

PEACE And FREEDOM thru non Violent Action

# win

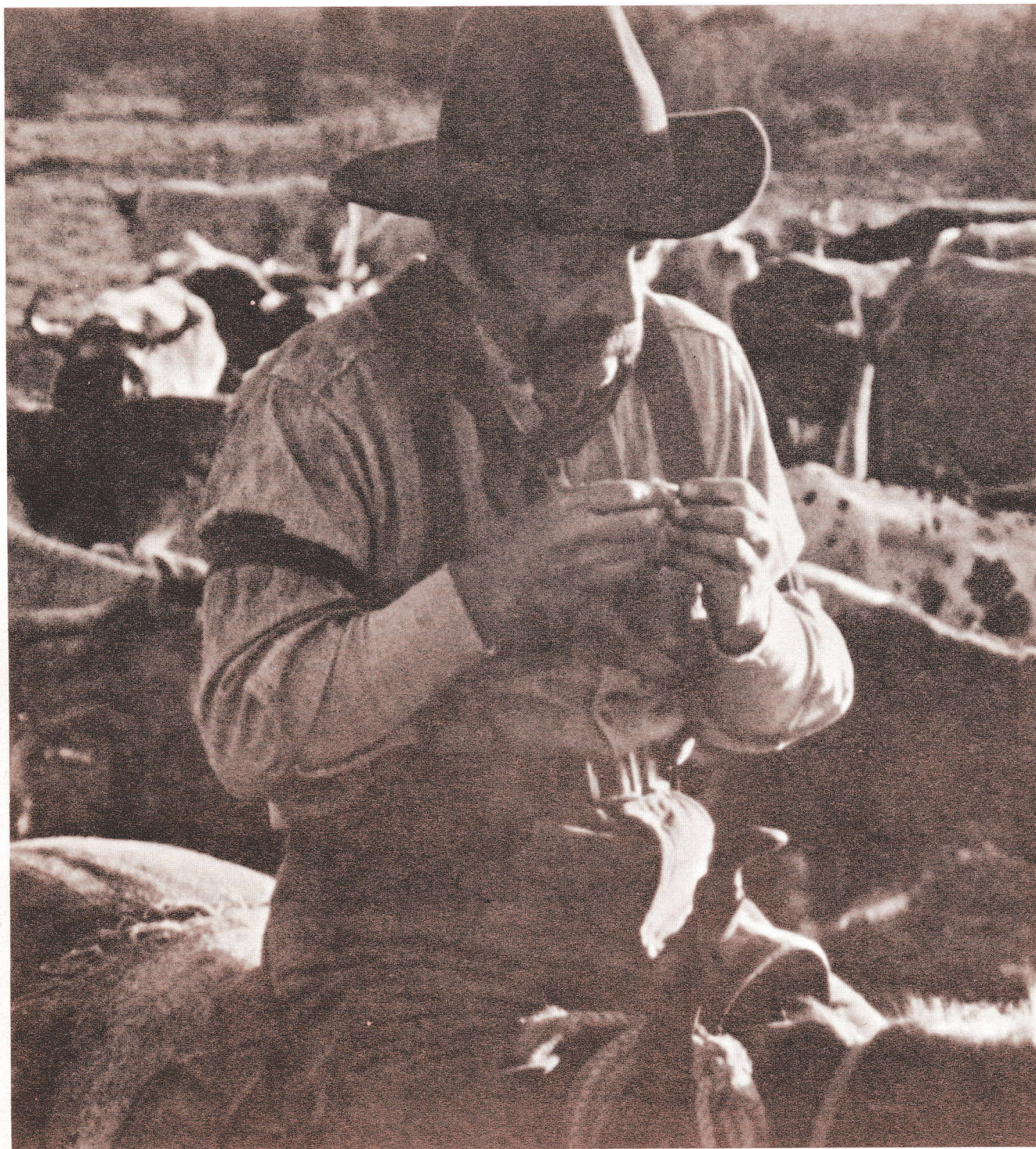


APRIL 1st, 1972

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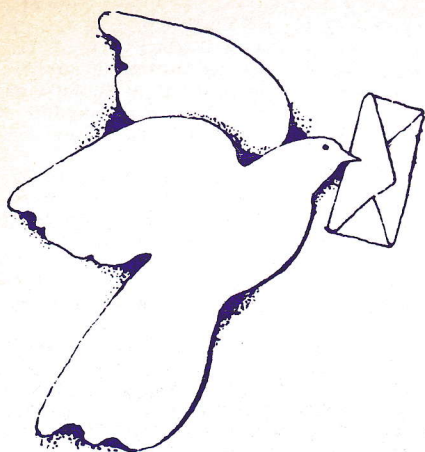
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David McReynolds  
Craig Karpel



## On to San Diego?





There has been a damaging and false series of articles coming out of New Mexico (Albuquerque) regarding the Raza Unida Party. I have reason to believe that the author of these articles is Carlos Cansino, un pedazo de hombre que ni pantalones tiene para firmar su nombre.

The latest of these articles appeared in a "radical" gringo publication called WIN, Vol. VII, No. 14, Sept. 15, 1971, pp6-11, under the title "La Raza Desunida".

I feel that I must repudiate the stupid, false, and vicious allegations made about our political party. I founded the party in Crystal City, Texas on January 19, 1970 at a community meeting of 390 (approximate) Chicanos at the Salon Campestre. We had just victoriously ended the school strike and were searching for political alternative. Our Raza in South Texas relies on agricultural labor across the United States as a livelihood. Our migrant people leave Texas by mid-April and return in early November. This fact denies us significant participation in the school board elections on the first Saturday in April; municipal elections on the first Tuesday in April; Democrat or Republican primaries the first Saturday in May; and any precinct, county district, or state convention or run-off election.

The few Chicanos that are around to vote fail miserably at electing or being elected to office in any party at any time. Consequently, our people are faced with the choice of the lesser of two evils in November.

The Raza Unida Party, on the other hand, by-passes all this legal process of Chicano elimination and plants the Raza Unida candidate in a separate column on the November ballot. The gringo must now split himself into either Republican or Democrat while our Raza can bloc vote for Raza. Obviously, a political minority of 40 per cent could defeat an evenly split 60 per cent gringo majority.

Yet, the author of "La Raza Desunida" insists that the Raza Unida Party is a Ford Foundation financed operation for the election of Bobby Kennedy in 1972. They claim the plot was hatched in 1964. What mind can conceive that precise presidential plans are laid 8 years in advance? Better yet, what mind can believe that the Raza Unida Party favors the Democratic Party? If anything, the Raza Unida Party destroys the Democratic Party, (witness the Nov. 16, 1971 Senate election in Los Angeles), by swinging traditionally loyal Democrat votes over to Raza Unida Party.

Another false report by the unsigned author(s) is that Dr. Ernesto Galarza is the head of the Raza Unida Party. Further, that the second National Raza Unida Party conference was held in San Antonio. There is no

"head" or "leader" of the party. All of us from Texas to Califas, from Washington to New York are organizers of the party. Each state and each region or locale within each state determine what the party is to be, who runs, how they run, and when they run. In Texas, our Raza Unida Party requires no filing fee for public office; our meetings are in open conventions and bi-lingual; our "politicos" are financed by the community entirely, and cannot spend any personal money; our "politicos" cannot run for office more than twice and our candidates for office are selected, interviewed, and nominated by the local Chicano community-wide organizations in a joint session. The Raza Unida Party by itself has no membership. The Raza Unida Party depends on Chicano money, Chicano people, and Chicano votes.

For these reasons we have not lost an election in Texas to date. We have four Mayors (Cotulla, Crystal City, San Juan, and Carrizo Springs); 1 County Commissioner (a Brown Beret in La Salle County); 2 school board majorities (Crystal City and Asherton); and several seats on other school boards (La Jolla, La Pryor, Edgewood, Carrizo Springs, Del Rio, Cotulla, Beeville, Taft, Falfurrias, and others). In 1972, we will win in various counties in Texas and elect the first Raza Unida candidates for Sheriffs, Tax Assessors, County Attorneys, County Commissioners, Justice of the Peace, and Constables.

The author(s) of this vicious article also contend that the Ford Foundation created the Southwest Council of La Raza who in turn created the Mexican American Unity Council in San Antonio, Texas, which funded the Mexican American Youth Organization for \$10,000.00. They argue that Commissioner Albert Pena recruited us (MAYO), instructed us, and financed us to travel across the state.

The truth of the matter is that MAYO was was organized in 1967 and we organized the Mexican American Unity Council. Only later did MAUC affiliate with the Southwest Council. MAYO in 1968 obtained \$3,800.00 from the MAUC. Our funding was terminated because of our militant and political activity in South Texas. We were instrumental in creating 39 school strikes in Texas. Both MAYO and the Raza Unida Party have not received any funding from the Ford Foundation since that time. We don't need the Ford Foundation.

The slander in "la Raza Desunida" article states that 1966 rising Chicano consciousness produced a rebellion against the Democratic Party which resulted in the victory of liberal Republican John Tower to the Senate. John Tower is far from being a liberal Republican—he's a fascist, bigoted, racist gringo.

The article also states that we have tried unsuccessfully to come into New Mexico for the past three years. The Raza Unida Party has not existed for three years. We don't come into any place. The Chicano Community arrives at the alternative of the Raza Unida party by experience and frustration. This has been the case in Colorado, Oregon, California, Arizona, Washington, Michigan, New York, and Texas.

The Raza Unida Party is part of a mass movement that Chicanos have maintained for years. The party is committed to social change. The Party is committed to eliminating the gringo—politically, socially, and economically. At this point, the Raza Unida Party is creating Aztlan through ballots. We have not dismissed the possibility of carrying forth our program of self determination by bullets.

I ask you to print this lengthy letter for the benefit of the Chicano readers. Hopefully, the misinformed and therefore dangerous "gringo" radicals will check out the validity

and accuracy of their stories.

—JOSE ANGEL GUTIERREZ  
SOUTH TEXAS ORGANIZER

It's about time people started speaking up in behalf of Abbie Hoffman. I don't know the facts of his case with Tom Forcade. But I've worked with both of them and no brother should have to take the shit that Abbie has been taking from Forcade and his friends.

I'm surprised WIN has given Forcade (and Michael Foreman) so much space to attack Abbie. Maybe they've nothing better to do with their time, but we've supposedly got a revolution to make. And now they've sucked me into it, when, good lord, I've got better things to do. Background: Forcade came to New York to take over the Underground Press Syndicate (which was pretty much a paper organization) because no one else wanted the job. He generated a lot of energy, produced a newsletter or two, made many promises to UPS members (like WIN) and produced pretty much nothing. UPS is still evidently a paper organization useful as far as I can tell only to give Forcade a letterhead and a base in the movement.

About two years ago Forcade offered WIN and other UPS publications a publishing deal in which he promised to produce a series of "Best Of....." books for the underground press. He claimed to have a publisher and everything arranged, all we needed to do was produce a manuscript. Foolishly, (even then we didn't quite believe him) Paul Johnson, Maris Cakars and myself put together a "Best of WIN", delivered it to Forcade on time and waited for the book to materialize. It never did. And neither did an explanation. It seems typical of the way Forcade works. Lots of promises but nothing of substance. Is there any publication or movement organization that has had positive or useful dealings with Forcade or UPS? I wonder.

Forcade seems to be approaching this matter from the standpoint of a bookkeeper. OK. That's a necessary occupation and one of the most courageous people I've ever known in the movement functioned most of the time in the role of movement bookkeeper. But he did other things. What's Forcade done other than wheel and deal in hype? Abbie has always been an activist on the run. Money's gone in and out of his pockets like lightning. But he's not gotten rich on the movement, though some have. Abbie's written a lot of stuff for WIN and anyone who's read him knows his style. Abbie wrote STEAL THIS BOOK. It's pretty evident to anyone familiar with that style.

Now, WIN has also given excessive space to Michael Foreman whose association with the movement (a fringe one at that) has been as publicist. Meaning, that while Abbie was working in the streets, taking risks, and getting hassled by the government, etc. Foreman was setting up press conferences for rock stars and other counter-culture VIPs. I know because as a movement journalist I was with Abbie in the streets and also attending press conferences. I never saw Foreman at a demonstration.

What does all this have to do with the issue at hand? Legally, I don't know, much less care. But Abbie has risked more than most people for what the movement believes in. He deserves criticism for when he's erred; but that criticism should come from people willing to share the risks with him; from comrades, in other words, not from connen and hustlers who are using the movement for some kind of private fantasy trip.

Let me say something more about Abbie. We went through a lot of shit together. Flower Power Day, throwing money away at the Stock Exchange, all kinds of Yippee things,



Chicago. I'm pretty sour on the movement, especially on movement heavies who carefully cultivate revolutionary self-images. I trust Abbie, maybe not to keep a careful account of petty cash, but to be risking his neck along with everyone else. If Abbie is an elitist (as people charge) it's because he's got a brilliant head and gave the movement a much-needed zap of creativity. He never demanded people follow him, but they did and for good reason. He's never asked others to take risks he himself wouldn't take.

One example is the Grand Central Yip-In fiasco, which he didn't plan but (along with Jerry Rubin) got blamed for. Grand Central was no place to hold a demonstration and when the police started to get vicious there was no escaping. It was a trap. In the middle of the violence, Abbie and Anita Hoffman were trying to organize people to sit-down so as to stabilize the situation and cool the police out. A beautiful idea, the only tactic that could have salvaged an impossible situation. It didn't work. People were too frightened or too overwhelmed by the rhetoric of militance to accept such commonsense non-violence. Abbie was the only Yippee heavy to be with the people in the thick of battle and to try and exercise leadership. He really impressed me that night (and other times) because it took courage for him to advocate nonviolent tactics when nonviolence was so generally being put down by the more-militant-than-thou revolutionary leadership. It

was characteristic of Abbie to be in the middle of the action and to offer a commonsense plan of action even though it was an unpopular. Maybe that's why he came to be considered a "leader."

I haven't seen Abbie in about three years. He doesn't know about this letter and it's a drag having to write it. I once ran into Anita on St. Marks Place and told her about our farm in Vermont. She said that she and Abbie hoped to get out of the city someday, too. Now that Abbie has "resigned" from the movement (I guess I have also), I hope they make it. They won't find much rhetoric in the sticks; but neither will they find movement hucksters and conmen. They might not even find The Movement. But they will find a lot of good people still working to change the shape of America.

MARTY JEZER  
VERMONT

My article (WIN, Nov. 1) on the "people's court" convened to settle the dispute between Tom Forcade and Abbie Hoffman was commented on by two letter-writers—Forcade himself and a former non-associate, Michael Forman. Forman is some kind of miniature entrepreneur who operated with some success on the fringes of "hip culture" a few years ago—he betrays his vintage by referring to me as "poik," a practice which faded from the charts some time in 196X. My only contact with him before this proceeding was back in '69 when I sent Concert Hall Publica-

tions (i.e. Forman) my check for a copy of Hoffman's WOODSTOCK NATION. Got the cancelled check back, but not the book. Oh well, Forcade chose me to sit on the arbitration panel and is piqued that of the three justices I, his pick hit of the week, refused to allow him to rip Abbie Hoffman off for \$8500.

Forcade likes to go after people nobody else would ever think of vilifying—his most recent target in WIN was Mitch Goodman—boy, he sure destroyed Mitch Goodman, didn't he? So lest the same horrible fate befall me as a result of Forcade's wrath that befell Mitch Goodman, allow me to defend myself.

I won't load you down with a point-by-point refutation—you don't remember the what they said point-by-point anyway, thank heavens. Rather, I will simply ask that you believe me when I characterize their letters as two short-weight loads of gerbil mung, and offer the following textual comparison between the -cade and -man wings of the For-

cadec: "In a December issue of WIN, Karpel had an article entitled "Steal This Court," which contained a series of lies which Karpel knows to be lies. Michael Forman's answer in the January issue covers some of these. In the January issue of the ACLU newsletter, Karpel had a further article which repeated some of these lies. For example, Karpel states that Hoffman came to me because  
continues on page 33

## HOME FOLKS

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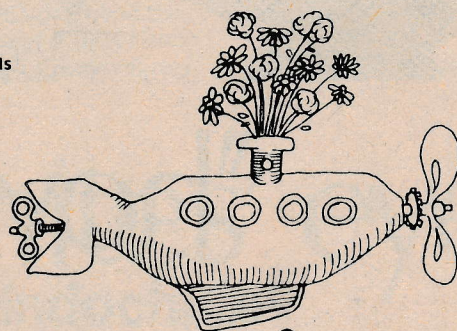
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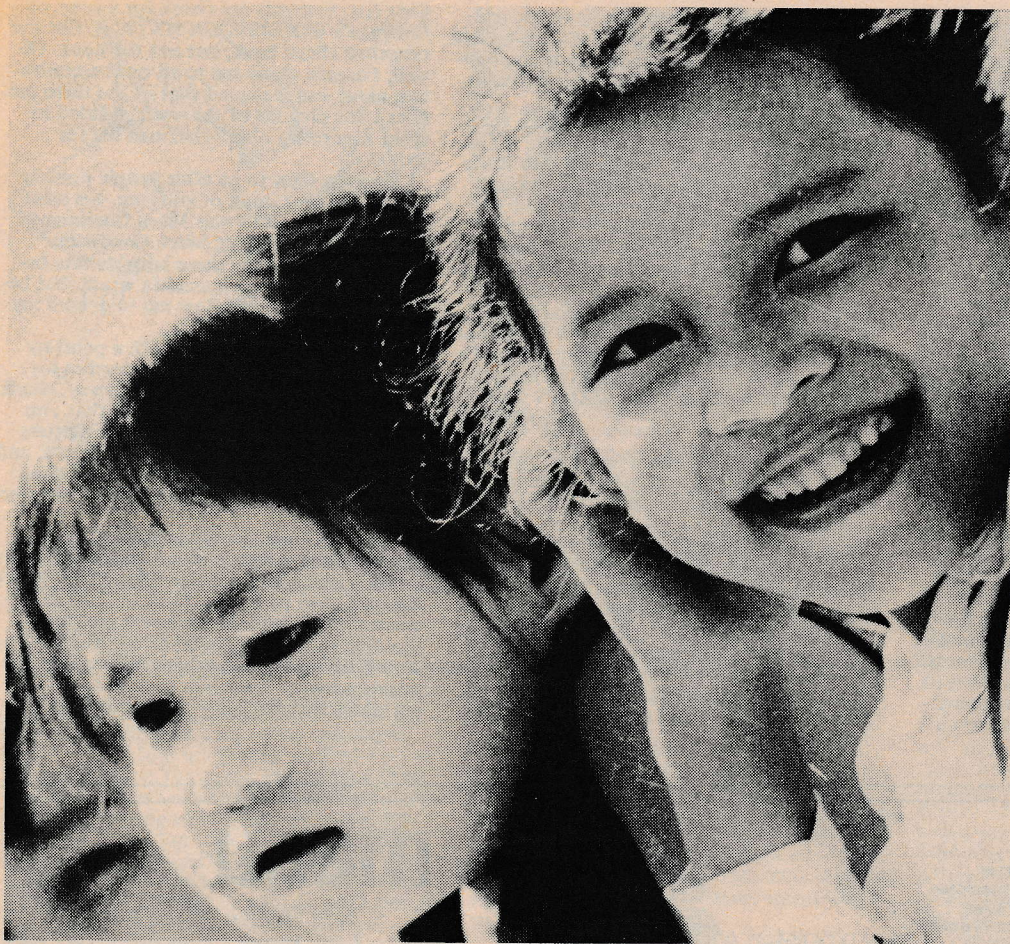
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Our thanks to Paul Johnson and Kip Shaw for helping to bail us out of difficulties on this issue. And special thanks to Bill Crawford for doing the layout.

April 1, 1972  
Volume VIII, Number 6





# "how cruel

Tom Hayden

**A**merica's role in the war in Indochina may seem wanton, aimless, insane, absurd. But actually there's a rationality to the whole process. When that Air Force general made the infamous comment during the Tet offensive, that he bombed the city of Ben Tre to save it, he was speaking from an underlying philosophy that guides the U.S. war effort at every level. The destruction of the fabric of life in the liberated zones; the killing and displacing of so many people is justified by the concept that it is all in their best interest. Their lives are thought to be backward, tradition-bound, poor, lacking altogether in middle class opportunities and possibilities. Communism is said to feed on this backwardness. Walt Rostow called it once the scavenger of the development process, feeding on people's out-dated fears.

The road to progress, even if it begins in a bombed village, then goes to a refugee camp, is the road to the city, the road to urbanization, the road to a world which is described as modern. A name has been given to this process by one of those numerous intellectual slaves of power, Samuel Huntingdon, former Chairman of the Government Department at Harvard, a regular

government advisor on Southeast Asian policy, who very often has formulated position papers on American policy there.

In one, written several years ago in Foreign Affairs magazine, Huntingdon uses a phrase that names the process, and he calls it: forced draft urbanization. *"If the direct application of mechanical and conventional power takes place on such a massive scale"-that's bombing-"as to produce a massive migration from countryside to city, the basic operating assumptions underlying the Maoist doctrine of revolutionary war no longer operate. In the absent-minded way the U.S. in Vietnam may well have stumbled upon the answer to wars of national liberation. The effective response lies neither in the quest for conventional military victory"-I presume that that's Johnson-"nor in the esoteric doctrines and gimmicks of counter-insurgency warfare"-I suppose that's Kennedy. "It is instead forced draft urbanization and modernization which rapidly brings the country in question out of the phase in which a rural revolutionary movement can hope to generate sufficient strength to come to power."*

Saigon is the densest city in the world, with new



*The following article is excerpted from the transcript of a television program, "Free Time," on which Tom Hayden appeared on January 18. This material, in expanded form, will soon appear as a book published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston. Our thanks to Tom and some of the folks at New York's Channel 13 for their cooperation in getting this together.* —WIN

problems, such as garbage, which it has never had before. The city has had its population increased by forced urbanization from four hundred thousand people in 1962 to four million this last year. Danang from one hundred twenty thousand to four hundred and fifty thousand. Hueh, from one hundred thousand to nearly two hundred thousand.

In South Vietnam as a whole, a country which was ninety percent rural in 1961 when Kennedy came to office, it's now become sixty percent urban. In Cambodia the process is happening even more rapidly. The capital city of Nam Penh in 1970 had six hundred thousand people. In 1971, two million.

The Kennedy subcommittee in 1968 described the lives of the people this way. *"They sleep in alleys and streets, in courtyards and halls, even in graveyards and*

*mausoleums, where bodies have been removed to allow more room. Most have no work. The children run wild. There is little food, little clothing to sustain them, both both physically and mentally. The areas that they live in are breeding grounds for disease, for illness, and for VC recruitment."*

For those Vietnamese in the American controlled areas, whether rural or urban, there is another system of domination awaiting them, once they have escaped the bombs, once they have come in to the camps or the cities. Now they have been driven, literally driven, into what can only be described as a Western style market economy.

Japanese and American corporations are moving rapidly into South Vietnam, especially since 1969. Economists and technicians are studying that economy, the natural resources, the raw materials, the labor force, and drafting plans for the future. Even though investment is a pretty high risk, given the war, and even though, as one American planner says, the Anglo-American concept of the corporation has not yet made much much headway, these official reports are piling up, and they all point to at least a decade of economic westernization.

These reports, for instance, include the theory that Vietnam will supply the manpower, and the U.S. the economic resources, to pursue the war. They have been done by Columbia economists working on contract to the State Department; by David Lilienthal, former head of the TVA, the Tennessee Valley Authority, working for Johnson, and presenting a three-volume report to Nixon in 1969; by the Asian Development Bank in Manila; by Japanese investment groups; by American oil companies.

And all of these reports, some semi-secret, some

# the whites' eyes look"

## on the War in Indochina





not, most of them unreported in the press, contain the image of the American technician and businessman, off in Asia; symbolically he's pictured very often as the frontier type spirit, the risk-taking businessman turned missionary, showing peasants, who have been farmers for a thousand years, how to grow rice.

Before going into these reports, these documents, let me make one thing clear, and that's that the South Vietnamese economy is a catastrophe. And this stems from being the completely artificial creation of the U.S. Just as the ARVN is a completely artificial, funded military creation of the U.S.; just as South Vietnam itself is an artificial diplomatic creation of the U.S., which was not supposed to exist after 1956, according to the Geneva Accords.

The many signs and symptoms of the absurdity and artificiality of this economy start, first, with the fact of a manpower crisis. South Vietnam has the fourth largest army in the world, seventy percent of its budget goes for defense.

Second, inflation. Consumer price index rises astronomically each year.

Third, the pervasive black market and corruption. One of the reports, by a former head of the U.S. Budget Bureau, says it's generally acknowledged that Vietnam is corrupt, and this process may be irreversible.

Fourth, the fact that the Saigon government, according to these reports, essentially lacks a capacity to collect taxes from its own people, showing the gap between the government and its population.

Fifth, and most clearly, there's an import crisis. Because of the war, South Vietnam, which once was an exporter of rice, has become dependent on American rice, particularly grown in Louisiana; has become a dependent importer of what was once its most important product.

Say it another way. In 1969 the total amount of consumer goods imported into South Vietnam, in dollar terms, equalled the South Vietnamese gross national product. Put it another way. From 1965 to 1969 the exports from South Vietnam of goods out of the country to other countries dropped from 40 million to a pitiful, infinitesimal 15 million. While the imports of consumer goods, basically from Japan and the United States, rocketed from 250 million dollars worth in 1965 to nearly 700 million in the first year of the Nixon Administration.

American aid to this puppet regime, whose army is supposedly Vietnamized, but whose economy is essentially Americanized, has been over the past ten years 16½ billion dollars, counting economic aid, military aid, and infra-structure costs. The economic reports generally acknowledge this crisis. But they bury its significance in a series of glowing projections, which read like fantasies.

The first, shared by all the reports, is that the war has been progressive for the Vietnamese people, that it's put South Vietnam on the road to economic capitalist prosperity. Fortune magazine, as long ago as 1966, was claiming that South Vietnam, if it's preserved from Communism, has the potential to become one of the richest nations in Southeast Asia.

Lilienthal, at a press conference in 1968, in relationship to his report, said that the Mekong Delta is the most valuable piece of real estate that exists in the world. In his report, he claimed that the physical destruction due to the war in South Vietnam is minimal, and that the economic wealth of the country has increased.





Arthur Smithes, a CIA agent, and a former Director of the Budget Bureau, claimed in his report that: "*The war has changed the situation in ways which are distinctly favorable to development.*"

You might wonder, what do these people mean? They seem to mean, if you study the reports, first of all the development of what's called an infra-structure. 2400 miles of highways, countless bridges, 600 miles of railroad, 200 airfields, five of them big enough for passenger jets, six major ports capable of taking ocean going vessels. The best infra-structure in Southeast Asia, Fortune magazine calls it.

Second, these reports seem to mean, when they talk of progress, the development of a cheap labor force with Western skills, because of the fact that the Vietnamese have worked around the American bases for so long. The Japanese business study calls this factor: without a doubt the greatest attraction for foreign interests in investing in Vietnam. And Smithes urges, in his report, that wages be held down in South Vietnam to encourage investment.

Investment, private enterprise, is the key to all of these proposals. The tone for this was set by Ambassador Bunker, speaking February, 1971, to the United States Chamber of Commerce, Saigon branch. In that speech, reported by the State Department, he cited the growing possibility of what he called "*an economic climate that foreign investors will find attractive.*" Smithes approves in his report of what he calls a necessary "*increase in the exploitation of the Vietnamese people.*" In the cities this will mean that banks, particularly American banks, and corporations, both Japanese and American, or mutually owned corporations, will dominate and control the labor market and the extension of credit.

The Japanese in particular have come into the picture very strongly, because within the Nixon doctrine they are slated in Asia, as Brazil is in Latin America, to be the subimperialist power, doing certain tasks for the Western market system.

So from 1960 to '69, the Japanese investors invested four million dollars in South Vietnam. But from 1969 to 1972, they invested 32 million dollars. There's a Toyota in the future of every Vietnamese.

In the rural areas, apparently the key to private growth of the economy is the famous green revolution, which is essentially the use of miracle grain rice, so-called, and fertilizers to supposedly increase the output of rice by the Vietnamese peasants, after they have been expert rice farmers for hundreds of years.

What will happen in this process is an even greater centralization of land holdings throughout South Vietnam, and a growing dependency on trade with the United States for technological gadgets, like motor pumps, and a dependency on American banks for credit. Because the motor pumps and the other equipment necessary for building levies, for flood control, and so forth, require centralization, require large savings in order to purchase them and to gain credit. And U.S. companies, by the way, will build this equipment, build these motor pumps.

Also there's an incredible hope for oil. Something like the gold rush to California is gripping American speculators in Southeast Asia, with respect to oil. The Journal of Commerce last April, said that South Vietnam "*May contain the richest petroleum deposits in Southeast Asia.*" And other journals have said the deposits may rival the Middle East.

Since 1969 it's been no secret that there's a big

scramble in Southeast Asia over oil. There are persistent reports of secret negotiations between Saigon, the State Department, and oil companies about oil leasing rights off the coast of South Vietnam. And it's reported that 35 billion dollars has been invested by the oil companies, simply in research and exploration off the coast of South Vietnam, for the next ten years.

Ask yourself whether this means the United States is getting out of South Vietnam. The answer of course is that the United States is getting in. The figures vary. Lilienthal in his report proposed 2½ billion dollars of U.S. direct military and economic aid to Saigon for the next ten years. A Rand Corporation expert said that was nonsense, proposed that it would cost at least twice that. Neill Benoit, an economist at Columbia University, working on a State Department project, has said that the cost may be as high as 13 billion dollars, 9 billion military, 4 billion economic aid, just over the period 1970 to '75. There's only 16½ billion dollars for all the Sixties, so he's talking about nearly that much again for a five year projected American aid program.

Who has told the American people about these reports? All these reports make two very important assumptions. The first is that the United States will win the war. This is a fantasy. Lilienthal assumed that the war would be over by the time he submitted the report. That was his problem. Benoit says, in his study, incredibly enough, in his study, that he makes the assumption that the United States will win the war in early 1973, for the purposes of doing his study. He says, otherwise doing the study would make no sense.

The other assumption I think is also a fantasy, but it has a more ominous present reality to it, and that is that a root transformation, a cultural transformation in the attitudes and psyches of the people of Southeast Asia can be wrought by the American market system there. All of these reports talk about the laziness and backwardness of the people, the necessity for attitudes of industry, rather than idleness.

And Smithes sums it all up in one statement, that a Honda riding generation may be more capable of economic development than a buffalo driving one. What he's talking about is what is called commonly the Honda culture in Southeast Asia, and particularly in Saigon. A culture symbolized by the millions of Honda motor-bikes imported from Japan, one million of them to Saigon alone over the last four years.

There's a common saying among military men in South Vietnam that if you get every Vietnamese male on the back of a Honda, the war would be brought to an end. What does this mean?

Another official says that we can win the hearts and minds of the people—abbreviate that to WHAM, it's called WHAM—we can WHAM them with our Hondas and our motor pumps.

These statements essentially mean that the people driven to the cities as refugees will be swept in an entirely new materialistic value system, will become turned on to Sony transistor radios, to Honda motor-bikes, to the whole Western consumer culture, and therefore be brought into the American way of life, and will leave behind their traditional ways, their evil ways, their Communist ways.

Samuel Huntingdon again enters here to provide us with a political proposal for actually rigging the South Vietnamese electoral process, which would complement these economic plans that I've been talking about. He presented a semi-secret paper before the Asian So-



ciety, a CIA funded operation, early in 1969, which was called "Getting Ready for Political Competition in South Vietnam." I guess he supposed that the end of the war was perhaps in sight, and he had read the article by his friend Kissinger in Foreign Affairs at the beginning of the Nixon Administration, which said that the United States is doing all right militarily, but it lacks a political structure in South Vietnam. So he proposed the following plan.

First, that the United States should definitely intervene in the politics of South Vietnam. He says it hasn't been involved enough before, but since 1966 we've played an active role there.

Second, we should force the NLF to play the game—that's the game of politics—by bombing them into it. His phrase is a little more euphemistic. He says, "by inducing substantial migration to the cities."

Third, we should control the cities and trade, and the market and commercial system, and give the NLF the rest of the countryside. Because then the NLF will be reduced to a sect in the rural areas. And the trade going on in and out of those areas will eventually undermine the NLF appeal because of what he calls the new opportunities for entrepreneurship opened up by the American market system.

Fourth, we should rig the political system, set up a parliamentary system that works to our benefit, given the fact that the NLF will be the strongest force, both in the cities and the countryside, and given the fact that the people on the U.S. side are hopelessly fragmented and divided—that's what he calls them, never mentioning that this may be due to the fact that they have been bombed into the cities, and loss of their traditional way of life is the cause of the fragmentation.

He looks very favorably on the Catholics, who in 1967 in Saigon, with ten percent of the population in South Vietnam, elected 43 percent of the Senators in the election that year. And he hopes that this can be duplicated in future elections. He says the best way to do it is through a majority runoff system, in which perhaps the NLF, or some other nationalist candidate, will get the largest vote total on the first go around; but then with pork barrel inducements, we'll be able to get the losers together, and in the runoff defeat the nationalist or the NLF representative.

And, finally, as if this wasn't enough, he says we should create our own opposition to the government that we're supporting in South Vietnam, just so the NLF won't be able to monopolize the opposition in the cities. In this regard he says we should look favorably upon Messianic movements, cults, fanatical religious movements, like the Soka Gakai movement in Japan, which he says may grow because of Japanese investment in Saigon, or the Buddhist movement, or even a Peronist movement, like that in Argentina he thinks should be viewed favorably in South Vietnam.

It's hard to sum all of this up. But it's clear that the air war is not the only war America is carrying on in Southeast Asia. The real war there is not simply military, but it's a total assault on a people, on a culture, and on a series of nations.

The U.S. is attacking a people in Vietnam with a very strong identity and culture, going back centuries. The officials of North Vietnam, and of the People's Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, many of them poets and intellectuals, like Ho Chi Minh, lay claim legitimately to a long and proud tradition of resistance to foreign invasion—against the Chinese, the

French, the British, the Japanese, and now the Americans.

This constant history of invasion has created a united, fierce nationalism that's built on traditions of communalism in the villages, which make cooperative values much more natural than competitive ones.

One journalist has interviewed Vietnamese who are just learning to read and write as adults in North Vietnam. Not well acquainted with foreign words, he wrote that they thought when they heard the word individualist, that it meant cannibal. They had shared work together, lived together, and since time immemorial had made common cause against natural catastrophe and enemy attack.

"The U.S. has changed our society into a society of bar girls, prostitutes, pimps, thieves, gangs of juvenile delinquents and dope addicts, along with intensifying government graft and corruption." This statement was made by the president of the National Union of Students of South Vietnam.

There are 400 thousand registered prostitutes in Saigon alone. There are 250 thousand, by conservative estimate, 250 thousand orphans of GI's. In one day, in December 1969, 15 teenagers in Saigon committed suicide. There are 400 thousand political prisoners in South Vietnamese jails.

The American CIA has set up a literary form of penetration and one of its latest magazines contains a short story which contains the following little philosophy. "What is happiness? No such thing exists. Only acceptance is real. To accept, that's all."

The NLF organizes around the slogan that in South Vietnam, there are more bars and brothels than hospitals, more prisons than schools. The American goal in Vietnam is to make the Vietnamese into a people like ourselves. The Vietnamese call this becoming yellow-skinned Americans.

This war is climaxing on the Asian mainland. But it began a long time ago in the United States. It's only the latest phase, you might even say, of a 500 year war between the Western settlers and the native inhabitants of the lands which they have been seeking to conquer. If we use Vietnam as a mirror, we can see its origins in the settling of the United States, in the genocidal war, for example, against the Indians.

When Hubert Humphrey in 1968 spoke of spreading the Great Society to Asia, while millions in Asia were being displaced or killed—five million in South Vietnam alone—it was no different really than those idealists who came here to create a new world a long time ago, and in the process deceived, manipulated, killed and subjugated the native tribal communities.

Even our most progressive leaders, supposedly progressive leaders, ever since have combined this strange idealism with genocide. Lincoln, for instance—and he's only one example of many, many—fought and even re-enlisted—re-enlisted—in the Black Hawk war in Illinois. Very few people know that.

The parallels between this war in Indo-China and the Indian wars that America fought at its foundation are absolutely uncanny. Anthropology tells us that the Indians, in fact, came from Asia, explaining the similarity of appearance.

The Indians lived in a total culture, in harmony with with the universe, close to their ancestors. They considered, typically, the earth to be their mother, and the sun their father. The land and the water belonged to everyone. An attitude very far removed from that of the invaders. That attitude of the invaders being one



in which man is pitted against nature; in which the land is divided into private property; in which competition rules the relationships between people.

Racism is a constant factor in the relations with the Indians, and the relations with the Vietnamese. The Indians were considered savages, just as the Vietnamese are considered dinks. VC, or Vietcong is a word developed by the American Psychological War Department. It's a derogatory word. Apache and Sioux were both words that were invented by the French and by the



Americans, and which translate into something like enemy, and were then applied to the tribes that the Americans opposed, and fought, and subjugated.

The massacres a hundred years ago at Sand Creek, or at Wounded Knee, which we know so little about, are no different than those which we have learned so much about in Vietnam, like the one at My Lai. The cutting off of genitals, the cutting off of ears, the displaying them as trophies did not start in Vietnam, it started in the Indian wars. The body count did not start in Vietnam either, as we're reminded each time we see a cowboy and Indian movie, and see that approximately one hundred savages have to be killed in each battle for five or six American bluecoats, rangers.

There's a similarity in the role that trade played, in Vietnam, the way I've just described it, the American Indian communities became dependent on the Western economy and technology, and lost their self-reliance. They acquired firearms and ammunition. They acquired farm equipment. The same process goes on today in Vietnam.

The destruction of the food supply. The bison were killed on the plains for the same reason that crops are sprayed and the land is defoliated in South Vietnam, to deny the rice supply, the food supply to the villagers there.

Forced deportation. The Cherokee Indians, and every Indian community, but the Cherokees in particular. They were driven from their lands in Georgia by Andrew Jackson, after they did everything possible to assimilate into the American framework. And on their long trail from Georgia to Oklahoma hundreds and thousands of them died, and their cultural life, which was based on their relationship to their land, which they farmed, and where their ancestors were buried, was destroyed.

Cultural destruction of all kinds. The brothels of Indian prostitutes outside the stockade of the wild west are paralleled exactly by the shanty-towns of prostitutes outside American bases in South Vietnam.

And drugs today play the role that firewater played on the frontier. Phony negotiations and talk of peace. The United States negotiated hundreds of treaties with the Indians, which were never implemented. Just as throughout the history of the Vietnam war, the United States has promised peace, but has insisted on terms which amount to subjugation and surrender of its opponents.

All sides of the Vietnam war are conscious of this, and are unconscious, even, in their language, and in their practices, conscious and unconscious both of the parallels, the analogies between now and the founding wars against the Indians.

One Vietnamese political leader, for example, quoted recently in the Boston Globe, said, "*You cannot defeat the other side militarily unless you devote the next 30 or 40 years to it. You can win if you keep fighting for a generation. You simply exterminate all the Vietnamese, the way you killed the Indians in America, and there will be no more of us.*"

The classic novel of the Vietnam war, "*The Quiet American*," features a hero by the name of Alden Pile, who apparently is in reality CIA general, counter-insurgency expert Lansdale. He's always reading novels about the winning of the west, as he prepared for his coming test with the Chinese Communists.

In words, names, language, the analogy with the Indians is ever present in Vietnam. We have gunships and helicopters that are named Cheyenne, Mohawk, Chi-



nook, Iriquois, Thunderchief. The bombing of North Vietnam was called Operation Rolling Thunder. Vietcong territory is called Injun country. Men in their helicopters are said to be riding shotgun. ARVN soldiers in charge of village security are called Kit Carson's scouts. And Lyndon Johnson made it all very memorable with the question to his men, "Are those just words, or have you some coonskins on the wall?"

Even at the level of policy concepts, the analogy is pervasive. Maxwell Taylor in 1966, before the Fullbright Committee, talking about a way to create security in the villages, said "It is very hard to plant the corn outside the stockade, when the Indians are still around. We have to get the Indians farther away in many of the provinces to make good progress."

More recently, this last year, the director of the International Voluntary Service, Hugh Mancke, testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on Refugees, talking about the fact that in three months 70 thousand tribal people in South Vietnam had been relocated, talking about the fact that by 1970, according to official U.S. figures, at least one half of 1400 Montignard villages had been relocated at least once, and then Vietnameseed, as by the wife of former Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky, who moved in, purchased the land, and then began farming and lumbering.

Mancke, in his testimony before the Kennedy Committee, called this painfully reminiscent of the activities of American pioneers with regard to the Indian tribes. He said he spoke with a Captain Farrell, an American advisor in Plaiku, who said, "The Montignards have to realize that they are expendable. They are second class citizens." This captain advocated large resettlements, followed by saturation bombings. According to Mancke, in his testimony, the captain compared the Montignard problem to the Indian problem, and said we could solve the Montignard problem like we solved the Indian problem.

All of this is very hard to summarize. The best single summary that I've ever seen, describing the process that I'm talking about, was written by the psychologist Carl Jung, when he visited the Taos Indians in the 1930's, in New Mexico.

He had a conversation with an Indian, which he recorded. The Indian said, "Look how cruel the whites look. Their lips are thin, their noses are sharp, their faces are furrowed and distorted by folds. Their eyes have a staring expression. They're always seeking something. The whites always want something. They are always uneasy and restless. We do not know what they want. We think that they are mad. They say that they think with their heads."

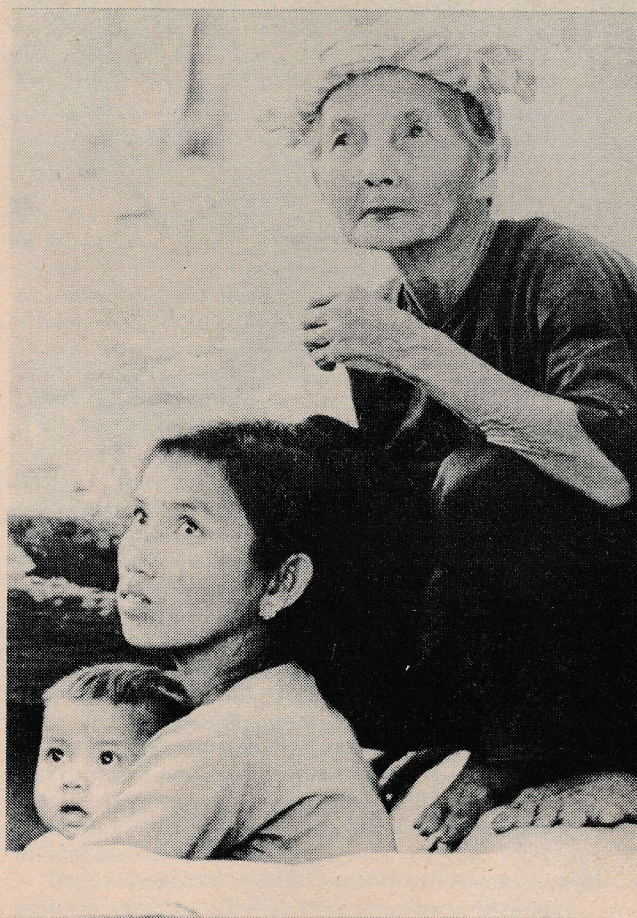
Jung asked him, "Well, what do you think with?" The Indian replied, "We think here," indicating his heart. And then Jung wrote down the following in his notebook. "For the first time in my life it seemed to me someone had struck for me a picture of the real white man. This Indian had touched our vulnerable spot, had unveiled the truth to which we are blind. I felt rising within me like a shapeless mist something unknown, yet deeply familiar. And out of this mist, image upon image detached itself. First, Roman legions smashing into the cities of Gaul, and the keenly incised pictures of Julius Caesar, Scipio Africanus and Pompey.

"I saw the Roman eagle on the North Sea, on the banks of the White Nile. Then I saw St. Augustine transmitting the Christian creed to the Britons, on the tips of Roman lances. And Charlemagne's most glorious forced conversion of the heathen. Then the pillaging

and murdering bands of the crusading armies. And with a secret stab I realized the hollowness of that old romanticism about the Crusades.

"Then followed Columbus, Cortez, and other conquistadores, who with fire, sword, torture, and Christianity came down upon even these remote pueblos, dreaming peacefully in the sun, their father. I saw, too, the peoples of the Pacific Islands decimated by fire-water, syphilis and scarlet fever, carried in the clothes the missionaries forced on them.

"It was enough. What we, from our point of view, called missions to the heathen has quite another face, the face of a bird of prey seeking, with cruel intentness, for a distant quarry, a face worthy of a race of pirates and highwaymen. All the eagles and other predatory creatures that adorn our coats of arms seem to me apt psychological representatives of our true nature."





# ON To SAN DIEGO



Strangely enough, the movement in this country might have a lot to thank Richard Nixon for. By hand-picking San Diego for the Republican National Convention he may have created a situation in which one of our most pressing problems will be moved towards solution.

For years the movement has been living in a contradiction. We've argued that national actions are destructive to the more important work of carefully building local bases for long-range organizing. National actions drain energy and material resources from local work, we've said. We've cursed them out, year after year. And we've kept organizing and taking part in them.

For that's the other part of the contradiction. No matter that all our complaints about national actions are perfectly true; national actions are inescapable because there are things that must be responded to on a national level, because we have to get a sense of our own power on a national level, and because we have to let the public see the extent of the movement across the nation.

We're faced with the contradiction again this summer, around the Republican Convention. The debate has already started in all the familiar terms: On the one hand, the movement must support massive demonstrations in San Diego in order to confront the present "executive committee of the ruling class" so we can educate the public about the air war, Nixonomics, etc. On the other hand, we can't go to San Diego because our priorities call for long-range organizing.

But San Diego promises to be different than other national actions in some significant ways, and it's just possible that the movement may find a way out of the contradiction there. We in the San Diego Convention Coalition (SDCC) think we can.

When we learned that the Republicans were coming to San Diego we recognized that we had two choices. We could oppose plans for anything other than local actions here, or we could encourage and organize for national demonstrations. The first didn't seem very feasible. We wouldn't be able to discourage everyone from coming to protest at the Convention; to try would simply leave the field to the most adventurist elements of the movement. The second choice put us right back into the old contradiction again.

Maybe we felt the contradiction particularly acutely here. San Diego is not a "national" city, like Washington, New York, Chicago and San Francisco. People here aren't accustomed to having their city used as a theater for actions that are mainly national in significance. San Diego is a "local" city and people here will respond to actions here in a personal way. If things were to be done here which thoroughly discredited the movement locally, no matter what their effects nationally, they would blow apart years of good, patient work.

SDCC came together explicitly not just to plan another national action, but to solve the contradiction. There was going to be a national action here in August. How could we, as the local movement, come out of it at least intact, hopefully stronger?



Our answer is to integrate the two poles of the contradiction, rather than deciding in favor of one or the other. We decided to try to use the action to strengthen our own local base, and to organize nationally on a model of an ad hoc confederation of many local movements. In other words, we want to use local movements, rather than national offices and coalitions, as building blocks.

Strong local organization can give a national action a kind of base that most previous national actions have lacked. It can build upon on-site movement structures that already exist, and add experience, skills, equipment and consciousness in both directions: to the national action for the extent of its duration and to the local movement permanently. As an example of the way the local movement is enriched we can point to the increasing number of out-of-towners who are moving to San Diego to help us these days.

Organizing from a local base contributes to the movement's struggle against elitism and chauvinism by putting an organization, rather than individuals, in positions of leadership. It strengthens the real grassroots nature of the movement in the country, where top-down organizing weakens it.

Also, organizing which builds on strong local movements around the country helps us carry out our real job, which is to speak to the American public. We have some very explicit analyses to get across this year and we can't do that without long-range, in-depth local work. Even the organizers of Mayday, for example, say that the content of Mayday did not carry well beyond the immediate Washington-New York area.

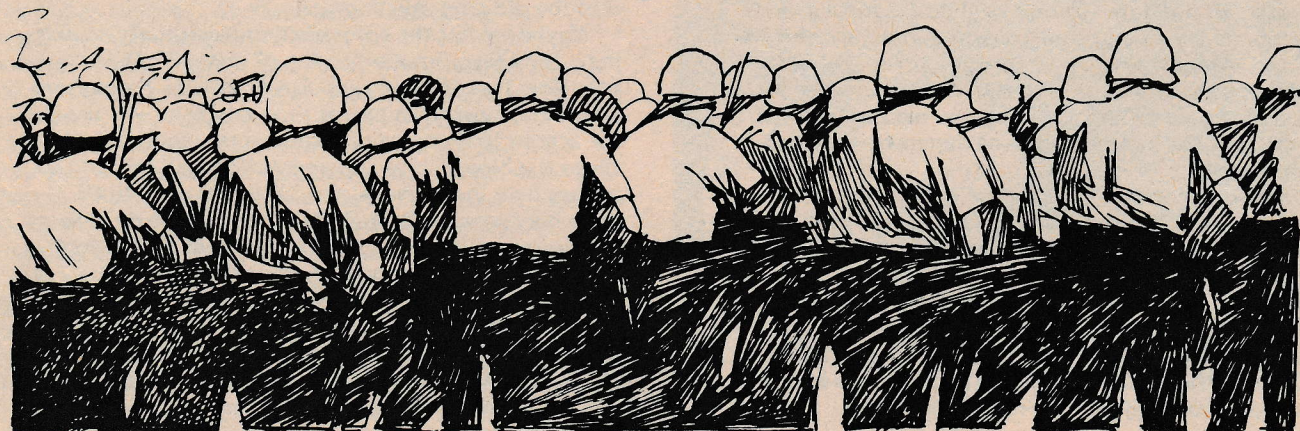
This is as good time as any to respond to Sid Peck's article, "Which Way the Anti-War Movement" (WIN, Feb. 1). Sid is simply wrong about our goals when he says that San Diego '72 is based on a "presidential strategy," considering Nixon the key decision-maker

and trying to direct so much pressure against him that he'll be forced to reconsider his policies. Sid describes San Diego tactics as basically "apocalyptic, petty bourgeois, guilt-induced."

SDCC just put out a pamphlet for national distribution which analyzes our politics, strategy and goals. It's more than empty words. It's a serious statement of intent, and it will have an effect on who comes to San Diego and who stays away. The pamphlet says, "We're moving against Nixon and the Republicans because they are the present guardians of the interests of the American establishment. They are the most visible, tangible proponents of U.S. imperialism, sexism and racism, and of the repression that underlies all that." Also, "Demonstrations in San Diego also give us a unique opportunity to develop the resistance movement within the armed forces." And, "Massive, nonviolent demonstrations with diverse constituency representation will have important effects, both directly on the participants, giving them a new sense of strength and unity, and indirectly on the millions who will watch on TV." One long section of the pamphlet—the longest, in fact—is taken up with descriptions of SDCC's relationships with various constituencies including workers, gay, ethnic groups, and women.

We're involved in building a movement, rather than doing apocalyptic politics and we're working hard to establish links with a broad range of people (SDCC sees the establishment of links among different segments of the people as a primary task in the period ahead. We see our work around the Convention as an experiment in ways of doing that.), rather than trying to reach only white radicals.

I think it follows from all this that we have a clear set of politics—very clear for a coalition, and that those





politics are not petty bourgeois or guilt-induced.

More important, we're not involved in "presidential strategy" politics. We see the GOP Convention as an opportunity for reaching the peoples of America, not Nixon. The Republicans are just providing us with a theater we can use. Our clear message to the audience is that capitalism must go, along with racism and sexism, not that Nixon should be a better president or else be replaced by a liberal Democrat.

SDCC agrees with Sid Peck's analysis that the U.S. is now on the defensive in many important areas. This is a result not only of certain international factors: increasingly successful third-world liberation struggles, the spread of nuclear weaponry, and the growing industrial strength of other nations, but of certain domestic factors as well. One of these is the anti-war movement.

The strength of the anti-war movement is one reason why the ruling class has had to change tactics and come up with the "Nixon Doctrine," and its idea of getting other people to do our dirty work for us as in Vietnamization. The Nixon Doctrine is not a particular president's program so much as it is a new method by the same old ruling class for trying to maintain a position of world dominance in the face of severe domestic and foreign opposition. Visible opposition to Nixon as the foremost political representative of the ruling class is an essential part of any political program this year to show that the people have not been fooled.

Those are our goals. The question of how to build the confederation of local movements to carry out those goals has two sides: how we build our own movement, and how we feed into other local movements in a way that helps them.

SDCC includes representation from virtually every radical group in San Diego. It includes groups doing GI organizing and counseling, local collectives, six alternative newspapers, representatives from the National Lawyer's Guild, the local VVAW, campus organizers, a strong Women's Caucus, and people from many other community, revolutionary, and social change organizations.

We have been debating taking a new organizational form for the past week and right now we are in a state of flux. Our original intention was for SDCC to be an all-embracing coalition, involving heavy participation by third-world and workers' groups as well as the white radicals. We haven't been any more successful in bringing that together than the rest of the movement has been.

We could have chosen to accept the fact that we tried and failed, and gone on as an essentially white movement, the way the mobilizations and other national actions have done. Instead, we're struggling with the problem. A plan that is being considered now is to try to initiate the formation of several local coalitions of worker's and different third-world organizations. If we decide to try this and are successful, the present SDCC will simply be one coalition in a united front of anywhere up to eight different coalitions: white radicals, workers, chicanos, blacks, native americans, etc. A united front will be very difficult to pull off, but the extent of opposition to Nixon might make it possible at this time.

Our pre-convention tactics have been planned with the problem of feeding into other local movements in mind. Our central project has been to organize around a Peoples' Platform. We envision this as a statement about the kind of world we insist upon living in, bound

only by that which is possible, not by that which might be granted by the ruling class. The Platform is something local groups could use as a tool (much like the Peoples' Peace Treaty) between now and the conventions in Miami and San Diego. The Platform would be taken before both major parties which, of course, could not respond to it positively since they are bound by the interests of the establishment.

That could be only the beginning of the Platform's usefulness, for then it could be taken back to the public at the local level and used as a powerful consciousness-raising tool.

Originally, SDCC hoped to convene a major national conference to draft the platform. In our current unsettled state we are holding off on this for now. Perhaps a San Diego united front will develop a much more comprehensive strategy for producing what is really a Peoples' Platform.

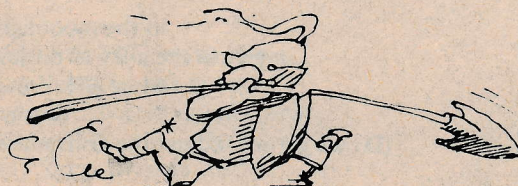
All of our other pre-Convention and Convention projects reflect this same concern for building an ad hoc national confederation of really strong local movements. We think that this strategy represents a real hope for resolving the national level/local level contradiction.

It will be a very difficult job and we realize we might fail. We feel it's worth trying something new though; even if we lose we win.

If you would like to get in on the action, either in your own community or by coming here, or if you want more information about SDCC, write the San Diego Convention Coalition; P.O. Box 8267, San Diego, CA 92102, or phone (714) 234-8231.

See you in August! (If not before.)

**The Communications Committee  
San Diego Convention Coalition**





# mind consciousness be in —

Invite Police Blue Helmeted  
& Navy so sweet

Together guarding & organizing Rock Mantra Silence Festival

ONE DAY OF SILENCE (or more)

ONE DAY OF MASS MANTRA (Overcome, Peace a Chance, All the Hills  
Echoed, Om's many forms & Hare Krishna  
Hum Hum Hum, Ah, Wow, Oh, all vowels  
mobilized

mass rhythmic behavior

American body sound

Folk chorale,

Alleluiah & Amen all kinds/)

ONE DAY OF STARRY ROCK HIGH terrified gentle Stars singing in tears & prayer  
Sobs of Joy!

ONE DAY'S Sensitivity Party Mela HOLYMAN JAM Encounter Session

Swamis Lamas Yogis Zen Masters Rabbis Amerindian Elders Priests

Hatha Yoga Exercise Dawn & Evening Prayers

Discourses Teachings Advisements Transmissions

Initiations Group touch-feel-crowd-consciousness

integration

Every tribe & sect their own cardboard/cloth castlechurch

Ashram & Foods

Invite Republican Delegates

One day autos banned from Freeways, Festival throngs

throughout concrete troughs

ONE DAY LISTENING TO POLITICS CANDIDATES Democrats & Elephants

Use the police as yr friends & protectors as 'twere Hell's Angels

paid by state monies

Equal Desire End War

Work with their (your) (our) Desire

Accept Nixon, Invite Nixon—SAFE AS CHINA! SAFE AS CHINA!

(J. Rubin & Everybody Mao Tze Tung Lennon & Yoko agreed

NON VIOLENCE)

Stop Nixon by Accepting him.

Pride! We take credit for Helping

elect Nixon?

Disgrace? He's OUR president, We Helped, Chicago 1968

(our scandal Karmic fault/credit

messed Democratic Party mind—)

18 Year-old Vote Be-In

New Voters' Convention

"Dont trust anyone over twenty one"

Let the Children speak their energy

& work electrifying silent San Diego Island

Food! Fantasy tents! & Gurus

each his own hut or Pavillion of Cardboard

Windowsills—

in the moonlight

singers in the alley as on Jessore Road

while girls dressed in light blankets

dream North Pole God—

(Do we get to Address the Convention? Where's the

Y A F S?

a delegate of Young Amer For Freedom with short hairs



# san diego

Allen Ginsberg

& one long Conservative blonde  
Prince Valiant Goy  
& one black Princeton Prince to speak)  
Blake's Christ the Image, white robed  
Radiant fine featured  
Silken beard gleaming  
starry symmetry  
dazzling with powdered mirror-glitter  
rouge-cheeked with rosy thoughted  
pinkey—  
Bannered President of Universe waving in blue sky  
Can see San Diego City visible below Evans-Wentz's holy Mexic Mount?

## "OPENING THE MOUNTAIN"

(i.e. Japanese temple dedication ceremony)

### DEDICATION OF TURTLE ISLAND

(Maidu Indians knew North America as Turtle Island)  
to her peoples—mankind, redwood, coyote  
Cockroach & worm—

### ONE DAY'S WORSHIP OF THE MOTHER NATURE

Sunrise in her blue belly transparent  
Ecologic nominations & Endangered Species' Totems paraded  
Great Brown Rice Feasts for all —"Swami Special"  
Minstrels strolling, politicians discoursing crossleg  
on blankets at noon—NO ALARUMS!  
No Harsh noise (but Rock Speakers?)  
Helicopter Sticks waving noisy boys  
P.A. System along festival lanes?  
(Pompeii's marble-brick skeleton  
one story high)  
Loudmouth Stars Preaching END WAR

Nostalgia Night—McClosky Invited,  
invite all republican candidates—

TV Coverage, Radio

"demonstrations in every home"

APOCATASTASIS! Transformation of Satanic forces  
to Heavenly Energy

—Transform Nixon to Bodhisattva!

(Make Big Speeches Accepting Nixon's Soul on Earth.

Kissinger weeping with joy!

Released from the wrathful Brow.)

MIND CONSCIOUSNESS BE IN performed anywhere any century.

A. Ginsberg  
January 1972

Footnote: Text represents idealized imagination Feb 1972 writing time  
I hope to go to San Diego Elephant Convention, happily but not go  
unless everybody responsible promises vows positive energy politics yoga  
nonviolence ALL levels conscious & unconscious I dont want to invite  
anyone get his head busted, my idiot account. These writings are  
lyric formulae for open possibility. A. G., Scribe.



Let me begin with the reality of what will happen. And that is, whether any of us favor it or not, there will be a demonstration of some sort in San Diego.

Such a demonstration is inevitable because people live in San Diego, many of those people are concerned with the American crisis and the war in Vietnam and, whether the convention was to be Republican or Democratic, those people would demonstrate. And because San Diego is part of the massive Southern California population center, such a demonstration would not be a mere vigil—as was the case when Allen Ginsberg joined a busload of pacifists to demonstrate at Atlantic City way back in 1964, where Johnson was designated Kennedy's official heir. No, these are different times, and I take it for granted that the Chicano community, the blacks, students, religious leaders, trade unionists, academics—that all of these groups would form some kind of "Southern California Coalition" to mount significant demonstrations, to seek hearings before the Platform Committee, and otherwise to make sure that both the Republicans in convention and the nation at large was aware of their profound unhappiness over the Nixon Administration.

I have no quarrel with such a demonstration and it's not the topic of this piece. Such a demonstration would not call on people from Maine to Seattle to come into San Diego. Nor would such a demonstration call for money or staff help from national organizations. Southern California is rich enough, talented enough, and populous enough to mount a *serious* demonstration. I hope it will, and I know it plans to.

My only qualification here is the word "serious". A rock festival is not half so serious as a solid trade union presence denouncing the wage/price freeze. Jerry Rubin, God bless him, is not half so essential (even if he lived in San Diego) as a solid presence from the vast Chicano community in that area.

What baffles me is why the project ever got the attention it did, because it is, to use harsh terms, a thoroughly middle-class, elitist, and non-ideological substitute for serious politics. It is the annual message of the apocalypse. We heard it before, back in 1968, when getting to Chicago was essential to stop fascism. We heard it most recently in 1971 when tens of thousands came to Washington because the government had to be closed down and the power to do that rested in our hands. Always the final hour is at hand, the proposed action is not only essential but can actually stop the war.

What did happen in 1968? The Chicago demonstrations almost certainly helped to elect Nixon, the man we are told must be evicted. Things have gotten tougher all over, what with conspiracy trials, an Administration which has abandoned the minorities, and Supreme Court nominations bad enough to chill one's blood. But bad as things are, we do not live under fascism, if so, it is a strangely permissive fascism in which mass opposition movements still function.

I have some basic questions. First, is Nixon, the man, the real problem? If so, then the Vietnam war was only an accident, its continuation is at the whim of individual Presidents, and the talk before us is removing Nixon the individual. This removal can be achieved by assassination, which I would hope and pray we rule out. It can be achieved by an Act of God, an event over which we have no control. It can be achieved by successful impeachment—a most unlikely step for Congress. It can be achieved through revolution—an even more unlikely step. Or it can be achieved at the ballot box. There are, really, no other choices. We surely cannot believe that our armies, marching about the convention hall seven times, blowing seven times upon the ram's horn, are likely to persuade the Republicans within to deny Nixon the nomination and, perhaps, install Dan Berrigan

## san diego, a substitute for building a movement

My quarrel lies elsewhere. It lies with the slogan, first raised on the East Coast, of "On to San Diego". That slogan envisions a massive assembly of people who will assemble for a festival of joy and life and to make clear that Nixon has failed us, and will go by the hundreds of thousands to denounce him, cheerfully and nonviolently. Rennie Davis was one of the first to raise this slogan, with Jerry Rubin not far behind. Stew Albert gave the theory strong support within that grouping which might be called the May Day remnants, or the Tribe. The theory is that Nixon is a fascist and a bastard, that if he is re-elected the nation will be plunged into official fascism, that this is our last chance to prevent the nuclear destruction of Indo-China and a reign of domestic terror directed against all radical and liberal forces. The defeat of Nixon is imperative—symbolized by the slogan "Evict Nixon", this is our last chance to do that, and San Diego is the place to do it.

in his place.

Therefore, if Nixon is the real problem and removing him an absolute necessity, I do not understand what a nationwide demonstration at San Diego has to do with this. I am willing to grant the most apocalyptic vision, to subscribe to the most sinister view of Nixon and his cohorts, and still fail to see why a national demonstration must occur in San Diego, rather than Little Rock, Wichita, or Springfield.

If one really sees Nixon as the target, then I suspect that a national demonstration in San Diego in which Rennie Davis and Jerry Rubin play a key role will be of enormous help to Nixon. I do not mean to pick on Rennie—the same would apply to Dave Dellinger, to myself, to Gil Green, or a number of others. There are times when certain radical leaders need to keep out of the spotlight because they make ideal targets for Nixon's hatchetmen. A very important Southern Califor-



nia demonstration can be simply dismissed or ignored by concentrating on the "radical leaders from New York" who have come to town. For this tactical reason, if for no other, I urge East Coast radicals to stay clear of San Diego, not to hand weapons to Nixon. Nixon can use a nation-wide "On to San Diego" type demonstration, no matter how peaceful, to indicate that his enemies are the enemies of the American people, the enemies of law and order. Chicago '68 destroyed Humphrey's chances because it divided the Democratic Party—but San Diego '72 is more likely to unite the Republicans.

If Nixon were the real target, then I would urge that people follow out the true logic of the "Evict Nixon" campaign, recognize Nixon can't be evicted at San Diego but only in November at the polling place, and then work like hell between now and November to round up every 18-21 year old voter, every black, every Chicano, every worker, to register them and then to organize baby-sitters, car pools, phone trees, and whatever else is needed to get those votes out and delivered on November 7th.

Of course this suggestion lacks drama. It is far more exciting to go to San Diego for a Festival of Life than to get people to vote. And, after all, we keep saying that the electoral process is a sham. But I return again to the question that, if the electoral process is a snare and a delusion, and if Nixon must be evicted, then how

do we achieve that? What relationship does a massive San Diego demonstration have to the ends we seek?

I know, of course, that San Diego fills certain needs—those who were too young to get to Chicago, too young even for Mayday, want that baptism of fire of the mass demonstration. San Diego fills a need for some that is far more important than whether Nixon is evicted or elected—the demonstration is a "rite of passage" into the movement, an essential step, and no political logic will be able to answer this inner hunger.

My second basic question is whether we really want to "evict Nixon" or, instead, to "evict the system". If, after ten years of struggle, our movement is still so ideologically adolescent that it thinks evicting Nixon will achieve something, let them rally around the Democratic candidate, whoever that may be, hold their noses and march into the polling booth. But surely we know by now that Nixon is not the problem and the military/corporate complex is. We traded Kennedy for Johnson and Johnson for Nixon and still the war goes on. Years come and go, and the war goes on forever.

Yet every four years we find ourselves relating to Presidential campaigns even as we denounce all electoral action. Is not our real need an organization of the people, rooted in our towns and cities, planted like seeds of life in our very neighborhoods? I may indeed vote for the Democratic candidate in November (and I may not) but the real needs cannot be met by existing

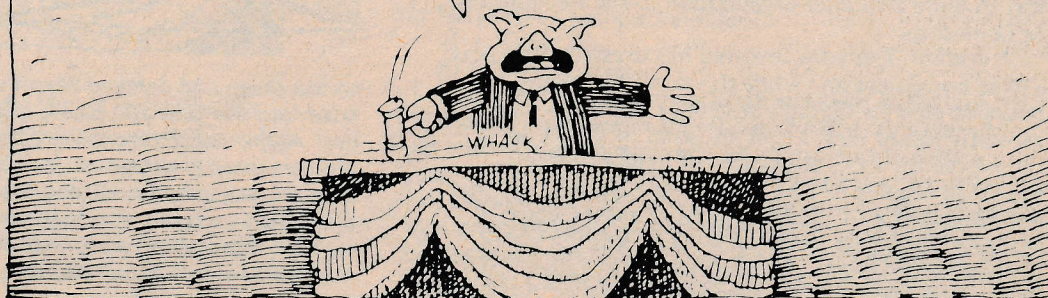
ENCOURAGED BY GRASS ROOTS SUPPORT OF HIS  
SUBTERRANEAN PLATFORM, RUFUS EMERGES  
TO TASTE THE GLORIES AND DISAPPOINTMENTS,  
THE JOYS AND THE HEARTBREAK, THAT MARK THE  
WAY ALONG THAT GREAT AMERICAN...

# CAMPAIGN TRAIL

BUT FIRST...

FELLOW AMERICANS!  
I PRESENT TO YOU A  
TRUE PATRIOT AND A  
GREAT AMERICAN...

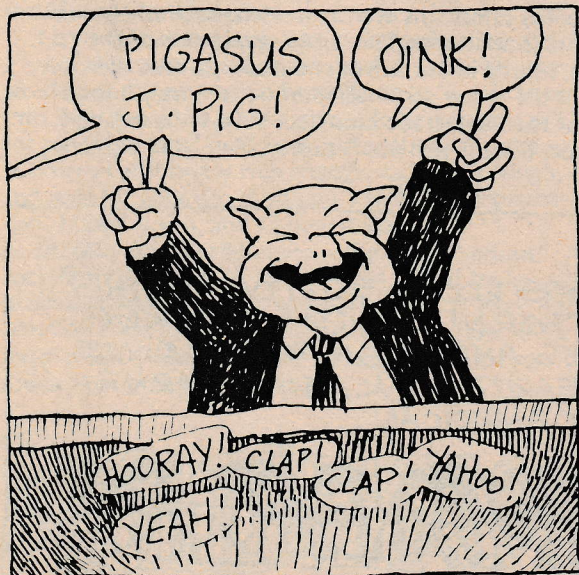
... A WORD  
FROM THE  
"OTHER SIDE!"





parties. If one does believe in radical change and if one believes that can be achieved through the ballot, then one ought to stay home and organize. If one does not believe in electoral action, then why San Diego? And if one is an anarchist, why any relation to these massive conventions? Are these our conventions, these affairs in Miami and San Diego? If they are really our conventions then let us work inside that framework rather than standing wistfully outside mounting rock shows. But if they are not our conventions, then is it not time we set about organizing conventions of our own, with political machinery we help to create, designed to serve our ends?

I said in the beginning that "On to San Diego" reflected "a thoroughly middle-class, elitist, and non-ideological substitute for serious politics". It is middle class because it is calling upon the counter-culture to make the revolution. The trade union movement, blacks, etc., will be looking toward Miami, not San Diego. They will be seeking to wring whatever concessions they can from the political party they feel serves their



interest best (a poor judgement, in my view—but it is their judgement). The military, the large business interests, the Dixiecrats turned Republican—those will be in San Diego, and it is to them we would be making an appeal. And the project is elitist because it assumes we can leap over the minority groups, labor, the poor generally, and speak in their name, evicting Nixon without ever having organized a mass base. We are acting at times as if we represented a revolutionary movement, forgetting we don't have any real grass roots. And finally it is non-ideological because it substitutes "evict Nixon" for any program of social change and for any effort to build a counter-organization to the Republicans or Democrats.

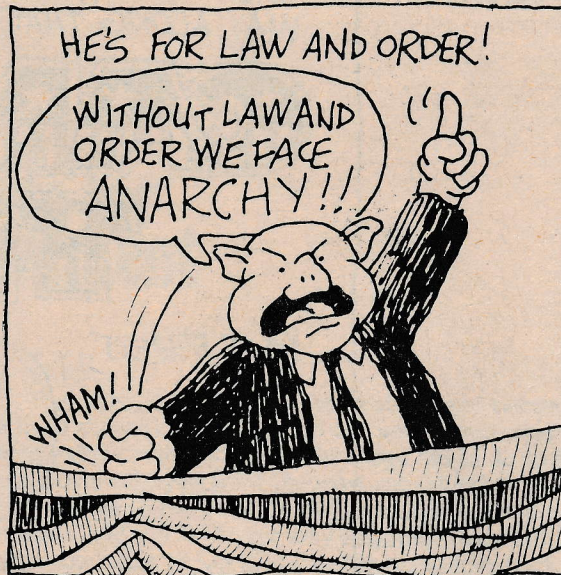
A caution: Everyone involved has stressed the action will be nonviolent and while this was also the announced plan for Chicago in 1968, I think it is more earnestly meant now. From my point of view I don't think even the most nonviolent of demonstrations at San Diego is going to turn the country around, and the government has an abundant fund of agents which it has used in the past to stir up trouble. It is the intent of those organizing the project that it be non-violent—but I fear the ultimate decision on violence vs. nonvi-

olence may not be in their hands but in the hands of Nixon's political high command which will decide whether violence would be helpful to them and, if they so decide, we will have provided tinder for their spark.

I repeat, so there will be no misunderstanding, that I do not challenge the effectiveness of a Southern California project. It will happen anyway, it can be positive, and I hope our people in that area work on it. But a San Diego project is very different from the "On to San Diego" slogan which now rolls across the country, a sad testimony that when we lack real direction and program we reach out for a slogan.

The real, continuing, and haunting problem of the movement is how to move American society from "here to there", from repression to freedom, from racism to a culturally plural society, from the alienation of the present to the meaningful participation of the future. San Diego—if seen as a national project—does not speak to that problem but simply repeats a pattern we find convenient, the pattern of mass protests.

There is an inherent confusion in the project—particularly in the Tribal elements in the East and Midwest who are working on it—because the organizers hold the electoral process in utter contempt and yet find themselves forced to organize within that context. A number of those active in "On to San Diego" seem to be saying "we ourselves will not vote, or work in primaries, or be tricked into the system—so we are mounting this demonstration and hope it will perhaps persuade you, the ordinary peasants, to do that voting we refuse to do, that voting which alone can evict Nixon." If this is a very unfair way of putting it, then I want to know—and surely it is a reasonable question—how we do get from "here to there". If voting is useful, why do we reject it? If it is fraudulent, why do we go



to San Diego and demand Nixon's eviction which—translated into our time and place, means voting in November? Again, slogans are easier than analysis, one-shot projects more exciting than building organizations. But they are not, alas, substitutes. We may find one day that after ten years of turmoil and energy and work, we have left nothing more than slogans, and brave veterans of a host of demonstrations.

—David McReynolds



# Festival of Life for Indochina.

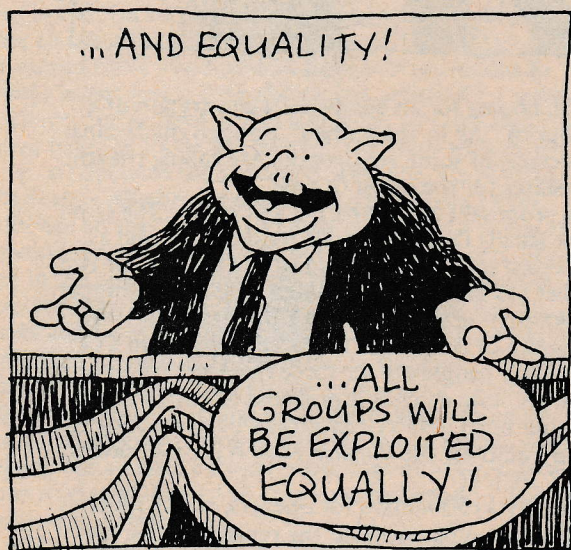
If you could materialize one "festival of life" anywhere you wanted to in this country, where would you place it?

If you answered Miami or San Diego, I'll say one thing; you may have impeccable 1960's-style politics, but you sure got weird taste in places.

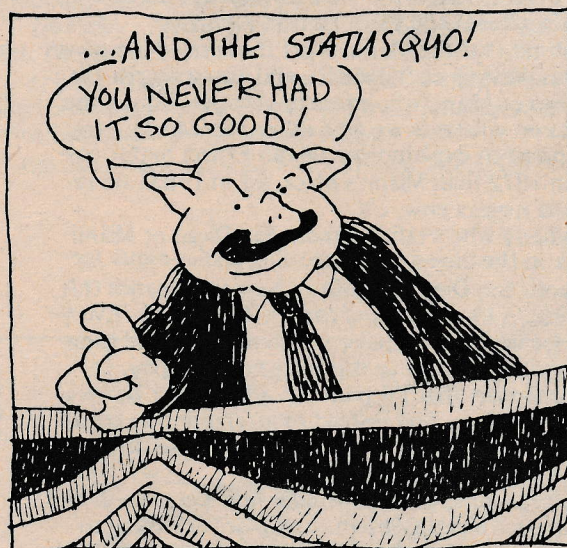
The reason that the movements (for the time being that's what I'm calling what used to be known as "the Movement") "went" to Chicago (I say "went" because if, say, Three Dog Night ever arrived in a park and saw as few humans as actually were in Lincoln Park back

uglier festival. Oh yes, the contradictions were *exposed*, the cost of the war was *raised*, the war was *brought home*—that must be why the new president's first act was to withdraw all American forces from Southeast Asia, huh?

The fact is that "Chicago" razed as much consciousness as it raised (cf. instant karma) and that, if you think that it'll be important for you to be in San Diego



in 196X, they'd think maybe they'd arrived in the *wrong park*) was because Chicago was wired for video that week, and it was thought that some of that video energy could be ripped off and used to project the contrast between "our" Festival of Life and their Festival of Death. After it became obvious that permits were going to be denied, it was just a question of whom the TV audience was going to blame for putting on an



or Miami this year, you're either:

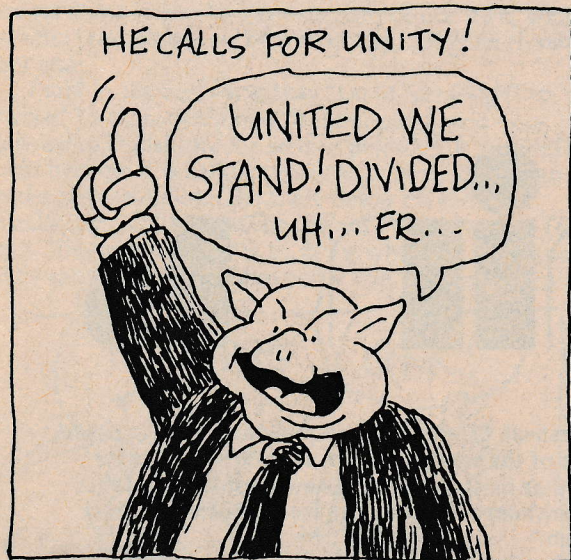
- a) a delegate;
- b) a candidate; or
- c) don't understand how America is wired this year.

You a's and b's who are reading WIN to try to psych out what the movements are, uh, *conspiring* to do this year, shame on you! What are you paying your agents for, anyway? You c's, let's have a show of hands of how many of you can remember *fast!*: how many black people died (*dead dead*) in the "riots" that accompanied the Miami convention? Hmm? Wired as Miami was, the image of backlash against the Republican



incursion, which in fact made all "our" heroic ante-upping in Chicago look rather penny-ante, never came across, did it?

My point is that, regardless of how well a city is wired, the networks got their paws on all the switches, and nothing anybody gets on gets *on*, unless there's a percentage in it for the networks. The Chicago "riots" were sent out as part of the network feed because the convention itself was a stone bore, but long-haired white



white kids running around bleeding picturesquely was still something of a novelty. The Miami atrocities weren't feed because the TV audience was bored with blacks in general and black riots in particular.

I submit that the bloom is off the rose of the movements as darlings of the media, and any scenarist for San Diego or Miami who presumes that we'd have the cameras on whatever we'd be doing there had better be prepared to explain why we can expect better coverage in 1972 than Miami's black got in 196X. We're *all* media niggers now, c's.

Anybody who's talking about San Diego or Miami is stuck in the time-warp of creating Sixties-esque media events. San Diego and Miami have significance this year *only to the media and the a's, b's, and c's*. Everybody else would be happier watching a football game or boogying, and it is to this huge constituency, i.e. *everybody else*, that I'd prefer to address our powers of event-creation. And instead of attempting to create another Sixties-esque media event, I propose that we create a Seventies-ish reality-event.

Any remaining c's who wonder how people will find out that such a reality-event took place are asked to ponder the fact that they will find out what took place by *being there*. Moreover, for the benefit of shut-ins (including quadraplegic Nam vets and Vietnamese kids in U.S. hospitals having their eyelids grafted back on), there will be media coverage of this reality-event. The media will cover our reality-event because, unlike the media-event conventions, the conclusion of which are already foregone to anybody who can add, at our reality-event *something will actually occur!*

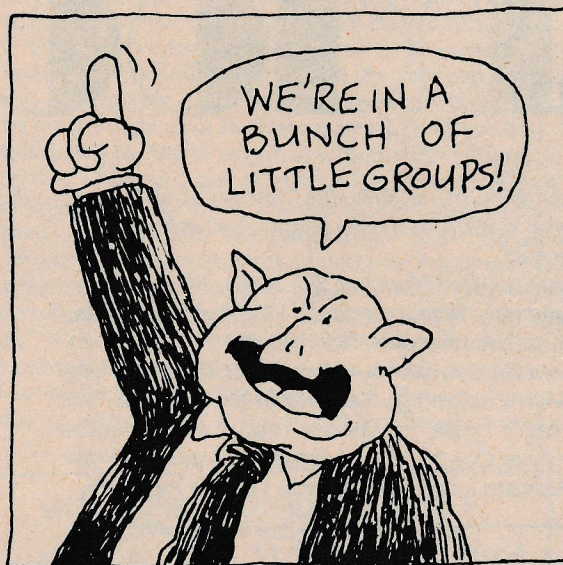
The occurrence will be as follows: We will have a good time.

Now, with all the bummers that the media suppose we've been pummelled by during the last media con (i.e. three years), *our having a good time (for a change)*

*would be big news*. Man bites dog, as every journalism grad knows.

Karmically speaking, we can't have a good time unless we're prepared to pay for it. But whom exactly do we pay? The only recipient I can think of that makes any sense is—the people of Indochina.

I propose that, simultaneous with the San Diego convention, us peace creeps convene a *national* Festival of Life that specifically snubs San Diego both as a notorious naval death-staging arena, and as host to all those porks on an ITT-sponsored junket. I further propose that us peace creeps invite the entire population of America to join us in our revels of atonement for the the hatefulness we have visited on the American and Indochinese earth and denizens. And I further further propose that we suggest that they will have a better time at our Festival of Life for Indochina than sitting like zomboids in front of their television sets flipping



the dial, hoping for an epiphanous penetration of a half-hour of "All In The Family" through the fascinating spectacle of some acromegalic hag calling the roll of the states for the n-teenth time.

The proposal I am furthering will make "The Concert for Bangla Desh" (two live music shows and a three-record set), which will raise \$15 million for Bengali relief (\$5 an album, estimated 3,000,000 albums) look like passing the hat at the Cafe Bizarre in 1957. If the youth of America is prepared to pony up \$15 million for a people our air force has never dropped a spitball on, how much is it prepared to cough up for a people our boys have systematically been mashing to a bloody pulp for (how many years is it now? seven? 11? 18? 26?)???

Certainly \$150 million for openers, right? Which is not a bad down-payment on the reparations we owe that land, now that, despite our persistence in fighting it, it is recognized even at the highest honky levels that that we've lost this war. I mean, we were the first to say the war was a ssfurgg of bat mung against the honor of this nation and the humanity of the Indochinese people; we were the first to say hell no we won't go; we were the first to say yoo hoo snooky don't look now but you lost; and now we *must be the first to organize the payment of reparations to the righteous victors*.



Getting back to that \$15 million for Bangla Desh: that was \$15 million in medical supplies and food, with only George Harrison, Ringo Starr, Leon Russell, and Eric Clapton as draw, Bob Dylan as *deus ex Fourth Street*, and Billy Preston as proof that that's the way God planned it; and only in one city. And that was \$15 million with only rock and roll. I propose that for the Festival of Life for Indochina, we can get everyone. I mean, you know, *everyone*: James Taylor, Grand Funk Railroad, the Rolling Stones, I could go on but the point I'm making is that we're not talking about rock and revolution here in Disney World, we're talking about MONEY—a lot more money than you and I are capable of imagining, for Indo-fucking-china—and *that's* rock and revolution for sure. There isn't a talent operat-



ing in the marketplace of the young that would *dare* not to contribute to this Festival of Life for Indochina—if indeed there was one who wouldn't be anxious to. And I'm not just talking about rock artists. Fine artists, painters and sculptors, will spring for this in a trice, as they have for lesser stakes when the chips were down (i.e., art auctions for *Sundance* magazine, Earth People's Park, etc.). Maybe some of those peace-creep ex-pro athletes on the West Coast could even scam a Superduperbowl for Indochina—the best college and pro players in the country butt heads (lotsa folks hungry for *any* football at *all* in August) to pay for new legs and arms and faces for Vietnamese kids. Would it be too farfetched to ask Muhammad Ali to stage an "exhibition" with, uh, say, Joe Frazier—a Fight for Life in Indochina?—in the fucking Astrodome, with closed-circuit feed to every town in America where people will pay to see a battle between earthlings in which nobody gets even napalmed? Use your own imagination. Mine's beginning to boggle.

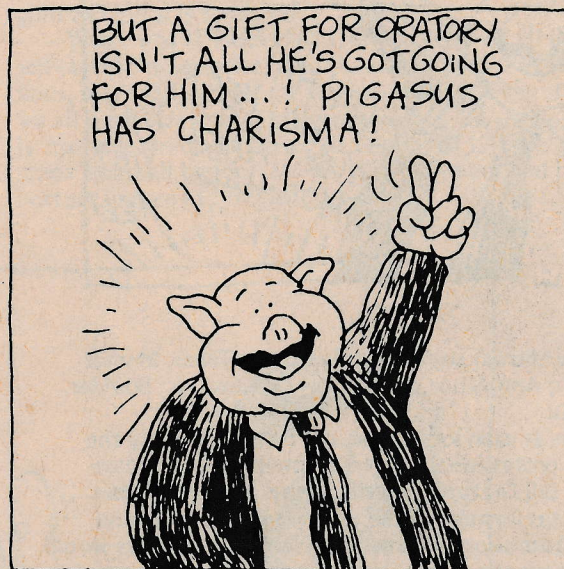
Oh, yes, rock shows. Not concerts—dances, only dances, because we've got a lot of stiffness to work out of our joints, and I distrust any music that doesn't get our asses in gear. Not one monster show in New York, but, say, five monster shows in strategically located places, each "Indochina Medicine Show" rotating through all five places, five chartered plane-loads of performers and crew, so that each place would be host to the five heaviest consecutive bills in entertainment history. For example, imagine JFK Stadium in Philadel-

phia (strategically located for the Boston-New York-Washington axis; noteworthy the site of the Army-Navy game) with the following Republican-convention-week line-up of top billing:

#### THE INDOCHINA MEDICINE SHOW

*Monday*: David Cassidy, Donny Osmond, Bobby Sherman, Jackson Five.

*Tuesday*: Grand Funk Railroad, Black Sabbath, Led Zeppelin, Iron Butterfly.

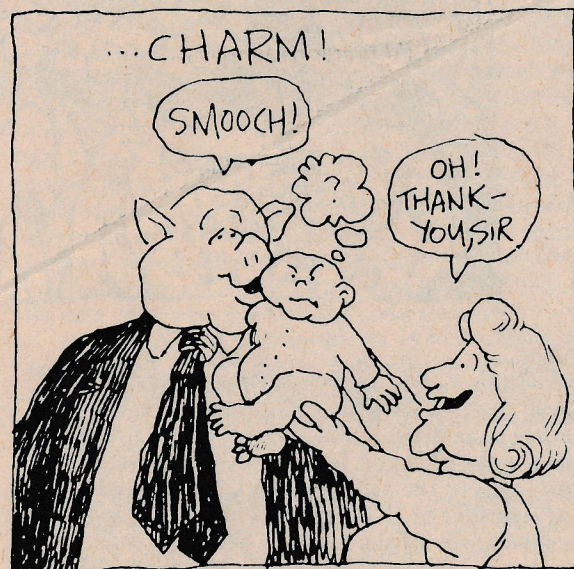


*Wednesday*: James Brown, Ray Charles, Aretha Franklin, Ike & Tina Turner.

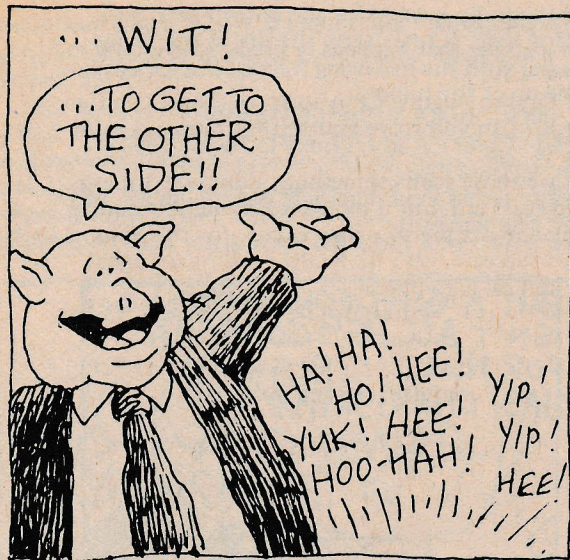
*Thursday*: The Rolling Stones, Leon Russell, Faces, Eric Clapton, Elton John.

*Friday*: James Taylor, Carole King, George Harrison, Ravi Shankar, Paul McCartney & Wings, John Lennon with Elephant's Memory, Bob Dylan.

The other four strategic locations (for Indochina







Medicine Shows) could include Austin, Texas; Monterey, Calif.; Ann Arbor, Mich.; New Orleans, La.; Boulder, Colo.; etc.

Shows at each location would be produced by the heaviest professional concert promoters in the country—the Bill Grahams, Sid Bernsteins, Concerts Wests, etc. The performers would donate their services and pay for admission like anyone else. The producers would remit the entire proceeds, minus their own and the performers' out-of-pocket expenses, to an Indochina Reparations Fund. Liaison with promoters would be made by regional committees of peace-lovers, who

per Bangla Desh album to Columbia Records.

(Each of the networks owns a huge record company. If each of these three companies got a piece of the "Indochina Medicine Show" album action, what conceivable inducement would those networks need in order to tear themselves away, every...so...often...from the endlessly suspenseful Republican National Convention and do a few sidebars on the Festival of Life for Indochina? You don't suppose that the networks would be prescient enough to see that if they diverted just a teenie-weenie bit of the public's attention away from the spine-tingling deliberations of the Elephantine party and did a little color on those hippies, yippies, and anti-war demonstrators, they might stand to pull down upon themselves a tidy windfall of unadulterated moo-lah?...No, I guess no network executive could ever be that crass.)

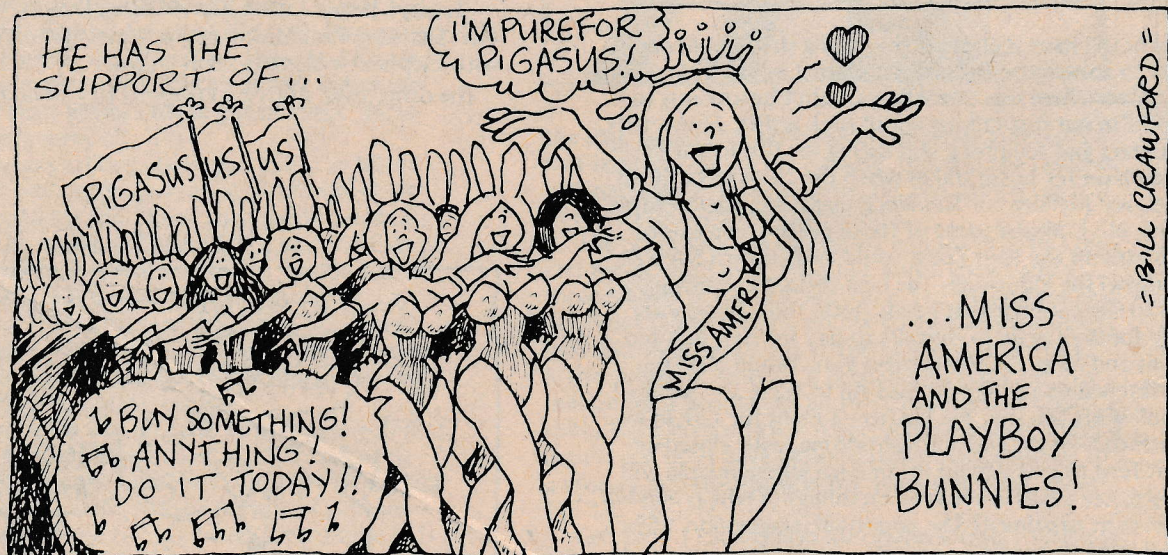
Each music show would take place within the context of five days of ceremonies, meditation, and fasting, so we would need Masters of Ceremonies for each location—Allen Ginsberg? Dick Gregory? David Dellinger? Daniel Berrigan? Coretta King?

I'll spring for Allen Ginsberg's order of ceremonies as propounded down the street here from this article, only not in San Diego but in all five strategic places at once, and more:

Because I'm suggesting that what we need—and I mean we, us, you and me have *need* of, biological, spiritual necessity—is a Festival of Life for Indochina not only in five locations, but in yet other, shall we say *tactical*, locations...

...in San Francisco, a Festival of Life, in commemoration of the Human Be-in and the Haight-Asbury...

...in Chicago, a Festival of Life in commemoration of the police riots of 196X...



would get people to donate their labor as ushers, ticket sellers, arrange for security, medical presence, etc.

A national committee of peace-lovers would arrange for the sale of closed-circuit television, motion picture, and record rights to the highest bidders, for a waiver by ASCAP and BMI of all songwriters' royalties, and for a one-time waiver of the sort of contractual commitments that made it necessary for Capitol to pay 25¢

...in Memphis, Tenn., a Festival of Life in commemoration of the murder of Martin Luther King...

...in Los Angeles, a Festival of Life in commemoration of the murder of Robert Kennedy...

...in Harlem, a Festival of Life in commemoration of the murder of Hajj Malik al-Shabazz...

...in Jackson, Miss., a Festival of Life in commemoration of the incorporation into a dam of Michael Schwer-



ner, Andrew Goodman, and James Chaney, and the murder of Medgar Evers...

...in Watts, a Festival of Life...in Detroit, a Festival of Life...in Newark, a Festival of Life...

...at Max Yasgur's farm, a Festival of Life...at Altamont Speedway, a Festival of Life...

...at Columbia University, a Festival of Life...at Cal Berkeley, a Festival of Life...at Harvard, a Festival of Life...at San Francisco State, a Festival of Life...at San Jose State, a Festival of Life...at Isla Vista, a Festival of Life...

...at Kent, Ohio, a Festival of Life...

...in Toronto and Vancouver, a Festival of Life in honor of the amnesty our exiles may yet grant us...

...at Walden Pond, a Festival of Life in memory of Henry David Thoreau...at Harper's Ferry, a Festival of Life in memory of John Brown...in Brooklyn, a Festival of Life in memory of Walt Whitman...in Rifton, N.Y.,

up fights and...well, I guess in a Festival of Life just about everything that happens in life happens, only in a...*festive* way.

Five days in August. Can you spare them? Can they spare you? Can you spare yourself for five days in August?

We owe those slants something, don't we. I mean, we tried real hard, but it didn't work, did it? Sending them money is a pretty paltry excuse for the genuine article of surcease, isn't it? Radical guilt is to liberal guilt as radical is to liberal.

—Where was I? Festival of Life telethons on all the self-styled "progressive" and "underground" FM stations, more radical gelt for the Indochinese. How about we all wear ceremonial garments for five days? Specially manufactured and sanctified Festival of Life for Indochina meatball-cartoon tee-shirts, a fin apiece and the bottom line, off to Indochina with it...



a Festival of Life in memory of A.J. Muste...

...at Wounded Knee, S.D., a Festival of Life in memory of the Dance-Looking-at-the-Sun...

Wherever the smell of death lingers over this debased country, a Festival of Life to spray it away. Pffft. You get the picture. I do, anyway. Whew.

For each place, a different and peculiar Festival of Life must be invented, must be allowed to invent itself, but I believe most would include music, singing, dancing, shouting, theater, films, eating, sleeping, playing, fucking, praying, crying. There would be people selling candles and people giving away candles and you could take your choice. Perhaps a 10¢-a-kiss booth with the proceeds to reparations for Indochina. Weird!

There would be people taking up collections and making macrame and delivering babies and shouldering vans out of the mud and bum-tripping and being asked stupid questions by pitiable reporters and building booths and handing out leaflets and twirling cotton candy and Scruggs-picking banjos and looking for their mummies and taking pictures of each other with Nikon F's and dealing dope and crushing beer cans and picking up garbage and chanting the names of the living and the dead and raising altars and digging graves and writing poetry and counting maney and waiting on line to take a shit and arguing with cops and breaking

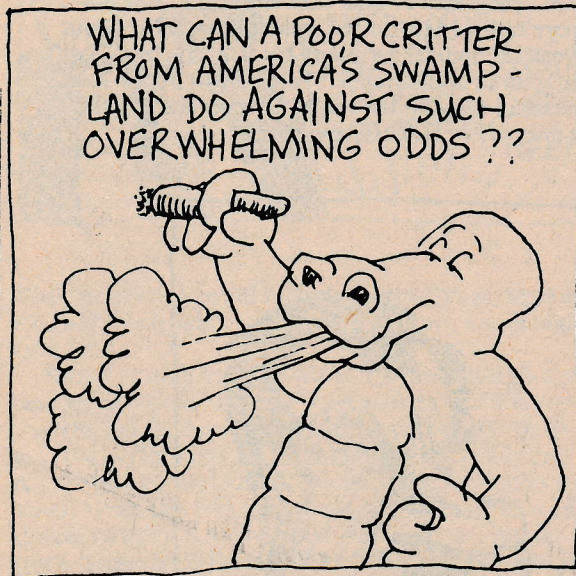
Remember how much trouble rock festival promoters had keeping gate-crashers away? From where could their minions have summoned the moral authority to exclude someone just because he had no money? I pity anyone who tries to crash the gate of a Festival of Life—you don't have \$5.00 for reparations to Indochina? Ninety-one months of bombing, and you haven't been able to set aside 5¢ and 4.9 mills a month? You're down down to your last \$5.00 in the whole world and if you don't crash this festival now you will be absolutely destitute? Remarkable, in that there isn't a refugee in Vietnam who is *absolutely* destitute...Let's say your sister was being raped, would you donate \$5.00 to reparations for Indochina, if that would stop the rapist? Your mother? Your wife? No? Okay—you can go in free, but Ah sure hope your karma's got good shocks!

A decentralized polymorphous ad hoc eclectic improvisational solemn joyous hallucination of a Festival of Life for Indochina. Every penny that could be squeezed out of the entire constituency of the peace movements, including those who relate to them only through the music they have helped to inspire, paid into an Indochina Reparation Fund, administered by a board of directors whom we can imagine if we just close our eyes for a moment together...there. The money to be paid out in due course to international



and national relief organizations and governments in Indochina, not a cent to any government that has not sprung out of the will of the majority, to any government that claims to rule half a country. Reparations, 'cause we, the United States of America and the peace movements, lost. We didn't raise the cost of the war high enough, so now we have to begin the hard play of raising the cost of the peace. We didn't up the ante high enough, so now we have to ante up \$150 million.

I can anticipate a panoply of objections to the scam I've outlined—the same rancid cannibalistic panoply of objections that has mired our movements worse than the mastadons in the La Brea tar pits. They, too,



thought they had won out over the dinosaurs.

Some people will say the level of political commitment demanded won't be high enough. It won't. Only the price demanded to assuage our actual radical guilt will be high enough.

Some people will say the music business people will find some way to take their cut, just as they did on "The Concert for Bangla Desh". They will. We'll simply have to create something so big that however much they rip off, there'll be so much more left for our purposes that we won't care.

Some people will say, it's too apolitical, it doesn't relate sufficiently to the conventions. You're right. It doesn't. It will show the convention-al people precisely how many people don't relate to them, and precisely what it is that they don't relate to them over: the seemingly indefinite perpetuation of the war in Indochina. This will put an end to the aerosol of rat-vomit the media are schmutzing the airwaves with, that for some reason Southeast Asia won't be an issue in November.

If you think that's too apolitical, then I confess I don't understand why there should be free elections in Vietnam, 'cause they'd be bound to be apolitical too because they'd just be another set of elections in which the fate of the people of Vietnam hangs in the balance.

Some people will say, the whole thing sounds too complex, it's an outasite idea and all, but we'd just never be able to get it together.

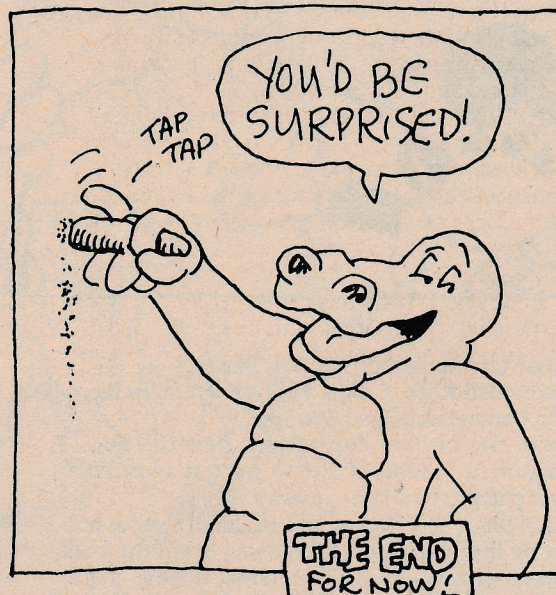
Well, as Lord Buckley used to say, if you get *to* it, and you can't *do* it, well then there you jolly well *are*, aren't you?

If we can't get our shit together enough to take off

five days in August, 1972, to, as John Sinclair once said, get out and dance without stepping on too many heads, and create a scene that's more sexy and meaningful and communicative than the *Republican National Convention*, how in God's Name do we presume to someday run this entire nation of interlopers on the continent of North America?

I'll say this much—during quote San Diego unquote, I'm going to be a celebrant at a Festival of Life somewhere on this depraved globe. If it ain't here, and if I don't see a hell of a lot of my friends and neighbors humping the heat-rippled air in their full-tilt-boogie tee-shirts and exchanging custard-sucking grins, I'm cashing in my hippie chips and going for the price on the dinosaurs.

—Craig Karpel





# IBM and the War

IBM's booming. Between 1960 and 1970, IBM's revenues grew fourfold. Even in the recession year of 1970, IBM's revenue reached a record \$7,503,959,690; its profits of more than a billion dollars after taxes exceeded those of any other industrial corporation. It has been predicted that if their phenomenal growth rate continues for another generation, "IBM will be the largest economic entity in the world."

A corporation of such proportions and power might be expected to have a warm relationship with the Federal Government. Within the Federal Government the biggest user of data processors—with 88% of the 5,400 Government computers—is the Pentagon. IBM dominates this market as it dominates the computer field.

IBM's Federal Systems Division handles many and varied military contracts heavily emphasizing aerospace work. It "concentrates on advanced technology and systems for ground-based, airborne, and spaceborne information-handling and control needs of the U.S. Government," according to the corporation's 1970 annual report. In 1964, IBM began work on perfecting the bomb navigation systems of the giant Air Force B-52s. It has also worked on Navy aircraft, Titan II and Minuteman II guided missile systems, and the Safeguard ABM. Presently IBM produces fire control systems, chemical retrieval systems, ballistic missile systems, combat services and support systems.

In early 1970, Melvin Laird appointed Gardiner L. Tucker, IBM's director of research as Assistant Secretary of Defense. IBM is also one of a very few corporations represented on the Committee on Military Exports of the Defense-Industry Advisory Council. This Committee acts as liaison between U.S. military contractors and the Department of Defense office of International Logistics Negotiations promoting overseas arms sales worth about \$2 billion a year.

The Vietnam War, of course, is most responsible for helping IBM's ranking of nineteenth among the top U.S. defense contractors in fiscal '71. Since 1969, the U.S. Army has maintained a multi-layered data processing system in Vietnam, in which information is exchanged between the central Logistics Data Service Center and a series of outlying depots. Of the eleven American Air Force bases in Vietnam, eight had computerized support functions by the fall of 1970. IBM equipment has, of course, played a prominent role.

As American ground troops are withdrawn and the character of the war is dominated by the use of heavy U.S. airpower, IBM can look forward to bigger and better contracts. (It has been estimated that the Pentagon will release one billion dollars worth of computer contracts by May.)

One of the advanced techniques which has grown out of this situation is the electronic battlefield. Elaborate sensors, concealed over a wide area, send coded signals to helicopters which in turn relay these signals to two huge IBM 360's in Thailand. The computer then interprets the data and activates the most efficient means of bringing down a rain of destruction on the source of the disturbance. This system defines anything which moves as an enemy. This weapons system, in the words of Sen. Proxmire, "cannot tell the difference

between soldiers and women and children...Whole villages may be wiped out by seeding wide areas with air dropped explosive devices designed to kill anyone who ventures into their neighborhood."

In his prophetic book "1984", George Orwell described the war of the future. "War," he wrote, "is no longer the desperate annihilating struggle that it was... it is a warfare of limited aims. This is not to say that the conduct of war has become less bloodthirsty or more chivalrous. On the contrary... but in a physical sense the war involves very small numbers of people, mostly highly trained specialists. The fighting takes place on the vague frontiers whose whereabouts the average man can only guess at."

The electronic battlefield in Vietnam today runs a very close parallel to Orwell's vision. In this kind of war, the human element is removed, the wagers of war become alienated from the suffering and horror, and do not feel the outcome or responsibility for their actions. The technicians who designed and programmed the computers perform no act of war, the man who places the sensors doesn't see it operate. The man who plots the strike never sees the plane which conducts it. The pilot, navigator and bombardier do not see the bomb hit. The damage assessor was not in the plane, and all the others who helped mount the raid never participated in it at all. Vietnam veteran pilot, Jon Floyd testified in the Winter Soldier Investigation "You go out, fly your mission, you come back to your air-conditioned hooch and drink beer or whatever. You're not in contact with it. You don't realize at the time, I don't think, what you're doing."

In June, 1970, Thomas Watson, Jr., then Chairman of the Board of IBM testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the war in Vietnam and contended that "we must end this tragedy before it overwhelms us." Yet Watson feels that for an American company not to do business with its government and refuse these war contracts would "be to foster anarchy." That decisions on "war and peace, national security, and diplomacy must in the end, be resolved not by a few people who sit in corporate board rooms, but by individual citizens exercising their rights through the political process."

## How can we confront IBM?

A group of us in Poughkeepsie area have come up with some ideas. Though not a full range campaign plan, we hope it might be a good beginning. We will be making a public witness on the lawn of IBM's main plant in Poughkeepsie on South Rd. Come join us in our "tent city" for a day or our full week vigil starting Sunday, April 9 and ending with a walk up to the Poughkeepsie IRS building on Mill St. for a demonstration on Saturday, April 15. Come break bread with us or join others in a week long fast. Help us create a loving and sharing community on that lawn and juxtapose it to the purposes of death in which some other of IBM's property and personnel are involved. For more information write or call Mid-Hudson Nonviolence Center, 192 N. Main St., Poughkeepsie, New York, 914-473-9102.

-Peter Cunneen





# changes

## LEAFLETING IN BELFAST

"The leafleting of British troops in Northern Ireland continues," reports John Ginter of Irish Action in the WRI Newsletter. "On Jan. 29, twelve persons participated in the leafleting of soldiers on duty in Belfast. The area covered was extended from our previous action to include the Crumlin Road, Shankhill Road, the Ardoyne area and also Holly-wood Barracks.

"The majority of soldiers we met did did not want to be in Northern Ireland. For me, the next logical step to this is the soldiers not wanting to be part of Her Majesty's army. Meaningful dialogues were held with many of the soldiers we leafleted. One soldier whom we met agreed fully with the message on the leaflet; another was attempting to buy himself out.

"Harrowing tales were told to us of army discipline and jails and much information was gained during our conversations. Of course, we also met with criticism and some hostility but the overall impression I personally received was one of sympathy for our actions and an ever-increasing frustration with the situation. It must be emphasized that that owing to our size we could reach only a small number of the 20,000 to 30,000 troops stationed in Northern Ireland.

"A question often leveled at us is: 'Why do you leaflet in Northern Ireland when troops are more easily accessible in England?' The fact is that only 20% of the troops come from Britain; the

rest come directly from bases in north Germany. Various groups have leafleted troops based in England. But we feel that until soldiers are confronted by a battle situation, they do not realize that they actually are expected to kill their fellow men."

—J.P.

## IRA INSIDE— PACIFISTS OUTSIDE

When we WRLers and CPFers arrived at BOAC Feb 2 for our weekly, lunch-hour demonstration against repression in Northern Ireland, we saw that inside the office, eight uniformed members of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) were conducting a stand-in to protest the killing of 14 peaceful demonstrators in Northern Ireland the previous Sunday.

Four police cars were doubleparked at the curb, cops were rushing in and out of the office and large numbers of curious passersby stopped to gape. But there was nothing to satisfy their curiosity—until we appeared on the scene with our leaflets and picket signs. So, on that day, our leaflets were grabbed-up as though they were free dollar bills.

We showed them to the IRA men inside. Obviously, they couldn't agree with the first paragraph's final sentence: "The guns and weapons of the British Army, of the Ulster Volunteer Force, of the Irish Republican Army (underlining mine) cannot bring peace" nor with our placard: "Armed Force Can't Solve the Problems of Northern Ireland." But more important to them was our leaf-

let's heading: "An Appeal to End Repression and Bloodshed in Northern Ireland" and some of our other placards which carried similar slogans. At any rate, they seemed to approve our purely coincidental presence at the moment of their demonstration and the fact our ends are the same—even though our means differ.

And speaking of nonviolence in connection with the North Ireland situation, on the day of the big march in Newry (Feb. 6), its leader, Kevin Boyle, in a press interview, acknowledged the impact of Martin Luther King Jr. and the black freedom marches of the early 1960s upon young Irish activists. "We were all going to college then, and we saw those marches on television, and we knew those people had the right idea," Boyle said.

J.P.

## VISAS DENIED TO CUBAN FILMMAKERS

The Cuban Film Festival (see review on p. 30) is getting the predictable static from the Gringo Department of State. Alfredo Guevara and Santiago Alvarez, leading Cuban filmmakers, along with two others connected with the Cuban industry have not yet been granted visas to visit the United States for the festival. A petition has been circulated demanding that their visa applications be approved. The petition has been signed by, among others, Vincent Canby, Ossie Davis, Fay Dunaway, Jane Fonda, Norman Mailer, Jonas Mekas, Arthur Miller, Estelle Parsons, Don Pennebaker, Otto Preminger, Susan Sontag, Rip Torn, Nat Hentoff, Julian Beck and Judith Malina. No reply yet from State Department.

—Lance Belville

## FIRST DEMO BY VIET STUDENTS IN U.S.

Thousands of students in South Vietnam have been conducting protest demonstrations over there but the first one to take place in the U.S. was in New York City Feb. 10 at the South Vietnam Consulate. And it was such a novelty that even the reactionary, mass circulation tabloid, DAILY NEWS, which ordinarily gives sparse coverage to peace demos, printed three photos of it.

The demonstration was a sit-in by 10 Vietnamese students on scholarships in this country. After three hours, police

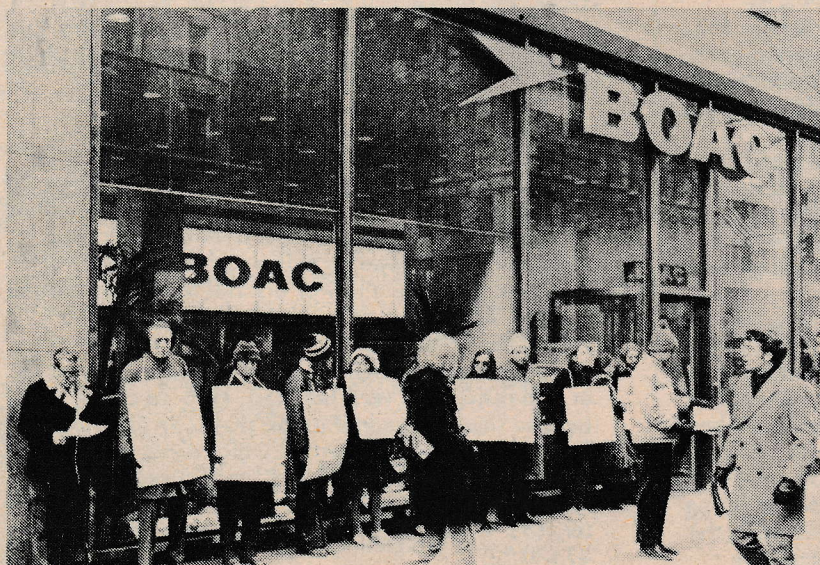


photo by: Bradford Lyttle



arrived to arrest them on criminal trespass charges, but by that time some 20 American peace people, including most of the WRL staff, had mobilized with placards of support outside the building. So, when the students emerged in the custody of police, we had a chance to shake their hands as they were escorted to the paddy wagon and to cheer them as they departed for the police station.

Their specific demands were spelled out in a statement signed personally by all 10 and their coordinator: Nguyen Huu An, Nguyen Thai Binh, Tran Vu Dong, Vu Ngoc Con, Nguyen Tang Hu-yen, Tran Khan Tuyet, Le Anh Tu, Nguyen Hoi Chan, Doan Hong Hai, Ngo Vinh Long and Nguyen thi Ngoc Thoa. The statement explained: "We are occupying this Vietnamese property which has been acquired at the cost of countless Vietnamese lives. We demand: 1. The immediate release from South Vietnamese prisons of Mrs. Ngo Ba Thanh (and other political prisoners). 2. The immediate resignation of Thieu. 3. The immediate dismemberment of the Thieu regime's apparatus of terror and repression."

J.P.

### "CRUSADING FORERUNNER OF WOMEN'S LIB"

This was the heading over a 3-column profile in the *New York Times* January 24 of Jeannette Rankin, longtime WRL member and Congresswoman who voted against both world wars.

"Today, at age 91, the former suffragette, lifelong pacifist and activist—has the satisfaction of seeing the rest of the world—at least the female portion of it—inch up to her and her ideas," writes Nadine Brozan.

"She has never stopped agitating for peace by herself and as a member of such organizations as Women's International League for Peace & Freedom, Another Mother for Peace and War Resisters League. And in 1968, she led the Jeannette Rankin Brigade of 5000 women to Washington to protest the Vietnam war." Asked if she has any regrets, Jeannette Rankin said she would do it all over again, except "This time I'd be nastier."

—J.P.

### PROTEST AT NIXON DINNER HONORING READER'S DIGEST

As white-tie and evening-gowned guests assembled in the White House State Dining Room for a dinner marking the 50th anniversary of the ultrarightist, mass circulation magazine, *READER'S DIGEST* Jan. 28, Carol Feraci of the Ray Conniff singers whip-

ped-out a placard saying "Stop the Killing."

At the same time, she called out to President Nixon, who with his wife was seated up-front: "You go to church on Sunday and pray to Jesus Christ. If Jesus Christ were in this room tonight, you would not dare to drop another bomb."

At the conclusion of the singers' first number, Ray Conniff told the audience: "The beginning of this program was as much a surprise to me as everybody."

According to UPI: "At that the audience shuffled and there were additional groans, boos and the shout: 'You ought to throw her out.' Martha Mitchell cried out that the protester 'ought to be torn limb from limb.'" Mr. Conniff told Miss Feraci it would be better if she left, and she did."

Later, the President gave Mr. & Mrs. DeWitt Wallace, co-founders of the rightist magazine, a Medal of Freedom Citations, asserting: "They have made a towering contribution to that freedom of the mind from which spring all other liberties."

J.P.

### OPEN THEATRE TO PERFORM

The Open Theatre, one of the finest experimental theatre companies in America, is beginning a new series of performances at their theatre at 344 W. 36 St. in New York. On March 17, 18, 26, and 27 "Terminal" will be performed. On March 19, 20, 24, and 25 a new show, "The Mutation Show", will be

performed. For more information call (212) 947-4671 between 3PM and 10 PM during weekdays.

By the way, the Open Theatre recently did a benefit for WIN at the State University at New Paltz and it was a fine show indeed. Our thanks to them.

—M.C.

### DYLAN JOINS GINSBERG ON NEW RECORD

Allen Ginsberg is about to release a new record. What's particularly interesting about that is who some of the sidemen are: Ed Sanders, Gregory Corso, a Tibetan High Lama lady, Happy Traum, Melor Sturva (*Isvestia's* New York correspondent) and a young feller named Bob Dylan. The idea is to combine poetry and music and this is done on such numbers as "Goin' to San Diego", a long piece about Bangla Desh, a number of gay liberation tunes, a William Blake poem and a mantra or two. The record will be released by Apple.

Sixteen records—Ginsberg's complete works as read by Allen himself—will be released in the near future by Fantasy records.

M.C.

### WAR TAX RESISTANCE CLINICS

Dave Brown of New England CNVA would like to work with people throughout New England on setting up day-long, half-day, or evening sessions on resisting war taxes. The purpose of a clinic is to turn people on to resisting war taxes, either as a first step, or in addition to

McGUIRE AIR FORCE BASE, 2/26/72: Sgt. Don Boyle argues with a demonstrator after the arrest of a vet for walking in the street (it was impossible to walk on the mud path that the cops said to use). Two other people were also arrested without warning. The demonstration was sponsored by the Philadelphia Air War Project. Approximately 150 people showed up in heavy rain (an hour's drive from Phila.).

—story and photo by Niel Benson





other actions they are taking. A Clinic can be combined with an Air War slide showing, or it can be part of the follow-up after a showing, or part of the follow-up to most any action or event that motivates people to take action against the death machine. CNVA is developing a complete Clinic program, including songs, the slide show, sharing of tax resistance and Alternate Fund information and experiences, discussion of tax resistance in the context of a broader movement for social change (e.g. as part of the anti-Air-War campaign), and planning for tax resistance activities in the community. A Clinic would, of course, draw on the knowledge and experience of local people. To set up a Clinic, or for more information about Clinics or war tax resistance, contact Dave Brown, c/o New England CNVA, RFD No.1, Box 430, Voluntown, Conn. 06384, (203) 376-9970 or 376-0287.

—Dave Brown

### UNBIASED JOURNALISM?

The following two stories from United Press International (UPI) wire services, which appeared in the straight press on two different days, speak for themselves:

HARRISON, NY (UPI)—Practically the

entire animal population of a small children's zoo was slaughtered during the night by intruders, who may have been "psychos or crazed on dope", officials reported last week.

Patrolman John Guarino said ears were ripped off rabbits while they were still alive. He said blood was smeared all over the windows, animal ears put on door knobs and a sign which read "Snack bar" was placed on top of some mutilated carcasses. "Some rabbits were slammed against the building, breaking every bone in their bodies and a few were thrown on the roof." Angelo Valentino, the zoo director said, "I'm convinced it's a prime example of what dope does to kids."

HARRISON, NY (UPI)—Three teen-age boys, the sons of policemen were ordered last week to undergo psychiatric examination in connection with the torturing and slaughter of rabbits and birds at a children's zoo. Detective Ralph Triano, Sr., a veteran of the town police department, said his two sons were "young and not that malicious". The father told reporters to "Cover the Vietnam war with the same roughness they've given this case and not worry about a few rabbits."

—FPS

### 50% WOULD "FOLLOW ORDERS TO SHOOT"

This is one of the disheartening revelations of a Harvard survey of public attitudes on the Calley case, conducted by Professor Herbert Kelman, longtime WRler, Professor Richard Clarke Cabot and Mrs. Lee Lawrence. A third of those interviewed said they would not pull the trigger in a Mylai-type situation. However 67% of the 989 persons who underwent 40-minute interviews expressed the viewpoint that most people *would* act like Calley.

Conducted in all sections of the country only two months after Calley's conviction last March, the preliminary results were announced recently at the convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Philadelphia.

In reporting for Professor Kelman, who was ill, Mrs. Lawrence commented: "The fact that large numbers of people are saying that what Calley and his men did was 'normal' has broad implications for studying violence in the U.S. It indicates that if the situation is properly structured, large numbers of people will do amazing things."

Two thirds of those interviewed favored a U.S. pullout from Vietnam.

—J.P.

### KENT STATE CASE DEFENDANT GIVEN 6-MONTH SENTENCE

Jerry Rupe, the only person convicted by treal in connection with the 1970 disorders at Kent State University, has been sentenced to six months in jail.

Rupe, 24, was convicted Nov. 30 of interfering with a fireman during the burning of the Kent State ROTC building on May 2, 1970.

Judge Edwin Jones, who sentenced Rupe, specified the sentence will run concurrently with a 10-to-20 year sentence Rupe is to serve on a so-called 'unrelated' drug charge.

College Press Service/LNS

### WHY HE ENDOWED A PEACE PROFESSORSHIP

"I started college at Colgate in 1917 and quit after six months to go into the military service," said George Cooley in an interview Jan. 25 regarding his \$125,000 endowment for a professorship in peace studies at that university. "I taught men how to kill with a bayonet and I was pretty good at it."

"But I feel in these tender years of mine that the world has to find ways of solving its difficulties in other ways than slaughter. I hope that I might help the study of peace catch on in the colleges."

Though peace studies are on the increase at U.S. colleges, it is unusual for a professor to be designated for this subject exclusively. The professorship which Cooley endowed is one of the first. The professor designated to fill it is Dr. Alan Geyer, editor of the Christian Century magazine.

—J.P.

### SCOTT NEARING'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY: THE MAKING OF A RADICAL

has just come from the press

Born in 1883, Scott Nearing has lived during one of the most dramatic and critical periods of modern history. For half a century he has been observing, speaking and writing about world events, gathering material through first-hand contacts, through travel, extensive reading and research.

Here, in his political autobiography, is the summary of his long experience which, as **Publishers Weekly** puts it: "narrows dramatically the generation gap in this spirited and lucid summing-up of an unselfish dedicated life".

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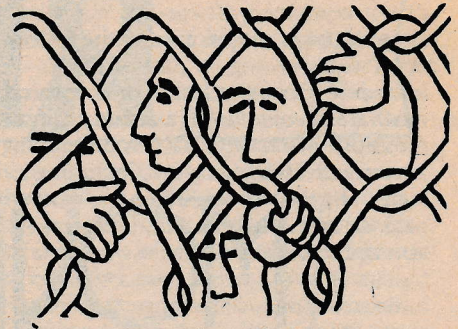
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# prison notes



The argument whether to send Christmas cards to jailed resisters will undoubtedly continue as long as resisters are in prison. It has forced all involved to do some hard thinking. Several people reported getting friendly notes from resisters to whom they sent cards. One such correspondent wrote: "We received responses from several of them. Originally, we had hoped that our cards might cheer them up, but found to our surprise that in many instances they were more hopeful and optimistic than we."

Apparently all who sent cards got quite a few returned marked "not here" or with a similar notation. We learn from Suzi Williams that cards she sent to friends in Alderson (not resisters) came back marked "released" when Suzi knew full well they had not been released. She returned the cards with a letter to the warden, who then had them delivered. Since those who send cards

cannot know whether or not the mail room official is telling the truth, it might be good to return them with a letter suggesting that if the person has been released his mail should be forwarded, just as anyone else's mail is forwarded when there is a change of address.

One reason it is so difficult to relate to inmates is that prisons are virtually invisible from the outside. They are often deliberately located in out-of-the-way places or hidden in other buildings, as are some of the smaller county jails and local lock-ups. Even ex-cons must remind themselves of the problem the prisons represent. One resister wrote, shortly after his release: "And now I'm transcending myself back into polite society, I guess. It has not been such a cataclysmic change, actually. To both me and my family, it is almost as though I was never really gone. The jail time I did was simply swallowed up by

an unreal vacuum. From the outside, prisons are truly invisible and easily dismissed."

Joe Gilchrist, who was released from Milan early in January, is working in a home for adolescent boys in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Before his release he was indicted again for refusing to testify before the grand jury investigating the "Harrisburg Conspiracy" and he is currently free on his own recognizance.

—Larry Gara

# dove tales



**GREAT EXPECTATIONS:** Armed with a statement that concluded "We demand that the Senators from Illinois go beyond mere expressions of pious discomfort about the war . . .," 35 people from various peace groups, trade unions, vets, etc. went to the offices of Sen. Percy & Stevenson. Contrasting receptions exploded a few stereotypes. Percy's staff — two young women, one black, one white — invited us in, took notes, listed organizations. Stevenson's all white staff ran interference before ushering us into an adequate room. Then a Mr. Flanagan took over to tell us "what's wrong with you people". He was hostile, inattentive and interrupted continually. Coming out, several people said, "Well that was a political education." Until the next time. I bet. . . . "One night a man dreamt that a monster was on his chest, choking him, trying to kill him. The man woke in terror and saw the monster above him. 'What is going to happen to me?' the man cried. 'Don't ask me' replied the monster, 'it's your dream.'" Sidney Slo-mich in L.A. Times 10/31/71) . . . Michael Wayne Bronson, imprisoned at

the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners in Springfield, as a result of "nodding his head in a manner suggestive of yes and no as if responding to Danbury resisters on hunger strike in another building, lost privileges. He is now petitioning for a court hearing and full consideration of his rights. . . . **INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF NONVIOLENCE**, Box 1001, Palo Alto 94302, has a brochure that includes spring programs dealing with land reclamation, mass media, mothers liberation, farm workers, sex roles, political vision, organizing. If you write for it, "send an extra nickel or so." . . . Emmaus, 241 E. 116 St., NYC, will have a weekend on Practical Nonviolence, April 7-9, and one on Vocations for Social Change, April 14-16 . . . Now with WRL staff serving Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Louisiana is Tom Flower, ex-Peace Ed. Secy. for SW AFSC. He can provide lit. & films, assist in workshops & seminars, draft & military counseling, tax & draft resistance. Contact him c/o WRL, 832 W. Mistletoe #2. San Antonio, Texas 78212. He'll travel via thumb and would appreciate hospi-

talities . . . The Peoples Fund, "an alternative to the charity syndrome," funds only groups that combat exploitation — racist, sexist, economic. With a contribution and an affirmation to P.O. Box 1225, Phila. 19705, you become a member . . . 6 Chicagoans have undertaken to revive Chas. H. Kerr Publishing Co. and are reissuing "The Pullman Strike" by Rev. John Carradine and "The Autobiography of Mother Jones" (whose apt quote — "Pray for the dead and FIGHT like hell for the living" — is on the back cover of Up From Under). They hope to reissue Marxist classics as well as hitherto unpublished mss. on labor history. Write for catalog to Kerr, 431 S. Dearborn, Suite 829, Chicago 60605. **FROM CONGRESSWOMAN JEANNETTE RANKIN TO WIN:** "Here is \$5 — you should be able to find 1000 people who can do that and so pay your bills and keep going. I believe my subscription is still current and I enjoy the issues I get . . . . If some of the oldies but goodies can keep on truckin', maybe others will eventually get the hang of it."

Ruth Dear



# REVIEWS

## MOVIES

A review (sorta) of two fine documentaries to be included in the upcoming Cuban Film Festival.

The Festival of Cuban Film scheduled for March 24 to April 2nd, mostly at Manhattan's Olympia Theatre, should bring some startling films as well as some fresh insights into life on that interesting little island. At least it should if the other films to be shown have half what two previewed here had. Micheal Mayerson of American Documentary Films which is sponsoring the festival invited journalists in several weeks ago to view **POR LA PRIMEIRA VEZ** (For the First Time) and **DESPEGUE A LAS DEIZ Y OCHO** (Take-off at 18:00), two documentary films that were moving, stunningly photographed and suprisingly short on propaganda and long on humanity.

**PRIMEIRA VEZ** is a little film about how the villagers in a small Cuban mountain community see a film for the first time. The film is deceptively simple. The camera follows a government mobile film projection unit into the town where it shows a film. In a kind of semi-cinema verite style, a few of the townspeople are interviewed about what they think a film is. "They must be something wonderful," intones one old lady, "all the city folks want to see them." Of course there is a bit of the expected: "Under Batista, we poor people never could see films"

Then the camera focuses on the townspeople as they watch a Chaplin film. It is one of the most moving two or three minutes on film that I can remember seeing. Eyes light up, minds turn corners, you see before you worlds opening up in the faces of the poor Cuban villagers. Jesus, I fought back tears when I saw it and I fight them back now remembering it.

**LAS DEIZ Y OCHO** is a far more complicated, overtly political film. Directed by Santiago Alvarez it won first prize at the New Delhi (New Delhi??) Film Festival. The film opens with shots of the interminable lines for foodstuffs and consumer goods that the traveling "special" correspondents from American newspapers always devote such ample space to describing. "No Hay!" ("There isn't any!") is a phrase often heard in Cuba. Then it shifts to prostitution—No Hay! Beggars—No Hay! Polio—No Hay! And the film is underway.

18:00, or six P.M., is the hour that voluntary work begins on the island. And interspersed with shots of work in the farms and factories (mostly farms of course) there is newsreel footage of the revolution and the Bay of Pigs defense. Men climbing into recently acquired MIGS are intercut with men climbing onto new tractors and harvesting equipment. The message for the Cuban viewer—for whom the film was, of course, intended—is that hard work is just as important to keeping the revolution alive as battlefield heroism. For the foreign viewer who (as in the case of your humble reporter) may not have been to Cuba since the bad old days of Batista,

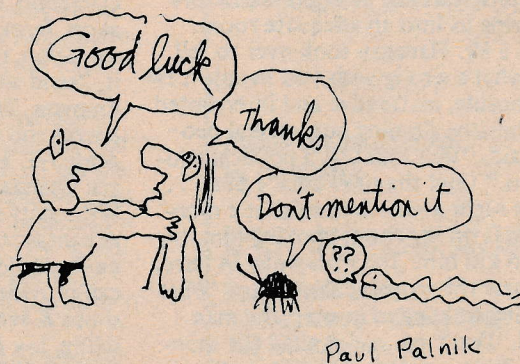
if ever, it is an incredible portrait of the island.

But it isn't sterile industrial-film-type footage. The warm personality of the Cuban people pokes out at every cut and pan. One of dozens of scenes come to mind: A small community is having a communal coffee bean cleaning bee. Tables are set up and while musicians perform young and old sit at long tables cleaning and separating the beans. One young girl moves along the tables distributing more beans to those needing them. The pride in her own, well-padded, warm body is apparent and the appreciation of the local swains at the table is also apparent.

The more you know about Latin America, the more you will get out of the film. One little thing that I noticed: all the men working on the salt flats have rubber boots. In the prosperous and growing Brazil, I passed salt drying flats almost weekly for the last two years and never noticed any of the men wearing boots, although not to wear them means the worker will acquire a hideous and painful skin disease and very probably an early death. In Brazil, South America's fastest growing economy and an industrial nation already, the bosses won't provide boots and the workers cannot afford them. In Cuba, which after ten years is still miserably shackled to its can-based economy, money is found to boot the salt workers. This and literally hundreds of other tiny details, too numerous to have been tricked up for the camera offer an enlightening glimpse into what is happening in Cuba. It forces one to ponder the attitude of our government toward it.

My largest experience in the Latin American film industry is with Brazil, which prides itself in having one of the world's most courageous and vital batch of young directors. The Cinema Nova of Brazil (New Cinema) has carried off world prizes, including a Palma de Ouro in Venice (Cannes?) and dozens of prizes from Edinburgh to San Francisco. I have seen literally hundreds of Brazilian documentaries, including a number made in secret and shown clandestinely for fear of government reprisals against the makers, and I have seen most of the features made in Brazil over the past seven years. But I can categorically state that I have never seen a Brazilian film with a quarter of the passion and real humanity of the two short Cuban films I saw last month. I look forward to seeing the rest of the films in the festival.

—Lance Belville



Paul Palmnik



# BOOKS

## THEY LOVE IT BUT LEAVE IT: AMERICAN DESERTERS

Devi Prasad

War Resisters International, Publisher (\$1.00)  
(Available from the War Resisters League)

*"It is a rebellion. Not only against this Government's war in Vietnam but also against the immorality and futility of wars and militarism as a whole. Be it resistance inside, or desertion, their reasons have gone beyond opposition to the Indo-China war."*

Desertion is not an easy decision. Besides the threat of "military justice," and the stockade, desertion has meant disgrace, dishonor and the possibility of a less-than-honorable discharge whose effects might haunt an individual for the rest of his life and make it impossible to find work, housing, or any place of responsibility in society. Desertion in "time of war" or in "the face of the enemy" carries the death penalty. Desertion, in essence, has come to be a moral crime. This is why the issue of the Vietnam era deserters has become such an enormous political problem. A very significant number of members of the United States Armed Forces have deserted and made public expression of their moral opposition to participation in the government's war in Indo-China. But those are the current public issues. By now, most Americans are aware of the argument. With conservative estimates placing the number of desertions during the past decade around 60,000, most Americans sense that politically there is a tense problem concerning these people. Few realize, however, the explosive potential in the future of the Vietnam era deserters.

Devi Prasad, General Secretary of the War Resisters International, has written a book that is part of a worldwide campaign on behalf of American deserters living abroad. Prasad writes:

*This book has been written with the intention of informing people about the various aspects of desertion from the U.S. Forces and the situation regarding U.S. deserters, in relation to various countries outside the U.S.*

But the book, by necessity, goes far beyond this simple statement of purpose. It is crucial to understand that, ultimately, the message of the campaign and the book and the deserters themselves is that militarism, even with advancing technology, is self-destructive by nature. Prasad feels this strongly, and says:

*Lack of discipline plus a high percentage of desertion and resistance inside the U.S. Forces are significant and powerful proofs that militarism has a self-accelerating nature, and the more it advances, the more its built-in destructive forces play their dramatic role. The Vietnam War should prove to be the last chapter in the history of war as it is fought today.*

The deserters have played a major role in this process. The military, even with forced conscription, heavy propaganda and programs of token reform has not been able to stop the mandala that has caused tens of thousands of men to see resistance as an affirmation of their human dignity. We must, however, view these actions as the beginning of a creative process, and if the process is to continue then desertion must not be the "final act." Prasad's book, as well as the

campaign, is meant to be an important step in continuing this creative process.

**They Love it But Leave It: American Deserters** is meant to educate people about the position of the deserters and their present status in the few countries that now allow them to live openly. It also discusses countries where deserters are arrested, and outlines their official justifications for returning the deserters to military control. There is also a detailed discussion of the status of deserters in military law and International Law. This is interesting because, for instance, Britain bases its position on returning deserters to U.S. control on the NATO countries' Visiting Forces Act, while Canada, also a NATO ally, interprets the provisions of the treaty differently and, as a result, has been the primary refuge for American deserters.

Of course the most important part of the book is the discussions with the men themselves: Their thinking, their situation, their hopes and prospects for the future. But a full future for the deserters is dependent on freedom of movement and acceptance of their moral position. This is what the WRI campaign is about. The campaign began in October, 1971, when over 200 world leaders, writers, philosophers, scientists and others signed an appeal to all world governments that read:

*We the undersigned urge all governments to give asylum and aid to U.S. servicemen who have "deserted" and urge people everywhere to campaign on their behalf and bring pressure to bear on their governments to give asylum to these men.*

This election year of 1972 promises to bring the problem of the deserters into the political limelight in this country, hopefully aided by pressure from people around the world as well as the American people, who bear primary responsibility for the future of the American deserters. Amnesty is not the question here, for these men feel no need to be forgiven, and rightly so. Acceptance of their moral position must be a condition for their repatriation. To do this, the military system must be placed in perspective. As Prasad writes,

*By nature militarism is a negation of human spirit. The more sophisticated it becomes, the less it recognizes human needs and values. This is what has happened to the U.S. military. With the collapse of its moral and political credibility it has itself collapsed.*

People should read this little book and express themselves on the issues. Further information on the book and the campaign are available from the War Resisters League and the War Resisters International, 3 Caledonian Road, London W. 1, England U.K. Money is also urgently needed for the campaign, and contributions should be sent to the WRI

—Jerry Wingate

## AN ESSAY ON BREWING, VINTAGE AND DISTILLATION, together with selected REMEDIES for HANGOVER, MELANCHOLIA, OR HOW TO MAKE BOOZE

John F. Adams

Doubleday and Company, \$0.95 paper

Wine, beer, mead and suchlike beverages are natural foods, and it is pleasant to see the American mood of temperance-reform sufficiently relaxed to allow the recent rash of books telling how to make them, of which that under review is an excellent specimen. The action of yeast on sugar is as salubrious as it is on flour. The conversion of sugar to alcohol by yeast is so carefully regulated by nature that it stops at a reasonable human point regardless of the amount of sugar in the



the original "mash"—at around 10-15% of alcohol the yeast and any sugar which may remain are in equilibrium, and fermentation stops. This natural process is nowhere so perfect as with the grape (note French *vin/vigne*, English *wine/vine*), the one fruit with sufficient sugar to produce a proper balance by itself (unfortunately, this is only true of the wine grape—local indigenous varieties will not do it), and where the white bloom on the skin is itself the appropriate yeast. At the right temperature, grapes falling into a puddle will produce wine spontaneously. Perhaps that is where the whole business started.

Distilled liquor is something else again. As it tends to be inbibed by Americans it is not so natural. It had better be treated as medicinal, and used in moderate doses for specific conditions. And there are other practical disadvantages to distilled drink, which includes brandy, whiskey, gin, vodka, and the like. Fancier equipment and more of it is needed. Besides, if we may postulate a continuum of legality, its production is more illegal. Actually, the sad fact is that production of any any alcoholic liquor is controlled by law, and everything but wine, which thereby displays its superior social status, requires the sort of commercial license only practicable for the large producer. I mean expensive, and often high-placed political buddies (for wine, a U.S. Treasury statement of intent is supposed to be filed, and then you can make 200 gallons/year/family). Fortunately, the law seems seldom to be taken seriously for non-distilled beverages, where the taxman expects a smaller bite (why then have a law, you may ask—a very pertinent question).

Mr. Adams' book strikes this amateur brewer and vintner as the best all-around introduction to the idea of these processes he has seen (and bakers please note, you will make the best bread you've ever tasted by using the yeast sediment you have left in your beer crock). As for distillation, the description looks equally sensible and practical. Legally and illegally, enough data is given to open a whole new world of yeast. The experience one can gain by following the book should enable him to make his own in many fields, or to turn with confidence to drier and more technical manuals.

The book is entertainingly written, and includes many results of practical research. One most interesting to this reviewer is the discovery that that execrable drink of Prohibition times, bathtub gin, is really nothing but cane beer. You can make it too, but why try, given the availability of ingredients and the ease of making delectable items from malt beverages to honey mead and onwards. It is true that sometimes the author's learning seems out of place, as when he insists on using the archaic Anglo-Saxon spelling *wyrt* for that blend of malt and yeast which leads to ale or beer, instead of the perfectly good and current *wort*, which basically means plant or herb, and which amateur botanists will recognize in such as *milkwort* or *liverwort* (another historical note on the naturalness of brewing). At times the urge to write entertainingly leads to frivolity, too, as in a mercifully short section on hangovers and their cure. After all, shouldn't any food be used with moderation and an eye to overuse?

But all in all, this is a book which does what it claims in practical instruction, and does it well, so why complain about trivia? And it only costs ninety-five cents!

—Karl V. Teeter

## THE ECONOMY OF DEATH

Richard J. Barnet  
Atheneum, 1969  
paperback, \$2.95

Not much of the first two parts of this book will come as a surprise to WIN readers who have been keeping up with the news. They should know by now that the Pentagon

spends money on public relations, and that retired officers get jobs in defense industries. It all adds up to a convincing case that the Pentagon is a menace, but much of the material in "...A look at the defense budget" (part one) and "The military-industrial complex and how it works" (part two) is anecdotal and doesn't help much in the way of a systematic understanding of the problem.

Barnet's advantage over the rest of us is that he has worked in the government, in the State Department and briefly as a consultant to the Department of Defense. His knowledge of how the government actually operates comes out in his proposals for change (part three), which I recommend. Barnet thinks that domestic needs would be better represented when important decisions are made if the National Security Council were enlarged to include the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, and other spokesmen for domestic interests. It could regularly review the competing demands on the budget by defense interests as against domestic needs. Barnet also wants to see a national commission appointed to prepare a plan for conversion to a peace economy. It would ask local governments to submit lists of local needs, and it would assist in retraining and relocating people who were released from defense work. Defense contractors would be required to prepare conversion schedules and to indicate which jobs were presently dependent on defense work.

Now I don't know whether it would work, and I don't know if it's the best way it could be done. My point is simply that WIN readers ought to pay more attention to institutional changes, which in the long run could have enormous effects. Out of some hundred articles and notes in the last six months of WIN that dealt with the war and the military and actions against them, I could not find a single one that touched on institutional change in the government. The closest were a note on a new Selective Service procedure, one on California bill to ban war toys, and a couple on governmental resolutions against the war. Of course demonstrations are a pressure tactic to get the President to stop the war, but this is not the same thing as an institutional change.

How effective will our actions be in the long run? I notice in WIN February 1 that "It can safely be said that because of the protests the U.S.S. Coral Sea will never be the same again." Give it a new crew and the U.S.S. Coral Sea will be exactly the same. How many people walking by the White House ten years from now will think of the 1971 Daily Death Toll? About the only way to get people to remember something is to turn it into a national monument and bring in busloads of tourists. Of course our actions can have important short term effects, but the long term effects are hard to see and hard to predict.

Once an institution is established, it acquires a momentum of its own. Take Eglin Air Force Base, Florida, home of the "guava" bomb and home of one of the leading military centers for the development and testing of conventional munitions. Back in 1949, someone had to decide that the newly established Air Force needed its own munitions testing facility. Someone had to persuade Congress to appropriate funds for construction and someone had to appoint a Commanding General. Once the thing got started, it kept on going and while the rest of us are holding 66-mile hikes and setting up peace booths at state fairs, Eglin AFB will be quietly turning out new weapons to use in Vietnam and to ship off to our allies for their counterinsurgency operations.

Not that we should give up our local actions and join the government; I am simply saying that we need to devote more of our time to understanding how the government operates and looking into the possibilities for changes within it. Someone has got to do it, and if we don't, who will?

—Eric Prokosch



I was interested in setting up alternative distribution, and that their decision to give me 10,000 books [i.e. sell him 10,000 books, but let that pass—C.K.] was based on this. In fact, as Mr. Karpel knows very well, I have been a long and vocal opponent of so-called alternative distribution..."

(man:) "In discussion the project [with Abbie] I suggested alternative distribution... My feeling, in which Hoffman concurred, was that Forcade would be an excellent editor and even more important, had to be dealt with if any alternative distribution was to be achieved. Hoffman felt that capitalist distribution was still a better idea. (I agreed with him)..."

By now you're probably wondering, "what is this shit?" I answer this important question, I refer you to the article in the March 15, 1971 issue of WIN in which Forcade annihilated the vicious counterrevolutionary running dog Mitch Goodman: "All that society is is relationships (channels). And you don't change it by reinforcing such channels. To put it another way, capitalist publishing and distribution of books is like the Grand Canyon and radical books are like the water being poured in there making that Canyon deeper. Use your own channels."

And now, the part you've all been waiting for: an actual transcript of that reprehensible section of my WIN article, the one with the lie I know to be a lie!

"Abbie had heard that Tom, who was the coordinator of the Underground Press Syndicate, was interested in publishing and distributing books through underground channels..."

Well there I am, caught in the act! Tom's right—I did lie! In fact, to pave the way for my vicious lie I cleverly forged an article under Tom's name in WIN vilifying Mitch Goodman. Then I wrote a letter to the editor of WIN signed Michael Forman vilifying myself while cleverly repeating the lie! What a liar I am! Why, I'm lying right now!!

The difference between me and the Rev. Thomas King Forcade is that I do know when I'm lying while, I fear, he doesn't.

—CRAIG KARPEL

With the above two comments WIN closes the dialogue on this question. It's been the nature of this controversy—ever since we printed the first report in November—that all the participants have felt obliged to respond to any and every statement, answer every charge. Frankly, we're bored with the whole thing by now and guess that our readers feel the same way. We've never before decided to close down a debate and hope we'll never have to do it again, this thing simply has to stop someplace. That's all, folks! —WIN

Jack Colhoun's thoughtful piece on "Amenity for Exiles" did not, I believe, do justice to Senator McGovern's distinction between draft dodgers and military deserters. While it is true that Truman's individual considerations of objectors did not yield a satisfactory result, Mr. Colhoun makes his first mistake when he assumes that a McGovern Administration would be similarly rigorous in its considerations. I think Senator McGovern has demonstrated sincere convictions on the war and he would be sympathetic to those whose convictions led them outside the parameters of United States law, military or civil.

The question, as I see it, is "who are the deserters?" Did they desert because of the immorality of Vietnam, or, more broadly, because of the immorality of the American

military? Or, did they desert to avoid court-martial for their own transgressions which had nothing to do with the war? You can not pardon all deserters without pardoning a number of men whose desertion had nothing at all to do with the war and who might deserve to be punished for their misconduct.

I do admit that the McGovern position has the single difficulty of being dependent on fair administration. However, since the Senator himself would have no difficulty accepting the characterization of the war, of the objections to the war, and of the objections to the war in Mr. Colhoun's article, I think that administration would be fair.

In any case, our goal and our perspective are the same. The men who refused to fight in Vietnam or serve in the military because of Vietnam were right, not wrong. They should not be punished in any way for their morality.

—MIKE SHATZKIN  
DEPUTY POLITICAL DIRECTOR  
MCGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT/N.Y.

I am sure the last thing WIN wants is an extended controversy over home brewing, so I'll try to be brief and to the point in thanking Paul for his piece on the subject (WIN Feb. 1) and Maris for the PS, and offering some comments from another mere amateur:

(1) Hops. Paul says get the hops — added malt extract. I say malt extract is the real thing, hops extract is NG. Get straight malt, and use dried hops (available in bricks, 85 cents for 4 oz. brick).

(2) Yeast. Paul says use the lees from last batch to yeast the next. This may be why he had trouble with one batch. My suggestion: take a couple of ounces from his starter before brewing, use clean vial and keep cool (the starter, that is) to make next starter, and wild yeast will not give trouble. Don't throw out lees! Use them to bake bread, and observe how your baking improves!

(3) Bottles. Paul says use screw top disposables, remarking that recappable bottles are expensive. I know that in some places the latter type are little used, but would note that returnable crown-cap bottles are many times stronger (reducing Paul's breakage), can be got in the East at least for price of the deposit (10 cents a bottle), and capped cheaply, with a crown capper which will do for other liquids (sauces, e.g.) you may wish to keep.

(4) Which book to use? Naturally your own experience will lead you in your own direction, but here I'm on Paul's side in regard to Maris' suggestion (Paul says Bravery, Home Brewing, Maris Beadle, Brew It Yourself). To be sure, Bravery is British, etc., but on the other hand Beadle is narrow and dogmatic, and his book is part of a promotion scheme for a particular brewing kit of a particular company. Also, tastes differ, and it does happen to be the British who appreciate brewing and have a greater variety of notions on brews with body.

Paul does speak of sterilization of all equipment, but briefly, and it is hard to overem-

phasize the importance of this point. He suggests washing soda, which is great, and I'd add, as usual in such things, lots of hot — really hot — water and rinsing.

Well, I've got other ideas too, but no controversy. Happy brewing.

—KARL V. TEETER

After reading Allen Young's reply to the Venceremos Brigade in the Feb. 15 issue of WIN, I felt compelled to state my humble views on the revolution and gay liberation.

At the heart of the revolution is the issue of economics. The Brigade realizes this as evidenced by their words of anti-imperialism. But whether one talks of imperialism or its father, capitalism, the elimination of the oppressive system is still the objective. The Brigade knows this as do nearly all revolutionary groups. Blacks know that when chattel slavery ended economic slavery began. They know how the capitalist system has forced them into a colonial status in their own country. Blacks and Chicanos both know how the white capitalist's caste system works. Women know how the capitalist oppressor has relegated them to their own form of second class citizenship all in the name of "putting them on a pedestal."

All revolutionary groups have as their basis the elimination of some form of the economic oppression. All groups, that is, except gay liberation. What is their basis for existence? Acceptance. That's all, acceptance. And acceptance of what? Nothing less than the proposition that sexually speaking relationships between man and man or woman and woman are as normal and natural as those between woman and man. This is ridiculous. Consider the findings of many sociological experiments working with animals. Homosexuality, it was found, was present to any degree only when some societal problem existed. Are the gays saying that homosexuality is natural in humans when it is not in animals? If so, why? I must agree with Eldridge Cleaver's often quoted statement, "Homosexuality is a sickness, just as are baby-rape or wanting to become the head of General Motors."

The gays say, "Hey, look at us. The system is oppressing us too. Let us into the revolution." Then they question anything less than total acceptance. I don't see where gays any more than an organization of child molesters, kleptomaniacs, pyromaniacs, or nymphomaniacs has any business in a revolution against a political system. These others could just as easily make the above statements. Their problem is psychological not political.

The Brigade says, "Homosexuality in Cuba is a social pathology left over from the decadent bourgeois order." I would add that homosexuality in this country is a social psychosis of the present capitalist order.

The attempted defense of gay liberation's role in the revolution and the unwarranted verbal lashing of the Brigade which Young wrote is just an example of the disruptiveness of the gays. They serve only as a hindrance to the real revolutionary struggle to overthrow the capitalist establishment.

EDWARD S. KASINSKI

from "A (Cambodian) Haiku a Day" by Gretchen Limper

Dear Mr. President: Is there any way out?

(5/8/70)

Can the killing be ended?

Just stop, that is all.



# classifieds

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Sandy & Henry belatedly announce the birth of Aidan Myers Merritt, on September 1, 1971, in Cambridge, England.

Black political prisoner wishes to correspond with people who are concerned with revolution in general, and abolition of prisons in particular. Will answer all letters. Ricardo de Leon, 126-02 82nd Ave. 3rd fl., Kew Gardens, NY 11415

"Urgently need to contact Karl E. Leggett. Last known address, Bellflower, Calif. Send any information to: M. J. Leggett, 3231 - 37th Ave. S., Seattle, Wash. 98144"

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WIN needs a couple of things: an adding machine, a mimeo machine and a friendly stock broker. If you are or have any of these things, please contact us. WIN, Box 547, Rifton, NY 12471. Telephone: (914) 339-4585. Thanks.

For a future WIN issue on agriculture, we need writers and contributors familiar with ag policy and problems of small farmer, influence of agri-business, USDA and corporate farming, etc. Especially want stuff about ag conditions in Mid-West and California. Marty Jezer, RD 3 Box 160, Brattleboro, VT 05301

INFORMATION WANTED for a resource directory of organizations and publications concerned with social issues i.e. health, welfare, day care, housing, etc. We are presently primarily concerned with groups located here in New York City. But would also appreciate information about national organizations and local groups in other cities. Send information, comments and suggestions re: the resource directory to THE RAP, P.O. Box 736, New York, New York 10009



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I'm a C.O. who would like to correspond with WIN readers who love N.Y.'s Automat, bite their toenails, love Joni Mitchell, Tom Lehrer and Bertrand Russell and believe in the tooth fairy. Donald Altschiller, 7 Arnold Court, Somerville, Massachusetts 02143



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*WRL Midwest*, 1437 E. Brady St., Milwaukee, Wis. 53202  
*WRL Southwest*, 1003 Forrester NW, Albuquerque, NM 87104  
*WRL West*, 833 Haight St., S.F., Cal. 94133  
*Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence*, Box 7477, Atlanta, Ga. 30309

## D.C.

*Washington WRL*, P.O. Box 231, American University, Washington, D.C. 20016

## KANSAS

*Lawrence WRL*, Canterbury House, 1116 Louisiana, Lawrence, Kansas 66044

## MICHIGAN

*Detroit WRL*, Oakland University, Rochester, Mich. 48063

## NEW JERSEY

*Newark WRL*, 366 Passaic Ave. Nutley, NJ 07110 (201/667-7451)

## NEW YORK

*Broome Co. WRL*, P.O. Box 1351, Binghamton, N.Y. 13902  
*Ithaca WRL*, 215 Giles St., Ithaca, N.Y. 14850  
*Jamestown WRL*, 12 Partridge St. Jamestown, N.Y. 14701

## OHIO

*Columbus WRL*, 195 Indianola Ave., Columbus, Ohio 43201

## OKLAHOMA

*Oklahoma WRL*, Box 11, Norman Okla. 73069

## TEXAS

*Austin WRL/Direct Action*, P.O. Box 7161, University Station, Austin, Tx. 78712  
*Ft. Worth WRL*, 1322 Hemphill, Ft. Worth, Tx. 76104

## VIRGINIA

*Edinburg Virginia WRL*, Rt # 3, Edinburg, Va.

## WEST VIRGINIA

*Morgantown WIN*, 420 Stewart St., Morgantown, W. Va. 26505

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

**THEY LOVE IT BUT LEAVE IT.** Written by WRI Secretary Devi Prasad, this book covers all major aspects of desertion by U.S. servicemen and their situation in the countries where they have taken refuge (paperback) 80pp. \$1

**AIN'T GONNA PAY FOR WAR NO MORE.** Finally, everything you'd want to know on war tax resistance under one cover — by Robert Calvert, coordinator of War Tax Resistance. (paperback) 127pp. \$1

**AN EYE FOR AN EYE** impresses Jessica Mitford, author of "The Trial of Dr. Spock" as "not only an immensely informative chronicle of prison life but also as an incredibly brave act of defiance on the part of these four convicts." They are still doing time at Indiana State Prison. (paperback) 246 pp. 95 cents

**STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE.** A report on crime and punishment in America prepared for the AFSC with Mark Morris as staff writer (paperback) 179 pp. \$1.95

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**WHAT IS CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS?** This noted article by Wilhelm Reich is translated into English for the first time in a reprint by Liberation Magazine. 52 pp. \$1

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GONNA SAN DIEGO, HELLO WHO EVER I MEET  
GOIN THERE HAPPY GONNA TAKE MY LONELY FEET

GONNA SAN DIEGO SALUTE YOUR HOLY SOUL  
SALUTE SAN DIEGO SHAKE YOUR JELLY ROLL  
REPUBLICAN CONVENTION THERE BE A GREAT BIG FRUIT BOWL

GONNA SAN DIEGO — ANNOUNCE THE END OF THE WAR  
GONNA SAN DIEGO — AIN'T GONNA MURDER NO MORE  
TELL THEM POLITICIANS STOP ACTING LIKE A WHORE

GONNA SAN DIEGO — RAISE A HOLY CRY  
GONNA SAN DIEGO — SING LIKE I COULD DIE  
O LORD LET THERE BE TEARS IN EVERY EYE

GONNE TO SAN DIEGO GONNE TO SAN DIEGO  
GONNE TO SAN DIEGO GONNE TO SAN DIEGO  
GONNE TO SAN DIEGO GONNE TO SAN DIEGO  
GONNE TO SAN DIEGO GONNE TO SAN DIEGO

GONNE TO SAN DIEGO GONNA TAKE MY BLUES ALONG  
GONNA SAN DIEGO — SING A PEACEFUL SONG  
OH SAN DIEGO, I WON'T DO NO WRONG.

COME TO SAN DIEGO SHOW YOU'RE A PEACEFUL MAN  
OLD MR. NIXON BETTER BOW DOWN TO UNCLE SAM  
ALL THE CITIZENS BEST ELECT THE LAMB

= Nov. 17, 1971

This Blues song is recorded, my voice, Dylan,  
Happy Traum, Dave Amram & others (Perry  
Robinson Clarinet) on Guitars, etc. — Probably  
be released by Lennon's Apple.

= ALLEN GINSBERG