

PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU non-violent ACTION

win



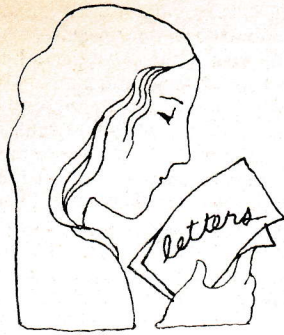
April 15, 1972 30¢

Jack Scott on
Women in Sports

Marty Jezer on
the National Bloat

John Sinclair on
Everything





Recently WIN carried two shorts on the subject of desertion. The first stated that the rate for desertion is far higher than last year. Last year there were 89,088 desertions from the armed forces.

The second short said that WRI has "launched an international campaign to persuade governments to give refugee status to US deserters." The short also stated that Canada, France and Sweden give asylum to deserters.

For the past year and a half, the immigration and political organizations dealing with draft resisters and deserters in Quebec and Canada have followed the policies that men and women can better resist the war within the US. Our work has centered around counselling to get people out of the military service and advocacy of organizing within the military to bring a quicker end to the war.

Now we find fewer and fewer draft resisters and deserters coming to our centers. This despite the fact that more and more men are deserting and refusing military conscription. We lay this to increased consciousness about the war and willingness of brothers and sisters to break the "law" by sheltering "fugitives."

At the same time, more and more exiles, men and women, deserters and draft resisters, are returning to the homeland. In addition, the announced and unannounced presidential candidates are starting to make statements on the question of amnesty. We think that these are attempts to buy votes on emotional issues and attempt to break exile solidarity between draft resisters and deserters. Many exiles think that any kind of amnesty from a president will be filled with conditions, especially against the deserters. In any case, under the Nuremberg Rulings, exiles have done nothing wrong, and therefore have nothing to be forgiven for.

Canada and France do not provide asylum for deserters. In Canada, deserters have to go through the immigration process, a process most cannot pass because they are from working class background, young, and have few job skills. Deserters in France must renew their work permits every few months.

We feel it would be more in keeping with political realities if the WRI began to promote the repatriation of all exiles among the people of the US without any conditions attached. This would have the advantage of uniting with the desires of the exiles themselves, of raising the consciousness of the people of the world and the US of how the

exiles feel about the war and the US, and gives people a chance to make more principled actions against the war.

We are trying to move under the slogan **REPATRIATE ALL EXILES - FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.** We wish to unite with all active duty GIs against the war, vets and other movements who wish all political exiles to return among the peoples of the US to continue the struggle. We think we can thereby further unite people around the 7 Point Peace Program of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, and further expose the nature of the war, how it has affected the lives of the people of the US and who the real prisoners of the war are.

In closing, Ho Chi Minh often told the Vietnamese people: Unity, unity, more unity; success, success, greater success.

-LAURENCE M. SVIRCHEV
AMERICAN EXILE COUNSELLING
CENTER
MONTREAL, QUE.

It seems to have become the custom among many radicals to call any poor or minority group person in prison a "political prisoner." I would like to suggest that this way of thinking and speaking is unwise and confusing, and will only get in the way of what radicals want to do.

It is true, and has been for a long time, that poor people who steal cars or otherwise break the law are much more likely to be put in jail than rich people who do exactly the same thing. But they still have to break the law to get put in jail. Except in the case of vagrancy laws, which ought to be and could be overturned as un-Constitutional, poor people rarely get put in jail just for being poor. If now and then some of them do, it is enormously important to keep a sharp distinction between them and the poor people who get put in jail because they stole a car or robbed a store. Some injustices, like some crimes, are worse than others, and we should save our highest indignation for the worst.

The trouble with using important words to describe things less important is that when the important thing comes along we no longer have words to talk about it. We ought to save the name "political prisoner" for the person who is in jail for what he believes, and for no other reason. The trouble with calling an imprisoned car thief a political prisoner is that someday, when we want to cry out that someone is a true political prisoner in jail only because of his political beliefs, everyone is going to think, "Oh, they're only talking about another car thief."

Furthermore, this use of "political prisoner" does not make clear what you are opposing and what you want instead. When a thief, poor or black, is put in prison, you are angry. Is it because rich white thieves are not put there in prison with him? Or because the poor thief was put in prison at all? Are you saying that everyone, rich and poor, who steals a car should be put in prison? Or that no one, rich or poor, who steals a car should be put in prison? Or are you saying that only rich white thieves should be put in prison, and that no poor or black person should ever be, no matter what he does? Or are you saying that all rich white people should be put in prison whether they steal or not, that simply by virtue of being rich and white they

are criminals? Or are you saying that since there ought to be no such thing as property, there ought to be no such "crime" as "stealing", and that anybody should be able to take from anybody else whatever he wants, whenever he wants?

Your use of "political prisoner" often seems to imply, whether you mean it or not, that it is OK for poor people to commit what the law calls "crimes", that they are so much victims of an unjust society that nothing they do can be wrong. But the effect of this is going to be, as it already has been, to increase what we have far too much of, namely, crimes by the poor against the poor.

Beyond this, radicals have never made it clear, at least not to me, what they believe in the matter of crime and prisons. Are they talking, like some Anarchists, about a society without laws, a society in which there would be no such thing as "crime"? I suspect not. What, then, would be crime in their society? Are they talking about a society without prisons, in which whatever the law calls "crimes" would be dealt with in another way? If so, in what ways? Where, if anywhere, are there models of such a society? Certainly all the governments in the world of which radicals seem to approve have prisons, many of these no better than ours and often much worse.

All this is not just idle picking at words. Words are important. We who are trying, in whatever ways, to make a viable, just, peaceful, decent, and human society and world are first and above all teachers, makers and sharers of a vision. We must take care always to use words so that they make as clear as possible what we believe and what we want. Otherwise, we confuse, divide, and weaken our allies and ourselves.

-JOHN HOLT
BOSTON, MASS.

Here's a healthy, munchy, organic snack or dessert.

Mix: (gobs of each, no special amounts) unsweetened coconut, chopped nuts (almonds, walnuts), wheat germ, sesame seeds, pumpkin seeds, raisins (Thompkins are good), any thing else that's around.

Mix it all up in a bowl, cement together with lots of honey and eat with a spoon. It's really good.

-CARRIE HEMENWAY
WILLIAMSBURG, MA.

A friend and me went halves on ordering your publication and I'm not sorry about the deal since I enjoy it very much. I also find it very enlightening (I especially dig your book reviews since I'm able to get on to books not otherwise reviewed by other sources Wow! to "Bringing it All Back" (12-1-71)

JAMES E. SZULCZEWSKI
STATE CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION
AT PITTSBURGH

While it was good to see, that J.P. pays attention to a draft resister in Israel, probably he is unaware of Israeli problems. The case of Biora Newman, is not a case of conscientious objection, it is a matter of political persecution. He suffers the fate of being a member of a socialist group, which opposes the political aims of the state.

The appeal for money is peculiar. They cannot use any money to further their cause. All is locked against them. Then if you will take the effort to examine the archives of the WRL, you will find that the Israeli comrades refused money. The League was willing to equip them with office machinery—they refused it, and depended on a church in Haifa to do their lettering. We offered to pay for a hired secretary; they declined on the basis that it would be an uncomfortable way to be paid by a foreign body. The money we gave them was turned over to the WRI.

Israel is governed by the palace Jews of the White House. The destroying of Arab houses is done after consultation with these palace Jews, so every problem in Israel is decided in New York and Washington. Our American Jewish Community is the colonial power of Israel.

What we could do is ring the Israeli Consulate with a picket line. The Israeli Consulate is located at 800 Second Ave. which is a busy thoroughfare, and close to the United Nations. To bring help to our friends in Israel the only method is our picket line in this city.

—DAVID BERKINGOFF
BRONX, N.Y.

We are looking for other people who want to leave behind the city but not the Vietnamese, who want to be less dependent on a brutal greedy system without deserting less mobile victims. In short, we are looking for people who want to live in a country farm community without the usual apolitical withdrawal of such communities.

We envision: buying a farm on marginal land near a small town which hosts a university or state college—raising most of our own food, grains, meat, fruit—breaking down sex-based roles in sharing all the work—several family unit living quarters (owner built) for privacy with a big lodge (or the original farm building) for community activities—remaining connected to political realities by opening a bookstore or underground newspaper in the small-college town—setting up a school for our own children and others who would want an alternative.

If you share a vision of a farm community that's politically relevant, please contact us:

PEGGY & CHRIS ELMS
1282 Chittenden Rd.
San Juan Bautista
Calif. 95045

I have tried so hard to be sympathetic to and supportive of your magazine. I agree with the basic philosophies, and I have worked for 25 years in the areas of Civil Rights and peace. As you may realize, I have been Medical Director of most of the youth festivals, and have been working for many years to attempt to alleviate both the health problems of our young, the alienation of our young, and the burdens of war and prison imposed upon them for either philosophical, political or drug crimes. However, I was dismayed by a recent article in your magazine entitled "Kicking It: Methadone, Therapy or Revolution". The article is filled with either downright misinformation, or with absolute falsities. I would prefer to believe the former, but some of the information is so bad, that I can only conclude that your magazine is allowing people to write for it who are basically unobjective and/or dishonest. I think you should contemplate providing a worthwhile answer to this terribly misleading and erroneous article.

WM. ABRUZZI M.D.
WAPPINGERS FALLS, N.Y.

HOME FOLKS

marilyn albert
beth arnold
lance belville
diana davies
ralph di gia
jen elodie
leah fritz
neil haworth
marty jezer
craig karpel
peter kiger

dorothy lane
elliott linzer
jackson maclow
dick margulis
david mc Reynolds
jim peck
tad richards
igal roodenko
fred rosen
nancy rosen

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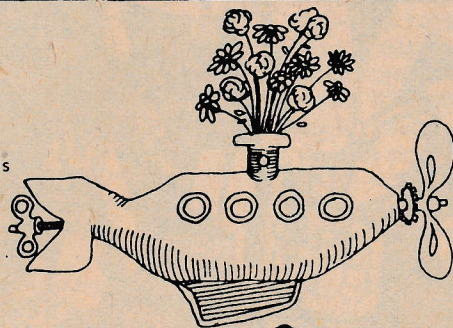
nels johnson
mary mayo
brian wester

IN THE NURSERY

janis kent cakars
born march 15, 1972
he weighed 6 lbs., 10 oz.

IN THE PROVINCES

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through nonviolent action

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- Front Cover: Nina Klymowska
Back Cover: WIN Magazine, the Jack Anderson of the underground, presents yet another ripped off document. This one courtesy of IRS. Remember! File early!!

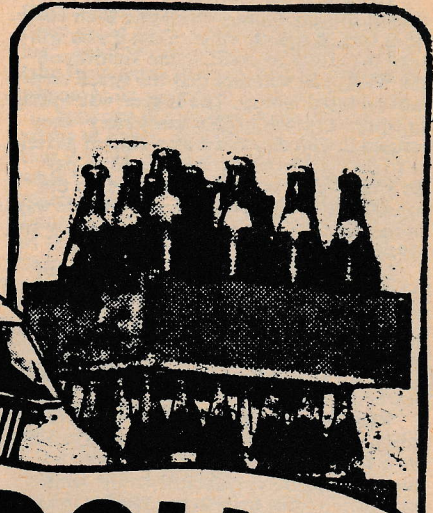
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Volume VIII, Number 7

SALE

BRAND NEW
SINGER



\$99



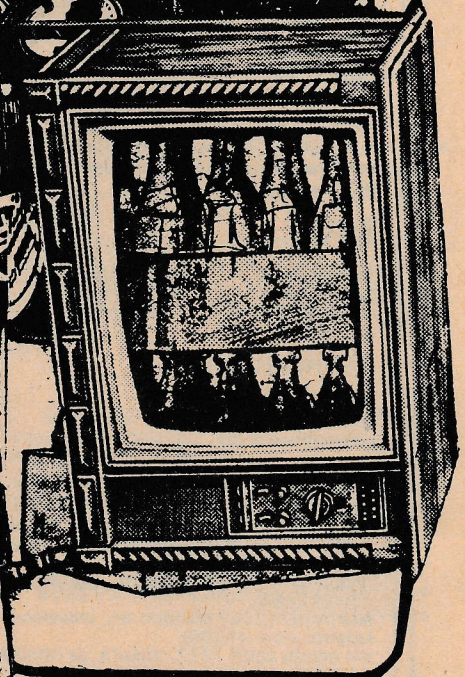
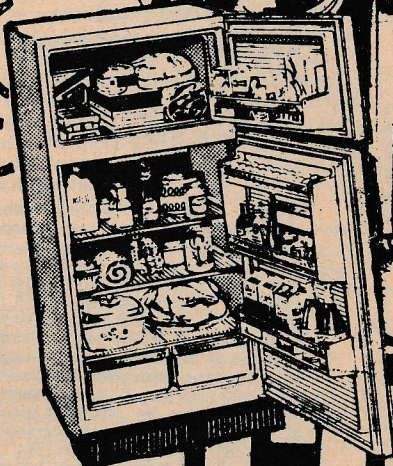
DOLLAR DAY



How
to

DEFLATE

the
NATIONAL
BLOAT



COSTS

The Gross National Product of the United States is rapidly approaching one trillion dollars per year. This sum represents the total monetary value of all the services and products the country produces. It is a basic statistic by which we measure our economic prowess and the state of our economic growth. For people who worship statistics, it's the measure of our country's greatness.

Included in the GNP is money we spend for basic necessities such as food, clothing, transportation and shelter. But in terms of social utility it is a non-discriminatory statistic. The GNP signifies the value of all financial transactions without consideration for their social purpose. The money you spend for the evening meal, for a ticket to a baseball game, for a stay at a vacation resort, for the price of an electric can-opener and a second or third car are all entered in the ledger of the GNP. So, too, are the pennies you lay out for this journal.

The GNP has long been used as a means of comparing our economic system with those of the socialist and communist nations. We take pride in the fact that our GNP is far greater than theirs. I remember in grade school—this was in the late forties and early fifties at the height of the "Cold War"—learning from a chart about the comparative economic strength of our country and the Soviet Union. We were first in most everything and for a while, at least, it made me proud of this system. But pride always involves a certain amount of blindness. It was many years before I began to question some of the major assumptions on which our economic system, with its high growth rate and impressive statistics, is based.

The economy runs on the premise that the more people spend, the more we can produce; and the more productive the industry, the more jobs there are available and the higher the average wage. The bigger our paychecks the more money we can spend. The cycle continuously renews itself. On paper it seems the best of all conceivable economic ideas.

Yet, there are just so many products and services that a person or a family can use to live a comfortable and a happy life; however, if people spent money only on necessities the economy would fail. A decrease in demand would mean a cutback in production. Industries would slow down, workers would be laid off, wages would drop, and money would become tight. Thus, the health of our economy is dependent on a free-spending public. Spending money has become our national duty. The role of the consumer is as patriotic as that of a soldier. Our primary function in national life is simply to buy, buy, buy.

Because there is a limit to the products we need to buy, all kinds of schemes have been developed to "persuade" us to spend our money. Advertising is probably the most important. If any industry is basic to the economy, this is it. Not only does it support much of the informational media (radio, television, magazines, newspapers, all of which would be out of business without advertising revenue), but it is the essential tool by which the system leads us blindly into the marketplace.

Some of the most creative minds in the nation are occupied devising ways to cajole us into spending our money for items that we, in our dim-wittedness, would never think of buying otherwise. The technique they use is often subtle and sophisticated, employing the most advanced techniques of psychology and soci-

ology. Few advertisements offer information. How many ads do you know of that tell anything factual about their products? Advertisers deal in creating salable images, in wish-fulfillment, and in appealing to our irrational selves. Advertising is designed to exploit our weaknesses and to cause us to spend money on products we rationally know we do not need.

The credit system is also necessary to keep the economy going. Even with our high incomes we do not have enough spending money to keep the growth rate accelerating at a desirable level. Credit cards, easy payment plans, schemes like Bank-Americard all make our designated role as consumers easier. Even if we have no cash we can still function usefully in the economic system. Of course, we all pay dearly at the end. The corporations who sponsor credit schemes all assure themselves of a profit from this service. Credit is made to look like a boon to the consumer. But the person who uses it pays double in the end, first for the convenience of buying on credit and second for the product bought. Both transactions are included in the GNP, as are the revenues generated through the media by advertising.

If our economy functioned independent of everything else, even its absurdity would be tolerable. But our economic system forms the basis for our politics, our attitude towards the environment, and the quality of our individual and collective life styles. It is destructive to all three.

Our trillion dollar GNP comes at the expense of the people and resources of the world, as well as our own individual happiness. With only about 6% of the world's population, the United States consumes approximately two thirds of the world's wealth. This means that most of the people of the world are working in order to keep us at the level of affluence that we have come to expect as our due. Our domination of the world's economy (which, of course, leads to political domination as well) puts us at odds with the aspirations of the majority of the world's people, who, quite rightly, want to control their economies and use their resources for their own purposes. Anti-Americanism is so rampant throughout the world because usually it is our corporate interests (and governmental support of those interests) that prevent the different countries from attaining economic independence.

Fortunately, this is changing. The Vietnam War is a turning point in modern history, because a small third-rate power (Vietnam) has managed (at tremendous cost to itself) to keep at bay the most powerful military machine ever assembled. In so doing they have made it unlikely that an American President will ever again find willing conscripts to march off on an imperialist venture in some foreign land.

During the sixties, we invaded Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Vietnam to protect our economic interests. In the early seventies we added Cambodia and Laos to that list. But when Chile began nationalizing American-owned copper mines, we could do nothing. Indeed, many Americans have come to support actions like that taken by Chile. For years we have robbed these countries of their resources. They are now only taking what has long been theirs by right. American corporations at last are beginning to learn that they are on their own. American youth will no longer march off to die to protect their profits.

Our economy is as dangerous to the environment as it is politically disastrous. We consume the world's resources with a carelessness and arrogance unknown

in history. The result, of course, is a polluted environment of which we are increasingly becoming aware. But even in this area we have refused to face the hard facts of ecological life. The resources of the world are not infinite. We cannot keep the economy going at the accustomed rate indefinitely. To continue to live at our present affluence means that we will soon exhaust many of the planet's basic resources and make the earth unfit for our children to live.

Americans are becoming ecologically conscious. The growing protest against nuclear power plants reflects this interest. But even if an aroused public forces the electric utilities to conform to stringent safety procedures, the problem of our depleting resources will not be settled. Quite simply, we will have to cut down on our rate of consumption and learn to lead ecologically-oriented lives.

Our preoccupation with the GNP has also had a disastrous effect on the quality of our lives. The emphasis on money (which equals status) and material accumulations has caused many Americans to abandon their humanity to the market place. We thrive on overtime, hold down two jobs, and are in constant quest of that extra dollar. Making money becomes our primary goal in life. It is the most patriotic thing we can do. The more we earn, the more we spend, the greater the demand for goods, the more jobs become available, the more we earn. In this closed cycle of economic values, the meaning of life is often lost sight of.

The Organization Man, the symbol of the 1950's, is still very much in evidence in the large corporations. These people, who personify the economic bind that most working Americans find themselves in, are at the constant beck and call of their corporate employers, who exercise an overwhelming social control of their lives. Alvin Toffler, in *Future Shock*, calls corporate executives "life-sized chessmen on a continent-sized board." Executives move about the country at the whim of their employers. (IBM is known among its employees as "I've Been Moved"). In this is reflected the rootlessness that is characteristically American. According to Toffler, one out of five Americans has changed address every year since 1948.

The suburbs have been created to serve this highly mobile population. They are known for blandness and homogeneity. A suburb on the West Coast is indistinguishable from a suburb in the East, the North, the Mid-West, or the South. Even the natural setting is reduced to a common sameness. When the bulldozers come in to clear land for a suburban development, all the trees, shrubs, and bushes are removed. The land is made completely barren and natural contours are leveled.

The suburbs, like our economy, are an efficient and profitable way of settling people on the land. But, again like our economy, they are a social disaster. No wonder the first generation to come out of the suburbs has been a generation of revolutionaries who in many ways reject everything from the past. The consequences of suburban life cannot be measured by statistics. They can, however, be measured by the breakdown of family life and community.

The nuclear family, which is as old as the suburbs, is perfect for the consumer life our society has carved out for us. In olden days, when most people lived in extended families, in big noisy homes full of relatives and friends, people were able to rely on each other for entertainment. In the nuclear family, where wife, husband, and kids live isolated from friends, neighbors,



and relations, the family must seek artificial means of spending leisure time. Alone and bored, they are ripe for the message of the advertisers. Consumerism becomes a way of life. There is no other social use for their money but to spend it on the accumulation of material wealth.

This is the way we live, then; our normal situation. Only a plague, a blackout, a disaster like a fire, an earthquake or a flood can blast us out of our separateness and bring us together. We savor those few brief moments when we are together and cherish them forever, but as soon as they pass we go back to our lonely and isolated lives.

Out of habit, out of conditioning, because it's expected of us, because it's what we've been taught, because that's the way it is, we expect nothing better. We guard our lives as we guard our houses, which is to say we do not live in our houses as much as we stand guard within. Our doors are locked; in the larger cities people even place iron bars across their windows and double and triple locks on their doors so that each a apartment resembles a cell.

If we relate to one another, it is as competitors, rarely as friends and neighbors. We are aware of each other's possessions, but we dare not inquire into each other's hearts. We are very separate from one another, very lonely, and very much afraid.

*"All the lonely people,
where do they all come from,
All the lonely people,
where do they all belong?"*

The feeling of community is alien to contemporary American life. We measure our greatness by our economic and military prowess, never on the cohesiveness of our community. The striving for community, for a closeness with one's neighbors, is a primary motivational force among human beings. But it is a force that has been driven from our lives. People thriving in community do not need Madison Avenue to tell them what they need for the good life. They do not need television sets and the thousand and one products that help them pass the time during the hours between the job.

People are the basic resource in community, and relationship between people is free for the asking. The quality of one's friendships and love of one's neighbors are not statistics that get entered in the ledgers of the GNP. Community is subversive to the American way of life. It is the only way worthwhile to live.

Possibly the most encouraging change in recent years is the awareness of our lack of community and our conscious effort to recreate it in our lives. As this occurs, our dependence on the economy breaks down. The current depression can properly be seen as a natural corrective to an over-productive, socially destructive economic system. The depression is a result of an awareness on the part of a growing number of people that our society is sick and that in their role as consumers they contribute to the sickness. Traditionally, the heaviest consumers have been people in their twenties, fresh out of school, in new jobs, recently married, establishing new households. These are the people who buy new cars, new furnishings, new refrigerators, new television-sets, all of the items Americans think they need to get along.

This is no longer happening. Young people are no longer the consumers they used to be. Though they continue to spend money on specialized items like phonograph records, stereo sets and cigarette rolling papers, they are learning to live without many other things. Even more important is the return to the concept of the extended family and a refusal to accept the isolated tenants of the nuclear family on which they were brought up. People are learning that if two can live as cheaply as one, so can four, five, six, ten, and twenty. Cars, food, income, records all become communal property.

At one community I am familiar with, 14 people live rather comfortably on a yearly income of about \$8,000. Though they grow most of their own food, they are in the process of paying off a heavy mortgage. This kind of economic arrangement is becoming more and more common. The few identifiable communes around the state represent the tip of an iceberg that goes deep into American society. People are learning to pool their resources, make do with second hand items and recycle their waste products. Living together makes it less necessary for them to rely on expensive entertainments to fill their time. They are able to lead a rich and rewarding life without spending money on

goods and services that they once thought were necessities. Community makes consumerism obsolete.

What is happening among the young and on the communes is beginning to occur in all areas of American life. People are waking to the fact that their material well-being has not made them any happier for their efforts. The phenomenon of "dropping out" has become commonplace. People are abandoning careers and highpaying jobs to lead more simple lives. The more people who drop out, the more people there are who realize that their old way of living, as serfs to the economic system and consumer fodder for the ever-increasing GNP, has been a costly folly. This discovery is spreading through the country like a shock wave. The liberation of the consumer spells ultimate disaster for the economy.

Photo: Diana Davies



What we are moving towards, then, is a No-Growth economy, an economy with a stagnant rate of economic growth and spiraling downward trend in the bloated standard of living. The economic statistics that once defined the nation's health have become irrelevant. The current Depression which describes the faltering economy becomes, in No-Growth terms, a desirable levelling-off.

So far, the idea of a No-Growth economy has come from the grass-roots, out of a million and more individual decisions to abandon normal affluence and boycott unnecessary products. This is how it should be, for basic change such as this cannot be imposed by government authority. It must result, instead, from the changing consciousness of people who begin, without coercion, to restructure their lives. Certainly, the idea of a No-Growth economy has ramifications that touch on every aspect of our lives. Some to these are:

* A redefinition of work. With the economy slowed down and only necessary items being produced, work can become the pursuit of what is useful and enjoyable. People are freed from the dictatorship of the time clock and psychic tyranny of the assembly line. Crafts become important. Working people take pride in what they do and relate to their products on a personal level.

* An end to specialization. Efficiency is no longer the criterion for doing things. Human values become important in how we work. Freed of the necessity of striving for maximum earning power, people can indulge their fantasies. Jacks of all trades replace the narrow interests of the specialists.

This trend has already become apparent. Doctors coming out of medical school are abandoning the lucrative rewards of specialized medicine (treating the hypochondria of the rich) to treat the people who really need medical help regardless of their income. Lawyers, too, are moving away from serving the corporate interests for the less financially rewarding work of legal aid, environmental law, and serving the radical political movement. On a more informal level, people are spending less and less on expert and professional help. They are learning to fix their own cars, build their own houses, and do for themselves whatever they once depended upon experts to do for them.

* A lowered standard of living. A stagnant GNP means a deflation of the standard of living because population is growing, so people have to share smaller slices of the pie. This, too, is already happening on communes and in more informally based households. People are learning to live with less, depending on their own human resources for more.

* Rural Reconstruction. For the first time in our modern history, farm population has dropped below ten million. This is due, in part, to agri-business which does not take into consideration the social value of life on the farm. Economic factors have driven small farmers off the land to compete for jobs in the ever-crowded cities.

A no-Growth economy would reverse this trend. People would begin moving back to the land to develop subsistence-level homesteads in marginal agricultural areas that cannot sustain competitive agriculture on an economically profitable basis. This would revitalize rural areas (the brightest young people would stay on the farm rather than run off to the cities because rural life would become as exciting as the cities used to be) and create a class of small, independent yeoman farmers who would live pretty much independ-

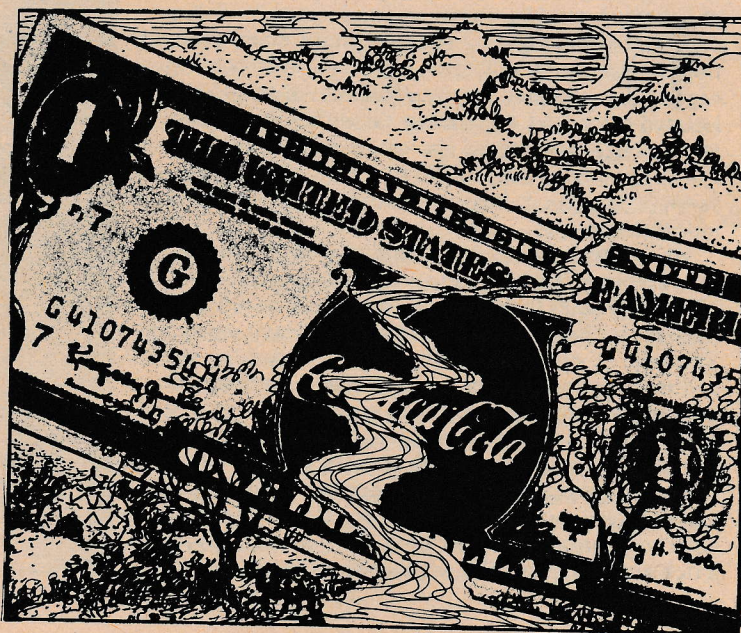
ent of the system. It would also ease population pressure, as groups of people would be living on farms that once housed just a family or two. Finally, a repopulation of rural America would contribute to a better environment. Fields would get moved, forests would be taken care of, the land would be improved. People would be present to assume responsibility for the care of the land.

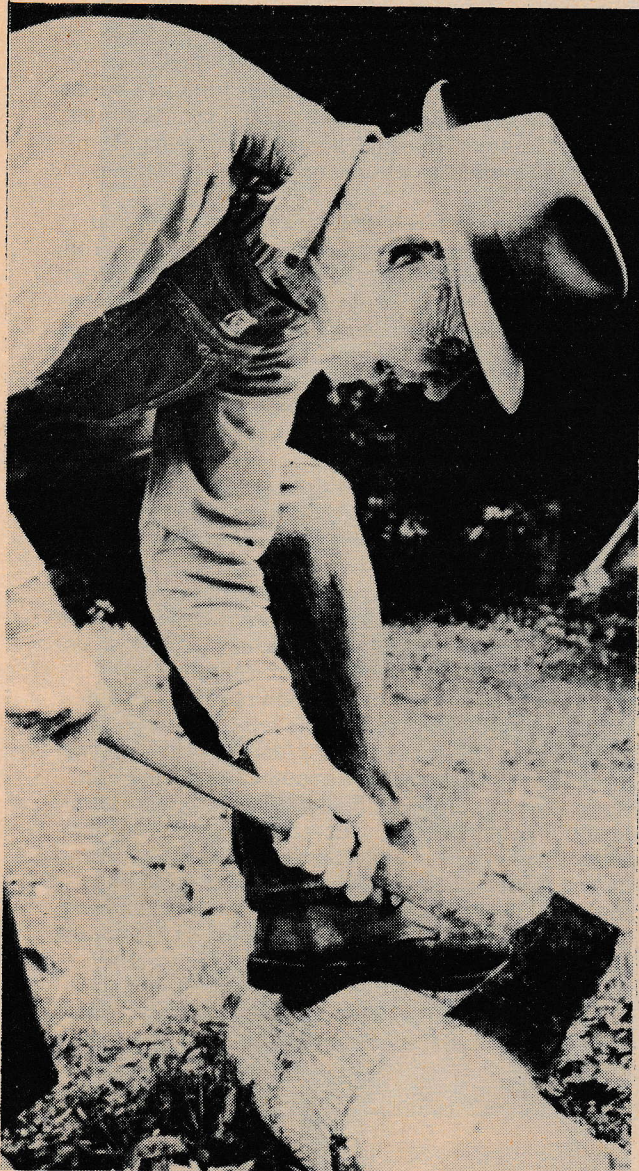
* Political democracy. It goes without saying that a No-Growth economy would destroy the hold that the large corporations have on society. Many of them would be forced out of business (no one would buy their products), others would be cut back to manageable size. Big money would no longer control our politics.

* Peace-oriented politics. In a No-Growth economy we would use only our own natural resources or those controlled by other countries on a fair trade basis. Without the need to keep our economy going at a high level, we would no longer have to exploit the economic wealth of the world. This would free us from the burden of being a powerful military nation. Such psychological needs as maintaining our self-image as "the most powerful nation on earth" would become unnecessary. We would be too busy tending our own gardens, rebuilding our cities, and creating community in our lives to worry about such absurd things as trying to control the world.

The trend towards a No-Growth economy has, as I have said, started on its own momentum. Now it is time to make it into a political issue. (Even radicals refuse to accept that a revolution will mean a cut-back in everybody's level of consumption.) It is deceptive to talk about a peaceful world or about ecology without acknowledging that progress in either requires an end to our worship of the GNP. Unless we reduce our consumption and stabilize the economy, peace and environmental safety are out of our reach. But standard of living is merely a state of mind. Once we learn that life can be better living on less, and that our economic system is socially destructive to our own lives and the lives of others, we can begin looking at a less affluent economic state as something desirable and worth working for actively and hopefully.

—Marty Jezer





Some Notes on Work

ing out my relationship with myself. Sometimes I sit for a week by myself, thinking, feeling, sometimes writing like this. Some people see this sitting as laziness, but I know that when I'm sitting I can be being lazy or I can be working very hard. It's hard for other people to see the difference, but to me the feelings are as different as being asleep and being awake, as forest and desert.

If I sit and perform the same job twice a minute, 120 times an hour, 5,000 times a week, am I working? I can be almost asleep, repeat myself endlessly, and be paid well. Or perhaps my mind will wander awake, and then it will work while my hands earn money.

Working and growing stand very close together. Perhaps they are completely synonymous. At least I can't think now of how to do one without the other. Learning also is the same. So is change.

I have held different jobs for as long as I had the feeling that I was working, and left them when the work feeling was gone and there was only an empty shell. With the work feeling gone I have felt my alive self retreat and shrivel, coming out only "after work." Sometimes I have held on to dead jobs from habit and inertia, but I've always come to where I feel a deathly emptiness coming over me, forcing me to choose between changing and withering away.

There is a notion called career. It says that a person should do the same basic thing for a very long time. It feels very alien to me, not fitting my rhythm of growth and change. I have had several jobs that have been both difficult and involving, but even the most interesting and difficult jobs, like editing my own magazine, lost their sense of real growing work after a while. I once stayed at one job for two and a half

i know when I'm working from the feeling I get, the work feeling. A coming alive, involvement, energy flow. Getting in tune with myself, feeling all the different parts of me coming together. Moving ahead together.

For a lawnmower, the opposite of working is being broken. And for a part of me that's also true. My work is a sign of where I am. When I'm broken I don't work.

If I confuse working with making money I'm letting other people decide when I'm working and when I'm not. When other people like my work, they buy it. Their money expresses their sense of me. But my own sense of work has no particular relationship to money or outside approval.

Often my best work is with and for myself. Like working out relationships with other people, or work-

years, but that was only because I could change what I was doing as I went along.

Sometimes I wonder if I'm just running away, drifting, always staying close to the surface. But I know that as long as I continue to change I will move from job to job in order to stay in tune with my changing sense of work. Work each job to the limit, and when the limit becomes restrictive, move to where there are new limits. Ultimately there are no limits save those we set for ourselves.

My work grows out of my sense of myself, not the other way around. Sometimes I want to say "I am a writer" or "I am a teacher," but I feel best when I say "I write" or "I teach."

When I look for work I look for a way to express my existence. If there is no fixed job that lets me do that then I have to create my own. That's how we decided to start our own school. Creating a job is not easy, but I want to be me, not someone else's idea of what I should or might be.

How many regular jobs are there that let me add to my own energy without stealing it from the people around me? I don't see many. But in the work I create, my energy adds to the energy of others, and theirs energizes me.

When I come to the most trying and difficult work, it helps me to be working with people who add to my energy and strength. I feel their support and acceptance, and both help me face the difficulties without being consumed by the fear of failing.

If my work atmosphere adds to my fear of failure, I will only attempt safe work. Whatever energy I invest in being afraid of failure is energy diverted from working. I work best when all my energy flows into my work and not into negating side channels.

People who see our school often treat us as magical giants, to have been able to do such a thing. They look at themselves as independent, isolated individuals and can't imagine doing what we've done. In fact, a good deal of strength and courage comes from the sense of community we share. Before we started the school, we spent five months living together as four people, building a sense of trust and support, growing together into a real family. Other people may be strengthened by other supportive contexts; this is ours.

We tend to think too little about the environment in which we work. We pretend that our energy is unrelated to the inputs that surround us. When I think of work now, I look at the work environment and context as much as I do at the substance. I measure my work as much by the process as by the result.

Competition can be a form of work, but it doesn't suit the parts of me that I like best.

Work that seems cooperative on the surface is often quite competitive underneath. I have felt competitive in my work even when there was no scale of output or system of promotions. When I find myself defensive against the people I work with, creating walls and distances, isolating myself from meaningful work con-

tact with others, then I know that I judge my work competitively.

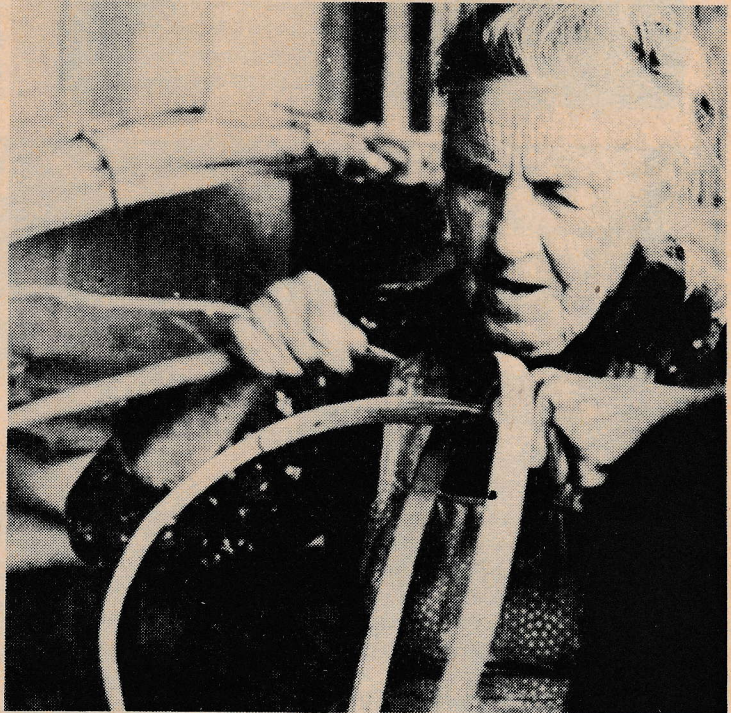
I ask myself this question: When people around me are leaping ahead in their work much better than I am, do I feel glad or resentful? If I'm resentful then I know I'm being competitive.

Often I compete not with others, but with some expectation I have of myself. A neutral work environment does nothing to help me overcome this. I am so used to setting myself off against others that I can only cure myself of this disease by careful and conscious effort.

Working against my inner habits of competition is, for me, very good, strong, rewarding work.

When I had been working for the National Student Association for about a year, I began to feel a growing restlessness. I searched for the source in the content of my work, but nothing there matched the intensity of my feelings. Finally I realized that my uneasiness stemmed from the context: an office full of people behind closed doors, in isolated cubicles, working on unrelated programs, not helping or caring about each other, sharing no sense of common purpose or common work. Several other people felt the same way, and we came together around a racism project, trying to mold the beginnings of a cooperative work group. We felt the power of our new energy, and tried to extend our community of cooperative work, but in the wider staff group nothing changed. Finally we gave up and moved to San Francisco. I believe that the structure of the work there at NSA and the prevailing work concepts ruled out any possibility for significant change.

My experience at NSA taught me that there is no easy way to decide to be cooperative. Working togeth-



Photos: THE FOXFIRE BOOK. See review on p.32.



er is so contrary to American culture, so contrary to much of what we have adopted as our own natures, that we can only slowly and gradually begin to understand what real cooperation means. I see that I have begun to overcome my individualistic, competitive, defensive, isolating reflexes. But I also recognize that the reflexes are very deep and that changing them is very difficult. If I remember this, I won't be disappointed at how slowly I change.

Hierarchy says that I should give others the power to judge my work. I see now that giving away this power weakens me, that I feel best when I judge for myself what I do. I am working to take back that judgmental power I have given away and to reject that power over others when they push it at me.

At the school there is no sense of one staff person over another, of a person who is in charge. This has not resulted in chaos, but rather in a shared sense of everybody's worth and everybody's help in making difficult decisions.

In my relationship with students this has been harder and slower, but I feel myself moving ahead. I find

myself acting less and less as an authority, and the students expect less and less for me to judge, criticize, validate, and direct them.

I see rejecting work hierarchies as just one facet of rejecting all forms of master-slave, top-down, dominant-submissive relationships. I find this pattern stifling whenever I experience it. In its place, mutual relationships give me new strength and freedom, and uncover possibilities that I had never even considered before. This goes for employer/employee, teacher/student, male/female, older/younger, parent/child.

Developing new work patterns helps me become more aware of the other patterns in my life. If I don't change them too, I feel myself splitting in half. This is also true when other changing patterns in my life make me aware of contradictions which I resolve by changing my work forms.

I have turned almost full circle from the notion that earning money is a sign of doing good work. Now when I see that someone earns lots of money, I assume that his work can't be worth very much. I do know a few people who are paid well for doing good

work, but my over-all experience has been that the better I feel about what I'm doing, the less I get paid for it.

If I have to choose between work and money, I will choose work and learn how not to need so much money. This although I'm married and expect a baby in the next two weeks. I find that the more "family responsibility" I gain, the less I want to sacrifice myself to a need for money. I see that as I have had less and less money I have been happier with my work and with myself. I think of my relationship with my parents and resolve even more strongly to give my kids an open, loving father, even if that should mean fewer clothes and toys.

Neither I nor Susan believes that it is the man's responsibility to work and earn money. We take equal responsibility for providing for our collective needs.

It's not that I have anything against money. I enjoy discovering what I can do without, but I don't enjoy being poor. It's just that when I think of what I would have to give up in order to have more money, I decide that it's not worth it.

At the school, we pay salaries not according to how much each person produces, or how useful others find him, but according to what he needs. Money is a real need, and the staff community resolves to take care of the needs of its members. I express my feelings about other people's work, and they give me their perspective on what I do, but this is not done through the medium of money.

Right now, Susan and I together bring in about \$290 a month. Recently we have managed to save about \$30 a month. We've found that we can get along quite well without a car, and that stroganoff is as good made with hamburger as it is with round steak.

It hurts me to hear people say "I work for this company" or "I work for that person." I know that when I'm working best and not just attending a job, I'm working only for myself.

In the end, I work for the enjoyment of working. Not that work is happy fun every minute, but when I lose that basic enjoyment of the work I'm doing, I'm best off if I stop and do something else.

The best way for me to release work energy is to find *my* work and begin doing it. This means first not doing other people's work, and so there's a middle period of no work that is very disconcerting. My best tool for surviving this vacuum has been trusting the validity of my existence.

Sometimes I find that I begin working for someone else's benefit and neglect my own enjoyment. Then my work moves under the power of some external "should." I feel my resentment growing, but unless I acknowledge my own needs, I can't find the source of the negative energy. My resentment becomes a wall between me and my work.

My needs and my work are not in conflict with each other if I'm doing good work. If I take care of myself I will be able to do my best work.

I'm not lazy. I like doing good hard work. My most basic instincts lead me to good work. Whatever resistance I feel to these ideas comes from having done other people's work for too long.

When I'm at school, everything I do is part of my work. I feel glad to be whole, not pulled apart by the conflict between work and the rest of my life. But this fusion can also become too strong. When the four of us were living and working together, it felt like the school had taken over our lives altogether. The school is important, but not the only important work I do. When one part takes over the whole, everything falls out of balance.

It is possible to see all work as art, and as an expression of who I am. The Balinese have a saying: "We do not have any art; we do everything as well as possible." I like that saying. I am what I do.

Often when my friends or parents ask me what work I've been doing, I become uneasy. I want to answer: "working out some good things with Susan," or "feeling closer to Walt," or "becoming more aware of my sexual feelings." But I still have part of me that says this is not real work.

The better the sense I have of my own work values, the more completely I can shed the values of others that don't suit me and my life.

If I have high energy all day, sleep short nights, and wake rested, I know I'm working. If my energy is low and I sleep long, I know I'm resting. Both work and rest are necessary. I know friends who work without resting, and they seem as unfulfilled as those who rest without working.

I have more trouble getting myself to rest than I do getting myself to work. America teaches that we are basically lazy, and I still have some parts of that in me. It makes me call rest escape, and keeps me from trusting that when I relax I work best.

A culture that draws a strict dichotomy between work and play will have tedious jobs and trivial, unrewarding leisure.

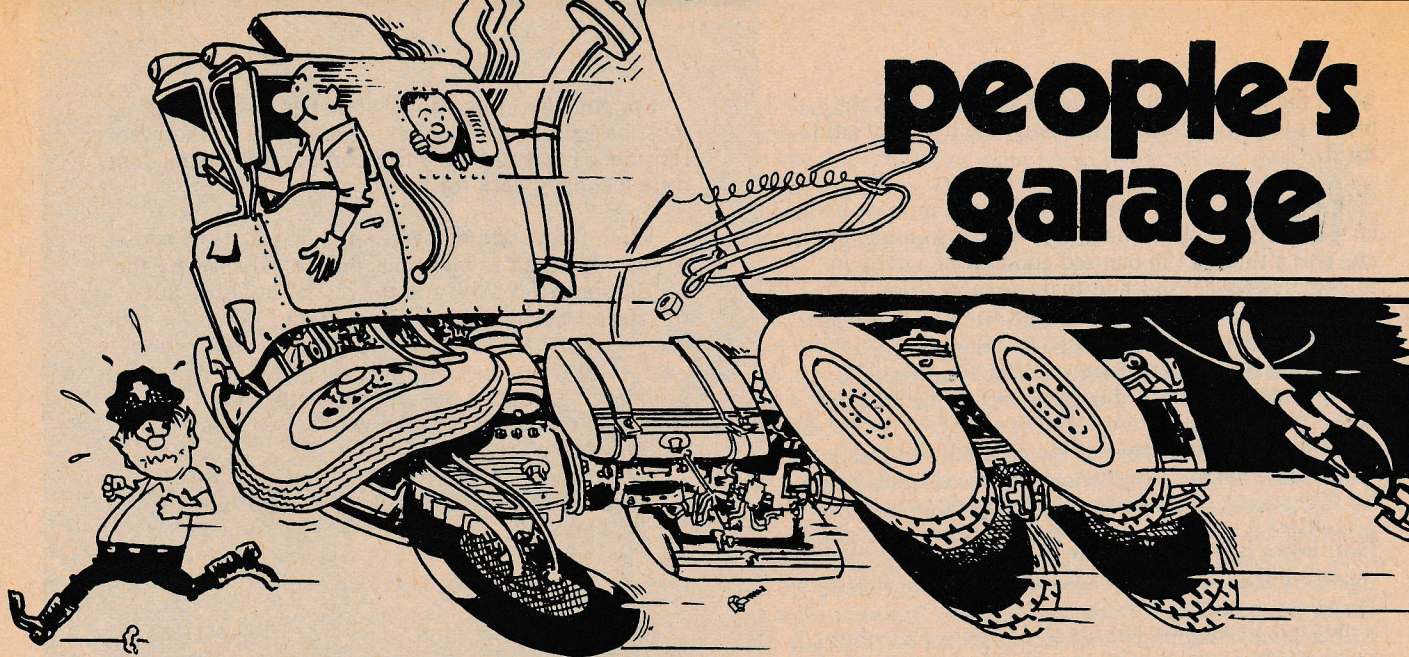
Sometimes when I ask myself what work I've been doing, I find myself looking for products. But work is a process and only the final stage is rewarded with a product. The work I do to overcome my fear of writing, the work of thinking in bed, the work of abortive attempts, all these are as real as the one time when I produce some writing that I like.

When I'm concerned with producing I'm trying to prove to others that I am working. I know that the entire process gives me the feeling of good work, but the product is all I can show someone else.

When I go for days teaching at the school *and* doing things I enjoy *and* getting paid for it *and* being with people I like *and* getting admiration for myself and the school, I know that this is why I've been working so hard to organize my life and my work around my real needs. Then I get a big surge of energy, and strength to begin moving forward again.

—David Steinberg

people's garage



In our travels on the Berkeley Life Alternatives Bus, we have encountered innumerable examples of "alternative" institutions that are different in style but not in fundamental relationships—free clinics with traditional doctor/patient roles, free schools with traditional teacher/student roles, health and natural food stores with traditional buyer/seller roles. There are, of course, rare exceptions which are true alternatives.

In Fayetteville, Arkansas, there are two mechanics, named Mike and Jim, who run the People's Garage. Both are experienced mechanics. Jim has completed a full course of schooling as an auto mechanic. Mike has worked as a mechanic for 12 years—working on various kinds of engines in the Navy, on automobile and diesel engines in various garages, and also as a machinist for five years. Both have been deeply involved in the Movement in Fayetteville, helping with political activities, establishing a local switchboard, an underground newspaper, and a natural foods restaurant.

People's Garage began originally in their home and back yard. When authorities recently kicked them out over zoning hassles, they acquired a barn-like shelter that now serves as a garage. Both work incredibly long hours, more often than not all night in sub-freezing winter weather, keeping themselves going with stimulants and occasional nips of Jim Beam. I asked Mike why they work so hard, and he answered by telling me how this car was needed so the owner's wife and child would not have to walk in the cold, how that truck was needed to keep a farm collective going and to transport an old invalid man, and how that VW van must be fixed so a friend could get to Colorado.

Their involvement is not with fixing engines; it is with the people. We were not customers; we became friends. In fact, if someone brings in a car in the impersonal manner characteristic of establishment garages, their work will most likely be put off to last.

Charges for parts are at wholesale price plus 5% (to cover the incredible hassle running to parts stores). Whereas establishment garages charge about \$9.50 an hour for labor, their standard rate is only \$3.50 an hour. Only rarely do they charge for labor, however. As a friend tells it, "They don't charge for labor if they get to know you; I guess they regard friendship as adequate payment." The preferred form of payment is the trading of skills. As Mike put it late one night when the cold wind leaked particularly badly into the

poorly ventilated building, "I sure could dig overhauling an engine for a carpenter right now." Financially, the garage is losing money. Presently, they keep going because their women work in factories, but Mike is optimistic that the Movement will eventually support itself and, in the process, the garage.

Traditional mechanic-customer roles are broken down not only by friendship and the sharing of skills, but more importantly by the de-mystification of mechanical knowledge itself. People's Garage prefers that people work on their own cars, with their supervision and using their tools if necessary, rather than being dependent on expensive specialists. People are encouraged to work there on an apprentice-type basis. Jim says that their women are becoming quite accomplished mechanics, and women's classes will soon be initiated. Those of us on the bus gained invaluable learning by rebuilding the carburetor, fixing the governor, setting the valves, and packing the wheel bearings ourselves under watchful supervision. By helping to de-mystify such knowledge, they brought us another step closer to self-sufficiency.

Ecologically, the garage also provides a good alternative model. When possible, all parts are saved for later use. If this is not practical, they are recycled as scrap metal. Utilizing their knowledge of local junkyards and Mike's experience as a machinist, they can teach people how to cheaply convert their vehicles to the use of butane or propane, which combusts with 97% efficiency as compared to 27% efficiency for gasoline. They even provided us with literature on how to convert our bus to the use of methane, which can best be produced from chicken and hog dung. Imagine pulling up to a farm and asking to fill up the gas tank with chicken shit!

To my mind, People's Garage in Fayetteville is not an example merely of an alternative garage. Other institutions would have other approaches and problems, but the fundamental principles should apply to all alternative institutions. If our free clinics, free schools, and cooperatives would emphasize friendships over goal-oriented roles like "doctor," or "teacher," if they would learn to trade skills rather than currency, and if they would work to de-mystify their specialized knowledge, then we would all be more competent as individuals and more self-sufficient as communities.

—Bill Gray



inally, John is out of prison. Pending appeal of his 9½ to 10 year sentence for possession of two marijuana cigarettes, John is free after almost 29 months of confinement, the last 14 months of which he has spent in isolation. Now he is back among his family, the Rainbow People's Party. As Chairman, John is anxious to get back to the street and to the serious work of organizing.

The culminating event of the campaign to free John was a Rally held in Ann Arbor and attended by over 15,000 people on December 10. Entertainment was provided by—among others—John Lennon and Yoko Ono, Phil Ochs, Archie Shepp, Allen Ginsberg, Commander Cody and the UP. Speakers included Rennie Davis, Dave Dellinger, Bobby Seale, Jerry Rubin, Father James Groppi. In addition to John's mother and wife, Marge Tabankin (President of the National Student Association), Sheila Murphy (Labor Defense Coalition in Detroit) and Jonnie Lee Tillman (National Welfare Rights Organization) also spoke. Lasting for more than eight hours, it will be long remembered as a unique occasion in the history of Michigan.

Perhaps the song which John Lennon and Yoko wrote and sang for John at the Rally captures the spirit of those who fought so long and hard for his freedom.

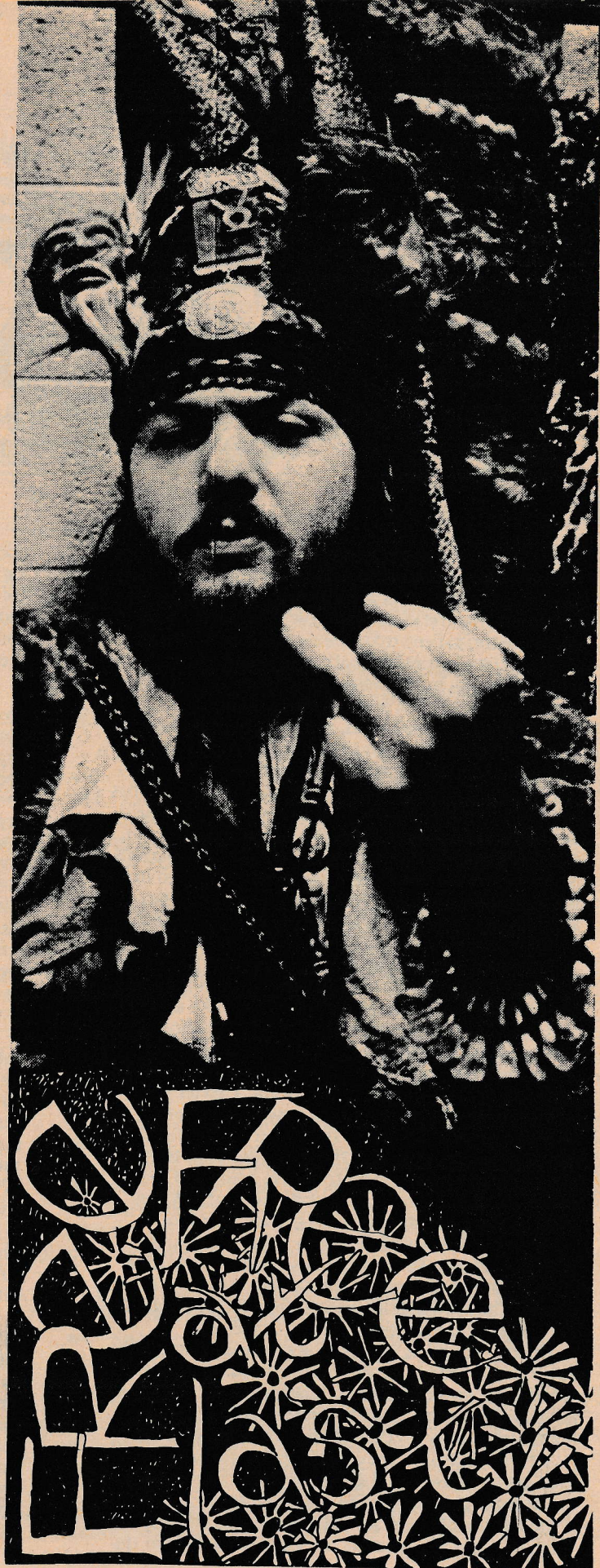
*It ain't fair John Sinclair
In the stir for breathing air
Won't you care for John Sinclair?
In the stir for breathing air
Let him be, set him free
Let him be like you and me.*

(Chorus)
*They gave him ten for two!
What else can Judge Colombo do?
We gotta gotta gotta gotta
gotta gotta gotta gotta
gotta gotta gotta gotta
gotta set him free!*

*If he'd been a soldier man
Shooting gooks in Vietnam
If he was the C.I.A.
Selling dope and making hay
He'd be free, they'd let him be
Breathing air like you and me.*

(repeat Chorus)
*Was he jailed for what he does?
Or representing everyone?
Free John NOW! If we can
From the clutches of the man
Let him free, lift the lid,
Bring him to his wife and kids.*

(Chorus)
*They gave him ten for two!
and they got PUN PLAMONDON too!
We gotta gotta gotta gotta
gotta gotta gotta gotta
gotta gotta gotta gotta
gotta set him free!
F.R.E.E. Freeeeeeeeeeee!!!*



On New Year's eve, I interviewed John (and his wife Leni and daughter Sunny) at the headquarters of the Rainbow People's Party in Ann Arbor. Mostly, the discussion is John's personal rap about where he's been, where he hopes to go and what it means.

JE: How does it feel to be out of prison?

JOHN: Well, it feels wonderful. It's such a shock though, that it's gonna take me a few weeks even to get used to it, right?

JE: Leni, how does it feel to have John out?

LENI: It's a whole different world for us. Before he got out—for two and a half years—all the people who live here at the Rainbow People's Party house spent most of their time on the campaign to free John, and it's taken a lot of organizing over a long time to bring this about. And so having John back is, like the possibilities of what we can do are just so much greater and it is just so much fun trying to work things out together, instead of having to wait for an answer for two weeks with no guarantee that the letter will ever get there. You know, whenever an idea just pops into our heads we can just talk to John about it. And it's just beautiful.

JE: Has it helped to bring the people in the Party together, to be part of this campaign?

LENI: That's part of it, yes. There's a lot of people who live in this house who had never met John before, and they got as involved in the campaign as the people who have known him, as I, for seven years. And now people know who he is.

LENI to SUNNY (their four year old daughter): What is it like for you to have John out?

SUNNY: Good.

LENI: Why?

SUNNY: Because I missed him for a long time.

JE: What have you been doing with him?

SUNNY: Nothing. Just messing around and playing.

JE: Would you like to say anything about the gigantic freedom rally held in the (University of Michigan's) Chrysler Arena just before you were released?

JOHN: Well, yes I would. I just feel that the Rally was like the decisive thing that brought about the release. It was a culmination of the campaign that had gone on for two and a half years, overall actually five years. It goes back five years when this originally came down. You know, we've been fighting it ever since then. And the Rally and the thing that happened the day before, which was the change in the Michigan marijuana statutes, we feel that the change in the laws was brought about by the struggle of people around the issue—especially this case. You know, like this case is a fulcrum that we feel helped change the laws and the Rally was the thing that on top of that just moved the Michigan Supreme Court and the political structure in the State of Michigan. They could see that there was this much mass support for the issue, you know, and for me personally as an embodiment of the issue. In other words the whole Free John campaign was never like, couched in terms of just a personal thing, that we have to get this person out, but rather we structured the whole thing in terms of dealing with the marijuana laws and the oppressive ways in which these laws are used to single out people. And we characterized the whole thing as what it was; in fact, an attack on a whole way of life and the whole way a people live and get high and shit like that.

JE: Do you think this will bring about a change in the laws in a number of other states?

JOHN: Well not this particular thing, but the struggle

the people are carrying on in other states and just in general the way that the marijuana laws have become an issue, just because there are so many people who smoke weed and who are being victimized by this stuff. What is it, Leni, twenty-nine or thirty states that are changing the laws?

LENI: There are twenty-nine now.

JOHN: The Federal Government is trying to make it a misdemeanor. There will still be a push on for legalization, both on a national and local level. So they'll get this as a culmination of one stage of that, you know, and a thrust into the next stage which would involve legalization of marijuana for everybody.

JE: Do you think that some of the people that have been involved in the campaign for legalization of marijuana are going to be involved in other political activity as a result of their experience?

JOHN: Oh, definitely! I think for one thing that the whole marijuana issue has brought a lot of people into a consciousness of the character of our culture and the character of the things we do that threaten Capitalist civilization. In other words, this has made them see that people being arrested and imprisoned and hassled all the time for smoking weed are being attacked as cultural criminals. It's a political thing rather than anything having to do with crime. And people really, I think, really dig that—are really hip to it. It makes them more aware of other aspects of government. You see, it leads into the vote, for example. When you say to people, "Well the way they get these laws, the way they lock us up, is that they make these laws as they send these people to Lansing (the State



John Sinclair and Dr. John backstage at Cobo Hall

Photo: David Fenton

capitol), and so these people in Lansing have to do as we say." Look what we did when we all went out to Chrysler Arena and did this thing. See, they had to respond to that. We made them respond. We made them change the laws. Now if we keep putting pressure on them; the more pressure, you see, we can bring about more change.

JE: Are you going to be doing political work in that direction over the next few months?

JOHN: Hopefully, yes. Hopefully we'll be involved in the community here. This is our main focus of attention, organizing a Rainbow Community in Ann Arbor and organizing in the Detroit area and throughout the state by the end of the year. Hopefully by summer we'll be able to start moving into some of those areas. So the main focus of our work is to organize people along the lines of the Tribal Council and The People's Service Organization, creating alternative institutions: the Food Co-op, the People's Ballroom.

JE: Can you say a little bit more about how the Food Co-op works, the kinds of things that are going on there?

LENI! The way the Food Co-op works is relatively simple. It's in the beginning stages right now. It started just about a year ago in January, 1970. There were seven different communes and all of our friends around town, they got together and put four dollars each together and took a van and went to the Eastern Market in Detroit and bought food and vegetables in quantity. And just by word of mouth the next week, the next Saturday, there were about twenty families or tribes or communes. The week after that is was almost doubled. It just grew organically. And then after a while we thought of systematizing, we thought of having meetings every week to involve more people of the community in the work, actually going down there to get the food and distribute it. Later it got so big we had to rent a van, big huge trucks to go down there. Instead of one, there are two locations where the food gets separated and bagged and picked up. And the people always came over to the Rainbow People's Party House every week to pay their money, to pay their four dollars in advance. All kinds of people, not just freaks, you know, straight families, students, and even the Mayor of Ann Arbor came and got his food from the Food Co-op. For that much money, four dollars, you get two bags of stuff, and the equivalent at the A&P is about fourteen dollars, and it would be as good! So now, it's up to about four hundred orders each week and the Food Co-op is really ready to expand as soon as we get the money and some resources accumulated so we can open up a grocery store. In fact, the students at the University, the Student Government Council is now talking about setting up their own grocery store because the prices in Ann Arbor are just so ridiculous. And it wouldn't be just open to the students, you know, it would be open to the whole community. Yes, there will be a big celebration on the 19th of January to celebrate the first anniversary of the Food Co-op.

JE: There's been a lot written about the Rock Culture and about the broad movement to transform this country. Do you think there's a chance they can be brought together?

JOHN: Well, I think definitely that is what the Rock and Roll Culture is about, transforming this country. I think that what we have is a mass movement of people who are seeking to and who are actually transforming themselves and transforming the nature of

the social order along with it. There is a mass movement of people that don't have any direction, and if there is a so-called Radical Movement, it doesn't seem to have many ties with the people. You know, they seem to be caught in their own thing pretty much. **JE:** A lot of young people that we talk to who are really into Rock, when you ask them about politics they just turn off.



John Sinclair registering to vote at the Union Ballroom
Registration Boogie —Photo: David Fenton

JOHN: Right! Right! It isn't that they don't want things to change. It isn't that they aren't prepared to do things to change the situation, but it's a matter of the way they've been approached by so-called political people or by radicals. It has been done from a standpoint where the radicals don't know where the people are at and so they approach them in such a way as to piss them off, and make them very, very leery of having anything to do with that kind of stuff. But that doesn't mean that. . . I mean that the Movement interprets this to say, well, the Movement is dead and the People are apathetic and don't want to do anything.

Well, I think what we were saying is that there is just a mass movement of people, that there is more and more what we call Rainbow People. . .

JE: Do they see themselves as Rainbow People? Isn't that maybe, part of what you're trying to do, to help them see themselves that way?

JOHN: We're trying to give them a consciousness of what they actually are. In other words, our thing for a number of years, you know, that we've been doing has been to try to clarify for people what they, in fact, are. To educate the people to their possibilities in terms of what they are, not in terms of transforming them into something different, just consciously being what they are. So in other words, our thing has been all along that there is a mass movement of people that

is getting bigger and bigger all the time who are a revolutionary force, whether they see themselves as this or not.

JE: Can they transform themselves?

JOHN: They are in the process of transforming themselves and they're transforming themselves not only individually, but also collectively. And in the process of that, they're having a transformation effect on the whole social order, which is bringing more and more people; like straight people are getting farther out all the time. You see this doesn't mean that the revolution is accomplished or that this is the revolution, or anything like that. What it means is that this is a potential revolutionary force. This is a force of people who want change, who want things to be different, and who who want a revolutionary movement which is vital and and which is supported by the people, and which has won the support of the people. When such a phenomenon occurs we believe that the people will support it en masse and the people will create a revolutionary situation.

JE: How do you see the Rainbow movement with the Black movement, the Chicano movement, the movement of the Native Americans, for example?

JOHN: Well that's a part of it. There are two ways to consider the term, Rainbow People. Right now it is freaks that are Rainbow People. As the development of humanity progresses and it is progressing very rapidly now, more and more people are becoming Rainbow People. We think in the end that all people will be Rainbow People. All people will have the same kind



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of consciousness, the same kind of openness and love for each other.

People on the street who are not involved in communes, who are just people on the street, who are going to thrust out all this weirdness, have a high level of communal consciousness. It's a whole new way of looking at the world and relating to things. It's a communalist way of relating to things. It's unconscious and a lot of people are not able to practice it, you know, like people rip off other people for stuff. That's antithetical you would think. But that's a condition of their oppression. What they would like to be is in love. That's what we'd all like to be.

JE: So you are talking more about the way people are trying to relate to each other than what kind of labels they give to the movements that they are a part of. Would you say that the kind of movements that I mentioned before and that you were talking about, many of them are really pointing in the same direction? Many of them are working for the same kind of love?

JOHN: Right! Right! Certainly! They're going through a lot of weird changes, you know, to get there. That's where radicals start, with that thing of loving people and just wanting things to be different. But they get caught up in their thing and get to a point where they aren't talking the same language as the people on the street. So the people on the street don't recognize that they're part of the same thing. That's what our work has been about for the last three or four years. We've been trying to get people on the street to relate to the fact that the revolutionary movement for change, Black Liberation struggle, the Chicano struggle, and all the other struggles, are all apart of the same thing. There isn't any contradiction between our culture and the political struggle. In fact, if we want to survive as a people, then we're going to have to relate to struggle. Because our culture is antithetical to the Imperialist Culture, or what we call the Death Culture, and is an absolute threat to it, they aren't going to let us survive in any kind of form in which we need to survive. So we're going to have to resist.

JE: So you're expecting more repression than we've seen before, and certainly we've seen a good deal in the recent past. Do you expect to see more people like yourself thrown in jail on whatever kind of charges can be trumped up?

JOHN: You're going to see attempts to do that on the one hand, and you're going to see, as the level of the people's consciousness raises and as everyone who is involved with this begins to see that we're all apart of the same thing and when they snatch people off and throw them in the penitentiary, more people realize it could just as well be them. This was our whole point throughout the campaign. If they could take me and charge me with possession two joints and give me nine-and-a-half to ten, they could do it to anybody. That was the point behind that—for people to understand that it isn't about individualism, it isn't about doing your own thing. You can't do your own thing because the police will come and knock your door down and drag you out of there.

We were only doing our own thing five years ago. We didn't want to bother anybody. We were completely dropped out. We were trying to build an alternative scene, but we certainly didn't want to bother anybody. And the police came down and sent agents in and came to communal dinners, came to help produce pamphlets, call for the legalization of marijuana, you dig? And produce books of poetry, and just play on

the openness and the most human qualities of people really trying to develop their humanity. And these snakes came in there—and that's where we get our political education. Our politics came from working with Rock and Roll bands and going around getting beat up by police. Every time we were going to play, the police would cause some kind of scene to try to keep it from going on because they didn't want people having a good time like that. And that's where our politics came from.

JE: Does that suggest that some of the work is going to have to be done by cadres as well as some of it being done out in the open with as many people as possible a part of it?

JOHN: Yeah. You have to develop cadres that are skilled and can deal with these things. We developed a cadre during the time that I was locked up. They were forced to develop, to deal with these things. We still have three brothers in the penitentiary. And this is just a small organization.

JE: It sounds like for protection against infiltration you almost have to have a cadre set-up.

JOHN: Oh, certainly. I mean we live this way anyway, you see. That's the thing about a communal organizational unit, you know, we live together. Leni and I have lived together for seven years. Grimshaw has been with us for five years. Frank Bach has been around since '66, you know. My brothers, people like Fenton, who were the latest to join us, have been here a year already. You see, so there's that kind of thing. To start with we're just freaks. We're freaks, but we're conscious. That's the only difference that we feel—the only difference between us and the people on the street who are freaks, is that we're conscious of what we're doing. And that they aren't yet conscious. But we aren't weird in terms of what people are on the street. We aren't different or we're not radicals, or strange, we're just freaks, you know.

JE: Maybe we can talk about the consciousness in the context of a local situation. Now a new third party, the Human Rights Party, has been set up in the State of Michigan. There is a Radical Independent Party here in Ann Arbor which has coalesced with the Human Rights Party, and I just wondered how you saw the Rainbow effort fitting together with an active third party movement here locally?

JOHN: (Zoltan Ferenczy, incidentally, was on the committee to free John Sinclair. He organized the Human Rights Party.) Well, we don't have a position. We're still trying to work out our position on it. We will definitely be involved in registering voters and we'll definitely be participating in elections, as we have in the past. See, last spring when the Radical Independent Party made its first effort, they weren't organized well enough to get themselves on the ballot. They had just organized themselves. The elections were in April and they organized themselves in January. So we worked with them, but when it came down to the election, they ran write-in candidates. But we had a very serious Mayoral election here, as you know and there was a dinosaur running against a liberal Democrat. The dinosaur would, if he had been elected, with one swat of his tail, have run us out of town.

And again, this was a time when I was at the penitentiary and we had three other people in the penitentiary and they're scuffling out here trying to pay the rent, and like that. So this was a very serious issue to us and the Radical Independent Party said, "Well, let's run a write-in candidate." They ran a typical radical

line. There was no difference between the candidates. They all stand for big business and property and this and that. And we said that you could look at it in the abstract like that, both the Republicans and the Democrats are part of one party called the Property Party. And we don't propose to say that by supporting a Democratic candidate, we're going to get everything that we want and that everything is going to be hunky dory, and the war is going to end and everything else. But that we live here and we try to organize in this community and our people are here and we're struggling. We need room to breathe. The Democrats have been responsive to pressure we've brought to bear on them and we organized elements of our community, the Rainbow Community. We went to the City Council and asked for free concerts in the parks, asked them to lighten up on people smoking weed and to stop busting doors down. They responded to that and in the light of all that, we supported Robert Harris for Mayor. We issued a statement through the Tribal Council that we supported the Mayor. The Radical Independent Party was mad about this. But the Mayor and the Democratic Party feel that this was a decisive factor in their victory. They let us have free concerts and responded by lowering the penalty for marijuana possession to ninety days in Ann Arbor. Now we're going to force them to enforce the local law. Also, Mayor Harris sent an incredible statement of support to the Rally. They have done stuff like that, so there are things you can do. That's why we don't know about the Human Rights Party. It depends on their strength.

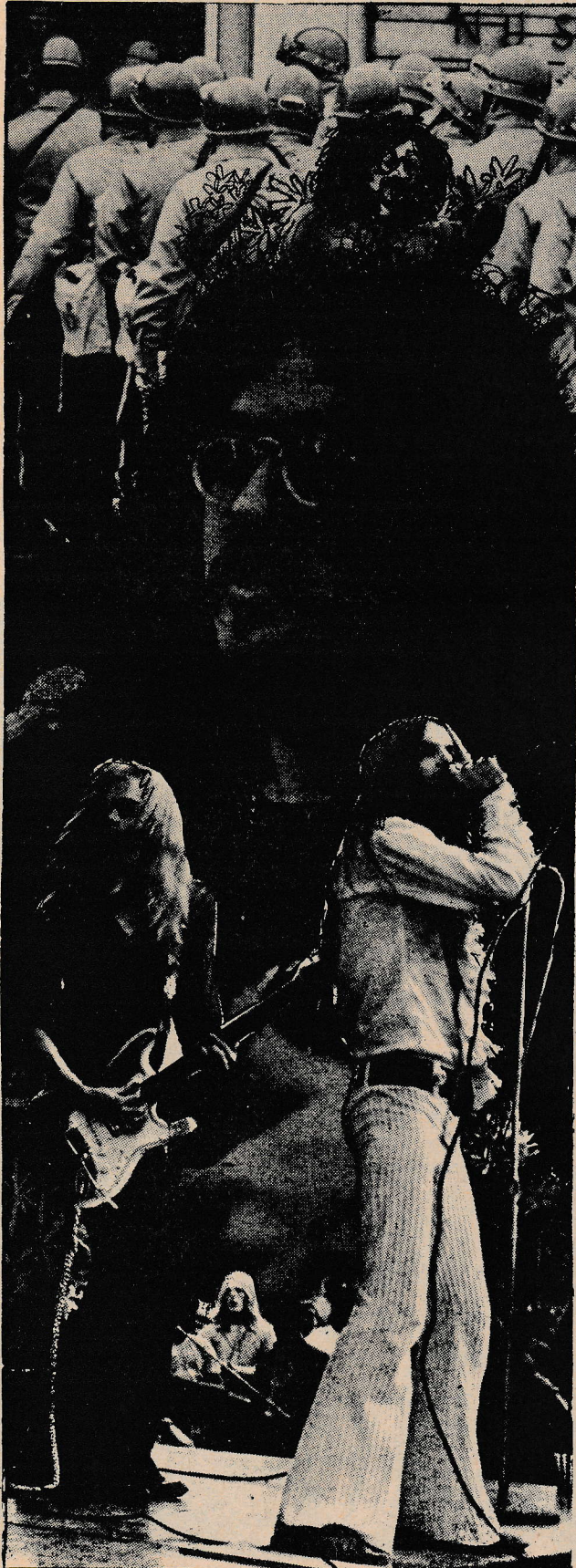
JE: You wanted to say a bit more about the Rally?

JOHN: Talking about the Rally, in one sense, it was a demonstration. I think it was also really a breakthrough in terms of some of the things we've been talking about: the essential unity of culture and politics, particularly music and politics. Here you had a situation where two of the prominent Rock and Roll persons, John and Yoko, came out here. It was their first appearance in a long time. It was their first appearance in America where they performed at a rally for a political prisoner. They took a stand on this and they made it clear that they were going to take their economic power and put it in the service of the People's cause. This is a tremendous breakthrough.

We've always had that scene around here, Ann Arbor, Detroit and in Michigan. This is something the people outside of here don't understand. The bands have always been completely integrated into the community. The bands have played benefits and free concerts. There's a close knit community here anyway. Musicians all know each other and have all come up through the same scenes with them. We were into music for two solid years before I got locked up. We were in the music business with the MC5, we were playing jobs just like other bands. So there's always been a real strong thing and that's why throughout the two and a half years that I was locked up, every time we had benefits or any kind of drives to raise money for a righteous cause, the bands from this area have consistently participated in all this stuff. There's a real unity between music and politics.

You could take the Commander, which people could say is a nonpolitical band, but the Commander always plays benefits and free concerts. The people in his band go back to the beginning of that unity in 1967. Billy C had a band called Billy C and the Sunshine, and Billy Kerchan was in a band called the Seventh Seal, and those two bands and the MC5 were the

three Trans-Love bands when we originally started. Those two brothers are now in the Commander's band. The John and Yoko Rally was a culmination of about



six months involving all the bands from this area. We see that expanding, but we see it on a national level and on a big money level. This was a tremendous breakthrough, and a lot of other bands are going to be participating in this when they can deal with people who know what they're doing in terms of producing music. We can produce concerts and we can produce benefits. We know how to do it because that's our productive work. That is how we support ourselves. We aren't supported by Liberals. We're supported by our economic work in the Rock and Roll business. We have a band now, The Up, and they work just like other bands. It isn't a weird collection of politicos who happen to play guitars, but this is a Rock and Roll band. These are kids who grew up and who are now members of our party, who are politically conscious Rock and Roll musicians. They're into that and are really aware of what they are doing. We see the John and Yoko concert fitting into that context and being a fulcrum to move from one stage to the next.

JE: Let me ask a question about those stages. Is it possible that one of them may focus on getting Nixon out of the White House? Do you see a specific campaign with music being part of the fund raising effort?

JOHN: This is another thing that we really can't say anything about because our position isn't clear yet. We haven't had a chance to talk before. We've been meeting all week. Before I went in it was just an idea. The party didn't have any organization at all. And now through this two and a half years of struggle to get me out, an organization has formed by people working around those specific issues. They had to organize themselves in order to survive. And now we have a political organization with a political consciousness.

JE: Well, maybe you could say how you personally feel about the campaign as it stands now and the call that's going out to young people all over the country to make the scene in San Diego?

JOHN: Well, I'm still making an investigation on that. I'm not excited about it. That's as much as I can say.

JE: Are there any other kinds of current political questions, for example, the renewed bombing of North Vietnam, that you'd like to relate to?

JOHN: I'm more interested right now in the wider scope, in the way things are going to develop in this next period. I think we've reached a turning point as people. I think that 1972 is going to start a new stage in our development. To me, 1972 relates back not to 1968, but back to 1965 and 1966 when that huge cataclysmic change occurred. I think we're going to go through another one of those and this will thrust us farther forward. Things will get a lot farther out next year. I think you'll see that congregating or manifesting itself around the big Nixon issue. I think you'll see a lot of strange mass movements start to develop that are really conscious and have a direction.

JE: Are there any other particular areas in which you expect some mass movement activity where we haven't seen it before?

JOHN: We're certainly going to be trying to get people involved in the prison situation. Like our people, the freaks.

JE: What kind of issues related to prisons?

JOHN: Again, we haven't firmed our position on this. Just under the general slogan of "Open Up The Prisons." Let people see what's going on. In Michigan particularly, that would be a slogan because the people who run the penitentiaries refuse to let anybody from

the outside in to see what it's about. They are just vile. There are a lot of prisoners who have a lot to say and they aren't going to let them say anything. The mail is photocopied. It's a real creepo scene. A Czarist-Russia scene. It's disgraceful, dehumanizing, degrading, and we don't like it. We don't feel that people on the streets, any of whom may be going to the penitentiary at any given moment because they are all outlaws and criminals, are going to like it when they start hearing about the penitentiary and seeing what it's all about and witnessing the attitudes of these people.

JE: Along with the activity going on outside to deal with prisons, do you expect more organizing to be going on with the prisons?

JOHN: In the State of Michigan, at least, the amount of organizing that goes on inside of prisons will be directly proportionate to the amount of support that they get from people on the street. If they have no support, it is impossible to organize because they just get locked up and get sent to Marquette and thrown in the dungeon. You don't hear from them again. Or shot, as George Jackson was shot.

You can't organize in prison unless you've got some support from the people on the outside. I mean, organized support with a financial base, with lawyers who can come to the assistance of those who are moved against for doing any kind of educational work inside the penitentiary. By doing this a lot of publicity

will bring attention to the situation. And this will give a lot of prisoners the inspiration they need, the support they need, and the security they need to organize themselves politically.

It's almost impossible to educate yourself politically in the penitentiary because they ban books and they take them away from you. They declare them contraband. The *Red Book* is contraband. I mean, you just don't have them. People were smuggling them in, at one time, through guards. So there is all that interest, but the penitentiary is so tight that they don't let the prisoners get what they need. And that can only come through the support from the outside. We have a lot of plans but that is something else, the specifics of which won't be released until we get it all worked out.

JE: Are you optimistic about the future?

JOHN: In terms of saying something to the people, the people I've been talking to when I see them on the streets, or in Rock and Roll joints that we've been going to, is that we all have to realize that the outlook is bright. There's reason to be optimistic, to be excited about our possibilities. The outlook isn't dark. It's dark when you look at it from an idealistic position. But if you look at it in terms of where we've come from in the last five years, the outlook is incredibly bright. And I'm just killer optimistic. I'm just as excited as could be.

—John Erlich



LNS

VVAW meets VVAW

The men who fought in world war two were assured of the nation's gratitude, and they were rewarded for their service. Veterans of Vietnam have received no such appreciation, as they re-entered a society still debating the value of their sacrifice. They discovered that their existence was an embarrassment, even to the war's proponents. At a time when their friends were still dying, they were expected to forget their combat nightmares and resume their lives as if nothing had happened.

Many of these veterans have realized their common consciousness as participants in an unpopular war. They have found the established veterans' organizations unresponsive to their needs. Thus the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, which includes an active drug treatment program for returning veterans. Unlike the members of the Legion and the VFW, they do not cherish their wartime experiences. Instead, they have expressed their anguish over what they have seen and done, at numerous Winter Soldier Investigations.

Conflict was inevitable, and it finally surfaced, with particular irony, in an issue as characteristic as any: amnesty. To protest hearings being conducted by Senator Kennedy, the Massachusetts VFW called a "wide open" press conference for the first of March in Fitchburg. It invited all of the Presidential candidates and members of other veterans' groups—including the VVAW.

Participants began to arrive at the Cleghorn American Legion Post early Wednesday afternoon. There were intermittent rumors that Sam Yorty and Henry Jackson would appear. Older veterans were noticeably apprehensive about the surprising turnout of Vietnam veterans, many of them dressed in faded combat fatigues. A sign by the door read: "Anyone wearing dungarees will be asked to leave the hall." It was not enforced. By the time the press conference began, there were fifty VVAW members and supporters, a third of the audience.

Homer Ford, the moderator and a VFW official, delivered a fiery welcoming address. The idea of amnesty was "an affront to all self-respecting Americans," and the estimated 75,000 exiles were lumped together with Benedict Arnold, Alger Hiss, and the Rosenbergs. Letting them return would be "a stab in the back" to the men who had fought in Vietnam. He castigated the supporters of amnesty as "bleeding hearts" and condemned their influence upon the impressionable young.

And so on. Representatives of other veterans' organizations echoed the same themes with monotonous regularity. At last Ford introduced Dennis Randall of the VVAW, who received a standing ovation from his contingent. The moderator gingerly lauded the unity of purpose of the "allied veterans' organizations," but added that he recognized dissent as "part of the democratic process."

Randall challenged the glorification of those who had given their lives in battle, evoking the agony which the veterans had inflicted and suffered: "You speak of honor and patriotism. . . . There is no honor in

gunning down women and children, and there is no patriotism in bombing defenseless villages from supersonic aircraft. As for the dead? They were our brothers and comrades. We would rather have them alive in in Canada than buried in Arlington."

At this point there was long and heavy applause. He continued: "We are veterans of Vietnam! We do not oppose amnesty for our brothers in exile. We only wish that some power could grant us amnesty for what we have seen and done half a world away. The memory of Vietnam will haunt us for the rest of our lives."

Randall completed his statement and urged the cooperation of the other organizations in programs relevant to returning veterans. Rehabilitation of the soldiers who had become addicted in Indochina was more important than debating amnesty. The older veterans did not appear sympathetic.

By now moderator Ford was clearly unhappy. Abruptly, he announced that 5,000 more American troops were being withdrawn from Vietnam, leaving American strength at less than 130,000 men. "How many B-52's were pulled out?" someone shot back. Ford angrily called for order. A little later when the television crews began packing, he interjected that there would be a "dramatic announcement" at the end of the press conference. The crews continued packing.

Ford then introduced Billy Joe Clegg, an independent candidate for the Presidency—who claimed that the Lord was his campaign manager. He started by singing "God Bless America," and the VVAW joined in, immediately. After a startled pause, the older veterans began to sing, too. The affair had become a circus. Clegg launched into a ten minute harangue, accusing the VVAW of being brainwashed by the Communists. He seemed to be enjoying himself. Even the officers at the podium were smiling with embarrassment.

Following Clegg's performance, Ford called for unanimous support of the conference's stand against amnesty. The older veterans voted predictably; Randall dissented for the VVAW. James Owens, a retired Navy veteran, was recognized from the floor as a member of the Veterans for Freedom from Future Wars. He, too, voted against "unanimous support."

Pvt. Richard Rowe, an active-duty GI, identified himself as a member of the Fort Devens United Front and demanded a vote. After a brief argument this was denied, and a VFW commander shouted that he would not impugn the dignity of his organization by continuing the meeting.

The event was a disaster for the VFW and its allies, and neighboring newspapers gave the Vietnam veterans sympathetic coverage. These established organizations have traditionally claimed to represent the interests of all veterans. Now it was evident that they had lost their most vital constituency to a bunch of upstarts who had gleefully taken advantage of an unexpected invitation to make them appear ridiculous and pathetic.

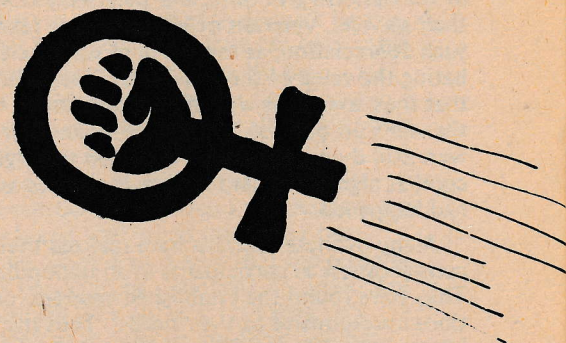
—John Kyper and William Homans

It is, the old wisdom suggests, on the playing fields of America where young boys are made into men. It never happens that way, of course, but it is supposed to. But since athletic competition serves as a masculinity rite, it is not surprising that women who participate in competitive sports are faced with a degree of discrimination and oppression that probably surpasses that which women encounter in any other area of American society. The woman athlete, no matter how high her level of athletic skill may be, is never fully accepted in this milieu with all its male mythology. Nothing could be more devastating for a male athlete than to be defeated by a woman; and at the same time, the qualities of aggressivity and muscularity required for athletic success result in women athletes often being ostracized by other women. Because she is perceived as a threat by both men and women, the woman athlete is often a lonely, marginal person, never fully accepted by either group.

Marie Hart, a prominent woman physical educator, succinctly describes this dilemma: "American society cuts the penis off the male who enters dance and places it on the woman who participates in competitive athletics." Mildred "Babe" Didrikson Zaharias, described by Paul Gallico, one of America's most distinguished sports writers, as "probably the most talented athlete, male or female, ever developed in our country" encountered the difficulties suggested by Dr. Hart on an almost daily basis throughout her athletic career that lasted from the early 1930s to shortly before her death from cancer in 1955. Mrs. Zaharias won national and international titles in nearly every sport open to women during her 25-year career as a competitive athlete. Before turning to golf during the later years of her career where she won every amateur and professional title available to a woman, she was a star in track and field at the 1932 Olympic Games and was a perennial All-American in basketball. Though she stood only 5 feet, 6½ inches and weighed no more than 125 pounds, she was constantly portrayed by the male sportswriters of the time as having a boyish appearance. She wore her hair short for convenience, but she was an extremely attractive woman. Despite this, she was always referred to as a tomboy, and according to Gallico, one of the favorite jokes of the male sportswriters was that athletic promoters never knew whether to assign her to the men's or women's locker room when she showed up for a competition.

It is of course true that there are some women athletes whose size and appearance qualify them as being "unfeminine" according to traditional Western standards, but, as was the case with Mrs. Zaharias, most athletes are treated the same regardless of their actual physical appearance or behavior. (The exceptions to this occur in sports that are characterized by graceful movements and little physical exertion, such as ice skating, diving, gymnastics, skiing and similar activities, where a woman can participate without being typed as "masculine.")

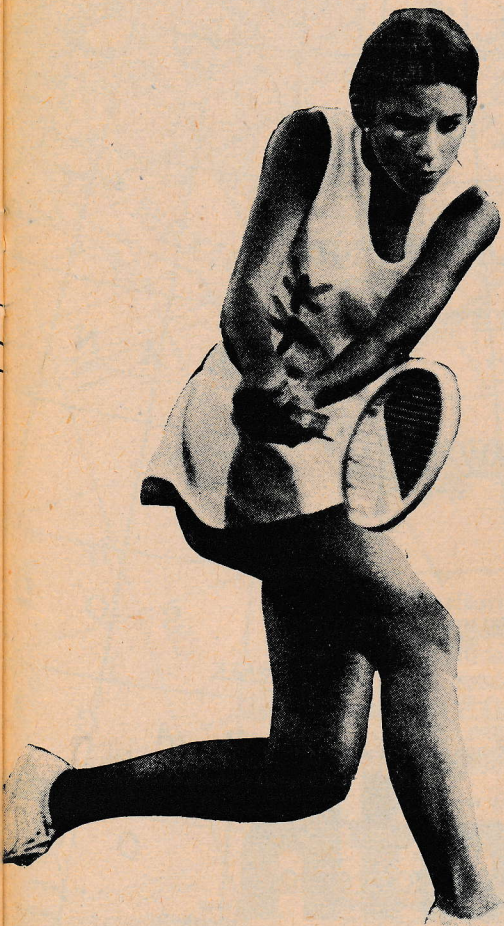
Not surprisingly, most women who participate in competitive athletics are extremely conscious about looking "feminine." Vicki Foltz, a 27-year-old married woman who is probably America's finest woman long distance runner, was asked in a recent interview whether she had any "feminine hang-ups about running." She responded, "Yes, I have lots of hang-ups. You wouldn't believe it. I always worry about looking nice



WOMEN IN SPORTS

in a race. I worry about my calf muscles getting big. But mostly I worry about my hair. The morning before my last big race it was hailing and blowing, but there I was in the hotel with rollers in my hair. I knew the rain would ruin my hairdo, but I fixed it anyway. I suppose it's because so many people have said women athletes look masculine. So a lot of us try, subconsciously maybe, to look as feminine as possible in a race. There's always lots of hair ribbons in the races!"

If an attractive, mature married woman with children like Vicki Foltz feels this pressure, one can only imagine what it must be like for younger women athletes such as the female swimmers who often participate in the Olympics while still in their early teens. Marion Lay, for instance, participated in the Tokyo Olympic Games when she was only 14 years old. By 1967 she had developed into one of the finest female swimmers in the world, and she won four silver medals at the Pan American Games that year. She won a medal at the 1968 Olympic Games and also served as captain of the Canadian Olympic women's swimming team despite being only 18. But in many ways her career was frustrated. The only coaches available to her were men, since in swimming, as in nearly all other sports, it is next to impossible for a woman to advance in the coaching profession. Marion found that nearly all the male coaches and officials she met refused to



accept the fact that she was as dedicated to swimming as any of the male athletes. The attitude of male coaches and officials seems to be that women are somehow incapable of being as dedicated to sports as men, whereas in reality the opposite is often true. Being a marginal person, as I pointed out earlier, the female athlete often dedicates herself to sport with a fervor unmatched by male athletes since athletic success is one of the few satisfactions available to her. Unlike the case for male athletes, athletic prowess does not assure a woman of social status. The final step in the Catch 22 of women's sports is that those women athletes who do totally dedicate themselves to sport are invariably labeled as being masculine by the male-controlled sports establishment.

Since sport functions as a masculinity rite, all the desirable qualities athletes must possess if they want to achieve a high level of success have been made synonymous with our cardboard concept of masculinity. This point was brought home to me when in a recent *Sports Illustrated* article, the male diving coach of Micki King, America's and perhaps the world's finest woman diver, attempted to compliment Miss King by saying he knew early in her career that she was going to be great because, "She dives like a man." My immediate reaction on reading that statement was that she sure as hell doesn't dive like me or any other man I ever met. In fact, she doesn't dive like 99 percent of

the men in America. What she obviously does do is dive *correctly*.

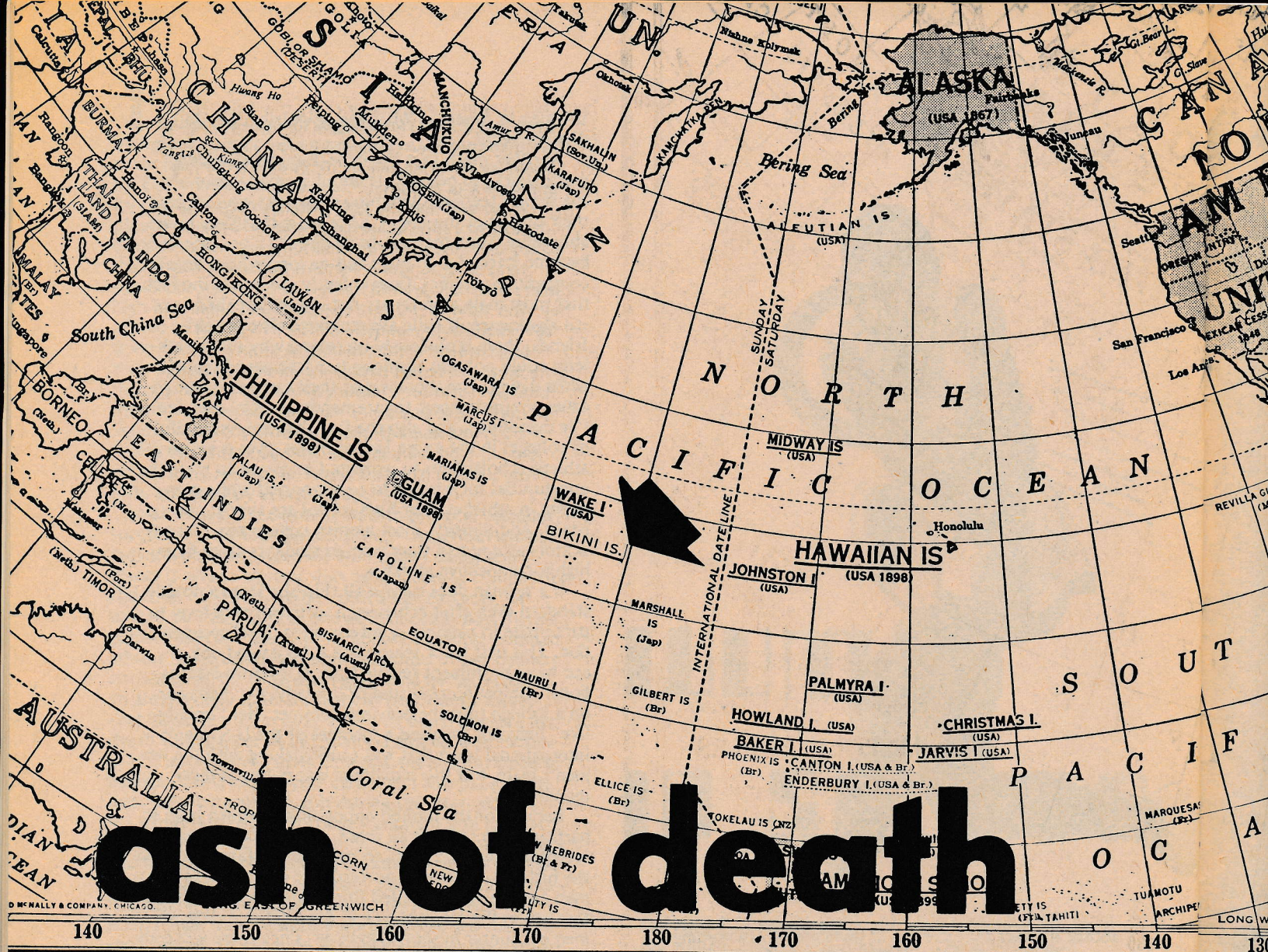
Another myth that the male-dominated athletic world works to perpetuate about women, especially the female teenage swimming sensations who began their careers at the age of 12 or so, is that they invariably retire when they get to be about 17 because they become interested in boys and no longer have time for competitive athletics. Conveniently ignored is the fact that most male athletes are not known for their sexual abstinence. If male athletes have time for girl friends, there is obviously no reason why female athletes could not also continue to participate in sports while dating. The shortness of their careers is due to other circumstances: the tremendous social pressures I've mentioned, and also the fact that only a handful of colleges in the entire United States gives even partial athletic scholarships to women. Compared to men, the opportunities for women to be supported while competing in athletics after high school are almost nonexistent. Additionally, most women college physical educators attempt to steer women students away from highly competitive athletics.

If a woman does survive all this, she faces a double standard even after achieving a sufficient skill level to participate in national or international level competition. This past track season the AAU barred one of our most prominent female track stars from international competition because of "unladylike" behavior on a foreign tour the previous summer. Her "unladylike" behavior involved a member of the U.S. men's international team that was touring along with the women's team, but this individual was not even reprimanded.

Because of the limited opportunity women have to participate in sport at all levels, a New York State court recently ruled that girls can participate against boys on the high school level in non-contact sports. Some women and many men hailed this ruling as a major breakthrough in the attempt to end the discrimination women encounter in sport. However, since there will only be a very few girls who will be able to make the "boys' team," this ruling could exacerbate rather than attenuate the discrimination against women if people see this as the end of the struggle. Women are not so desirous of competing against men—although there is of course no reason they should not have that opportunity if they want it—as they are in having the same opportunity to participate in sports that men have. This means providing women with the same facilities and coaching skills men have.

The frustration of the woman athlete is further compounded by her inability, because of basic differences in speed and strength, to ever achieve success according to male standards. Hopefully, our society will come to the point where women will not only be given equal opportunity to participate in sport, but will not be made to feel that they are somehow inferior athletes because they run 100 yards in 10.5 rather than 9.5. Simone de Beauvoir best sums it up in *The Second Sex* where she writes, ". . . In sports the end in view is not success independent of physical equipment; it is rather the attainment of perfection within the limitations of each physical type: the featherweight boxing champion is as much of a champion as is the heavyweight; the woman skiing champion is not the inferior of the faster male champion; they belong to two different classes."

—Jack Scott



Micronesia is a group of 2,000 islands in the Pacific Ocean, east of the Philippines and south of Japan. Because many are only tiny coral reefs, the total land area is merely 687 sq. miles. The population was estimated to be 92,000 in 1967.

The United States has governed the Pacific Island territory for 27 years under a U.N. trusteeship. The islands are important for strategic U.S. defense interests in the Pacific and are also the site of a big U.S. missile testing range. Micronesia has been waging a struggle for independence from the U.S. for several years.

The Rongelap and Utirik Islands are part of the Marshall Island group. They are within 300 miles of Bikini Atoll.

Early on the morning of March 1, 1954, the people of Rongelap saw a flash of light in the western sky and an enormous pillar of fire rising up in the sky. Greatly alarmed, many of them gathered on the beach, wondering what had happened. In about two hours, it appeared as if a storm was brewing. Presently, they felt as if they were enveloped in mist and then "white powder" began to fall on them. It fell on the roofs of the houses and on the vessels in which they saved rain-

water. The ash continued to fall for several hours.

The people of Rongelap had no knowledge of radioactivity. The village chief said that he had been drinking coffee then, and that he had drunk "ash of death" together with the coffee. Toward evening, almost all people felt pain on their skin and began to vomit. Then they suffered from diarrhea and felt very tired.

The Trust Territory government of the United States had notified the village chief of Rongelap that a hydrogen bomb test was going to be carried out shortly, but he was not informed of any preventive measures. It was two days after the explosion that an American ship came and evacuated the people to Kwajalein, where they were told to wash their bodies with soap and water every day. Some were made to drink a medicine called "antidote". About that time, their hair began to fall off very easily and some became completely bald. Two weeks later, the people of Rongelap were moved to Ejit, in Majuro Atoll. A school and a church were built on the island, where they spent three and a half years.

No "ash of death" fell on Utirik Island, but the people suffered from the same symptoms as the people of Rongelap. In about six months, they were re-



held there pending visa clearance by the Trust Territory administration. This was denied, under a ruling by the acting Attorney General Bowles, and the team left December 16, after being able to see only a few H-bomb victims in Majuro.

Balos suggested that the U.S. officials should be deported because "they are not interested in Micronesia. . . I see the whole affair tainted with racism. The United States choose to make guinea pigs out of our people because they are not white. . ."

Since the fallout, U.S. Atomic Energy Commission doctors visit Rongelap and Utirik every year, but as Balos noted, "the object of their visits appears to be the collection of medical data instead of the restoration of health to H-bomb victims who have developed all kinds of diseases and abnormalities."

The medical team concluded that the victims of the H-bomb are receiving inadequate medical treatment. The following are excerpts from their report:

After the exposed people of Rongelap were returned to their home island, the amount of radioactive material in their bodies rapidly increased. The strontium-89 and iodine-131 (in their bodies) exceeded the maximum permissible levels.

The incidence of miscarriage and stillbirths in the exposed women was about twice that in the unexposed women during the first four years after exposure. The incidence of miscarriage and stillbirths in the 32 exposed pregnant women was 41% (13 persons) as against 16% (8 persons) in the 49 unexposed pregnant women.

Thyroid abnormalities were discovered in 1963 in a 12-year-old girl and a 14-year-old boy. In the case of Rongelap, of the 19 children who were under 10 years when they were exposed to radioactive fallout, as many as 17 (89.5%) were found to suffer from thyroid abnormalities.

Early symptoms of radiation diseases are no longer observed among the exposed people—they are now suffering in many cases from thyroid abnormalities as late effects of exposure. But this stage is not the end. We are afraid of diseases that may be caused in the future due to the late effects of exposure to radioactivity.

Radiation may cause late effects in the exposed individual with symptoms sometimes delayed by 20 years or more. Their main manifestation is in the form of cancer: leukemia; cancer of the bone; of the lung; of the thyroid; indeed, practically any type of cancer known. There may also be other effects, such as cataract or impaired fertility, as well as generalized effects which result in shortening of the lifespan and are sometimes interpreted as an acceleration of the natural process of ageing.

The Atomic Energy Commission has only recently come under criticism in the U.S. for its "irresponsible" handling of nuclear experiments. Since 1944, there have been 142 recorded atomic science fatalities. This figure does not include deaths associated with radioactive pollution of the environment.

Charges that the Department of Defense has been conducting experiments with the effects of radiation on terminal cancer patients recently made a splash in a number of magazines. These charges will be brought before a Senate Committee headed by Senator Edward Kennedy sometime this spring. The Committee hasn't said anything about investigating the use of islands of Micronesia for the same purpose. —LNS

turned from Kwajalein to their native island. Eventually, hair began to grow on the heads of those who had lost it. But this did not mean everything was over. On the contrary the damage due to exposure to radiation showed itself in more serious ways.

"I am now convinced that the U.S. knowingly and consciously allowed the people of Rongelap and Utirik to be exposed to the 1954 fallout. This was done to the Rongelapese and Utirikese so that the U.S. could use them as human guinea pigs in the development of its medical treatment to treat its citizens who might be exposed to radiation in the event of war with an enemy country. This is a crime unmatched in peacetime."

Congressman Ataji Balos, a representative of the Marshall Islands, spoke these words before the Micronesian Congress. The U.S. officials who govern Micronesia had refused entry to Japanese who wanted to work with people affected by radioactive fallout.

Balos had arranged for the Japanese medical team, sponsored by the Japan Congress Against the A and H Bombs, to visit. The team arrived in Majuro, another part of the Marshall Islands on Dec. 6, 1971, and was

NEWSPOEM

33 CARS SMASHED AT GUARD ARMORY

Vandals Attack in Brooklyn
While Unit Is at Camp

. . . All had their windshields broken, antennas were ripped off, side windows smashed and several hundred dollars worth of property stolen from various cars. In addition, obscenities were scrawled across many of the cars, written with paint or scratched into the car's surfaces.

Police Seek Motive

Lieut. Col. Raymond Joyce, chief information officer for the state guard, said in Albany that this was the first time such an incident had taken place on this scale.

"We've had one or two cars damaged occasionally," he said, "but that's generally been interpreted as the work of thieves or burglars."

He said he was at a loss to explain the Brooklyn incidents. . .

N.Y. TIMES, Nov. 9, 1970

*Factory windows are always broken
Actions speak softer than words?
What can these boyish planks betoken:
A puncture is worth a thousand swords?*

*Confusion's an illusion the just can afford
(Imagine the bled, biting the fist!)
& Slouching toward Zion, Greetings, Lord!
Hail the newborn pacifists!*

—Tuli Kupferberg

HARD HAT

Hard hat
Construction worker
Pourer of cement
Across leafing green
He stands a business street
Eating a hero sandwich
While guarding the cherry trees
In a concrete tub
From litterers choking the life
Out of trees down the block
In his corn-yellow hard-hat
He loosens the soil about the roots
Waters the tree
Brings it humus
And when all the trees are giving in to Autumn
His comes to second bloom
Nooners all around
Marveling at the miracle
—Emilie Glenn





THE WAY THE BALL BOUNCES

Hsinhua, the Chinese news agency, reported recently that a Cuban ping-pong team arrived in Peking to play "friendly games" with the Chinese. "Most of the Cuban players played an all-out attacking game with the loop drive. Their fast forehand and backhand smashes this evening gave the spectators a very good impression." There were 20,000 spectators on hand for the matches! In addition to playing ping-

pong, China supplies most of the paper used in Cuba and a large amount of cotton and cotton goods. "At the end of the friendly matches, the Chinese and Cuban players chatted amiably and exchanged experiences for common progress." No report was given as to who won the game.

—NACLA

REPRESSION IN THE PROVINCES

During the planning of our Prisoners for Peace demonstration (12-1-71) in front of the Binghamton court house, we assumed a permit would cost nothing or there might be a nominal fee. Not so! We discovered there was an insurance requirement and could find only one company that would insure us for \$56.00.

What made the insurance particularly intolerable was that our demonstration consisted of 20 people serving free coffee from a table, handing out leaflets, and getting signatures for an anti-war petition. In trying to get ACLU help in challenging this price tag for free speech and assembly, we got the run-around from liberal lawyers who kept referring us to other liberal lawyers, ad infinitum. Not a single Broome County lawyer would take the case. After a Cornell law professor, from neighboring Tomkins Co., expressed interest and requested a copy of the County law, we discovered that the insurance requirement was an unwritten rule. We finally met with three county legislators and the county attorney who were responsible for demonstration permits.

The county attorney immediately surprised us by declaring that *mandatory* insurance was unconstitutional. The Chairman then asked the attorney to write a law that would be constitutional, to be presented to the Legislature for *consideration*. As of Feb. 1, the County had not voted on the new law.

We learned that neither the Girl Scouts nor Rev. Carl McIntyre had to get demonstration insurance, having been "exempted" by the County. Both local papers reported our meeting with the County, and gave us excellent coverage; one paper even had their lead editorial critical of the County and supporting us.

—Michael Scrivener

IRS CONFRONTATION IN BOSTON

On Ash Wednesday, February 17, the Harrisburg Pilgrimage Committee and about 60 of Boston's war-tax resisters staged a nonviolent confrontation at the IRS office—an attempt to confront the taxpayers with the reality

of what their docile obedience is supporting. While 50 people leafletted outside, about a dozen people rose from their chairs inside the office and lay down about the floor. Pat Farren, of the Harrisburg Committee and a W-4 resister, began to speak to the patrons: "Ladies and gentlemen, please do not be alarmed. The people lying on the floor do not mean to harm you or to obstruct your business. We represent the Indochinese dead. . . We choose this way to bring to your attention the use to which your tax dollars are being put. We urge you to join us in refusing to finance America's crimes. . ." The federal police dragged the "dead" out of the office several times, but they kept coming back. . .

When it was all over, six people were under arrest: Pat, Denys Latimer of the CNVA, Al Pignat, Michelle Hogan, Steve Maurer, and Bill Schuellein, who was in the office on business of his own when the action started, and who joined the demonstration on the spot.

Denys refused to cooperate with the police altogether: she wouldn't even sign her own release. The Magistrate let her out of jail anyway, but then he changed his mind and set the FBI, I think, after her: Denys spent the four days before the trial in the Charles Street Jail.

At the trial, which occupied all day March 3rd, the six defended themselves very well, and made eloquent statements about America's crimes in Indochina, the necessity for resisting them, and the necessity for "disruptions" such as that at the IRS. I don't know if the magistrate was impressed or not. But out of a maximum penalty of 30 days and \$50 fine, he handed down sentences ranging from suspended sentences for Michelle and Bill to 20 days for Pat. Everyone decided to appeal, and all are now out on bail that totaled \$800. And so the struggle goes on. . .

—Ed Agro

WAR TAX REFUSERS, UNIMPRESSED BY NIXON PEACE PLAN, GIVE \$900 TO COMMUNITY GROUPS

The Roxbury War Tax Scholarship Fund announced its fifth semiannual awards. They are: \$233 to the Draft-Counselor Training Project of the Roxbury Action Program (RAP), \$250 to the Child's World Day Care Centers of Roxbury, and \$450 to the Sickle-Cell Anemia (SCA) Program of the Boston Black Panther Party. These awards represent the accumulated interest on taxes refused to the federal government by the Roxbury Fund's members. The

Fund members deposit their refused taxes in the Fund account at the Unity Bank of Roxbury.

The Draft-Counselor Training Project of RAP recently began to train black and other minority-group people in the intricacies of the draft law. The Child's World Day Care Center was formed in 1969 to train neighborhood mothers in day care techniques through participation in the actual operation of a center. Work at the center and completion of college courses in social work and child development prepares these mothers to work as licensed day care teachers. These mothers in turn open centers in their own neighborhoods, thus freeing more mothers to work who would otherwise be trapped on the welfare rolls. The award to the Sickle-Cell Anemia Project has been instrumental in helping the Black Panther Party to continue screening Roxbury children for this dread disease.

The membership committee of the Roxbury Fund has noted an increase in applications and inquiries since President Nixon's latest peace plan was announced. The 375 members of the Fund are estimated to be about one-quarter of the war-tax resisters in the Boston area. The total amount of refused taxes now on deposit in the Fund now stands at some \$50,000.

For further information, call: The Roxbury War Tax Scholarship Fund, Jennifer Pirie, Publicity Committee, (617) 868-0889; Roxbury Action Program, Bob Perry, Draft Counseling Project Director, (617) 445-9711; Child's World Day Care Centers, Marie Dias, Director, (617) 267-7956; Black Panther Party Headquarters, (617) 442-0100. —RWTSF

I.T.T. KILLS

On Saturday, March 11, 1972, I.T.T. sponsored a "Show and Taste" for Staten Island school children and their parents. This was a demonstration of the products ITT-Continental Baking offers subscribers to its school lunch program. It was attended by about 2,000 people.

We began our action by stenciling ITT Kills on the sidewalk in front of the entrances. We had two major displays, besides regular picket signs and leaflets about the air war and ITT's connection with it. There was a genuine USAF "Practice Bomb" covered with ITT Continental Baking labels and a 5 foot WonderBread mock-up that was creatively mislabeled ("Calcium Propionate added to retard lives"). In addition, there were about 7 baby dolls

"bloodied" to represent what ITT and the Air War does in Indochina.

The reception was excellent, we even got to bring our displays into the cafeteria, march around it a few times while one of our people gave a brief speech about the Air War and the contradictions between ITT's feeding children and killing them overseas. We also were able to involve a good number of parents in conversations and were highly gratified at the results. The ITT representatives were clearly embarrassed.

Our next step is to be represented at the school board hearings (April 10) where we hope to testify against ITT getting any more contracts on Staten Island. —Van Zwisohn



This man was committed to an institution after he claimed that a gang of crazed boogey men gave him an enema in the parking lot of Miltons Superette in Cleveland Ohio.

NIXON USES LOOPHOLE TO SELL ARMS TO GREECE

Resorting to a loophole in the January Congressional ban on arms to the Fascistic military government in Greece, President Nixon has announced the sale of \$70 million worth before June 30. The loophole is a provision that the President can waive the embargo if he determines that the "overriding" interests of national security require it. In this instance, Nixon cited the Soviet naval build-up in the Mediterranean.

However, Representative Benjamin Rosenthal, whose foreign affairs subcommittee hearings led to the Congressional ban, charged that Nixon's action is a bid for a "home-port" arrangement with Greece under which 6600 personnel from the U.S. fleet and 3100 dependents would be permitted to live near the port of Piraeus. The Navy is seeking the home-port arrangement in an attempt to end a sharp drop in the reenlistment rate of key personnel.

"This decision affirms in my mind the impotency of Congress," Representative Rosenthal commented on the day the State Department announced Nixon's decision on the arms sale (March 3). —J.P.

THE KITTY HAWK NINE

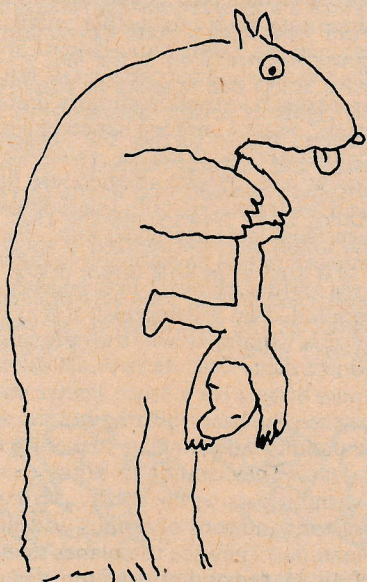
When the *USS Kitty Hawk* left San Diego Harbor on February 17 to further escalate the bombing of Indochina, it left nine men behind. Nine men refused to take part in the mission of their task force: to further annihilate the people, culture and land of Southeast Asia while permitting the war to become less visible and more destructive. These nine took sanctuary in two San Diego churches.

At present writing, there are four attack aircraft carriers in the Gulf of Tonkin. Together they wield more firepower than at any previous time in the war. The American people are becoming lulled by the impression that the war is winding down, that the killing is decreasing. The crews of attack carriers know differently. They cannot escape the head-splitting sound of the catapults launching air strikes 24 hours a day. They cannot go to the mess hall without passing the constant rotation of tons and tons of bombs waiting for loading. They see the planes take off fully loaded and return empty, day after day.

Men respond to that reality in differing ways. Most repress it, thinking of the stereo equipment and motorcycles they can buy in Japan and counting the days till their return. A few organize: talking with each other, writing letters to Congressmen, and trying to break through the colossal wall of fear that the navy throws up around them. And nine men chose the public, non-violent witness, which is Sanctuary. For their courage they were arrested, flown back to the ship and immediately sentenced to 30 days in the brig; they are being treated like prisoners of war. They are frequently made to wear handcuffs (where would they escape to?); they have been forced to urinate in their cells because they refused to identify themselves by numbers only; when they began a hunger strike they were denied milk or fruit juices; they were denied the right to send a letter to their lawyer because they used "air-mail stamps on a non-airmail envelope," the Captain went on the ship's television and announced that they had all been "duped;" and they have had to spend many nights without shirts, blankets or pillows, and the air conditioning left on.

These men need support desperately. They need people from all over the country to write and apply pressure in their behalf. Please write to the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of Defense, Captain Oberg of the *Kitty Hawk*, the President, your congressmen. Demand that they be discharged honorably. For up-to-date information, write or call: San Diego Concerned Military, 2143 Market St., San Diego, Cal. 92102, (714) 232-1238.

—John S. Huyler IV



This bear feels sick after nibbling on the foot of a retired pharmacist.

OPPOSITION LEADERS IN SAIGON CALL FOR THIEU REMOVAL, U.S. WITHDRAWAL

Former South Vietnamese Premier Duong Van Minh, who last year refused to run for Vietnam's Presidency against Pres. Thieu, has launched a sharp attack against Thieu's regime.

"Big Minh" declared in Saigon the first week in March that the principles of self-determination outlined in the recent Nixon-Chou En-lai communique cannot be accomplished as long as the American-backed Thieu government remains in office.

Minh's veiled call for a new Vietnamese regime came amidst a sudden flurry of statements by Thieu's non-communist opposition.

Leaders of ten South Vietnamese political factions this month released their own four-point peace proposal calling for Thieu's immediate resignation, the total withdrawal of all American forces from Vietnam, and the for-

mation of a broadly based government that would include all political parties and would organize new elections.

Several of the group's proposals, including the calls for Pres. Thieu's resignation and the withdrawal of all American forces, are in agreement with the seven-point peace package of the National Liberation Front.

The Saigon government recently has been responding to its increasingly vocal opposition with a campaign of arrests. Scores of student leaders have been rounded up in the past four months and many are still in prison awaiting trial.

The four-point peace proposal was drawn up by a task force of opposition religious and labor groups, chaired by lawyer Tran Ngoc Lieng, leader of the National Progressive Forces. It is the most outspoken attack against the Thieu government yet leveled by any of Saigon's non-communist opposition.

The statement, which calls for a "popular government" comprised of "all religious, political and social forces in South Vietnam," in effect advocates a coalition government, which is outlawed by the South Vietnamese constitution on the grounds of being "neutralist." The government has yet to respond.

The statement, dated February 18 but not distributed to the press until now, criticizes President Nixon's eight-point peace proposal for its "ambiguous tenor." It claims the Nixon proposal constitutes a U.S. policy of "using Asians to kill Asians."

"By refusing to announce a date for the total withdrawal of American forces from South Vietnam," the statement continues, "President Nixon is refusing to resolve the political issues according to the principles of self-determination of the peoples of Vietnam." It accuses the United States of trying "to maintain control of the political forces in Indochina", adding that the Nixon proposals are intended only to "appease international and domestic opinion and save face for Pres. Nixon." —Thomas C. Fox/DNSI

DEMONSTRATE AT AIR FORCE BASE

Some 300 demonstrators from Philadelphia and New York met at a Wrightstown, New Jersey, shopping center on a rainy Feb. 26 and slogged a mile in deep mud to the main gate of McGuire Air Force Base, where a rally was held. We were confined to the muddy shoulders by carloads of state troopers who barred us from the highway's pavement.

The rally featured three GIs from the base who came out to tell what they think of the air war. Those of us with placards stood near the roadside where they could be viewed by passing motorists on the two highways which converge at the gate.

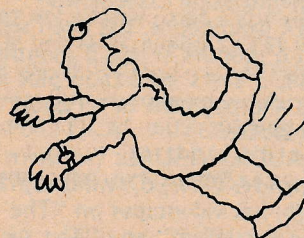
After the rally we marched back to the shopping center and proceeded to Wrightstown's GI coffee house to rap with GIs both from McGuire and Fort Dix, which is nearby. The demonstration was initiated by Philadelphia Resistance. —J.P.

SUPPORT PRISONERS STRIKE

On March 2, WRLers participated in a picket demonstration at the federal prison in Danbury, Conn., in support of the prisoners who had gone on strike four days earlier.

As this issue of WIN goes to press there is, as Denise Banks expressed it at a news conference: "complete solidarity" among the prisoners. Mrs. Banks had visited her husband, Arthur, one of three prisoners in solitary as a consequence of the strike (two others have been released). In negotiations with prison officials, the prisoners have demanded release of all five from solitary as a prerequisite to settlement. They are demanding higher pay in the local prison industry (gloves and electric cables), expanded educational facilities and recognition of a grievance committee chosen by the prisoners.

Arthur Banks is a black CO who was sentenced in Atlanta to the legal maximum of five years. "They gave me five years when they were giving white boys six months for the same thing," Banks pointed out in an interview with the New York Post a couple of weeks before his imprisonment. —J.P.



This man has just slipped on a mollusk innard.

prison notes



Suzi Williams was released from Boyd County Jail (Kentucky) on February 17 after serving nearly five months on a six-month sentence for "disorderly conduct." Those who

wrote the Governor of Kentucky on her behalf received rather discouraging answers from his office. It is impossible to determine whether letters from WIN readers and others contributed to Suzi's release.

Kevin Towle, a nonregistrant imprisoned at Ashland, went on work strike and began fasting December 1 of last year. He is a vegetarian and asked for a mostly raw food diet, which prison officials eventually agreed to supply. After Kevin resumed eating, however, officials went back on the agreement and he then resumed his fast. Late word is that he has ended his fast and requested a transfer to Morgantown which has been granted.

The *Penal Digest International* is well worth the \$9 a year (12 issues) subscription rate. It is available by writing Box 89, Iowa City, Iowa. The November-December 1971 issue is 40 pages, tabloid size, full of useful, well-presented information. Among the items is a description of the new National Prison Center "for coordinated national action to change America's

prison system from within" with an ambitious and far-reaching program of proposals including the guarantee of prisoners' rights, a program of meaningful "rehabilitation," legal aid for prisoners, making available a relevant library, including law libraries, to prisoners, a national prisoner complaint screening program, and an evaluation of parole procedures.

Inmates of Green Haven Prison, Stormville, New York, organized a union which has been accepted as an affiliate of Distributive Workers of America and is requesting recognition from New York's State Correction Commissioner. This is the first all-inmate union and it seeks to equalize the rights of prison laborers with free laborers and to further the "economic social and cultural interests" of the prisoners. An editorial in the *Dayton (Ohio) Daily News* suggested that if the union were recognized it might be a first step in pulling down prison walls everywhere, thus accomplishing "what all the reformers in the world haven't done."
—Larry Gara

DOVE TALES



WTR: Chicago—If we vote against war appropriations on April 15, Karl Meyer told over 500 supporters at a Feb. 27 welcome-back dinner, then we can require congressmen to follow suit. Karl intends to resume productive work for society, to keep his income \$4800 or below, and to continue to owe the government the \$2000 for which he went to jail. . . Steve Lewis, WRL/West, 833 Haight St., SF, asks that you send names of tax resisters (with their permission, of course) for a National Complicity List, promising that "no one will get a fund appeal or be snowed under by junk mail." . . . War Tax Resister Mark T. Riley, a prof at Sacramento State College who claimed 14 exemptions, has been sentenced to 6 months in jail, 6 months suspension, 3 years' probation plus a \$500 fine and payment of all court costs. Vindictive!

OCULO-AUDIO-VISUAL: Northern New England VVAW, 67 Winthrop St., Cambridge, has videotapes on "The Electronic Battlefield" and "The Air War". . . A program on Angola and Mozambique is available from Liberation Support Movement Information Center, Box 338, Richmond, B.C., Canada. . . *The Front Line* reports on news and ideas of the Greek New

Left—Pena, Box 5128, Clinton, N.J. . . There's a tape of a program linking those who went to war with those who refused. "The remarkable fact. . . is the unselfish sentiment expressed by those Americans whom the war and the military have scarred the most deeply." (\$2.50, Geo. Stein, PO Box 36, Belmont, Mass.)

HERE & ABROAD: New England CNVA (RFD 1, Box 430, Voluntown, Conn.) is having weekend workshops April 28-30 on Latin America and in May on Alternative Life Styles, Arts & Drama in the Movement, and the city in society. . . Larry Gara in Wilmington, Ohio, writes that he hopes the letters sent to officials on Suzi Williams' behalf helped to effect her release from Boyd Co. Jail Feb. 17. . . Last fall A Manchester (Eng.) Non Violent Action Group campaigned for free public transport and Manchester University Union Community Action organized a free bus service. "The Blackheath Commune started with about 8 friends mostly in and around the Student Christian Movement who wanted to stay together. . . Well, it was intended to get into community action. Its community life hangs on the evening meal and a weekly session

of group gripes and therapy. Yes, it works, but early intentions to study together—the Bible and Marxist Economics—didn't work out. . ." Sound familiar? . . . It's hard to envision but a former munitions factory in Hamburg-Altona, Germany, is now an action and communications center for the arts. . . Aduntusan (Cherokee for "expanded spirit of life") announces the organization of *Project Life*. They want 350,000 voting-age participants to move late this summer to Alaska to assume eventual political control of that state. Write to 'em at Box 534, Port Washington, NY. . . Safe Return plans a national campaign in support of self-exiled soldiers who wish to return. "Even those who 'oppose' the war are willing to lead the self-retired vets, like sacrificial lambs, into the military courts."

SOS: Robert Malecki in Youngstown's Mahoning County Jail badly needs financial and moral support. He was to come out of prison Feb. 15 after serving time for destruction of draft records in Silver Springs, Md., but he faces a grand jury indictment. "So the possibilities of getting out slowly diminish." Contact Bob Begin, 1703 W. 32 St., Cleveland.
—Ruth Dear

REVIEWS

THE CUBAN FILM FESTIVAL IN NEW YORK "Memories of Underdevelopment"

Director Tomas Gutierrez Alea

New York's Cuban Film Festival has at this writing suffered some hairy problems with the U.S. State Dept. and Cuban Exile groups. The Cubans celebrated the right to democratic dialogue in their adopted homeland by planting two fire bombs, one inside and one outside the Olympia Theater, where the festival was to be held—smashing the theater's glass front doors—after it was announced the festival would be held there. Earlier, State had barred two Cuban directors—probably among the hemisphere's most interesting new cinema talents—and two other Cuban filmmakers from contaminating our shores with their presence at the festival. And American Documentary Films, the mostly sponsors of the festival, was so financially pressed and/or legally hassled that I may be writing about a festival that never was. If it happened, it ran 7 features and 15 shorts and documentaries at the Olympia twice March 24 and April 2.

In the midst of all the bombs and bombast over the festival one salient point went largely unnoticed—largely because critics and newsmen had managed to see only one of the scheduled features and two documentaries at the time of this writing—the films come to us with impressive artistic credentials. Discounting one program of 8 documentaries that sound as if the propaganda peanut butter might be about ankle deep—including such unpromising titles as "Ever Onward to Victory—a lyrical tribute to Che Guevara" and "Death to the Invader—Defeat of the CIA mercenaries at the Bay of Pigs" etc.—the festival films have piled up a staggering total of 20 International film festival prizes and two honorable mentions. Not that festival medals mean much, but they do mean *somebody* liked the films which is something to go on in these times, when movies are most definitely not "better than ever."

In the last issue of WIN, I wrote about two excellent documentaries. At this writing, the press had been able to see only one feature, "Memories of Underdevelopment," produced in 1968 by Cuban State Film Productions. I never thought I would see *Latinos* make a film about themselves with such unflinching honesty. And I never thought such an openly critical film could be made in a socialist state, much less a *Latin* socialist state. The film is tough and honest not just with the flabby *Capitalistas* but with the whole grey panorama of life in a society which has had to scrap a lot of old glamour for a new order of life, juster but unspeakably drabber as well.

The film is episodic and very simple. It follows the life of a man approaching middle age (is 38 still *approaching* or in it?) in the turmoil and revolutionary excitement of the 1961 Bay of Pigs crisis. The film opens as he puts his wife and parents on the plane for the U.S. Soon he is also seeing his best friend off. But these airport partings do not cut him off from his past. He cannot escape it, of course. It is around him, mountains of memories that lie like piles of emotional rubble on almost every corner of dreary Havana.

A man for whom, in his own words, "Everything came too early or too late," he gave up his dreams of becoming a writer after he received a furniture store from his rich parents for his 26th birthday. Now he sits among the stuffy

splendor of expensive-but-bad modern furniture, expensive reproductions, imported bric-a-brac and gringo electrical appliances, living off rents from half a dozen apartments he no longer legally owns and watching his island home in turmoil around him. He was rich too soon and now the revolution has come to late to free him from a life that he never should have fallen into in the first place. He is sympathetic to the new order but it is, to him, as "underdeveloped" as the old.

Calmly, with as much love as candor, director Tomas Gutierrez Alea (the excellent screenplay is also by him, based on a book by Edmund Desnoes) follows his Oblomov-esque character as he walks the streets of Havana trying to find meaning in a people whom he considers underdeveloped and a revolution he sees as equally primary.

The protagonist casts his critical eye even on that most sacrosanct object of Latin macho-dom: the women. "Cuban women are like wonderful fruit that goes rotten with amazing speed."

Our Cuban Oblomov finds refuge in pursuing women and manages to bed a pathetic little would-be actress, trying to fill the void left by a wife whom he loved, but not fiercely enough to keep or follow, not little enough to completely forget. His adventure ends in boredom and ultimately in a court case on a statutory rape charge.

Underdevelopment is what the hero sees around him, whether watching the troops march off to defend the island from the CIA or looking into his mirror past the imported American shaving cream. And there are no easy answers to this underdevelopment, neither for the film's principal character nor for the viewer. The hero is himself a mirror for the larger problems of a people caught between the great ideals they pursue and their own very Latin limitations, between the superficiality of Caribbean comfortableness and the deep-seated social and economic problems of the country which demand solutions. The paralysis of the hero is born out of an inability to take up great causes which seem out of all proportion to the character of the people fighting them. These are very serious issues and the film offers no pat answer. I kept waiting for the revolutionary commercial to come in somewhere at the end, but it never came. Its honesty must have set many Cubans to thinking very seriously.

I do not know how this film was allowed to be made in Cuba, but I am immensely glad that it was. When anyone manages to be honest, we are all able to be a little more honest with ourselves. In this spare, simple Cuban film there is a big bell tolling for all of us. —Lance Belville

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THE FOXFIRE BOOK

Eliot Wigginton, editor,
Anchor/Doubleday

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Maybe you've seen *Foxfire*, a magazine written, edited, and published by high school students at the Rabun Gap-Nacoochee School in the southern Appalachian mountains of western Georgia. I hadn't; just ads for it and raves about it in places like the *Whole Earth Catalog*. If you have seen it, you don't need my review of this collection; if not, maybe I should tell you that Eliot Wigginton is a high school English teacher who managed to survive in that dubious-if-not-wholly-doomed profession by setting his kids loose with cameras, tape-recorders, and typewriters. The kids went to their grandparents, and the published results include a series of really fascinating and instructive articles on:

hog dressing; log cabin building; mountain crafts and foods; planting by the signs; snake lore; hunting tales; faith healing; moonshining; and other affairs of plain living

It's an absolutely first rate how-to-do-it volume. I liked especially, and learned most from, the sections on "Tools and Skills", "Soapmaking", "Slaughtering Hogs", and "Moonshining as a Fine Art". (That last-named is far and away the most complete and intelligent manual of its kind I've found anywhere.) But this list tells you more about where I happen to be at in the business of *plain living* right now than it does of the relative worth of anything in here. Believe me, it's all great stuff, and I expect to be consulting this book for years to come—if friends and neighbors don't read it to pieces, that is.

But the real point of *Foxfire*, and *The Foxfire Book*, is the "... *pre-television, pre-automobile, pre-flight individuals who endured and survived the incredible task of total self-sufficiency, and came out of it all with a perspective on ourselves as a country that we are not likely to see again. They have something to tell us about self-reliance, human interdependence, and the human spirit that we would do well to listen to.*"

That was from Wigginton's introduction, and so is this: "*Daily our grandparents are moving out of our lives, taking with them, irreparably, the kind of information contained in this book. They are taking it, not because they want to, but because they think we don't care. And it isn't happening just in Appalachia...*"

What more can I say, besides *read it*. Whatever your reason—needing this scarce-as-hen's-teeth wisdom and know-how for your own present or future lifestyle, as I do; historical interest; or sheer curiosity—you'll be sure-as-sundown glad you did.

—Paul Johnson



This is an enema testing center....

MILITARY CHAPLAINS: FROM A RELIGIOUS MILITARY TO A MILITARY RELIGION

edited by Harvey G. Cox, Jr.

New York: American Report Press, 1971

162 pages; paperback, \$2.45

In light of the Pentagon Papers, My Lai and other atrocities in Vietnam, why have the military chaplains—servants of the God of love and mercy—been so silent? This is a painful question for the American religious community, faced as it is, with a crisis of mission and credibility and a constituency that ranks social action the lesser of priorities in a world of change, injustice, and morally disastrous public policies.

Military Chaplains opens with the most comprehensive history of the subject now in print. It's a little heavy, but interesting. This is followed by two key sociological essays that focus on the socialization and integration of the "man of God" into the military establishment. These go a long way toward explaining why chaplains are so often hostile or indifferent to in-service CO's and other "non-conformists."

Peter Berger and Daniel Pinard contend that religion in the military has become military religion with each branch being its own denomination. In fact, chaplains come to look at their fellow religious brothers and sisters as outsiders. Gordon Zahn quotes one as saying: "We don't want our priests to be civilians working for the Army. . . The civilian priest, no matter how well meaning he be, is not one of us. He is a stranger; he brings a message from the outside world."

Although there are few chaplains who foam at the mouth like Cardinal Spellman about "fighting for Christ," military religion, "and the chaplaincy that serves as its mediating agency, function to legitimate the military enterprise." In their examination of educational materials disseminated by chaplains, Berger and Pinard found great stress on authority in all forms as being good and God-given. Nowhere was it suggested "that religious conscience may be called at certain times to resist the authority of the state and its military arm."

A meditation entitled, "God's Boot Camp" ends with: "Dear Lord, help me to stay in your boot camp until I have developed moral muscle and wind for your prayer power. Amen." Another military cannibal writes: "Vietnam is a grim reminder that the price of freedom is always high. However, since the price has been paid, American Christians can enjoy a twofold freedom. We were born into a free society bought with the blood of others. Then we were born again and delivered from the bondage of sin through faith in the blood of Jesus Christ. . ."

Like his civilian counterpart, the chaplain tries to preserve decencies in the midst of indecency. "The wholesome soldier is physically and morally healthy. He is clean-cut, dependable, honest. At the same time, he is tough." It's the old personal salvation bit, the hired holy man asked to pray over public affairs but to stay out of politics and confine ministry to individuals' private needs for personal salvation.

Gordon Zahn points out that while Catholic chaplains are overrepresented in the Air Force, they also appear to have a high turnover rate apparently due to changes in Catholic theology. Vatican II condemned "any act of war aimed indiscriminately at the destruction of entire cities or extensive areas along with their population" as "a crime against God and man himself." Since "the Air Force is the service most likely to be ordered to undertake the type of military action so explicitly condemned, this could intensify and make more salient the tension felt by the Air Force chaplain

and lead to a higher rate of turnover. . . ."

Four chapters by chaplains are most revealing and anecdotal such as Chaplain Freyer being asked by another chaplain how to spell the word "clergyman." Rabbi Martin Siegel suggests a civilian chaplaincy both to free the chaplain and put the soldier more at ease. In his opinion "the congressman rather than the chaplain is the major escape for the disaffected in the military."

Randolph Jonakait presents a legal argument that the chaplaincy is unconstitutional and Harvey Cox notes in the introduction that "James Madison opposed paying of chaplains by public funds as constituting a danger, not to the state but to the freedom of religion."

In summation, Robert McAfee Brown presents the arguments for and against "military chaplaincy" and "chaplaincy to the military" concluding with a plea to divest the military chaplaincy "of both the symbolic and actual accoutrements that render its ministry ambiguous, so that a genuine chaplaincy to the military can emerge."

Missing are views from gung-ho career chaplains and concrete proposals for implementing civilian ministries to the military. There has already been some consideration of this

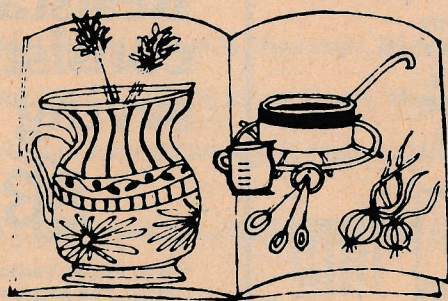
in the religious community and the Ecumenical Witness on Indochina held in January went further by urging all religious groups to withdraw their chaplains as both protest over the war and prelude to establishing civilian ministries.

This has been misinterpreted by some as an abandonment of the military and condemnation of the chaplains. But as **Military Chaplains** makes clear, it is really an effort to liberate "the man of God" because the nature of present arrangements is such as to make even the most conscientious chaplain's prophetic ministry difficult. In also proposing a demilitarized chaplaincy the Episcopal Peace Fellowship has argued that it is the purpose of the Church to minister to all people, saints and sinners, but not to pray over their affairs and sprinkle Holy Water on jets bound for bombing raids.

Of course, structural changes in the ministry will not accomplish the desired ends as long as religion's fundamental values remain martial and nationalistic. If religion in America really became demilitarized, de-propertied, de-capitalized, and de-nationalized, there wouldn't be any institutional religion left. Wouldn't that be nice? Clergy would have to become tent-makers and congregations would have to worship at public crossroads.

—John Kincaid

FOOD



YOGURT

I notice you run recipes now and then, but I haven't seen a good one for yogurt. Here's one from the Powell House Cookbook (ask your friendly neighborhood Friend to get you one—it is a fund-raiser for Powell House, a good place run by New York State Quakers) with some Adelle Davis Quotes out of her 3½ pages on yogurt.

First, Adelle: "Yogurt can be prepared at home by adding to warm milk . . . already prepared yogurt, which contains the [live yogurt] bacteria. As long as the milk is kept warm, the bacteria grow, thriving on milk sugar and breaking it down into lactic acid. As the acid is formed, it causes the milk to thicken and become like junket or a soft custard. At this stage the yogurt should be chilled immediately to stop bacterial growth; otherwise so much acid will be liberated that the milk curds will become hard and separate from the whey, and the product will be too sour to be palatable."

"Chilled yogurt is usually enjoyed when served with sweetened fruit or with black molasses and cinnamon . . ."

"Yogurt is nutritionally superior to sweet milk in many ways. The milk protein in yogurt is partially broken down by the bacteria; some of the calcium dissolves in lactic acid. If digestion is below par, the protein and calcium from yogurt are more available than in sweet milk. The bacteria in yogurt thrive in the intestines, whereas bacteria found in ordinary sour milk and buttermilk are killed at 90° F, or below body temperature. The yogurt bacteria living in the intestines break down milk sugar into lactic acid; since the bacteria which form gas and cause putrefaction cannot live in lactic acid, they are largely destroyed . . . The yogurt bacteria appear to synthesize . . . the entire group of B vitamins in

amounts sufficient for both themselves and their host . . . Evidence is accumulating that this source of B vitamins [may] be largely responsible for the vigor, long lives, and lack of baldness and gray hair among the Bulgarians . . ."

"When health is below par, it is often advisable to drink as much as a quart of yogurt daily, substituting it entirely for fresh milk. Since the bacteria are killed by heat, there is no nutritional advantage in using yogurt in cooking."

In the following recipe, contributed to the Powell House Cookbook by Cynthia J. Fisher, note that the milk is first repasteurized in order to kill any bacteria which might inhibit the yogurt bacteria. This is certainly the easiest, surest, and least expensive recipe I've come across. It does require, though, an accurate candy or dairy thermometer, a worthwhile investment if you don't have one.

2 qts. homogenized milk

½ c. starter (Dannon or Lacto Plain yogurt or your own last batch)

1/3 c. non-fat dry milk

"Heat milk, stirring constantly, to 175° F (80° C). Add non-fat milk solids and stir until dissolved. Cool . . . to 135° F (58° C). A cold-water bath (a sink or large pot filled with cold water) will speed up the cooling. Add some of the warm milk to the starter. Mix well and then add this to the bowl [or pot] of warm milk. Beat with an egg beater . . . until the starter is well mixed with milk. Cover container with a lid and wrap entire container in a large, heavy towel which has been folded in half. [We use several towels and a blanket.] Allow covered container to sit in a warm [very warm] room for about four hours, until yogurt is the consistency of custard. Refrigerate several hours before serving. And don't forget to save a half cup of this yogurt as starter for the next preparation."

If the first time you make it this way, you think it's too thin or not tangy enough, then the next time, let it sit for 4½ to 5 hours; but it may form small curds that look a bit like sand. Also, don't leave it so long that it cools below 90°, or it may sour before it is thoroughly chilled.

Blankets are easier to come by than yogurt makers or 2½ qt. thermos bottles, and the latter don't allow for sufficient cooling. Trust this recipe. And remember that if yogurt doesn't form, you can just repasteurize it and add fresher starter. (Check the date on the Dannon container.)

—Dick Margulis

classifieds

PEACE GROUPS—New bumper sticker: "STOP BOMBING ASIA" (orange on black), 50 or more 15¢ @. From: C. Knight, 95 Fayerweather St., Cambridge, MA 02138

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

For a future WIN issue on agriculture, we need new 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 about ag conditions in Midwest and California. Marty Jezer, RD 3, Box 160, Brattleboro, Vt. 05301

Would very much appreciate a portable radio. It would have to be one of the beggar models, (like Grundig 305) as they are we are way out in the country. Joe Szymankiewicz, 122-439, Chillicothe Correctional Institute, P.O. Box 5500, Chillicothe, Ohio 45601

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, NY 10009

APPALACHIAN quilts, dolls and other crafts, made in the eastern Kentucky hills. For free information, write: Box 10, Hillier, KY.

Prisoner(s) would like to get info for political awareness—uplight (punishment lockup) can receive mail, newsletters, pamphlets, etc. All views are welcomed and would like to correspond with some together people to rap on current happenings & movements. James E. Szulcowski H-4923, P.O. Box 9901, Pittsburg, PA 15233

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WRL West, 833 Haight St., San Francisco, CA 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

Grand Rapids WRL, Box 1114, Grand Rapids, Mich. 49501

Hastings WRL, c/o Steve Borton, Rt. 5, Hastings, Mich. 49058

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

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Broome Co. WRL, P.O. Box 1351, Binghamton, N.Y. 13902

GROPE/WRL, 244 F RD1, Kerhonkson, N.Y. 12446

Ithaca WRL, 66 Hilltop Rd., Ithaca, N.Y. 14850

Jamestown WRL, 12 Partridge St., Jamestown, N.Y. 14701

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Cincinnati WRL, 1255 Paddock Hills Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio 45229

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

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Oklahoma WRL, Box H, Norman, Oklahoma 73069

TEXAS

Austin WRL/Direct Action, P.O. Box 7161, University Station, Austin, Texas 78712

Ft. Worth WRL, 1322 Hemphill, Ft. Worth, Tx. 76104

VIRGINIA

Edinburg Virginia WRL, Rt. 3, Edinburg, Va. 22824

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

FREE TO GO. When William Kuenning went to D.C. on spring vacation it was not to participate in the Mayday demos. But he wound up by doing so and he, his wife, son and daughter all were busted. He tells the story, human interest style, in this pamphlet. 35 pp. 75cents

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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memorandum

March 7, 1972

to: All Office Branch Supervisors, Reviewers, Interviewers, and TSR's

from: Assistant Chief, Office Branch

subject: War Crime Deductions

We have been advised that several taxpayers, protesting the War in Vietnam, have filed their income tax returns showing a deduction captioned, "War Crime Deduction". Some of these returns have been processed through Service Center as Mathematical Errors and TDA's have been issued. In response to the TDA's, some of these taxpayers are filing Forms 1040X while others are protesting the assessment on the grounds that there was no Mathematical Error and, therefore, the assessment is invalid.

If you encounter any taxpayers or process any assessments which fall into the above category, please advise me immediately since the Department of Justice is currently studying the validity of all such assessments.


Samuel J. McCarthy, Jr.

editor's note: TDA--Taxpayer's Delinquent Account

Internal Revenue Service