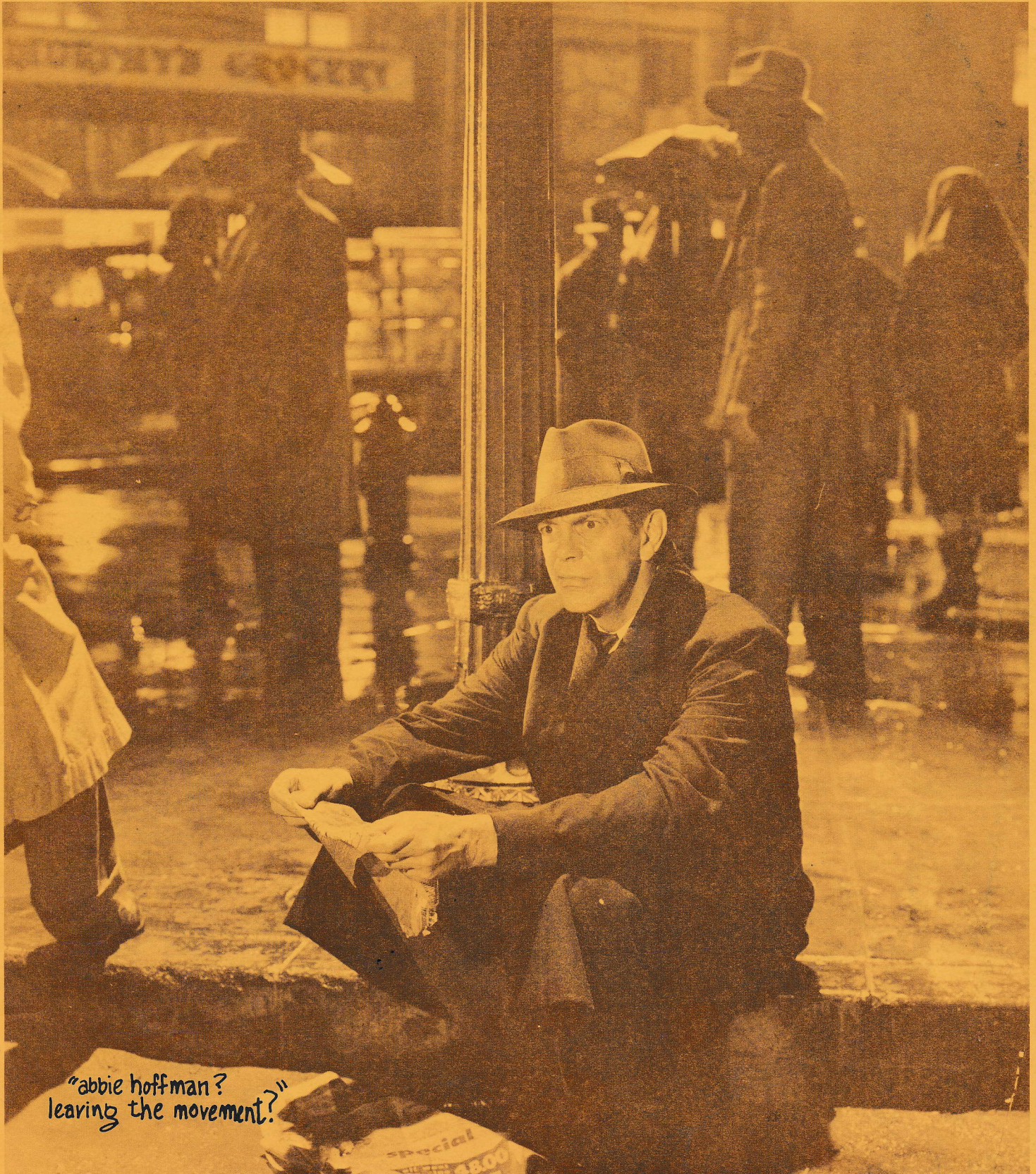


9/11/71 30¢  
**win**

Stoughton Lynd  
on  
mass organizing



"abbe hoffman?  
leaving the movement?"



## WORK STRIKE AND FAST BEGUN AT DANBURY FEDERAL PRISON

Five imprisoned war resisters, including one of the Harrisburg "Conspiracy" defendants, began a fast and work stoppage in the federal penitentiary at Danbury, Conn., on August 6.

A statement issued by the resisters demanded the release of Father Daniel Berrigan, S.J. and an early review of the parole application of his brother, Father Philip Berrigan, S.S.J.

They also called for the "shutting down" of the tiger-cage prison cells now under construction on Con Son Island, South Vietnam. Congressman William R. Anderson (D., Tenn.) had discovered such prison cages, already in use, on an investigative trip to the Vietnamese island earlier this year.

The five called for changes in U.S. federal parole procedures that would allow prisoners to see the contents of their parole files prior to their hearings. They asked that prisoners be notified of parole board decisions within two weeks of the hearing and that the reason for negative parole decisions be officially stated.

The five resisters are John Bach, Eddie Gersh, Ted Glick, Tom Hosmer and David Malament. Glick is one of the eight under indictment in Harrisburg on charges related to draft resistance and an alleged plot to kidnap White House aide Henry A. Kissinger and bomb the heating ducts of federal office buildings in Washington. The other four are in prison for refusing to cooperate with the Selective Service System.

In a statement to inmates, they stated, "Dan was told [by the parole board] to do his whole bit despite the fact that his health has gotten worse and there is a chance he could die in prison." In June, Father Daniel Berrigan nearly died of massive allergic shock. More recently, prison doctors have found the functioning of his kidneys is impaired.

"The parole board's behavior was, however," they said, "very typical . . . We all know that to have the best chance of making parole one must act like an obedient slave; that we are not told what information goes into our files for the parole board to see; and that often we must wait many months to hear back. In short, we, as were the Berrigans, are treated . . . as less-than-human and less-than-men."

"As a result we are beginning a hunger strike and work strike and will go to the hole until action is taken on the . . . demands . . . We ask you, our fellow inmates, to consider joining us by refusing to work, refusing to eat, and by joining us in the hole as free men."

A statement to the public, after a more detailed explanation of the demands, addressed itself to "all sectors of the anti-war movement."

"The government," they said, "will take our demands seriously only if you take them seriously. We prisoners can only hope to raise the issues by putting ourselves on the line, in the hope you will respond."

Commenting on the fact that their strike and fast began on the anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, they stated, "Indochina is Hiroshima on the installment plan. In Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, war is extended over a decade of plague, starvation, torture and death, to the point where men, women and children might well long for the instant mercy of atomic extinction."

"We prisoners," they concluded, "have chosen our way of resistance. We ask you to join us, in whatever way courage or outrage, or the voice of God and man, may suggest to you."

—THE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

## SUPPORT MICHAEL LEE BRANSOME

Michael Lee Bransome, one of the Silver Springs Three who destroyed draft files in May of 1969, has escaped from prison and is seeking political asylum in Sweden. The Alien Board, however, has made a negative recommendation to the Immigration Service and it looks likely that Bransome may be deported to the United States. The American Deserters Committee considers this an extremely important case that could set a precedent with regard to future refugees from the U.S. and appeals for letters of protest to be sent to Prime Minister Palme. *Political asylum* should be requested by name as the only appropriate disposition for Bransome. Write to:

Olaf Palme  
Prime Minister  
Riksdag  
Stockholm, Sweden

and:

American Deserters Committee  
c/o Verdandi  
Kungsgatan 66B III tr.  
111 22 Stockholm, Sweden

—Support (London)

## WALK ON BY

. . . just as in the song, that's what the people did at Blaine's Blazin' Fourth celebration. We (Vietnam

Vets Against War) had a booth at Aquatore Park. The walls inside and out were covered with bumper stickers, posters and assorted literature with all the anti-war themes. And there were 12" x 14" pictures of dead Vietnamese. Maybe it's improper to be serious at a "celebration". Maybe "serious" vibrations are rejected by fun-seeking, festive crowds. Even the WCCO-TV camera missed us. (Inadvertently, we hope.)

In two days probably 2 or 3,000 people passed the booth. They would look for a few seconds without stopping, then turn away as if they had seen nothing. (Inscrutable orientals)

One in a hundred would smile, whether in approval or derision or pity we could not tell. Even some friends and neighbors who stopped to talk were oblivious to the booth and its message. In two days not more than 10 to 12 people stopped to talk. Only three or four of them were opposed to our position, their main theme being it's better to stop them over there than here.

We were located across the way from two VFW booths where the ladies were selling patriotic jewelry and other knick-knacks. A good number of Veteran's of Foreign Wars were about in full uniform.

Most were in the 35 to 60 age group. One had a holstered sidearm. A Boy Scout band arrived and did their thing; they were neat and trim and precision-like. How many of them will have long hair in three or four years?

The "Commodore" was there in full regalia; big and handsome and with a Queen of some kind in a long gown. He apparently was drumming up business for the Minneapolis Aquatennial.

Speaking of queens, it was the occasion for the first annual Miss Blaine contest. Strange to see your community having their first queen

**HOME FOLKS**

marilyn albert  
connie bleakley  
bruce christianson  
donna christianson  
diana j davies  
ralph digia  
jen elodie  
leah fritz  
margaret haworth  
neil haworth  
jack horowitz  
marty jezer  
peter kiger  
dorothy lane

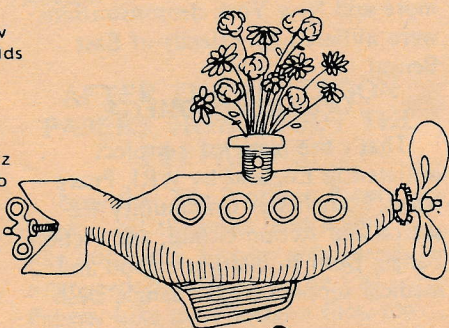
elliott linzer  
jackson maclow  
david mcreeynolds  
peter merlin  
karen messer  
jim peck  
igal roodenko  
wendy schwartz  
lorraine shapiro  
bonnie stretch  
mayer vishner  
linda wood  
mike wood

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Back Cover photo: Jan V. Tiura

September 1, 1971  
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thing when these contests are being dropped as irrelevant, immaterial, or false and phony elsewhere.

When a skydiver came floating down, I overheard a woman say excitedly, "There he is!" and another say, "Here he comes!" and I wondered how they knew IT was a HE.

A boy about seven noticed the pictures of dead Vietnamese and asked about them. I said they may have been killed by bombs or artillery or U.S. Marines or the Viet Cong or who knows? He seemed quite thoughtful about it and then I learned he had a brother in the Marines. I asked what he did and the boy laughed sort of apologetically and said he was just a cook. In conclusion we agreed that even marines have to eat.

As I was leaving the grounds about 9:00 Sunday night, a woman about 40 sitting at a picnic table hollered at what I assume was her husband or boyfriend (I hope not her lover) "Get away and leave me alone you son-of-a-bitch". I figured she was probably high on some kind of dope.

And such is Blaine, Minn., on a non-revolutionary Fourth of July.

—Tom Dooley

## LAND AND WATER PICKETS AT ARMS SHIPS FOR PAKISTAN

Two ships loaded with U.S. armaments for Pakistan were picketed on land and water July 14-15 in Baltimore and July 23 in New York.

When the PADMA arrived at Pier 8, Port Covington, Baltimore, it was surrounded by a small fleet of canoes and kayaks and seven of the paddlers were arrested on charges of "interfering with naval passage and disobeying a police officer." Pickets also marched in front of the pier.

But the big news was that the dock workers, members of Local 829, International Longshoremen's Association, refused to cross the picket line, in compliance with orders from ILA President Thomas Gleason dispatched from Miami. So, after two days the PADMA departed without loading the Baltimore portion of its lethal cargo.

On July 23 when the SITLEJ arrived at Pier 36, East River (New York), it was met by land pickets

and by a fleet of two rowboats and a canoe. Unlike in Baltimore, the waterborne pickets were not arrested. But also, unlike in Baltimore, the longshoremen ignored the policy of their international union president and proceeded to load the ship.

For about a half hour, those of us picketing the dock had a fruitful dialogue with the longshoremen through a mesh-wire fence.

Our leaflets pointed out: *"The U.S. is part of an 11-nation consortium which has been supplying aid to Pakistan in recent years. The other nations of this group have decided to suspend all aid until the situation in East Pakistan improves, but the U.S. is refusing to go along."*

Our dialogue was halted abruptly when the aperture in the wire fence was deliberately blocked-off with a row of three large-sized cargo containers. In mid-morning a memorial service for the East Pakistani murder victims (totaling since March 25 some 200,000) was held at the entrance to the pier. Both the Baltimore and New York demonstrations were initiated by Friends of East Bengal.

## OPERATION OMEGA

That's the name of a project initiated in England by WRI, Peace News, Manchester Community Research and Action Group, and Action Bangla Desh to distribute food and medical supplies inside Bangla Desh

(formerly known as East Pakistan) but without seeking permission from the Pakistan government. OMEGA No. 1, a landrover with a relief worker, a nurse, and a mechanic aboard, along with the supplies, is reported to be on its way. A second landrover, OMEGA no. 2, is expected to leave shortly.

Contribution checks for this project should be made out to Operation Omega and addressed to: WRI, 3 Caledonian Rd., London N 1, England.

—J.P.

## FREE THE QUINCY FIVE

An August trial is scheduled for three young black men charged with robbery and the murder of a deputy sheriff near Tallahassee, Fla. last Sept. Two others were convicted by an all white jury in May.

The group is known as the Quincy Five—because all come from the small town of Quincy, 20 miles from here, the scene of racial struggle for many years.

David Keaton was sentenced to death in the electric chair after his trial last May, and Johnny Fredericks was given life imprisonment. David Charles Smith, Johnny Burns, and Alphonso Figgers will be tried in August. A major defense campaign is growing up around the case.

In September of 1970, Luke's Grocery Store was robbed. Two



Photo—Gary Eaines

sheriff's deputies who were there as customers were shot and one of them, Thomas Revels, died on the way to the hospital. Revel's bloody shirt was put on display in the sheriff's office and an intensive manhunt began.

Witnesses were shown pictures taken at civil-rights demonstrations. A lengthy suspect list was drawn up which included several members of the Malcolm X United Liberation Front, a black organization with headquarters in this city.

In January of this year, the Quincy Five were arrested and charged with the robbery and murder, as well as a number of other unsolved crimes in the area. One local official, commenting on the zeal with which police pursued the case, referred to it as an "election year special."

Police never produced the weapon they claim was used in the murder, and there is no evidence to link it with the defendants. The grocery store was examined closely for fingerprints, and hundreds of sets were lifted for examination. But none of them matched the prints of any of the Five, although they were supposed to have spent 20 minutes in the store touching a number of items.

Identification by witnesses was equally inconclusive. One said that only two men took part in the robbery, while another placed the number at four. Most agreed on the figure of three. No one said there were five robbers.

Some witnesses said the robbers were very dark-skinned; others claimed they were almost white. Some said the men were wearing bright clothing, while others swore it was dark. Several made a point of noticing the piercing blue eyes of one of the robbers. None of the Quincy Five has blue eyes.

David Keaton was identified at his trial by the white grocery store owner—who is deaf and half blind and was unable to even see pictures of the defendant, much less identify him.

Most witnesses agreed that the getaway car was a 1967 two-tone aqua and white Chevrolet. However, the car owned by Johnny Burns, which police claimed was used in the crime, is a dark green 1965 Comet.

The state's case was based heavily

on confessions extracted from Keaton and Fredericks, though the two men retracted those confessions and said they had been obtained under duress. Keaton was held in jail for three days, questioned and threatened repeatedly, and denied the right to make a phone call until he confessed.

Police intimidation was so great that a sixth young man confessed to the murder although he was in New Jersey at the time. The charge against him was later dropped.

This feeble evidence was enough to convince an all-white jury—from which opponents of capital punishment had been removed—to send Keaton to Death Row.

Supporters and relatives of the young men have formed a Quincy Five Legal Defense Fund. Contributions may be sent to the Fund c/o Raleigh Jugger, Box 653 FAMU, Tallahassee, Fla. They hope to obtain freedom for the two men already convicted and to prevent a miscarriage of justice at the trial in August. —SCEF

### AFTER THE PENTAGON PAPERS, HOW ABOUT THE FBI PAPERS?

Now that **The Pentagon Papers** book is off the press (and selling like hotcakes), a major publisher is interested in publishing **The FBI Papers**. Like the Pentagon files, the Media, Pa. material makes great reading, if the samples thus far published are at all representative. It's a collection that "every home should have."

Of course the biggest problem is getting the Publisher and the Citizens' Commission of Inquiry together, without the Commission revealing itself to the snoops. So if you're reading this, and you're on the Commission, and you have the files (or a copy), contact WIN, any way you'd like to, and we'll pass the word along. Any costs will be paid for by the publisher, and royalties, in cash if necessary. Let us know where and how to leave word, etc. —Eds.

### RETURN TO ASHLAND

On July 11, "Friends of Resisters" of the Lexington Peace Council

repeated an earlier May visit to the Federal Youth Center at Ashland, Kentucky. The purpose of the demonstration and vigil was to draw attention to the approximately 20 draft and war resisters and to show our support for them. Also, the visit was part of a campaign to focus attention on all men in prison, who may be considered political prisoners as much so as draft or war resisters.

The 40 persons who took part in the demonstration came from several states and included high school and college students, housewives, a Quaker farmer, a college administrator, a business executive, and several small children. Probably the person for whom the visit to Ashland meant the most was a man who was imprisoned for two years at the Federal Youth Center during World War II for refusal to register for the draft. "Larry", now a professor of American History at a Quaker college, brought his wife, son, and elderly mother. This was the first time he had been back to Ashland since his release from prison in 1943.

—Robert D. Wisner

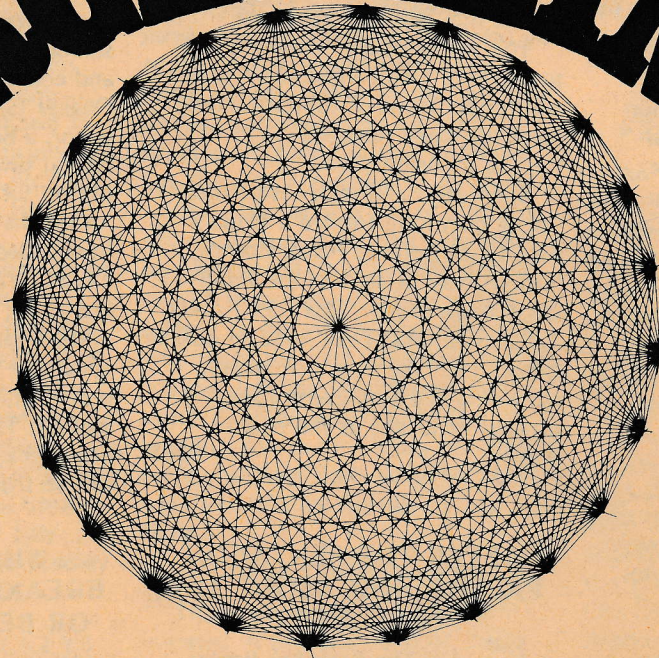
### WHICH IS VIOLENT: BREAKING YOUR WINDOW OR BEATING YOUR SON?

Most people would probably consider Webster's definition of violence as appropriate: "exertion of physical force so as to injure or abuse." However, a recent survey by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan suggests that many Americans *use* the word differently.

A sample of 1,374 black and white men chosen to represent the U.S. male population were asked whether they thought that certain acts were violent in themselves, not merely violence provoking. 57% thought that shooting looters is not a violent act. Almost a third considered beating students nonviolent. Acts which were considered violent included: passive sit-ins (22%), draft-card burning (58%), and looting (85%).

65% of those questioned were worried about the increasing violence in the U.S. However, 68% considered civil disorder and protest as its source; only 27% blamed crime. To most of those interviewed, the word violence meant acts against property, not people. —T.M.

# ON MASS ORGANIZING



During the week of June 20 about 65 active pacifists from all over the country met at the Institute for the Study of Nonviolence to share experiences and ideas about social change. The result was an unusually fruitful meeting that ranged over a wide variety of topics and perspectives. What held it together was the notion of "mass organizing" or "relating to people unlike ourselves." The following talk was delivered by Staughton Lynd at the beginning of the conference and deals with that concept. —Eds.

Well I find the occasion a little scary because sitting in a circle this way makes one feel again that perhaps there is a movement or perhaps there could be a movement. I understand that what Marty Jezer said was that this was an alumni reunion of the class of '68. My thoughts, too, are going back to a conference—the Second National Resistance Conference in March, 1969, where some of us were last together, and where, among other things, we talked about the need to go not only beyond the single tactic of draft card return but beyond the single issue of the war and draft and beyond the constituency of middle class students. Soon after that the Resistance as an organized entity fell apart. But I think that many of us during the past two years have been attempting as individuals or in small groups to work within the sense of direction, the guidelines, that emerged at that March, 1969, conference. They have been a hard two years it seems to me, hard for people who were in prison, and also hard for those of us who were not in prison, who experienced a movement we had thought of as a family, as a permanent community, falling

apart around us.

It was soon after that March, 1969 conference, in June, 1969, that the last SDS convention occurred, and SDS fell apart. And whatever the feelings may have been between the Resistance and the SDS, that disintegration of SDS was a heartbreaking event. It removed the possibility that the Resistance, which, to begin with, had been in many ways an offshoot from SDS, could transform the larger organization from which it had separated itself. But the breakup of SDS it seems to me also created a certain space. Instead of the claustrophobic internal politics of those dreadful months in the winter of 1968, '69, there was again room for a person or group of people to begin to do particular work in a particular place over a period of time. While that was lonely, it was, I think, also creative.

Now organizing is kind of a potent word in the movement, kind of the political equivalent of sexual potency. And everyone wonders whether they really are doing organizing, whether they are indeed really an organizer. And, therefore, discussions of organizing often take on the aspect of establishing a pecking order as to who is doing the real work and who is only apprenticing himself or herself. And I would hope that we could avoid that. Dispel the notion that any of us are organizers with capital O's or have a mysterious craft to impart to our fellows, but just try to create an atmosphere in which we take the time, carefully, to describe to others, when we feel able to make this kind of revelation, what it is we have been doing in detail: what we thought we wanted to accomplish when we began, how that succeeded or fell short, what we learned about ourselves in the process, where we think of going from the point that we've come to.

I think mass organization is a phrase which also has all the limitations of the word organizing. It describes the outside of something. It describes what one who is not a part of something sees it as. And I assume that what we really mean when we speak of a direction toward mass organization and when we try to get at what that means as an attitude, as a feeling, from the inside, is that by mass organization we are trying to say that we have recovered the confidence that we can talk to ordinary Americans. I have the impression that this has been very much the experience of some of those in prison as well as some of those outside. That we once again feel that our movement can potentially be a majority movement, supported by most of our fellow citizens, that we ourselves perceive ourselves once more as perhaps not so very unordinary.

I think this feeling that the movement could be a mass movement, had to be a mass movement if it were going to change the society, is the one that existed in the early 1960's. I think that it existed in the Civil Rights Movement of 1960, '61. I think it existed at the beginning of the student movement, the Berkeley Free Speech movement in the fall of

1964. And those who initiated the Resistance can correct me if I'm mistaken, but I'm under the impression that it was also the belief of those who set in motion the organized act of returning draft cards.

But even if it were only a few people sitting in at the lunch counters, or riding in front of the bus, or refusing to be bent, folded, spindled, and mutilated and kicked off parts of their own campuses, or conscripted in a war which they had not chosen, even if initially these acts were taken by a few, I don't think I'm wrong in saying that at that time we felt that these exemplary actions were intended to catalyze a majority movement, a democratic movement, a movement of the people as a whole.

I have the impression that, somewhere in the last two or three or four years, for many that hope, that vision, that assumption, got lost. Instead of thinking of ourselves as part of the American people who were helping to initiate a transformation of that people as a whole, we began to think of ourselves as a separate people, a persecuted minority, a harrassed band of dissidents, who could not in their wildest dreams hope that they could transform this monster, that they could reach their fellow Americans sufficiently to win them to the possibility of a new society. Instead of feeling ourselves inside what was happening to the American people, we began to feel ourselves outside what was happening to the American people; to spell America with a "k", and to feel that the homeowning, union-belonging, \$10,000-a-year-making American who lived next door to us was irredeemably a pig and an enemy who could be neutralized or sedated but not converted.

Now why did that happen? I'm not certain. Certainly part of it, as has been certainly noted, is that our initial notions were quite naive. Go back to the rhetoric of the Port Huron statement or the early Civil Rights Movement where much of the peace movement started, and there is a tendency to see problems in isolation, not to see the depth, the complexity of the situation with which we struggle. To imagine that what is wrong is a single blemish in the area of civil rights or militarism and that when it is corrected America will again be well and sound.

There was much of that in the beginning of all the movements I've mentioned and it's right that we outgrew that liberal naivete.

I think the second thing which led people to feel that they were not potentially a part of the mainstream but a persecuted minority—or, if not a cause, at least an aspect of that same happening—was the identification with the Third World Revolution and the search for a mechanical reproduction of the Vietnamese or the Chicano or the Cuban or the Black American experience. And that was particularly disturbing for persons like myself who had been in the south in the early 1960's, had experienced the shallowness of that precarious identification with Black liberation, who had rightly been thrown back on

ourselves by SNCC and told to work in the white community. It was particularly confusing and disorienting to feel that so much of the radical movement in its relationship to, for example, the Black Panthers, recapitulated all the mistakes of the early 1960's. Once again the tendency not to feel that within oneself, within one's own experience, was the possibility of revolution, but that it could happen only through attaching oneself to some other group of people whose experience was more oppressed, more real, and more potentially militant.

For whatever the reasons—I for one feel too close to it all to really understand it—there slipped away from us, it seemed to me, in '67, '68, '69 that hope of transforming the society of which we were a part, and in its place came a kind of desperate "We'll take one or two of them with us before we go" psychology.

I think that the work of the people gathered here has been in the direction of recovering the earlier vision, hopefully without its liberal naivete, its middle class limitations, its single issue orientation. What we are together for is to discover how we can help one another take a next step. One element of that next step I am convinced is moving beyond the small organization to the large organization. I think what almost all movement organizations have had in common in the past 2, 3, or 4 years, whether they have been Marxist-Leninist sects on the one hand or rural communes on the other, is that they have been small. I think that—while recognizing all that we know so well about the bureaucracy, the unwieldiness of large organizations—if we are talking about a democratic movement of the majority of the American people, then somehow we have to rediscover or create the craft of building and working within mass organizations. Any other approach seems to me elitist and self-defeating.

Maybe I could quickly say a word about my own work. I've been doing both oral history and a certain amount of community organizing in Illinois and Indiana and, for me, this is kind of an experience of homecoming and trying to come to terms with who I am and what part of the American sod I can put my feet down on; my mother from a suburb of Chicago, my father from Indiana. I myself, as I have recognized in recent months, have been trying to live and work in those very square middle American communities as someone who has a right to be there, someone who refuses to be red-baited out of them.

I've come to three tentative conclusions on the basis of my own experience trying to do a history of community organizing in a particular place. The first is that there has to be a very delicate, and not definable in a formula combination, reaching out beyond one's own experience, encountering the people who are difficult to encounter. Looking for the person in the room who is most different from you and going to deal with him. Not staying in the warm womb of the counter culture—what movement there is. We must find that delicate combin-

ation of that spirit, of reaching out to people different from ourselves and yet of remaining oneself. And presenting oneself to other people not as something that one isn't—in my case, not as a steel worker, but as a historian—and seeing if communication can be established on that basis.

The second conclusion is that I think that, at least in my own experience in the Chicago area, a key group of people, perhaps the key groups of people who can help us or help me in trying to do that communicating with ordinary Americans which is the inside of trying to build a mass movement, are the young people from those communities who are not outsiders. Who are the sons and daughters, in this case, of steel workers and oil workers, but who are beginning to think of themselves as part of the movement. Until very recently in that area the steel companies tried to forbid the wearing of long hair in the mills. Now they've given up, and the long hair under the hard hat is a way of describing the potentiality for change which, it seems to me, exists in such a community. Young people who have often been away to college, who have had their minds blown, becoming part of the movement in the process, who don't want to work, in this case, in steel mills except in so far as they need to during summers or on weekends to put themselves through college, and for whom the key existential question is not too different, it seems to me, from the existential question I was trying to describe as my own—not will I or will I not work in the steel mills, because they will be teachers, caseworkers, medical technicians, or what not, but will I or will I not stay in this community? Will I have the courage to put down roots in this place where I have to confront my parents and my parents' friends. Will I have the courage to hope that even this community, the one I come from, can be changed? In two years of working in different ways in a particular place, it is that group of people who I have come to feel are the key to social change.

The third tentative conclusion which I would like to offer is platitudinous, very obvious. Mainly, that of all the elements of the vision which we would like to share with our fellow Americans, the very notion of sharing with a cooperative society, the ideal of gentleness of a society not based on violence, the notion of a society in which people make decisions for themselves . . . the easiest of these elements to share, I think, is the idea of democracy. Looking back to the early movement rhetoric, also the early rhetoric of the draft resistance movement, I think that that notion of making one's own decisions, is pretty close to the center of it. I think that there's a tremendous possibility of appealing to that ideal within the stoniest American breast. And, while it is not enough to talk about democracy, and while one cannot talk about the right of a neighborhood to be racist or to blow up the world, still that possibility of talking about democracy offers us a place to begin.

—STAUGHTON LYND



*The "Connie" is an attack aircraft carrier. Its official name is the USS Constellation (CVA-64). Its occupation is aggression. On April 15th of this year, the Constellation returned to its home port of San Diego. In late September, it is scheduled to deploy for a sixth mission in Southeast Asia. Nonviolent Action (NVA), a group of politically active San Diegans, is focusing its work for peace on keeping the Connie home.*

NVA has been working to create ties of communication between ourselves, the crew of the Constellation, the people of San Diego, and the nation. By focusing on the Connie as an immediate and highly visible symbol of the war, we hope to make everyone aware of their relationship to it. We urge everyone to see, to think, to make a decision about this relationship, and to act on it.

## **CONNIE STAY HOME FOR PEACE**

### **U.S.S. CONSTELLATION**



Our contact with the crew of the Constellation began before it reached San Diego, when 2,500 first class letters were mailed to the men describing NVA's goals. Most of the letters were confiscated and subsequently burned by order of the ship's captain, Harry Gerhard. The remaining few were very hot reading on the ship. Included in the letters was some of our research on the function of attack carriers in the Vietnam war.

The Connie is one of the largest and most modern of the carriers. Since 1964 when her aircraft literally began the bombing of North Vietnam following the gulf of Tonkin incident, she has spent approximately two years (692 days) "on station" off the coast of Vietnam.

The burning of letters (an apparently illegal act currently under investigation) was only a temporary setback. We are continuing our actions against the Constellation's mission. Many of the crew are now sympathetic with our goals. We are also working with a local GI group, the Concerned Officers Movement (which has enlisted men as members as well as officers.) While neither the crew nor COM members can participate in ways forbidden by the Uniform Code of Military Justice, they have done much to lend support. They have staged demonstrations on shore, and meetings on the ship, they held a press conference, which received national attention, calling for an investigation of some actions of the commanding officer of the Constellation.

COM attempted to stage the USSF Show, with Don Sutherland, Jane Fonda, Peter Boyle, and others, on the hangar bay of the Connie. The crew collected over 1,300 signatures, more than half the men on the ship, on a letter requesting the appearance. The petition was confiscated, the request denied. The show, held on shore, was an overwhelming success.

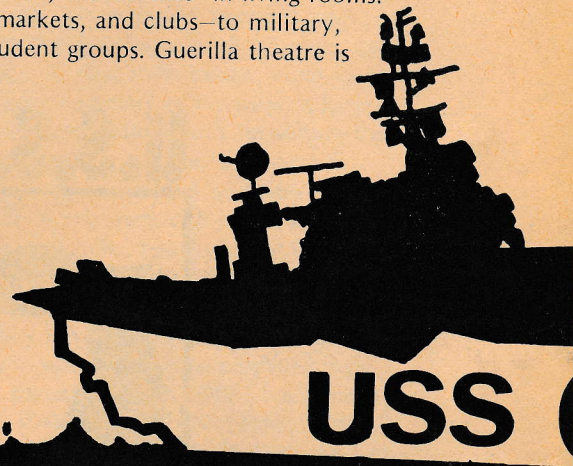
These and many other small events have caused quite a commotion in the naval establishment. The captain of the Constellation was called back to Washington for two days of high-level consultation. Many of the men who work with NVA and COM have either been transferred to less pleasant jobs or sent completely off the ship. At one point, the captain called the entire crew together and warned them of a "dissident group which has been occupying fifty percent of my time".

We have been working with the crew of the Constellation, constantly trying to overcome their well-justified fears and to eliminate the threat of severe punishment which suppresses most anti-war sentiment in the Navy. We feel that we must con-

tinue to demonstrate to the men of the Connie that we will not only support them in any way possible, from legal advice and services to friendship, but that we are also willing to stick our necks out to help keep the ship from returning to Southeast Asia.

NVA is reaching out to the people of San Diego, and by extension to the nation, trying to clarify the relationship between the war and this country's problems. San Diegans often feel that the war has been good for them, that it has created more jobs and contributed to the growth of their community and the well-being of their families. However, at a time when they are contributing 65% of their tax dollars to past and present wars, the military industrial complex is not providing people with steady jobs or secure futures. Unemployment is rising and the social problems of the area are not receiving proper attention or adequate solutions.

To get this message out, we are speaking on street corners, parks, and beaches—in living rooms, churches, supermarkets, and clubs—to military, business, and student groups. Guerilla theatre is



presented from a flat-bed truck. Sail boats and a barge in the harbor carry banners and live music to the crew. An airplane tows the message on sunny afternoons. Poster, leaflets, and bumperstickers are mass-produced from a people's press in a local basement. Visiting film-makers have prepared an information movie.

The focus of all this is a **Constellation Vote**, a September election timed to coincide with the local primaries, to be conducted by a neutral group. Both the civilian and military communities will have an unprecedented chance to record their convictions about the role of the attack carrier and the war itself.

The USS Constellation brings the reality of war to our door step. NVA asked everyone to see this reality, to become aware that because of such technological wonders as the Connie, the war may not end when the ground troops come home. As long as we allow attack aircraft carriers to leave their ports, here or anywhere, we are condoning the devastation of the weak countries of the world. We ask everyone to work together to stop this

ship. If you would like to become a part of NVA's efforts, write or call us at Nonviolent Action, The Peace House, 2143 Market Street, San Diego, Ca. 92102, 714-234-5071.

## WHAT ATTACK CARRIERS DO

### PREFACE:

Since the Gulf of Tonkin Incident in 1964, the War in Vietnam has brought Americans seven years of domestic bitterness and an increasing doubt about the justness of their nation's foreign policies. Today our government has apparently realized its mistake. Through a program of "vietnamization," it promises to "wind down" the war in Southeast Asia. Even though the rhetoric from Washington has changed, the facts remain the same. The war, now a technological war, still continues with unbelievable destruction and loss of life.

But what if the facts do change? What if the war were to end today? Would the foreign policies that entangled us in Vietnam in the first place change? In 1907 Teddy Roosevelt sent America's full complement of battleships around the world. The purpose of this display of our Great White

One example of the power of the attack carrier in fulfilling U.S. foreign policies can be seen in the role it played in Greece soon after WW II. In the summer of 1946 the Greeks were preparing for a plebescite to determine whether to keep the monarchist regime. Just before the election the U.S. State Department announced that the attack carrier **Franklin Delano Roosevelt**, accompanied by the cruiser **Little Rock** and three destroyers, would pay a courtesy visit to the Athenian port of Piraeus and put on an air show over the Greek Capital. Despite the protests of anti-monarchist groups, including the strong Communist Party, the State Department denied that the visit had any political significance. They claimed that the **Roosevelt** had been sent to Greece simply because of the Greek's admiration for the late President. The genuine purpose of the visit was revealed shortly afterward when President Truman announced that the U.S. would send military aid to the Greek and Turkish governments to help them combat communist groups within their own borders.

# CONSTELLATION

Fleet was to make a show of force. It was our way of saying that we had the guns to back up our words. In 60 years our nation's foreign policy hasn't changed; we are still playing the game of "speak softly but carry a big stick." Instead of a Great White Fleet, however, today we have a fleet of 16 attack aircraft carriers cruising the world. At any time these carriers may be alerted and sent to the shores of any nation. Several of them are in use right now in Vietnam.

Most people think of the Vietnam War as being a ground war fought mostly by the Army. Yet at least half of the offensive is in the air, and a major portion of American air support and bombing raids stem from the flight decks of attack carriers. The attack carrier, one of our nation's biggest and deadliest weapons, plays a crucial role in the war against the North Vietnamese. But beyond this it has been instrumental in America's foreign policy which has been consistently organized to subjugate underdeveloped nations to the will of our government.

Since the Greek incident, the U.S. government has used attack carriers in numerous minor incidents in order to stifle revolutionary activity or simply those activities not in the interests of our own government.

Recently the Defense department has drawn up a list of incidents in which the attack carrier has participated since WW II. The list includes some 73 incidents involving such countries as Korea (1950-53), China (1955-58), Lebanon (1958), Cuba (1961 and 62), Thailand (1962), Dominican Republic (1965), and the recent incursions against Laos and Cambodia. Nine of the 73 incidents mentioned involve a major commitment of military force, and in 8 of these 9 the attack carrier played an active role. In addition to these conflicts, carriers were involved in some 40 other crises that did not lead to direct U.S. military intervention. The show of force and the presence of a weapon of overwhelming destructive power was usually sufficient to obtain the immediate objectives of the U.S.

## MILITARY STRATEGY:

Aside from being one of the most destructive weapons we have, the attack carrier is the biggest vessel in the Navy, a distinguishing feature which is one of its major drawbacks. The carrier's size makes it an easy target for enemy attacks. Like the massive galleons of the Spanish Armada, the attack carrier is mobile, but nevertheless highly vulnerable. Military strategy, of course, has had to compensate for this weakness. During WW II, when aircraft carriers were used on both sides of the Pacific with great effectiveness, they were surrounded by a small flotilla of ships which protected their flagship from air, surface, and submarine attacks. Only five hits was enough to sink a carrier; consequently the Navy based a good deal of its strategy on guarding these ships.

Today the carrier is thoroughly useless as an instrument of national defense. Contemporary warfare, with its nuclear weapons and guided missiles, has made the attack carrier even more vulnerable than it was before. While an enemy's ICBM could easily pass over our entire fleet of carriers without any problems, the carrier itself is useless in attacking sophisticated nuclear powers because such a country could easily sink it with one or two well aimed missiles. In short modern technology has created a new kind of war that excludes the attack carrier from actions against other nations with nuclear capability.

But the carrier is far from being obsolete. Though it is useless in nuclear warfare, it is still a major menace to small, underdeveloped or third world nations. Their lack of sophisticated weaponry leaves their coasts highly vulnerable to air invasions from the decks of our carriers. American naval strategy then has not changed in form; the attack carrier is still the basis of our fleet. The only change is that this weapon is used against small, relatively defenseless nations instead of major powers. The attack carrier has become our major weapon of counterrevolution. Lying some 50 miles off a foreign coast, the attack carrier can deliver thousands of pounds of bombs hundreds of miles inland without fear of reprisals. This is not simply what the attack carrier is capable of doing, it is in fact what the attack carrier does.

The American government spends over \$8 billion a year maintaining these vessels; this makes the attack carrier one of the most expensive weapons known to man. Expenditures for attack carriers make up 40% of the Navy's budget and 10% of national defense spending. It takes almost \$1 million a day to maintain a single carrier in port, and when one is on combat status and accompanied by its task force that figure more than doubles to *over \$2 million a day*. Our fleet of 16 attack carriers is nowhere near being placed in "mothballs." Obviously our government considers these ships to be of vital importance. Congress has appropriated more funds for the construction of two more carriers.

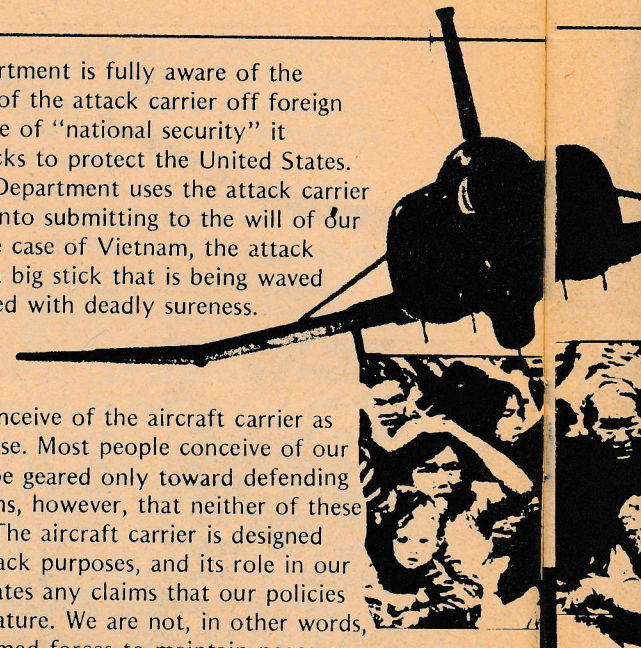
The State Department is fully aware of the weighty influence of the attack carrier off foreign shores. In the name of "national security" it sends these big sticks to protect the United States. In fact, the State Department uses the attack carrier to coerce nations into submitting to the will of our government. In the case of Vietnam, the attack carrier is not just a big stick that is being waved about; it is one used with deadly sureness.


Most people conceive of the aircraft carrier as a weapon of defense. Most people conceive of our foreign policy to be geared only toward defending our nation. It seems, however, that neither of these beliefs is correct. The aircraft carrier is designed specifically for attack purposes, and its role in our foreign policy negates any claims that our policies are defensive by nature. We are not, in other words, building up our armed forces to maintain peace or even to deter nuclear war. Rather, our military build-up (which includes construction of still more attack carriers) has been directed at combatting small nations whose domestic or foreign affairs go against the will of American foreign policy. The attack carrier is in fact a vital instrument of our foreign policy.

## WHAT ATTACK CARRIERS DO:

Jets leaving the flight decks of our attack carriers are equipped for land battles. In the past ten years, the Navy has been designing and modifying new aircraft for land combat. Aircraft, such as the A-6 Intruder, rest on the flight decks of our carriers. It is capable of flying low over mountainous terrain, while its cousin, the modified EA-6 Intruder is armed with a special apparatus which can detect, locate, classify, and jam enemy radar. The J model of the F-4 Phantom is a modification of an aircraft formerly used as an interceptor, but now having full ground attack capability. The newest versions of the A-7 Corsair now coming on board attack carriers are capable of dropping some 21,000 lbs. of bombs and rockets on trucks, tanks, and other land targets, including, of course, people.

An attack carrier is supplied with the most modern bombs known to man. Its arsenal includes all manner of anti-personnel weapons. The Fireye is the most familiar to Americans. It is the Napalm bomb which burns indiscriminately anything that falls within its range. Perhaps one of the most destructive kinds of bombs is the cluster bomb. The Navy has a number of these weapons, the most deadly of which is the CBU-55 FAE. Upon explosion, this bomb scatters a number of cannisters filled with fuel. When these cannisters open, the entire area being bombed is saturated with fuel. The final process of this bomb is to ignite the highly explosive fuel-air mixture. Even if he wanted to, a bomber pilot could not avoid killing innocent people with these cluster bombs. The attack carrier also carries a number of missiles in its holds.





In the fifties and sixties Americans lived in terror of the gruesome death that the Atom Bomb could bring. In the seventies it is time for Americans to learn of the horrible death that the attack carrier brings upon the people of Indochina every week. First hand reports from North Vietnam by American and European correspondents reveal a gruesome picture. The following account describes the city of Thanh Hoa as seen in 1967:

*The city of Thanh Hoa, which is about one-third of the way from Hanoi to the 17th parallel, has been bombed as heavily, if not more, than Nam Dinh. Once the home of some 50,000 people, by January 5, 1967, it was almost completely evacuated. Nearly every stone building in it had been destroyed and the centre of town had been pulverized. It was there that once flourished the 500 bed Thanh Hoa Province Hospital, a sleek, modern complex of eleven blocks, completed in 1964. Now it was nothing but ruins, having been smashed by 1,000 and 2,000-pound bombs for one solid hour on June 1, 1966. The hospital director, Dr. Tran Van Quy, who showed the hospital to our team, said that he personally had seen the planes dive very low, not only bombing but also firing rockets and machine guns at the buildings and at people trying to run away from them.*

#### WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Thanh Hoa is only one town in North Vietnam. In the past seven years its story of destruction and virtual decimation has been repeated hundreds of times. The role of the attack carrier in this war against the people of Indochina is obvious to them; Americans must also become aware.

The war in Vietnam must not be allowed to continue. Someday, perhaps, the war will stop, although Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird says that aircraft will stay on indefinitely. Soon the U.S. will have acquired two more attack carriers. To the people of the world the attack carrier is not just a symbol of the destructive capabilities of the U.S., it has become the emblem of our constant efforts to enforce our will upon third world nations. This is not the vision of world peace that our leaders constantly talk about. It is rather a vision of America as Policeman of the world. The recent publication of the Pentagon papers has made it clear to the people of this country that they have been misled and that our foreign policy has been fundamentally blundering. A starting point for preventing future blunders might be the stopping of the **USS Constellation** and the elimination of the attack aircraft carrier.

—Michael Troy

Coming back from the convention of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) in New York over the July 4 weekend, it was hard to decide which of the many outrageous aspects of it offended me the most. The fights between a typically obnoxious Progressive Labor contingent and the almost equally obnoxious NPAC marshals which punctuated the first two sessions were certainly prime candidates.

But the truth is that I rather enjoyed them; they kept the convention from being the crashing bore it unquestionably would otherwise have been, and there was a ritualistic character to the brawling which was almost amusing. NPAC and PL are old enemies, and the scene reminded one of nothing so much as a gang rumble between Sharks and Jets in *The West Side Story*. Each side tried very hard to convince us that their differences were of some substance, and the PL chants were so consistently uneuphonious and absurd that they unconsciously put back an element of satire in what was otherwise a completely humorless script. Besides, I never got clubbed or dragged out.

The endless hassling among the numerous Old Left splinters on the convention floor might also have taken the prize; it was irrelevant and inelegant enough. But here again I was left with ambiguous responses: it too made for a type of political theater that was occasionally interesting in spite of itself. Moreover, it served to bring out sharply the outlines of real power in the gathering.

The matter of power, I concluded, had to take it: the shamelessness with which the convention was controlled by the Socialist Workers Party-Young Socialist Alliance was completely without redeeming social importance. And the hypocrisy of this group's repeated declarations that what was taking place was "an open, democratic convention" went beyond irony to add considerable insult to the injury.

Politically, this domination meant that the conference in fact had only one task: to rubber-stamp and, thus, legitimize a calendar of demonstrations for the fall. The calendar had been settled upon by NPAC's Coordinating Committee early in June, and called for demonstrations to take place in two stages, a national moratorium in October and April 24th style rallies in November to take place in fifteen cities. NPAC thinks it can duplicate the size of the April 24th rally in several of these places, and bring out unprecedented crowds in the others.

Procedurally, the packing of the convention meant that the body completely ignored twenty-three of twenty-four major resolutions which were introduced. Many of these proposals were little more than dogmatic outbursts from the Workers League, International Socialists, and other leftist splinters, designed mainly to embarrass SWP-YSA or to grind their own ideological axes. But others, most notably one on Pakistan, were expressions of

# COALITION

honest political and humanitarian concern, which one would have thought deserved the body's careful attention and which could have been incorporated into its platform without harm.

But no dice. As two straw polls were taken to reduce the number of resolutions to be debated fully to four, most of the delegates didn't bother to raise their hands except when the official program came up. As far as the others were concerned, they might as well have been deaf. They had their orders.

I was told that SWP-YSA party discipline, which was hammered out in private caucuses, was monitored on the floor by a selected ruling cadre. So in the final plenary Sunday afternoon, where the decisions were finally made, I cruised around looking for this "command post." It didn't take long to find it. A small group near a middle aisle huddled constantly with a dozen or so members. Messengers went out from this spot regularly, and other NPAC heavies like head marshal Fred Halstead and Debbie Bustin of SMC checked in there when necessary. Among the group were Boston's own Syd Stapleton and Peter Camejo, whose SWP affiliations are well-known.

The firm grip this group held on the proceedings was revealed several times during the plenary, usually on procedural questions which were confusing to the chair. (The general plan was too simple to require any great amount of coordination: vote yes on the coordinator's resolution, no on everything else). It was amazing how the chairmen, who often ignored the points of order, clarification, and procedure that were constantly being shouted from the splinter strongholds in the back rows, instantly recognized and then accepted the suggestions made from members of the command post cadre. Motions from this circle were adopted with equal alacrity. Their arrogance appeared impervious, even to the denunciation by a student named Peter Demby, maverick chairman of the Hunger College SMC which was the official convention host. He spoke with what seemed to me considerable courage and blasted the SWP-YSA leadership for their high-handed manipulation of the proceedings. His statement underlined the reality of what was happening.

There is, however, another aspect of this whole unsavory proceeding which bothers me as much, if not more than the way it was conducted. This is the fact that the fall calendar was presented as a "unity" proposal, one which coincided at the

# CAPERS



key points with a parallel program adopted a week earlier by the Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice in Milwaukee.

I attended the Milwaukee conference, and felt at the time that such "unity" was a desirable thing. But after sitting through NPAC's fiasco and re-considering it in that light, I am not so sure.

Certainly the kind of mindless political infighting that went on between PL and NPAC marshals and later between the SWP-YSA axis and the other Old Left splinters is something to be carefully avoided. It is destructive, irrelevant, and mainly ludicrous. But at the same time, I am almost as uncomfortable with the likelihood of a takeover of key centers of movement legitimacy and media attention by closed cliques. And neither of these two coalitions is meaningfully representative of or accountable to any broad movement constituency. Yet they have presumed to map out detailed plans for the next six months of antiwar activity, had this scenario ratified by largely phony conference proceedings, and now doubtless expect it to be swallowed whole by the rest of us out in the provinces.

I for one am not interested in having my peace

movement run in such a way. A program worked out privately and then rammed through a two-faced charade like the NPAC convention in my view deserves to be rejected out of hand for procedural reasons alone. And to have the Peoples Coalition participate in and thus legitimize such manipulation makes it equally suspect. At neither of these national gatherings did I observe any of the "leaders" promoting or taking part in any serious dialogue with rank and file activists about such questions as: Do we really need another round of large demonstrations? Are these tactics really where the movement and the people are at? How do national organizations relate to the development of strong, autonomous local movement groups? Yet it seems to me that dealing with some such questions in a searching way would of necessity be the starting point for the formulation of a really representative strategy. I think it is safe to conclude that the dominant elites in both groups do not really feel the need for much input from outside their circle. This makes them even less qualified to take the center stage.

The Old Left representatives at the gathering in Milwaukee charged that the PCPJ was a Communist Party front in the same way that NPAC is a front for SWP-YSA. I don't think this is quite the case, but it is clear that the CP is very much present in its inner circle. The problem with this is not that either of these two tendencies will coopt the movement into some revolutionary plot or other; despite all the red-baiting one may hear from places like the House Internal Security Committee, this seems to be farthest from these two parties' thinking. The charge made by the splinter groups, that coalitions are in fact edging their adherents slowly but surely into the orbit of the left-liberal wing of the Democratic Party, just in time for the 1972 election, seems to me to be much more likely. And much more undesirable.

Fortunately, despite the organizational arrogance of this emerging antiwar conglomerate, it is by no means certain that the ultimate fate of American radicalism hangs on the outcome of all their maneuvering and negotiating. Looked at with a little detachment, NPAC most closely resembles a rock group with a good promoter and a big hit single. All they want to talk about is April 24th, when they were number one on the charts, they are not at all interested in discussing last October 31st, their previous Big Date, when their big fall production didn't even make the top one hundred, and could muster only six hundred people on Boston Common. Who knows what the political climate will be like in October and November of this year? And the PCPJ, if you take away Mayday, could muster only a few thousand for its Peoples Lobby the last week in April. The other side of elitism is a paper-thin commitment on the part of the masses who occasionally rally round the coalitions' banners, but who have no role in running them. People who want to be politically active but who are not interested in being the pawns in leftist-liberal power games will have to look elsewhere for groups to identify with. Fortunately there are several alternative groups on the scene or emerging. Among them are:

Mayday, which is perhaps the most exciting new expression of activism as it attempts to bring together the lifestyle of the "counterculture" with the militance of revolutionary politics and a steady tactical nonviolence. Mayday, which was only tenuously connected with PCPJ, was roughly treated at Milwaukee, and it is doubtful whether it will stay under the PCPJ umbrella very much longer; its spokesmen have voiced some of the same reservations about PCPJ-NPAC hegemony that I have, and seemed determined to act on them. Despite the media-tripping of the Tribe's founder and star, Rennie Davis, Mayday operated with an important degree of tribal democracy in the spring.

Then there are the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the GI organizers. The VVAW stayed

quietly out of the orbit of the two contending coalitions, and seems to have survived the over-exposure of John Kerry better than he did. Both of these were largely ignored at the two conventions, except for ritualistic obeisances.

Certain local affiliates of the Peoples Coalition, particularly the one here in Boston, have shown considerable independence of and skepticism about the machinations of the national group, and thus retain a significant potential to fulfill the promises of their name.

And not least, there is emerging out of the radical circles in the churches a new ecumenical political activism with a firm religious base which is struggling to come into self-consciousness, spurred by the example of the Berrigans and the Catholic Left, and shored up by the genuine resources for radicalism to be found in the various traditions.

There are others. While all of these groups have their own problems, each is nonetheless very much alive, its decision-making processes are decentralized and accessible to its constituency, and each has thus far been able to maintain and project its own individual identity and style without finding it imperative to compete with, red-bait or try to dominate its brother groups with different identities and styles. All of which places them at least a cut above the coalitions.

But can a coordinated national campaign come out of the anarchist variety of these groups' activities? I believe it could, in fact I think it already has. That is my interpretation of what happened in the Spring Offensive. While the NPAC and PCPJ heavies haggled endlessly through the winter about who was going to be numero uno on their turf, a group of seminarians led by the editors of four major religious journals crept up on one side and kicked things off by getting arrested outside the White House the week before Easter. They were followed more spectacularly by the Vietnam Vets, who weren't asking anyone's permission for their Dewey Canyon III. And at the other end of the Offensive came Mayday, which insisted on doing its thing over the objections and attempted sabotages of both the coalitions, and which managed to give the campaign an exciting, record-breaking finish. Without trying to denigrate the coalitions' accomplishments, particularly on April 24th, the spring simply wouldn't have been nearly as important as it was without the activities of these basically autonomous groups.

Something similar could and should happen this fall: many of these unaffiliated groups could come together, rap extensively and sensitively about where they are at and how they want to move. Out of this discussion could come action plans which do in fact express the desires and consciousness of the various constituencies. The plans could be coordinated not only among themselves but even in a nonentangling way with those of the two coalitions. Then, come



the fall we could get into the streets (if that was where we had decided to be) and do what we had decided to do, the way we had decided to do it.

With the exception of the Vietnam Vets and to a lesser extent the Catholic groups like the Harrisburg defendants, many of these unaffiliated groups have been largely overlooked

by the press. Yet I think their actual potential for making serious social change may well be greater than that of either of the grand coalitions.

To borrow and mangle a phrase, the movement needs two, three, many more May Fifths much more than it needs the heavy-handed hegemony of these two erstwhile overlords.

—CHUCK FAGER

## a letter from Saigon

Dear Sir,

In alarm, I would like to inform you of our crucial situation here and wish you could do something for us—the sooner the better.

The election of the Saigon Student Union's 70-71 executive board on Sunday, June 20, turned into chaos right after the seeming victory of the pro-government ticket led by Ly Buu Lam, an architecture student. The other ticket was headed by Huynh Tan Mam. The ballot counting was as follows: Lam (8 votes), Mam (6), 1 blank vote, and the last vote remained unopened due to the panic. The balloting was conducted publicly. To exert pressure, the police stood guard with their green jeeps outside the polling hall while plainclothesmen roamed inside.

The truth is that the representatives of the 16 faculties of Saigon University were 'bought' and intimidated to vote for the pro-government slate while Mam's slate was threatened (Saigon University has 17 faculties in all but 1 has not yet elected its representative board). All students here know this but could not do anything to prevent it as everybody knows that a number of Lower House Deputies were bribed and threatened to give their consent to the arrest and imprisonment of their colleague Tran Ngoc Chau early last year and to pass the 7th article's 10th clause of the electoral law recently.

On June 24, the police fired tear gas canisters and missiles to disperse a crowd gathering in front of the student headquarters and then chased and beat the fleeing students and their supporters and lookers-on. The headquarters is being besieged by Vietnamese police and American MPs. Anyone leaving it is challenged, searched, and may be

arrested. On June 25, it was searched, and the crisis culminated yesterday in the assassination of student, Le Khac Sinh Nhat, Chairman of the Saigon Faculty of Law's Representative Board and also a candidate in the pro-government ticket, right in the faculty building. The assassin escaped. At least 100 students have been apprehended in the last few days for distributing anti-American and anti-government leaflets. Our headquarters is in danger of being overrun by the police who will try to dislodge us in order to pave the way for the occupation of the other ticket. We probably have no other alternative than to shed our blood if necessary.

The Saigon regime's intent is to topple us legally by means of clandestine bribery and intimidation in order to take over the SSU. I know they are determined to do it once and for all. The Liaison Committee of Peace Forces in South Vietnam has just set up a People's Committee Against Rigged Elections and, therefore, the government wants to crush its opposition so as to muffle the clamour for fair and free elections in the coming Lower House and Presidential contests. Its plot is to crush us first before it swoops down on the other anti-war movements since, if we collapse, the other peace groups will lose their foothold and will soon break up for they rely heavily on our potential.

Thankfully yours,  
Name withheld for security reasons

Latest information: Mam was arrested early this morning and reported missing. Student headquarters overrun and occupied by the pro-government slate. High tension among students all over the country. Whatever happens, please maintain our channel of contact. S.O.S.!

High!

It was fun to see your review of **Steal This Book**, (WIN, 8/71). I objected to the reference that the bomb diagrams and instructions do not work, and I defy anyone to prove that. If you like I'll demonstrate each one in the WIN office some time. You should have pointed out, however, that the bomb section is very small—three to four pages of a 322 page book, if you have the second enlarged edition, or 320 if you got the first. My head has gotten more mellow in regard to violent actions than the book (which was completed last October) would indicate. The next sequel, **Steal This Book, Too**, will be totally on stealing, concentrating on Bank Robbery, which I have been researching the last few months.

Regarding your arguments about the badness of shoplifting . . . Well, I never lay-out the sort of "irrelevant goody-goody martyrdom-go-to-jail-and-suffer" morality that emanates from the purists who hang around WIN. In all these years I really never made it clear whether I was a pacifist or violent. Revolution is like a poker game and, well, it just don't pay to show all your cards until the day the government shows its. Mystery is the spice of life—not discovering the concocted "absolutes" of facist mystical pacifism. Life wiggles and squirms too much for absolutes.

A word on Alice Bay Laurel's book [**Living on the Earth**], which you seem to favor. In my opinion, it's too much of that "la-de-da-everything-can-be-solved-with-a-goofy-smile" attitude. It is very hard to read and, when you get right down to it, smacks of the hippy version of her parents' suburban instincts—'But, of course, let's get out of the city.'"

**Steal This Book** is a city book written for those struggling with problems you find hanging around the Lower East Side. I was forced to publish it myself; no major paper will advertise it; it is banned in Canada; and half the bookstores in this country won't carry it. Because of the title a virtual conspiracy to suppress the book exists. Nonetheless, it has managed to do quite well. People can get a copy for \$2.20 (postage included) by writing to Pirate Editions, 640 Broadway, New York City 10012.

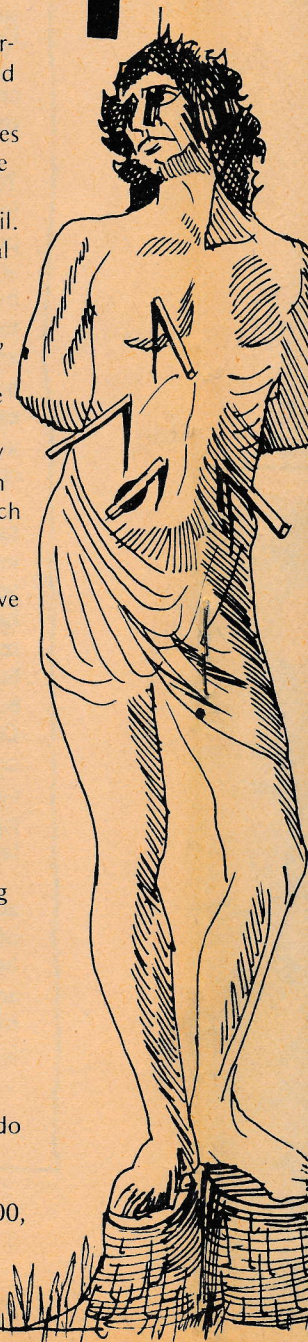
The book is given away free all over the country and I just gave the *entire* profits of the English edition to a fund for Irish political prisoners administered by the Friends Magazine people. All prisoners and soldiers in Vietnam are sent a complimentary copy if they write us. Every underground paper is free to rip off the entire book and keep the bread or give it to some good cause.

You know, I gave practically the entire royalties from **Revolution for the Hell of It** to bail out one of the Panther 21—\$25,000 which was never recovered because he (Richard Moore) jumped bail. **Woodstock Nation** profits went mostly to the trial in Chicago, the Movement Speakers Bureau, John Sinclair, and the old Motherfuckers. I have less than \$1,000 now. Anita has \$2,000 for her novel, **Trashing**. She, america (our little boy), and I live in a three-room railroad flat-loft type place in the Lower East Side. We fixed it up real pretty and planted lots of trees on the roof where they grow very beautifully. There is a Buddha in the kitchen and a shotgun in the bedroom. We pay \$150 which is \$25 higher than we payed last year, but the landlord is trying to bump us out. When we get stoned real good we look around and know we live in heaven, its so pretty up here.

During the past ten years I've been in and out of jail over 50 times, with some 40 arrests. In Mayday, I was jumped on the street and beaten severely (about the 15th pig vamping I've sustained and the fifth requiring hospitalization.) I have two permanent injuries, a broken nose and a slipped disc. I've already had one operation and need another. I also received 16 stitches in my face. Later I was arrested by the FBI (for crossing state lines to incite a riot and interfering with a police officer) and face ten years in prison and a lengthy trial, probably in November. I was in jail an extra eight hours because I didn't have \$2,000 to bail myself out and it had to be raised by friends. Unlike the Chicago trial this trial will be a lonely one. It will cost about \$20,000 and my chances are not that hot. I had nothing at all to do with the May action, but go tell that to the government.

In the last two years I gave away over \$100,000,

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according to Jerry Lefcourt, my lawyer. I do not plan to give away a cent of **Steal This Book**. I'm pissed at people in the movement who help lay out the line that I'm a millionaire superstar or other shit. The stuff about giving away the \$25,000 to the Panthers was not printed in a *single* underground paper. The only paper that printed the story, interestingly enough, was the **New York Daily News**. They went and read the bail papers and found out. It was ten times the most money I ever had in my life and it took me three hours to give it away. You want to know the come-uppance though! I'm even mad I gave the money to the Panthers. It was a total guilt reaction to having all that bread. I should have given it to the Weather People for they truly live total revolutionary lives. At the time, however, I didn't know their address.

Well, I don't know why I'm spewing out all this shit . . . I stay away from "movement" people these days, partly out of a security problem. It's hard to go to meetings when you pick up **Newsweek** and read that there is a federal agent whose only job is to go to meetings and hear references to Rennie Davis and Abbie Hoffman, or read the government brief signed by Richard Kleindeinst himself explaining the government's right to wire-tap all my phones since I'm a "national security hazard". Well, dig, I like being a "national security hazard"; it's what I was born to do—but the movement—fuck it!

The movement now represents to me the petty ugliness of Norman Fruchter's dribble in **Liberation** (May, 1971) saying how we, Jerry Rubin and I, "betrayed" the movement. I know some gruesome Fruchter stories that would turn your hippy hairs grey, but what's the use. He's caught up in an elitist bag of non-communication that he and his boring little radical clic can live in. To answer would only build him up into something he ain't.

The movement to me now is a little group of vultures from Ithaca that broke into WPAX (we were making tapes for Radio Hanoi) and stole all the equipment they needed because "Hoffman's rich anyway." It's true that the radio station was ending because we found it too difficult to centralize the operation and develop a secure

transportation system. Most of our tapes were getting ripped off at Kennedy Airport by the government. But we still send tapes, and they are played and some of that equipment we needed. Other stuff we were selling to recoup the \$5,000 loss incurred by guess who??? Besides, Radio Free People in Ithaca (the vultures directly involved) were told they could have most of the equipment after we could unload some . . . they probably would have got it all anyway.

Then there was this terrific Mayday call from Washington, asking me to solicit money and objects of art from John Lennon and Yoko Ono for those busted in the demonstrations. I asked if I was included in the bail fund (again, I'm facing the heaviest charges of anyone, remember). They answered, "Oh, you're different, you're not in Mayday." Zowie!!!

I have a policy now of not answering the phone and returning calls only from people whose names I recognize. It's a huge change in life for me and it could last a week or a lifetime. I vacillate between accepting some Hollywood movie offer and going underground (or figuring out a way to do both.) I know one thing, I don't use the phrase "brothers and sisters" much anymore, except among real close friends and you'll never hear me use the word "movement" except in a sarcastic sense.

I spent ten years in "the movement", I dare say nine more than most people who sound off with some preachy rap which inevitably starts off, "Now, see what *you've* got to begin to realize . . ." or "What *you* people don't understand . . ." There are certain phrases, certain inbred vocal patterns, certain "in" ways of running down the guilt organizing trip that to me spell a kind of elitism even FAME can't begin to touch.

This is a sort of retirement letter I suppose. Not that I'm going off to the country or anything. Let's just call it a parting of the ways. No more calls for me to do benefits or come to demonstrations or do bail fund hustles. Divorce is never an easy matter. After a few years perhaps we can again be friends . . . Anything is possible, after all, you might not recognize me with my new nose . . .

—ABBIE HOFFMAN

# On the Politics

*"What seems to me the most significant common traits in these peaceful societies are that they manifest enormous gusto for concrete physical pleasures—eating, drinking, sex, laughter—and that they all make very little distinction between the ideal character of men and women, particularly that they have no ideal of brave aggressive masculinity."*

—Geoffrey Gorer. "Man has no killer instinct," in M.F. Ashley Montague (Ed.), **Man and Aggression**

The essential political significance of male liberation is that (1) it permits men to experience, understand, and deal with their *own* oppression, as males, and (2) it undermines values that are fundamental to the capitalistic system.

Under capitalism, people are oppressed in many ways. Being female or non-white are two very obvious ways. Other people may be oppressed by being young, or old, or less schooled, or a worker, or in other ways. The restrictions of these roles clearly deny people the right to participate fully and equally in society.

It is less obvious that roles that confer relative privilege, like white American heterosexual male, may also oppress. The relative privilege acts to obscure the oppression and to make it more difficult to deal with. The male sex role oppresses by leading men, simply in order to achieve their own personal ("masculine") identity, to accept a competitive system where they learn to value themselves by their achievement compared with others, and at the same time to deny their own emotional life.

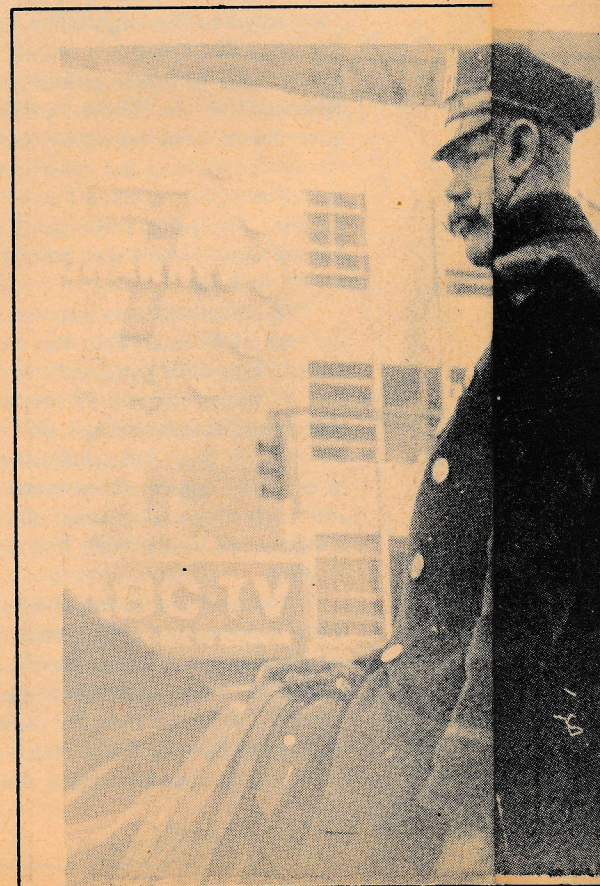
Learning the male sex role leads men to strive to achieve, and to excel others. Males learn to give orders to those below and take them from those above, and to accept the legitimacy of an authoritarian, inegalitarian system. The male role does not require a man to excel in every area to achieve manhood, but he should excel in some. If not in work, then in sports, or with cars, or in telling jokes, or playing poker; if nowhere else, there is always the chance to dominate as a husband and a father. The alternative sources for "success" through dominance—particularly the home—soften the failure of most men to achieve it in work, and help perpetuate the importance of the dominance ethic.

Capitalistic practice teaches that dominance (on the basis of merit, assumedly) is healthy, but this is not where men first learn, or best learn, that idea. Males learn what it is to be male long before they learn capitalistic values. Capitalism validates and reinforces the sex roles males have already learned. It is in fact better, for achieving power,

prestige, or fortune in this society, to fulfill the male role of competitive achievement.

The support that striving to be a man lends to capitalism is particularly insidious because it is so difficult to recognize. It is learned very early and becomes a part of a male's personality, not something that he usually recognizes as having learned. It is important to understand how the male sex role—achievement through competition plus stoic reaction to failure—helps keep men from translating their obvious dissatisfaction into a recognition of social oppression.

Most men accept that, to be a man, one should achieve, in some area or other. They also accept the taboo on emotionality, which is considered "feminine," not "masculine." "Big boys don't cry," and neither do President Nixon, Secretary Laird, or Lieutenant Calley. How could men in touch with their feelings possibly do these jobs (or any other jobs that help manage an unjust society)? The answer is that, to become leaders, men usually



# of Male Liberation



have to deny any real feeling in what they do—and the higher they are, the more denial is required.

To be a success as a man, one must embrace achievement and eschew emotion. The imposed need to achieve such "success" and to deny one's emotional life is oppression. It is not a personal problem, though like so much oppression in our society, we are led to look at it that way. But personal *is* political, there are no personal problems divorced from the society we live in. These particular male problems—inability to be expressive, and concern about inadequate achievement—are eminently social. They do not exist in all societies. And they are heightened by our economic system, though capitalism did not create sex roles, it clearly thrives upon them.

Male liberation is a way of understanding in social terms what might otherwise be thought of as merely a personal problem. A man can then understand that he, too, is oppressed and fight against it. Understanding one's own oppression can be an



aid to understanding the oppression of others, the principles are similar. Men who truly understand how sex roles oppress them have a much better basis—more than mere intellectual recognition—for knowing how women are oppressed. Men can understand how their chauvinism is not their fault but what they have learned, and that divesting themselves of chauvinism loses nothing essential and gains substantial humanity.

Male liberation groups start in different ways, depending on where the men in the group are at, but they can start directly with men's problems in their work and their personal life. Men in these groups find a kind of support, openness, and cooperation that makes "brother" take on a new meaning. They find that problems are not individual but common, and of political origin. They come to understand how conventional sex roles contribute to men's alienation from each other and from themselves, and how these roles promote both men's and women's oppression. Men can take these insights, worked out through personal experience, to help other men to similar understanding.

Male liberation is important for the movement generally, particularly where white, heterosexual males are prominent. It has important implications for how the movement operates, for organizational structure and practice, for program, for relations among men in the movement, for relations between men and women, and for such problems as divisiveness in the movement.

Male liberation is springing up in many places, and increasing numbers of men are becoming involved. Some writing is starting to appear and **Brother: A Male Liberation Newspaper** is now published in Berkeley (1721 Grove St.). Like the women's movement, male liberation is growing mainly as an independent movement, rather than in present organizations. Still, the perspective and practice of male liberation is important to existing movement groups, and male liberation caucuses seem likely to develop.

It is important for the movement to understand men's oppression and their need for liberation because this relates to how social change is to be accomplished. In as many ways as possible, we must try to make the movement more humane than the society whose replacement we seek. Male liberation is not something that can wait until later, or that would automatically come about when capitalism is gone. Male liberation is already beginning. *How* social change is achieved will affect *what* is achieved, and if the society we seek is not to sanction domination of some men over other men, then we have to start to change the ideas and practices that form the bases of the domination.

—Jack Sawyer

# My Own Men's

# Liberation



I feel a real need to express some of my thoughts on men's liberation (liberation from male chauvinism and oppressive dehumanizing sex roles).

I have always felt a very strong opposition to differentiating people along the lines of biological sex—that is, according to people's having been born male or female. I suppose this was because I saw myself as somewhere in between: not identifying with the male stereotype but certainly not feeling feminine, either. My opposition to sex roles came in large part from my own psychological make-up, and caused me a lot of pain and alienation. Only later did I discover that a lot of people were uneasy and unfulfilled fitting into the stereotyped masculine role, and that I am much better off being outside it.

In the early patterns of my parents and the adults around me, I saw men as being cold disciplinarians and women as being warm, loving, nurturing people. I knew I wanted to be a loving person who was liked by others, and not a cruel disciplinarian on one hand while being a "good socializer" when drunk on the other hand. This was how I saw my father.

However, there were some things about being a boy that I liked—especially being given more freedom than girls got, and not having to be constantly afraid of getting raped by strange men. I also got to see as time went on that some women were very domineering and aggressive (like my mother's mother) whereas some men were kind and fairly gentle though still "masculine". It was this latter type that I hoped I would be like, although it was a sharp difference from what my father was like.

Maybe it was having both sisters and brothers that made me learn to treat both sexes equally. I never related very well to all-boy games, but instead was much happier in sexually mixed situations. I was pushed around and oppressed both by my older sister and by a cousin who was older.

I didn't want to be dominant and pushy because I learned at an early age (probably from my mother) that domineering people may get their way on a superficial level but they don't get love or acceptance on any deep level. I wanted to have friends and be well-liked by girls, and so I knew I shouldn't let myself be identified very strongly with "those dirty nasty boys".

**"Little girls are made of sugar and  
spice and everything nice.**

**Little boys are made of snips and  
snails and puppy dogs' tails."**

Sexual ambivalency never got me in very much trouble until I was in junior high and began discovering my own awakening sexuality. Now I was no longer sexually dormant but I was one of those nasty, aggressive things called a boy (and soon to be, horror of horrors, a man). I had a girlfriend that I liked a lot and saw very often for over two years but was afraid to touch in any way. Genital stimulation was something filthy that I did with

a couple of friends or else did, much to my own shock and shame, in dark corners when I was alone. Having an orgasm certainly had nothing to do with love or any of the good and warm aspects of life.

Eventually I found that girlfriend to be too simple-minded and boring, and I broke off the relationship. During my three years of senior high school, I had crushes on several girls, but I couldn't picture touching them or having any sort of sexual involvement. After all, sex was filthy. One did it only with prostitutes and later, magically, felt like doing with one's wife.

Many guys I knew did get involved in things like "going steady", necking, taking girls to drive-ins, and so forth, but I always saw the men in those situations being in the superior, aggressive role which I wanted no part of. I found a couple of friends who thought as I did, and we privately ridiculed all the sex games going on around us.

Sex with women might be wicked, but sex with men was unimaginable and mysterious. If two men wanted to be sexual with each other, obviously one would have to be more feminine, a "fairy"—that's what I picked up from my reading somehow. I knew I didn't want to imitate a girl—after all, I was a boy of some sort even though a very alienated and unhappy one.

I was very interested and curious about my own developing body and those of my close friends. Any close male friends I had were ones I had no sexual feelings towards. Homosexuality was dirty and perverted, something done by "fairies" and I didn't want to be "perverted" since I was so different and alienated already.

I had always done a fair amount of very lonely and ashamed masturbating. I loved the feeling and was intrigued by my male body. I wanted to see if other guys felt similarly to me, but I was afraid to ask. Premarital sex with girls wasn't "nice", and I wanted to be a nice person, gentle and friendly towards women. Friendships come between equals *not* between a superior and an inferior or between a hunter and his prey. I wanted to be a friend of women, not a hunter.

In the twelfth grade, after some incredible unhappiness, loneliness, and switching of high schools, I began somehow to get out of myself and make some genuine friends, both male and female. I felt really close to three friends—Dick, Holly, and Justine.

With Holly and Justine this was all right because they were female, but with Dick it was very confusing because he was male. A further complicating factor was that I could spend the night at Dick's house but not at Holly's or Justine's. By this time I was really getting overwhelmed with the desire to be loving and sexual with someone. Society seemed to be conspiring to throw me together with Dick constantly whereas if I had been with Justine or Holly that much I would be identified with all those dirty jokes and unspeakable sex games.

Both Dick and I desperately wanted to have some sort of physical contact with each other, and that was completely impossible for me to imagine. Since I was not "feminine", I must be "masculine" and he must be "feminine". But he wasn't any more feminine than I was. What gives? I had always been taught that everyone was either feminine or masculine, dominant or submissive, a leader or a follower.

Wanting to be neither a masculine-aggressive-leader nor a feminine-passive-follower with my friend Dick, and being very confused by the sexual potential of our relationship, I broke off this very precious friendship and talked to him almost none at all for a year and a half. Both of us remained close friends with Justine, Holly, and our other mutual friends, so I saw him frequently although I was afraid to talk to him.

After a few months, we all graduated from high school and went to different colleges, where we had to begin all over again to make new friendships. At Reed College, I felt constant urges towards reaching out sexually to both men and women, which frustrated me tremendously. I did succeed in having interesting but disappointing relationships with a few girls. Since I didn't want to be aggressive or dominant, the sexual relationships were kind of unusual and confusing. Luckily none of them went as far as intercourse, or I would have gotten even more confused.

I had long-distance relationships with a couple of girls, seeing them only at holiday vacation seasons. One, Georgeanne, was very interesting and free of dominance-submission roles, but she was engaged to be married. The other, my old friend Justine, was extremely dissatisfying to me because I hated that leader role and could not get her to keep relating to me as a human being once we got into the habit of "making out" with each other. I hung on to her a long time because I was becoming very afraid of my "inadequacies" in the sexual area.

At the end of the year, I dropped out of college and worked in a couple of different situations in Eastern cities. I made several close friends but was confused about how to include sex in the friendships. I was again in touch with my friend Dick, and I had a sort of non-sexual infatuation for a guy named Jay whose long-distance girlfriend I also felt close to. After awhile I began having sexual fantasies about Jay, since he had such an extremely handsome and graceful body. He was very kind and warm to me, but warned me that if I ever tried to be sexual with him our friendship would end. Needing the friendship so much, I never thought of touching him, although our emotional closeness was really wonderful. At one point someone referred to me as a "dirty little faggot" for the way I acted around Jay.

My friend Dick had some sort of one-night stand homosexual thing once, and really liked it but wouldn't talk much about it. I really loved

him, in a non-sexual way. I wanted to relate physically with women, but emotionally I treated all my female friends similarly to the way I treated Dick and Jay. Many women around me felt that I was not interested in sex since I was so unaggressive about it.

I got into Quakerism and pacifism and developed an awareness of how nice gentleness and patience were. But how did these relate to getting sexual fulfillment? The society around me was constantly telling me that the only way to find a sexual partner was to be aggressive—"masculine"—a hunter. But I knew that both aggressive and helpless submissive people were really upsetting to me and not what I wanted in a friend and a lover.

A girlfriend, Janie, was the first one I had intercourse with (I was 20 and she was 22). She enjoyed sex a lot and pursued it rather vigorously though not too much so for me. We were very attached to each other for a few months but then something went wrong—I felt she was getting too dependent and weak. That relationship was very intense, but it was sorely tested by my going to prison for draft resistance, and it didn't pass the test.

I got very emotionally involved in the prison world and could not handle an intense, very exclusive relationship with someone who wasn't there with me. I made several close friends, but of course I never imagined having sex with them, since the prevailing prison ethic said that all sexuality was either extremely aggressive or extremely passive. Many of the other inmates told me I was attractive to them sexually, but I couldn't imagine getting involved in sex in prison throughout most of my year there.

As time went on, I met two guys in prison who openly said they were homosexual but were neither very feminine nor very masculine. I became fairly good friends with one of these just a month before I was released, and I felt very attracted to him in some undefinable way. A couple of years after I was released, I had quite a few dreams about having sex with him.

After prison, I went to Antioch College, which I felt was a wonderfully free and open environment. I wanted very much to find a heavy girlfriend, and after a few months I met J. I had always felt that I was incomplete unless I was relating sexually to a woman, and now that J and I were together, I felt really good. I was no longer expected to relate sexually to womankind in the abstract, since I had a specific lover to focus myself on. How can I describe that feeling of being so much in love? We were really good for each other, so open and candid.

Neither of us was exclusively a leader and neither was a follower. We sometimes fought like cats and dogs over who was forcing whom to do something and who was robbing the other of spontaneity. She was always resentful of the fact that during intercourse I seemed to be taking and

never giving—no matter how much I wanted to please her, it seemed impossible through the pattern of conventional sexual intercourse.

Her resentment and my uneasiness in sexuality naturally spilled over from the bedroom into the rest of our life together. She was less used to making decisions for herself than I was, and she would often hesitate so long that I would get impatient and finally do something decisive myself. My ideal was that all decisions should be mutual agreements arrived at through discussions. I didn't





believe in insisting on my own way, but somehow this seemed to be what was constantly happening. J likewise resented the pattern, but was not willing to be quicker at making decisions. This went on and on and was a real problem.

J and I lived together in Ohio and then New York, and after nine months of this our sex life was really a mess. I really enjoyed intercourse and was quite upset when she continued not to enjoy it and to accuse me of being only out for my own gratification. I had this incredibly strong feeling that I could only be fulfilled if I was having a sexual relationship with a woman. When sex between J and me began to go bad, (or, when I

began to become aware of how messed up it was), I felt again unfulfilled, angry, and confused, and I began having more homosexual fantasies.

I found a very explicit homosexual novel that, although romantic, unreal, and almost pornographic, appealed to me a lot. J and I decided to be apart for a month and I went to visit the Pacific Northwest, where I had several friends. It happened that my friend Dick was then living in Seattle. When I visited him, we had a week-long sexual affair which I enjoyed very much but which confused me a lot. We had known each other for almost six years and agreed that our relationship should have been sexual long before this.

Losing my "homosexual virginity", I panicked and went rushing back across the continent to my messy relationship with J. Lately she and I had been having serious hassles about contraception, with her refusing to take pills which she knew were causing weird changes in her body chemistry. Very soon after we got back together—almost before we knew what was happening—she was pregnant. Since I had a very strong urge to be a parent and she didn't want to raise the baby alone, we got married.

In getting pregnant and then married, J was again indecisive and let my stronger feelings determine how she made up her mind. I didn't fight against this very strongly except to say intellectually that she should take responsibility for her own decisions. On one hand she would find it very hard to deal with me in any kind of equal way, when I wanted to make strong decisions by mutual agreement. Thus I felt forced to dominate sometimes, for my own sanity. But then on the other hand she would resent my leadership and argue and fight with me about it.

Eventually, as sex continued to be messy, she decided she wanted no more sexual intercourse for an indefinite period. She also said she wasn't sure she had made the right decision of who to marry, and had only been pressured due to the pregnancy. With her now taking all these heavy, aggressive actions, I reacted by becoming weak, getting



passively overwhelmed by her and resentful of the whole situation. Somehow we were both sick and tired of cooperating with each other, and we just wanted to sort out our own heads without interference from our supposed marriage partner.

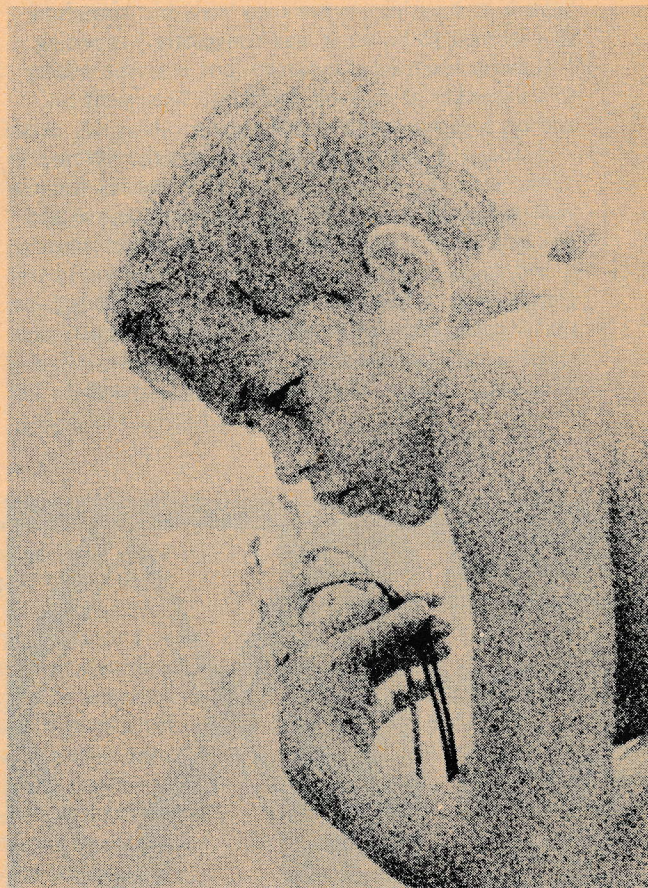
We struggled on unhappily for over a year, being thought of as married by the world but not feeling really "married" in any sense of the word. The superficial structure of our life was wonderfully free of sex roles: we tried to split up the care of our daughter half and half, as well as the earning money, cooking, cleaning house, and getting firewood for winter. She fixed and drove the car while I didn't know how to drive but was willing to go shopping and do the laundry.

Our life looked really beautiful, except for the fact that we had very little real love or understanding for each other. She continued to be domineering and I continued to be weak and resentful. As time went on, I was away from home more and more, and had closer friends on my own than I had near the home where I was supposedly married to J.

My friend Dick lives several hundred miles away from me and he lives in the city while I really enjoy living in the country. We had a very sporadic sexual relationship for awhile during my hard times with J, but finally we gave that up since we lived so far apart. Then I had a relationship right near home with a guy named Joe, who was physically very fine but emotionally extremely unsatisfying to me. Finally through Dick I made contact with a movement called the Gay Liberation Front which I really liked.

As my marital relationship continued to break up, I tried to find women to get sexually involved with, but eventually I decided that was a very unnatural thing for me to do. The more natural thing for me to do was to get into homosexual relationships where I could finally be free of the sex roles that were so oppressive to me. Eventually (Spring, 1971), J and I decided to stop calling ourselves married and to live apart. I decided to be exclusively homosexual and see how I liked it. It is a tremendous relief now to be no longer trying to relate sexually with women.

A drawback to saying I am homosexual is that I have supposedly said I would not relate sexually with women. But I am aware that intense, loving friendships can lead to sexual involvements, and I



am certainly not prepared to stop being very close friends with women. Thus it seems that the label "homosexual" is a very inadequate one to describe me (but it is certainly better than the label "heterosexual"). Although I feel that in the past six weeks I have been honest about my sexual/emotional desires for the first time in my life, I have felt drawn to some of the women I have met during that time, too.

The Gay Liberation Front has a saying, "Free the sister in ourselves." I really like that. There is so much inside me that has been repressed and bottled up for so long due to my trying to be "masculine!" Inability to cry or show my emotions very strongly, feeling that I am somehow better off if I stay cool and aloof, feeling inferior if I am not loud and aggressive, and very self-assertive in public. Being expected not to relate well to children, to be always "dignified" and never to play or be uninhibited. To be cool, uninvolved, in control of certain people (with others in control of me); and a firm believer in the system of leaders and followers, dominance and submission, male masters and female slaves.

Free the sister in myself! How to liberate *all* of myself? How to fit sexuality into the framework of my whole life, to be proud of myself and glad for what I am? How to love those around me, both men and women?

—Jeff Keith

# The Living in Brazil

In the Spring of 1970 the Living Theatre was invited to Brazil by Brazilian artists to help raise cultural and artistic consciousness in an underdeveloped part of the world. We have spent the last year in Brazil studying the Brazilian Reality and meeting with the Brazilian people—poor people, workers, artists, and students—in preparation for our new work, a vast theatrical spectacle of 150 plays, **The Legacy of Cain**. Three public performances have been given: two of these with students for a village square and performed at the invitation of the respective cities, and another created for and performed with 80 school children.

Early in the year the Living Theatre was invited to premier the **Legacy of Cain** at the Winter Festival at Ouro Preto, Minas Oerais. Some weeks after we arrived in Ouro Preto to begin preparation of the work, the Festival Board unexpectedly and without explanation retracted the invitation. Because of the great beauty of the city and the enormous human resources there, the group decided to remain in Ouro Preto and to continue the creation of the new work. During that time, the children's play was created and performed in a neighboring town. We began experimenting with new attitudes towards our community, our town, and our lives. We had many visitors from Ouro Preto and from the larger Brazilian cities near the coast. Our door was always open.

Then, on July 1, fifteen members of The Living Theatre were arrested by the Brazilian authorities (WIN, August, 1971). At this time they are being held in the town of Belo Horizonte on charges of possession of and trafficking in marijuana. Upon arrest they were also threatened with the charge of subversion. We believe the latter charge has been dropped, but are not absolutely certain. We know the charges and threatened charges are false because we are members of the group and worked and lived with them in Brazil. We were also arrested. Before being released we spoke with our fellow Living Theatre prisoners and were told by them that they all, Americans and foreigners, German, Austrian, Australian, Portuguese, Canadian, Peruvian and Brazilians, were forced to sign confessions admitting guilt of possession of and trafficking in marijuana. The confessions were extorted from them by beatings and slappings, women as well as men, and threats of a four month detention without access to legal counsel. In addition to these abuses, the Peruvian member received the abuse of an electric cattle prong on his body and one Brazilian member received electric shock on his genitals and hands before being beaten. This was related to us in prison by them all before we were released.

We were released because we were not in the house when the arrests occurred. The following day the Department of Political and Social Order (DOPS) was looking for Steve Israel again saying they had found an additional larger quantity of marijuana which they had dug up from under our house. They said they found this with the aid of a map pasted on the back of our house in Ouro Preto. The map, they said, was written in English and gave directions to the location where the alleged marijuana was buried. This is all fabrication.

Before being released we were taken into the office of one of the Delegados, chiefs, in charge of this case, Renato Aragao de Silveira, who showed us quite proudly his diplomas from the following American schools: 1) The National War College, 1) The Special Forces Training Center at Fort Bragg, 3) The State Police School at Rochester, New York, and 4) Georgetown University.

Steve Israel left the country but Julian Beck, Judith Malina, Mary Krapf and Andrew Nadelson, originally released, were rearrested. Julian Beck and Judith Malina, the co-founders of the Living Theatre, remain in jail. Andy Nadelson and Mary Krapf were released on a technicality.

At this time there are fifteen members of the Living Theatre in prison in Belo Horizonte. They have now been in jail for 27 days and can be legally held until October 1 of this year without being formally charged. As you know, in Brazil the law reads "guilty until proven innocent."

—STEVE BEN ISRAEL  
—MARY KRAPP  
—ANDREW NADELSON

#### Send Contributions and requests for more information to:

Paradise Defense Fund — c/o Beck  
800 West End Avenue  
N.Y.C. 10025 Phone: (212) 222-3183

#### Send Letters to:

Arios Zido Pires, Avenida Joao Pinheiro 161  
Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, Brazil

and

Your own Congressman or Congresswoman

#### Send Cables to:

President Garrustazu Medeci  
Via Col. Octavio Costa  
Office of the President of Public Relations  
Planalto Palace, Brasilia DF, Brazil

and

Ambassador William M. Rountree  
c/o American Embassy  
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Photo - Lenny Kamorlin

# FOOD FOR THOUGHT

The following article is one of the responses that we received to a piece that we published in our April 1st issue. That article, "Meat Is No Treat", drew more responses than almost anything else that we've published recently. Dorothy Brownold, the author of this article, writes that she is a professional nutritionist and that "if there are any further questions or comments, I would be glad to answer them. I have the use of an excellent medical library which would help me to find authoritative answers."

—Eds.

Food provides the raw materials for the synthesis of all living body matter and for the energy required for the synthesis as well as for other metabolic changes. Does it matter which foods we choose to eat? The kind of food consumed and the amounts consumed have a great influence on health and well being. Diet effects people's ability to think, to work, and thus their whole being.

Everyone eats some foods, and everyone develops preferences for some foods and dislikes for others. Each culture develops values for foods; some are called good, others are called bad. Some foods have religious or philosophical connotations. Which foods people choose to eat are determined by these feelings that people have about food.


There are some 300,000 plant species growing throughout the world. Yet only 3,000 have been tried for food use. Of those that have been tested only 300 are widely grown, and 12 of these provide us with 90% of our plant food supply. The number of possible edible animal foods is also large, and only a few are commonly used.

It is not the kind of food that is important to our bodies. A baby will grow if it is given the essential nutrients it needs to promote growth. Protein, carbohydrates, fats, minerals and vitamins are these essential substances called nutrients. If the body receives these necessary substances *from any source*, it will thrive. The body can be compared to a chemistry laboratory. It has the ability to break down the complex compounds in foods which are taken into the body. The simpler substances (amino acids, monosaccharides, fatty acids) are absorbed and used by the body to keep it functioning. Vitamins and minerals are released and used for various metabolic roles. The body cannot and does not differentiate between the food sources of these nutrients. Thus no one food is essential. No one food is indispensable for the nutrition of the body. There is a large variety of foods that supply essential nutrients, as well as possible synthetic sources of these same nutrients. The adequacy of a diet is judged by its ability to promote optimum growth. Very few people choose foods for the

nutrients they contain. Foods people choose to eat are chosen for many psychological, cultural and socio-economic reasons.

However, when an entire group of foods which are very rich in certain nutrients are not eaten, care must be taken to choose foods to supply those nutrients. Vegetarians, who do not eat meat, are faced with this problem. Both the vegetarian diet and the carnivorous diet can adequately feed mankind. Some people may prefer to eat diets rich in animal protein, but such a diet is not necessary. A diet without meat can be adequate if care is taken in choosing plant foods to supply a variety of proteins, or if dairy foods and eggs are included in the diet. From a nutritional point of view, animal or vegetable proteins should not be differentiated. It is known that the relative concentration of the amino acids, particularly the essential ones, is the most important factor determining the biological value of a protein. By combining different proteins in appropriate ways, vegetable proteins cannot be distinguished nutritionally from those of animal origin.

No living matter, so far discovered, is devoid of protein. Proteins play a significant role in all the activities of living organisms, from viruses to man. Amino acids (22 are known) are the building blocks of proteins. They are the simplest form of proteins, to which food proteins are broken down by the process of digestion and are absorbed into the blood stream and used throughout the body. The body needs amino acids but it cannot tell their source. It cannot tell whether the amino acids it uses came from soybeans, milk or hamburgers. The body can tell whether they are the specific needed amino acids. If needed ones are not supplied the body cannot function properly. Growth is limited, resistance to infection is decreased, the quality of blood diminishes and other changes occur.

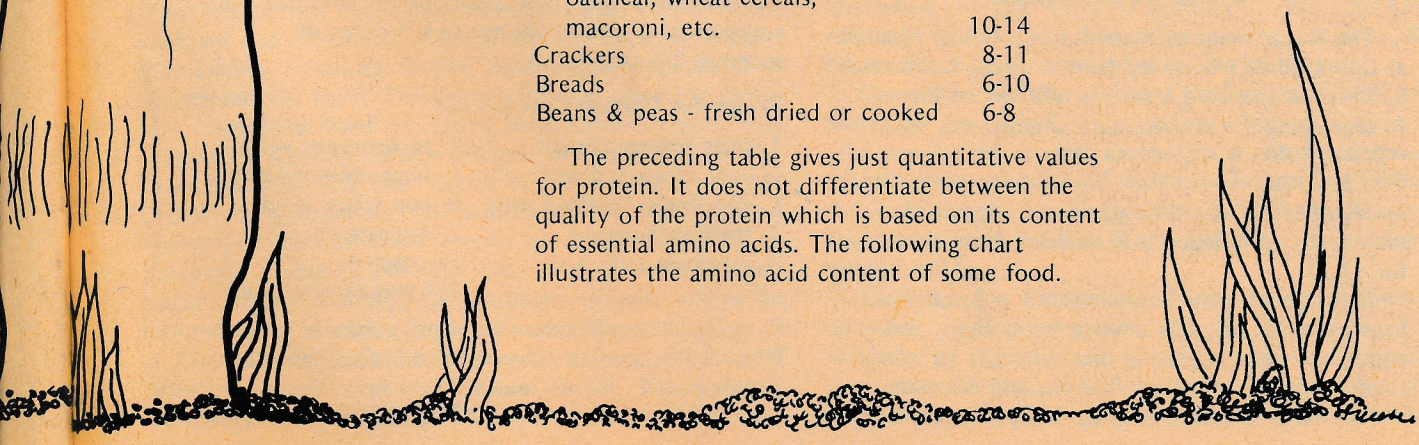


A variety of foods is desirable since a lack of an amino acid can be balanced by its presence in another food. Meat, eggs and milk contain complete proteins—proteins that contain all the essential amino acids. The body cannot synthesize essential amino acids; they must come from food. Gelatin and most vegetable proteins are incomplete. Two or three incomplete proteins can supplement each other, so that the resulting mixture has a higher nutritive value than the individual proteins, and is complete in essential amino acids. The following table illustrates the amount of protein in various foods.

### PROTEIN FOODS

	Protein Per Cent
<b>Animal Foods</b>	
Meats & Poultry cooked	
lean, medium done	30
medium fat, medium done	27
fat, medium done	22
Organ meats, uncooked	15-22
Fish, cooked	19-24
Shellfish	10-18
Cheeses (except cream)	19-22
Eggs, whole	13
Milk, whole	3.5
Gelatin (Jello)	2.5
<b>Vegetable Foods</b>	
Legumes, dried	
soybeans, peanuts, peas,	
beans, lentils	22-35
Nuts	9-24
Cereal products, dry	
oatmeal, wheat cereals,	
macaroni, etc.	10-14
Crackers	8-11
Breads	6-10
Beans & peas - fresh dried or cooked	6-8

The preceding table gives just quantitative values for protein. It does not differentiate between the quality of the protein which is based on its content of essential amino acids. The following chart illustrates the amino acid content of some food.



## AMINO ACID COMPOSITION OF SOME FOODS

Be sure to complement a low amino acid food with a food that is high in that amino acid at the same meal

Essential Amino Acids	Cheese eggs,milk meat				Whole	Nuts, Seed Oils <sup>1</sup>	Sesame &	Green		Yeast
		Corn	Cereal	Legumes	Grains w/Germ	Vegetables Soybeans	Sunflower Seeds	Peanuts	Leafy Veget.	
Cystine**			--	--			x			
Methionine			x	--	x	--	x	--	--	x
Isoleucine	x									
Leucine	x									
Lysine	x	--	--	x	x	x	--	--		--
Phenylalanine										--
Threonine	x	--	--	x	--	x		--		x
Tryptophan		--	--	--			-x			
Valine	x									

\*\* Not essential, but added because hard to get in a vegetarian diet.

x High amount of amino acid present in that food.

-- Low amount of amino acid present in that food.

BLANK spaces indicate a generally good balance of amino acids present with respect to other amino acids in the food.

In planning a meal, choose foods that have "x" amount of amino acid to balance the "--" in another food in the meal. Thus, in the following menu, methionine, the only amino acid low in soybeans, is balanced by the rich amount in whole wheat bread.

**Soybeans Creole**  
**Rice**  
**Broccoli**  
**Whole Wheat Bread & Margarine**  
**Watermelon**

A menu for a lacto-ovo vegetarian (vegetarian diets that include dairy products and eggs) is easily made adequate by the inclusion of dairy products and eggs. In the following menu the cottage cheese loaf provides all the essential amino acids.

**Cottage Cheese Loaf**  
**Baked Sweet Potatoes-Margarine**  
**Green Peas**  
**Cabbage Slaw with Mayonnaise**  
**Rye Bread & Margarine**

The Department of Nutrition, School of Health at Loma Linda University (Loma Linda, California 92354) has prepared a very helpful set of menus. In requesting the menus, state whether the total vegetarian diet is desired, or the one including milk and eggs. The cost is 30¢ (50¢ for both). An excellent set of scientific papers on vegetarian diets and their adequacy is available from them for \$1.25.

If the foods are wisely chosen it is possible to have excellent physical development, vigor, and endurance on a vegetarian diet. In order to insure adequate intake of other vitamins and minerals, include large amounts of green leafy vegetables

and fruits. Vitamin B12 is the only vitamin found only in animal foods. Some studies have shown effects of B12 deficiency in persons who followed a total vegetarian diet for a long period of time. Vitamin B12 supplementation may be indicated.

It does matter which foods are chosen to satisfy people's needs for food. They must be chosen with care so that essential amino acids and other nutrients are present for body functions.

### Recipe for Soybeans Creole

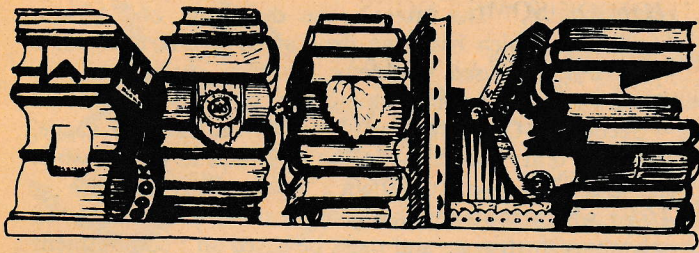
2 tablespoons oil	2/3 cup dry soybeans
2 tablespoons chopped onion	(2 cups cooked or canned)
4 tablespoons minced green pepper	salt & seasoning to taste
3 tablespoons whole wheat flour	1 cup tomatoes
	1 cup vegetable stock

Soak dry soybeans in water overnight. Then cook several hours until tender. Saute onion and pepper in the oil. Add flour and seasoning and blend well. Add tomatoes and stock and cook 2-3 minutes. Add soybeans and simmer 10 minutes. (makes 4 servings, 2/3 cup each.)

### Recipe for Cottage Cheese Loaf

3 cups cottage cheese	2 tablespoons yeast
1 1/2 cups uncooked oatmeal	1 large chopped onion
1 cup finely chopped nuts	1/2 cup wheat germ
2 teaspoons sage	1 tablespoon oil
1/2 teaspoon salt	3-4 eggs
	1/3 cup tomato sauce

Combine all ingredients thoroughly. Bake in greased 8" by 12" casserole (do not bake in loaf pan) at 350 degrees F. for 45 minutes to 1 hour. Serve with cranberry sauce. —DOROTHY BROWNOLD



## STOKELY SPEAKS: BLACK POWER BACK TO PAN-AFRICANISM

Stokely Carmichael  
Vintage, 1971  
paperback, \$1.95

Stokely Carmichael's search for an ideology and program of black liberation has taken him over ground as varied as the many parts of the world in which he has lived and worked. Like the development of the movement of which he has been an integral part, Stokely's political growth has not been a simple progression but has involved almost dialectical shifts and turns, contradictions and false starts. Much of this is documented in *Stokely Speaks*, which is not only a valuable source for understanding Carmichael's thinking but which also reveals much about the ideological trends in the black liberation movement.

The book is a collection of 15 speeches and articles spanning the years from 1965 through 1970. The speeches were given before black, white, and foreign audiences. The material is arranged in chronological order, and under the able editing of Ethel Minor, much of the repetition has been eliminated, making it easier to follow the thread of Stokely's development.

Born in Trinidad, Carmichael moved with his parents to New York where he attended the Bronx High School of Science. Later he entered Howard University in Washington, D.C. and seemed firmly on the road to a professional career and middle class respectability. But the non-violent sit-in movement begun by black students in Greensboro, N.C. caught his attention and in 1960 he joined an affiliate of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He journeyed to the South as a Freedom Rider in 1961, and then worked in the South as a SNCC organizer until 1966 when he became chairman of the organization.

These were tumultuous times, witnessing widespread urban revolts and a resurgence of black nationalism. SNCC abandoned its adherence to nonviolence and Carmichael gained international notoriety as the foremost advocate of Black Power. His subsequent travels to Cuba, Africa, North Vietnam and Europe (to take part in the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal) further enhanced his reputation as spokesman for Third World liberation. On returning to the U.S. Carmichael tried organizing Black United Fronts, participated in forming a shaky alliance between SNCC and the Black Panthers, and later found himself ousted from both organizations because of his "cultural nationalism". (For an account of some of these events, see *Black Awakening in Capitalist America*.) He now lives with his wife, African singer Miriam Makeba, in Conakry, Guinea, where he reports he is studying under Kwame Nkrumah.

Carmichael's political development may be divided roughly into four periods: integrationist, Black Power reformist, black nationalist, and Pan-Africanist. All of these

stages are represented in *Stokely Speaks*, although the demarcation lines are not always clear and there are often anticipations in one stage of themes which later become dominant. In addition, there are three speeches delivered in other countries before non-American audiences in 1967-68, immediately following the reformist period, which have a much stronger anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist and internationalist tone. How much these are representative of Carmichael's personal views is difficult to assess since it is known that at least one of them—the Cuba speech—was the result of a collective effort involving several other SNCC people. Finally, the book also contains a brief but excellent article analyzing the pitfalls of liberalism.

In the integrationist period, running through the early 1960's, Carmichael accepted the goal of racial integration using non-violent demonstrations as a means for achieving this. (Howard Zinn's *SNCC: The New Abolitionists* deals with this period in more detail than the present book.) For example in the essay "Who is Qualified?" he criticized American society for excluding the uneducated black and poor masses. But at this point (late 1965) he was already concerned with the questions of power and political independence. He advocated the establishment of "freedom parties" through which southern blacks could elect candidates and wield effective power.

With the articulation of the black power concept in 1966, Carmichael moved to a more sophisticated position seeking basic reforms, rather than mere inclusion. Self-determination through independent political parties and community control became the vehicles for attacking the evils of poverty and powerlessness. Nonviolence was dropped in favor of self-defense. Carmichael now denounced integration because it was elitist, operated in one direction only, and reinforced white supremacist thinking. Ethnic pluralism was offered as the alternative to integration. The enemy was no longer simply southern bigots, but goes beyond all individuals to include all racist and exploitative institutions. Specifically, Carmichael pointed to the destructive economic and cultural impact of colonialism (both domestic and international), and he urged black youths to refuse to fight in Vietnam and instead to think of hooking up with black people around the world (a hint of Pan Africanism).

In terms of his economic analysis at this stage, Carmichael questioned capitalism but he presented no analysis of it, nor was he pro-socialist. Instead he proposed black economic cooperatives through which money could be channeled into the "communal pocket." This is the kind of reformist thinking which also characterized the book, *Black Power* which he co-authored with Charles Hamilton.

Carmichael sharply criticized past alliances with whites based on "morality" or "conscience" because these have seldom worked to the advantage of blacks. Instead he advised white students to return to their own communities to work against racism, but he held out the hope of an eventual alliance between blacks and poor whites based on specific needs.

Similarly he admonished black college students to abandon frivolous pursuits and to take their studies seriously so that they could return to ghetto communities with concrete skills. He also stressed the need for organizational and psychological independence, and black unity

("peoplehood")— themes which become more important as thinking becomes more nationalist.

It is here that the line of development is interrupted. The two speeches from this period—one given in London and the other in Cuba—combined with a later speech made in the U.S. to an audience of Arab students all have an explicitly anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist approach, and they go beyond blackness to underscore the need for Third World unity. In the speeches the "system of international white supremacy coupled with international capitalism" are seen as the chief enemies, and Carmichael calls for a two-pronged attack on both racism and capitalism. It is also while in Cuba that he began advocating urban guerrilla warfare.

But on returning to the U.S. Carmichael dropped his flirtation with Marxism and instead started organizing Black United Fronts around the principle that "Every Negro is a potential black man." With urban rebellions rocking major cities and blacks being murdered in growing numbers, Carmichael believed that only through arming and unifying blackness could the race hope to survive. More and more the enemy appeared to be white as a whole, and a race war seemed imminent. Electoral politics was now dismissed as ineffective. Any thought of an alliance with poor whites was discounted because of white racism. Similarly, Marxism and socialism were dismissed because "neither communism nor socialism speak to the problem of racism." "Black nationalism must be our ideology," he asserted.

It was at this time (1968) that Carmichael veered toward cultural nationalism, the idea that race predominates over class in shaping political ideology. He proposed black unity that would embrace revolutionaries as well as conservatives. "It is not a question of left or right," he said, "it's a question of black." The ultimate outcome of this apolitical strategy was the establishment of black united fronts around the country in which the militants such as Carmichael were gradually pushed out to be replaced by better organized, better financed and more conservative black groups.

With his later ouster from SNCC and the Panthers, Carmichael settled in Guinea, and has now emerged as an advocate of Pan Africanism. The book's two selections on Pan Africansim represent in part a synthesis of themes from his earlier speeches. For example, he returns to the two-fold (race and class) analysis of his Cuba speech and adopts an explicitly anti-capitalist, pro-socialist stance. Marx suddenly is no longer irrelevant, although Carmichael rightly attacks socialists who are racist. He now urges blacks in the U.S. to work for African liberation (which hopefully will provide an international base for world-wide black liberation), but not to neglect the domestic fight for full rights and community self-determination. He devotes considerable discussion to guerrilla warfare but prefaces it with the remark that picking up the gun is meaningless without political understanding.

The reader is left with the impression that Carmichael's political thinking is maturing; that he is beginning to deal with some of the contradictions and misconceptions of his past positions. However, those familiar with the writings of his mentor, Kwame Nkrumah, will realize that he still has a number of problems to work out. For example, Carmichael appears confused as to what he means by socialism. On the one hand he speaks of scientific socialism, but elsewhere he

refers to a socialism "which has its roots in (African) communalism." The latter is the definition of "African Socialism," which has been denounced by Nkrumah as a myth which is used to "deny the class struggle, and to obscure genuine socialist commitment."

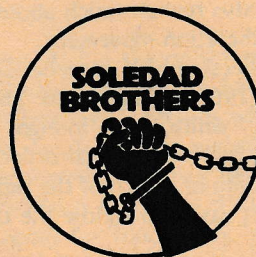
Secondly, Carmichael continues to advocate a vague, apolitical unity for blacks in the U.S. This at a time when Nkrumah has just published a book, *Class Struggle in Africa* which contends that genuine unity can be achieved only through struggle and must be based on a commitment to a revolutionary program.

Finally, in his recent American speaking tour there were noticeable overtones of cultural nationalism in Carmichael's presentations. Again it is Nkrumah who has written that Negritude, the prototype of cultural nationalism, is "irrational, racist and non-revolutionary."

Perhaps Nkrumah's recent writings are indicative of where Carmichael's thinking is heading?

—Robert L. Allen

The reviewer is author of *Black Awakening in Capitalist America* (Anchor, 1970).



## THE SOLEDAD BROTHERS DESPERATELY NEED CASH!

With the trial finally about to start, the Soledad Brothers Legal Defense team is on the verge of total bankruptcy. The outcome of the trial hangs in the balance. The Soledad Brothers have been under indictment since February 1970 (more than 18 months). The massive pre-trial assaults by the prosecution (changes of venue, gag rules, harassment, endless pre-trial hearings) have almost completely exhausted every penny raised by the defense.

*The trial is now scheduled to start on August 9, 1971.*

Defense attorneys expect it to last 5 months. Conservative estimates put the cost of the defense (expert witnesses, special investigators, travel expenses for witness interviews from all over the state, the bare necessities for supporting three attorneys and their staff during the trial, etc.) at \$125,000. The state will be spending many times this amount in its ruthless attempt to railroad the Soledad Brothers to the gas chamber. Your money is urgently needed to prevent a legal lynching. Please send your contribution immediately to:

### THE SOLEDAD BROTHERS LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

510 North Third Street  
San Jose, California 95112

I enclose \_\_\_\_\_ for the cause of justice in the Soledad Case.

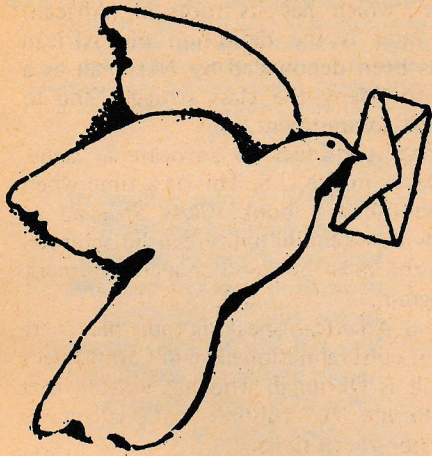
\_\_\_\_\_ Please send Soledad Button (75c minimum contribution)

\_\_\_\_\_ I would like to work for the Soledad Brothers in my community. Please send information.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_





The fact that Murray Bookchin (WIN, May 1, 1971) could write: "The anarchist concept of a free, decentralized society is no longer merely a utopian dream: technology has made it possible . . ." indicates that basically he himself doesn't believe in anarchism. Our concept of a free, decentralized society has never been predicated on any particular technological level to be viable, but even if it were, that prerequisite technology would have been achieved better and sooner by an anarchist approach than by an authoritarian, centralized one. Every single advance ever made by mankind has been because somebody broke some sort of law, rule, or convention—scientific, religious, artistic, or legal. Today's technology is not because of capitalism, but in spite of it. The profit motive doesn't encourage experimentation, but inhibits it. The billions invested by the state in research are not spent to create but rather to destroy. If society had gotten the state off its back a century ago it is inconceivable how much farther ahead we'd be by now.

But Murray could never accept the foregoing because he's essentially a Marxist determinist waiting for St. Karl's predictions to come true in their pre-ordained sequence. He really does not trust the free society to solve any problems, so if it ever arrived and began to get itself into trouble, he could only hope to reintroduce capitalism in order to invent some more technology and bail itself out.

The thing that really infuriates me, however, is the casual manner with which Murray writes off the entire history of anarchism with two words: "no longer." The first time I met Murray, in December of 1965 shortly after he had latched on to anarchism, we argued about this same notion. I remember trying to tell him that every anarchist who ever lived prior to 1965 was not crazy. The only thing Murray and his myrmidons knew about classical anarchists was that they didn't like them. Bakunin, for example, was a 'putschist.' At one point that evening Murray aimed his verbal pyrotechnics at nonviolence. Rather than attempt a theoretical rejoinder I pointed out his rifle standing in the corner with its

slings on backwards. I corrected it for him. He was unabashed.

In vain did I argue that there was not a single idea they were coming up with that night which I couldn't find in one or more books published fifty years earlier. The following week, by agreement, I returned with 25 books but was not permitted to open even one. Murray doesn't particularly want to hear anything he didn't say, nor read anything he didn't write. (Viz. his puerile tantrum in RAT a few years ago because a Paul Goodman article on anarchism had been published by the N.Y. Times Magazine: "How long do we have to endure you? How long do we have to suffer more of your senile posturings . . . etc., etc.")

Nor is there an anarchist idea in Murray's entire article which I couldn't locate in a book published 1900 or earlier. For example in the sentence immediately following the one calling us all utopian dreamers, Murray mentions the necessity of overcoming the contradiction between town and country, which is exactly the leitmotif of an 1898 book by our chimeric comrade Kropotkin. Its title is self-explanatory: **Fields, Factories, and Workshops**. Actually Murray doesn't really know very much about anarchist theory; he certainly doesn't understand it; nor is it very likely that anyone could ever get him to understand it.

What sort of insufferable arrogance can permit him to write off an entire social movement as futile until he happened along? With two words, "no longer," he consigns millions of comrades to an ineffectual oblivion. The Haymarket martyrs went to the gallows, Sacco and Vanzetti were electrocuted, and untold thousands died in Russia, Spain, and elsewhere—all for a pointless myth. Nor is the futility limited to the anarchists. Virtually the entire socialist spectrum has aimed ultimately at a vision of a stateless classless society.

The harsh reality of it is that anarchism for Murray is more of an ego trip than a philosophy. It's an opportunity to overwhelm an audience with his scholarship and eloquence—so long as that audience doesn't know too much. Anyone more sophisticated can spot the fact that Murray has all his historic insights as backwards as the sling on the rifle, and has been turning the eloquence on and off like a faucet for the cause before this, and the one before that, all the way back to Stalinism.

Granted he's impressive. I know few anarchists who speak or write more effectively even with the advantage of believing it themselves. And anyone who tries to argue with him will be inundated forthwith. But I marvel at how little Murray is affected by his own rhetoric. Once when I was listening to a fervent description of the lack of coercion and liberatory ecstasy which anarchy will engender, he interrupted his own rhapsody by jumping up from the sofa screaming, "Summerhill or no Summerhill . . ." and proceeded to clobber his young son for creating too much of a disturbance on the

sidelines. It's a vignette I cherish. But then nobody has ever accused Murray of being consistent. And I suppose an authoritarian anarchist isn't much wierder than a carnivorous ecologist.

—Robert S. Calese  
New York City

I wasn't going to bother commenting on an irritating short article that appeared in the April 1st issue of WIN, "Meat is No Treat", but have found that it stuck in my throat (sorry) all this time.

How is it that you ran such an absurd and inaccurate short? Surely there are some self-respecting vegies on your staff, as there are at this household, who know that "body odor" does *not* disappear (god forbid) when one gives up meat, that eggs *don't* "produce constipation" in small or even large doses, and that cow's milk is *not* a "poor quality food." What gives?

Mike Griefen  
Craigsville, W. Va.

Readers of WIN should run, not walk, to the paperback bookstore and there get a copy of issue No. 12 of the *New American Review*, to read in it, first, an article by Michael Rossman about dome building, but even more important, an article by Emile Capouya called "Laying Down the Gun." It is a badly needed, humane, realistic, and truly revolutionary response to a lot of the romantic and vicious nonsense that has recently been said, written and done in the name of revolution. If we can only take its message to heart, we may begin to get somewhere.

—John Holt  
Boston, Mass.

Received your urgent appeal. Find enclosed my month's wages (\$10). Actually, it is from the many here who read my copy of WIN and who will be supporting my caffeine and nicotine habit for the next month.

You've helped sustain many of us.  
—Bob Eaton, No. 36253  
Allenwood Prison

Got your mag. and am diggin' it. Want to thank you deeply from myself because, although the situation is bad here, I see the outlook outside is dim. (inflation—lack of bread). I realize papers are having plenty of trouble getting the truth out. I can only say your paper and work is much appreciated. The oppression in this cesspool gets us down at times but beautiful people like you keep us truckin'. We may be in a physical cage but our minds can be free.

With the myth of rehabilitation, which is only destruction of free thought, we need news that will keep us tuned into what our people are doing on the streets.

Someday we'll be free and able to contribute and add our voices and actions to the many thousands. The future depends upon a united people. Peace and Power!

—Bill Chess, No. 624-912  
Washington State Reformatory

ALPHA BRAIN WAVES—Electronic Bio-feedback units of professional quality, low price \$50 to \$70. Helps to improve meditation, overcome tension, produce drug-free high. Free information. Aquarian Research Foundation, 5620 Morton St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19144. Tel: (215) 849-1259.

Calcutta was once a quiet suburb, and still is to some. Stickers \$1.00. Bonus Vasectomy Drive, P.O. Box 405, New York, N.Y. 10009.

THE IRONBOUND DAY CARE CENTER AT 55 HAWKINS ST. IN NEWARK, N.J. A REALLY TOGETHER COMMUNITY RUN AND OWNED DAY CARE CENTER. NEEDS BREAD, MONEY EVEN. PREFERABLY AMERICAN. FEDERAL FUNDS DON'T SEEM TO GET DOWN TO THE LEVEL OF THE HONEST PEOPLE AND SINCE IRONBOUND IS RUN EXCLUSIVELY BY LITTLE PEOPLE, THE GELT IS GONE. OPENED IN 1968 THE CENTER SERVICES 15-18 CHILDREN DAILY. THEY ARE PROVIDED PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION, MATERIAL NEEDS, LOVE, AND COMFORT. BUT MOST OF ALL ARE STARTED DOWN THE PATH TO SANITY, IF THERE IS ONE IN THIS SHIT ASS WORLD. CONTRIBUTIONS MIGHT BE TAX DEDUCTABLE; WE DON'T KNOW YET. ANYTHING THAT CAN BE SPARED BY OUR FELLOW PEACE CREEPS WOULD BE GREATLY APPRECIATED.

# Classifieds

COMMUNES, U.S. A.—A comprehensive guide to existing American communes (religious, scientific, hip, psychedelic, group marriage). Extensive bibliographies; List of Alternative Organizations, \$4.00 postpaid. Alternatives Foundation, P.O. Drawer A, San Francisco, Calif. 94131.

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MAKE LAUGHING GAS. New book, "Making Reality More Real", gives simple, one-step, one-chemical (easily obtained) kitchen type procedure for producing nitrous oxide at home. Also described are detailed psychedelic and medical effects and experiences by scientists (William James, Humphrey Davy) and poets (Coleridge). Send \$2.00 to TOU, Dept. 16, 6311 Yucca, L.A., Ca. 90028. Ecstasy or refund. Plain envelope.

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# Local WRL Groups

- Albany WRL*, Box 1237, Albany, N.Y. 12201  
*WRL Southern Region Office*, Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence, Box 7477, Atlanta, Ga. 30309  
*Columbus WRL*, 1954 Indianola, Columbus, Ohio 43201  
*Detroit WRL*, 28314 Danvers Court, Farmington, Mich. 48024  
*Jamestown WRL*, 12 Partridge St., Jamestown, N.Y. 14701  
*Lawrence WRL*, Canterbury House, 116 Louisiana, Lawrence, Kansas  
*Milwaukee Area Draft Information and WRL*, 1619 West Wells, Milwaukee, Wisc.  
*Newark WRL*, Box 530, Kearny, N.J. 07032  
*Oklahoma WRL*, 1335 Jenkins, Norman, Okla. 78069  
*Washington WRL, Peace & Freedom Through Non-violent Action*, American University, Box 231, Washington, D.C. 20016  
*WRL Southwest Regional Office*, 1003 Forrester North West, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87104  
*Austin WRL—Direct Action*, P.O. Box 7161, University Sta., Austin, Texas 78712  
*Ft. Worth WRL*, 6157 Calmont St., Ft. Worth, Texas 76116  
*Socorro WRL*, Box 2452, Campus Station, Socorro, New Mexico  
*WRL Western Regional Office*, 833 Haight St., San Francisco, Calif. 94117

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.

## literature

- REVOLUTION & EQUILIBRIUM** by Barbara Deming. Summarized in WIN's review as "an illuminating personal odyssey of an eminently perceptive thinker, lucid writer, and humanely, courageously, committed human being." . . . . 269 pp. \$3.95
- THE RESISTANCE** A history and analysis by Michael Ferber and Staughton Lynd paperback, 293 pp \$2.95
- THE ORGANIZER'S MANUAL** Practical suggestions for grass roots organizing by the O.M. Collective. Paperback, 366 pp \$1.25
- REVOLUTIONARY NONVIOLENCE** by David Dellinger. His selected essays from 1943 to the present, including first-hand accounts of Cuba, mainland China, North and South Vietnam. 490 pp. \$2.50
- SAL SI PUEDES: CESAR CHAVEZ AND THE NEW AMERICAN REVOLUTION** by Peter Mattiessen. "At a time when violence seems to have become a fact of public life, Chavez has maintained the principles of nonviolence." (*N.Y. Times*) 372 pp. \$2.95
- GANDHI—HIS RELEVANCE FOR OUR TIMES** An anthology including writings by A. J. Muste, Joan Bondurant, Mulford Sibley, G. Ramachandran, etc. 383 pp. \$2.95
- REBELS AGAINST WAR** by Lawrence S. Wittner The story of the U.S. peace movement from 1941 to 1960. 286 pp. \$2.95
- WE HAVE BEEN INVADED BY THE 21st CENTURY** by David McReynolds. Selected essays from WIN, the Village Voice and elsewhere, plus new material by one of our own Home Folk. Introduction by Paul Goodman. 270 pp. \$1.25
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