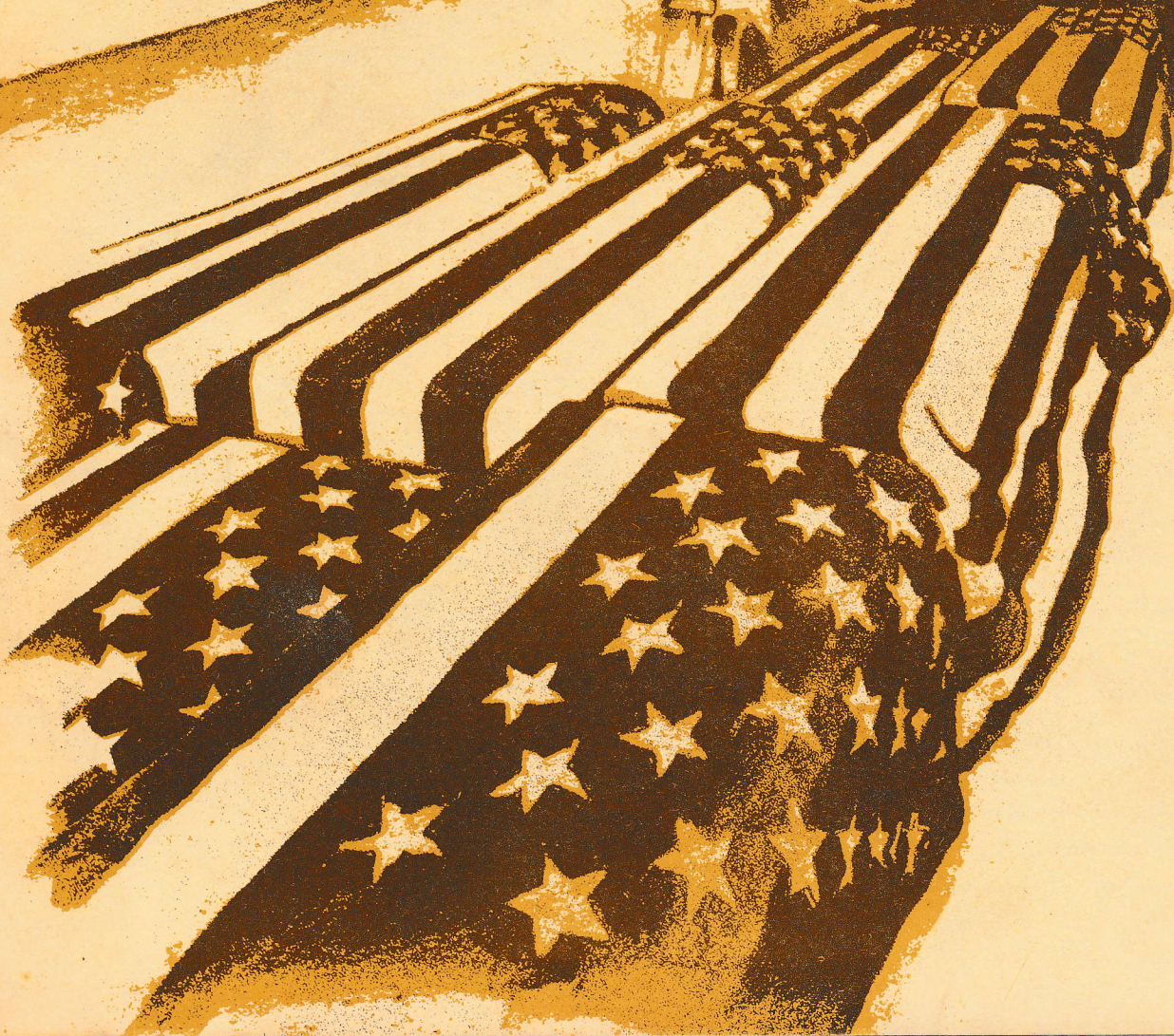


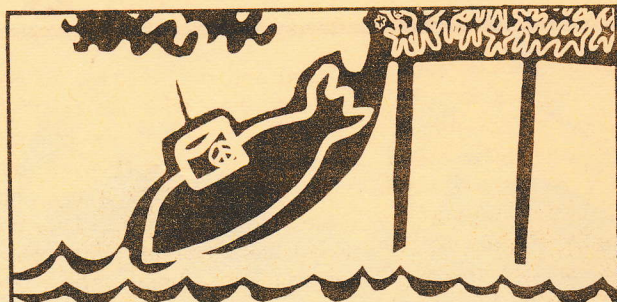
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## HOME FOLKS

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

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Ruth Dear (5429 S. Dorchester, Chicago, Ill.)  
Paul Encimer (c/o Venice Draft Resistance,  
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Seth Foldy (2232 Elandon Dr., Cleveland Heights, Oh.)  
Erika Gottfried (4811 NE 107th, Seattle, Wash. 98125)  
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Honolulu, Hi. 96822)  
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Back Cover: Text and Photo by Diana Davies

# win

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# changes

## SANCTUARY IN NYC

Saturday was Tom Germond's day. This was a time of conscience for a young man who had "resigned" from the Coast Guard a few months prior to his decision to turn himself over to the military authorities. On this occasion many of Tom's movement brothers and sisters gathered in his place of sanctuary, Washington Square Methodist Church, to offer their love and support for Tom's action with music, wine, flowers, and folk dancing. His call to the military police brought them running to the church to take him away. Tom was carried down the

steps of the building to an unmarked car and placed in the back seat. This seemed to be a signal for spontaneous action from many of Tom's friends who virtually leaped from the sidewalk to sit down in the street in front of the car to block its passage. Members of the Special Events Squad of the NYC Police Department moved in to move aside the demonstrators. After announcing that people would be arrested if they did not move, they dragged people to the curb. One person, named appropriately enough, Norman P. Thomas was taken to a police car. Another, Diana Davies, a movement photographer, was grabbed in a throat lock, and

hauled across the street by her jaw, causing the officer who did this to break his thumb while attempting to choke her. Handcuffs were put on these dangerous criminals, who were taken to the 6th precinct for booking. They were charged with obstructing government administration, resisting arrest, and disorderly conduct. After a time, they were taken to the Tombs to await trial in night court. Peace and Gay Liberation movement people raised \$100 bail each, and the prisoners were released to appear at a later trial date on October 29 at 100 Centre Street, Criminal Court.

—Diana Davies

## NACOGDOCHES 9

During the last two weeks of May nine Black brothers were denied their most basic constitutional rights. The Nacogdoches 9 stand as a symbol of what has happened over and over again in this pocket of Southern rural and racist activity.

The East Texas town of Nacogdoches has long practiced the common activity of unlawful arrest, police brutality, and excessive bonds and fines for Black citizens. The chief of police and the police special investigation are presently being sued in Federal Court in a class suit which seeks redress for ACTS committed against a Black leader and against the Black community of the town.

The Nacogdoches 9 will soon be before the court. The lawyer that was appointed for the defense has not yet talked to them or shown any intent to defend them or to seek redress for the violation of their civil rights. The following are sections of the statement made by some of the defendants:

*Johnny Thomas:* No one at any told me of my rights. I was stopped, searched, and put into jail without being told the charges against me.

*James Hubbard:* I was not allowed to make a phone call when I denied the charges against me. Then a patrolman hit me as hard as he could with his foot.

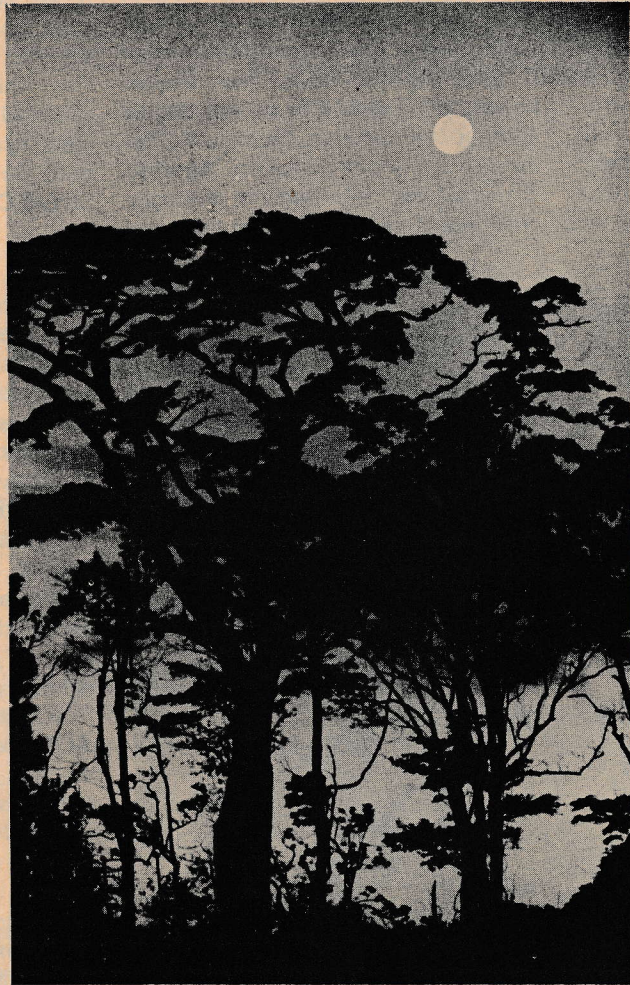
*Jerry Sexton:* I was told that there



Photo: Diana Davies

Tom Germond gets dragged away.

# EARTH · LIFE · RECLAMATION



Allan Hoffman was the first hip person I ever knew. We were both in our teens during the mid-50's and spent two summers together working at various camps. Allan hung out in Greenwich Village, used words like "existentialism" and dug e.e. cummings. I lived in the suburbs and knew nothing. We got into jazz, folk music, poetry, and philosophy together and even took up modern dance. We'd spend long nights sitting in the woods drinking cheap wine and talking about the meaning of art, the existence of God, and who we were. Allan was always asking questions and was never satisfied with the answers anyone could give him. In the early sixties he was active in the radical pacifist movement. He was on the CNVA San Francisco to Moscow Walk for Peace and

other early nonviolent actions. Later, he became a Mother-fucker and abandoned nonviolence. But he was always the gentlest and most human of persons. As an anarchist, he was part of the community that put out *Anarchos Magazine* and was one of the first city radicals to move to a farming commune. He was speaking about ecological consciousness before most of us ever heard the word "ecology." I was at a friend's house when I picked up an issue of *San Francisco Good Times*. It was open to this essay and at the end was written: "This was the last piece written by Allan Hoffman before he was killed in an automobile accident last week in Humboldt County. We're going to miss you, brother."

—Marty Jezer



the old culture is dying—while a new way of life struggles to be born . . . u can see it if u trust yr senses: in the suffocating ugliness of cities, buried up to their ears in cement/ & in the tentative beauty on the faces of those we see & hope will become our lovers.

for us the future is in groups of people who establish more profoundly human relations wi each other & their environment/ those who return to the land & to communal forms of living together/ those who abandon ideologies so they can respond to ever-changing nature wiout pre-conceived notions/ those who are flexible—who find ways where there were thought to be none/those who scavage the endless waste of a decaying society for the raw materials of a new culture/ those who find use for what is discarded—who gather, assemble or steal the elements of their life from the whole long history of human experience, & all that modern man has learned/ the communal decision is the result of our deep yearning to be together, to share our lives wi others/ to leave the cities of death shrouded in concrete/ to come to the country so our bodies can re-discover the feeling of freedom/ because we yearn to live & be whole again.

just a look at the other myriad faces of possible futures is convincing: ecological apocalypse or nuclear conflagration; automated (technocratic) computer-controlled 1984 or just plain bloody facism/ visions of ugliness counterpointed by visions of indescribable beauty/ but what is there in the horror planned for us by the 'leaders' & 'great men' that lets u think there'll be a place for u?

nothing/ there is nothing we don't make ourselves—nothing we don't create & defend/ what we dream & what we attempt must either be the beginning of a new ecological era or the last brave act of human life.

but this future we seek is not some vague tomorrow—it is that small part of today, which is the seed, model germ that the vast human future will resemble.

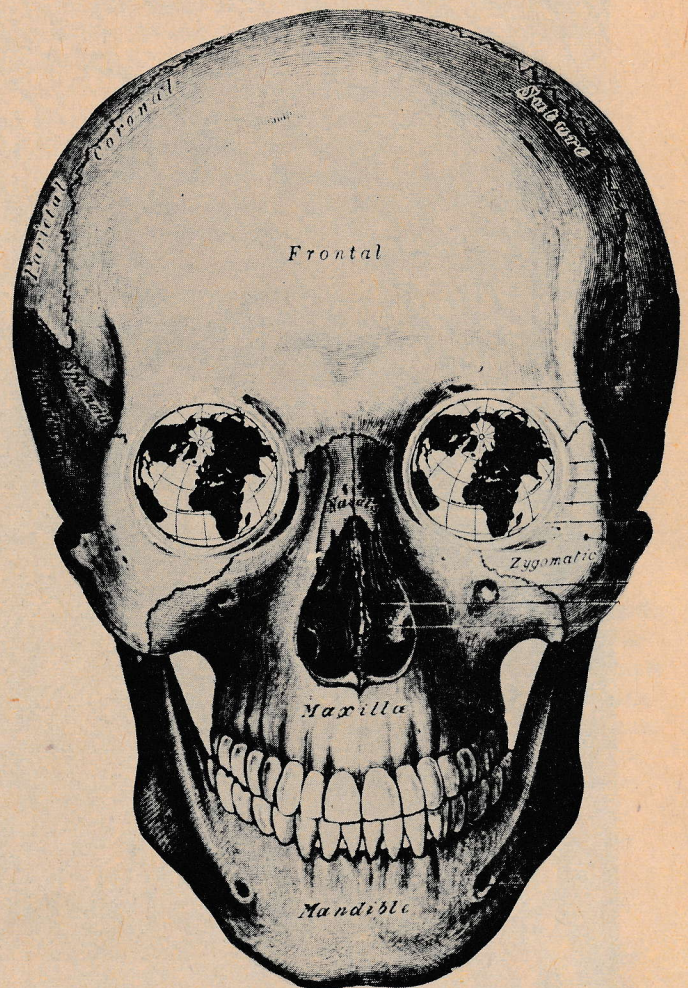
#### EVIDENCE OF A DIRECTION

living in the country—surrounded by friends & lovers! keeping low and close to the ground—like indian or coyote—beginning again in the last wildernesses of amerika/ making our experiments in what is ancient & of the future—what is truly human/ we experience life & the forms of living together that have been forbidden for thousands of years/ we open our hearts to the song of earth, air, water/we are re-discovered by stars—lost members of the cosmic community—surrounded on every side by friends & lovers!

we come to the land wi intuition & the desire to learn/ little in the amerikan relation to its soil is useful to us: in a hundred yrs they have poisoned & depleted most of a continent, most of a world/ here, in northern california, we abandon the poisoned, devastated low lands—once the richest in the hemisphere—would let them lie fallow for 50 or 100 yrs/ & we go to the highlands to find air-making forests & clear mountain water/ to become inca or hunza, to clear land, to terrace, to irrigate/ to gather water in cisterns like essenes to build a soil & a culture of soil making—returning to the land what we take from it—& then some/between our intes-

tinal flora & the bacteria in the gardens from which we eat/ recognizing in this shaping of a new physical body in nature, the real evidence of a new culture/ pointing the way to a future of wildness & a technology beyond tools.

the birth of our children is another fact of our 'other-ness' (manner of birth being a function of culture) & we, rejecting the pain & guilt of western barbarism, communally & in joy produce our bright-eyed babes—envoys of tomorrow/ our women who have seen a dozen births, come to labor wi knowledge & feeling/ our men become obstetrical shamans/ all creating empathetic magic in song & dance, giving strength to the welcoming of the newborn/ wi the energy & love of all who attend—kneaded like the dough by all our hands, much kissed & adored—the birth of one becomes the birth of



all/we have remade a form of the past, a form of the essential human life into a shape of the future.

we employ new & ancient sources of energy/ turning to the earth, sun & stars, to liberate ourselves from fossil fuels—addiction of electric junkies/ & can claim to have re-discovered the human body in love & labor/ laying fields & terraces we pick & shovel & rake—an amazing space of labor/ seeing each day the shaping & building of mere earth into the substance of the muscle in yr arm, the meal u will eat tomorrow, the body that will be u/ making our lives everyday from mud—just like their gods.

but our technology is deficient—we do not have free access to all the tools around us/ to all the energies & machines, methods of transport & communication/ the tools for con-



Photo: Peter Simon

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structing the life of which we dream/ needed: one cargo helicopter, one nationwide network of commune ham radios/ but we learn to tap the energy of sun of water & wind/ we begin to drive new engines, burning alcohol or methane gas that we produce (along w/ compost) when we shit/ making organic fuels for an organic culture (feeling that the highest cultures were those that rotted back into the ground w/out leaving a trace)/ we explore Reich's ridiculed physics of cosmic energy: making rain, seeking free available power for building & defense/ raw power to shape the future.

#### LIMITS OF FLOW

& yet we are often unhappy here, separated from others by the illusion of distance & breathing shield of green/sometimes forgetting those who suffer the ugliness of cities, or our own isolation from the general affairs of our generation/ but we can no longer tolerate the airless, concrete vista of cities/ & we are long past boredom w/ the self-deluding rhetoric & self-repression of the left that claims to seek our liberation, but hasn't begun to find its own/ we seek to re-discover the wildness of our own nature, the true animal grace—bowing to no authority but truth, greedy only for more life—'not one respectable or unhappy in the whole world' (whitman)

& yet we are incapable of seeing our own limitations: there are many communes w/ their heads buried in the ground like ostriches—thinking the rest of the world has ceased to exist/ there are communes so heavily into a mystical ideology that they are irrelevant to our time: can't respond to anything still in this body, still in this world/ but it will only be those

who grow beyond the limits of their own heads, who respond to environment w/ a creativity beyond ideology, who will make something real and substantial/ all the rest are irrelevant, let them collapse or stagnate, it doesn't matter / let there be thousands of communes so that a few survive . . .

in the long view communes have not yet created a new relationship w/ the land: & we may need a thousand yrs of accumulated experience before we know the spirit-of-place which animates this continent (as indians knew it before their environment was destroyed)/ we have not yet learned to love one another w/ open hearts—even our profoundest warriors still hide behind ego shields, afraid to touch or be touched/ we have not learned to include those who come to us, greeting them w/ suspicion because we still fear there is not enuf to go around, because we are still prone to the secret-agent paranoia of our times/ we have not yet established real relations w/ other communes—groups a few miles apart, don't always know, exchange or make love w/ each other/ & (most important) we have not yet found the way to make our visions & our daily life into the life of everyone on the continent.

these fears & weaknesses are the flaws in our life which make it still possible for the old culture to destroy us/ but the battle has just begun, that will force us to become more real, more beautiful, or cast us aside/ that is the way of all things—life becomes more life or it ceases/ & in nature there are no half-way measures.

the sum of all these limits is the false commune—those groups who still occupy the limits defined by the old life/ those who do not constantly seek to break free, to touch one another or the world around them/ for us 'commune' is not

a noun—not an object, place or hundred acres/ if 'commune' is the word we use to describe how we live, it must be a verb: the act of communing/ & not another dead institution.

#### TWO CRISES

we came to the mountains to prepare for the future/seeing the two great crises approaching in the life of man: forces raging thru time, gathering around these two possibilities: a political, economic, social upheaval which will topple all the structures of urban-industrial societies—all the vast energy of production for waste, of empty everyday lives, of mass ordered social life, like no earthquake is capable/ amerika w/ her shrinking empire of planetary fear, forced back on the resource of the continent she already raped in her rampage to be mighty/ vistas of the new puritanism, repression & facism—like the convulsions of a dead shark, still slashing blindly at fate.

but even beyond this, mounting like a tidal wave after a big breaker, the greater crisis of nature, in which the planetary life-forces turn on man & smash him, oxygen riots in the cities where lead gas causes mass brain damage/ hunger riots of the people stuffed with DDT, white bread & sawdust vegetables/ starvation, plague, mass exodus into the poisoned countryside/ the one great communal celebration of alienated society—mass death—

this crisis, so much deeper than even the revolutionary one, affecting every second of daily life, hurtling us into some new geological age/ when man is slapped down from attempted dominion over nature (or is extinct as tyrannosaurus rex) WE EAT AN ENVIRONMENT/ AN ENVIRONMENT EATS US!

for people in the cities there is only one slim hope: that in the political upheaval men of sense & vision everywhere will seize the means of life & turn off the machines that pollute/ destroy the cities & build human communities in nature, where no man oppresses another or the earth.

but the vision is an unlikely one (tho we return time & again to the cities to work, tho we try to create an example of the shape of that free future)/ because when men battle for power, it is ego & not life that motivates them/ because the left is shit & no authority, no dictatorship of the proletariat or the party, no organization of ideology can force harmony w/ the environment/ because communism, capitalism, socialism & facism are all forms of the one cancer attacking the face of the planet.

meanwhile, we are quietly preparing a future for man/ trying to make use of the whole heritage of men everywhere & all the human, natural & technological resources available to us/ to find an ecological context in which all the thought & experiences of every culture from every time, all the human knowledge & feeling (which have never before been available to all) can help us see & feel our way thru these present crises.

& whether it's the left, center or right which holds the power (& seeks to destroy us), they will have to create some mocking version of the way we live, if they wish to survive/ but for those whose survival is the cause of everyone else's death, there can be no human future/ all their fortresses under the earth or out in space, could only insure the continuation of that monstrosity/ so for those who wish to survive & continue seeking fulfillment, commune is the only human future!

## COMMUNAL POLITICS

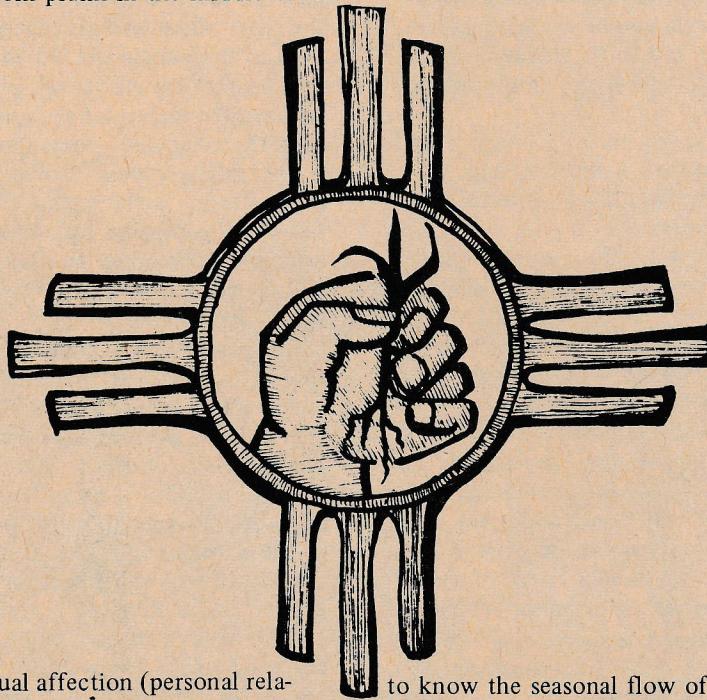
we still live in the world/ are surrounded by it/ & sadly, politics is still real . . .

communes can be isolated & wiped out/ but in one sense we have already won—because there is no future (wi man) which does not resemble what we are doing/ no human culture which can survive wiout returning to the land, which does not husband & share all resources as we do: 20 people wi 4 cars, not 20; 1 or 2 houses, not 10; one garden & ultimately (we dream) one communal body.

our recent experiences move us in the same direction: when a group of us were invited to an indian event, 5 communal groups which have been close for a yr all sent truckloads of people, resulting in a jam up of 15 hip trucks wi a hundred people/ & when, after some embarassment & some hostility, we moved to our own campsite, we suddenly realized that we had all really come to see each other/ some from the country, some from near the city (halfway houses) & some from plunk in the middle of the

wither away of selfishness or boredom (the barren soil yielding no crop)/ while open communes with the asinine concept of 'free land' become rural slums, crash pads for traveling freaks wi no relation to or respect for the environment/ they die because they don't recognize the ecological limits of the space they're in—become tangled growths of weed . . .

the real question is how to grow qualitatively & avoid stagnation/ how to deal wi each person who comes along as a human being, how to grow thru internal hassels & tensions to the real, not up-tight security of flowing/ how to come & go gracefully, building personal relations, trade routes, nomad migration patterns across the face of the continent/ it takes two or three yrs of psychic hassles & ass bustin work to build the foundations for communal survival for a few people/ it takes a lot of strength to leave & come back when u want to (not because u can't stand it anymore, or have no place else to go)/ it takes vision a communal sense of direction & the desire to grow, to make u realize that u have to develop beyond yr limits:



shit/all of us united by mutual affection (personal relations as the touchstone), all trying to get control over the making of our own lives: growing our own food in country meadows or backyard lots, making our vehicles by piecing together the junk heaps, building our homes out of the forest & ripped off lumber, fishing our own fish, baking our own bread, & learning to love one another as one enormous family/ we move around freely from place to place, as tho from room to room in one enormous house/ at home wi our brothers & sisters wherever we go/ we are a family of smaller families yearning to grow larger, to include more individuals in the circle of affection & to be included wi other families (other communes) in the one commune which must eventually be all of us.

### LOOSE ENDS

in the last few years alot of communes have broken their asses over the question of whether to be 'open' or 'closed', but the question itself is bullshit & both alternatives are self-destructive: closed communes stagnate &

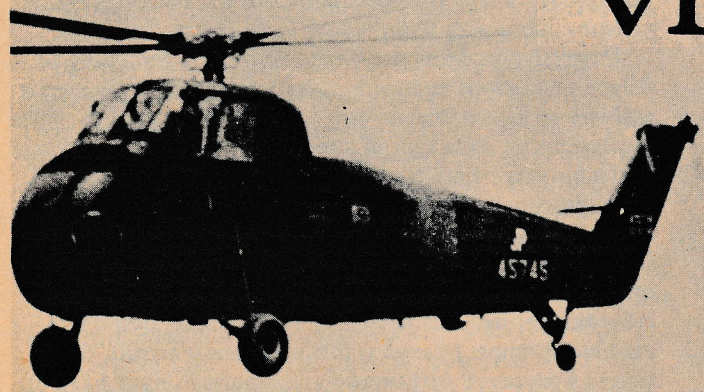
to know the seasonal flow of people as well as the soil: to plant for 100 or 200 in the summer salad gardens & storage crops for 30 or 40 in the winter & to support 70 when the land will only provide for 50—while you're out there looking for new land to expand to/ using each commune as the launching pad for others—people coming together out of their diverse places, growing a lot together & also separating & making new formations/ doing it consciously, so there's no bitterness in parting, & preserving the basic relations so that there is real growth & development/ mother communes sending out their colonies . . .

we dream of regions, of the western mountains running from washington to new mexico—one terrain wi similar topography, weather, water & growing conditions—forest areas, mountain areas, arid areas—where communes build together, establish their networks, grow out & thru entire regions & make them our own / bastions of the new culture bases from which to grow till we cover the face of a continent, a planet.

—Allan Hoffman  
reprinted from *Good Times*



# VIET NAM: The Next Phase



**D**uring meetings with the Vietnamese and Laotians in the last two months, I became aware of a series of dramatic developments currently underway in Indochina pointing to the prospects of a major *political* offensive in South Vietnam, which may well lead to a governmental crisis in Saigon.

The first of these meetings with the Vietnamese took place in Havana and included members of the Committee of Solidarity with the American People, leaders of the Womens Unions in the north and south, NLF organizers who came directly from Saigon and Hue and, on a separate occasion, Phoumi Vonvichet, Secretary-General of the Pathet Lao. The later meetings took place in Paris in late September and were with members of the delegations to the Paris talks including Minister Xuan Thuy and Madame Nguyen Thi Binh as well as a number of independent French journalists specializing in Southeast Asian affairs.

All of these discussions, with a remarkable degree of correlation, pointed to an upsurge of organized anti-American activity, the increasing isolation of the Thieu-Ky-Kiem regime and the failure of Vietnamization, all against the background of a US expeditionary force (USEF) relying ever more heavily on destruction and terrorization of the population through artillery and air bombardment.

I. The current military posture of the US in South Vietnam is an almost totally passive expeditionary force dug into enclaves around artillery and air bases with beefed up ARVN forces serving as defense perimeters. With the exception of the US invasion of Cambodia, a military and political failure of major proportions, the USEF has conducted no important ground offensive since the costly assault on Hamburger Hill over a year ago. By contrast, during the past eight months, the NLF has sustained military pressure in the mountain and coastal areas of northern South Vietnam and the Mekong Delta, in addition to repeated forays in other areas. According to NLF figures, during the current year, attacks have been mounted against 38 of the 48 province capitals, 155 out of 260 district towns and 2323 strategic hamlets. During the same period, NLF figures claim the destruction of 60 pacification teams, 1400 pacification agents and 38,400 casualties among police, militia and ARVN troops.

The invasion of Cambodia, far from regaining the initiative for the US or from destroying NLF headquarters, has mobilized a strong guerrilla movement in that country and has increased the level of cooperation between Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian resistance forces.

Nixon's much heralded program of Vietnamization, an increased reliance on mercenary ground forces, has helped to keep US casualties low but has failed in every other objective. Implementation of the Vietnamization program is the direct cause of much of the emerging organized mass political opposition to the Thieu-Ky-Kiem regime, the most important and startling facet of the current developments.

II. The increased manpower needs created by Vietnamization have compelled Saigon to resort to "pressganging" recruits, resulting in high percentages of dissidents, draft dodgers and NLF sympathizers in ARVN. Crash attempts to upgrade the ARVN officer corps from the ranks of secondary school and university students resulted in galva-

nizing a militant student power movement against the regime. Secondary students were mobilized into action by new examinations which resulted in 80% failures and consequent loss of draft deferments. In the Cao Thanh Technical High School in Saigon, an important center of activity during the anti-Diem campaign of 1963, student protests this spring led to sit-ins, occupation of the buildings and violent clashes with police which lasted for several days.

University students responded even more forcefully to Saigon regulations requiring military training on week-ends and during the summer months. In the spring of 1969, these regulations set off a rash of street demonstrations resulting in the burning of military offices. Attempts to revive such compulsory military training, coupled with Saigon indifference to the massacre of ethnic Vietnamese in Cambodia in the aftermath of the US invasion, set off another wave of anti-government struggle by university students in major cities this spring. This struggle is still going on despite incredible attempts to repress it through mass arrests, detention in tiger cages, torture and assassination. Mam, head of the Saigon Student Union, has spent close to six months of the past year in prison. The following cable received in the US by NSA on 20 September 1970 speaks for itself:

Mam and friends are in agony in jail. Students on unlimited hunger strike, May die. May immolate. Saigon Student Union continuously barricaded and repressed. Students being threatened with arrest. Need immediate action. Make general appeal in US.

III. Political opposition in the cities of South Vietnam is by no means confined to students. The unprecedented picture of wheel-chair bound ARVN veterans in armed combat with puppet troops in the shadow of Saigon's presidential palace, managed to break through the US press blackout. But not so the massacre of 40 young monks from the An Quang pagoda, part of a much larger group that had staged a nonviolent sit-in at the government supported National Pagoda under the banner "The Pagoda Belongs to the People."

Through July of this year, there were three major labor strikes and several smaller ones involving hundreds of thousands of people ranging from dock workers, bus drivers and hotel employees to water and electrical workers. Although these strikes were based on economic demands (Saigon prices have risen 50% in less than a year), the context of Saigon makes every strike political, and a 1965 law makes every one illegal.

South Vietnamese intellectuals and journalists have also become increasingly outspoken and activist in their criticism of Vietnamization, the Thieu-Ky-Kiem regime and continued US devastation of Vietnam. They began by issuing statements in support of the student struggles and those of the disabled war veterans and other victims of government repression. Even Tran Van Don, one of the more reactionary members of the Saigon National Assembly and an old flame of Madame Nhu, has openly supported the students.

Saigon newspapers are dropping the quotation marks around NLF and have begun referring to Madame Binh, head of the PRG delegation in Paris, by her full title, a customary sign of respect she had not been previously accorded on in these papers. Several papers openly criticize "US imperialism" and report the PRG statements issued in Paris.

*Tin Sang*, the largest circulation Saigon daily, printed the full text of the PRG Eight Point Program as a front page article. The regime, of course, strikes back—in the past six months alone over 200 newspapers were seized and there were many other suspensions. *Tin Sang* alone was seized 75 times and suspended eight times during that period. Nevertheless, the struggle not only continues but spreads and gains in strength, organization and audacity.

IV. The editor of *Tin Sang*, Deputy Ngo Cong Duc of Vinh Binh province, is a wealthy 36 year old landowner from the Mekong Delta, a leading Catholic layman and president of the Federation of Newspaper Editors of South Vietnam. Elected to the National Assembly in 1967 on the Thieu slate, Duc is now leader of the Socialist Opposition Bloc in the Assembly and an unofficial spokesman for the emerging forces in US occupied areas of South Vietnam that are critical of the Thieu-Ky-Kiem regime, openly demanding US withdrawal and advocating coalition with the PRG.

At a press conference in Paris on September 21, 1970, Duc described the role of the US troops in South Vietnam as:

engaged in round the clock massacres of our innocent

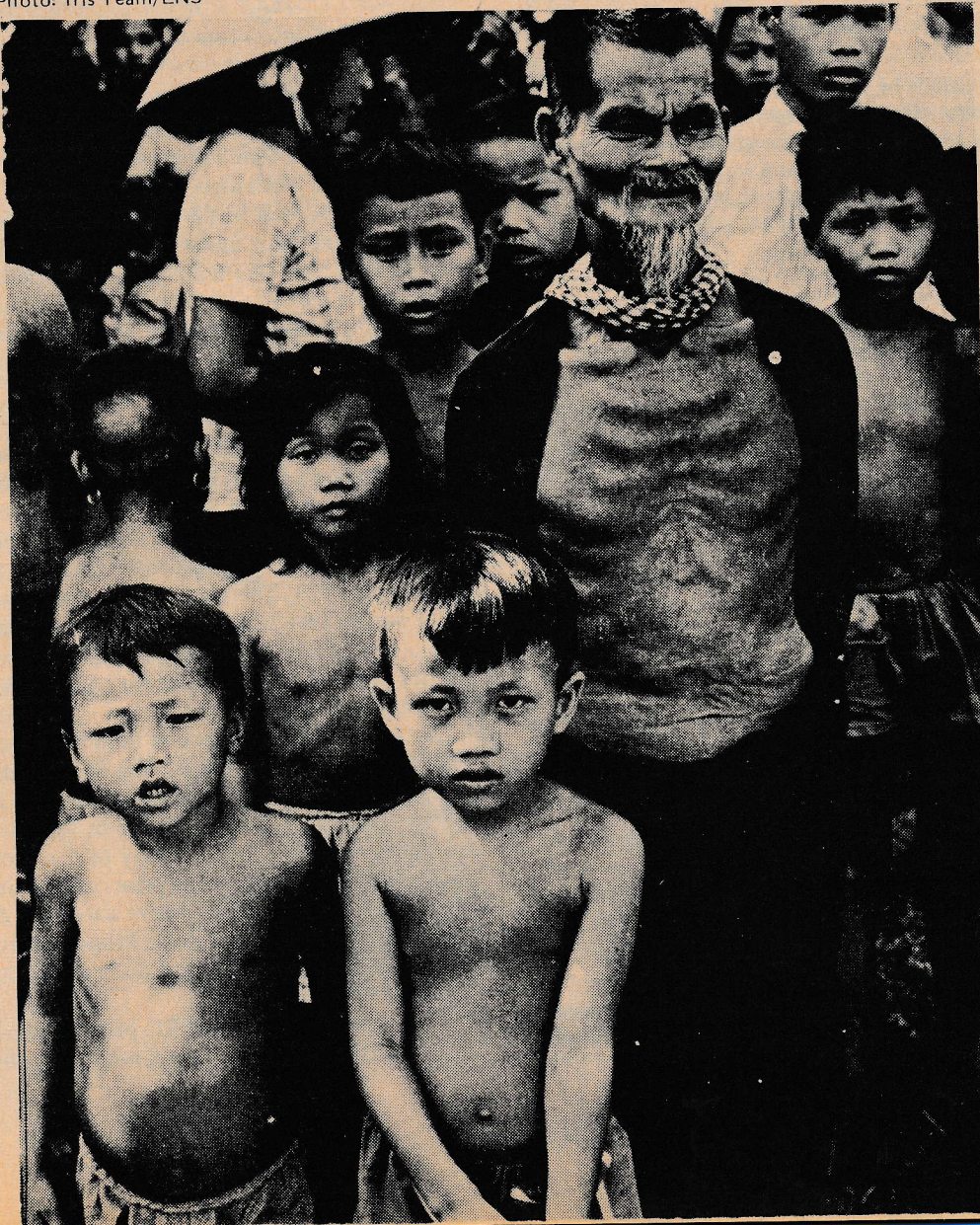
compatriots. Cases such as My Lai-Son My, which each time take 500-600 victims, are by no means isolated incidents. The US has dropped more than ten million tons of bombs on our country, and scattered an untold quantity of toxic chemical products as well as nearly one hundred thousand tons of defoliants on our fields and rice plantations, which have resulted in the sterilization and destruction of all the harvests. Rich in rice, South Vietnam is now reduced to consuming American rice. As a result of the use of toxic products, South Vietnam is currently plagued with strange diseases: women are giving birth to monsters, and there is an ever growing number of women afflicted with psychic disorders.

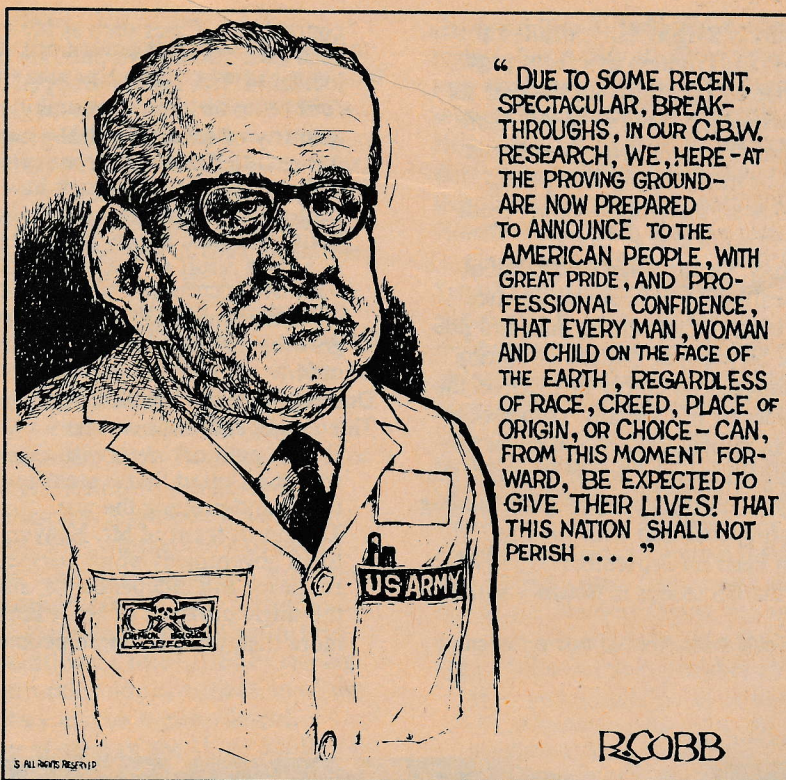
Duc describes the "success" of Vietnamization and the Thieu regime in these words:

On the political level, with the Vietnamization of the war, the United States seeks only to uphold the militarists and prolong the war.

The government of Mr. Nguyen Van Thieu is a dictatorial government which persecutes all those who struggle for peace and independence, and jails the innocent. In the single province of Minh Binh, of which I am a deputy, more than three hundred people were last year arbitrarily

Photo: Iris Team/LNS





arrested and jailed. In 1969, the Americans stated that there were only twenty thousand cadres in South Vietnam; at the end of 1969, however, the government arrested more than seventy thousand people, and it appears that the number of Communist cadres has not diminished. These very figures condemn the repressive policies of the Saigon government.

At the present, the Nguyen Van Thieu government severely represses all opposition movements. Several hundred war victims are being held in jails; several hundred students were taken to military training camps; the president of the Student Union of Saigon-Hue is in prison. All are subjected to the most savage kinds of torture.

The statement goes on to detail the atrocities committed by US imperialism and the “dictatorial” Saigon regime, and concludes with a proposal for peace which is entirely compatible with the PRG Peace Initiative (Eight Point Program) and is in violation of Saigon treason statutes. Included in the Duc plan is a proposal to seat a fifth delegation at the Paris talks to represent the “overwhelming majority” of the South Vietnamese population in the occupied areas “demanding peace, independence, democracy, freedom and national reconciliation.” Needless to say, this amounts to the total repudiation of the legitimacy of the Saigon regime.

Ngo Cong Duc is no isolated or Quixotic figure. A close associate of General “Big” Minh, often mentioned as the most likely head of a transitional coalition, Duc has the explicit and open support of leading personalities in Saigon as well as the popular political forces described earlier. A brief but instructive listing of such supporters include: the Assistant Archbishop of the Catholic Church in Saigon, the Unified Buddhist Church, leaders of the Buddhist listed in the last elections, the Vice President of the National Assembly (Ha Van Minh), the head of the Movement of Women

to Defend the Right of Survival (Nguyen Ba Thanh), the head of the faculty of Liberal Arts (Vo Ba) and Faculty of Science (Nguyen Van Thzung) at Saigon University, as well as leading journalists.

Thieu’s response to the Paris statement was to threaten Duc with immediate arrest upon return to Saigon and seizure of the issues of *Tin Sang* carrying the text of the document. It is a measure of Thieu’s isolation that this did not deter Duc’s immediate return. The chorus of protest generated by Thieu’s threats, did, however, prevent him from carrying it out thus far.

The assessment of experienced observers in Paris places Thieu in a much weaker position at the present time than Ngo Diem just prior to his overthrow in 1963. That this assessment is shared in Saigon is partially borne out by widespread rumors suggesting that Thieu will “pull a (Lyndon) Johnson” in the presidential elections scheduled for September 1971. There are, in fact, some indications that third parties have been trying to communicate hints of Thieu’s “flexibility and political realism” to the PRG in the absurd hope of finding a spot for him in a future transitional government.

V. Against this background the PRG Peace Initiative put forward by Mme Nguyen Thi Binh in Paris on September 17, 1970 takes on immense significance as the only viable and realistic basis for peace in Vietnam in the foreseeable future. The compatibility of this proposal with the Duc position comes as no surprise once we recognize them as responding to the same objective situation. A careful reading also renders Nixon’s Five Point Proposal a non-response motivated by propaganda and domestic political considerations.

The cornerstone of the PRG proposal is acceptance by the US of the principle of total military withdrawal by a

reasonable and specified date. While the PRG set this date at June 30, 1971, clearly inspired by the McGovern-Hatfield Amendment, certainly one can assume this detail to be subject to negotiation. Not so the demand to set some such date. Not only is this demand clearly justified on grounds of principle after one quarter century of continuous struggle against Western imperialism but it reflects the military and political balance in South Vietnam.

Following acceptance of this principle, which would set a date for the termination of US belligerence in South Vietnam, immediate steps could be taken to safeguard US troops during the withdrawal period and talks to affect the release of US prisoners could begin. Indeed, according to private indications, the actual release of such prisoners could get underway before the withdrawal deadline if arrangements can be completed. These two points are clear and direct responses by the PRG to the two questions most consistently raised by US negotiators since the beginning of the Paris talks. Safety of US troops, it should be recalled, was given by Nixon as the main rationale behind the Cambodian invasion and the *sole legal justification* for continuation of US military operations in South Vietnam.

The sections of the PRG Peace Initiative dealing with methods for reaching a political settlement are at once more flexible and more precise than the earlier Ten Point Program offered in Paris on May 8, 1969. The steps outlined include a provisional coalition for the limited purpose of enabling "the South Vietnam people (to) decide themselves the political regime of South Vietnam through really free and democratic general elections . . . No party shall usurp for itself the right to organize general elections and lay down their modalities." It is important to note that nowhere is the total withdrawal of US troops mentioned as a pre-condition for either the formation of the coalition government or for holding elections. Further-

more, such a coalition will specifically include elements from the PRG, the current government in Saigon and persons currently living outside Vietnam representing various forces in South Vietnam. The only people specifically excluded from such a provisional government are Thieu, Ky, and Kiem. As Mme. Binh put it in our conversations, "We have fought a quarter of a century to exclude three men from the government." In light of such explicit statements, Nixon's misrepresentation of this point can only be viewed as intentional and for the purpose of sabotaging prospects for negotiations.

VI. Nixon's Five Point Plan offered on October 7, far from being a peace initiative, is a carefully contrived mixture of duplicity, misrepresentation and emotive rhetoric designed to manufacture political legitimacy and domestic support for continuing the war along somewhat revised lines. This can be seen on the most cursory examination.

A standstill cease-fire in the context of South Vietnam is a political question and not merely a military one. Any attempt to ascertain who controls which areas would necessitate surfacing the entire guerrilla apparatus and open identification of all cadre and NLF sympathizers thereby exposing them to the full force of Saigon's repression and US military annihilation. In the absence of US withdrawal this would amount to suicide or surrender, the choice resting on the tender mercies of Thieu-Ky-Kiem and Nixon. Insistence that the cease-fire extend over all of Indochina should be sufficient to discredit Nixon's plan except among stalwart know-nothings who still believe that Hanoi controls every resistance movement in the area from NLF and Pathet Lao to the Khmer United Front and the growing Thai movement.

The call for an Indochina Conference by Nixon, after unilaterally turning the conflict into an Indochina War by invading Cambodia, can only be characterized as unmiti-



gated gall. The clear purpose of this move, consistent with Nixon's entire performance in office, is to downgrade the importance of the Paris talks and divert attention from the Eight Point Initiative of the PRG. The very manner of issuing the Five Points over domestic TV prior to its presentation in Paris, bears this out. While sounding reasonable to an uninformed public it lays the groundwork for a prolongation of the war. The slightest reflection on the complexity of convening such a conference, the time it would take to organize it and bring all the parties together, and the pace at which discussions would proceed at such a gathering should make it crystal clear that Nixon has no thought of an early end to the war.

Point three on troop withdrawals is simply a restatement of US intentions to continue its present policy of transferring the ground fighting to ARVN mercenaries under closer supervision through a much more thorough system of 'advisors'. The prototype is already in operation in parts of the Mekong Delta where US 'advisors', amounting to unit commanders, now extend down to the village and hamlet level. This process is intended to cut down US casualties and free the US military to pursue its attempt to bleed the Vietnamese people into submission through the increased use of artillery and air power. It is further based on the calculation that high US casualties is a liability on the domestic political scene and cost-effectiveness studies that show the expenditure to keep one GI in the field will buy eight similarly equipped Vietnamese mercenaries. This observation is the heart of the Nixon Doctrine for Asia.

When talking about a political settlement, Nixon finally attempts to respond to one plank of the PRG program. It is a measure of the reasonableness of the PRG proposal, and proof of Nixon's intent to disrupt negotiation attempts, that he has to totally misrepresent the PRG position on who will participate in the coalition in the course of his futile attempt to discredit it. It should also be noted that while the PRG offer outlines the steps which can lead to democratic elections Nixon's Five Points contain no reference to elections.

Nixon's final point on release of all prisoners is clearly an emotional play meant solely for domestic consumption during an election period. Contrary to government-inspired propaganda in the US press, the extent of contact between US prisoners in North Vietnam and their families, conducted through the Committee of Liason established by anti-war activists, is unprecedented for any war in recent history. It should also be borne in mind that every American flying bombing missions in this war volunteers for the task and nearly every one is a career officer. For Nixon to equate these men with peasant-soldiers intent on driving foreign aggressors from their soil, to 'offer' exchanges when US troops are under orders not to bring in prisoners, to demand release of these career bombers while he continues to pound South Vietnam with tonnage equivalent to two and one-half Hiroshima-size bombs per week this is the height of arrogance.

VII. The picture should be falling into shape. The US expeditionary force is stalemated and continued US casualties, even below Nixon's 'acceptable' figure of one hundred per week, is a political liability. The Thieu-Ky-Kiem regime is more isolated each day as a mass based popular movement in the cities of South Vietnam presses more

strongly for total US withdrawal and peace through a political settlement with the PRG. The Nixon Administration is attempting to sabotage this very process by sheer technological and economic power in Saigon, duplicity in Paris and repression at home.

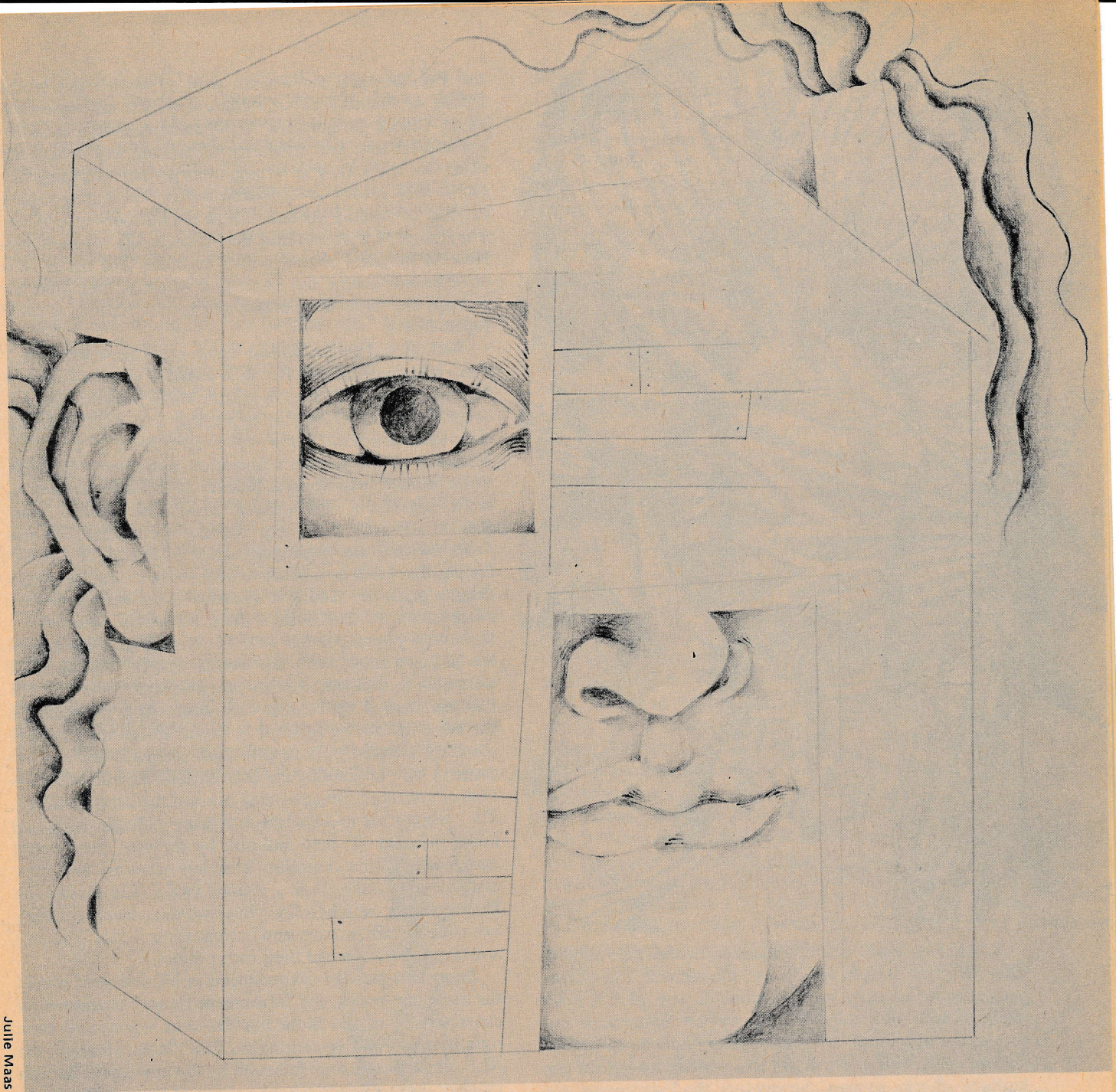
In the Nixon timetable the period from now until May 1, 1971, is crucial. That is the deadline projected by Secretary of State Rogers for phasing out US forces from ground combat operations. This is also Nixon's deadline for the transition to a "low American profile" meant to enable bleeding Vietnam indefinitely, cheaply and with a minimum of domestic cost. The people in the United States must not allow this transition to take place.

The political struggle now taking shape in the cities of South Vietnam is already broader based than that which toppled Diem. Only the timing remains in doubt for a major major political offensive which undoubtedly create a governmental crisis in Saigon before May 1, 1971. The analogy with 1963 breaks down, however, when we compare the US troop levels, the number of ARVN mercenaries and the level of economic and political commitment of Washington to Thieu, with the conditions which prevailed under Diem. In short, the political opposition may yet be crushed, and crushed for years even in Thieu falls, unless there is a complementary offensive in the United States.

It is an ingrained movement habit to either short-change or over-estimate our strength, to overlook the strategic possibilities and necessities of specific historical periods. We cannot make that mistake now. Neither we nor the Vietnamese can afford it. One of the signals that the forces of popular opposition in South Vietnam may well be awaiting is a visible movement in the United States in solidarity with them. If they go into the streets sometime in the next six months we must be prepared to act along with them, all the millions of people who poured out during the Cambodian invasion, and millions more, not spontaneously this time and not as a reaction to Nixon but because we have prepared for it, because we saw it coming and we are determined to act decisively. We can turn the Nixon-Rogers timetable of May 1 into a deadline for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

—Bob Greenblatt





Julie Maas

## WHAT I DID LAST SUMMER

Three experiences this summer have helped bring forward in my head some ideas and feelings about our selves, the Movement, and the country. The three experiences: the Milwaukee "Strategy Action Conference"; six weeks living, swimming, ruminating, sleeping, writing, loving with my family in the Connecticut hills; the Philadelphia "Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention".

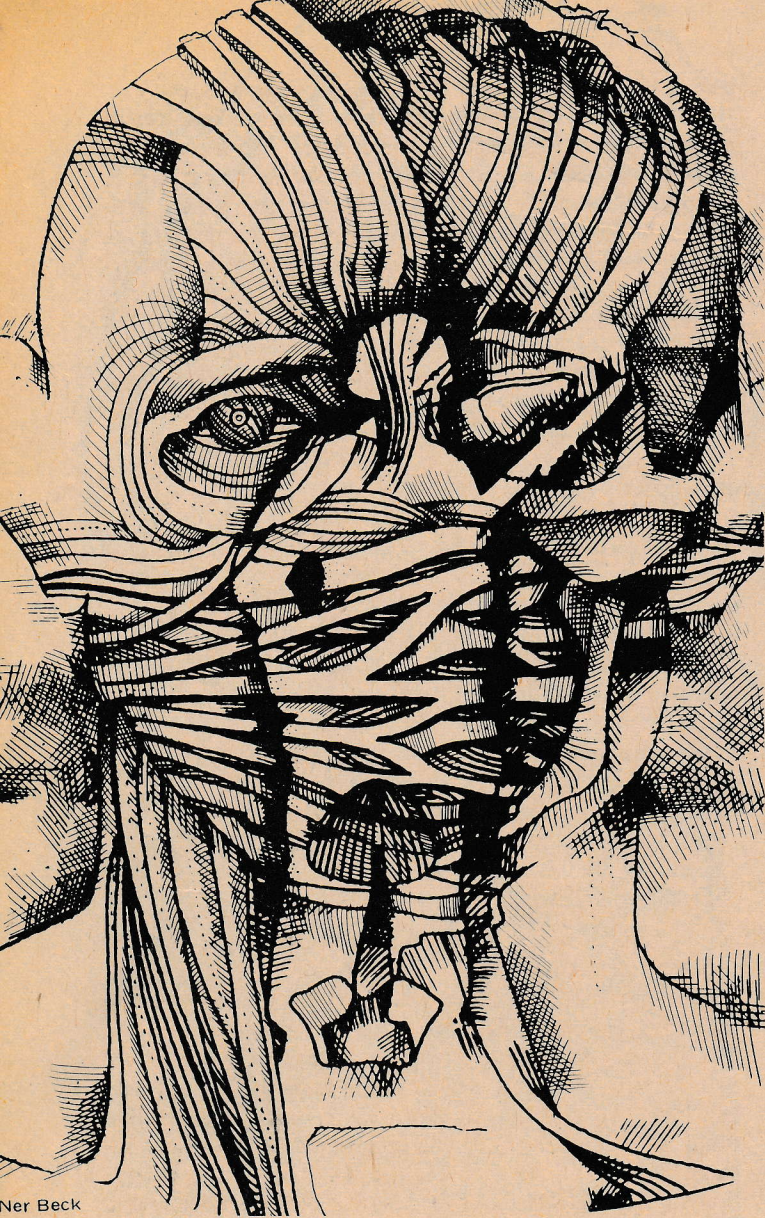
The chief ideas/feelings they brought forward:

1. A sense of the compelling need for self-discovery and self-revelation among especially (but not only) white-male-middleclass-American radicals of what oppressions they themselves, we ourselves, suffer from the Empire.
2. A sense of the compelling need for a new political/

organizational form/program linking the radical movements with the much larger numbers of baffled, angry Americans.

3. A sense of the compelling need for the radical movements to create new communal/political forms within themselves that avoid the "Movement Heavy/Supreme Commander" syndrome without paralyzing us against all action and decision.
4. A sense of the compelling need for us to be imagining alternatives, new futures, new models for American society, and to be incorporating these both in our demands and our own practice.

Taking them up in order (though of course they overlap and interconnect):



Ner Beck

1. What on Earth could it mean for white-male-middle-class-American people to liberate themselves? I use these categories deliberately because, put this way, *as it is practically always put*, they—that is, *we*—are oppressors, not among the oppressed. We thus operate under an enormous load of guilt, and in our haste and urgency to get off the backs of—Blacks, women, the workers, the Vietnamese—we can never build our *own* movement for our *own* liberation. The old SNCC injunction to “go organize your own community” we took to mean *not* “Go discern your own oppressions and organize against them as we Blacks have,” but “Organize against racism, against sexism, against imperialism” . . . soon it will be (or already is) “against classism, middleclass supremacy, and class snobbery.” At any point we were about to start recovering from the blow of discovering we are oppressors, some new group pointed out we were oppressing *them*, and we paralyzed ourselves anew.

Although guilt is, I think, one major component of the paralysis, there are also fear and anger—not fear of and anger at the Empire, which can be turned into revolutionary action, but fear of and anger at Blacks . . . women . . . etc. Fear, in that the untogether find the together frightening. Physically frightening, even. How many of us treat

the Panthers and the women with as much sister-brother feeling as Michael Tabor treated even the silly question about “Black millionaires” in Philadelphia—that is, with the radical love and solidarity of arguing and criticizing when we think they’re wrong, even perhaps exposing our racism and sexism for criticism rather than falling supine for fear of making mistakes? And it’s not only fear. When I say anger, I have in mind that it’s scarcely loving to collapse in mindless echoes before brothers and sisters who need us not supine but erect and active at their side. So perhaps the supineness masks anger, even hatred, of their togetherness.

Well, should the Blacks and the women “leave us alone,” then—not confront us? No. Is it a useful process for us to be confronted with our oppressor status? Partly, yes, because we do have roles as oppressors and need to shake them off. *But not if it is the only process going on inside us.* Notice that the women’s liberation movement, although white women help oppress Blacks, does not *focus* on anti-racist organizing. It *includes* anti-racism. Notice that Blacks, although they help oppress Vietnamese, do not *focus* on anti-war organizing. They include it. I’d been feeling this syndrome as a problem for quite awhile: Philadelphia made my feeling of its dangers and destructiveness much stronger. The Blacks there were very clear about their own oppression; so were the women and the homosexuals; as a result, *only* the women and the homosexuals were able to deal, emotionally and politically, with the difficulties created by Panther centralism. Able to “deal” in the sense of moving forward in the direction the Panthers correctly pointed out, despite their incorrect (even if necessary) way of running the Convention: the correct direction of starting to imagine and demand the decent society. The white-male-middleclass-American radicals collapsed into confusion. (If they had not, by the way, they would have made Panther centralism both less necessary and more difficult next time. It is a vicious circle. The reason the Panthers have switched their line and to some extent their behavior toward women and homosexuals is that Women’s and Gay Liberation had their own politics.)

*Important parallel* (experienced in Milwaukee): within the white movement, the “Movement Heavy” phenomenon characteristic of the Mobe has the same origins and same functions as Panther centralism. The “Mobe Heavies” are NLF-surrogates who are followed by the movement because much of the movement has no politics of its *own* liberation, only liberation of the Vietnamese. Everytime radicals complain about one set of Mobe Heavies and move them aside, they reappear, or a different set takes their place—because the vast bulk of the anti-war movement *and* the white-male-middleclass-American (WMMA) radical movement fold up, disintegrate, cannot create a vigorous democratic action process. (Cannot do so even to support the Vietnamese. Or the Blacks. Or women.)

So—to repeat, what on Earth would it mean for us to liberate *ourselves*? Forget all the WMMA category adjectives: they are oppressor descriptions, and as long as we think of ourselves that way it’s hopeless.

I have four suggestions: four ways *I* feel oppressed, and many of my friends too; four ways that an analysis of the Empire would also suggest are important points of contradiction.



a. "Psychological" and "spiritual" oppression. See Marcuse, Gitlin, Ginsberg, Oglesby, Sinclair, Lester, Millet, Laing, Goodman. The women at their best keep pointing to it as the need for male liberation—the reconnection of body, mind, and spirit. The rejection of hard "masculinity". The search for community, ecstasy, multi-dimensionality. The problem is that it is hard to understand the denial of ecstasy of community as *political* facts. The Empire so diffuses these controls that it usually seems non-confrontational to resist them. (Yet communes get busted, etc . . .) Is there any way to assert *this* liberation short of dropping out of jobs, nuclear families, etc.? Maybe not. Is "Woodstock Nation" a first, superficial effort to create a liberating religion which would be an enemy of the State and of its psychological-spiritual oppression? Maybe. If that's correct, it's a direction to keep on with but not *immediately* applicable to the straight jobholders. So let's press on . . .

b. The oppressive controls over work. Bureaucracies. Paper-pusher assembly lines. Don't goof off. Snap to when the principal gets on the PA. (I mean teachers, not students.) Take orders, don't join with equals in making decisions. Don't bother "understanding" your work, or its results. The *worker* as nigger, not just student as nigger. This whole syndrome (classic Marxist syndrome, by the way—simply translated to the new-class, information-assembly instead of metal-assembly line) is worsened by the present unemployment and profit squeezes. You *better* shape up, Jack got fired. You *got* to speed up, my profit's down (or, my Federal grant is down). *How come we haven't taken seriously any organizing on these lines?* (Even the radicals-in-the-professions work has mostly focused on op-

posing the exploitation of Blacks by professionals, etc.)

c. The pollution-health interface. Some radical health people claim the average life expectancy will *decrease* for Americans over the next decade, for the first time in U.S. history. Reason: we can hardly do better than we are with communicable diseases, and the environmental diseases are getting worse and will get worse. Lung cancer. Emphysema. Mercury poisoning. DDT poisoning. Etc. etc. etc. etc. Meanwhile, a lousy health system. Not equally distributed—but when we did a little equalizing (Medicare) we discovered there wasn't "enough" to go 'round, even if equalized. Plus, not under patient or medical-worker control—so the health care is sloppy, nasty. Why are these issues being pushed by liberals, not radicals? What does it mean to say Nixon (or even Senator Hart) has coopted these issues? Can they stop corporate pollution without shutting down the corporations? Can they provide democratically controlled health centers without abolishing capitalism? McGovern opposes the war; do we therefore forget it? Kerner opposes racism; do we therefore forget it? The goddamn pollution is killing *us*—and *also* women, and *also* Blacks, and *also* Vietnamese, and *also* factory workers. Don't we care?

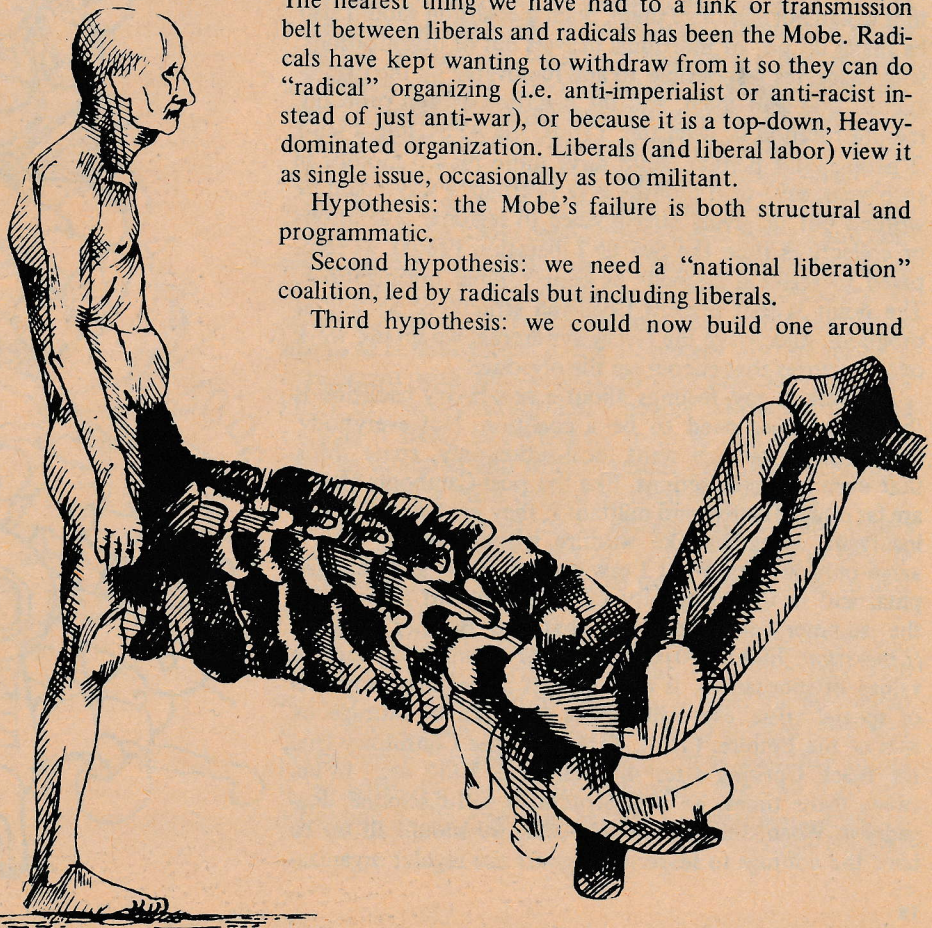
d. Nuclear holocaust. People don't seem to care as much as they did in, say, 1962, but I still carry around in my head an extremely vivid picture of me, my wife, and my kids being roasted to death as a nuclear firestorm engulfs Washington. Maybe others do.

2. We are abysmally bad at linking radical analysis and action to the concerns, angers, guilts, and frustrations of fed-up Americans—either the non-political or those who have organized themselves but only for liberal action—collective-bargaining strikes, election, rally-demos, etc. The nearest thing we have had to a link or transmission belt between liberals and radicals has been the Mobe. Radicals have kept wanting to withdraw from it so they can do "radical" organizing (i.e. anti-imperialist or anti-racist instead of just anti-war), or because it is a top-down, Heavy-dominated organization. Liberals (and liberal labor) view it as single issue, occasionally as too militant.

Hypothesis: the Mobe's failure is both structural and programmatic.

Second hypothesis: we need a "national liberation" coalition, led by radicals but including liberals.

Third hypothesis: we could now build one around



Ner Beck

"Stop the Death Machine" or "Stop the War Machine," more easily than around "Stop the War." Why? Radicals would see more scope for their work, liberal anti-pollutionists, anti-police-staters, anti-militarists would dig the broader program—a broader program they can now only find in liberal electoral politics. The radicals' own organizational forms and actions could act as more reasonable and attractive models for the liberal anti-war people to copy and improve on and move into, if radicals were acting against their own oppression and this linked up with anti-War Machine and anti-Death Machine demands.

For example: Let's dream a little. If there were a Stop-the-Death-Machine coalition, led by—say—Welfare Rights women, the Panthers and similar Third World groups, Women's Liberation, a resurrected radical student movement like SDS from 1965 to 1967 (except much bigger) and an as yet non-existent Movement for the Liberation of the New Working Class, with openings for radical old-working-class groups as they appeared, and including anti-war liberals, anti-pollutionists, SCLC and other Black activists, pacifists, the farm workers, District 65, and other left-oriented unions, etc. If this coalition decided to go after GM, Standard Oil, and the highway lobby as deathmakers—that would offer a great deal more flexibility to anti-capitalist radicals and to particular non-"radical" groups which focus on ending pollution, or on ending highway attacks on Black communities, or on ending military contracts and "reversing national priorities," or on demanding higher pay for workers and a more self-controlled work process and working conditions.

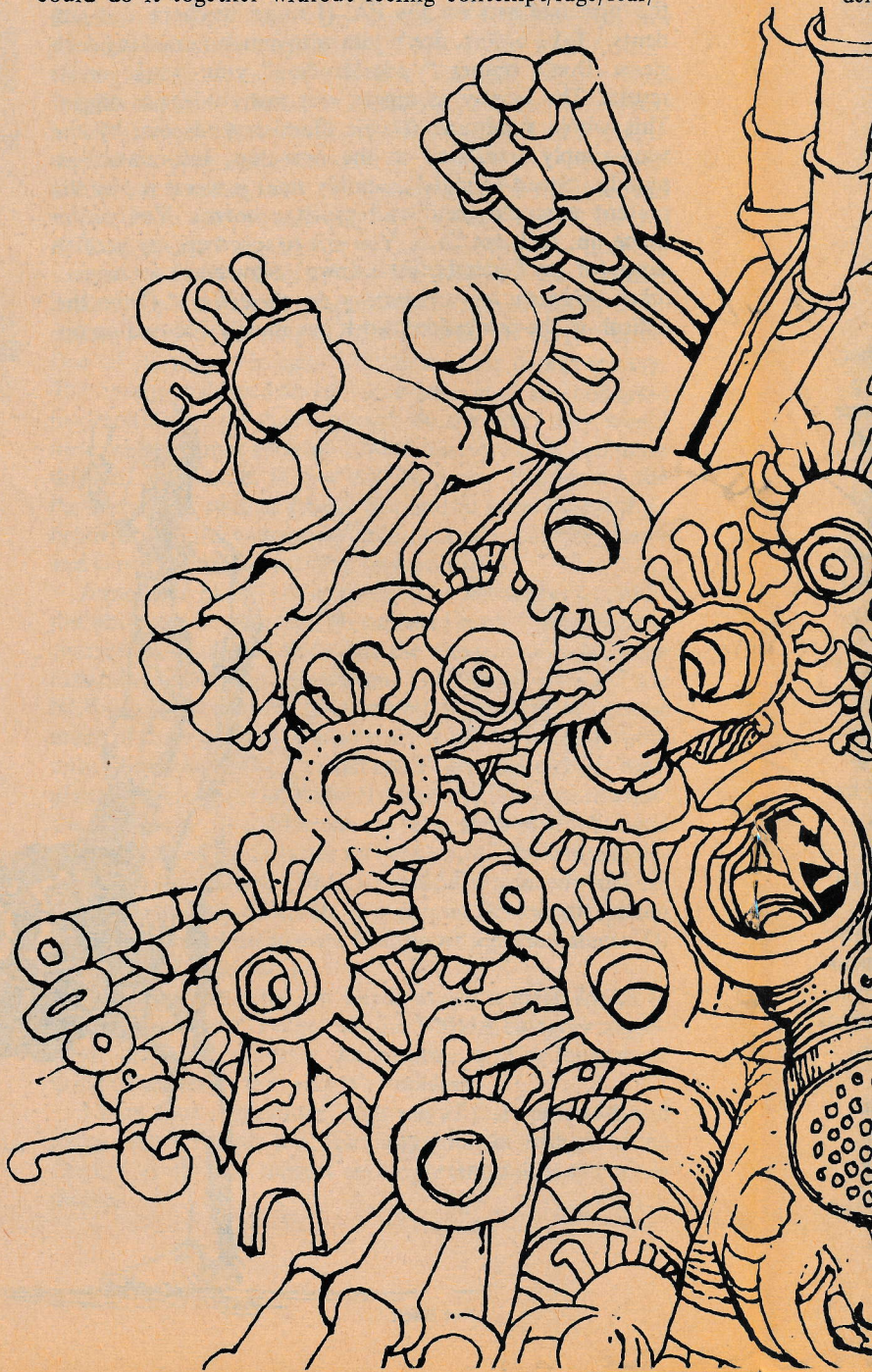
But program is not the only problem in creating a coalition. Structure is, too. I believe the Heavies would be less of a problem if we knew our own oppressions, but that would not eliminate them. Such a coalition should also be made up not of individual heavies but of organizations, with delegates responsible to and removable by the organizations that sent them, and the coalition should probably require rotation in delegates. (Thus, the AFSC might send 2 people, but neither could serve more than 6 months in each year, say—or 6 months ever.) Perhaps a way could be worked out of giving strong voice to regional federations or collectives (like the Seattle Liberation Front), as compared to regional councils of conventional organizations. The point is that present Coalition structures, as well as programs, encourage the Heavy syndrome; we should work out structures that encourage the opposite.

Implicit in my feelings about a non-Heavy coalition is that there does need to be a coalition. Not everybody agrees; some radicals want local-action-only, some think that even national actions, like the post-Cambodia strike, are far more effective and militant if they are wholly locally insurgent, spreading like wildfire without being "set". I agree only in part. What I saw in Milwaukee, and Philadelphia, and in the incapacity of the movement throughout the summer, convinced me that the Brecher position (*Liberation*, June 1970) on the evils of organization and the values of spontaneity is only correct at peculiar moments of special crisis, especially those triggered by outrageous acts of the Empire. (Thus, TDA after the Conspiracy trial, the Black Uprising after the murder of King, etc.) In between those times, we need structures, self-discipline, doggedness. When those moments occur, we should all try to have the courage to suspend or ignore the regular organiza-

tions, to transcend them or if necessary race around or over them.

But the point is that we need to be able to make democratic Movement decisions (as Paul Booth wrote concerning politico-legal defense ) or else some Heavies will make them undemocratically—because we do have to make decisions. If we were capable of doing that, we could even put the Heavies-without-a-constituency (the Lenses, the Davises) to far better use. Because they *are* bright, they *do* get things done. Trying to paralyze them so that they won't dominate us is a self-destructive response. We need to un-paralyze ourselves, not paralyze them.

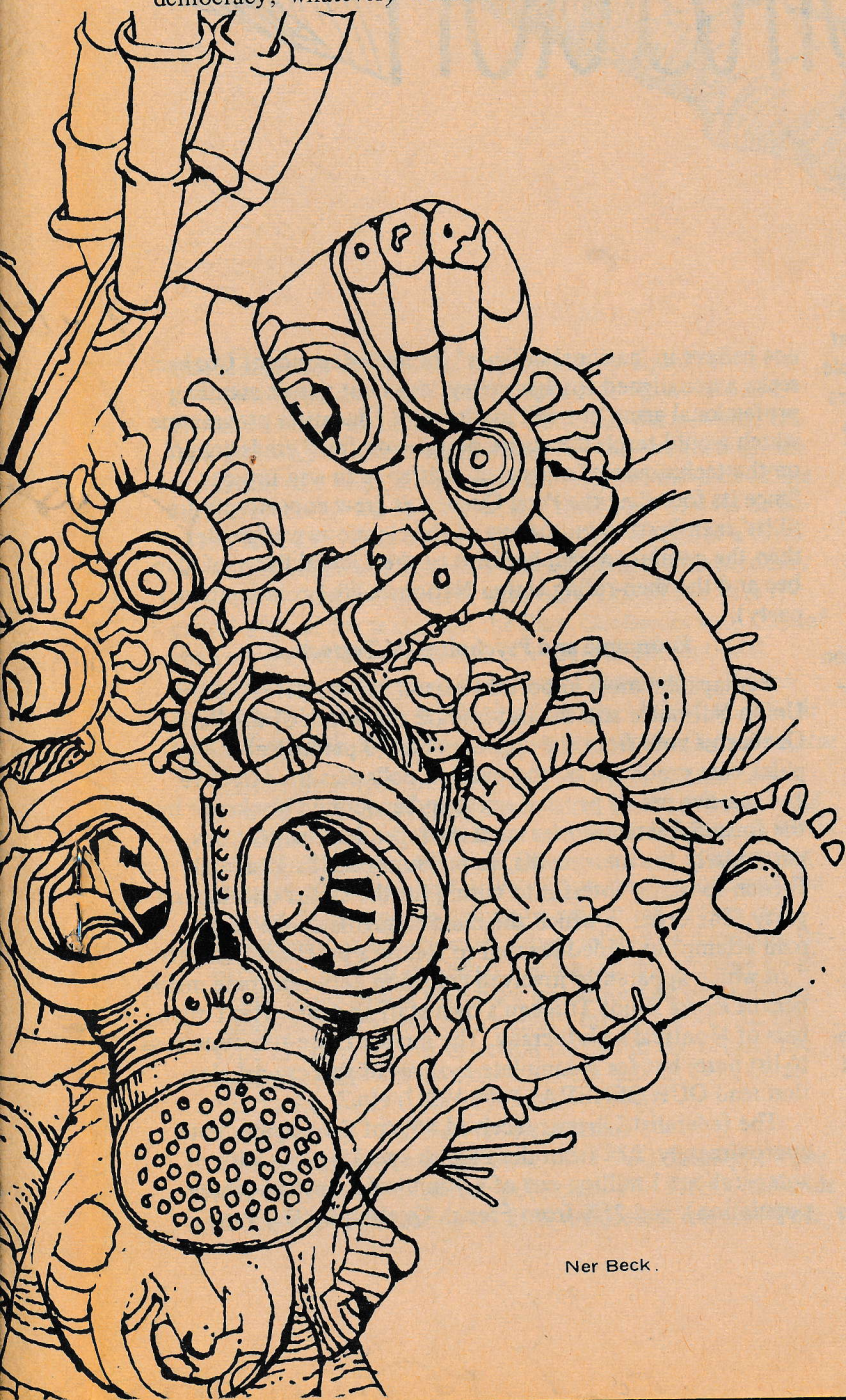
3. I referred to collectives. It's practically the Movement's conventional wisdom already that they are the way we ought to organize ourselves, so I don't need to say much (Which doesn't mean we'll *do* it, naturally. (But I want to add again that, as hard as they are to create and sustain (maybe they'd be less hard if women and men were at the same place in knowing how to free themselves, and so could do it together without feeling contempt/rage/fear/



guilt toward each other), it has to be done. My six weeks in Connecticut taught me, through the miniature (family) collective, how renewing, how mindexpanding it can be to share intellectual, physical, political concerns with others. When we arrived, I was writing a book. By the time we left, we were writing the book, in some very important ways. And the book was a great deal better. My head was a great deal clearer. When we arrived, I felt as if I had left the movement—guilty. By the time we left, I felt we had joined a new one, or created a new little cell of the movement, or some such.

Which doesn't mean the feeling lasts, especially if you're not going back to a collective, *especially*, especially if the collective you'd sort of expected to go back to looks badly fractured when you tumble in.

4. Okay. The Panthers deserve two goddam cheers, anyway. Nobody else has been able to invent a way to make the Movement take seriously its obligation to start imagining what the decent society (socialism, participatory democracy, whatever) would look like. To me it *doesn't*



Ner Beck.

look like Supreme Commander Newton replacing Commander-in-Chief Nixon in the White House. But I've been beating my brains out for three years trying to get the Movement to think 15, 20, 30 years ahead *so it can act now to built that future*. Never got anywhere. The book I've been working, even, is about 1999—I've been hoping that might help. Now it looks as if maybe, maybe, just maybe the notion of a new Constitution might do it. (One of the reasons I don't dig "Supreme Commander" Newton is that I think what we build now in opposition may well be what governs us/how we govern in 1999. The Coalition structure I've sketched above is one I'd be delighted to live with as the Continental Congress of America, after the "revolution." Supreme Commanders are not what I want to live under then, any more than now. *What's more, they won't win.*

The drafting of a Counter-Constitution may help the movement clarify its vision, *if. If. If* people will create collectives and think/feel/talk/act through in their collective their own oppressions and therefore their *own* liberations and therefore their *own* futures/constitutions. *If* people will be firm that the heavy-handed centralism of Philadelphia, plus the confused hurry-up-and-wait of Philadelphia are inadmissible—because both the centralism and the confusion kept large parts of the Movement from getting its head together—but instead of either shrieking at the Panthers or sneaking off into the night so as to avoid that hassle next time will calmly and firmly make arrangements so things are both more open-ended and better-ordered. *If* people will construct some political organism that allows radicals to talk and act with liberals and non-politicals, around images and chunks of a decent society that can attract the baffled and the angry.

I'm not suggesting that the debate over a Counter-Constitution is the only way we can address the future. Perhaps collectives can discipline themselves to address, not all the time but periodically, what they imagine as a desirable and achievable situation for themselves 20 years hence, and then act to move toward that future now. (In short, keep themselves from getting hung up by habit in less "radical", less "socialist" processes or politics or work than they could be and want to be in when they think it through.) Perhaps radicals could create places where liberals and non-politicals can think/feel through what it would be like to live in one or another version of a democratic society—to spur them to act on such a vision now. I would very much like to work with people in the movement who are ready to experiment with such efforts, perhaps especially with the kinds of "new-working-class" people whose culture and training is likely to predispose them in that kind of semi-futurist direction and whose present bafflement and anger may be moving them toward political engagement.

Whatever means we use to involve ourselves and others in this process of imagining the future in order to be able to create it now, we need to be using some means to deal with the issue.

All through the '60s, when people asked the Movement "So what's your alternative? What do you people want anyway?" it was a put-down. Now, at last, the Movement is big enough and the Empire in a deep enough crisis that people mean the question *seriously*—or at least they would if we answered the question *seriously*. We owe it to ourselves and to the American peoples to create some answers.

—Arthur Waskow

# Canadian Confrontation



Whoever would have thought it possible? Quiet, passive, liberal Canada, haven for American draft-resisters and deserters shows its true face. We have been told often enough that liberalism is only skin deep—well, here is yet another example.

The Canadian Confederation cultivated for over 100 years by the steady hand of British-styled political gradualism has aborted. Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, the dandy of Canadian liberalism, with his cabinet, enacted the War Measures Act and consequently unleashed the most unprecedented political terror in the history of the country.

Since the early 1960's Canadians have become aware not for the first time in our history of the enormous injustices perpetrated on the French-Canadian people. When the new nationalist movement was born in resistance to the oppression the signals were clear. As this movement became more socialist and libertarian moving from the narrower questions of language and culture to political domination and economic exploitation its militancy increased. As the collective frustration rose, the avenue of armed struggle began to beckon. Enter in 1963 the *Front de Liberation du Quebec* embarking upon a course of small-scale bombings, bank robberies, and dynamite thefts. What Americans are reading about in their newspapers now, we have been reading for the last seven years in ours. Concurrent with this development were sporadic electoral activities by independent political parties, and many massive direct actions and confrontations.

This rapid history of the rise of a people to self-determination came to a climax during the Quebec general elections of April 1970. About a year earlier a new independence political party was founded—Le Parti Quebecois. It brought together all the nationalist and socially progressive forces in a mass social democratic party with a pacifist orientation. Le Parti Quebecois is probably the only political party that does

not believe in 'national defence' for an Independent Quebec, seeks a nonaligned foreign policy, does not wish a standing professional army but will institute an education programme which would teach the entire population from grade school on the techniques of mass civil resistance to any invader. Since its founding the Parti Quebecois grew enormously until its' membership on the eve of the elections was greater than the combined memberships of the Liberal Party of Quebec and the then-ruling Union Nationale (the conservatives) party).

## Economic and Psychological Terrorism

Perhaps the most important reason for the defeat of the Union Nationale and the last-minute reduction of the Parti Quebecois vote from the approximate 30 percent of the popular vote predicted by the opinion polls was the effective and massive use of psychological and economic blackmail by the financial establishment and its dependent institutions, particularly the mass media, to pressure both English and French-speaking voters into voting for the status quo Liberal party. The order in which the main elements of the blackmail attempt unfolded seemed to follow a preconceived pattern which apparently involved collusion between some members of Pierre Elliot Trudeau's own staff and important members of Montreal's plutocracy. The incidents are too numerous to list here, but for a complete analysis of this crucial election read OUR GENERATION, Vol.7, No.2.

The federalist Liberals received 45% of the popular vote, approximately 20% from the English speaking minority of voters (about 1 million out of a 7 million French-speaking population), and 25% from French Quebecois. The Parti



Quebecois vote of 24% was approximately equal to that of the Liberals among the French Quebecois. When one adds the 20% vote given to the Union Nationale party which ran on a platform of self-determination for Quebec through the formation of a bi-national Canadian state, to the 24% of the Parti Quebecois, we now arrive at a total vote of 44% or between 55 and 57% of French Quebec that voted for a form of independence and against Trudeau's brand of federalism.

Even so the Liberal party with only 45% of the vote received 69% of the seats, and the Parti Quebecois with 25% of the vote received only 6.5% of the seats in the National Assembly. So much for parliamentary democracy. The lesson from this election was learned widely in Quebec. A little while afterwards the influential new left paper, *Quartier Latin* wrote:

"The most obvious result of the elections is that we are heading for a major confrontation in Quebec. Quebec did not definitely and irrevocably endorse federalism, as Pierre Elliot Trudeau pontificated. Quebec society is becoming increasingly divided into two camps, on the one hand the anglophiles and those among us who think as they do, spokesmen or advocates of values related to American imperialism, and on the other hand a rapidly growing number of francophiles who have opted for Quebec without falling into a narrow nationalism. Independently of the type of commitment or action chosen in the future, the confrontation will be between them and us." (*Le Quartier Latin*, Vol.52, No.16, May 15, 1970).

#### The New Confrontation

The confrontation came when the F.L.Q. kidnapped one British official and a Quebec politician. The F.L.Q. demands included wide publication of their manifesto, release of the

23 political prisoners now in prison, \$500,000 in gold, and the re-hiring by the Federal government of several hundred post-office truck drivers who were thrown out of work after the now-famous Lapalme strike.

The Federal government responded with that cold ruthlessness for which the liberal Trudeau has now become infamous. It quickly escalated the whole situation by enacting the most extreme action, the War Measures Act strictly reserved for wartime purposes. At first the opposition party leaders opposed this action. Sweet revenge filled the nostrils of both the Federal and Provincial Liberals and the police forces as a 'kill two birds with one stone' strategy unfolded.

The F.L.Q. is reputed to have about 30 cells across Quebec, with about 175 activists and about 3,000 sympathizers. This hardly represents a force that can stage a coup d'etat; besides a seizure of power stands contrary to what the F.L.Q. urges. Pierre Vallieres recently wrote: "It is not uncommon to meet revolutionaries who think only of the overthrow of the bourgeois state, as if an overthrow had a magic power, and could give birth spontaneously, from one day to the next of the effective conditions for the liberation of individuals and collective groups, for their liberation from their present alienation, and for a new movement towards greater freedom for each one of us." Vallieres is the leading theorist of the F.L.Q. who just spent three years in jail on charges that were finally modified and was recently released on bail. The F.L.Q. manifesto is a clear statement with a libertarian

socialist orientation with its concluding call for a general strike in which workers of all kinds and students are urged to take over their own places of work and study and operate them by themselves.

### The Military Occupation of Quebec

These facts notwithstanding, the military occupation was undertaken with over 13,000 police and troops into the foray. Quebec especially, but all of Canada was promptly put under martial law. The Canadian Bill of Rights was suspended and the Act validated *until April 1971*. Scores of people are being arrested, their homes raided, their offices searched, printing machinery and all sorts of other material with which to achieve an insurrection like films, pamphlets, files, and magazines were seized.

Most people outside Canada are not as yet aware that the War Measures Act is being used as a pretext by the State to stifle the *entire* Quebec Left and radical movement. To date more than 600 persons have been arrested in Quebec and the number increases with each day, while more than 2000 raids have been made by the police. These people can be held in prison for up to 21 days without being charged with an offense and 90 days before being arraigned. These provisions are under the Act. The police can arrest anyone and search anywhere without warrants. Those arrested include radicals and revolutionaries of all persuasions: socialists, libertarians, and pacifists. People who have had nothing directly to do with the F.L.Q. have been arrested, and these include artists, poets, actors, trade unionists, students and many others. Michel Chartrand, the fiery pacifist president of the 67,000 member Montreal Confederation of National Trade Unions (he was a sponsor and speaker at last year's WRI conference) has been arrested, and pacifist Jean Roy (also a sponsor of the conference) has been arrested and is conducting a hunger strike in prison. The OUR GENERATION offices have been searched several times by the police, two staff members have been arrested and literature seized, while two editors prominent in the anti-poverty movement have gone into hiding.

### Range of Arrests

As just one example of the breath of the repression we can mention the case of FRAP (Front d'action Politique). FRAP is the culmination of about five years of successful community organising in Montreal. The result of this organising has been the establishment of viable citizens committees of poor working class people throughout the city and welfare citizens groups. Important work has been done in the establishment of community medical clinics, cooperative food buying, and agitation in the area of housing etc. At a certain point (namely eight months ago) these groups set up a radically decentralized movement called FRAP (which also means hit hard) with a radical urban programme (including

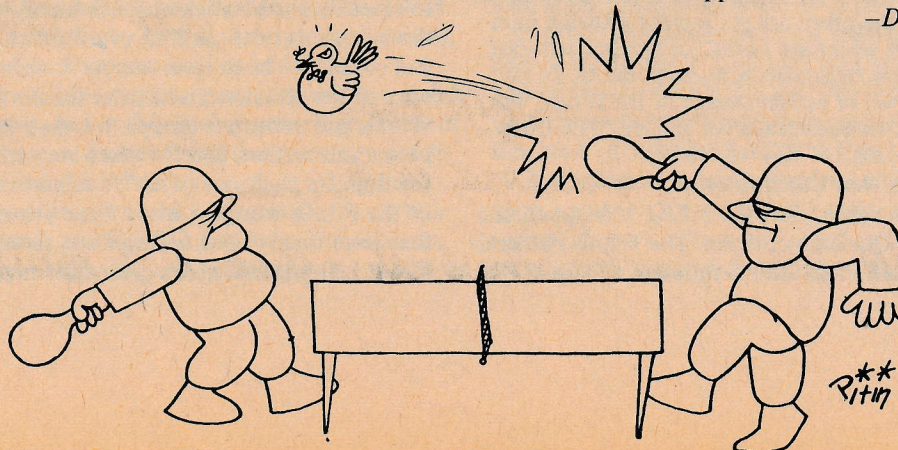
free public transportation, anti-automobile action, public ownership of all urban land) which also favours electoral action at the municipal level. This type of electoralism is the last option that is being used within the system by the populist and trade Left in Quebec after the general elections of April 1970. FRAP decided at its recent convention to contest the forthcoming October 25th municipal elections in Montreal. The present Drapeau administration which also called for the military occupation has up until now ruled Montreal without opposition at City Hall. With many of its activists arrested, and several of its candidates in prison just weeks before the elections FRAP seems decimated.

### Opposition to Repression

To watch and listen to American television and to read the *New York Times* one comes away with the impression that Canadians have accepted all this without opposition. Nothing could be further from the facts. Large demonstrations (one in favour of the F.L.Q.) against the Act have already taken place in Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal. FRAP and the Montreal Confederation of National Trade Unions had come out in favour of the F.L.Q. manifesto but not for the means it uses. Mass resistance was being planned. In the mass trade union weekly newspaper QUEBEC-PRESSE of October 18th a list of well-known Quebecers called for massive passive resistance to the Act: "We refuse to submit to an escalation of violence within which we shall be lost forever. The passive resistance of the entire population is now being called on. We must resist fear. We must resist oppression. We must be in solidarity with one another. We must call upon the strength in each one of us."

The murder of Pierre Laporte, the Quebec Minister of Labour by the Chenier cell of the F.L.Q. shocked everyone. Under the extreme provocation of the Act and the consequent mass arrests and raids, the F.L.Q. embarked upon a course of action that will bear bitter fruit. Prime Minister Trudeau snapped his trap shut. The entire establishment in Canada has joined in a deadening cacophony of pious, self-righteous and dishonest wailing over the 'honourable Mr. Laporte', and how awful violence is. This chorus is reminiscent of the American establishment's song and dance routine after the death of the Kennedys and Martin Luther King. The orchestration is the same and does not even cut down on the din of 'business as usual'. Has the F.L.Q. given the Canadian status quo a carte blanche? Will the other radicals and revolutionaries learn anew the contradictory nature of such counter-revolutionary tactics? What initiatives will the new left provide? Will a revolutionary nonviolent strategy be in the offing to produce more concrete results and limit the bloodshed in the streets? As tomorrow presses we eat the fruits of repression, and call upon our brothers and sisters everywhere for international support.

—Dimitrios Roussopoulos





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# BOYCOTT LETTUCE!



The grape strike and boycott are over. After five years of nonviolent struggle, and three years of a boycott which involved millions of people all over the United States and the world, the strikers of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee have won a history-making victory that may influence all social change activity in our country, and probably already has. The struggle of a racially and economically oppressed minority which created a massive coalition of Third World people, young and old, of students at all levels, labor leaders and rank and file from virtually every industry and state, and of housewives from Orange County to Manhattan, and which operated under a firmly held philosophy and practice of nonviolence, is a source of joy, strength, and hope to many people who are actively seeking and struggling for justice.

But, even as the breakthrough in Delano was announced, the United Farm Workers were engaged in another major struggle. The Western Conference of Teamsters attempted once again to take advantage of the weakened grower position on unionism. On July 28, 1970, the Salinas Valley Grower and Shipper Vegetable Association announced that thirty growers had recognized the Teamsters as the exclusive bargaining agent for their agricultural workers. The workers were stunned and angered by the announcements. Many Salinas farm workers had been working quietly for years to build UFWOC membership and local committees. Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers declared war on these back-door agreements. Chavez stated that "UFWOC will strike, boycott, march, sacrifice and struggle for as many years as it takes to win—exactly as we did in Delano."



The Salinas struggle is a life or death matter for the farm workers' union. Because of UFWOC's long strike and boycott in the grape industry, growers all over the country have been forced to consider the possibility of unions in agriculture. As they consider that possibility, their minds gravitate to those unions that will give them an easy ride, not only in terms of contract provisions, but also in enforcement of those contracts. The Teamsters seemed a likely option.

Faced with two strong opponents in Salinas, the UFWOC pulled a massive strike, which proved to be the most effective strike in California's history of farm workers organization. Subsequent talks between the Teamsters and UFWOC produced a jurisdictional agreement which provided for Teamster representation of truckers and other traditionally Teamster-covered workers, and UFWOC coverage of all field workers. However, the growers refused to rescind their Teamster contracts, and the Teamsters seemed willing to abide by them.

The situation appeared less than hopeful, but there have been a few very welcome successes after only a few months, unlike the very long and dreary wait experienced in the grape strike. Under threat of a boycott against the well-known "Chiquita" brand products, another United Fruit Corporation subsidiary, Interharvest, largest lettuce grower in Salinas, rescinded the Teamster contract. On August 30, 1970, UFWOC signed with Interharvest what has been termed our best agricultural collective bargaining agreement so far, covering 11% of the nation's lettuce supply. While writing this, I received word that the second largest Salinas lettuce grower, FreshPict, subsidiary of PUREX Corporation, has signed a collective bargaining agreement with UFWOC. The contract also provides for the settlement of the Colorado lettuce strike begun last spring. The actual contract will not be negotiated until the Colorado lettuce season approaches again, and the workers return to the fields. There has also been a contract signed with Pic N Pac, subsidiary of S.S. Pierce and Company, producer of most of the strawberries coming from the Salinas Valley. This ended the boycott of S.S. Pierce products, and the worry over non-Union strawberries.

Amid the joy over these victories, the work of the struggle goes on, including the boycott of all non-Union California and Arizona lettuce. Dozens of strikers have been sent from Salinas to reopen and reactivate boycott offices and operations all over the country. They have begun the work of informing the public about the reason for and the details of the lettuce boycott, and of pressuring store chains, and individual supermarkets not to stock the scab lettuce. They need as much help as anyone can give them, and would very much appreciate your time and effort. Contact the nearest boycott office to offer your help. (To find out where the nearest UFWOC office is, contact UFWOC, Box 130, Delano CA 93215; UFWOC 1155 Broadway, New York City (212) 799-7743)

The one basic thing that all people can and should do to help the farm workers struggle, is to boycott all scab lettuce. Some lettuce coming out of the fields in California and Arizona is wrapped in cellophane and easily identified. Union lettuce thus wrapped will soon bear the well-known black aztec eagle which is the label of the farm workers union. However, most lettuce is unwrapped and

out of the box when the consumer sees it. To be completely sure of the brand, you have to ask the store manager or the produce manager what brands of lettuce are sold in the store. Most store managers have experienced the pressure of the grape boycott, and will claim to have union produce no matter what is really on the counter. The only way to be sure you are not buying scab lettuce is to see the boxes in which the lettuce is shipped. They will either still be in cold storage, full, or empty, discarded in a back room or outside the store. As a consumer, you have the right to ask the store manager to show them to you. The union brands, listed below, are from Interharvest and FreshPict, and will bear the union label, whether stamped or printed on the box itself. Make sure you see the "bird" before you buy, for the Teamster ranches are attempting to subvert the power of the boycott by printing various types of labels stating that the lettuce is picked by union labor. However, none of these Teamster labels have the familiar farm workers' eagle.

NOTE: The boycott is against HEAD LETTUCE (also known as iceberg) *only*. All other types make up a very small percentage of the crop, and are therefore not subject to the boycott.

UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING  
COMMITTEE—UNION LETTUCE BRANDS

	Interharvest	Freshpict
cellophane wrapped	Chiquita Amigo	
"naked lettuce"	Nunes Brothers Blue Chip Eagle Eagle Eye King City King Pin Favor Gold Star Hawk Eye Queen's T Pasco	Ram Prime Sun Blush Three Crowns

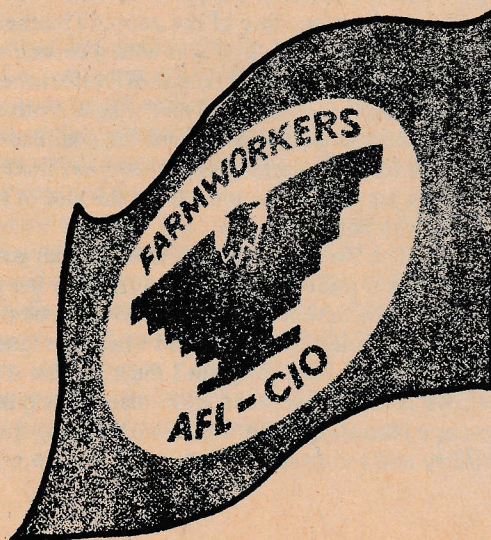
VIVA LA HUELGA!!

VIVA LA CAUSA!!

VIVA LA REVOLUCION!!

VIVA LA HUELGA!!

—Nora Casillas



# “trot plot” explained

One of the things I have learned over the past five years of working in the anti-Vietnam war movement is that—with the exception of police agents or the occasional sheer opportunist who hangs around for the gravy until he finds there isn't any—almost none of the people in the movement operate from base motives. That is, they really believe or at least hope that what they are doing or advocating is the best thing they can do to stop the crime being committed by the U.S. government in Indochina.

I leave aside here the politicians who occasionally pay lip service or appear at a peace march the way they appear at an ethnic parade. I leave them aside not to prejudge them, but because I have no direct contact with those people and I don't really know what makes them tick, though frankly I have my suspicions. No, I'm talking about *movement* people, whether they are involved in major party politics or not, whether they are pacifists, moderates, social democrats, ultra-leftists, CPers, SWPers, independents, not-so-independent independents, or what have you.

For me this has been a pleasant and useful lesson. Pleasant for obvious reasons and useful because you save an awful lot of energy when you can see the political logic of the other person's position, even if you find it at loggerheads with your own. I learned this lesson from watching and listening and participating through interminable hours of meetings, planning sessions, arguments, discussions; as well as through working with these people in the all-too-few high moments of united action. One of the people I learned this from was Dave McReynolds. So it was with a certain small disappointment that I read his article in WIN (October 1, 1970) in which he attributes to the SWP a base motive for its position on mass demonstrations and the coalition which acts as a vehicle for their coming into existence. Dave does say that SWPers are decent people, but at the end of his article he seems to contradict that.

Dave says: “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.”

Well, Harry and I understand nothing of the kind. This is

a case of Dave's being so completely committed to his own logic that he just can't see that there is anything at all to the other fellow's point of view. Let's try something simple. And Dave, slow down a minute and try to wrap your mercurial mind around this plodding, plebeian logic:

I might say that since Dave McReynolds insists that the antiwar coalition take on a spectrum of other issues at this time he is obviously more interested in his dream of a new “popular, democratic front” political formation—to use Sid Peck's phrase—than he is in ending the war in Vietnam. I might say that but I won't because I know that Dave would lay down his life to end the war in Vietnam if he thought that would do it. And I trust Dave knows that about me, if he ponders it a while.

No, what we have here is not an evil plot on anybody's part but a deepgoing difference of opinion. A profound difference. Possibly an irreconcilable difference at this juncture. (And possibly not.) But in any case a political difference must be dealt with politically and not by baiting or imputation of motives. That is, if we want to clarify instead of obscure and if we want to leave open avenues for united action where we agree, and a fair test of different roads in those areas where we must go our separate ways.

Part of the problem here is that Dave keeps getting two distinct things mixed up. One thing is “the movement” and the other thing is the broad antiwar coalition committee—like what the New Mobe used to be, or the National Mobe before that, or the Spring Mobe before that, or the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam before that.

“The movement” might be described as the sum total of all the activity for progressive social change. Five years ago it included probably only a few tens of thousands of people. Today it involves millions. The antiwar coalition committee on the other hand, is part of “the movement” but only a very specialized part. It has been, through its off-and-on existence, a committee of a few dozen or at most a few hundred people, prominent individuals or representatives of groups and tendencies within “the movement”. But these people are not at all agreed among themselves on most questions. They are not even fully agreed about the war and how to end it. At most they have been able to agree, from time to time, on specific antiwar actions. When they can agree, and send out

a call for action, the call carries a certain magic precisely because so many diverse forces are more or less committed to it.

Historically these formations came into existence as ad hoc committees to call an occasional mass demonstration against the war in Vietnam. And that is what they succeeded in doing. What Harry and I say is this: the mass demonstrations against the war are one vital ingredient in "the movement." They aren't the only important thing, or even the most important, but they are one vital ingredient. They should not be abandoned. They should be continued. And the forms for bringing them into existence should not be destroyed.

It is clear to us from experience that attempts to transform the antiwar coalition committee into the leadership of "the movement" with policy on all the disputed issues that involves, simply results in the destruction of that committee as a vehicle capable of surfacing massive opposition to the war.

It is beating on an open door to tell us that "the movement" is concerned with many issues and that more and more people are reaching a level of understanding to draw the interconnections between these issues and developing a desire to get at root causes. We do understand that, and we hail it, and we participate in it.

But it is quite a different matter to say that "the movement" has developed to the point where it could be put under one roof. And it is yet another different matter to say that the antiwar coalition committee should abandon its specialized function and try to be the vehicle for the creation of this roof; for the birth of another National Conference on New Politics experiment—as Dave blurts out—or the birth of a "popular, democratic front" as Sid Peck so carefully and consciously puts it.

We disagree with that perspective on two counts. First it means—it has always meant—abandonment of the specialized vehicle which has succeeded in bringing immense masses into the streets. Not a single one of the various attempts of forming a "popular front" organization out of the antiwar coalition has ever called and organized a major antiwar action. Those people who think what is needed now is a new popular front organization should proceed to organize that experiment without destroying the united front against the war, without destroying the specialized instrument for bringing masses into the streets around that particular issue of such broad appeal.

Sid Peck used to recognize this distinction. In previous documents by Sid—which played a historic role in the development of the most massive demonstrations—he made it clear. He said he favored the formation of a new all-inclusive radical party for "the movement" as a whole. But at the same time he recognized the importance of the antiwar coalition as such, and argued against attempting to form the new group by transforming or abandoning the antiwar coalition. In the more recent period, however, and in his WIN article, Sid has obscured the distinction, for reasons which perhaps he can explain himself.

The second count on which we disagree with Sid Peck's current perspective is that we oppose the idea of a new NCNP-type formation. We don't think it can be viable or effective. As soon as a serious attempt is made to work out the program for such an all-inclusive formation for "the movement" it will tend to split as many ways as there are

important disagreements and will suffer a fate as ignominious as that of the NCNP in 1967. To overcome this built-in difficulty there will be a strong tendency to subsume differences under some vague and abstract slogans. Behind these, history has shown, there often lurks a distinctly non-revolutionary approach to action, such as support to the "lesser evil" candidate in the 1972 Presidential election. And I don't have to tell you how awful I think that would be. I would think both Sid and Dave would have had enough of that from their experience with Johnson as the "peace candidate" in 1964.

Does this mean we see no hope for "the movement" ever being largely united in a multi-issue political formation or party? No. We just don't see it in the immediate future. In our opinion, when it does become realistic it will be because significant sections of the working class or oppressed nationalities have begun to organize themselves politically and independently of the capitalist parties. (La Raza Unida party may be developing in this direction.) That, of course, is a particularly Marxist view and I don't expect Sid or Dave to sympathize with it. I just state it so you know where we stand.

As hostile as we are to the "popular front" perspective, we have no fear of seeing it given a fair test in life. We do not bait or slander its proponents. But we do not accompany them along that route. We also hope that those who choose that route will not in the meantime abandon the united front against the war and the specifically antiwar coalitions—such as the National Peace Action Coalition—which have proven a viable form for periodically getting immense masses into the streets. And that is a vital element in extending the over-all radicalization. And it does have an effect on the war.

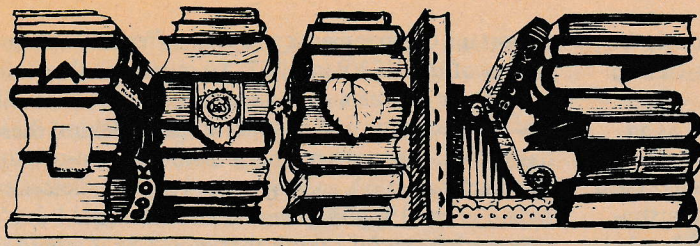
McReynolds is at times too pessimistic about that incidentally, though I can't blame him since we all get frustrated as the war continues. The events of last May, for example, did not end the war but they did force Nixon to place extremely important restrictions on the U.S. military intervention in Cambodia. And you need only read the papers—at least the N.Y. Times—to see that the U.S. casualties have fallen off in Indochina because of a policy of avoiding clashes precisely in order to cut down on casualties because of the pressure of antiwar sentiment in the U.S. That's no way to win a war. We *are* having an effect. Just don't give up the fight.

—Fred Halstead

*Fred Halstead has made a careful, thoughtful—and fraternal—response to my own analysis, and while the differences between us are real enough, and I would stand behind the general line of my original article, Fred has not only helped clarify the disagreements that exist, but has also made them less provocative.*

*I do continue to feel that, without abandoning legal mass demonstrations, the "movement" as a whole must give greater consideration to the power of large scale civil disobedience. Finally, I hasten to withdraw the charge that the SWP is more concerned about building its cadre than about peace in Vietnam—an unhappy slander written in the heat of polemic. For readers who missed the original set-to, it was the October 1st issue, copies still available.*

David McReynolds



## Shards of God

Ed Sanders

(Grove Press, New York 1970)

When Ed Sanders' *Shards of God* arrived at WIN I leapt on it immediately and joyfully carried it off to read. I wanted to catch up with a long time friend I haven't said more than "Hi" to since 1962—the days of open poetry readings on the Lower East Side and of that flickering den of iniquity and romance, The Cantina of the Revolutions, on East 9th St., NYC. In those days Ed used to announce he would do this or that outrageous act and we soon learned to believe him because he would then go right out and do it. *Fuck You/a magazine of the arts* was one of them. *The Fugs* was another.

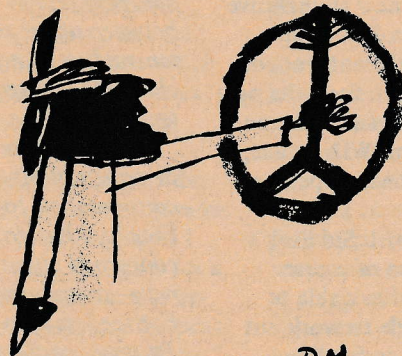
I can't claim to have ever known Ed well, but I love him dearly and respect him as a fine poet and one of the best editors I ever had. I was perhaps frightened away as well as delighted by his playful reach and "arrgh!" when I or any other "furburger" came within range, but he drew us to him as salt draws deer. *Shards of God* shows me Ed hasn't changed much over the years. As a consequence I am probably taking this book more seriously than he may have intended.

The book is an ecstatic and occult (spiritual rather than historical) account of the birth of Yippie and the victory of the Festival of Life in Chicago over the 1968 Democratic National Convention, written as an epic and dedicated to John Sinclair. It is peopled by Abbie and Anita Hoffman, Jerry and Nancy Rubin, Paul Krassner, Keith Lampe, Bob Fass, Jack Newfield, Wren D'Antonio and many others acting in concert with (and as) various gods, I-mouthed saucer people, and exotic machinery to bring about "enforced sharing" in the "low-emanation torture plexus, eating the throat of its young" which is America. The viewpoint is the author's and it seems to be light and happy, but I feel it is quite serious as well.

Despite the epic tone of voice, *Shards of God* has the feeling of hav-

ing being thrown together in the form of a hash. The narration leaps forcefully from one event to another without any connective tissue of explanation, and the overlying theme isn't strong enough to give a sense of flow. The binding force of this delicious hash is the farthest out and most politically extraneous feature: the I-mouthed saucer people, extraterrestrial emissaries of the Council of Eye Forms. As Ed says in the introduction, the book may be opened at any page. The sequence of the events isn't important. The introduction should be read with care before the rest of the book is attempted.

I heard Ed say once that he'd like to jam all the men, women and children on earth into one great plastic bag full of vaseline. I think that his relationship to pornography in general and the pornography written into this book are an attempt at that, but they fail here because of the book's main weakness: male chauvinism. Some people sympathetic to the struggle of women to be recognized as people rather than as objects to be used by men, will be turned off by large sections of the book and will fail to appreciate what Ed was really trying to accomplish. For example, the opening chapter describes in a grand epic manner a contest between Abbie Hoffman and a pentagon robot designed to be a super fucker, to see which of them can keep fucking a large number of eager volunteers from the Womens Army Corps the longest. It is the unsatisfactory ending of this



D.M.

contest that brings down upon the pentagon Abbie's curse and the beginning of the tale of Yippie triumph.

There are numerous other incidents where women, sometimes unwilling, but usually droolingly eager, are used in similar ways in the book. Ed seems to me to show no condescension or disrespect for any particular woman. He just can't seem to fit them onto any other plane. As a character in his book he describes himself eager to please the saucer-female he describes fucking with, but I found myself wanting to ask him why only women's nipples were used as electrode attachments for the "direct transmissions from the mind of Jesus" which inspired and directed the Yippies. Why weren't male 'pornflowers' used in these rites as well?

The book seems to be at least playing with the epic mode, using most of the conventions of this literary form. Certainly the descriptions of Aunt No No and the Freedom right Vale of Detention Camp remind me of *Salambo* in their wealth of gruesome detail. (Literary convention may be a part of the reason for the way Ed treats women as he does here.) There are females present even at the innermost councils of the Eye Forms, but they play no active role. The fact that no woman except the evil Aunt No No says *anything* to speak of seems to be an indication of the limitation of Ed's awareness, when he wrote this, of the contributions women can make to the revolution aside from functions as sexual satisfaction sharers; of how little he was aware of women in general as people.

I've been told that Ed wrote this book more than a year ago and Grove has only now gotten it out. During the intervening time he has become more enlightened about who women are, and he no longer particularly likes this book. I can't disparage *Shards of God* simply because Ed's treatment of women doesn't conform to what I or any proponent of womens' liberation might prefer to see in a man. The book has some perfectly delightful stories embedded in it. I was distracted by the book's main weakness but I enjoyed it. I don't think it is Ed's best work. Only the prayer for Removal of Sounds really moved me by its beauty and feeling. The rest was just fun.

—M.E.M.



**The Peace Corps and Pax Americana**  
**Marshall Windmiller**  
**Public Affairs Press,**  
**Washington, D.C., 1970**

I had almost forgotten that the Peace Corps exists until I chanced upon this book among the library's recent acquisitions. Except for the title, I would have passed it up as another returned volunteer's attempt to make good on his or her exploits of love among the "underdeveloped."

Despite some excessive quoting and verbiage Windmiller, a San Francisco State College professor once associated with Peace Corps training, adequately documents what most of us already knew, or, perhaps, only discovered after volunteering, namely, that the Peace Corps is at worst a dissembling adjunct to the American business of aggrandizement and at best irrelevant to the serious work of self-determined, developmental liberation. The former was guaranteed by its sponsors while the latter was verified by conclusions in the very pro-Peace Corps study, *Agents of Change*, by Hapgood and Bennet: "As a contributor to development in the Third World the Peace Corps can make no great claims to accomplishment . . . Volunteers have filled a lot of jobs, but their utility in those jobs, and often the utility of the jobs themselves, is questionable."

The Peace Corps was the first major outpost established on Kennedy's New Frontier which, when fully settled VISTA, Vietnam, and the War on Poverty, became the Great Society that Nixon is now trying to bring together under business domination. As Windmiller demonstrates, the Peace Corps was born among the Cold War liberals who needed an antidote to *The Ugly American* syndrome as well as a visible program on which to hang their humanitarian rhetoric. What better way was there "to counteract anti-American propaganda" as H.H. Humphrey argued on bringing the P.C. to the Senate "than by providing contact between Americans and citizens of other countries . . . The bright, young, dedicated Americans who will

constitute the Peace Corps are the finest fruits of our way of life and the best ambassadors this country can produce." Ironically, however, it was the failure of all these early governmental attempts to "harness" the energies of the young in the amelioration of misery that contributed to the growth of a radical youth consciousness.

Therefore, although billed as a non-political, technical aid and goodwill program, the Peace Corps was basically designed to counter purported Communist agitation among "less fortunate peoples" and to show an ungrateful world that, as Ambassador Galbraith suggested, America was not "excessively prone to military solutions." The Corps' technical expertise is open to question because it has recruited heavily among B.A. generalists with low skills but high ideals (in part, because those established in skilled occupations are more reluctant to jeopardize that security). Furthermore, the Peace Corps is far from being independent from our other foreign policy agencies; "all of its overseas programs are planned in careful consultation with Embassy and AID representatives (the U.S. Ambassador in each country must approve all projects), and there is an elaborate multi-agency review procedure in Washington with vetoes all along the line." Likewise, the placement of volunteers tends to reflect State and Defense Department priorities, especially pre-insurgency pacification: the effort to place teachers in Third World universities, the heavy concentration and teaching of English in our "colonies" (one volunteer for every 300 Micronesians), and the excessive numbers in places like India and Liberia. As Windmiller concludes: "the Peace Corps is the advance guard of the military, for it can go into countries where there is not yet an American military presence and do the work which may make a military involvement unnecessary."

Thus, left with little but a PR function, the Peace Corps seeks out "average, adjusted, well-liked, motivated" individuals who, when filtered through its incredible screening and training process, will act in accordance with its S.I.R. policy (Smooth Interpersonal Relations) with the natives and governments abroad. Since the volunteers have tended to represent this well-ad-

justed, idealistic, New World Man, their politicization occurred slowly and then, not until the Vietnam contradictions became too obviously painful to ignore and volunteers like Bruce Murray publicly raised embarrassing questions, for which he was bounced out of Chile. Unfortunately, the process has not gone far enough, even in the on-again, off-again Committee of Returned Volunteers. Most ex-corpsmen end up back in school or in the Peace Corps bureaucracy and in corporations with international ties, the State Department, AID, USIA, and even the CIA.

Although applications have declined, the Peace Corps will probably roll on as more of the same "new look" in cosmetic neocolonialism. Unless it is cut off as another foreign aid frill, its business orientation and "Macaulayism", as Windmiller calls it, is likely to intensify under Nixon who brought in Joseph H. Blatchford to head the program. Blatchford was the organizer of a similar program, ACCION International, to which "more than 3,000 companies contributed nearly \$9,000,000 in cash and services for more than 45,000 projects. Chairman of the Board was Donald M. Kendall, president of Pepsi Cola.

And, no doubt, many more members of the Pepsi Generation will continue to be unwitting partners in this duplicity by seriously believing that they are representing the basically good side of America. Others with some doubts will raise the old garbage about "better this than nothing." This is a hollow cry especially in light of the fact that the Peace Corps itself has admitted that the program benefits Americans and the individual volunteers more than the people they presumably serve. Furthermore, contrary to the defensiveness of some returned volunteers, the acts of building schools, nursing babies, and laying pipes are not intrinsically good when undertaken within the official Peace Corps policy of establishing and maintaining "cordial and constructive relationships with government officials and other members of the power structure" who may not deserve this respect, and when performed under false pretenses so as to make things look better than they are and as an excuse for not doing what perhaps should be done.

—John Kincaid

# ...changes

Continued from page 3

were six signed statements implicating me. I was never advised of my rights.

*Arthur Wade, Jr.:* The Police never told me of my rights and when I asked to make a call they would not let me do it.

*Vernis Moore:* I was not advised of my rights until after the questioning. I was threatened with bodily harm if I denied what they had said.

*Rayford Gilyard:* After all the questioning and intimidation I was told to read a statement which says whatever you say can be held against you.

The same thing goes on day after day. This is the time to bring it to a stop. A successful defense for the Nacogdoches 9 would be the beginning. This is the time and place for your support. Send any amount that you can spare for this effort to secure justice for the Nacogdoches 9 and for all of us.

—Mickey McGuire  
Nacogdoches Black Community Union  
P.O. Box 1649  
Nacogdoches, Texas

## TAX MAN REVEALS (ALMOST) ALL

On Friday, October 2, 1970, the Treasury Department in the person of one of its agents came calling at my home. Ringing the doorbell and flashing some papers, he told my children he was looking for their mother or father. Thinking he was some process server or other, I informed him he would have to come back as I was not dressed. He informed me through the window that that was not possible, since he was a T-man and flashed his identity card at me. I naturally invited him and asked him to sit down while I clothed myself in the proper attire. He made himself at home, and when I returned he informed me he was visiting me to collect a bill we owed the Federal Government, namely the Federal excise tax from our telephone bill. He said he realized we were protesting the Vietnam War but that we had made our point and it was now time to pay up. I asked him how much we owed, since by my recollections it was a fair

amount and he sheepishly informed me it was \$3.49 plus 6% interest that came to \$3.54 by the Government's reckoning. I really started to laugh and asked him if he was for real. Didn't he have more important things to do besides collecting \$3.54. He adamantly stated that he damn well did have more important things to do but he had to carry out orders. I offered him a cup of coffee and he proceeded to tell me that Pres. Nixon was uptight about the fact that the number of people withholding the telephone excise tax was escalating, and he had sent around an Executive Personal Memo to all Treasury Dept. Agencies stating that collection of back taxes was of the first priority. The public was not to be told about this, to keep it quiet, but to collect. He also told me that some people had discovered that airlines tickets had 10% federal excise tax tacked on them, and that people were withholding this tax, and that the airlines had no legal right to withhold the ticket, and that before this got out of hand, they had to start collecting on all withholders. He said this collection operation was costing the government a small fortune. Do you know what it costs the government to collect your \$3.54? Between \$300 and \$400. Well, says I, that's three or four hundred dollars not going to war.

Hadn't thought about that says the T-man.

At any rate, we had a two hour dialogue about the war and the state of the nation. He kept on reiterating that if I would cooperate he could then go back to more important business. I, in turn, said that if he found this task so annoying, possibly he and some of his co-workers should write to the Pres. and petition him to end the war so then they would not be troubled by having to collect taxes from people who were protesting the war. He kind of laughed and said you must be kidding, but it is a thought. He left and thanked me for the interesting afternoon.

—Irma Zigas

## DR. SPOCK JOINS 6TH ANNIVERSARY

Dr. Spock drew five TV crews and a crowd of admirers, including mothers with babies, as he stood with a peace placard in Times Square October 10 marking the 6th anniversary of the Times Square Peace Vigil.

During the year, the Vigil had suffered hardships. Otto Nathan, its moving spirit, was immobilized for several months by an accident. Harold Gilmer, one of the most stalwart participants, died of cancer. Julius Sztuk, who never missed a Saturday, moved to Philadelphia. But there are still six stalwarts



Photo: Diana Davies

Left to right: Jim Peck, Leo Pach, Rudolph Casstown, Jane and Ben Spock, at the Times Square Vigil.

who have participated since the vigil started in October, 1964—Tom Grabell, Peter Kiger, Prafula Mukerji, Leo Pach, Jim Peck, and Sue Whealdon. And with the participation of those who come on occasional Saturdays, they have been able to keep the show going. (BUT WITH THE ICY MONTHS COMING, THEY NEED MORE HELP—IF ONLY FOR A COFFEE BREAK. SO IF YOU HAVE ANY FREE TIME ON SATURDAY BETWEEN 12:30 and 2:30 p.m., JOIN THEM.)

Sponsored by twelve New York peace groups, including WRL, the Times Square Vigil is the longest-lasting of the many vigils across the country over the Vietnam war years. Even the local landscape has changed. The Astor Hotel, a landmark, has been replaced by a nondescript highrise (from the 2nd floor of which construction workers hurled little pieces of concrete at the vigilers only the Saturday before the anniversary). The site of the Claridge Hotel is now an empty lot awaiting construction of another highrise. And the vigil starts its 7th year. —J.P.

## STRAIGHTS FOR PEACE IN PHOENIX . . .

A rapidly growing and rather broad anti-war constituency has been organized among basically self-admitted establishment-oriented business and professional people in Phoenix, Arizona. Initiated by several students, the organization calls itself "The Professional and Business Men and Women for Peace" and is committed to engaging in "nonviolent" activities demanding the "end of the military involvement of the United States in Southeast Asia immediately." Thus far, in its 5 months of existence the group has gone into the Kiwanis' and Lion's dens with speakers calling for immediate withdrawal, encouraged local and national support for "peace" candidates, lobbied for the McGovern-Hatfield Amendment, supported the last and upcoming mobilizations, provided counseling and legal and medical aid to draft-age men, challenge the pro-militarist tendencies in most of the local media, and tried to stimulate the building of a viable student peace movement which is presently lacking in Phoenix outside of the university in

Tempe.

Motivated, in part, by the pocket-book squeeze and fears of domestic revolt, the group has, nonetheless, enormous potential and reflects the increasing anti-war sentiment nationally among business and professional people. It is, however, a little more gutsy and less economically oriented than the national "Business Executives Move for Vietnam Peace and New National Priorities." With the opening of its Peace center, 12 W. Roosevelt, Phoenix 85003 (253-7284) the group will expand and intensify its actions, particularly in the areas of peace education with middle America. The Center is available to winter tourists, vacationers, and anyone just passing through. Also, if anyone has any ideas or suggestions they would like to contribute, please let us know.

—John Kinkaid



# war tax resistance

The Internal Revenue Service is escalating its collection attempts from war tax resisters. Jim Shea, from Washington, D.C. has been convicted for falsifying his W-4 form (he declared 20 exemptions) and was given a one year sentence. He is appealing.

Again in Washington, D.C., the phone company is demanding a \$100 deposit from war tax resister Tom Reeves before they will give him a phone.

On October 13th, WTR had another phone company demonstration in NYC at 141 East 14th St. Sixteen people picketed and some of them paid their phone bills minus the war tax. The equivalent of the tax was given to Liberation Nursery, a cooperative day care center on East 6th St.

One lady showed me her bill and asked me how to resist. With some curious bystanders listening I explained how she should deduct the war tax and what to say. She went inside the phone company and paid her bill minus the

tax. When she came out, she was full of joy. "I've finally refused to pay that war tax."

Steve Kurzyna stood by the door as a spectre, with a MyLai poster leaning against his legs throughout the demonstration. This was quite effective.

Philadelphia WTR had a phone company demonstration October 15th. Forty to fifty people participated. A guerrilla theatre group participated. The equivalent of the war tax they refused to pay was given to the National Welfare Rights Organization. Representatives from the Philadelphia branches of CALCAV, SANE, AQAG, Resistance and WILPF were at the demonstration and said they were refusing to pay the phone tax.

About 40 people watched the demonstration. Media coverage was good.

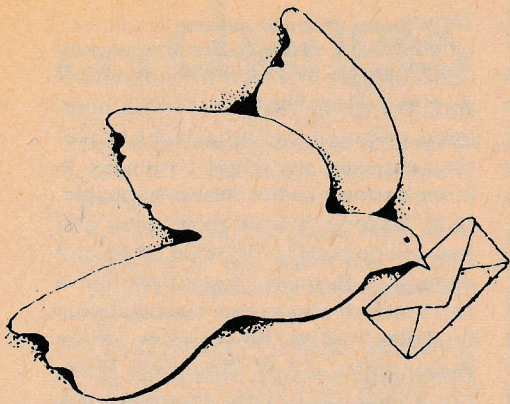
A phone company demonstration took place in Lansing, Michigan Oct. 13th. I have not received word on that yet.

The Vietnam Moratorium Committee is promoting all forms of resistance. They are promoting: 1) resistance of all or part of federal taxes; 2) resistance of the 10% federal telephone tax; 3) refuse to cooperate with the draft and stop buying consumer products made by war producers. They feel that although massive demonstrations have been and will continue to be "an invaluable form of swelling the ranks of those opposed to the war" resistance "to the government's major resources of war must be spread to all segments of our society."

The next NYC phone company demonstration will be November 17th—11:30 AM to 1:30 PM at 195 Broadway. It hasn't yet been decided who the war taxes will be donated to. For further information call 477-2970 or 777-5560. Write:

WAR TAX RESISTANCE  
339 Lafayette St.  
New York, NY 10012

—Bob Calvert



I have just finished reading the article in WIN (Oct. 15) about the People's Constitutional Convention in Phila. The article, it seems to me, is very superficial and does not even mention anything about the struggle that took place that weekend.

The story does not tell about what happened to the woman who was supposed to speak Sat. night after Huey but who was not allowed to. Her substitute read a speech that had no consciousness of the women's movement at all, while the speech that was supposed to be given was about women, and their liberation. How that substitution was made is not clear at all, yet one of the people on the agenda committee went to the Sat. session still expecting to hear the scheduled speaker. The manipulations around that were not, however, what bothered the women the most, it was Huey's speech. After Michael Tabor made obvious efforts to include women and gay people in his history speech Sat. afternoon, it is incomprehensible to me how Huey could have made a speech, the preamble to OUR new constitution, without mentioning women once! Gay people found no mention of themselves in the speech. After the speech was over some women left, others spent the whole night doing up a leaflet about the sexism at the Convention, and asking for women to meet together. They asked for help from the Panthers on this, for it to be announced, but they were rebuffed. Their attempts to meet all the women there were frustrated. Yet, things got worse that afternoon at the women's workshop. The woman from New York read her speech then, and people learned some of what had happened the previous night. One woman was particularly disruptive, stating that the reason white women were interested in women's liberation was because Black men were going back to Black women. That night, when the reports of the various workshops were given, it was this woman who read a report that was not what came out of the workshop, was not representative of the feelings of the women there, and exactly how she was chosen to speak is very unclear indeed. Why the Panthers allowed someone who was not in any manner, shape, or form representative of the workshop to be the spokesman of that workshop, is beyond my understanding. Statements were produced at the women's workshop, and people were delegated to speak. Why these legitimate speakers and their papers were not allowed is incredible. Your

article mentions none of this, and seems to me to be another example of Panther worship. One question? If we want the Panthers to take white radicals seriously, instead of using us, hadn't we better be prepared to firmly criticize when it is due and not overlook faults in Panthers that we would not hesitate to condemn in others?

*All Power to All the People,  
Tod Manley*

It is a very high point in an author's life when a reviewer shows that he has really understood what the author has been trying to say, and one of those high points came for me in reading Henry Bass's review of my book, *Saigon, U.S.A.* There have been a good many reviews of the book in publications with (unfortunately) considerably more circulation than WIN, but none have been anywhere near as perceptive and accurate. I am most appreciative for it.

I should comment on Henry Bass's last paragraph, which is prompted by his suspicion that I want somehow to bring pressure to bear, though nonviolent, to establish a "third force" government in South Vietnam rather than simply "saying that if what the South Vietnamese really want is the Third Force, that is what they should have."

Admittedly, there is a very fine line to be drawn here. In my own mind, I am clear that I believe two things. First, the test of whether the Third Force advocates are justified in their claims to represent the bulk of the people of South Vietnam can come only after the United States has reversed its unequivocal commitment to the Thieu-Ky-Kiem government. I wrote in my book that while I believe their claims are justified, I have no way of proving it, and the justifications will be up to them *after* we have got our government off their backs.

Second, without regard to the political contours of the future South Vietnam, I believe that pacifists everywhere should be giving the same kind of moral and material support to the pacifists in the nonviolent movement in South Vietnam that we gave to pacifists in Germany, Japan and Italy during the Second World War. Henry Bass is right in saying that I am "bitter" about the failure of the American peace movement to support the students and others who are battling legitimately and nonviolently for their right to participate in determining how their country shall be governed; I am equally unhappy over the way in which most American and European pacifists have ignored what seems to me the most dramatic example of pacifist faithfulness in the midst of war that recent history has provided.

*Alfred Hassler  
Nyack, N.Y.*

In WIN's letters column of Oct. 15, Aaron Cole attacks me for wanting to focus my sexual desire on one person, my wife. And takes me to task for not seeing that porno films are the first wave of "sexual revisionism" from which will follow political freedom for women and uninhibited sex lives for children. "... I think we must welcome all of

this variety as expression of vitality and movement toward a reintegration of sexuality still in the future," he concludes.

1. My bed is not politicized.
2. "Sexual reintegration" and "revisionism" and "counter-culture" are ludicrous phrases which abstract sex. Sex takes place one psyche at a time, not by the mass. Politics desexes language, witness the frigidities of Kate Millett. The only true sexual revolution is to surrender to another person.
3. Not screwing is as perfect as screwing, since it deepens desire and makes each particular sex act powerful and unique. This is opposite to liberalizing one's sex life. It leaves you potent rather than spent.
4. I would not have my spirit revived and refreshed by sex as powerfully as it is if I had not passed through a crucible of sexual torment that made me mad and stole my wits. I rarely see an act in a porno movie that I haven't engaged in myself and found wasting. I wish neither to romanticize nor liberate my sex life but to make a compact with my flesh. Flesh, greasy flesh! The more completely focused and monstrous each sex act is, deeply monstrous, oily, driven, rape-like, and supremely physical, the higher the transformation worked upon me by orgasm and the greater the marriage with my wife's spirit. That is focus. Animal coupling animal with the bestial concentration of a great cat ripping a deer. It does not happen by diffusing my fantasy into endless vaginas I have entered and pastures of breast fat I have nibbled. It happens by allowing my concentration to rove through my wife's breathing, her temperature, her surrender, and finally to surrender my own centers to her brightening spine and share her release as my own. I become my wife. I cannot be more intimate. Nor less jaded or abstract.

*Donald Newlove*

The need to develop communication and trade between the United States and Cuba cannot be minimized now in the light of recent developments. For two countries that are so close geographically to ignore each other at all times except when leveling accusations at the other is childish and politically unsound.

With this belief in mind, War Resisters League is organizing a project that will involve the carrying of American children's drawings of peace and friendship to Cuban children (and hopefully the Cubans would involve themselves in a reciprocal arrangement) in order to publicly challenge the U.S. embargo against "trade with the enemy"; This project was originally created by Scott Herrick, who has been to Cuba several times in the past and who has been involved in many pacifist actions, like the Polaris submarine demonstration in New England in which he sailed his yacht into various ports to spread the word on the dangers of nuclear testing. Scott is prepared to use his boat, the *Mondocivitano* (World Citizen), again for this project, in spite of the fact that Washington has indicated the possibility of its being seized before leaving for Cuba.



Preparation for the sailing will be centered around the collection of the children's drawings and the subsequent public display of them to garner as much additional publicity for the project as possible. The League needs as many pictures as can be accumulated, and would like also to involve as many organizations around the country as are interested to set up the displays in public places. We believe that this is a good project that local groups can involve themselves in because it has the dual purpose of fostering a sense of social consciousness and universal brotherhood in children and also of making communities aware of the need for greater communication between Cuba and the U.S. A.J. Mus- said once that what we need is a foreign policy for children, and that is what the League is trying to create.

People interested in the project can call me collect, or write to me, c/o WRL, 339 Lafayette St., NYC 10012, 212/228-0450. Thanks in advance for your interest.

Wendy Schwartz  
War Resisters League  
New York City

It is painful to read in WIN a story, taken from the publicity of the Jewish Agency. The rich and powerful Jewish Agency controls the American press and can have columns in the New York Times to say whatever it wants. Why give it space in WIN?

The statement of Robert and Madeleine Cohen, (Oct. 15, 1970) is more of the Agency's propaganda.

My position is—that every Arab who had his home, in Jaffa, and other places, has the right to return and be compensated for the losses resulting from being driven out of the country. Pacifists do not have to dwell on other aspects of the Palestinian problem.

It is foolish to quote statements about goodwill to Arabs, just as it is to quote Nixon's words of goodwill. An Arab is not allowed to leave his village without a permit from the police. So the sweet words of Israeli intellectuals who want to cover up for the atrocities of the government have no meaning.

Robert and Madeleine quote the "New Outlook". The "New Outlook" is against the return of the Arabs to their homelands.

As for the anti-war play, there was none. There was a satire on the present Israeli government entitled "The Queen in the Bath-tub". The actress and the author were mobbed and beaten up. The government banned the production of the play.

The particular peace song they mentioned is prohibited in Israel. It became known abroad through the communist underground.

As for Moshe Dayan, at a meeting, someone interrupted Moshe Dayan who replied "If you are a Jew, I will answer, if you are an Arab I'll use a gun."

As to the point concerning children, teachers write on the blackboard, "Herzl loved Jews—hated Arabs". Another illustration: The teacher writes on the blackboard: Jews love their children, this is why they build underground shelters for them, or the teacher asks: When an Arab sees a gun, what does he do? The children answer—he runs away. In school plays, Arabs are given the roles of fools, idiots, and lazy people.

The spy industry is highly developed. An Israeli spy nearly became Prime Minister of Syria. We had in our New Left a publisher of a very radical magazine "Minority of One". He even had it published in the reactionary South. Until being accused of being an Israeli agent, he made pro-Israeli propaganda in the radical circles of America. It seems that we now have this type of representation in the pacifist circles.

The evil of Zionism is not only limited to Israel, It spreads to the American Jewish community. For my anti-Zionist stand, I was nearly lynched in the glory of the Catskill mountains. I receive daily curses and insults. During my C.O. days, I endured not only all this, but also the agony of being fired from my job. As a senior citizen, I have no job to be fired from.

David Berkingoff  
New York City

Robert Cohen replies:

1) Concerning Mr. Berkingoff's position re Arab compensation, I am familiar with this position as one component of the proposals for Federation in the Middle East advanced by Joseph Abileah and Abie Nathan. Surprising as it may seem in light of Mr. Berkingoff's fantasies regarding authorship of my article, Abileah's proposal is that with which I most strongly identify and which I support. Both Madeleine and I have sought out Mr. Abileah (in Israel and N.Y.C.) and spoken with him at some length both about his program and about the political climate in Israel.

2) In this and a previous letter (October 1), Mr. Berkingoff makes many allegations concerning events and personalities in Israel without giving his source for a single one: indeed, he gives the impression in every instance of having been there at the time. We tried to be meticulous in documenting our source for every incident (however inaccurate our interpretation of these facts may be), and I invite Mr. Berkingoff to do the same. (His remark, e.g., that the Israeli government banned production of the Levine play is, according to my source, false.) And I trust that most WIN readers will appreciate that quoting a person or magazine does not in the slightest imply agreement with other statements alleged to come from the same source.

In conclusion, both of us welcome thoughtful and less hysterical responses to the whole question of nonviolent alternatives in the Middle East; but I expect these will have to take off in a different direction from that of our piece, which we thought was simply a needed correction to aspects of WIN's presentation of June 15, on the theory that seeing things as they are is a basic, first step towards understanding.

Since I am the "bunch of air pollution people in Massachusetts" (Dovetales, Sept. 1, 1970) who wrote about "Black Monday," I thought you'd like to know a little more about it. After a month of stopping people in the streets and telling them about "Black Monday," I looked at my electric bill one day and found that it was \$7 less than usual. The next billing period, another \$2 had come off my bill. The only conclusion was: "Black Monday". Eureka. So I asked our local friend-

ly groups (Women's Liberation and the NPC (New Politics Coalition) to support this movement—and they did and they do—and to spread the word that not only does "Black Monday" help stop pollution generated by non-caring power plants, but it saves money too. So about 2 months ago, I sent a notice to WIN telling you about "Black Monday." Then I sent another notice—this time an official looking press release. Finally WIN arrived today with a few words about "Black Monday." Hooray!

About those cats in Colorado who do a similar thing on Thursdays. Hey, folks, let's celebrate "Black Monday" AND "Grey Thursday." The more we can do to stop pollution, the better. Hey, about using candles, I really think it's better to burn one light than to add more smoke to the air with a candle. But that's up to you. The main thing is to avoid using appliances, stereos, televisions, and non-essential things like electric toothbrushes.

Our Women's Liberation group in Amherst started a weekly newspaper column in the weekly Amherst RECORD. The column is about, naturally, Women's Lib, and is restricted to local stuff. This is confining, so we "stormed" the local Northampton paper (all 12 of us), and persuaded the editor of the GAZETTE to let us do a weekly column. He agreed, and we had committed ourselves to 2 weekly columns. A nearby town is starting a newspaper, and asked us to do—guess—a weekly Women's Liberation column. So we now have 3 overground columns going. The problem is there aren't very many of us, and we have these columns we said we'd write. But somehow we're muddling through because getting the word to a lot of people about what's happening is important. And, happily, the editor of the GAZETTE hasn't changed any of our words, so the people see our stuff untampered with. We have also used the Amherst column to educate readers on household ecology. We get a whopping \$3 a column in the GAZETTE (\$5 in the RECORD)—not much—but if WIN readers want to do a column for the GAZETTE, just write to me, Carrie Hemenway, R.D. Williamsburg, Mass. 01096. Half the fee goes to Women's Liberation here in Northampton, Mass. (for literature—we're all poor and this is the only way we can research and learn about the movement), and 1/2 goes to the writer. It's only \$1.50, but you can buy some cold food to eat on Black Monday and Grey Thursday with it. We welcome columns from men as long as the subject matter pertains to Women's Liberation. The only restriction is that the copy be about 1-1/2 typed, double-spaced pages. The editor requests non-obscene language, whatever that means. If anyone wants to write a column, but doesn't have access to a typewriter, send it to me and I'll type it. But don't do this unless you really don't have any way to type it because, man, I don't want to be an exploited typing woman.

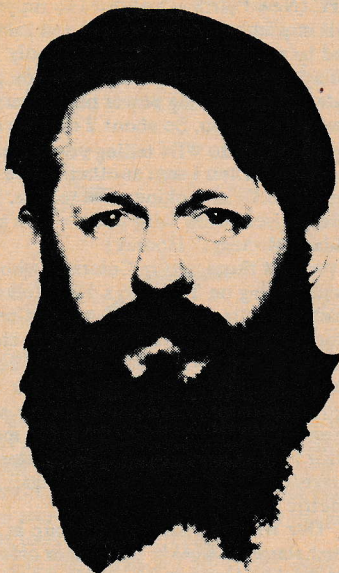
Carrie Hemenway  
Williamsburg, Mass.

To the readers:

Some of us are men, but none of us are gentlemen. At least half of us are women. We don't think to address letters to us "Sirs," "Gentlemen," or "Brothers" demonstrates the highest political consciousness.

—the Eds.

Photo: Ira Schwartz



**Donald Newlove**  
has written  
one hell of a novel  
about a demonic  
East Village painter.  
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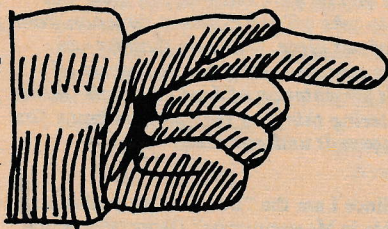
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# Local WRL Groups

*WRL-West* (Western Region Offices, 833 Haight Street, San Francisco, California 94117. (415) 626-6976

*Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence* (Southern Region Office), P.O. Box 7477, Atlanta, Georgia 30309 (404) 875-0646

*WRL-Southwest* (Southwest Region office), 116-B Hermosa S.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87108. (505) 268-8871

*Canton WRL*, P.O. Box 8163, Canton, Ohio 44709

*Akron WRL*, 753 Brown Street, Akron, Ohio 44311 (216) 535-6783.

*Albany WRL*, Box 1237, Albany, N.Y. 12201.

*Boston WRL*, c/o Olmsted, 28 Lawrence Street, Boston, (617) 627-4952

*Southampton WRL*, c/o Semkus, Box 536, Sag Harbor, N.Y. 11963.

*Manhattan Beach WRL*, 1014 Duncan Place, Manhattan Beach, California 90266. (213) 379-0315.

*Detroit WRL*, 28314 Danvers Court, Farmington, Michigan 48024. (313) 335-0362.

*Columbus WRL*, 30 West Woodruff, Columbus, Ohio 43210.

*Milwaukee Area Draft Information Center and WRL*, 1618 West Wells, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. (414) 342-0191.

*Cobb County WIN*, c/o AWIN, Box 7477, Atlanta, Ga. 30309. (404) 875-0646.

In addition to the above groups, there are about a dozen efforts to organize local WRL's going on around the country. These are what we could call embryo WRL's and when they reach the stage of being able to organize and work outside the WRL membership we will list them as local WRL's. If you would like to begin organizing a local WRL or would like information on the local WRL program please write to the National Office.

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Janis Joplin 1943-1970

Flashback: Newport Folk Festival 1968. M/M Leslie L Feldy  
Joplin watched James Taylor and others at 2232 Elandon Dr  
a workshop for new folks. Absorbed and Cleveland Hts OH 44105  
enthusiastic with the sound of new minds,  
she stood in the photographers' pit wearing  
huge shades and borrowed my camera to  
gain a new perspective.

In the wings: Shared everyone's beat and drank Gordon's  
from the bottle, looking simultaneously 20 years and 40  
years.

Belted out about 900 sets with Big Brother People backing  
at evening concert & left 'em roaring in the aisles. Freaky  
black dress, let it all hang out, sparks of red-blond hair flying  
through the air with dynamo vibrations.

Split from the festival grounds & danced herself 'till dawn at  
party in Hiberanian Hall. Honest sweat & energy unwound.

Death of Hippie. Can you tell me what's happening at the  
Fillmore? Dick Farina, Brian Jones, Jimi Hendrix, etc.  
Victims of ? Death of invention. Women, no, now People is  
losers. Too much SPEED in every sense of the word.

Death of Flowers. final blues.

-Diana Davies

