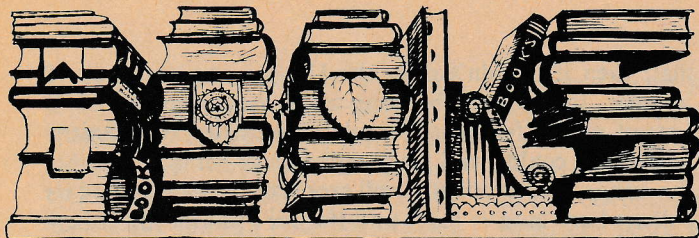
In all his traits, admirable or otherwise, he is more and more like the mountaineer Chicano he replaces. *Gente con el corazon en la cabeza* was Lorca's phrase for the Spanish Gypsies, but it applies at least as well to the proud, fiercely independent, rugged folk who dug in up here in these green, guarded valleys a century and a half ago: people with their hearts in their heads. Or, as we would put it, really far-out dudes who sure as hell got it together.

What remains in doubt is whether the modern Chicano and the digging-in freak can slide past each other at this cramped point in history without a serious collision.

—Paul Johnson







SAIGON, U.S.A.  
Alfred Hassler  
Fellowship Books

From time to time I have gone to stores that specialize in light-weight camping gear. The salesmen at these stores are extremely paternalistic, which is not surprising in view of the awe in which they are held by so many of their customers. Some light-weight gear salesmen take a quick look at you and then tell you exactly what kind of tent, climbing boots, compass, and everything else you need. If they say you need the XYZ Brand and you resist by asking to see the ABC Brand, they will look at you as though you were some incredible square, ask if you have ever been on the trail before, and perhaps even blandly assert that you are asking to see something that doesn't exist.

It has occurred to me that some of the leaders of the American radical movement may have spent some time in the light-weight camping gear business. Lots of them push a particular tactical or ideological position with the same unqualified self-assurance, and never mention the alternatives or even insist that the alternatives don't exist. In June 1969 the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam announced its transformation into the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) just a little less than a decade after the NLF had been formed by the Viet Cong as its political manifestation. Almost immediately, all sorts of leaders of the American radical movement started proclaiming how we just *had* to support the PRG. Dave Dellinger said this at the November Mobilization, and Marty Jezer heartily endorsed it in WIN (December 15, 1969). There seemed to be almost general agreement that only "left-liberals", "squeamish Moratorium types", or some other variety of less-than-true-radical could possibly disagree. Moreover, few saw any need to discuss the nature of either the PRG or the other forces in Vietnam that are struggling against the Thieu-Ky dictatorship.

Even before reading Alfred Hassler's *Saigon, U.S.A.*, I had some suspicion that the PRG was not the whole story as far as South Vietnamese opposition to the Thieu-Ky dictatorship is concerned. Since I am an American and not Vietnamese and indeed have not even spent part of my life in Vietnam I reasoned that I couldn't be in a position to choose between the PRG or the PNF (Progressive National Force) or what-not. After all, if I were Vietnamese and not American, the SMC (Student Mobilization Committee) might be the only left student group I would have heard of, and for that matter I might think that all pacifists were Seventh Day Adventists. (After all, so many of our medics in South Vietnam are.)

Alfred Hassler's book shows that the opposition to the Thieu-Ky dictatorship is far broader than the PRG. The book is an outgrowth of the "U.S. Study Team" sent to South Vietnam by a group of well-known churchmen in June 1969. The organizers of the Study Team had been quite shaken-up by the assertion of the Buddhist monk, Thich Nhat Hanh, that there were at least 20,000 *non-NFL* political prisoners in South Vietnam. The implications of

this charge were quite profound. First, it meant that political repression was even worse in Vietnam than most sensitive American radicals and liberals realized. Second, it tended to show that there was a broad-based opposition to the Thieu-Ky regime which was not only not communist but which did not even regard itself as part of the PRG. Finally, it showed that the U.S. government's unqualified support of the Thieu-Ky regime was based on an unthinking mistrust of non-communists as well as communists, that it was indeed based on a mistrust of everyone outside the tiny ruling clique we are supporting.

Hassler's actual text centers on two overall themes. First, it surveys and places in context the "Study Team's" grim observation of political suppression in South Vietnam. Particular attention is given to the Study Team's visit to political prisons. It undoubtedly helped build the current concern with Vietnamese prisons, "tiger cages", etc. Second, there is Hassler's analysis of the non-NLF opposition to the Thieu-Ky dictatorship, or what is generally called the "Third Force". In addition to Hassler's text, the book includes over a hundred pages of useful documents, including the report of the U.S. Study Team, the statement of the Buddhist Socialist Policy, and protest statements of various South Vietnamese students, teachers, etc.

The most important contribution of Hassler's book is its discussion of the "Third Force". Those South Vietnamese who consider themselves part of the Third Force evidently see the solution to South Vietnam's problems neither in a continuation of the Thieu-Ky dictatorship nor in an unequivocal victory for the PRG. They reject both the American presence in Vietnam and the communism practiced by the PRG. Hassler's book is important since few Americans have heard of the Third Force and since Hassler feels that even those who have heard of the Third Force do not understand it very well.

Hassler explains that it is extremely difficult for an outsider to get accurate information about a grouping like the Third Force since so many people associated with it live in constant fear of imprisonment or worse for talking publicly. Some people have seen the Third Force as an attempt at compromise between the Thieu-Ky dictatorship and the PRG which could be used as a ploy by the United States in order to maintain its presence and power in Vietnam. Hassler feels that this conception of the Third Force is a complete misunderstanding. He conceives of the Third Force as a radical alternative to either the rightist military dictatorship run by Thieu-Ky or the Stalinist dictatorship that many people fear could emerge from an unqualified PRG victory.

Hassler is careful to point out that the Third Force is emphatic in its insistence on the withdrawal of American power from Vietnam. According to Hassler, the Third Force feels that though it has serious and fundamental disagreements with the PRG (at least as the PRG is presently constituted) it does not just dismiss the PRG. In fact, it feels that if the United States would remove its presence from South Vietnam the various forces struggling for control of the country would eventually resolve their differences. Indeed, especially on a personal level there are many close contacts between members of the PRG and adherents to the Third Force. Despite fundamental differences, the Third Force sees those in the PRG as their brothers.

Hassler is bitter that the struggle of the "Third Force", which has been overwhelmingly nonviolent, has not gotten more press coverage in this country and has not received more support from the American radical movement. He



was especially struck by the lack of coverage or support for the nonviolent demonstration that took place in Saigon in January 1969 which drew over 500,000 people. He was also quite moved by all those who have died or who are in tiger cages for the cause. On the failure of the American movement to support these people Hassler wrote:

The saddest thing of all (is) that these heroic youths and their elders, (who are) not only struggling for freedom and peace but also insisting that the well being of man demands that such struggles be carried on non-violently, have not won the ardent support of their comrades in the West. It is hard to imagine anything more tragic.

There are, I think, a number of reasons that the Third Force may not have received more attention or support in this country. For one thing, most Americans believe in violence and consequently take someone who carries a gun more seriously than someone who doesn't. In fact, many if not most, American pacifists, although they have personally renounced the use of violence, still believe that violence works. And so they play the role of the "hard-boiled realists" and assume that the PRG can accomplish more with violence.

Another reason that the Third Force has received less attention than the PRG might be that it is so much less organized and rigid in structure than the PRG. The few political structures that the PRG has, such as the "Buddhist Socialist Bloc" (BSB), and the "Progressive National Force" (PNF) are loose organizations. Moreover, the vast majority of the Third Force probably does not particularly identify with a formal political structure at all. It is hard to stop thinking in terms of the traditional categories of power-politics. In this country we are constantly told that the only way to stop the Nixon administration would be to play power-politics in the Democratic Party or at least to form an equally massive and centralized Third Party. It is consequently not surprising that those people in South Vietnam who as Hassler depicts them are tired of being the pawns of either of the two best known blocs seeking power are so frequently overlooked.

The most important reason (at least within the radical movement) that the Third Force has been neglected, I feel, arises out of the outrage so many people feel against what our government has done to a small country that never meant us any harm. The trouble with the "Third Force" is

that, even if it didn't offer the U.S. an easy way out of Vietnam, it would still be easier than a victory for the PRG. Lots of people feel that it would only corrupt our country further if it could avoid the humiliation of defeat. They feel the only way our country will ever learn how-misguided its policies have been is for it to suffer for its misdeeds. Otherwise our country could become even more convinced that the violence it has carried out in Vietnam has worked.

Hassler expresses some sympathy for this sentiment. However, he would much rather see the war over and the South Vietnamese free, than try to teach America a lesson. And politically, he thinks we have to allow our government a face-saving way out. Consequently, he feels that we should forgo trying to teach our country more of a lesson than it has already learned. After all, it has suffered terrible blows to its complacency. Moreover, it is questionable whether humiliation is a good teacher. Instead, as Tex Ritter's song "God Bless America Again" illustrates, ordinary Americans may react to the attempts to undermine our country's pride by becoming even more stubbornly opposed to change. Hassler, in short, believes that we should be more interested in ending the war and letting South Vietnam alone than in either humbling our country or vindicating ourselves. I must confess that this attitude impresses me as being exceptionally mature.

I think I disagree with Hassler on one point. He seems to me to go further than saying that if what the South Vietnamese really want is the Third Force, that is what they should have. The whole horrible fallacy of the Vietnam war, it seems to me, is the belief that Americans can know what is right for the Vietnamese. Those who support the Nixon administration think they know what is right for the Vietnamese. The Mobilization leaders, who tell us we should support the PRG, seem to feel that they know what is right for the Vietnamese. Unlike the Nixon administration and unlike at least some of the Mobilization leaders who support the PRG, Hassler does not suggest that we support violence to help our favorite faction win in South Vietnam. However, he still implies that we should somehow try to help the Third Force to power. Certainly, the Third Force seems, from what I've read in Hassler, to be the group that would be most appealing to nonauthoritarian radicals. However, isn't the whole point of ending American imperialism, our realizing that the destinies of other peoples are really their business and not ours?

*Henry Bass*

## THE PROBLEM OF PRISONS

David F. Greenberg

National Peace Literature Service,

AFSC, 1970

40 pp., \$ .75

Greenberg begins his book by calling for the abolition of prisons. He bases this call for abolition on a "careful consideration of prisons, their effects on inmates, and the relationship they have to the society at large." This book is a reasoned, concise presentation of those "careful considerations".

I suspect that many WIN readers will find Greenberg's analysis of prison somewhat elementary. Nevertheless,

there is a great deal of value in this book. One of the things that Greenberg points out, which I think is of special interest to those readers who are facing a prison term and are considering "organizing" within prison, is that many prison inmates have a set of values that "coincides with those of society." They believe in the American Dream and, finding themselves either ill-equipped or ill-inclined to make their way into it through "legal" means, they elect to steal their way into it.

There was basically only one point at which I found myself in disagreement with Greenberg. As a recent alumnus of Lewisburg Penitentiary, my

feeling is that Greenberg puts too much emphasis on what inmates will be able to accomplish from the inside. Any approach that tries to make fundamental changes in prisons within the context of our present society is doomed to failure. Prisons will change only with the radical restructuring of the political, social and economic institutions on which this nation is based, and such a restructuring cannot be done from within prison.

Meanwhile, Greenberg finds himself on the horns of a dilemma that all of us who seek to abolish the prison system must face. Any attempt at prison reform is fraught with danger, as Greenberg makes clear by pointing out that



"Solitary confinement is a reform urged by Quakers, who thought it would help wrong-doers repent." Usually, when one works to reform an institution, that reformation is based on the assumption that the basic institution is worth saving. No such assumption can be made about the prison system. Nevertheless, the prison system continues to function, thereby affecting the lives of thousands of inmates and their families. I think we have to recognize this and work for reforms even as we work for abolishment.

Greenberg comes to the same conclusion: "In the meantime, a number of reforms could be instituted to improve the situation of those in prison, and bring closer the day when prisons can be eliminated." He suggests that the most desirable reforms are those that "help a prisoner to keep his head together and thereby resist the efforts of the prison system to break his spirit, and those which will give the prisoner weapons that he can use to fight the prison system." The ten suggested reforms that Greenberg presents are, for the most part, consistent with those criteria.

Though there is no bibliography, a perusal of Greenberg's extensive footnotes will provide many books and articles for those interested in further reading on the subject. Greenberg's *The Problem of Prisons*, is an excellent introduction.

— Donald Baty

**Lawrence S. Wittner: Rebels  
Against War: The American  
Peace Movement, 1941-1960  
(Columbia University Press, 1969)**

When I first heard that someone had written a history of the modern American peace movement, I thought that the news was too good to be true. Lots of us have been interested in what the movement was like before we got involved—how it protested World War II universal military training, the Korean War, and atmospheric atomic testing. A book like Wittner's history would be essential reading even if it were only an adequate job. As it is, Wittner has done a tremendous job, about as good a job that could be done with existing sources. There are gaps in Wittner's book. However, this is because we do not yet have good enough primary sources to make a definitive history of modern American peace movement.

Wittner's history is billed as beginning in 1941. Actually, one of the best

and longest chapters in the book is the opening one on the peace movement in the thirties. Wittner really begins more or less where his teacher, Merle E. Curti, left off in his classic history of the American peace movement: *Peace or War: The American Struggle 1636-1936*. (W.W. Norton and Co., 1936) In the thirties the peace movement was very popular. Especially in the early thirties, peace was as respectable as the environment is today. Establishment clergymen, student leaders, educators, and even statesmen vied with one another in their denunciation of war and their praise of peace.

The pro-peace sentiment of the thirties extended beyond mere words. On April 12, 1935 an estimated 60,000 college students participated in a "strike" against war. Over 12,000 Americans signed WRL's pledge: War is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war and to strive for the removal of all causes of war." Many others signed the Oxford Oath announcing that they would refuse military service. Franklin D. Roosevelt summed up the sentiment of this all too easy era for the peace movement when he said: "I am a pacifist. You my fellow citizens are pacifists, too."

The peace movement of the thirties was as superficial as President Roosevelt's remark. When World War II came it simply collapsed. In peace time it is easy to be for peace or even to be a pacifist. As Ammon Hennacy put it: "Being a pacifist between wars is like being a vegetarian between meals." When the drums of World War II began to beat, most of the pacifists and peace lovers turned out to be of the F.D.R. variety. As two pacifists who kept the faith later reflected: "Perhaps no war has ever produced so many individuals who at one time or another had vowed never to fight again, and then with the first trumpets found reasons as to why *this* war was different."

Although the pacifist movement was hard hit by the Second World War, it survived better than the peace movement more generally. This was especially true of the more radical pacifist groups. Broadly based peace coalitions and umbrella groups were the hardest hit. However, W.R.L. enrolled the most members in its history in the year just before the war. The pacifists who were sticking it out felt all the more need to join together for mutual support. Although considerably less general op-

position existed to World War II in comparison with World War I, the percentage of CO's imprisoned quadrupled.

The chief witness of the peace movement during the Second World War was the CO's in prison and in Civilian Public Service camps. There were also a few small demonstrations. Typical of these was one organized by Dave Dellinger in 1943. Thirty or forty pickets descended on Washington. They weren't arrested, but police seized their signs. When they leafletted the following week, some of them were arrested for their selective service law violations. This was a very difficult time for the peace movement. Even the slightest expression of peace sentiment drew condemnation. For example, the F.O.R. published a pamphlet written by Vera Brittain condemning saturation bombing which was denounced by over 200 articles in the establishment press.

The post-war peace movement arose out of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the last days of the war in August 1945. Although 90% of the American public approved of our use of the atomic bomb, it had a traumatic effect on a significant minority.

The coming of peace and the shock of the atomic bomb brought about a brief reemergence of a broad-based peace movement. The focus of this movement was that we must have "one world or none". Several books advocating "world government" became best sellers, including Clarence Streit's *Union Now* (first published in 1939) and Wendell Wilkie's: *One World* (1943). Soon after its formation in 1947, as a result of the merger of organizations, United World Federalists, an umbrella organization advocating world government, had 17,000 dues paying members in 200 chapters. By the end of 1948 it had 40,000 members. Six U.S. Senators (including Thomas Dodd, state chairman of UWF in Connecticut) openly advocated world government and another dozen privately said they favored it.

The world government movement following the Second World War, like the peace movement in the thirties, tremendous superficial success. However, there was again a problem of it being just a little too easy to be for the right things, especially since most of the schemes for world government being discussed were crudely rigged for American domination. Clarence Streit's



scheme would even have denied membership in the world government to countries that weren't "democracies." Consequently, when the drums began to beat again in June 1950, with the beginning of the Korean War, the world government movement of the late forties even outdid the peace movement of the thirties in turning hawkish. UWF chapters in about thirty cities ran newspaper advertisements asserting: "United World Federalists are wholeheartedly behind our nation in this and every fight that may darken the nation's future."

Far more significant than the world government movement in practical accomplishment was the movement against Universal Military Training (UMT) initiated by pacifists in 1947. Radical pacifists protested the proposed legislation by destroying or returning 400 to 500 draft cards. The National Council Against Conscription was established as a nerve center and clearinghouse for a large variety of organizations opposed to the proposed legislation. The UMT bill despite the fan-fare with which the Truman administration introduced it and the support of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and most veterans groups, never got out of the House Rules Committee. Pacifists were able to win on this issue because of broad liberal support, the opposition to UMT of almost every major religious and labor organization in the country and because the Republican controlled Congress was hostile to the Truman administration.

A final activity of the peace movement in the late forties was the Henry Wallace for President campaign of 1948. This movement died with Truman's decisive upset victory over Dewey. Truman's victory was especially impressive since he had third party opposition not only from Wallace, but also for the Dixiecrats and from Norman Thomas. Wallace received only 1,157,000 votes and Thomas only 140,000. Strom Thurmond, the Dixiecrat candidate, received 1,169,000 votes.

The beginning of the Korean War in 1950 saw the peace movement decline abruptly from its brief revival in the late forties. This was the time that Joseph McCarthy became a powerful force in America. Never in modern times was the peace movement in a sadder state. WRL dwindled to a tiny core and FOR lost 3,000 members—about a quarter of its total. FOR's journal, *Fellowship*, observed late in 1950:

"Anti-communist feeling and hysteria make it far more difficult to get a hearing for the pacifist position now than at any time during World War II".

The end of the Korean War in 1953 saw no end to the decline in the peace movement. In fact, Wittner feels that the movement continued to decline through 1956. In the closing pages of *Rebels Against War* Wittner begins to discuss the revival of the peace movement that began in 1957. One reason that the peace movement finally began to recover in 1957 was the dramatic success that nonviolent action was having in the civil rights movement. Paradoxically, radical pacifists, who had so little success in building the peace movement in the decade following the second World War, had a catalytic effect on the civil rights movement. The success of the civil rights movement in these years, however, helped pave the way for the revival of the peace movement that began in 1957.

The influence of radical pacifism on the civil rights movement under the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr. was unprecedented. At least since the time of John Woolman (1720-1772) American pacifists have been concerned with not just peace but with the positive use of nonviolence for social change. However, before the modern civil rights movement, this was little more than a dream. The underground railroad, for example, was a way of freeing a few slaves rather than a strategy to end slavery nonviolently. Beginning with the first Freedom Ride in 1947 a number of World War II CO's became active in the civil rights movement and especially in CORE. Since Wittner's subject is the peace movement he is not able to go into this very deeply. An excellent account is Jim Peck's *Freedom Ride*.

The success of nonviolent direct action in the civil rights movement provided the peace movement with a boost by making this technique for social change better understood. The growing nuclear capability of the Soviet Union gave the peace movement a new winning issue. This was especially true since Russia had exploded its first H-Bomb less than a year after we had exploded ours. Americans also started worrying about the poisoning of the atmosphere from atomic testing.

The Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA) dramatically brought the issue of atomic testing to public attention with civil disobedience at domes-

tic test sites and the voyages of the "Golden Rule" into the Pacific test sites. At the same time the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) organized mass rallies and ran newspaper advertisements against further nuclear testing. Finally, in July 1963 the Kennedy administration signed the test ban treaty with Russia banning all but underground nuclear tests. However, the test ban did not become effective until October since there were still a few tests the military wanted to make before they were willing to close up shop with complete assurance that they knew enough to destroy the world properly.

It is easy to exaggerate the strength of the peace movement in 1960, the year in which Wittner closes his narrative. It is true that the campaigns of CNVA and SANE were paving the way for the test ban treaty. However, the test ban treaty would come only after testing was militarily obsolete and when there was widespread liberal concern about poisoning the atmosphere. Consequently, by 1963 it was no harder to be for the test ban than it had been to be for peace in the thirties. The movement did have a larger following than at any time since the thirties. It did have a firmer commitment to direct action and the experience of the early civil rights movement behind it. However, it was still powerless to achieve a major redirection of American foreign policy.

We are now a decade later than 1960. The peace movement is stronger than most peaceniks could have hoped ten years ago. It is, of course, also true that our problems are grimmer than most would have guessed. Moreover, the deep divisions of the peace movement and the devastating effect a few violence freaks have had in alienating us from potential friends, undoubtedly encouraged Nixon to invade Cambodia and has helped make it possible for him to withdraw American troops only as quickly as he deemed appropriate.

And so the peace movement still has a long way to go. It is difficult to assess our success in opposing the Vietnam War. We have not been able to stop it any quicker than Washington has apparently decided it should be stopped. However, we just might be able to prevent the next one. At least, we have a fighting chance especially if we can learn from our failure despite our strength in the struggle to end the war in Vietnam. *Henry Bass*



## Central Park

Manhattan children  
hands  
tiny  
grimy  
sweaty  
their hands  
have made  
her finger bright  
Alice astride  
the shiny toadstools  
over and under  
children  
their laughter  
the Mad Hatter  
"Dont box his nose"  
shiny too

—Michael Corr



## The Forest Stacks

Hinterland  
finding heavenly kings  
hiding under stumps  
Hiking mud hills  
stamping the back roads  
for rebirth  
and the feeling  
of the life myth

Leafing through the forest stacks  
waiting for the reawakening  
of gurus from golden ages  
ever reborn  
soon to spring from old molds  
matted humus  
the rotting leaves and needles

Forest floor I read you  
teach me green slugs  
elk horn moss and potato bugs

Let green shoots find light  
pushing through my blood mass  
spreading weeks and blossoms

—Michael Corr

## Dwarfs

Temple cleaning  
doing floor kanji  
the mop slapped pop  
the crapper door  
Sakaki doesn't knock  
gomen nasai  
"Your mop's too wet  
slop swells the temple floors."

A brief visit  
then Snyder and Sakaki  
honda popping hillward  
with a dwarf potted pine

Snip the limb strangling wires  
release the roots  
in mountain soil  
mine too

—Michael Corr



# ...changes

Continued from page 3

## INDIANS AGAINST EXPLOITATION FORM IN NEW MEXICO

For the first time in its 49 year old history the normal functioning of the annual Gallup Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial was upset by picket lines and leafleting. Approximately 50 youthful Indian protesters representing many different tribes and pueblos from all over the country united to form a group called Indians Against Exploita-

rest are non-Indian businessmen of Gallup.

Ceremonial officials feel that the dances performed by the Indians are done with dignity. The Indians Against Exploitation feel that some of the traditional dances are very sacred and are done out of context of time, place and atmosphere over the objections of the traditional Indian people.

Besides being culturally exploited, the Indians Against Exploitation feel that their people are being exploited economically. The majority of the businesses in Gallup are non-Indian owned, and in particular, the non-Indi-



Sig Martinez

an owned curio shops are charged with paying the Indian craftsmen inadequate wages for their jewelry, pottery and rugwork and then turning around and selling the handmade crafts to tourists for exorbitant prices.

Eight protesters were arrested and charged with unlawful assembly. Their loudspeaking equipment was confiscated because they weren't issued a permit to use such equipment in the streets of Gallup. The Indians Against Exploitation filed a countersuit stating that their rights under the First Amendment had been violated. Named in the countersuit were the Gallup District Attorney, a police court judge, the Gallup City Attorney, the Gallup Chief of Police and the McKinley County Sheriff.

—Sigfredo Martinez

## THE BLACK MOUNTAIN PRESS

One of the nice things about the movement is *Black Mountain Press*, up in Vermont. (Full address, Black Mountain Press, Box 1, Corinth, Vermont 05039). They do a terrific job of mimeographing—their letterhead comes in four colors—and quietly keep issuing sound anarchist materials, including a wide range of reprints and some 8 x 10 two-color posters (called "micro-posters"). No national office organized *Black Mountain Press* and it

probably won't last forever, but when it goes, someone else, in South Dakota or Mississippi or New Jersey will start something very like it: a labor of rebellious love, a fiery candle lit because darkness calls forth light. For our part we hope *Black Mountain Press* runs on forever. Write them for a list of their reprints. —D. McR.

## WAR TAX RESISTER ARRESTED

Robert G. Muncaster, a Montgomery, Alabama businessman was arrested Sept. 1 on charges of willful failure to file Federal income tax returns. Instead of filing he had told the government that federal taxes are being used to finance an illegal war.

I talked with Mrs. Muncaster and she said that they have a form that they are distributing for draft and tax resisters. This form "puts the government on notice" that they will not support their illegal acts. Mr. Muncaster has also been convicted of aiding his son in refusing to register for the draft. —Robert Calvert

## CONTINUING RISE IN DRAFT RESISTANCE

Statistics released August 28 by Selective Service "presented official confirmation for what was already common knowledge—that draft evasion, both overt and hidden—has risen sharply during the Vietnam war and is still rising."

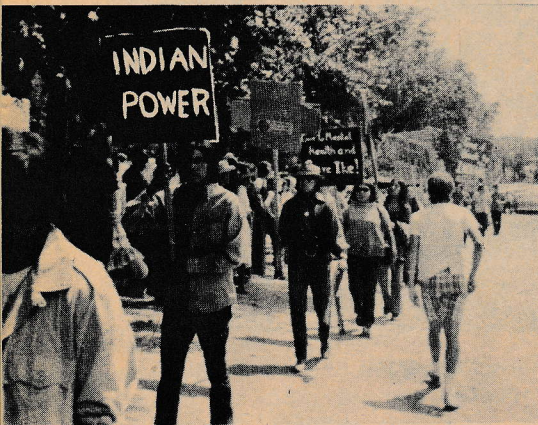
So stated an AP dispatch which opened with: "The Selective Service System says that prosecutions for draft evasion have soared to 10 times their level of five years ago."

The Michigan State Democratic Party convention on August 23 adopted a resolution urging amnesty for all persons who have resisted or evaded the draft either by going to jail or leaving the country. —J.P.

## 20,000 CHICANOS IN PROTEST MARCH

Some 20,000 persons marched five miles August 29 in an anti-war demonstration described by one newspaper as "the largest Chicano-organized event in East Los Angeles." It was sponsored by the National Chicano Moratorium Committee.

The march ended with a rally at Laguna Park. At the conclusion of the



Sig Martinez

tion and gathered in Gallup, New Mexico to demonstrate.

The annual four day event which is always staged during the second weekend of August consists of parades, craft exhibits, traditional dances and an all-Indian rodeo. During this time Indians and tourists by the thousands converge on the city of Gallup (population 15,000). The city has adopted the title of the "Indian Capital of the World" and publicizes the Ceremonial as the "Greatest Living Tribute to the American Indian". This year's attendance was 35,000.

The Indians Against Exploitation felt that the Indian people have very little to say in the decisions of the Ceremonial. Of the 21 members on the Ceremonial Association's board of directors, only six are Indian and the



rally, a police onslaught which they claimed to be prompted by the looting of a nearby liquor store, set off a night of rioting in which 53 persons were injured and Ruben Salazar was killed.

"When I got up on the platform, I saw a sweep of sheriffs moving in and the people panicking," said Rosalio Munoz, chairman of the Committee. "The sheriffs gave no notification, nothing about dispersing. We tried to calm the people but they were pushed back into the park buses. Then the tear gas started."

Community spokesmen as well as the National Mexican-American Anti-Defamation Committee have called for a federal investigation of the police brutality and of the Salazar killing.  
—J.P.

### SOUTH AFRICANS MAKE CREDIT AGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL

The Foreign Trade Bank of Israel has signed an agreement with the Industrial Development Corporation of South

Africa establishing a line of credit worth \$15-million for exports from South Africa to Israel, it was learned this week.

Mr. David Golan, managing director of the Israel Bank, said the line of credit would be available for South African exports of capital goods and services. The interest rate would be six per cent and repayment may extend up to ten years.

Mr. Golan expects the full \$15-million to be used within three years.

—News From South Africa



# DOVETALES

**TAKING TIME OUT . . .** It seems like everyone has been on vacation this past month. Dave Dellinger is in Hawaii taking in the island sun and writing a new book. David Gelber, Managing Editor of *Liberation*, is with Dellinger, but he's only writing postcards . . . Ralph DiGia just got back from New Mexico (he saw a real rainbow, but said that the air can kill you out there) and Cape Cod . . . David McReynolds spent a few weeks at conference in Europe and then stopped off in Iceland for a brief rest. But there's no beer in Iceland so none of us would be able to spend much time there . . . Susan and Maris Cakars and Linda and Mike Wood just bought land in Upstate NY and are spending their weekends grazing . . . The Coffins got stuck in the mud (that is, their Land Rover did) in New Hampshire, but they had a good time camping anyway . . . Hey, I didn't take my vacation yet; who's got some good ideas?

**GAY DAYS . . .** There are some new homosexual publications out. *Vector* (of SIR) is experimenting with pictures of nude men. A sample copy costs a buck; write to Editor, 83 Sixth St., SF 94103. For female homosexuals there's *The Ladder*. Get a sample copy from Box 5025, Washington Station, Reno Nv. 89503 . . . An article in *Tangents Magazine* deals with homosexuals and the draft. Send a dollar to

them at 347½ Cahuenga Blvd, Hollywood 90028 . . . The Gay Liberation Front in Los Angeles has formed a "Survival Committee" to help anyone in trouble. The number to call is 213/665-1881 any hour, day or night. If you send a donation they'll send you a small card with information on what to do if arrested. Sorry, no address given on the press release.

**MOVING ON . . .** In NYC a civil lawsuit is being brought against the Bureau of Special Services by about a dozen lawyers' groups on behalf of various political groups. The suit will be part of a campaign to expose the BOSS as a secret police organization working in the City . . . New York Moratorium has been sending a van around to fairs in New York State to promote the peace business.

**THE MIDWEST SCENE . . .** Rich Radbil reports that the air in Milwaukee is bad. Seems we heard something like that in NYC too. He also says that Sly and the Family Stone kept 100,000 people waiting when they were an hour late to their concert. One local radio is boycotting their records until they apologize to the people of Milwaukee for the inconvenience caused. Rich reports that the Milwaukee *Journal* said Sly would not perform until watermelons were provided for his family . . . Eight people ripped off four draft boards in rural Minnesota but were ar-

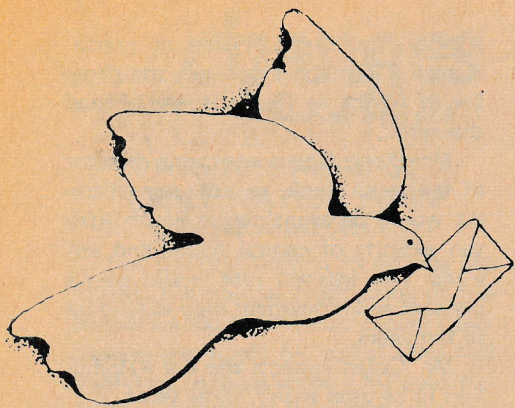
rested in the effort. Bail was set at first for \$50,000 but later reduced to \$10,000 for each defendant. The Committee to Defend the Eight raised the bail money, but court expenses are beginning to pile up. Why don't you send some bread to them at Box 14058, University Station, Mpls., 55414.

**IN BLACK AND WHITE . . .** The second issue of *Up From Under* is out. It's even better than the first. There's nothing like a woman journalist to get it together. Write for a sample copy and please enclose sixty cents. *Up From Under* lives at our address . . . If you dug the WIN issue on Sunrise Hill, you'll like *Life on a Kibbutz* by Murray Weingarten. It's short on religion, long on community . . . Rick Hertzberg has done a really groovy book called *One Million*. It's got a million dots in it with some of them marked off to designate numerical facts. It's dedicated to John Beresford Tipton. I know who that is; do you? Anyway, it costs nearly four dollars and that's alot of money for movement people, but the book is alot of fun so it all balances out in the end . . . If you read *The Magic Garden of Stanley Sweetheart* and didn't like it, you'll absolutely hate the movie. Try to stay away from both—they're sexist porn at its worst . . . Ray Mungo's book, which was reviewed in WIN a few issues ago is a good manual for people who are going to form collectives. After reading it the people may decide not to form collectives . . . RESIST in Boston has put out a good high school packet with info on the draft, women's liberation, abortion and contraception and other valuable ideas for high school organizers. If you order it from WRL (it costs a buck) we'll throw in an organizing manual that I've just written.

**FINAL REMINDER . . .** Keep the news coming . . . Think peace.

—Wendy





Dear WIN:

Gordon Yaswen's SUNRISE HILL POST-MORTEM in the August issue is a very valuable account for the community oriented. As a founder and present active member of the very alive 14 year old May Valley Co-op community, I would add:

It seems apparent here again that surrounding circumstances—rather than members' ideas, hopes and will—determine how any experiment will turn out and when. Had persecution, for example from the Draft, pre-driven and kept the Sunrise founders together—and if they had developed a united attitude and response to that pressure—communal living as part of the response to continued persecution, could have long endured. In other words the members would then have had little alternative to throwing in all their cash reserves and energies and surrendering themselves to group discipline.

If life in this manner became too difficult with B, they would have moved on as a group to hopefully more hospitable conditions.

To understand the success of religious communal groups one must go to their beginnings. There one will find long persecution by the Establishment. But also the first members were usually somewhat alike in original status, vocation, religion, location and ethnic origin.

There is, then, beautiful compensation in store for those who collectively struggle long and intensely against Establishment injustices and who are otherwise in fortunate circumstances. If the heat of oppression or dire necessity doesn't rise enough to weld them into a communal community, it may at least forge a close knit cooperative one like that of Amish or Mennonites.

Had B known of the control of circumstances and also the history of the French Communities of Work (Claire Bishop's "ALL THINGS COMMON"), he might have proposed to those committed to rural vocations—a very durable community: an incipient producer—consumer co-op, under his direction, for production and use of subsistence goods, etc.—with opportunity for the members to gradually and cooperatively buy him out and retire him from management.

Let us resist injustice harder and longer, collectively with other like souls—knowing that there can be at the end for us a beautiful communitarian reward. May Valley Co-op Community, near Seattle, is a good place to do so. The result could be a higher stage of cooperation there among the valiant. Come join us in the resistance.

John Affolter  
Benton, Wash.

Dear WIN:

Two recent letters published in WIN require comment.

Comrade Agatson's letter about the Gulf Action Project was not entirely accurate. There was an inside action. About thirty people entered the meeting on proxies; some set off buzzers and sirens to disrupt the meeting, while others used parliamentary procedure to the same end. Third World guerrilla leaders from countries Gulf exploits were nominated to the Board of Directors of Gulf, while Sam Barnes of the Committee of Returned Volunteers introduced a resolution providing that whenever Gulf entered into a contract with the government of another country, the contract would go into effect only after approval in a popular referendum in which all the adults of the country in question could vote. Gulf's Chairman called this proposal "slandorous" and refused to allow the stockholders to vote on it.

One aspect of the demonstration deserves particular comment. During the week prior to the demonstration, every police station in the city was leafleted at shift changes. The leaflet announced plans for the demonstration including nonviolent civil disobedience, and pointed out that the demonstrations were not intended against police, or people with short hair, or the silent majority, but against that very small minority of wealthy businessmen who own and control the major institutions of the city, who decide which laws are passed and enforced; the leaflet went on to appeal to the class identity of the police, and asked them to join us, or failing that, to enforce the laws impartially. The police responded very favorably; almost all were willing to read the leaflet and discuss it, and most agreed with its contents. Some bought our "Gulf Kills" buttons and wore them on their uniforms. Ours was the first demonstration not to be marred by police violence. In my opinion the police were so gratified to be treated as human beings who could be reached with our message that they were exceedingly open to this kind of approach. It is a way of relating to police that not only works to nullify potential police violence but also works to win them over. On the basis of our experience this tactic could be used elsewhere profitably.

Sam Schwartz' letter on Israel raised a number of important issues, but unfortunately speaks to them only in the rhetoric we have heard for so many years from standard Zionist sources. While it may be simplistic to speak about the Arab refugees being driven from their homeland, it is not entirely inaccurate either. Probably the most thorough study of this question was done in a Ph.D. thesis by an Oriental Israeli named Gabray, who concluded that while some Arabs did leave Palestine voluntarily, in some parts of the country they were driven out, particularly toward the closing phases of the war. Many of those who left "voluntarily" fled not so much because their leaders urged them to leave, but rather from fear for their lives. The mass exodus occurred only after several hundred Arabs, mostly women and children, were massacred at Deir-el-Yassin by Zionist terrorists. But the question of the voluntary character of the emigration strikes me as being beside the point. If I leave my home volun-

tarily it is still my home; I haven't abandoned the right to return to it, especially when I left in panic for my life. Furthermore, the majority of refugees have been born since 1948, and whatever blame might attach to their parents (and in my opinion their share is very small) cannot be attributed to them; they are innocent sufferers if anyone is.

Although it may be a useful rhetorical device to regard Zionism as a Jewish national liberation movement, serious difficulties adhere to this view. Not all Jews live in Israel, many are not Zionists; Israeli leaders are not spokesmen for Jews in the Galut, they are political leaders of a nation-state. It is nonsense to speak of American or Russian Jews as having been liberated in 1948. In addition, it is highly questionable to speak about any movement as a movement for national liberation when its goals can be realized only through obliterating the national rights of another people—in this case the Palestinians, whose claim to Palestine is no less solid than that of Jews, whose main legal claim to the right of statehood rested on the imperialist Balfour Declaration.

To speak of "Israel's right to exist" strains one's credulity. After each of three military conflicts, Israel's borders have been larger than before the conflict began. Under these circumstances, Arab claims to exist would appear to take priority. In any event, neither the Palestine liberation groups nor the governments of most of the Arab states question the right of *Israelis* to exist; the governments want a restoration of conquered land and peace, while the refugee groups demand a bi-national state in which both Jews and Arabs can live together in peace—a goal supported in the past by some notable Zionists, including Martin Buber and Henrietta Szold. This goal threatens Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state, but not the right of *Israelis* to live in Palestine as Jews. It correctly sees that no other solution adequately takes into account the conflicting claims of both parties; therefore, that no other solution is likely to lead to a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

David F. Greenburg  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear WIN:

The American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, at its Convention in August initiated a membership referendum on the war in Indochina to be voted on early this fall. A favorable vote on this excellent statement by the 205,000 members of the union would have an important effect on the labor movement and consequently on the war itself.

We are now preparing background information on the referendum and the war which should be extremely useful to teachers in approaching their colleagues. Although we have some 10,000 people on our mailing list, we must reach additional teachers at every level from kindergarten through the University. We urge any of your readers who are (or who know) AFT members to please get in touch with us promptly as time is very short.

Rebecca Berman  
Teachers Committee for Peace  
in Vietnam  
339 Lafayette Street, NYC 10012



Dear Wendy,

I'm disturbed by your evaluation of the draft board clerks in your article "Visiting SSS: harassment for the hell of it" (Sept. 1, 1970). You describe them as "totally unreachable", which, in my opinion, reflects both a serious error in judgment and a tactical failure in your attempts to reach them.

The first thing that you should realize is that while disrupting a draft board's procedures to you may mean a temporary halting of the war machine, to a draft board clerk it means time lost which must somehow be made up, either by working harder and faster or by working overtime. So, if the clerks aren't especially delighted by the sight of some peaceniks trying to gum up the works it's quite understandable.

It is also important to understand that arguments about the immorality of the war are not likely to sway these women. Such considerations are a luxury for most working women. If they want to hear any arguments about the war, they want to know how it is affecting their own lives. Explain to them that the war is creating the inflationary economy which causes their financial problems. Talk to them about the exploitative nature of their jobs, i.e. how they are put in the position of being shit-workers and also having to listen to everyone who comes in with a bitch about the draft, while the real culprits are elsewhere.

If they still tell you that they don't have much time to think about things like that, remember that most of them probably go home after work, cook dinner for their families, clean the house, and perform all the other jobs of a full-time housewife. They are human beings with human problems, and should be approached as such. (By the way, my mother was a draft board clerk during WW II.)

*Connie Sohodski  
New York City*

Dear Win:

WIN exists at the mercy of the contributors to the War Resisters League. I do not think that they want their money spent on printing jingoistic letters like Sammy Schwartz's of Great Neck, L.I., an affluent neighborhood. This letter is no more than a repeat of lies distributed by the Zionist agency and the Israeli Government.

I cannot go into every point, because they are all wrong. One point I like to state. True, the Jordan government did not allow Israelis to go to the Wailing Wall, so the Israelis did not allow the Jordanians to visit the Nazaret. It was an equal exchange of bitterness of one to another.

Cities, like Jaffa, Safat, Lud, Ramla, were 100% Arab. Where are the Arabs? On a point of a gun they drove Arabs from their land.

They have massacred village after village. Throwing children in the wells of Dir Yasin, shooting down women and children as they sat in the trucks coming home from a days work in the fields.

For the 22 years that the Arabs were exiled from their homes the so-called "Socialist" government of Israel, did not try to bring the refugees back home and compensate for their loss of lives and fortunes.

*David Berkingoff  
Bronx, N. Y.*

Dear WIN,

I was astonished to read in the pages of WIN an endorsement of the movie "Joe." (Dovetales Sept. 15) Wendy claims it "does more for the love generation than any supposedly pro-movement movie I've seen."

It seems to me that what the movie does is to reinforce everybody's prejudice of everybody. Just as movies of the Old West portrayed the good guy on a white horse and the villain on a black one, the characters in "Joe" are equally flat and broadly drawn. In "Joe" the villain has vulgar eating habits (catsup bottle on table, burps audibly) and the good guys turn on.

If your view of the world is that it is a simple matter of "them against us" you will love this movie. The world is more complicated than that.

The movie produces Joe, sets him right before you and does absolutely nothing to explain who he is. What are the pressures, problems, anxieties, hopes, fears of his life? Was he born with his uptight attitudes? This movie had an opportunity to enlighten its audience with characters who rang with truth and instead they gave caricatures, cartoons of "types" (Wendy herself: "'Joe' is the story of a hardhat type person").

This movie aids in the polarization of this country, does nothing to diminish it. It does nothing to deepen one's understanding of people who resist or actively oppose the politics of the Left.

*Elaine Makowska*

Dear WIN:

When I first came to Alaska I expected ice and snow and real isolation from what's happening everywhere else in the country. What I found instead is very different. Since there are a number of Army bases in Alaska, I expected much support of the military. Instead, there is U.S.A.—the United Servicemen of Alaska and their newspaper GREEN MACHINE. Instead of a state filled with red-necks (though there is a great number) there are a number of good people. Dope is plentiful, though expensive (except home-grown weed, and Alaska's growing season, which can produce 30 pound turnips and 4-foot lettuce, produces some fine stuff) and even politically there are interesting developments. The two guys running for the Demo, nomination for US Senate are both doves. Wendell Kay is running on the themes of "PEACE together" and "REBUILD THE FAITH". Joe Josephson is stressing the environmental issues, which can be dangerous in this state, since there is so much money to be made from oil. And at the recent State Fair I counted about 25 WRL broken rifle pins. Whoever wins the demo, nomination runs against a hawk—Ted Stevens (who wanted nerve gas stockpiled in the state, etc.) and has a decent chance of beating him. (did you know that one of the two people who voted against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution was from Alaska?) And on top of all that, the state is beautyfull. Though we've had two earthquakes in the past week, we've also had three displays of Northern Lights and stars that you can SEE. A pleasant relief from NYC.

*Brian Rogers*



# making do

Though my instant epicure type cookbooks tell me that the ideal quick dinner is filet mignon, most busy peaceniks resort to some variation of the soup-and-sandwich route. Come summer, here are two delicious cold soups that are easy to make and not expensive, if you prepare them in season. They are elegant enough for any party.

## ★ BLUEBERRY AMBROSIA

2½ quarts water  
thin cut peel of one lemon  
small stick cinnamon  
½ cup sugar  
4 cups (two boxes) blueberries  
2 tablespoons cornstarch

Simmer the berries and rind in the water for a few minutes until soft. Strain, and force berries through a strainer or puree in a blender. Return berries to soup. Mix cornstarch in ½ cup water and add to mixture, along with cinnamon and sugar. Simmer five minutes. Chill until icy; serve with dollops of sweetened whipped cream, dusted with cinnamon. Serves ten as a soup, or twenty as a punch.

## ★ CUCUMBER SOUP

1 quart rich chicken stock  
2½ cucumbers  
1 onion  
2 teaspoons butter  
½ pint light cream  
(or 13 oz. can evap. milk)  
4 or 5 fresh mushrooms  
1/4 tsp garlic powder  
chopped chives

Heat stock to boiling. Peel and grind the cucumbers. Add both pulp and liquid to stock. Let simmer ten minutes. Chop onion fine; saute in butter until golden, not brown. Add to stock. Add cream (or evap. milk). Slice the mushrooms; saute, until just wilted, in one teaspoon butter, using the same frying pan you have just used for onions. Add to the soup, rinsing the frying pan with a little stock. Add garlic powder. Now taste for salt, pepper and garlic; you may want to add more garlic. Chill until icy; serve garnished with chopped chives.

*Dena Davis*



# classifieds

ALTERNATIVE TO SCHOOL: Expandin to second site and accepting new students through the school year. Write: NEW COMMUNITY SCHOOL Coburn, Pennsylvania 16832

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!

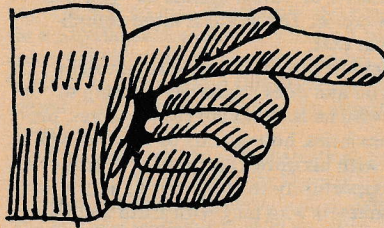
Write-White-Tonite

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

Dependable person seeks opportunity to work, learn with people who make clothes, jewelry, etc. in N.Y.C. or any interesting place. Tired of country life. Any help appreciated. Michael Cunningham, Route 1, Box 408 Winchester, Ky. 40391

We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately.  
The Trumpet  
a quiet political journal  
1 year - \$1  
P.O. Box 232, Goleta, California 93017

"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.



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.

## 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.

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Sell WIN on your campus or in your community. We'll send you a bundle (as large or small as you can use) and charge you 15¢ per copy. You sell 'em for 30¢. Return unsold copies for credit. Write WIN, 339 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012 for further details.

### AMAZING BUT TRUE FACTS!!

WIN Magazine is produced with very little help from the money economy. For instance, instead of paying a professional mailing house to mail out the magazine, the dedicated WIN staff and friends do it right here at 339 Lafayette St. It's a lot of work, but it's worth it. Besides, there's always beer. You too can get in on the act. Just call 228-0270 for details (Beer??!!)

-Eds.

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.

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# literature



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