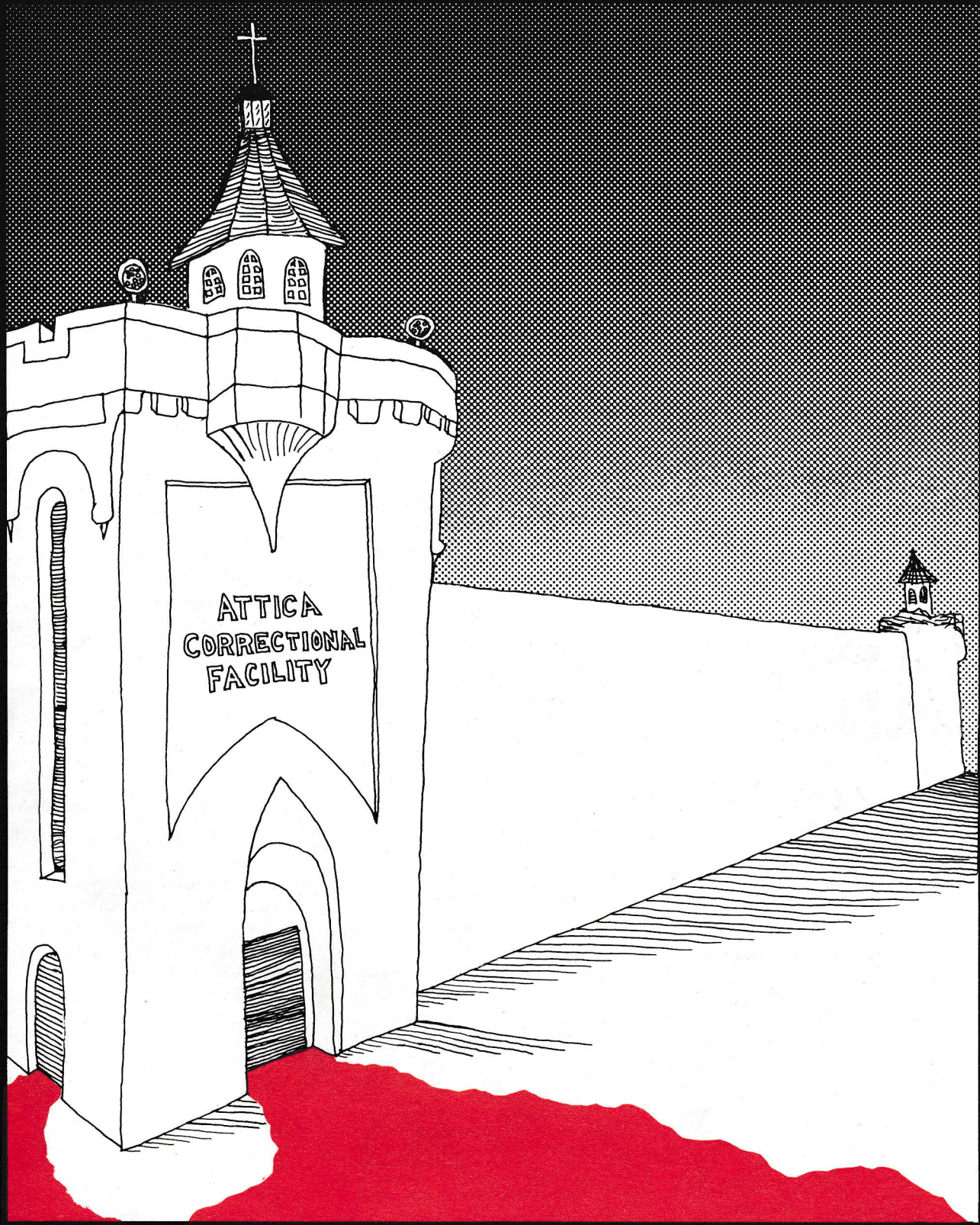


October 15 1971

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win

living theatre controversy
northern ireland news
anarchists in amsterdam





FIRST MARINE OFFICERS WIN CO DISCHARGES

Two Marine lieutenants, Robert Randolph of Lawrenceville, Va. and John McDonough of Farmingdale, N.Y., on September 3 became the first Marine officers to win CO discharges. Their cases were handled by ACLU Attorney Marvin Karparkin.

Although some enlisted men have been released from the Marines as COs, this was the first such case involving officers. —J.P.

ORGANIZING ALBANY, OR FIDDLING WHILE ROME BURNS

Things are looking up in the Capitol District, but remembering 1917 we can say with Emma Goldman, "Political independence was but the first step on the road to the new life." Political fragmentations on the liberal-left, while never more conscious of their differences, have not in the recent past been working harder to forge new links.

The tragic experience of the Tri-City Peace Action Coalition (Tri-Pac): it shifted from a single issue approach (and all that entails) to a multi-issue organization (and all that entails) by a brief flurry of hands at one meeting and back again a week later and so on until a dampening took place, and April 24th came and went and Mayday came and went, and the students went home, and someone noticed Tri-Pac was dead, decayed, recycled.

There were some recriminations: "The Trots ruined it." "The People's Coalition ruined it." "The Pacifists ruined it." "The Anarchists ruined it." "The Liberals were scared off by . . ."—take your pick.

Now it is Fall and things are looking up because once again the Trots, Pacifists, Anarchists, Peoples Coalition, Gays, Women, Ministers, Quakers, Priests, Rabbis, Left, Liberals, NWRO, WRL, YSA, PCPJ, GLF, WILPF—in short, the names, initials, professions, tendencies—are meeting together, and meeting separately, and aiming at long term local organizing. —Tony Costello

FOUR ARRESTS AT DRAFT TABLES

Four people who have been sitting at a resistance table inside the Oakland Draft Board were arrested in August on four consecutive days for trespassing and disturbing the peace. John and Ying Kelley and Josh Nelson were arrested for trespassing; I was arrested for both trespassing and disturbing the peace.

These new arrests are believed to be sparked in large part by the move of the Oakland and Berkeley boards into the same office. Another reason for the arrests is that we have been so effective both in

making friends with some Selective Service employees and in getting men to seriously consider non-registration.

Despite the arrests, we have been continuing to sit at the Oakland-Berkeley board. At present, we are leaving when threatened, because we are awaiting the outcome of the trial before risking any further arrests. We are still fairly effective though, despite the fact that we leave when asked. We talk with many men and keep in contact with the board employees.

We will be attempting to win acquittal at our trial, so that we can legally set up a table in the draft board here, and so that people around the country can feel free to do the same at other draft boards. Should the case lose in court, we will continue the draft board project anyway. We are interested in making this project as close to a classical Gandhian Satyagraha campaign as possible. So the logical next step after attempting uncompromisingly to win our case through legal means is to continue doing what we believe is right, with the natural risk of arrest. Some people would continue setting tables and leave when threatened with arrest, but at least ten others have said they are willing to risk arrest and possibly lengthy prison terms. —Marc Coleman/
Gentle Strength

(See article by Marc in WIN, October 1, for more information about this project.)

PROGRESS IN OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma's WRL is working with other peace groups to bring non-violence, through both direct action and theory, to the Okies. We have organized demonstrations, community dinners and we are putting together a People's Library. We are working with tax resistance, high school resistance, and the People's Peace Treaty. Work has been slow because we are still bringing people together and building a strong action group. So far, the people have not been very responsive. The Oklahoma Highway Patrol, due to higher government officials, has been very repressive.

We have circulated the Treaty in high schools, universities, and shopping centers, but we are still having

trouble in building a general awareness of the Treaty and its potential. The press has purposely censored all news about the Treaty. It has been a main demand in three demonstrations but has never been mentioned in the papers or on T.V.

Most people involved in our actions and community work have been students. We are working on involving adults through actions and leaflets. A few adults have participated in working with the Treaty and planning actions but very few actually join us in demonstrations.

Future plans center around a state-wide nonviolence seminar, actions as called for at the PCPJ conference in Milwaukee, new and creative attempts at building a sense of alternative community in Oklahoma, and we will try to hold an Oklahoma Coalition for Peace and

Justice conference. We hope to hold the conference in July so we can get actions together for the summer and fall.

We wish to encourage any suggestions or donations which might help our progress. Please contact us at: WRL, Box H, Norman, Oklahoma 73069.
—Joel Cohen

OMEGA TEAMS IN BANGLA DESH

According to Peace News, September 10: "Operation Omega's No. 2 team completed their first aid-giving mission without incident on Monday last—crossing the border in an area where the Pakistan Army are no longer in control, distributing food to last 800 people for three days and

returning to India for more supplies. Omega's No. 1 team crossed the border at Petrapol (as they had before), were stopped by Pakistan Army soldiers and led away out of sight of observers. On Tuesday evening it was learned that they had been imprisoned in Jessore. The objective of this team was to defy the authority of Pakistan over Bangla Desh and imprisonment was expected.

"To the best of anyone's knowledge, this (Operation Omega) relief was the first to actually get distributed inside Bangla Desh since the Pakistan Army invasion of March 25."

Members of No. 1 team are Christine Pratt, Joyce Keniwell, Ben Crow (all British), and Dan Due (American), with Ellen Connett as link-member at the border. Members of No. 2 team are Freer Spreckley, Marc Duran, and Gordon Slaven.

—J.P.

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

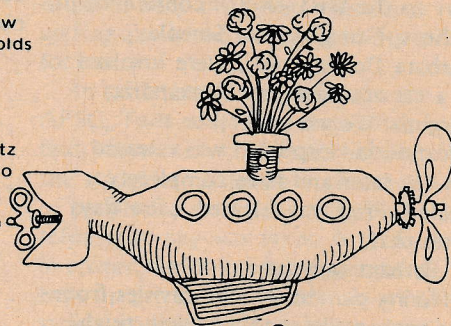
elliott linzer
jackson maclow
david mc Reynolds
peter merlin
karen messer
jim peck
igal roodenko
wendy schwartz
lorraine shapiro
bonnie stretch
mayer vishner
linda wood
mike wood

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We apologize profusely to Robert Nichols for forgetting to credit him with having written **An American Soldier's Funeral** in the 9/15/71 issue.

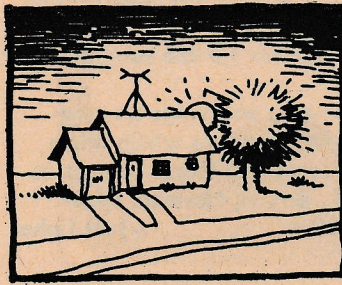
October 15, 1971
Volume VII, Number 16

ISRAELI DRAFT RESISTER JAILED

"Reuben Lassman, one of the four Israeli COs, was arrested by the military police on September 6," reports the latest WRI Newsletter. "He has been sentenced to 21 days for not appearing for his induction and put into Military Prison 6m, the toughest and most cruel military prison. If after release he persists in his refusal to be conscripted, he can be resented indefinitely."

The four young Israelis, in refusing to serve, stated: "We are unwilling to serve in an occupation army. It has been demonstrated in history that occupation means foreign rule, foreign rule begets resistance, resistance begets oppression, oppression begets terror and counter-terror. We were not born free in order to become oppressors. Oppression is a bad reason to die for."

WRI urges that protests over Lassman's imprisonment be addressed to the Israeli Ministry of Defense, Tel Aviv, Israel. —J.P.



BARBARA DEMING INJURED

On September 2, while on the way to the WRL annual conference in Athens, Georgia, Fred Smedley, Barbara Deming and I were involved in a car accident near Alexandria, Virginia. We were taken to the Alexandria Hospital. I was released a week later and have completely healed. Fred was released a few days after that.

Barbara was the worst hurt, suffering punctured lung cavities from her broken ribs, and a broken thigh. For many days she was hooked to a respirator machine and other devices in the Intensive Care Unit. Her lung cavities healed up and she began to breathe more normally after ten days.

On September 17 she had improved enough to have a cast put on her leg. She is in her own private room now and is taking a liquid diet. Her brother Quentin Deming, who is a doctor, his wife Vida, and Barbara's close friend Jane Verlaine have been there with her since the accident.

Quentin says that she might be moved to a New York City hospital fairly soon. Her spirits are good and her mind is clear and sharp as ever. You can send cards and messages to her, care of the Alexandria Hospital, 709 Duke Street.

—Peter Kiger

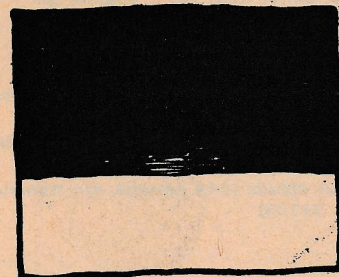
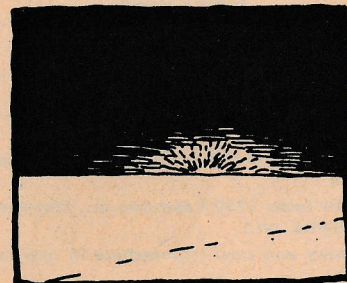
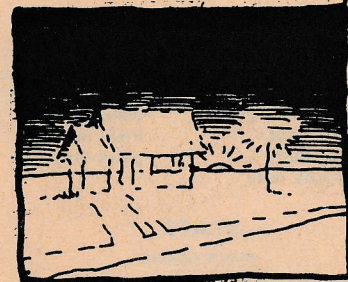
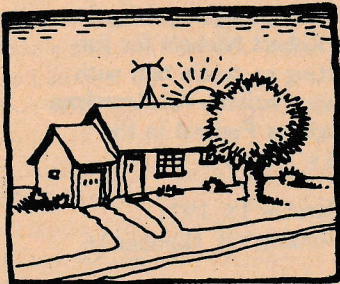
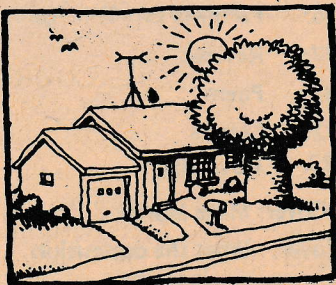
TRUDEAU PUTS CONSCIENCE ABOVE LAW

"If you were a young American of draft age called up to go to Vietnam, would you come to Canada?" that country's Prime Minister Trudeau was asked in an interview in the September issue of the United Church Observer.

He answered: "God knows what I would think if I were of that age. But I could perhaps answer your question indirectly by saying that those who make the conscientious judgement that they must not participate in this war and who become draft-dodgers have my complete sympathy, and indeed our political approach has been to give them access to Canada whether they are draft-dodgers—or even more serious—deserters from the ranks of their armed forces.

"I think that the only ultimate guide we have is our conscience, and if the law of the land goes against our conscience, I think we should disobey the law." —J.P.

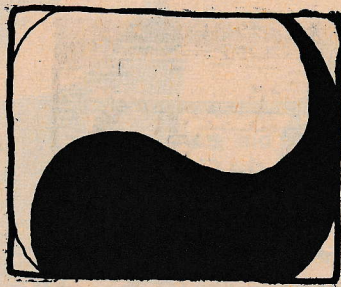
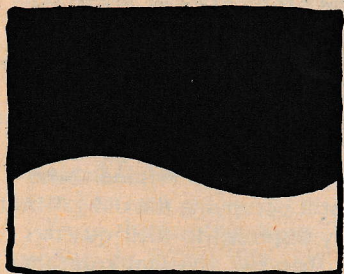
La vie cosmique



GUERRILLA THEATER AT AIRLINE

On September 10, in front of a Fifth Avenue skyscraper, eight "dead" persons with bloodied bandages around their heads, lay on the sidewalk. Behind them stood two men holding a big model airplane painted black and a placard which said "World Airways." Located in this skyscraper, World Airways, America's biggest private air freight and charter company, has been flying armaments to Pakistan. Heading the company is a retired Air Force general, Howard Estes. WIN readers who want to write a protest can address it to him c/o World Airways, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.

The guerrilla theater protest was sponsored by Bangla Desh Action Coalition, a new joint group including the Friends of East Bengal, which sponsored the ship picketing and others. Heading the coalition is Igal Roodenko, WRL chairman. —J.P.



LEAVES AFSC ON TAX ISSUE

Tom Flower, who attended the Peacemaker orientation program in Allentown, Mo., this year and last, has resigned from his job as Peace Education Secretary for the San Antonio, Texas, American Friends Service Committee because they honored an IRS levy on his salary in the amount of \$5.06 for the telephone excise tax. Tom was somewhat surprised by this action on the part of the AFSC, because they had earlier accepted and used a revised W-4 withholding tax form claiming 15 dependents knowing that he increased the number of dependents in order to keep the government from getting any of his money and using it for war.

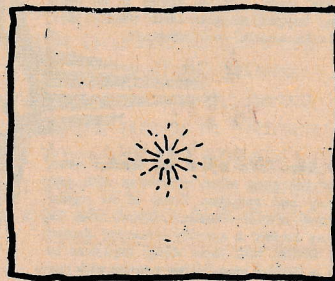
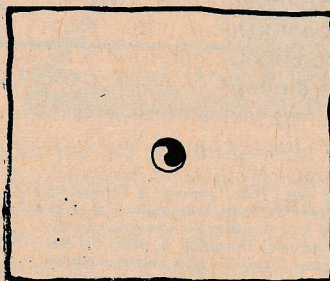
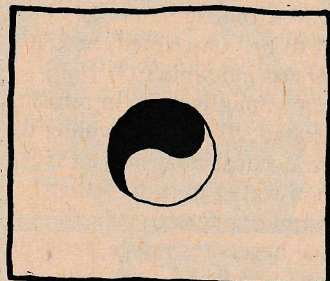
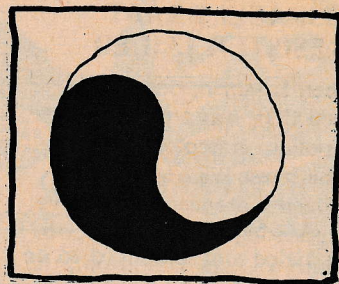
In his letter of resignation to the AFSC, Tom said, "The conviction that I cannot in conscience support the slaughter, actual or anticipated, of people led me to the position of refusing to pay war taxes. A symbolic protest, in which the government ends up getting the money, does not satisfy my criteria for war tax resistance.

"I have understanding and empathy for the Service Committee's positions vis a vis the legal hassles of tax resistance. Although I may question some of those positions, e.g., would the loss of tax exempt status through principled resistance be restricting or perhaps liberating and exhilarating. I realize that I lack the experience and perspective represented in the AFSC consensus. I do, however, know what my action must be.

"Therefore, I ask that I be released from my position as Peace Education Secretary. I will continue to serve until a replacement is found."

Tom is now looking for a job where the government will not be able to get any of his money.

—Peacemaker



VIRGINIA SUPREME COURT HOLDS VN WAR, ILLEGAL

"Our use of armed forces in Vietnam does not constitute war in the legal sense because Congress has not declared war against North Vietnam."

So wrote Justice Thomas Gordon, Jr. in a Virginia Supreme Court decision, reversing a lower court decision in an insurance case involving a survivor of a GI killed in a jeep while on active duty in Vietnam. The court upheld the survivor against the insurance company which had resorted to an escape clause excluding death "by war or an act of war suffered . . . while in military or naval service in time of war."

—J.P.

**MILITANT PACIFIST
OF BOTH
WORLD WARS DEAD**

Max Sandin, who was court-martialed and sentenced to be shot for being a CO in World War I (the sentence was later commuted to 18 months) and who also was an objector in World War II, died in a Cleveland old age home on September 14 at the age of 82. He is survived by his wife, son and

daughter and one granddaughter.

His obit in the Cleveland Press recalls that over the years he "picketed and demonstrated against nuclear warfare and made annual income tax declarations that stated he had no intention of paying."

Right until the end he pursued the tax resistance struggle, instituting court action to stop the government from withholding the funds from his social security.

—J.P.

**6 DAY DEMONSTRATION AT
FEDERAL REFORMATORY
FOR WOMEN**

Late on Tuesday, September 14, inmates at the Federal Reformatory for Women at Alderson, West Virginia, which holds 600 women, began a sympathy demonstration for prisoners at Attica State Prison in New York. They went around the prison grounds gathering support, including people confined in maximum security who broke out to join.

During the week, 100-200 residents took over and stayed in the building which had once been used for the prison industry garment factory. They held a work strike and presented 42 grievances to the prison administration. These incorporated demands for changes in parole procedure, which were on a petition which 378 inmates had signed and sent to the Attorney General earlier in the month. There were also many demands concerning more recompense for work and services performed by inmates, and for expansions in vocational, educational, therapeutic and medical programs.

Early Saturday morning, September 18, gas-masked guards with clubs sent in from the Federal Prisons at Ashland, Kentucky and Morgantown, West Virginia, were brought onto the prison grounds. Prisoners who were still occupying the old garment factory dispersed to their quarters rather than risk a violent confrontation. When they were locked into their quarters, many broke out through the screens.

On Sunday afternoon, September 19, a group of 20 to 30 gathered near the visiting area at the inner gatehouse and demanded to see the press. They said that the demonstration was not over (as the Warden had said) and that many people would not be going to work on Monday.

Finally, on Tuesday, September 21, tear gas was used as inmates protested while 66 so-called "ring-leaders" were moved to the Federal Prison at Ashland Kentucky to await transfer to state prisons.

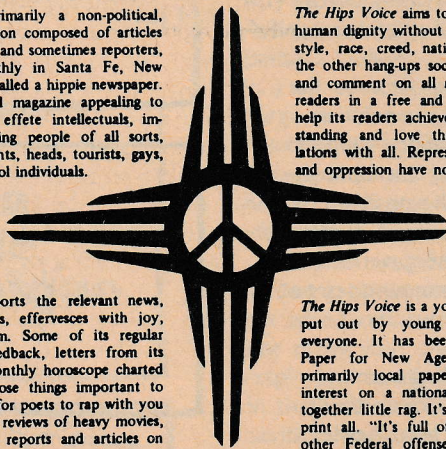
—DeCourcy Squire

*"The torch has been handed down
to another generation"*

—John F. Kennedy

The Hips Voice, primarily a non-political, independent publication composed of articles sent in by its readers and sometimes reporters, is published bi-monthly in Santa Fe, New Mexico. It has been called a hippie newspaper. It is an underground magazine appealing to hard-core dissidents, effete intellectuals, impudent snobs, thinking people of all sorts, teeny boppers, straights, heads, tourists, gays, and other assorted cool individuals.

The Hips Voice aims to raise all people to full human dignity without regard to choice of life style, race, creed, national origin, or any of the other hang-ups society accepts; to report and comment on all news of interest to its readers in a free and open manner; and to help its readers achieve peace through understanding and love through harmonious relations with all. Repression, discord, darkness and oppression have no place in the new age.



The Hips Voice reports the relevant news, gives off good vibes, effervesces with joy, beauty and optimism. Some of its regular features include Feedback, letters from its groovy readers; a monthly horoscope charted and written with those things important to you in mind; a page for poets to rap with you each issue; occasional reviews of heavy movies, books, records, etc.; reports and articles on hip and music news and newsmakers; and other assorted good stuff.

The Hips Voice is a youth-oriented newspaper, put out by young people and read by everyone. It has been called the New Age Paper for New Age People. Why has a primarily local paper generated so much interest on a national scale? Because it's a together little rag. It's honest and it's free to print all. "It's full of comment, gossip, and other Federal offenses," one of its readers said. Dig it, subscribe!

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Attica



SPENCER LEVY

Attica is appalling but not surprising—not after Kent and Jackson. WIN readers already know something about prison, partly because many of them have been there themselves and also because of WIN's continuous coverage of prison questions (including our special prison issue of September 15, 1970). The facts of Attica have been widely reported by the mass media and do not need elaboration by us. Simply stated, hundreds of heavily armed men fired massively upon men armed only with sticks and knives, and in the process managed to kill more than forty persons—nine of them hostages.

Three things occur to us. The first is that pacifists do choose sides and, using whatever non-violent means are open, our side is that of the rebelling inmates at Attica. Their cause was just, their demands were reasonable.

Second, Attica revealed how clearly the Establishment feels there is a "class basis of morality". Senator James Buckley of New York State, when he first heard that the hostages had been killed by the convicts, said this was a time when the full penalty of the law should be applied "without mercy". Later, when it developed that the hostages were killed as a consequence of Rockefeller's orders rather than convict actions, he fell silent on the matter of seeking out the guilty. After all, the very rich are never as guilty as the very poor, right Mr. Buckley? One thinks of those who did show mercy, of the convict who refused to kill his hostage but instead threw him to the ground and covered him with his own body when the firing began. The guard lived. The convict was shot to death.

Third, we see a link between Attica and Saigon. Rarely do we see so clearly that in addition to the war we wage in Indochina, the Establishment also

wages war against the poor and the non-white within our borders. Usually that domestic war is carried on silently, as when Nixon proposed Congress provide federal welfare grants of \$2,400 a year to a family of four—a sum on which it is impossible for a family of four to live in any of our major cities. Such a measure is a legal way of institutionalizing starvation. When will the middle class realize there is a link between unemployment and welfare, between welfare and a rising crime rate, between the heroin addicts being created among our troops in Vietnam and the events at Attica? When will the white working class realize that they have more in common with rebelling black convicts than with Nelson Rockefeller?

Must the poor always pay the cost of our education? Must more than forty men—poor Blacks and Puerto Ricans and working class white guards—be shot down before we realize our prison system is criminal? Must more than a million Vietnamese die before we realize the war is not an unhappy mistake but a deliberate result of the kind of social and economic system we have?

The fall campaign is on (see p. 18)—the October 13th Moratorium, the October 25-29 nonviolent actions in Washington, the November 6th regional mass rallies. Those events are no longer routine, no longer merely a "calendar of events". Attica has given them special meaning. They are now the channel for our fury at the rigid institutions that deform and brutalize us, and they become the means of showing our compassion for all those trapped by those institutions, guards and convicts alike, troops and peasants. These are all our brothers and sisters—liberation, when it comes, must come to all.

—WIN

The Kabouters

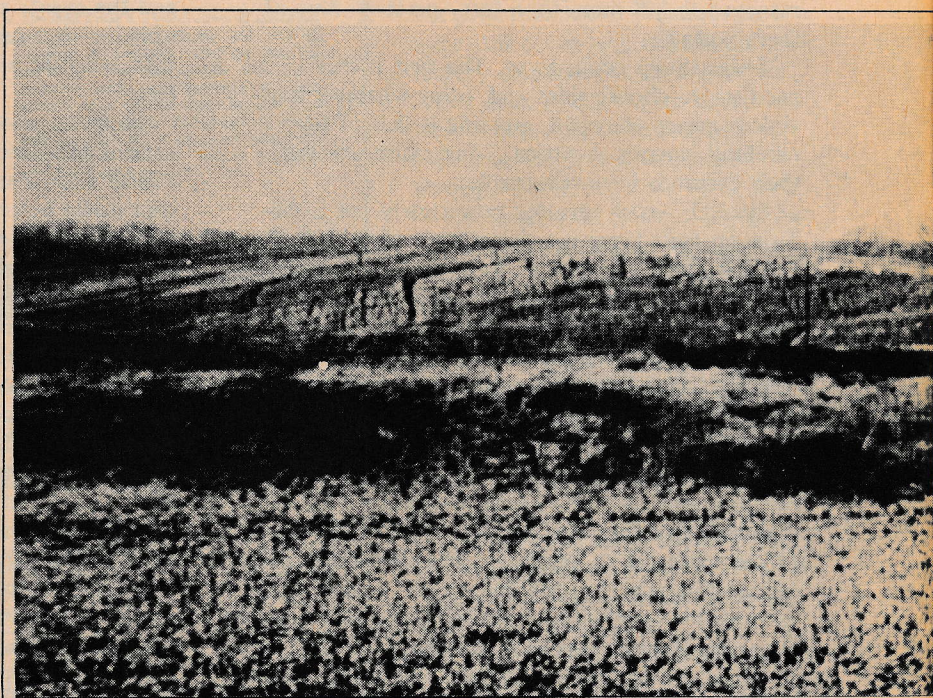
The Kabouters ("elves") of Amsterdam are successors to the Provos and are attempting to found an alternative society based on mutual aid and the respect for nature. They seem to have gained significant popular support in Holland. Running in the June 1970 municipal elections on a platform of radical ecology and anarchism, they secured five seats on the Amsterdam city council out of a total of forty-five. Other Kabouter groups in Holland at the same time gained council seats in The Hague, Leeuwarden, Leiden, Alkmaar, and Arnhem.

It happened that one of the members of Ecology Action East, Grey Fox, was going to be in Europe at the beginning of January. He volunteered to talk with Roel van Duyn, who helped start the Provos in 1965 and the Kabouters in 1969. The following interview took place in Roel's home in Amsterdam on January 8, 1971:

GREY FOX: Could you start by telling us something about the Provos?

VAN DUYN: The Provos died because in our Provo procedure there was not enough construction of our own life. We were in a way negative; that is, we were dependent on the establishment, which we tried to provoke, to shock, to attack. In some ways we succeeded. The mentality of the people was changed a little in an anti-authoritarian way. But it wasn't enough, because the Provos were only a protest movement. After a while we became tired of this. We stopped the Provo movement because we were becoming a machine of ourselves.

G: What was the actual theory behind the Provos? In other words, what did you want to accomplish with the Provos?



This is condensed from ROOTS, published by Ecology Action East. The complete interview and other material on the Kabouters is available from ROOTS at Box 344, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

V: We wanted to accomplish then the same thing that we want to accomplish now. We wanted an anti-authoritarian socialist society. But in the Provo movement we didn't prove to people that it was possible to make such a society. That is what we are trying to do now. I would like to tell you a bit about the psychological background of the Provo movement. We were then in a mood of utter despair. We wanted a revolution, but we thought that it was impossible. We thought that everything was going to hell and that doomsday was approaching. We felt that we had to beat the enemy wherever we could catch him in the time which was still available. But after a while it appeared that this activity was without results.

Afterwards I wrote a book about the Kabouters. It's going to be translated soon in the United States. The title is *The Message of a Wise Kabouter*—this Kabouter is Kropotkin. He said that the origin of revolution is not despair but help. I was very much impressed by his ideas on help.

G: I wonder if you would sum up again just what you thought the Provos would accomplish.

V: We thought that we could change the mentality of people by showing them that it is possible to do without authority, that authorities can be attacked, and that the people do not have to bow down before every authority. We created some little alternatives, like the white bike plan, which you know of.

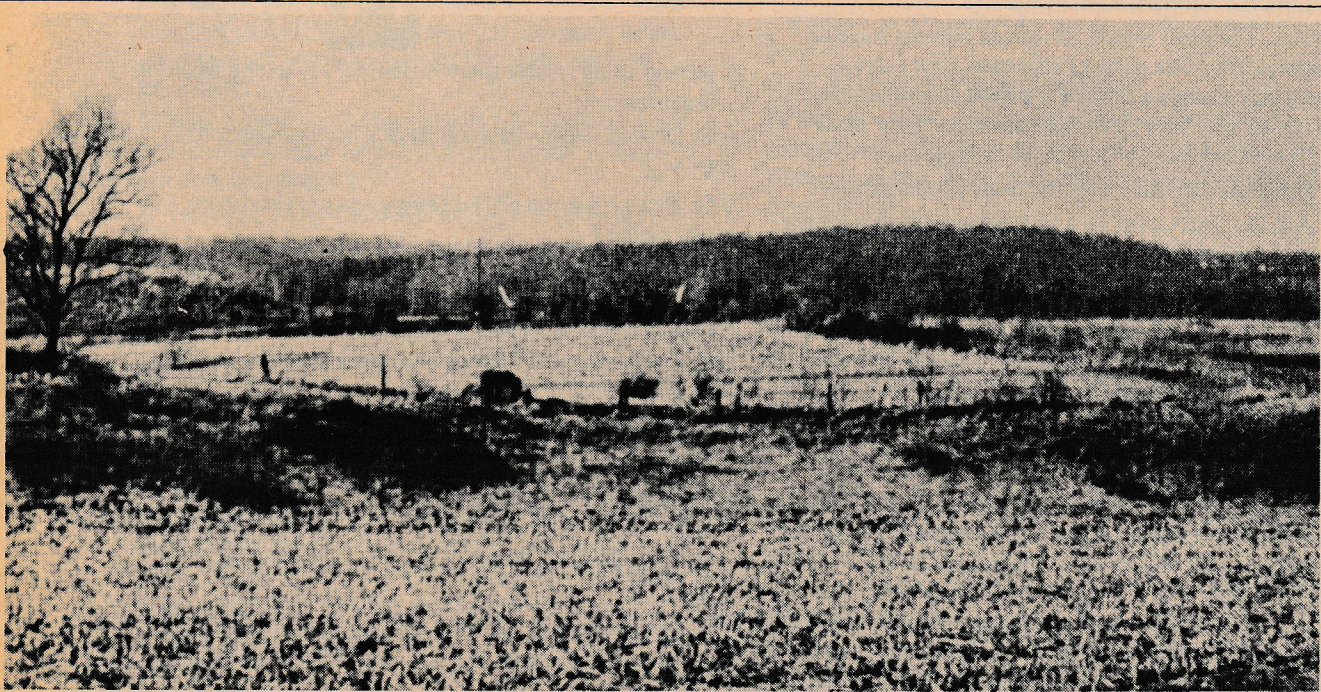
G: Yes.

V: But the mainstream of the Provo movement was protest. I think that protest is a very good thing. Protest is very healthy in an authoritarian society. We have to continue this protest. But I think that now we have to combine protest with a movement for the construction of a new society. We have to show people that such a new, creative society is possible. And we must learn about this creative, new society

ourselves. We must learn to make revolution in our own lives and to use the movement for experiences that would follow total revolution. I don't believe in revolution as a phenomenon that would come someday—surprising everybody from one day to the next—and which would have no practical antecedents before it. For example, I think that now we must train each other in the economy of mutual aid. Therefore, after we become Kabouters, we started an alternative industry with all sorts of alternative projects like our alternative agriculture, which is based on the idea of not using drugs, poisons, or artificial fertilizers. The idea is to have a natural balance with one's natural enemies. The system is taken from the anthroposophs (the followers of the teaching of Rudolf Steiner) and is called biological-dynamical agriculture.

The food that we grow in the countryside is sold by us in the shops of Amsterdam. If you like, you can visit some of them tomorrow. In these shops, we sell food very cheaply, mostly for lower prices than the chemical foodsellers. These shops are also points of action in the sections of the city of Amsterdam. Our policy is to form a council of the people in each section of the city. In this way, self-management will solve local problems of housing, social problems, and also ecological problems. The movement for self-management is now growing very quickly in Amsterdam.

We are now in a period of town renewal, as they call it. About 40,000 old unlivable houses are supposed to be demolished in the next twenty years. This has given a stimulus to the people to concern themselves with problems of housing, because there is such a lack of houses in Amsterdam. If they want to demolish 40,000 houses—slums—then we have to do something. In general we have a slum defense policy. But there are a lot of houses in Amsterdam



which are empty because they are owned by people who make a profit by selling them empty. They make more profit by selling them empty than if people are living in them. So we squat these houses. Because of this policy we now have a lot of influence in the city council. Some of the Social Democratic aldermen are supporting our policy. We managed to occupy houses against the will of the government and against the will of the owners of the houses. This squatting has become a big success. I think that it was thanks to this policy that we got such a lot of votes. We have five seats out of forty-five on the city council.

G: What percentage of the vote do the Kabouters have in Amsterdam?

V: We have 12% of the vote. And in the future we should have a much larger percentage of the vote, because 65% of the people below twenty-one years of age are supporting us. *(laughter)* It should actually mean a dictatorship by Kabouters *(more laughter)*.

G: In ten years there should be a Kabouter who is queen *(still more laughter)*.

V: But unfortunately the people under twenty-one years of age are not allowed to vote.

We also have a self-center for old people. It is very active. About 600 Kabouters are available every day to help old people. If old people have any problems, there are five telephone numbers that they can call day or night. Kabouters will then go to the old people and help them with whatever they might need. This is done without any payment. The old people then do something in return for us. They may bake some cakes or do something else. So this is a mutual aid economy.

We also started schools for little children. Even before the Kabouters, we had the white kindergartens in which we tried to educate children in a non-authoritarian way.

G: Like the Kinderlaeden in Berlin?

V: Yes. The ideal is that about ten parents have one kindergarten. The parents alternate every day. Every day there's a different parent in the kindergarten to take care of the children. So there is collective responsibility in each of these groups.

G: Does the city help pay for these kindergartens?

V: No. We squat a house and then we set up a kindergarten. Of course, when the children grow older, they have to go to school. So we had to start our own schools.

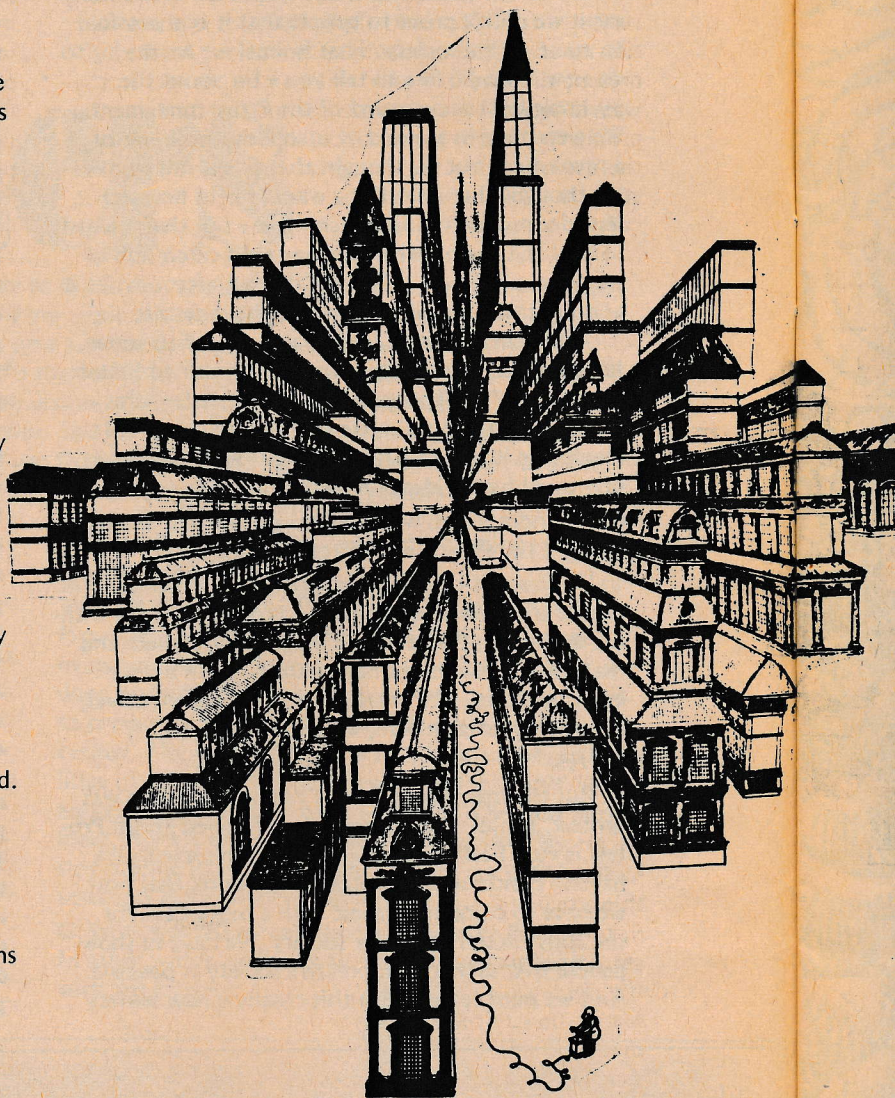
Another thing: On February 6th, we will be organizing an alternative bourse.

G: Bourse? You mean a stock market?

V: Yes.

G: How can there be an alternative stock market?

V: *(laughing)* Because it is. We are organizing it in a building that is a center for young people. In this center we have about sixty alternative producing units, that is to say, alternative factories and alternative service centers. There are two very important features of these producing units. First, they produce things in a clean way. There is no pollution. And the



second thing is that there is democracy in the working organization.

G: Do you mean that you have a factory council?

V: Yes.

G: What are some of the things you are producing in this center?

V: For example, we produce our own clothes. We also produce, for example, engines for white auto cars—electric auto cars.

G: Why do you call this a bourse—a stock market?

V: Now . . .

G: That's a joke?

V: Yes. It's just a name. Do you know the game of Monopoly?

G: Yes.

V: We are also producing an alternative Monopoly game.

G: Yes, yes. That is great *(laughter)*.

V: Representatives of factories and newspapers come from foreign countries to visit us. And I think that we have to stimulate the idea of alternative economy very strongly. Because I think that this is the solution to all of the problems of pollution. At the present time we can only make small changes in the way in which we are polluting, but the fundamental problems remain, for instance, like the problem of the use of carbon fuels. I agree with Murray Bookchin that we have to replace oil and coal by electric energy, sun energy, and other forms of clean energy. In Holland, for example, we have natural gas that is very clean.

I think that it's very important to show people what we want, to show it in practice, and to show it to ourselves too. The experience of new forms of schools, factories, and shops is a more important thing than the mere provocation of people. I don't see any results from this policy. I don't see how it will lead to a solution. I think that the left in America must make its program broader—to work with two hands. Not only should the enemy be attacked with one hand, but the other hand should be used to realize what one wants right now.

G: You have been quoted before about your idea of the "two hands." Could you explain this a bit more fully?

V: What I mean by the theory of two hands is: With the left hand we try to make our own utopia in the midst of the old society—like the mushroom on the rotten trunk of the tree. With the right hand we attack the enemy and infiltrate into the old society—like we are doing in the city council. I think that this was the problem, too, in the Spanish Civil War. With the left hand they tried to set up self-management in the factories and with the right hand they tried to fight against Franco. But in the end, the only work that was done was that of the right hand. The work of the left hand was abandoned. The Stalinists got so much influence that self-management in the factories was abolished.

G: But as you see it the right hand is radical too? The policy of the right hand is a radical policy—not a liberal policy?

V: No, that's not the problem. It's a question of tactics. We have to combine the tactic of attacking the enemy with the tactic of constructing the new world. Well, you can say that in a way it's a mixture of utopianism and revolutionary action. But I see it as one whole and complete policy. It's not split into two things. But there are two tactics.

G: Could you at this point tell us how the Kabouters are organized? That's very important.

V: We are organized in the way that the Freestate is organized. We have about twelve departments; in these departments alternative civil servants are working. We have a department for agriculture, a department for housing, a department for old people, a department—and this is a department of the right hand—for sabotage and violence. This is

rather new. In the city council I introduced a plan for sabotaging the army. I proposed a school for sabotage and that we say to the soldiers, "Be irresponsible. Don't follow the commands of your leaders, but put sand in your rifles and sugar in the oil tanks and let them explode. And train yourself in the sabotaging of every occupier." We started the university for sabotage in Amsterdam. Then it happened that there occurred a lot of cases of sabotage in the army. The government cried a lot and we had conflicts in the city council. The Social Democrats called me a fascist. I don't know why, but it seems that that was the only word they could think of (*laughter*). And this department is still working.

There are other departments. For instance, the department for ecology. For instance, this department planted trees in the streets. We think that we lack trees in the center of Amsterdam. So we brought them from the woods and planted them in the streets. But the police came later and dug them out again. The police arrested the trees. However there were television people there. They made films about the trees, and these films were shown on television.

I also made a proposal that there be gardens on the roofs of auto cars. Like this. (*Van Duyn shows a model car on the roof of which plants, shrubs, and flowers have been planted.*) This would combine nature with culture. There would also be gardens on the roofs of houses and agriculture would be carried out in these gardens. I also proposed that there be holes in the streets—long holes—and that motorists be required to drive their cars in the holes (*laughter*). Then if you were walking along the street, you could only see a moving scene of gardens. But the city council didn't accept this as a good idea (*laughter*).

G: But let us get back to the organization of the Kabouters. Would you say that the Kabouters are organized in an authoritarian or nonauthoritarian way?

V: It is of course nonauthoritarian.

G: But you have departments and presumably responsibility. You have alternate civil servants. Doesn't all this imply an authoritarian structure of organization?

V: The civil servants are all volunteers. They have autonomy of action in their departments. The departments have their own meetings where they decide what to do.

But there needs to be some coordination of these departments. So every week we have an inter-departmental meeting. In this meeting deputies of the departments discuss their common problems. On Thursdays we have a meeting for everybody. We call this a People's Meeting—the people of Orange Freestate. Also we have a more or less centralized financial committee to coordinate the money problems of the departments. And we have a Kabouter newspaper.

G: Would you say the Kabouters are anarchists?

V: Yes.



G: Do you have a Kabouter policy, so that you can say, "This is a Kabouter policy."

V: Yes.

G: How do you make this policy?

V: We proclaim this policy in the city council. In fact we use the city council only as ambassadors of the Orange Freestate. We are ambassadors there because it's a foreign country.

G: But of course the city council doesn't think of you that way.

V: Sometimes they think about us. The mayor of Amsterdam calls the Orange Freestate a "befriended state."

But we don't think of it this way. We declared an eighty-years' war against the Kingdom of the Netherlands. We called it an eighty years' war because we fought eighty years against the Spaniards.

G: You actually declared this?

V: Yes.

G: How long ago?

V: In June. But Kabouter years are going faster than human years, so we are now about ten human years further along. And they are going faster now, because we are in a hurry.

G: Let us get back to the Orange Freestate. You told me that each of the departments is made up of volunteers. So let us consider the department of sabotage and violence. If I am a Kabouter, can I just go and join that department? Can I just say that I am a member of that department? Or must I be chosen as a member of that department?

V: No, you do not have to be chosen. The department has its own meetings. You can go to the meeting . . .

G: Anybody?

V: Anybody can go to the meeting. Then you can speak with the people—if they trust you.

G: How does one become a Kabouter?

V: By thinking like a Kabouter and acting like a Kabouter. By going to meetings and joining in the activities.

G: What if someone says, "I am a Kabouter." But you don't like the way he thinks. Can you tell him, "Don't come to meetings." What do you do?

V: Yes, we have such problems. There are some persons we don't like. But they call themselves Kabouters and they come to the meetings. So we tolerate them and talk things over with them. It's not such a great problem.

G: What happens?

V: Nothing.

G: Is anyone ever thrown out?

V: No, we would never do that. We think that we have to talk to people. If they are not like the way we would like them to be, we try to turn them on. I don't think there is any point in kicking people out.

G: Well, let's take the department of education, for

example. How many people are there in this department?

V: Today I don't know. But every department is decentralized into several groups. If you are interested in a special topic, then you go to the meeting about this special topic.

G: In other words, you have a meeting of the whole department and then meetings of each of the special groups.

V: Yes.

G: Let us say that 300 people were interested in one of these meetings. Would this meeting be too big?

V: That's a theoretical problem.

G: You don't have that many people in a meeting?

V: Sometimes we have meetings as big as that. Then we have to look for bigger rooms and bigger buildings.

G: Do you vote or do you come to decisions by consensus?

V: In some exceptional questions, we vote. But in general we do things by consensus. Or we just say, "Decide for yourself whether you want to do this or not."

G: In other words, if a person doesn't want to go along with a program, he doesn't have to? He does what he wants to do himself?

V: Yes.

G: You said that you have a coordinating committee with delegates from each one of these departments. What if the coordinating committee wants to establish a policy that is against the desires of one of the departments, such as the department of education?

V: That is impossible, because the departments are autonomous. They decide, and the coordinating committee can only coordinate. It cannot decide a policy for a department. If a department wants to do something, it does it. The members of the coordinating committee merely inform each other of what they are doing. The coordinating committee has never made any policy for itself, because it is not its function to make independent policy. The coordinating committee just follows the wishes of the departments and tries to coordinate them—tries to see that the departments are not working against each other. But we try to avoid this. And this is the work of the coordinating committee. In general however there is the principle that every meeting decides for itself, so the coordinating committee could not decide for the meetings of the departments. That would be impossible.

G: Do you keep a written record of the meetings of the coordinating committee?

V: Yes, and it is published in the Kabouter newspaper.

G: Are there written records of the meetings of the departments? For example, the department of education?

V: No, the departments do not keep records.



G: You also said that the one committee that has a central role is the finance committee. Does this committee make policy? Or just what does it do?

V: The finance committee combines people with money with people without money. It coordinates the needs of money. For instance, if I have money from selling my books, I go to the finance committee and say, "Look, I have money. To whom shall



I give it?" Then the finance committee might say that I should give it to the department of old people, because this department lacks money.

G: Who makes up this committee?

V: The committee members are chosen by the People's Meeting. About eight people.

G: Then the People's Meeting is the basic meeting?

V: Yes.

G: How were the departments originally set up?

V: We started the Orange Freestate on the 5th of February 1970. We said, "OK, let's construct a state. Let's make departments." Then we divided the big room into several sections. Some people went to each section to start a department. And each of these departments decided when next to get together for a departmental meeting.

G: What are the functions of the People's Meeting then?

V: It discusses theoretical questions, general municipality policy, and the coordination of the various groups. It's also a place for the people to make contact with each other.

G: Does it pass resolutions?

V: For instance, in the People's Meeting we discussed the question of whether we should enter the elections. But there were never any resolutions made. There were however several press statements that were accepted by the People's Meeting.

G: How big is the People's Meeting?

V: It depends. Yesterday it was rather small—about fifty people. During the summer however there were between two and five hundred people. The People's Meetings are held once a week.

G: The People's Meeting couldn't pass a resolution abolishing the education department?

V: No, that would be impossible, because the education department is autonomous.

G: But the education department could abolish itself?

V: Yes.

G: In other words, once a department has been started, it cannot be abolished by the People's Meeting, but the People's Meeting does set up the department in the beginning. Or, it's not very clear what the powers of the People's Meeting are, and you'd rather keep it that way.

V: Yes, this is true. The People's Meeting makes big decisions for general policy—like whether to enter the elections. And it does have power to appoint members of the finance committee.

G: Would you say that all of this has grown up organically? In other words, there's no written constitution or anything? It's just grown up this way?

V: But about two months ago we made an alternative constitution.

G: Who approved it?

V: I drew it up and then we discussed it in the Kabouter newspaper. One of the provisions of the constitution is that if anyone thinks he has to

work outside the borders of the constitution for certain necessary reasons, then he has to do it.

G: In other words, no one has to follow the constitution?

V: No (*more laughter*).

G: I wonder how all of this got started. All of the Kabouters must have been with the Provos originally.

V: Some of them.

G: But how did the Kabouters actually start?

V: I was a member of the city council as a Provo. I entered the council in the autumn of 1969. Then I started to talk about Kabouters. Afterwards more and more people started talking about Kabouters and thinking about Kabouters. The Establishment thought that it was crazy, but it is unusual to have a Kabouter on the city council (*laughter*); Then we held a People's Meeting and it became the first People's Meeting of Kabouters organized in the Orange Freestate.

This Orange Freestate is now a very imperialistic state, because it wants to expand to other countries—to have an international freestate based on an alternative economy. We want to spread these ideas throughout the whole world. But now we are still confined to Western Europe. We are in contact with some little islands of the Orange Freestate in Copenhagen, Belgium, and France, but we are still mainly in Holland.

G: What about the Yippies? Are they going to be an island of the Orange Freestate?

V: That depends on whether they want to build up the Orange Freestate—whether they want to build—to construct.

G: Tell us something more about the Orange Freestate.

V: (*showing proclamation*): This is the proclamation of the Orange Freestate.

G: It says "National Gazette." You modeled it of course after the royal official journal.

V: Yes.

G: And it is dated February 5, 1970.

V: Yes. But since then—in the winter of 1970 just now—there have been fewer actions of the Orange Freestate than there were in the summer. Perhaps it's a question of the weather. But the departments of the left hand are still working. For example, we are still helping old people, squatting houses, selling food, making clothes, and conducting schools. But there are very few actions in the streets now. But I think that this will start up again in the spring—with the spring offensive.

I hope that you can make something out of this interview.

G: What do you mean?

V: For instance, the ideas about the alternative economy. I think that it's very important for people to experience it, to try it. You can change people's opinions by giving them examples of the new society.

—from ROOTS

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The position of the Protestant community in Northern Ireland has been bedevilled by colonialism. They came to Ireland as the result of a cruel policy of forced settlement at the expense of the native Catholic Irish in the early 17th century. The 1920 constitution linked their fortunes, tragically, to those of the colonial power. The ruling elite is still drawn from their ranks, still largely English public school educated. Parallels with Rhodesia and Algeria are obvious.

Press those parallels, and you can end up arguing for an ultimatum to the Northern Ireland Protestant community, similar to the one given to the French settlers in Algeria. The French settlers had to choose between accepting Algerian citizenship and remaining in Algeria, or choosing French citizenship and, for the most part, going to live in France—or at least remaining in Algeria only as aliens. Protestants could be offered the choice of deciding finally whether they are Irish or British in the context of a re-united Ireland.

No one suggests that the parallels are exact. It is more like Algeria 300 years on if the nationalist struggle there had been defeated. For the Protestant community in Ireland are far more closely integrated into Irish society than the French settlers were in Algeria. Protestants, especially the Presbyterians, have at times been involved in the nationalist struggle. In the rebellion of 1798, Wolf

Tone, himself a Protestant, tried to unite Catholic and Protestant peasants against the English landlords.

But it is true that for the most part the Protestant community have retained a consciousness of their separate identity. The argument could be that in so far as it is a colonial consciousness, identifying itself with colonial Britain and holding the "native" Catholic Irish in some contempt, the parallel with Algeria holds. Therefore a similar solution is called for.

Deciding Units

It is a harsh logic. Against it is the fact that all nations are the creation of migration and conquest; history is a record of peoples carving out territories for themselves at the expense of earlier inhabitants. Today's task is to put an end to this process and settle the confusions and injustices of history as far as possible according to the principle of self-determination. But history leaves ragged edges. How do you decide what constitutes a "people", or a national unit? How far back in history do you go?

By and large you have to grant that people have the right to be where history has placed them; self-determination has to work within that context. As to deciding what constitutes a people, the criterion has to be whether or not a consciousness of a separate identity exists. History, culture, religion, may help to shape that consciousness; it is the consciousness itself that matters.

Deciding on what units are to be acknowledged as valid is still more difficult. If for instance you take the whole of Ireland as a unit, then the Protestants form a minority community within it. But if you go on reducing the size of the units within which the self-determination of the majority operates, you would end up having to divide Belfast street by street.

Problems of Withdrawal

As a matter of fact this concept of street republics, working in a kind of anarcho-syndicalist manner, has much to offer; it is the basis of the grass roots politics, the co-operation of working people and their spirited defiance of bourgeois authority, that still, admit all the tragedy, gives excitement and hope in Northern Ireland. Its development, especially if it can in time cross the sectarian lines, could open up new revolutionary alternatives in Ireland. Even so you cannot ignore the larger regional and national context in which such street communities have to operate. The national question cannot altogether be avoided.

Presumably if there is a problem about deciding the boundaries of a national community, you have to work downwards from the largest unit through traditional units such as province, county, city and so on, where a consciousness of forming a unit still exists among people. Operating on these principles the right of the Protestant community to self-determination should be accepted; they should be allowed to remain separate until the

situation is such that they can voluntarily accept a federal solution or full unity.

Another argument against an imposed unity is that it would not work. If Britain proposed such a solution with the agreement of the Irish Republic (an unlikely event in itself), the immediate outcome could be a declaration of independence in N. Ireland. Britain with over 12,000 troops in the province could force the issue, but it would be an inauspicious beginning for a re-united Ireland. Moreover any Irish government afterwards, including a socialist one, could well face a more or less permanent armed rebellion in N. Ireland.

Biafra, Nagaland, Bangla Desh, Southern Sudan, the Basques should sound the warning. The 70's are likely to see a rash of revolts by communities seeking to break down existing nation states. I would forecast that "people's wars" in the next 10, 20 years will be more frequently of this type than straightforward anti-imperialist struggles.



But it is one thing to say that the Protestant community has the right to choose separation, it is another to say that the colonial link with Britain should be allowed to continue. Britain's acquiescence is needed for that option to remain open. Britain could close it by exercising its own right of self-determination and stating that within a given period it would end the Union with NI.

In the interests of everyone, not least the NI Protestant community, this is what Britain should do. As long as there are British soldiers in Ireland, or NI remains British territory, generations of Irishmen will see the problem as one of continuing the anti-colonial struggle. While that situation continues, no amount of internment and repression will end the sectarian bitterness and bloodshed.

British withdrawal would not end the problem and there would be immediate and acute dangers. Certainly a conference of all interested parties

would be needed to work out a new constitutional arrangement, which would have to include guaranteeing civil rights to all NI citizens and leaving the way open for eventual unity in Ireland—assuming that for the present it is not acceptable. Without British withdrawal the situation is bound to worsen, perhaps to the point where civil war becomes inevitable.

Ending internment and withdrawing British troops is an urgent priority. When the soldiers first arrived in 1969 they were welcomed by the Catholic community as a force to protect them against Protestant mobs and a means of ensuring that reforms were pushed through. Yet sending them was a mistake. They provoked a counter build-up of the IRA and caused the initiative to slip out of the hands of the Civil Rights and People's Democracy campaigns which to some small extent had managed to cross the sectarian lines. The bombings and shootings have been the direct consequence. The militant but largely



right wing IRA provisionals have been the principal beneficiaries.

Internment and Beyond

Now the main hatred of the Catholic community is directed against the British soldiers. When they move into Catholic areas like Ballymurphy they come as an invading army and are treated as such. This was certainly my experience during a visit to Belfast a few weeks before internment. The army's role in enforcing internment, the fact that Civil Rights and People's Democracy activists have been among those detained and the widespread evidence of brutality have finally ended the possibility of the British army playing a neutral role. They declared themselves at war with the IRA; they find themselves at war with the Catholic community. The notion that with the gunmen and "extremists" in jail, the Catholic community can be won over and

the situation normalized while reforms are instituted is a paradigm of colonialist ignorance and miscalculation.

Perhaps the current civil disobedience campaign will convince the British government of this. If the campaign is sustained with mass participation it could make the continuation of official forms of government impossible in the disaffected areas and strengthen grass roots socialism. The danger is that it may become a tool of Jack Lynch's brand of bourgeois nationalism or split up into warring factions. A support campaign in Britain operating say among British troops and at recruitment centres could be positive.

If parallel campaigns gained impetus in NI, Eire and Britain, a strategy of trying to break the NI union with Britain but otherwise working for the present within existing boundaries might in practice be accepted. If the further step of conceding the right of the NI Protestant community to self-determination ever became generally accepted, a coalition or working agreement between the radicals of the Protestant and Catholic communities could emerge.

The main political demand of a British campaign must be the separation of Britain and NI. The demand will be a difficult one to put across for it requires a shift in British consciousness, particularly among left-liberal circles in England. I see it as part of a broader strategy to break down Great Britain, as the advocates of intermediate technology suggest, and build a socialist politics on the basis of its national communities.

This is not to argue for a narrow chauvinism or the breaking of all links, but to suggest that a true internationalism requires a solid substructure of national communities acting with autonomy and self-confidence. The anti-colonialist struggles of the past few decades give weight to this approach.

It is not even to argue for nation states and governments as we know them at present; new forms of political and economic co-operation need to be built if libertarian socialism is to become a reality, forms which link the communities of the street and factory to the wider network of communities which contain them. One of these will be the national community, as it would have been in Spain if the social revolution had not been crushed.

The sense of being English, or Welsh or Scottish or Irish, is still more real than the constitutional notion of Great Britain and could provide a solid and worthy base for building a radical politics. But the left in England has always been wary of English nationalism and has allowed it to become the preserve of the Right. This is due in part to a lingering paternalist notion; the children may rebel and decide to leave home, but the father must preserve the family unity as long as he can; thus for England to declare its own separateness would be unnatural, a betrayal.

But at this point unless it does so in relation to Ulster, the prospects there are that the next 50 years will be even bloodier and more chaotic than the last.

—MICHAEL RANDLE
PEACE NEWS

Sitting in one of the rooms of the Peace Treaty, The Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), Moratorium, and the Harrisberg Defense Committee office is confusing to say the least. After a couple of days, one begins to wonder which of the organizations he or she is working for. The task becomes even more difficult when the first of the normal 6,836,599 daily phone calls is "Hey brother, is this the Vietnam Vets office?" With my self-confidence renewed by five hours sleep of the night before, I thought awhile to make sure, and then informed the brother that they were not here. After I found the number in our file next to last weeks coffee, the brother thanked me and I returned to the task of what has come to be known as the Fall Offensive.

Despite the confusion of three organizations working out of the same office, I find comfort in the fact that we are confused because we are organizing rather than wondering what to organize. Last year at this time, there was planning of the abortive October 31 demonstration by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). The PCPJ was still the National Coalition Against War, Racism and Repression, and there still seems to be debate if the N.C.A.W.R.R. action at the United Nations in November existed or was a success.

This fall things look better. The People's Coalition does exist and has called for an October 13 Moratorium and November 6 Regional Rallies jointly with NPAC. There is unity on the dates of these events as well as the content of a joint "Call to Action". In addition, the People's Coalition has called for a series of nonviolent direct actions in Washington, D.C. from October 25 to 29.

These actions by themselves are a great improvement over last fall's lack of visibility, and they are not alone. The slaughter of Attica has brought thousands into the streets of Albany in a call for Governor Rockefeller's resignation and indictment for murder. On October 2, demonstrations at Danbury, Cook County, and other prisons throughout the nation will focus attention on the repression and inherent racism of our country and government. These events coupled with Vietnamese student riots and the one man "election" of Thieu, offer the movement an opportunity not seen since the "D. Johnson" campaign. It is in light of all these developments that we enter the Fall Offensive with a eye to "Evict Nixon!"

On October 13, business as usual will stop in the United States. The daily killing which goes on in the name of the people will be halted by the people. Towns and cities across the nation will have a National Moratorium, to pause and begin the process of turning America around. Shops and stores will close, churches will open their doors to teachers, town councils will vote on withdrawing their towns from the war—all in a determined effort to show Nixon that he will not wait any longer.

Already there has been response from labor indicating that they will hold rallies at 3:00 p.m. in New York. There have been similar responses from Boston. Three in the afternoon means one thing—work stoppages! This new step forward o new energy and spirit for the movement.



The Fall Offensive

In addition to labor, there are actions planned against the Nixon Family Assistance Plan which, in the guise of welfare reform actually would reduce what is now starvation level payments, in addition to legalizing forced labor. Philadelphia is talking of actions to protest the high transit fares which are prohibitive for the poor, and relating these to the true inflation cause—a war economy. There will be many other communities integrating the war and issues of social justice as they *did not* do in October, 1969, the first moratorium.

There are many actions of varied scope planned. The key to the Moratorium is that local groups can act according to their own insights and community conditions. The National Student Association has already called on its member schools to go on strike, and community leaders are endorsing the Moratorium. Some cities might have late afternoon rallies for workers oriented around the wage freeze. Others might have their city councils approve legislation withdrawing their city from the war. Still others are planning to engage in acts of non-violent direct action. The number of imaginative ideas is endless and the picture of such events happening around the country, in the context of a continuing Fall Offensive, is very powerful.

Beginning on Monday, October 25, there will be the initiation of the election year campaign to "Evict Nixon!" This will also begin the PCPJ campaign of non-violent direct action. Multi-issue in content, multi-tactical in style, the week will focus on the serving of an eviction notice on Nixon. The strategy is still being developed so, like a train schedule, the following is subject to change without notice.

On Monday, October 25, (Veteran's Day) there will be a massive rally at the Sylvania Theater in Washington, D.C. in commemoration of People's Armistice Day. It is here that we will call on Nixon to respond positively to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam's Seven Point proposal. His China trip is no response. The door to peace is in Paris not Peking. There will be efforts made for a transatlantic hook-up for a message from Madame Binh.

On Tuesday, a memorial service for those who died at Attica due to state-sanctioned murder will be held at the White House. We will hold this service even if our freedom of assembly is denied. The denial of life cannot be allowed to go unnoticed.

On Wednesday, the focus will be to "Freeze Nixon—Not Wages." In the morning there will be rallies at the Labor and Commerce departments. These rallies will also speak to the dangers of passage of Nixon's Family Assistance Plan (FAP). The ZAP-FAP demonstration coupled with labor's protest to the wage freeze is meant to show Nixon that the people are serious in their intent to evict him. Following the rally, people will gather for nonviolent direct action at the White House to serve this eviction notice.

Thursday, the action will turn to the State Department where there will be a march led by an international brigade to the State Department calling on the U.S. to halt its complicity in international imperialism and genocide. There will be special attention given to the U.S. support of Yahya Kahn's army by its continuing shipments of arms, even though all other western powers have long since refused to deal with the dictatorial general. That afternoon, people will again follow the rally with nonviolent direct action at the White House. As on Wednesday, we will continue the serving and enforcement of Nixon's eviction notice.

On Friday, we will go en masse to the White House at 8:00 a.m. to engage in nonviolent direct action to "Evict Nixon!" With a warning that "Nixon is Through in '72!" the election year campaign to serve the eviction will be in full swing.

Every evening during the week there will be strategy sessions in churches, jails, and schools to plan how to carry the Evict Nixon Campaign past the fall. Discussions of the movement's relation to primaries and the Republican National Convention will be just some of the topics. The October 25 to 29 actions are just the beginning.

The next stage of the Evict Nixon Campaign will be the November 6 regional rallies. Legal rallies, massive in size, will show Nixon that his presence is not desired in the White House. Following the People's Coalition week of direct action, these rallies will bring people together in regional areas in a visible show of strength.

So it is in this crowded office that we work on the Fall Offensive. The fighting off of the phone company, the fixing of the typewriters, with all of the other assorted shit is here, but there IS something happening.

—CHRIS MEYER

Brazil: Paradise Now?

The following article was to have appeared in the previous issue of WIN. At the request of the Becks, from Brazil, the editor decided to delay publication until the Becks could return safely to the United States, read the piece, talk about it with me and possibly write a reply.

I found that two-hours' talk with the Becks have changed little of what I saw in their situation in prison and how they handled it. I have made the changes the facts seemed to warrant. Where there is a question about the accuracy of reports from Brazil, I have noted it in the article.

The Becks, on their part, have decided not to speak out as yet about many of the things they saw in Brazil. They have valid reasons for deciding that. They and their friends who were arrested with them in Brazil have an important story to tell. I am sure they will find their way of telling what they know and how they feel about Brazil. And when they do, I know it will be important.

In a way, it is an unhappy quirk of fate that our paths must cross on the way back from Brazil in this unhappy manner. Because the Becks know that people may suffer and perhaps die if they are too specific. And I know that too many people have suffered and died with nobody being specific enough. Our points of view are probably irreconcilable but I think our hopes for Brazil are much the same.

Most of the Living Theater is out of the Brazilian jail. I worked on the campaign to get them out and I am delighted it was successful. But I have some second thoughts about how we won their freedom.

A worldwide campaign was launched after their arrest on July first. It sought to reveal the truth of their bust in Ouro Preto, Brazil, and their incarceration in nearby Belo Horizonte: that it was a political bust in that the *maconha* (marijuana) allegedly found at their communal house was planted there by police. That after the arrest two members, a Brazilian and a Peruvian, were severely tortured with electric shocks and beatings, and that others in the troupe were beaten and coerced into signing fake confessions to the charges leveled against them.

In planning the campaign we were relatively confident that it would work because the Brazilian government has, over the past year and a half, had a great deal of publicity about their rough handling of prisoners which includes the widespread use of torture. Torture was our main issue, freedom of expression was the secondary one. It was agreed upon at the first strategy meeting that the campaign would also serve to educate world public opinion about the miserable repressive measures employed by the Brazilian government against those it deems to be its enemies. Specifically, torture in Brazilian

prisons and civilian and military internal security organizations. The Living was important, we all agreed, but the truth about Brazil was also important.

I first smelled a rat about what the true nature of the priorities were a week and a half before their release when one of the three members of the group who were released and were here in New York coordinating the world-wide campaign called me and said, "Cool it on the torture issue." I couldn't believe what I was hearing. "Were they or were they not tortured?" I asked. "They were, I was in prison with them when it happened. But we're negotiating with the Brazilian authorities. We must cool the torture issue. We must or no deal."

I argued. It was my contention based on eight years living and working as a newsman in Brazil that the Living people were no longer in any physical danger now that the Brazilian authorities realized they had a troupe with a world-wide reputation on its hands. Leading figures from the world of arts and letters were writing angry letters to Brasilia to remind them.

"Look, we're up here free, they're down there in jail. So cool it p-l-e-a-s-e!"

So, I admit, I cooled it. There is no arguing with that point. But it is a familiar point. I have heard it at least four times over the past year in Brazil.

Having to cool it once again on the torture issue reminded me of the recent case of Rubens Paiva, an ex-federal deputy and civil engineer. He was arrested by Army security police (by far the worst of the dozen or so civil and military security agencies now active in Brazil). In a nutshell, Paiva was arrested on the 20th of January and never heard of again. Periodically Alfredo Buzaid, the Minister of Justice, had Mrs. Paiva in to discuss the case of her missing husband. Repeatedly Mrs. Paiva was assured that her husband might be released soon.

But there was an *if*. He would be released *if* the Paiva family gave no information or interviews to the press. Repeatedly Mrs. Paiva almost gave me and other journalists interviews. But each time she nearly spilled what she knew, Minister Buzaid would encourage her with promises of her husband's freedom *if*, always *if*, she kept her mouth shut about the case. Several weeks ago that same Minister Buzaid went before the Brazilian Council for the Defense of Human Rights, a group which supposedly oversees Brazil's adherence to the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, to cast the deciding vote to *close* the investigation into what happened to Rubens Paiva *without* announcing any conclusions. I imagine Mrs. Paiva is a little sorry she kept her mouth closed and did what the Brazilian authorities wished.

I believe the best defense of people mistreated by the government which imprisons them is world-wide publicity of their cases. The best defense of nameless prisoners tortured in the jails of this world is not to keep silent about their cases. Covering up torture does not and never did bring it to a stop. Not in Brazil, not in Viet Nam, not in America. But as in the Paiva case and others as well, I was asked to cool it about the Living and I cooled it. UNTIL.

Until in the 24th of August issue of the New York Times I read an interview with the Becks.

The Times reporter was Joe Novitsky whom I have known for years. Joe is a pro and he knows how to get his quotes right. It appears that our *cooling* it on the Living case was not only to save their skins, which was unnecessary, but also to save their *special privileges* in jail, which was unwise. Speaking of the Becks, Novitski said, "Their untrammelled work routine, their four hours together daily and their frequent interviews all make them privileged prisoners by normal Brazilian standards."

Privileged prisoners is an understatement. As a normal routine the Brazilian police use electric shocks, several versions of the water torture, rape, sodomy, systematic beatings, and every humiliation and pain-giving technique known to Western and Eastern police forces in their pursuit of confessions or plain sadistic pleasure. For 45 days a priest friend of mine was beaten, given electric shocks, made to lie in a bathrub full of water for days at a time, lived with a black sack over his head as most political prisoners do nowadays in Brazil, and forced to witness beatings and rapings of his fellow workers. Special privileges indeed.

The Brazilian government, when it realized it had celebrities on its hands, granted the Becks special privileges and showed them how to keep those privileges. The Becks denied that anyone in the troupe was tortured by Brazilian police, thus giving the lie to fellow Living Theatre members working for their release. Again the Times article: "The Becks emphatically denied that they had been tortured, beaten or mistreated . . . The issue, so far as the group is concerned, should be laid to rest by sworn affidavits by two members, Vicente Segura, a Peruvian, and Evanildo Silvino, a Brazilian, to be inserted into the court record. In the affidavits,

according to their lawyer, the men report that they were pushed and shoved and had their feet stepped on during police questioning." (Here in New York, the Becks said they had no knowledge of any such affidavits.)

So here was a group of people with the international connections to draw world attention to what is happening in Brazilian jails. But to win continued good treatment for themselves and their release they decided to tell lies to the world when they might have told the truth. I can understand and even sympathize with that. The Living people here in New York are now saying they did it to protect the Brazilian member of the group. That's a matter of strategy. I don't think the Brazilian authorities would have touched the Brazilian in the group even had the torture issue continued, although I am sure the Becks would have lost their privileges. In the end it was a matter of a strategy which I don't agree with and it is an important opportunity which has been lost. And a chilly feeling inside me says that all of us who "cooled it" as the Living asked broke faith with thousands of people in Brazilian jails who do not have the chance to make the deal the Living agreed to.

None of this got me too emotionally stirred, however irritable the tone of this piece may sound. But one thing Julian Beck said just plain pissed me off: "I think we'd all agree that the treatment here is much more humanized than our experience of United States prisons." Only Julian Beck could say a thing like that because only someone with his international reputation would get that kind of VIP treatment in a Brazilian jail. But for the sake of the thousands who languish mistreated and forgotten in filthy, vermin-infested Brazilian jails, not for what they have done but for what they think and feel and believe, for their sake couldn't Julian Beck have skipped that little testimonial for the Brazilian prison system?

—LANCE BELVILLE

September 20, 1971. New York City: Most of us are out of the Brazilian jails. The two Brazilian members of the company are still in Brazil, though, awaiting the end of the trial which continues to try us in absentia. We are out of jail but a part of us remains there in jail in Brazil with our thousands of comrades who are still locked up and still suffering. More than ever we feel that none of us are free until we are all free. We continue to fight for their liberation and the liberation of seventy million of their countrymen who are jailed in the lower depths of life by the nature of the structure in which we live.

Techniques and tactics vary. It is time to change our strategy. Confrontation politics are unknown in Brazil: there are no marches, no liberal publications, no public speeches, no demonstrations. Things have moved into another stage of struggle. Old reformist methods serve more than ever to strengthen the very structure we want to transform.

Torture? Horror? Let's put it this way: the source of all torture and all horror lies not inside national boundaries, but in the nature of the structure and in its psychology—social, economic, and political. This structure does not know national boundaries. It is everywhere. Symptoms of the disease with which this structure is infested manifest themselves now here, now there. In the United States they shoot first and ask questions afterwards.

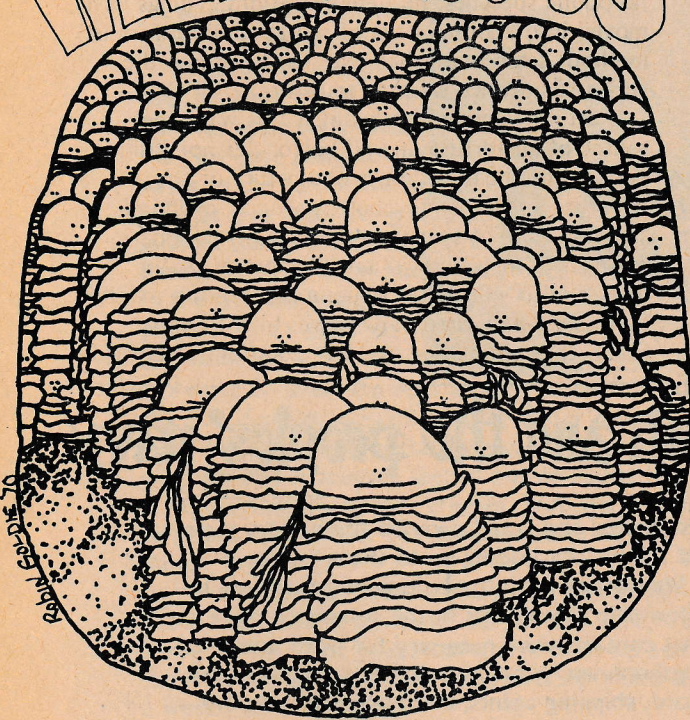
We are returning to Latin America in a few months to continue to work there in the struggle. We hope to return to Brazil, to get the presidential order of expulsion revoked, and to work again with the Brazilian people with whom we feel a strong bond of love. We must balance our desire to serve this struggle against the desire to serve in a propaganda struggle which announces again and again that man is a wolf unto man.

It is time to gather the forces, to unify our fractured strength to oppose the monolithic opposition. Our movement is vertical: UPRISING. We have to stop putting each other down. Our imagination and our cleverness are two of our most important arms, we have to move into a new stage of struggle by freeing them, and using them as we have not used them before.

Two notes: 1) It is clear that we are out of jail only because we were protected by the privileges of class, race, and money. We expect that such privileges will disappear as the work of the movement progresses. 2) We spent time in five different Brazilian jails. The conditions are far more primitive than they are in U.S. jails. (We've been in a couple of dozen.) We found that the psychological relationship between the penal system and the prisoner was very different than it is here in the U.S. For instance, both at the Penal Colony (600 inmates) and the Women's Penitentiary (200 inmates) in Belo Horizonte, there is less of the terrible dehumanization, humiliation, degradation, the stripping away of identity of the inmate which is so common under the U.S. penal system. The U.S. penal system tries not only to incarcerate but to brutalize and punish. The Brazilian character is not yet so severely in the grip of heartless technology; its sadism is psychosexual, like all sadism; but materialism has not yet erased compassion from the Brazilian heart as it has in Amerika.—JUDITH MALINA/JULIAN BECK



WRL Meets



The Labor Day weekend convention in Athens, Ga. of the War Resisters League was mainly business, but it definitely was not business as usual.

In contrast to the many conventions which devote themselves to meaningless resolution passing, the WRL convention devoted much of its time to discussing specific problems. One of the major topics considered by the conference—the first ever held in the South—concerned relations between the WRL National Office and the folks in the provinces.

Basically, the folks in the provinces wanted more say on the WRL's stands in the meetings of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice; on the WRL's international work, particularly work through the London-based War Resisters International; on the WRL's approach to regional and local organizing and to funding local groups; and on the WRL's priorities as expressed in the budget.

Since the WRL's strength comes from its grass-roots membership and not from a few moneybags, and since it is traditionally an organization of democratic socialists and anarcho-pacifists, those demands seem perfectly reasonable. The War Resisters League could be expected to practice the internal democracy it urges on society at large, if any group could.

That the internal democracy broke down enough for local groups to need to make such demands in the first place is an accident of history and not a sign of bad faith on the part of the folks in the National Office. Until recently, most WRL members lived in the Northeast. An Executive Committee chosen solely from that region was therefore perfectly reasonable.

The War Resisters League recognized that the situation had changed a year ago by agreeing to the election of a regionally representative National Committee. The new committee met for the first time at this convention, and was soon confirmed as the main governing body of the WRL. In the future, most important decisions will be made by the National Committee.

Another matter which was of concern to many participants was WRL's relationship with the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ). Though there were no votes on suggestions for WRL's contribution to the policy of the Coalition, David McReynolds, the WRL representative at the PCPJ meetings, seemed receptive to complaints about past actions of the Coalition. People were concerned that there are too many national rather than regional or local demonstrations, and that civil disobedience sponsored by such a disparate and undisciplined coalition can easily degenerate into violence.

In addition to discussing these controversial questions, participants in the convention gained a good deal of useful information from speeches and reports. Local groups affiliated with WRL told of their organizing activities. It was quite encouraging to hear of the work being done by people in the Southwest, the Midwest, and the Southeast, areas where the League had not been strong in the past. Ann Davidon reported on the conference of the War Resisters International which she attended earlier in the summer. David McReynolds told of his recent trip to Hanoi.

Among the speeches the most notable was that prepared by Barbara Deming, long time activist in the struggle for peace and social justice and frequent contributor to movement journals. (She was unable to attend the convention in person because she was involved in an auto accident on her way to Athens.) Her speech stressed the need for pacifists to remain "angry" at the injustices they see around them. She warned against passiveness, and concern with superficial harmony, especially in areas such as the oppression of women where the injustice seems less blatant at first glance.

The convention saw the start of several new projects. The League will devote resources to educating the American public about the U.S. responsibility for the genocidal actions of West Pakistan in Bangla Desh. Individuals and groups within WRL will be working on the proposed Christmas boycott and on a project to aid prisoners, those in city jails as well as resisters.

In addition to all the work at the convention there was time for people to meet each other, to relax, and enjoy themselves. These lighter activities ranged from going to the local bars to the showing of several tapes by the Atlanta Video Collective.

All in all, the convention had important results. Some issues were decided and people communicated with each other. Because of that communication, that proof that internal democracy can work, the War Resisters League may evolve into a stronger and much more effective tool for ending war.

—SUE BASS & JIM GEHRES



Friends of Bangla Desh and the peoples' navy

Boston's Nonviolent Navy has never lost an engagement at sea and has, in fact, just won a big one. With more determination than boats, the Nonviolent Navy sponsored by the Boston Friends of Bangla Desh and the Non-Violent Direct Action Group (N-DAG) stopped the Malam Jabba from entering Boston Harbor. The Malam Jabba, a West Pakistan flag ship, was supposed to: load arms at the Boston Army Base Pier, unload rubber from Singapore or simply sit in Boston harbor for two days—depending upon which story one chose to believe. The ship had previously loaded at Norfolk where it was rumored to have picked up arms and military supplies “still in the pipelines” between the U.S. and West Pakistan.

At any rate, Friends of Bangla Desh had decided to blockade the Jabba protesting all economic or military aid with the sole exception of food or medical supplies for relief efforts for the oppressed Bangalis to be administered by an international aid organization, not the West Pakistan government. And that's what we did.

Well, in fact, we never really actually had to blockade the ship at all—we never even saw it. We just scared it to death. If the ship *had* come to the harbor, the outcome may have been different, for our navy—a collection of canoes, kayaks, and sail boats—was rather modest, our seamanship rather lacking, and several of our boats boasted small but substantive leaks. Though our crews could swim, for the most part, Boston Harbor water has been known to disintegrate metal on contact.

But we did it, and others may learn from our experiences (and mistakes).

The Baltimore action (see WIN 9/1/71) July 14-15 was covered in *Boston After Dark* by a N-DAG member who helped bring the idea for a similar action back here. Interested parties quickly coalesced into a group which we called Friends of Bangla Desh. The group was joined by half a dozen Pakistanis studying at the Harvard Center for Population Control, some of whom had been in

East Bengal and could describe the horrors there and the history leading up to them.

We learned from the Baltimore group how to follow ship movements in the commerce magazines, what contacts were necessary for us to make—i.e. longshoremen, pilots association, Customs, Coast Guard, shipping agents, and Harbor master. We began contacting these groups as we also leafleted Boston to get more people informed and interested in what was going on both in Pakistan and here at home. When we discovered that the Malam Jabba was to arrive in Boston within a month, we organized for that event. We had a small “consciousness raising” demonstration at the federal building and state house to get publicity. A friendly state senator got a resolution introduced in the State House condemning U.S. aid to West Pakistan and urging Massachusetts' Congressional delegation to support the amendments in the Congress to end such aid (Gallagher in the House and Saxbe-Church in the Senate). The resolution passed and got some press coverage.

Interest picked up. A Globe reporter joined us in efforts to track down the Malam Jabba and its cargo as did Senator Kennedy's and Congressman Drinan's offices. Members of the group went on several radio shows. But the ship was delayed and its arrival postponed.

This upset plans but the group decided to proceed anyway with a rally on Castle Island (opposite the Boston Army Base Pier where the boat would dock) and the launching of our fleet, our mighty nonviolent navy. We had no trouble getting permits to walk to the island (it's just called that and not really an island) and rally at the spot we wanted. To avoid any hassle we did not ask permission to launch our fleet because we were determined when the time came to launch whether it was legal or not.

The rally conflicted with the opening day of trials in Concord for those arrested at the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice sit-in at Hanscom

Air base (about 250 arrested), but the sun shone and the water was not too choppy. And the local press, no doubt intrigued with our announced navy, showed up in force.

Police asked one of the persons carrying a canoe over his head where he was going "with that boat?" But was apparently satisfied with the response that the two were going to the beach to launch themselves in the harbor for he said nothing when that is what they did. Along with a kayak. A 35 foot sailboat joined the canoe and kayak in the harbor having sailed up from Hull with a huge flag flapping in the stiff sea breeze: "No Arms for Pakistan." The press was very generous and reported that the group had launched a "modest example" of their fleet as a prelude to when the boat actually arrived. Though the T.V. footage stressed pictures of our mighty fleet, the audio commentary stressed our message carefully and succinctly spelled out on signs: 250,000 dead, 7 million refugees, Stop the Slaughter, Stop Aid to West Pakistan, Freedom for Bangla Desh, etc.

We could only hope the newscasters were right about the "modest example" for, at that time, we know of few other boats that didn't show up and the Malam Jabba was now scheduled September 1, a week and a half away.

So we tried harder, constructed a telephone tree to alert our supporters and yachtsmen at a moments notice and intensified activity. Our actions and modest example frightened the local shipping agent. They went on radio to announce that the ship was only to unload Singapore rubber in Boston and had no arms aboard. Shipping agents lie. Robert McCloskey, a spokesman for the State Department later contradicted this story in the Washington Post. Kennedy's office, Brooke's office and even Congresswoman Louise Day Hicks got into the act and began pestering the shipping agent and the State Department.

Meanwhile our spies in the Coast Guard and Pilots Association told us exactly when the boat was due and how long it would stay in Boston, two days. Which was great except every time we got new information we had to have another intermidable meeting to decide tactics, etc. Apart from individuals friendly towards us, we did not have great luck with organizations we contacted. A delegation met with the longshoremen officials (we leafletted and met informally with the rank and file as much as we could) who told us that they would not load the ship (however they never promised to refuse to unload the ship). The Pilots told us that they could not refuse to guide the boat into the harbor and, yes, they would have to run us over because they could not stop the boat without turning it around which would take several miles and would in all probability knock over half the piers in the narrow harbor. The U.S. Customs said they might inspect the ship for arms. And the Harbor master became hysterical and told us we would all be killed and arrested (he did not, however, specify the order of these events).

Well, things were beginning to look up. And our boat list grew to 17, including a gigantic yacht-houseboat. N-DAG trainers began to get nervous about how to train boats in nonviolence and how to go limp in a kayak. Those of us who had already experienced rowing or paddling in the harbor were getting worried about tide flows, storms, and wakes of ocean freighters. But despite last minute doubts, from three boats and a handful of people we were growing in size, becoming a formidable force . . . or it seemed so to us.

Others decided so too, for again informers told us that a meeting was scheduled for the next day to decide what to do about us. The participants, as it turned out included the U.S. Coast Guard, the Harbor Police, the Boston Police, the Metropolitan Police, and representatives from the State Department of Public Safety and an unidentified naval officer—probably Admiral Zumwalt. (J. Edgar Hoover has to pay his spies and informers, ours are all free and voluntary.) And they could not decide what to do for the meeting was continued to the next Monday, the day before the scheduled arrival of the Malam Jabba.

Back at the ranch, things picked up even more with the return of Senator Kennedy from his inspection of refugee camps, the Boston Globe launched editorials against the military regime in Pakistan (you just don't pick on Kennedy's in Massachusetts and get away with it.) And our navy increased in quantity if not quality—which we gleefully and carefully leaked to the press (the press always prefers a leak to a straight-out report), and anyone else who cared. N-DAGers from experience knew that secrecy is impossible in these matters anyhow and that publicity and openness were our chief weapons as well as intrinsic parts of nonviolent direct action.

The meeting reconvened Monday and was getting nowhere when a Coast Guarder interrupted to inform those present that the Malam Jabba had just changed its course and was on its way back to New Orleans where it had come from many months before. The meeting adjourned and we were informed of the news before the local shipping agents knew (for we called them to check). Finally, even they found out and announced quite frankly to the press: "The ship won't come because of a threatened protest by Boston Friends of Bangla Desh and they (the national East West Shipping Agents? the U.S. military? Richard Nixon and friends?) couldn't chance coming up here and running into trouble." The national shipping agents were less frank and said storms had made the boat too late to come to Boston.

So we won without firing a shot. The Malam Jabba never came to Boston to load arms at the Boston Army Base, unload rubber from Singapore or just sit there for two days—depending upon which story you believe.

The nonviolent navy has yet to lose a battle at sea. If you live in or around New Orleans, get a canoe, a kayak and a sailboat . . .

—ANDY KLEIN

The farm workers win again

The United Farm Workers of California has just signed a contract with Heublein, the largest liquor conglomerate in the world. The contract signing terminated the boycott of Italian Swiss Colony wines, Smirnoff Vodka, Hamms Beer, and Kentucky Colonel Fried Chicken. It was the international boycott which lasted less than three months, which brought Heublein to the bargaining table, and which assured the fact of a decent contract.

I was fortunate to have been involved in three days of these negotiations in which Cesar Chavez, Jerry Cohen (UFWOC attorney), and Dolores Huerta (UFWOC V.P.) were the chief negotiators for UFWOC. The contract is the best we've signed so far, and is a precedent for future corporation boycotts. In addition to \$2.40 minimum wage, R.F.K. medical plan and pesticide protection, the company pays for four full-time union contract enforcers. This is an extremely important precedent, because the mere signing of a contract does not mean the end of the struggle for farm workers, but just a beginning. There is a provision in the contract for a political education day, in which farmworkers who choose can donate this holiday money to a political education fund. This money will be used for voter registration, bus trips to Sacramento, and other projects that the ranch committees designate as important.

These negotiations were a fascinating experience for me. Cesar and Dolores really educated the corporation executives about the lives of the farm workers. There was no mistake in anyone's mind that it was the efforts of the boycotters throughout the states, Canada and Europe, that made the difference. Upon signing the contract, Cesar asked three questions of Gil Barry, V.P. of Heublein. The first question was "Where did the boycott most surprise you?" Barry's answer was "Atlanta." In Atlanta the boycotters were met at picket lines by red-neck shotguns and several of the picketers spent time in jail for trumped-up charges. But they continued to go back and picket. Their efforts were respected by the AFL-CIO unions in Atlanta, who upon hearing of George Meany's opposition to our Heublein boycott, said that they didn't care what Meany said, they would continue to support us morally and financially.

Cesar's second question was "Where was the boycott most effective?" Barry's unhesitating response was "the San Francisco Bay Area gave us the most headaches." Cesar's third question was "Where is Vivian today?" (Vivian Levine is our full-time European boycott organizer who succeeded in getting a work stoppage from London's dock workers who load Heublein's Bristol Cream Sherry on ships headed for the states. Vivian also got a work slowdown from a French communist union working in a Heublein factory). Barry's answer was "London." Cesar continued "Where was she last week?" Barry: "Brussels." Cesar: "Very good. And where was she the week before?" . . . In fact, Heublein told us that they had been sending out daily "boycott notes" to their management people pinpointing our activities from their point of view. They agreed upon signing the contract to show us these notes so that we could better evaluate our effectiveness!

In spite of this success we still need full-time organizers for the boycott. We are now working on scab grapes, trying to influence the remaining table grape growers to negotiate. In the wind for future boycotts are guild wines, lettuce (after four months of negotiations no grower has yet signed), Libby's, Jolly Green Giant, and Sunkist oranges. These boycotts have not started. We can effectively boycott only one at a time. There are work communes of boycotters throughout the U.S. and Canada. If you want to give farm workers organizing a try at room and board and \$5 a week, give me a ring at 323-0506 or write Cesar Chavez at Box 62, Keene, California.

—KIT BRICCA/GENTLE STRENGTH

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429 pp. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co.

\$3.95

I was asked to write this review because I am (among other things I hope) a journalist, an above ground one trying to dig my way into the murky realities of being an underground one. There is a general impression in the overground press that the underground is inhabited by sometimes-talented, sometimes-truthful, always-amateurs. The capitalistic forces which the mass media journalist must serve often lend him to judge his fellow journalists as he judges himself: by the salaries earned and the circulation of periodicals worked for. Wrong-headed as it is, among too many of my colleagues in the journalistic profession that *is* the way it is. So let me pass on overground technical judgement on Mr. Newfield, as much to relieve me of an impulse of my own past as to inform the reader. Newfield writes well enough to do the pages proud of any magazine or newspaper in this country. *What* Mr. Newfield writes wouldn't make it in many of the big outlets of the mass media (he was once cut from the New York Post's squad of apprentices, a decision I wish the Post had the sense to mourn and am sure they don't even remember) and therein lies the proof of the journalistic pudding he so ably cooks up. Newfield is a "new" journalist writing, basically, for the underground press. It is a pity he does not have wider exposure to the American reading public. I hope this book helps in giving him that exposure.

B&RT is a collection of articles and book reviews most of which appeared in the Village Voice and the New York Magazine between May, 1965, and April, 1971. They are a rare and moving document of the blood and ideas of the middle and late 1960's and the opening months of the present decade. A list of some of the titles of the nine sections that go to make up this book give some idea of the lash of Newfield's typewriter ribbon: WHITE POWER/BLACK RAGE; THE KIDS: TWO CHEERS FOR THE FREAKING FAG REVOLUTION; VIETNAM: THIS ENDLESS WAR; NEW YORK POLITICS: A CLOWN SHOW; THE MEDIA: MEDIUM FOOL; JAILS: THE ULTIMATE GHETTO.

Mr. Newfield's most-of-the-time employer, the Village Voice, calls him a "muckraker" in recent ads. He is a journalist of protest and a first-rate investigative reporter. He is as honestly questioning as he is critical, he is as objective as he is objecting. Calling him a "muckraker" may get him (and the Voice) readers, but it hardly does Newfield's work justice.

Mr. Newfield doesn't have much sense of humor in print (he is, after all, writing about some very terrible and tragic things) but like any political writer worth his carbon paper, he is a namecaller of the first water. A few of his epithets: "Nixon, you give a bad name to plastics." The United States generally ends up "this wounded dinosaur of a country." General Westmoreland is "the Custer of Asia." New York's Mayor John Lindsay is the "up tight white knight." And dear, glad-hatted Bella Abzug is "the moral equivalent of General Patton."

Naturally in every pound of protest there's bound to be an ounce of petulance. Of LBJ and the War: "He is not my President. This is not my war." That statement is a little too easy for someone who admits he voted for Johnson and Kennedy before him. And the war *is* our war, and that includes Mr. Newfield, until we do enough to stop it.

If petulance follows protest, moral indignation can birth moralizing. In a review of *The Real Majority* by Scammon and Wattenberg, Newfield advises readers who might be attracted by its Machiavelian approaches to political maneuvering: "Ambitious politicians would do better to forget the *Real Majority* and follow the counsel of Shakespeare: 'To thine own self be true.' " That is Newfield, the Movement moralist, at his worst. Maybe politicians won't win heading the cynicisms of the *Real Majority's* authors, but they probably won't do much better trying the Shakespeare shuck in the American political hog pen.

Newfield is a journalist with the instincts of a writer and much of the craft to boot. His style is curiously unrepentive for one who writes so much, so often, and usually in newspapers. The ideas come thick but clear, refreshingly undogmatic and democracy-oriented in a time when the political Left and Right are increasingly seeing the democratic systems of our society as subversive, ridiculous, and/or atrophied.

Newfield the *thinker* reserves his best insights and closest reasoning for what he hates. That would be fine if he saved the lance of language for thrusts into foes alone. Unfortunately he writes quite a bit about his heroes. If he likes you, then like the whore with the heart of gold, the sky's the limit. In November, 1966, he calls John Lindsay "courageous, considerate, truthful, ethical, idealistic." Even in the days when Lindsay was still the white knight, that string of adjectives is a bit much. And once Robert Kennedy brought his charisma to bear on Newfield, it was hard for Jack to find unkind words in his typewriter or clear, critical sight in the lenses of his glasses. The two last articles in the book are about Bobby Kennedy and his death which New-

field witnessed. While it is nice obituary writing, it caught none of the cynicism of Kennedy. The very tough political hack side to Kennedy, which was pretty apparent to those of us who ever traveled with him, completely eluded Newfield. So much does Newfield-the-doubter want to be Newfield-the-lover that he sees people in almost Messianic terms once he likes them. The present generation of young people also fall into that category in this book.

As a *writer*, Newfield is poorest at what interests him least: men as individuals (that includes Robert Kennedy). The profile of Mailer is anemic, a neat trick to work on someone as protein as nasty Norman. Ralph Nader becomes indistinguishable from his movement. And Ramsey Clark's profile reads like a rough draft for a fund-raising brochure.

But the profiles, though the weakest writing, are the most representative of the message which gradually builds in reading the pieces (and is unnecessarily spelled out in the prologue): That it is movements not individuals that America and especially its young people must look to. And that a far-ranging, humanistic populism is where whatever smidgin of political salvation lies for America. Whether or not you can agree with the results of Newfield's love affairs with physically and ideologically dead politicians, or think that soft-core populism can meet the old dinosaur's hard-core problems, it is fascinating to see how Newfield gets there. And you learn a lot about the dinosaur's pathology—agree or not with the prologue's prescription.

—LANCE BELVILLE

& MUSIC

PARADISE NOW

Collective Creation of The Living Theatre
Written down by Judith Malina and Julian Beck
Random House
\$6.95

SELECTED WRITINGS

LaMonte Young, Marian Zazeela

Edition X, Munchen. LaMonte Young, Marian Zazeela

Side I

LaMonte Young. 31 VII 69 10:26-10:49 PM (23)

A part of larger work *The Tortoise, His Dreams & Journeys*

Side 2

LaMonte Young. 23 VIII 64 2:50:45-3:11 AM
the volga delta

The book, \$4. The record, \$9
Available postpaid from Heiner Freidred
Lindenstrasse 20, 5 Cologne 1, West Germany
or from

Lightyears Inc., 61 Crosby St., New York, N.Y. 10012

The play is a voyage. A voyage which is charted, which has a purpose and a destination. The play changes both the

actors and the audience, initiating them into a new way of experiencing and being in the world. The play is action and transformation. It is revelation.

Music is a voyage. It is sound. It is order. It is what happens to us when we listen. It is what changes us. What makes us new.

Change and transformation—two words that apply equally well to the work of LaMonte Young and Marian Zazeela and to the creations of the Living Theatre. The willingness to allow space, to put aside the role of manipulative creator and passive spectator, to allow a place to move and grow, or to stay still, to be silent.

The transcription of *Paradise Now* to written form began six months after the premiere of the play and consequently the play in book form was not read by the actors until more than a year later—after more than fifty performances had already been staged. It is a book derived from a performance rather than a performance derived from a book, and so this review is necessarily a review of the book, *Paradise Now*, rather than of a performance, of the words behind the action and of how that action is experienced through those blocks of letters, of pages, of words.

The form of *Paradise Now* is built on the archtypal structure of Adam Kadmon, the Celestial Adam in whose image Man, the Earthly Adam was created. It is a precise structure incorporating elements of the I Ching, the Zohar, the Chakras, the Hassidic Rungs and the emotive aspects of color. Each section of the eight rungs—taking the place of acts or scenes as dividing points in the play—includes appropriate sections from each of the texts as well as actions of the performers and a confrontation between the performers and the spectators, a confrontation in which the dividing line between performer and spectator blurs and fades. The goal—the BEAUTIFUL ANARCHIST NON-VIOLENT REVOLUTION. A revolution which is a permanent revolution because it involves a real transformation rather than a temporary change. A revolution in which the revolutionary is, in the process of transforming society, transformed himself.

En Sof, the final mystery, is the mystery of the street. "The absolute collective cannot be 'made,' it can only be called and summoned. Since it has always existed it needs only to be named and addressed aright in order to appear." In a real sense *Paradise Now* is an invocation, addressing itself to summoning whatever that transformation is that changes a group of people into a collective body.

This book is in a very real sense a poem and as such it is difficult to do more than describe the content. I am not an anarchist. I am not a pacifist. And as a woman, I found the symbolism dominated by male-oriented, patriarchal source material. So that obviously there were many parts of the text that bothered me. There is so much in this book of real meaning and beauty:

IF I COULD TURN YOU ON,
IF I COULD DRIVE YOU OUT OF YOUR
WRETCHED MIND,
IF I COULD TELL YOU,
I WOULD LET YOU KNOW.

And yet, in many places, it reminds me of something almost past, of something almost unreal. Almost a cry of despair, rather than a cry of hope. As if, finally, in the end the transformation is a thing of the future, that the play

prepares in some ways, and in some ways hinders. *"In the City Absolute there are no doors and no walls. For there all things say 'thou' and all hands are joined in an unending embrace. This is the beginning . . ."*

As the Living Theatre talks about action and change, the music of LaMonte Young is a music of stasis, of time transformed in a different sense. In answer to a question by Richard Kostelanetz in an interview in *Selected Writings* a question as to why LaMonte Young choose the title, "The Tortoise, His Dreams & Journeys" for his larger work, LaMonte replies, *"Tortoises have been tortoises for two hundred million years which is 199 million years longer than people have been people . . . I'm interested in stasis, and in things that stay the same although they change in detail."*

Selected Writings is a collection of the work of LaMonte Young and Marian Zazeela. It contains a "Conversation with LaMonte Young" by Richard Kostelanetz as well as notes on his pieces, a lecture, a poem by LaMonte Young, calligraphy and "The Soul of the Word" by Marian Zazeela and "Dream House" a description of an environment in sound and light "with singing from time to time."

In part of his conversation with Kostelanetz, LaMonte says, *"The trouble with most of the music of the past is that man has tried to make the sounds do what he wants them to do. If we are really interested in learning about sounds, it seems to me that we should allow the sounds to be sounds instead of trying to force them to do things that are mainly pertinent to human existence . . . If, however, we go to the sounds as they exist and try to experience them for what they are—that is, a different kind of existence—then we may be able to learn something new."*

Environment or context is essential in LaMonte's and Marian's work and this is nowhere expressed more than in the care with which both their book and record album are put together. The covers, by Marian Zazeela, of both the book and record give almost a tactile feeling to the contents. The total design of the record jacket was *"constructed by permuting the placement of a single linear element."* Like LaMonte's music, the variations emerge slowly, they must be looked at, listened to. Their power lies in the concentration that brings an infinite amount of variation and contrast out of what, at first glance, seems almost perfectly static, unmoving. LaMonte says of his music, *"My own feeling has always been that if people just aren't carried away to heaven I'm failing. They should be moved to strong spiritual feeling."*

How does one, in a review, express except in the most minute way the work of artists that are meant more than anything else to be experienced, whose entire meaning is in experience. LaMonte Young and Marian Zazeela's work must be read, looked at, listened to. The work of the Living Theatre must be felt. In the case of LaMonte Young and Marian Zazeela it is easier in the sense that a book and record are available. How much the book, *Paradise Now*, can give a real feeling of the Living Theatre is hard to say. In any case the book certainly has a validity in its own right and is a document of a very important part of the history both of a theatre and of a movement.

Perhaps the best comment to end on is one made by LaMonte Young in his "Lecture 1960":

*When we go into the world of a sound, it is new.
When we prepare to leave the world of the sound,
we expect to return to the world we previously*

left . . . Perhaps it is safe for me to mention now that once you enter a new world, of a sound, or any other world, you will never really leave it.

—SUSAN SHERMAN

FOOD

VITAMINS

When you don't have much money for food, you should guard the vitamins you buy, by not cooking anything longer than you have to or at too high a heat. But there are also sources of vitamins, other than pills, that can supplement what's already in things. Three of these amount to wonder foods because of their versatility and benefits:

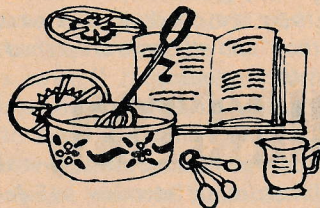
1. **Nutritional yeast.** This is bought in health food stores by the pound, and sometimes in grocery stores as "brewer's yeast" (to distinguish it from "baker's," which makes bread rise). It is also sold in tablets, but it tastes terrible—much better to put a pinch of the powder in everything you eat, from spaghetti-cooking water to rice to orange juice to baby formula, everything. This way, even though you lose some of the powerful benefits from cooking it, at least its ingestion is painless. It is the *best* food source for vitamins B-1, B-2, B-6, niacin, phosphorus, and iron. It costs around 60 cents a pound, pretty cheap.

2. **Skim milk powder.** This is sold everywhere cheaply. It is much better for you than whole milk—besides being less fattening, it contains more B-1, B-2, B-6, B-12, calcium, and phosphorus; and it is one of the best food sources for all these things. Use it as a liquid (made according to directions on the box: 1 cup powder makes 3 cups milk) for all cooking, and lower your milk bill by a lot. Use it in baby formula, too. Use it in coffee, and make instant cocoa right in the cup by slowly adding hot water to milk and cocoa powders while stirring—no pot to wash. But especially, use it as a solid: Add it to bread doughs, pancake and other batters, whole milk for drinking (or make it double strength for drinking), oatmeal, sauces, casseroles, meat loaf, anything. Use it double strength when recipes call for evaporated milk. Equal parts of ice water and milk powder, with a few drops of lemon juice and honey, will substitute for whipped cream if you whip it long enough. Note: Skim milk powder in baked things, like bread, will cause them to brown faster, so experiment with a lower oven temperature and a longer cooking time.

3. **Wheat germ.** Everybody knows wheat germ is good for you, but few know what to do with it. (Just for the record, it's rich in vitamins E, B-1, B-2, B-6, and iron.) Always buy the unroasted kind, and shop around because the price varies. My husband likes it sprinkled in soup. I use it for a topping on casseroles and ice cream; whenever recipes for anything call for breadcrumbs; to stretch meat loaf; as an enricher, with milk powder and yeast, in all doughs and batters; to bread cutlets and vegetable burgers; in all cold and hot cereals; as a cereal all by itself for the baby, mixed with hot instant milk; sprinkled on fresh fruit; and many other ways. It's much cheaper than chopped nuts

or coconut for rolling cookies in.

These three vitamin-rich, cheap, good foods can replace vitamin pills if you also eat good sources of the things they lack: VITAMIN A (in liver, carrots, parsley, dried apricots, watercress, egg yolk, swiss and cheddar cheeses); VITAMIN C (in rose hips, violets, parsley, turnip greens, mung bean sprouts, green and red peppers, watercress, strawberries, orange and lemon and grapefruit and tomato juices, soybean sprouts); VITAMIN D (in sardines, salmon, egg yolks, butter, liver); and IODINE (in kelp, dulse, Irish moss, ocean fish, and other seafoods).



HONEY

Honey can be bought cheaply from anyone who keeps bees, or bought in supermarkets at slightly greater expense. (I got a five-pound tin for \$1.79.) With refined sugar at about 20 cents a pound, honey seems expensive—but not when you know how good it is. It is a miracle food in many ways:

·Honey keeps forever. Some was found in very ancient Egyptian tombs in perfect condition. Some people let it age for a year before using it.

·Honey is rich in iron and other minerals and vitamins, especially the darker varieties of honey.

·Honey is predigested by the bee and is the most quickly assimilated sugar and, therefore, excellent for athletes and others in need of quick energy; but it can't overload your bloodstream with sugars the way some others do.

·Honey can even be fed to newborn babies with no ill effects, and is the best sweetener for formula.

If you shake up some honey and water in a jar, this liquid won't separate and you avoid the stickiness of honey. If you make this mixture the approximate strength of fruit juice and keep it in your canteen at a demonstration, it will greatly increase your energy and endurance levels.

Honey is loaded with potassium, which is why it kills bacteria. It also contains iron, copper, manganese, silica, chlorine, calcium, sodium, phosphorus, aluminum, and magnesium! It even has them in exactly the right balance to keep humans healthy—as well as bees.

What's more, it has all the vitamins necessary for health and is an excellent source of them, as it keeps them better than vegetables. (Did you know that fresh spinach loses half its vitamin C within a day of being picked?)

I could go on and on about honey—its virtues are diverse and plentiful. It doesn't irritate your insides or bother your kidneys. It's a very mild sedative and laxative. About the only thing wrong with honey is that it might cause cavities if you held it in your mouth too long. Some people say that eating enough honey will cure arthritis, bedwetting, overweight (because it's filling and energy-giving), fatigue, constipation, and a host of other ailments. If you have a stuffy nose or sinus trouble, try chewing some honeycomb.

Honey attracts moisture, which is why it's good at killing germs, so keep it tightly covered. This property also means that baked things containing honey keep better than other kinds. If you substitute honey for other sugars, remember that it is twice as sweet as ordinary white sugar; and it is a liquid, so decrease other liquids in recipes slightly. A little honey in a cup of mint tea is one of the best hot drinks there is. "Strained" honey means they took the honeycomb out—try both kinds.

As with everything else, use your imagination—it's seldom one finds such a health-giving food that tastes so good. Honey sometimes gets hard or crystallizes; if this happens, just heat it, or, if you have to, add a little water.

—Kathy Hill

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WASHINGTON, May 3: STOPPING TRAFFIC

"Good morning, commuters. Some delay has been reported in the vicinity of Key Bridge. In this area we suggest you roll up your windows or turn on air conditioning on account of tear gas."

This radio voice,
the traffic light eyes, the breath of poison
belong to a bureaucrat getting up Monday,
zipping his fly
after not making love to his wife.
His car door shuts like a call girl orgasm
as he thinks of broad green golf courses
where he will lead out his clubs,
motorboat accelerating upon a lake,
spinning until tired. His wife
sits in bed with a glamour magazine.
Her thin fingers lick the pages
which blacken as she runs through them,
staying ahead.

But you and I fall through the square
of the perfume ad, woman tigress,
and land in the backdrop jungle,
where the black cloud from a burned child
hugs the earth, tear-gassing village mothers.

Their tears fall in Viet Nam,
rise to white clouds across blue sea
and fall
through the burning eyes of Washington demonstrators,
later a river of laughter from their mouths.

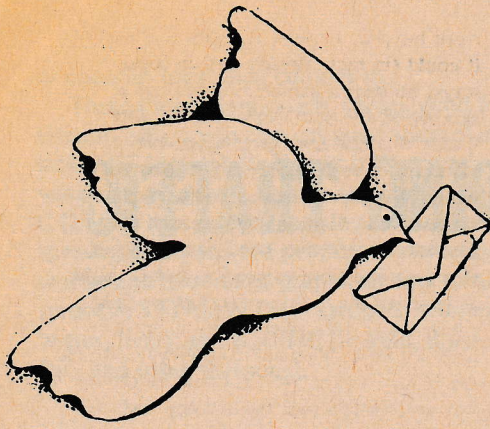
They fed doughnuts into window slots
and plucked from antennas
peaches of stillness to break and share.
They overturned ashcans, spilling the shame
of our waste in front of hard bumper lips.
Arrested, they chanted songs of New Jerusalem
as the city busses arrive at jail
where they have headed all along.

The freeways and facades of Washington
are the slick spun walls of a worm colony
in the fork of a sapling,
larvae who fear their legendary wings
and who have discovered,
after Viet Nam experiments,
how to ingest the whole tree rising to light.
Hastening to their complexes,
they are honestly surprised
when hands of demonstrators, green buds,
fly up under the wires.

At one intersection,
a workman in a pick-up,
wheelbarrow and cement in back,
banged at the rear end of a girl
in an old Pontiac, his hands
frantic on the shift.
She held her wheel while his tires
spun a black cloud of burned rubber.
He finally goes soft against her.

For an hour the strands of traffic
strangled only each other as blood-red azaleas
were shed into air:
not long enough to hear
the peaceful voice spread from the bud.
Untying their tear-gas bandanas,
ragged bandits, these faithless lovers,
escaped to load in the night
reefers which smoke out the old man
hiding with his money. Finally
he comes out hands up, dancing.

Jeffrey Justin



Just finished reading Abbie Hoffman's missive in your September 1 issue (after reading *Games People Play*, incidentally). His injured self-righteousness leaves me with feelings of pity and contempt. By what incredible arrogance did this pathological ego-tripper decide three years ago that he was the Movement? The superstardom of this macho male is the antithesis of what I understand the Movement to be all about. Who needs a leader, another Big Pig to dictate to our docile mentalities what we should believe and do? Good riddance! —John Kyper
Boston GLF

When I read "i quit" (WIN, 9/1/71) my first thoughts were, "Oh, Abbie Hoffman's flipping out from being a celebrity. Well, that's what you get." Thinking about it later, though, I don't know actually if Abbie has ever really desired to be a celebrity. Part of what he may have been trying to do could be explained like this: If you feel at all free and happy, you want to communicate that to as many other people as you can. You feel like it's definitely your karma to turn people on if you are high—whatever you are turned on to—you want to share with as many people as possible. Maybe that's what he was trying to do, maybe along with some desire for his Self to be noticed. That desire could interfere with the Purity of Intention to communicate and now the reaction to that desire could be taking place. That reaction being that, after you become Well Known, people start treating you differently. People don't treat you equal to the way they treat other people nor do they think of you in the same way. After a while, your words have no meaning; all that seems to matter to people is that you, the famous totempole, are speaking those words and doing those deeds.

People decide on an image of you and stick to it. Nothing you say or do is valid because the people who worship you will accept your actions and words without thinking. And the ones who have decided you are on an Ego trip will say yer an asshole and leave it at that. You're damned if you do and damned if you don't. You may as well forget about trying to communicate except with the few people who know you and love you or know you and

hate you. But at least they love or hate you for who you really are, not an image of you that they have decided on.

Now Abbie is sick of his efforts to break through, being frustrated by his image backfiring on him and writes WIN a letter explaining he's got to recuperate. Why didn't you print his letter with the letters from other WIN readers? Because he's a celebrity? Abbie wants out of his image and you're helping to preserve it by not treating a letter he writes the same as you treat letters from other people. By doing that, you create and sustain an inequality between "Abbie Hoffman" and People. Isn't Abbie a person too? With feelings? It's like you're saying, "Well, you asked for it!" (With the picture of the martyr, too).

Maybe he has asked for it in the past, but it seems to me that he feels differently about it now. Please think about it.

"Everybody is a Star. . ."

—*Sylvia Lester*
Toronto, Ontario

I'm 19 years old. One year ago I wrote to the draft board here and told them I was morally not at liberty to cooperate, even to the point of asking for a CO. So now I go to trial starting October 15. If you are out traveling, or even if you aren't, it would be nice if you could drop in. This will be one of the first (but I promise not the last) trials of this kind in our area.

The Quaker House will be open and there will be no problem putting up old friends or even new ones.

—*Neil Fullager*
1005 SW Eighth Avenue
Gainesville, FL 32601

I was wondering whether anyone has considered pressing DuPont *not* to take Corfam shoes off the market (Corfam being more durable than leather but not attracting sufficient shoe sales).

I hesitate to propose any action which must surely have lower priority, by far, than working against war and repression. Nevertheless, we should at some time be prepared to deal more actively with the ongoing slaughter of animals for food, clothing, and industry.

This letter is not the place for arguing whether the killing of animals is a mild form of murder (although perhaps justified when essential) nor whether it is also objectionable for one to kill plants!) It does seem to me, however, that in a better world man will not unnecessarily be killing animals and that it is not too soon to think about how a reduction in slaughtering can be brought about.

In the single example mentioned at the beginning of this letter . . . naturally, one would not start a pro-Corfam action without looking in some detail into how Corfam itself is produced.

Yours for peace,

—*Herb*

We read in WIN several months ago that the Bureau of Prisons had instituted a new policy—No. 7300.14—which amounted to "open correspondence"—i.e., no more correspondence lists. After many queries among the officialdom here and in Washington, we finally were informed by Congressman Dellums that the "new policy" was not a Bureau policy but simply a Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary policy. In short, it doesn't apply here or most other federal joints. Perhaps you could print a correction?

—*Randy Kehler*
LaTuna, Box 1000-5038

This is in response to Suzi Williams' letter in WIN, Oct. 1. I've admired and loved Suzi for many years, as I do so many of our comrades who have done time for their belief in the oneness of humankind, but I must draw a distinction between political prisoners and other kinds of prisoners. Admittedly, the distinction is sometimes, perhaps often, difficult to draw, but I think it is an important one. Otherwise, everything—every human action and response—becomes justified.

It is not a matter of sitting in moral judgement on any other human being. It is a matter of recognizing that people have choices to make and that some choices are preferable—personally and socially—to others.

The problem arises, I think, from a confusion between the subjective and the objective. True enough, the car thief in the next bunk was fulfilling his needs as much as I was fulfilling mine in demonstrating or acting against some real evil. But on the objective level, his as an anti-social act and mine, I hope, was the opposite. Perhaps a better line could be drawn between those who look upon all other people as potential friends and those who see nothing but potential enemies; between those who look upon the evils in the world as an arena in which they try to apply their creative energies, and those who look upon the world from "the outside" as something to be ripped off.

Of course we have to be sensitive to the social conditions which encourage anti-social behavior. And we must be sensitive to the personal conflicts and frustrations that often can find no other outlet. Of course we say that the prevalent methods of dealing with antisocial behavior is primitive and inhuman. But to find all causes for such behavior outside of the individual is to fall into the static and medieval concept of "predestination". The logic of which is saying that Lt. Calley had no other choice.

—*Igal Roodenko*

Your magazine is gentle, and causes a nonviolent, creative swirl within me. The September issue was beautiful and full of marvelous bits of literature.

And thank you for the coverage on the Constellation Project (WIN 9/1/71). I think your choice of putting Lynd's article before the Connie one was appropriate.

The vote is carrying on very well. After the vote, we are not sure what we will do, except that we will continue to work: education, helping the Connie crew organize a boycott of ships services.

The people of San Diego are coming out: students, businessmen, navy officers, housewives. Democracy seems to appeal to the hearts of all of them. The political repercussions of this mass organizing will last after the project, hopefully. San Diego may be our next liberated zone within the eye of the hurricane.

—*Brother Jim Stewart*
San Diego, California

As I bicycled my way to work this morning, a thought crossed my mind which I thought would interest your readers. I am sort of a Gandhi Freak and have always been intrigued by his spinning wheel doctrine. It seemed to have three effects: for the individual—identification with the poor, through physical labor, which had great spiritual effects; collectively—to wear homespun became a morale booster, a symbol of the movement for independence; and lastly, the economic effects—less cloth had to be imported from England. Thus it was a sign that the Indians could be independent of the British, and that in the long run, it would not be economically advantageous for the British to hold on to India.

My thought was simply that the bicycle could and should become the American spinning wheel. The effects would be the same: identification with the poor, not only through the physical

work but also because it really is cheaper; it could (in fact, already has, in some ways) become a morale booster and a symbol of the new world coming; and finally it could have great economic effects if enough people did it. Not only would it reduce pollution but it could seriously cut down on the amount of gasoline this country uses. The results of this are impossible to predict, but it might at least reduce the chances that we fight another war over oil rights as, at least in part, we do in Vietnam. The bicycle, which is not just for the young, could be the way to join together the ecology and peace movements.

Happy cycling!

—*Desmond Lawler*
Kansas City, Mo.

DOVE TALES



CHICAGO—You should more realistically direct your efforts to raising relief funds, advised Atty. Teige of World Airways, telephoning from Oakland, Calif. The occasion was the 8/31 visit of a delegation of Friends of East Bengal to WA's Chicago office on the umpteenth floor of the Equitable Life Assurance Bldg. to protest the leasing of Boeing 707's to Pakistani Int. Airlines. We emerged from this unsatisfactory session to find another 5 members of the delegation in the hall, surrounded by police evidently there to see we did not forcibly break a lease. . . . "WE HOPE to prepare a trial that will blow everybody's mind," said Johnny Baranski of the "four of us" (Johnny, Mary Beth Lubbers, Thom Clark, Eileen Kreutz) after their 9/8 court appearance. Their trial begins Oct. 18 at the Federal Bldg. They've issued a statement challenging J. Edgar Hoover's contention that the backbone of the "Berrigan forces" has been broken and expressing solidarity with those arrested for attempted raids on SS and FBI offices in Buffalo and Camden. ("four of us" Defense Committee, 926 Chicago Ave., Evanston, Ill.) . . . A SPOKESMAN for the Fed-

eration of American Scientists for Experimental Biology objected to their being forced to hire high-priced craftsmen to hand out ID cards during their convention here. "Normally we hire girls for such work," he said. (Chi. Daily News 8/27.)

DENVER — SPRING AGAINST THE WAR, a direct action group, is now Rocky Mountain Freedom Conspiracy which meets at 430 W. 9th Ave. . . . ANN AND BURT of Boulder, who were jailed as a result of the Mayday demonstration at the Denver Federal Center, were also subpoenaed to testify about Daniel Ellsberg before the L.A. Grand Jury. They refused and were dismissed, although accessory or conspiracy charges could still be filed against them. (Fall '71 brochure of Institute/Mountain West, 701 S. Washington, Denver 80209—also, see WIN, Oct. 1).

AUTOMATIC JUSTICE — SINCE 1938, Federal Judge Swinford of Covington admitted, he has automatically handed out 5-year sentences to all C.O.'s who came before him. On appeal by Jehovah's Witness Harry W. Daniels, Jr., the Sixth Circuit Court overturned the sentence . . . WAR

TAX RESISTERS Chester and Martha Brickett of Laconia, N.H., report in an open letter to friends that they are asking Congressmen, the President, and the Vice-President whether there is hope for enabling legislation to permit conscientious objection "to the killing of human beings for purely political reasons." I can just imagine the "automatic" reaction of Judge Swinford to a case like that! . . . ONE THING that is very helpful to us here is the good community of resisters, writes Joe Mulligan from Sandstone. "Recently we were joined by two tax resisters from Chicago (Meyer and Himmelbauer) and they bring a certain maturity and stability and solid commitment to our prison community."

STARRY NIGHT THEATER in Binghamton, N.Y. is holding auditions to form a full-time company to travel over the N.Y.-Vt. area. They do original plays and hope to find people "who love to use spirits/bodies/minds/voices/words/puppets/music and communication, to share, grow and make change." Contact JoAnn Smith or Gary Wurtzel, 69 St., John Ave.

—*Ruth Dear*

Guerrilla theater—a hit-and-run form of radical political theater—is quickly becoming one of our most effective consciousness-raising mediums. Many, many folks are turning on to it and getting together troupes to do gigs. If you're interested in starting a troupe, Ed Hayes of the Quaker Project on Community Conflict, 13 East 17th Street, New York City, 10003, is interested in helping you. Also available from the Quaker Project are copies of "A Guerrilla Theater Manual". (For these, a small charge of 25¢ per copy is charged for postage and handling.) For further information, please write Ed or call him at 212-741-0750.

Black man serving time behind bars wishing correspondence with anyone. Will answer all letters. Please be sincere. Charles Nails, P.O. Box 3173, Columbia, S.C. 29203.

The Men's Pages — essays on male sex-role liberation: 50 cents from Bob Shurtleff, 909 Foster, Evanston, IL 60201.

THE SOCIALIST TRIBUNE is for building a non-sectarian socialist movement. The only requirement for joining us is belief in democracy. Send for a free sample copy. 1012 North 3rd Street, Suite 317, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53203.

Classifieds

UNITED WORLD PRESS COOPERATIVE, a free, sharing syndicate of the peoples' media can use seriously written articles dealing with all phases of the counter-culture as well as the death-kulture which it is replacing. Cartoons, poetry, columns, photos (b/w) also needed. This type of material can be very useful to small, new, or struggling media groups. Sample packet sent on request. UWPC is a political (non-tax-exempt), non-profit organization. People forming, or formed, as media groups can plug into each other thru UWPC — contact us. UWPC, Rama Pipien packets, reference lists, etc., prepared for all our brothers/sisters struggling to servethepeople and stopthepig with any form of communications systems — including touching. Write UWPC, The Rama Pipien Collective, P. O. Box 641, Newcastle, CA 95658. Reader and library subscriptions available for small annual fee. Packets sent free to prisoners and services people. Venceremos.

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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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
Oakland Univ. Chapter, Oakland Univ., Rochester, Mich. 48063
Wayne State Univ. Chapter, Wayne State Univ., Detroit, Mich. 48200
Jamestown WRL, 12 Partridge St., Jamestown, N.Y. 14701
Lawrence WRL, Canterbury House, 116 Louisiana, Lawrence, Kansas
Milwaukee WRL, 1437 E. Brady St., Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202
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

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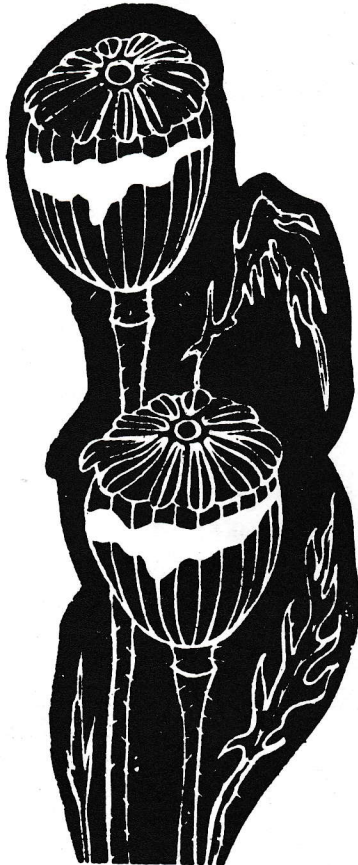
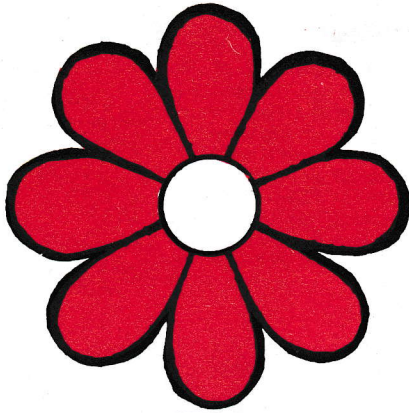
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"FLOWER POWER"

SICK SYMBOL



Comparison of the above symbol with the illustrated opium poppies clearly reveals the origin of the "flower power" ornament.

The flower symbol illustrated below is seen everywhere these days: on compact cars, doors and windows of residences, and on mail boxes. Sold widely as stickers and decals, they have become very popular. There are those who don't care for these flower decals because they associate them with the Hippie movement. However, they're decorative and add a bit of gaiety to our otherwise drab existence. Such is the popular reaction to this little symbol.

Sometimes it pays to dig a little deeper. Any Hippie will tell you these flowers are the symbol of his movement; that they represent "Flower Power." And what is "Flower Power"? That's where the Hippie Movement gets its power: from the flower. More specifically from the poppy. Even more specifically, from a poppy-produced derivative known as heroin, the use of which has resulted in degradation and death for an unknown number of youngsters.

No matter how pretty these flower decals appear, you'll never see them on the car of a Conservative. THE INDEPENDENT AMERICAN, which has just been alerted on the real meaning of these ornaments, urges you to warn your friends of the sinister significance of these seemingly innocuous decorations.

THE INDEPENDENT AMERICAN

February-March 1969.