

September 6, 1973/20¢

# win

PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

CESAR CHAVEZ SPEAKS OUT ON NONVIOLENCE  
PHIL & DAN BERRIGAN ON TORTURE  
IN NORTH VIETNAM  
WRL CELEBRATES 50th ANNIVERSARY  
VVAW TRIAL DRAGS ON



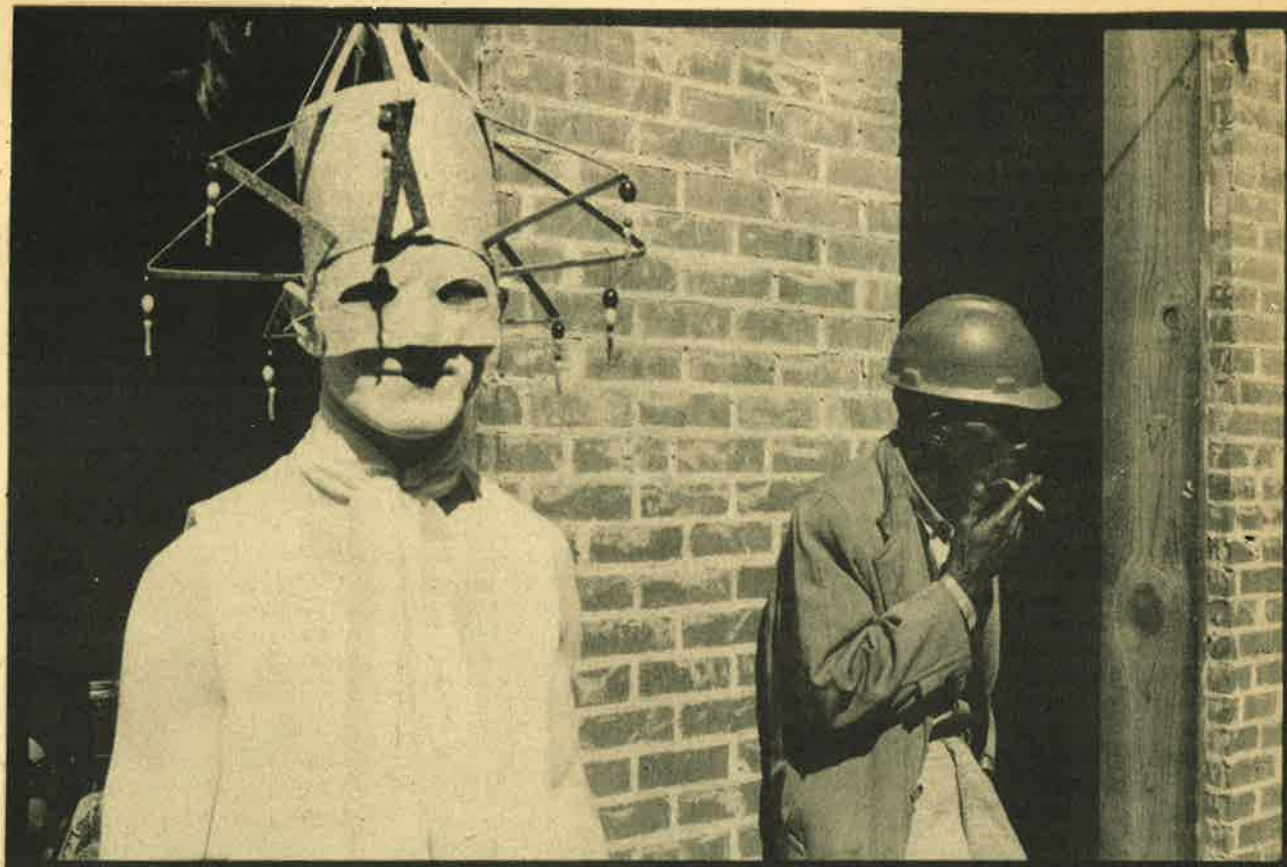


Photo by Murph Dowouis. Murph is a native of Louisiana who did a stretch for draft refusal a couple of years ago. We first met him in the mid-sixties when he was working with the Catholic Worker in New York.

# LETTERS

Larry Gara's "Prison Notes" column in the July 26 issue of WIN pointed out that many juveniles who are jailed are held for "offenses" which apply only to non-adults. What he failed to point out is the heavy sexist bias that exists in the treatment of juveniles.

Data reported by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania on offenses committed by juveniles sent to "training schools" during 1965 and 1966 showed that about 30% of the boys were jailed for "offenses against authority," a euphemism for such things as ungovernable behavior, running away, truancy, etc., the remaining boys were jailed for offenses that are also applicable to adults such as theft or assault. More than 70% of the girls were jailed for "offenses against authority." Another 13 or 14% were jailed for sex offenses; for many of these the offense was "promiscuity."

Futhermore, girls charged with offenses applicable only to juveniles seem to receive harsher treatment than those charged with adult offenses, at least in Pennsylvania during 1965 and 1966 (I doubt if things have changed too much.) Of the girls charged with juvenile offenses about 45% were held in either jails or detention homes pending their court hearing compared with 24% of

those charged with misdemeanors and 35% of those charged with felonies. Of those charged with juvenile offenses, 15% are eventually sent to an institution for delinquents versus 9% of those charged with misdemeanors and 14% of those charged with felonies. (This data is from a report I wrote for the American Association of University Women as part of a project that resulted in the formation of the Pennsylvania Program for Women and Girl Offenders.)

—BERT KRITZER  
Chapel Hill, NC

Arthur Waskow's article on "Watergate and Presidential Power" (WIN, 7/12/73) is an excellent analysis of the historical development of our present situation. It certainly gives a great deal of coherence to the whole Watergate mess, and the events of the last ten years.

Waskow suggests that as a first step toward rectifying the situation, Nixon should be immediately relieved of his presidential power. In this context, however, I would like to raise one very serious point. Knowing, as we do, Nixon's mentality and the way he operates, can we reasonably expect him to willingly give up his presidential power

through impeachment, or any other means, before 1976? What is there really to prevent him as a last resort from simply utilizing his military connections to forceably seize control of the government and dissolve Congress? Note that of the two closest advisors to Nixon, one is a former fast rising Army general, the other is a former secretary of defense.

To me, such a possibility does not seem too far-fetched considering Nixon's personality and everything he has done so far and planned to do. This country is certainly not immune to what has happened in similar situations in other countries, and at other times (Germany). The potential consequences of this entire historical period boggle the mind.

—JOHN WALDRON  
W. Lafayette, Ind.

The 8/2/73 issue of WIN, came as stab in a pained chest. There's a Jewish folk song: "Our tears no one sees, our cries no one hears". The sight of the shield of David spread on two pages, one of them in red, the symbol of blood. This brought to mind when this shield meant entry to death; A Jew caught without a sign was immanently dead. So who wants to be reminded about it; who wants to see it again. It should be buried with all the glories of war.

As to the Jewish left, there's none. We have an American Jewish Community, that acts and considers itself as a colonial power. Before the Watergate became known to the American public, Zionist publications prided themselves in promoting and guiding Nixon to his power.

The Jewish Labor Bund is an exception to the Jewish environment. It still speaks of a world where the exploited masses will come to triumph in life. A great humane social order will be the destiny of the world

—DAVID BERKINGOFF  
Bronx, N.Y.

Leah Fritz's article [7/19/73] zotted me back to the time when the other people in my house disposed of the cat who lived with me because "having pets is counter-revolutionary." I can feel myself to be where she is/was writing that "Un-Manifesto" whenever I state my sexual preferences (after having been asked to do so) and find that that statement always offends somebody who then labels me "the enemy." Etcetera.

Acceptance of persons without filtering them through ideologies seems to me to be what she's talking about. So I'll go ahead and work on some new myths—not exclusivistic ones, but more wholistic ones, because that's important to me right now—and I'm not saying you have to buy into them. Just like I'm not going to denounce Rosemary Ruether because she is using masculine generic language. Etcetera.

In her search for a nonviolent mode of living, Leah almost seems to be suggesting we do away with even spiritual-moral violence-and-conquest. She moves me to aspire to the same.

—MARY SUE GAST  
Chicago, IL

Leah Fritz's unmanifesto, July 19, prompted me to thank god for 'they' are finally saying it! Down here in the ranks there has been considerable annoyance with the dogmatism of the 'heavies.' Particularly frustrating is the phenomena in which we progress within the left by reading or listening to such notables as Johnston, Mao, WIN, Lynd, etc. and adhere staunchly to their stands (until we progress further). We understand the good in what they say without challenging them on any grounds (per our good Amerikan upbringing. Sadly, very few of the notables ask the criticism which they have so readily produced. Thus, their boldacious assertions of their individual beliefs, analyses, too easily charm the hungry minds.

All too seldom are we asked to think of something to do about the situation; rather we are told the proper response, attitude and method of communicating it. However, we fall into the trap of labels such as Gay Power, Third World power, etc. which she has ridiculed because we have not been encouraged or allowed (by intimidation, etc.) to develop more meaningful conceptions of where we are going and what it means—they are constantly provided for us. I suppose I am trying to ask for more patience on her part with those who lay under the rhetoric they support. Often the old new left (or whatever label they would prefer) only changes the words and not the framework.

Us youn'uns take the same part in that framework that we more suspiciously took with our parents (the petty bourgeois, we are told).

Anyway, what she said made a lot of sense, but the way she said, challengingly and for the reflection (not memorization) of the readers, really was all.

—LINDA J. LARKIN  
Milwaukee, WI

I don't propose to express a point of view about Leah Fritz's comments (in her un-manifesto) on lesbianism and gay liberation, though I would certainly agree that the gay movement is not immune from the illness of dogmatism and platitudes. I do wish to strongly take issue with her snide comment that "It's easy to grab a publisher or a headline with a title like LESBIAN NATION." That book, by Jill Johnston, is one of only three books on the subject of lesbian/feminist liberation. The number of books on male homosexuality is significantly greater, but there are really only a handful which treat the topic from any kind of radical perspective. It has been a difficult struggle for gay liberation literature to be published and distributed. WIN has not reviewed any of the lesbian books, for example, at least not yet. The idea that the writings of lesbians and male homosexuals constitute a media fad is a misconception at best and bigotry at worst. The other two lesbian liberation books, by the way, are LESBIAN/WOMAN by Del Martin and Phyllis Lyons (Bantam paperback), and SAPHO WAS A RIGHT-ON WOMAN by Sydney Abbott and Barbara Love (Stein & Day).

—ALLEN YOUNG  
Westwood, Mass.

I wanted to compliment you on the piece you did [WIN, 4/19/73] asking folks to recommend some useful books. I suppose some would call that filler material, but I would call that the personal side of our politics and hope you will never forget that that is the key to your unique contribution. I also wanted to suggest two books that I was very much surprized at their absence. David Horowitz's EMPIRE AND REVOLUTION (Vintage Paper), and Marcuse's COUNTERREVOLUTION AND REVOLT (Beacon). Both are essential in understanding the Nixon era.

—PHIL WOODS  
Denver, Co.

Revolutionary Greetings to all prisoners Black, Brown, Red, Yellow and White.

September 13th, will mark the day that our brothers were beat and killed at Attica. The people on the streets are doing many deeds of solidarity to aid the survivors of the Attica massacre.

In light of this solidarity I propose an act of solidarity that all of the convicted class may participate in to show that Attica is not forgotten, that men did not die in vain, that unknown men are not on trial. Let us all in racial unity and solidarity throughout the U.S. Prisons Federal and State decline to eat our meals on September 13th. Breakfast, Dinner and Supper. If they sacrificed their lives, let us at least remember them in a national fast and day of mourning remembering Attica. A PRISONER



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Cover: Dorothy Day being arrested at the UFW strike picket line in Fresno, California. Photo by Bob Fitch.

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# NONVIOLENCE ON THE LINE

## an interview with Cesar Chavez



Photo by Bob Fitch

Several years ago a study indicated that the average period of visible activism for war protesters was five months. Their war resistance was taken up like an intense hobby, completely consuming for a time, then abandoned to a kind of attic for one's past.

I recalled the five-month statistic while listening to several attendees at a liberal San Francisco church. One was especially vehement in expressing his "exhaustion" with food boycotts in support of farmworkers. "I didn't eat grapes for three years. I didn't eat lettuce for one year. Am I supposed to spend the rest of my life fasting? I've had enough." He sounded as if he were discussing a hobby with which he'd grown bored.

Few farmworkers have time for hobbies. In California, America's largest single agricultural source, the farmworker's normal day begins well before sunrise. In old cars and rusting trucks and buses, they make their way to poorly-paid hard labor—parents and grandparents, men and women, and children too.

For 11 years Cesar Chavez has been organizing those families. He's been incredibly effective. Another year or two and the Spanish word, *huelga*, ought to be more familiar than its English-American equivalent—*strike*. Among farmworkers in the San Joaquin Valley two cries seem to dominate—"Viva la huelga!" and "Viva Cesar Chavez!"

The *huelga* has taken place at the supermarket and dining table as well as on the field. Joining in national boycotts, hundreds and thousands of persons have gone without table grapes and iceberg lettuce—and sometimes without strawberries, wine, melons and other crops. The partnership between farmworker and eater has been so potent that a few years ago the reluctant growers began to sign contracts with the union Chavez founded—the United Farmworkers of the AFL-CIO—and the Farmworker Eagle became a familiar sight on agricultural products not only from California but from Arizona, Florida and other states as well.

Recently, as WIN has been reporting for months, the California growers have been involved in what appears to be a final attempt to drive away a union that is interested not only in better wages and living conditions for its members, but which is stubborn in its practice of union democracy and adamant in its opposition to the use of those chemicals that particularly endanger both the farmworker and the consumer. The potential of union veto-power over a number of self-serving agribusiness practices has infuriated the major owners. Their response has been to seek contracts with the Teamsters, a union that has sworn-off the kind of democracy and worker-consumer health interest that characterize the UFW.

In the past several weeks events have taken an even

more ominous turn as violence on the part of those opposed to the UFW has erupted. On August 15 Nagi Daifullah, a 24-year-old immigrant farmworker from Yemen died as a result of being beat over the head with a deputy sheriff's flashlight. In a display of support for the union and *la Huelga*, over 10,000 farmworkers turned out for the funeral procession. The day after Daifullah died, Juan de la Cruz, a founding member of the union was shot dead on the picket line. Cesar's 24-year-old son has also been shot at.

The response of the union to these developments has been to temporarily suspend picketing at the fields while at the same time stepping up boycott activities at supermarkets.

On August 4th I spent part of the morning driving with Cesar Chavez from the UFW headquarters at La Paz to the Lamont UFW center near Bakersfield. We drove with Cesar's son-in-law and another friend, both unarmed bodyguards, and two German shepherds, Boycott and Huelga. Along the way there was a half-hour stop to join with 300 or so strikers at one of the Guimarra vineyards.

Having already experienced the heat and hostility the strikers face each day, having talked with nurses who had stitched up the feet of striker children who had stumbled on spikes hidden at the edge of vineyards, having met with people who hours later were to be arrested in 3 a.m. police raids on their houses—having seen the sacrifice demanded by the strike, my questions to Cesar centered on the miracle of the farmworkers' continuing nonviolence. —Jim Forest

**CHAVEZ:** Nonviolence is very difficult. In our case our job is never done because we're always dealing with new people in these situations. We're always at the beginning point. Where you happen to deal with people you've dealt with before, it's no problem, but that's not afforded us very often. And so we now have 10,000 people on strike in seven different places and in almost every single case—with 98% of the people—they've never had the experience. That's difficult.

You have to deal with them in such a way that you don't *impose* the idea of nonviolence on them but that they *accept* it. Because if you try to impose it in a situation as difficult as this one, a situation that's so charged up, they'll reject everything. You have to have a very skilled method of convincing people.

I think the first prerequisite of nonviolence is for the nonviolent person to assume that there are other feelings and not to impose. Trying to impose is a mistake a lot of *non-activist* nonviolent people fall into, just as they fall into the trap of thinking nonviolence

is a land of milk and honey. Nonviolence is really *tough*. You don't practice nonviolence by attending conferences—you practice it on the picket lines. And if you've been here two or three days, you know how difficult that is.

But once the workers make that first step toward nonviolence and they accept the idea, then you begin to work at carrying it out. It goes by steps.

We're fortunate. We've been able to hang on to nonviolence in these really large confrontations we've been having. Some people still throw rocks—but they're not carrying guns or knives or baseball bats, and the rock throwing is only occasional, so we think we're 99 and 9/10ths% successful.

**FOREST:** How do the people do it? How do they remain nonviolent in that heat, under those conditions, with those pressures?

**CHAVEZ:** A lot has to do with leadership and the people running the strike. I'm *not* running the strike, as you know.

In some places they've been striking a long time. They're disciplined. In some cases they're not disciplined, but they've got the idea—initiating, creative picketing, never permitting the people to feel they're up against a stone wall, that they've come to the last. And that's more important than *talking* about nonviolence.

The thing we have going for us is that people are willing to sacrifice themselves. When you have that spirit, then nonviolence is not very difficult to accomplish. It becomes mechanical then—just a matter of working on mechanics.

But I think that we're just blessed with the idea that the workers accept and understand—as part of their tradition—they accept and understand the meaning of sacrifice. And once you're willing to do that, then you're well on your way to putting the whole idea of nonviolence before them. And with some creative picketing, as I said, this does the trick.

**FOREST:** Cesar, it has been 11 years since you began organizing the farmworkers. Have there been times when your convictions about nonviolence were shaken?

**CHAVEZ:** No. Because I'm an extremely practical man. I don't think any one event, or any one day, or any one action, or any one confrontation wins or loses a battle. You keep that in mind and be practical about it.

It's foolish then to try and gamble everything on one roll of the dice—which is what violence really gets down to.

I think the practical person has a better chance of dealing with nonviolence than people who tend to be dreamers or who are impractical. We're not nonviolent because we want to save our souls. We're nonviolent because we want to get some social justice for the workers.

If all you're interested in is going around being nonviolent and so concerned about saving yourself, at some point the whole thing breaks down—you say to yourself, "Well, let *them* be violent, as long as *I'm* nonviolent." Or you begin to think it's okay to lose the battle as long as you remain nonviolent. The idea is that you have to *win* and be nonviolent. That's extremely important! You've got to be nonviolent—and you've got to *win* with nonviolence!

And there's no cop-out. If I lose, I can't blame nonviolence. I lost for other reasons. Right at the beginning I have to accept the fact that, if I lose, it's

my fault more than anyone else's.

**FOREST:** You mentioned that the workers are sustained by a tradition of sacrifice. What sustains you?

**CHAVEZ:** People. I have to touch people, and I have to get so close to them that my skin rubs with them. That's where I get my strength. I'm at least experienced enough to know that all power comes from the people. So I stay close to them. That's where I get my strength. *They* give it to me.

And sometimes it works the other way. When we meet, especially under these very difficult situations, people often say, "Oh, it's so good to see you here. We feel strong when you come." And I say, "How funny! I feel the same way!" (Laughter.) "I feel strong when I see you."

But the business of nonviolence in struggle is not angelic. It's the business of working with people—at best it's a very tough proposition.

**FOREST:** I noticed in your office many of Gandhi's books as well as drawings of him. There was a photo of Martin Luther King. There were various editions of the Bible. To what extent do you find yourself turning to these sources?

**CHAVEZ:** Well, number one, in our movement most of us are the action type and not the philosopher type. This is probably the most I'll ever do on nonviolence—talking when someone comes around and asks questions about it. I won't write about it. I don't want to write about it. I haven't got time.

The philosophy is great, but you take Gandhi and King and learn from them because they were activists and strategists. What people have to understand is that Gandhi—besides being a saint (not an angel but a saint!)—Gandhi was a masterful strategist. When I read him, I read him for that.

I think I've read almost everything Gandhi wrote on nonviolence. I have the concept. I may not understand everything, but I understand enough to carry me through.

But then I go behind the scenes to find out the *strategy* that he used—which in many cases makes nonviolence workable.

**FOREST:** You make me think of a phrase I heard in Berkeley the other day — "*cheap pacifism*." The phrase was meant to describe the stance of people who use the highly moral rhetoric of nonviolence while in reality excusing themselves from any real response to human suffering. . .

**CHAVEZ:** That's not nonviolence! There's no reason to be nonviolent — there's no challenge — unless you are living for people. These two men — Gandhi and King — did it for the masses, for the people. That's how it has to be done — for a purpose.

It's amazing how people lose track of basics. Gandhi was one of the best fund-raisers the world has ever seen! (Laughter.) But people don't look at it that way! They don't!

One millionaire Indian said, "It costs me millions to keep Gandhi poor." (Continued laughter.)

When you put that together with Gandhi's political acumen—well, you find he's a living, operating guy working with people.

What I'm trying to say is that you can't go around pretending to be an angel when you're not an angel for the sake of making people believe you're nonviolent. That's cheap. It doesn't work that way.

I get continually irritated by people who walk around as if they were on eggshells. I don't buy that.

I resent it. I can't stand it. Nonviolent people aren't part angel. "Let the world go to hell over there"—that's what that says to me.

**FOREST:** You draw a distinction between saint and angel. For you the saint isn't an eggshell walker?

**CHAVEZ:** Right! You think about St. Paul—there was a man! And you think about Gandhi.

You know, Gandhi's secretary was once asked by some westerners who came idolizing Gandhi, "Oh, how is it to live with Gandhi?"

And his secretary says, "To live with Gandhi is like living in the mouth of a lion." (Burst of laughter.)

**FOREST:** . . . Jonah in the whale's belly. . .

**CHAVEZ:** You see, he was difficult to work with. I suppose living with Martin Luther King was also difficult. It was push and push and push. So you learn that from them.

And you go to the source and read the story of Christ's life here on earth and you get the message. He went over, you know, and upset some tables and said some very tough things to the rich.

**FOREST:** The same people who spoke of "*cheap pacifism*" said it is extremely important to distinguish between nonviolent conflict resolution and the building up of justice. They said the main problem now is getting people to stop using violence as a method and that we should worry more about that and less about

justice. Your own approach seems very different—struggling first with the problem of injustice. . .

**CHAVEZ:** With the struggle here, we'll sit back and we'll talk about nonviolence and we'll have made more converts than you'll ever make by going to ten million seminars. But also you'll have accomplished just what they want to accomplish. What do the poor care about strange philosophies of nonviolence if it doesn't mean bread for them?

**FOREST:** I recall Gandhi saying that there are so many hungry people in the world that the only way God can appear is as a piece of bread.

**CHAVEZ:** Right. You know, if people are not pacifists, it's not their fault. It's because society puts them in that spot. You've got to change it. You don't just change a man—you've got to change his environment as you do it.

(There is a pause, Cesar looking closely at a Guimarra vineyard, then gazing out the rear window, noticing a police car following.)

We have a tail on us. You know at one point we had three police cars in front and four in back. Completely surrounded! They finally stopped us, then they let us go.

(Another pause as he continues to study the vineyards, then asking the driver to get over to the far side of the fields where a strike line is located.)



photo by Bob Fitch

Dorothy Day is in jail, you know. In Fresno.  
FOREST: Yes. Her picture was in the San Francisco *Chronicle* the other day. She was under arrest, surrounded by police, and looked very proud. [see cover]  
CHAVEZ: Yes—yes she is. And she's still in! I went to visit her the day before yesterday. I visit all the prisoners. They let me go in. Oh, she was very, very happy and she was there with several nuns and a whole slew of farmworker women. They're doing okay. I asked her to teach the workers something about the labor movement and the peace movement. She will give them classes twice a day! She's a professor. She knows a lot.

FOREST: Cesar, you're somewhat famous for the stories you tell about particular people and what they are doing. Do you have any new ones?

CHAVEZ: A funny story—it's not with the workers but a Mexican lady I met in Saginaw, Michigan the other day. I was touring over there on the boycott. She had been a farmworker all her life. She's about 60 now. Her husband's retired. I was asking for volunteers and saying that the chicanos had to get out there and help. After the meeting she came up to me and said she couldn't get out there on the picket line, although she wanted with all her life. But she just couldn't because her legs were bad.

But she said she did go to the stores often to look for grapes and when she found them she always took a greeting from me to them! She said, "I go and I get their hand and I really squeeze their hand." (laughter.) She said, "I give you regards from Cesar Chavez." She looked like an angel—she struck me so! I was sure they wouldn't believe me so I got me brother and Richard and asked her to repeat what she'd said. "Yes, I go and shake their hands and really give them your regards."

FOREST: The spirit of the Boston Tea Party is still with us.

CHAVEZ: Yes. One of the fellows that works with us was driving to town the other day with his five-year-old son and he came upon a Safeway supermarket and said, "Oh, I'm going to go in a shop." The little boy in back said, "Daddy, don't you do it! Don't do it! Cesar gonna get you if you do it!"

FOREST: So many kids seem involved in this.

CHAVEZ: That's the strength of the movement. Babies! Richard's little daughter is eight months old—she came back with her mother from being arrested the other day.

FOREST: It makes you think of the people in Vietnam in prison. They arrest whole families. The prisons there are full of children.

CHAVEZ: That's right. It's not much different here. I was talking to a Teamster in Coachella recently. He said, "Don't be such a coward. Take the women and kids out of there and you men stand up and let's fight it out." And I said, "Why? Do you want to beat us up? We're game. Beat women and kids too. What's the difference?" And he started complaining, "Ah, we don't even know who in the hell we're fighting when we fight you guys. If we fight the worker, we've got to fight with his wife and his kids and his grandmother and his grandfather and his first, second, third, fourth and fifth cousins!" And I said, "That's right! Plus millions of other brothers and sisters throughout the country in the labor movement, the religious communities, the blacks, the whites. You'll have to fight everybody." And we make it that way.

FOREST: The Teamster officials seem to be particularly upset about the involvement of religious communities in this. . .

CHAVEZ: Bugged, bugged—completely bugged!

FOREST: What do you expect will happen with the negotiations between Meahy [of the AFL-CIO] and Fitzsimmons [of the Teamsters]? Do you have any hope they'll resolve this?

CHAVEZ: There's a lot of pressure there. The labor movement is getting pretty upset about the Teamsters, and I think they're going to fight Fitzsimmons' union if they don't pull back. My assessment is that the Teamsters are up against too much pressure, from the public and other organized groups. One of the big Teamster leaders said the other day, "This damned thing is like Vietnam—everybody's in on it." He was upset because he thinks it should just be the Teamsters and the Farmworkers. But I said to myself, "That's exactly what we want—we want everybody involved."

FOREST: Cesar, the AFL-CIO gave \$1.6 million to the farmworkers to help while the strike goes on—money for the striking families to live on. I understand most of that's gone now. What will happen when the strike fund is empty?

CHAVEZ: We'll go back to the old way. This is the first time we've had money. We've always had to fight without money. Our fight is not dependent on money—although money makes it easier. But we got the harvest in Coachella—about 40% of the crop there wasn't picked and 50% of what was picked wasn't ripe. You see, over there we struck early—we struck during the thinning. Here in the Lamont area they had hoped to pick five million boxes—no way! They're not going to get anywhere near that.

FOREST: Then why do the growers refuse to sign? It seems nearly insane to take on the union and its supporters throughout the country. They know about the strength of the strikes and boycotts by now. . .

CHAVEZ: They haven't yet learned to live with a real union. We beat them with the boycott last time, more than anything else, and they thought the boycott wouldn't work again.

FOREST: Have the growers changed in their basic attitudes over the years?

CHAVEZ: No, they haven't changed. They made a lot of money last year and the year before. In Delano, they averaged \$2.85 profit a box. There was no way they could ever do that before. For them, things looked better than ever.

FOREST: What are you hoping for from people around the country—the people who eat what the farmworkers raise and pick? How can they make themselves part of the *huelga*?

CHAVEZ: Boycott. Boycott the grapes, boycott the lettuce. Send money for the struggle.

You know, we feel pretty good, even though we're much where we were in 1970 before we signed the contracts. But we have what we didn't have in those days—a heck of a lot of people with an awful lot more. We're the majority now. The majority is on strike. And that's a great source of strength.

*Jim Forest is editor of Fellowship Magazine which is co-publishing this interview in its September issue. He has been a frequent contributor to these pages.*

# WRL National Conference

BY ROBERT A. PUGSLEY

Five hundred and fifty people from 25 states came to the Asilomar Conference Grounds in Pacific Grove, California, for the War Resisters League's National Conference, August 5th-7th, 1973. This was the big one, the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the WRL. Fifty years is, after all, an important milestone in the life of any individual or organization, and especially so in the sustained existence of a radical pacifist group that has come through the last turbulent half-century of world history as a consistent voice of American opposition to war—all wars.

This has been a year marked for WRL by remembrances and projections, by tracing roots and charting future directions. This important creative task has assumed a variety of forms: the 1973 WRL Calendar, containing Marty Jezer's excellent history, "Fifty Years of Nonviolent Resistance"; Marty's articles in the Special Anniversary Issue of *WIN* (7/26/73), and in the *Journal of the Institute for the Study of Non-violence* (6-7/73); stories in *The New York Times* (4/1/73) and *The Village Voice* (4/5/73); an appearance by Chairperson Irma Zigas and Field Secretary David McReynolds on the July 4th edition of NBC-TV's *Today* show; the formation of the WRL 50th Anniversary Committee; and local fund-raising events around the country.

But this three-day National Conference, the first in the League's history to be called on the West Coast and the largest it has ever held anywhere, was the most important focal point in a year of quiet celebration and purposeful rededication. This meeting brought together face-to-face many of the older men and women whose personal biographies collectively constitute much of the League's history, with those younger persons who found a source of sanity and strength and hope in the League's militantly nonviolent resistance to the American role in Indochina over the last decade.

A partial listing of Conference participants quickly revealed the diversity among the "assorted crackpots" (in David McReynolds' affectionate phrase) who go on dreaming up alternatives to war and towards a more human society. Marxists, anarchists, globalists, futurists, collectivists; gays, straights; businessmen, writers, ministers, farmers, students, lawyers, carpenters, and artists—all of these and more were there, exploring some not unimportant differences in their emphases and style, but joined by a love-bond of dedication to life and its nonviolent protection.

Also present, but not listed, was the usual quota of agents. Joan Baez made them feel as welcome as possible on Monday evening by dedicating a chorus of the haunting "Ain't ya Got a Right?" to them. The assembly followed her lead in pragmatic acceptance and good-natured openness.

The Conference began on Sunday evening, August 5th, with Roy Kepler, former Secretary of the League and longtime member of its West Coast Regional Office, welcoming the participants. Roy's words were the culmination of a larger, quite tangible whole: the indefatigable and hugely successful organizing efforts of the WRL/West as Conference host. You knew immediately that this meeting had been well planned—so that spontaneity could have a base.

Igal Roodenko, a previous Chairperson of WRL, addressing his "brother and sister lovers," outlined in broad, colorful, and inspiring strokes the history of

the League, mainly through reference to the witness of some of its outstanding individual members. Evan Thomas, younger brother of Norman, the late Socialist Party leader; and Ned Richards, a birthright Friend, were present. Their pacifist history extends backward to their refusal to serve in World War I.

Eileen Egan, of PAX, brought personal greetings from Dorothy Day, 75-year-old co-founder of the Catholic Worker Movement, and a member of WRL's 50th Anniversary-Initiating Committee. Dorothy had come to California a week before, intending to be present at the Conference in person, but instead joined it in spirit while sitting in a Fresno jail for picketing on behalf of Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers. Her presence and love were, if possible, even more keenly felt under the unexpected circumstances. Her message to a Conference whose theme was "The Next 50 Years" was simple and compelling: "The future will be different if the present is different."

Others among those whom Igal singled out for special tribute: A.J. Muste the late, great leader-reconciler on WRL's Executive Committee, the minister-socialist in a secular-reformist pacifist organization; and, Sam Coleman, jailed under the Smith Act in the Fifties, later an active member of WRL, where his humanist ideals found a compatible home until his untimely death several years ago.

The resisters to World War II were more numerous: Jim Peck, Ralph DiGia, Larry Gara, Roy Kepler, and Igal Roodenko himself are only a few whose names come to mind.

The Fifties, as Igal described them, were pretty barren soil on which to cultivate a peacebuilding consciousness. The Sixties, however, and America's involvement in its longest, most unpopular war, changed all that. Most Conference participants came to their feet when Igal invited all those who had somehow clashed with the law in opposition to the Vietnam War to stand.

Igal touched upon one of the themes of the Sixties, and of this Conference, when he emphasized the inescapable need to simultaneously attempt *both* personal *and* political change. "To debate whether society comes before the individual, or the individual before society, is like asking a healthy human being whether eating or sleeping is more important."

Larry Gara, historian, WRL National Committee member, and *WIN* columnist ("Prison Notes"), presented the history of WRL through a well-conceived series of slides with accompanying narration. Again, that section of his program which emphasized the particular contributions of individuals working towards a common goal proved the most engaging.

Roy Kepler focused on WRL as an institutional collective, an organization with an eclectic political past and a still-evolving political present.

Roy saw the League's major overall achievement of the past several years as convincing many people of the value of direct action, civil disobedience for social change. He thought the League failed, however, to persuade very many people of the effectiveness of nonviolence. Roy challenged the League to "dare to

have a topical program of its own," in the future, one based on the Gandhian models of social-change experimentation, one that would attract many people from various points on the political spectrum.

Mandy Carter WRL/West staff person, said she had "no pre-planned answers" for the future, but was in fact attracted to the nonviolent movement precisely because of ongoing commitment to openness and dialogue. She saw no immediate end to the phenomenon of war, and looked to a busy next 50 years with the League.

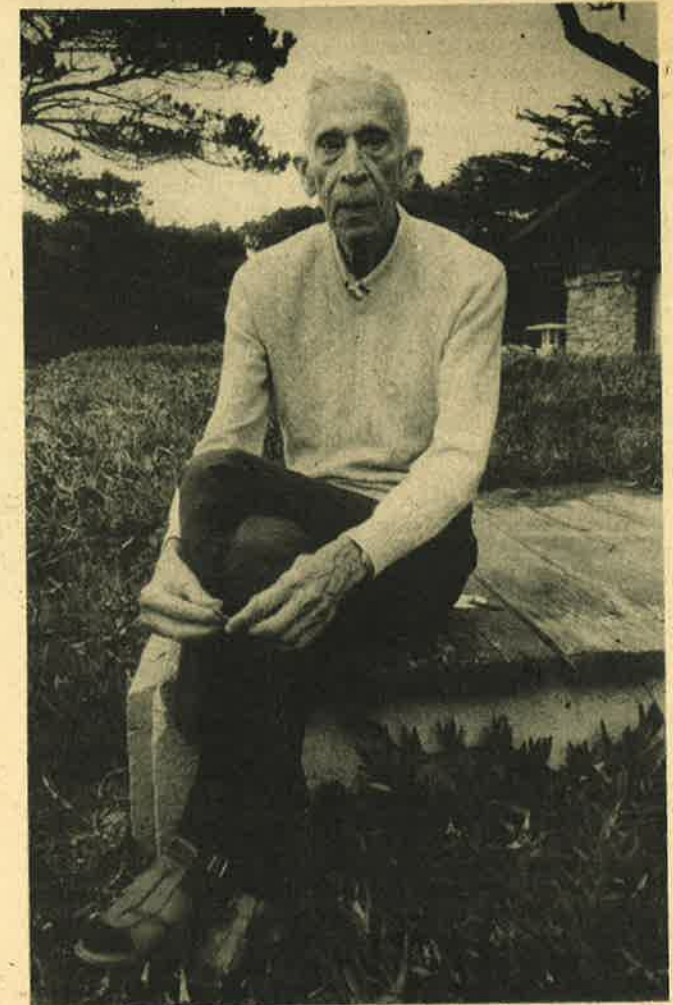
The first evening together in the large, wooden Merrill Hall ended on an emotional, quietly upbeat note, with everyone present linking arms and slowly, rhythmically swaying to the strains of "Amazing Grace." There were strength and gentleness (what Mandy called "soul") both present in that hymn, led by Joan Baez and Mimi Farina, that evening in Asilomar. History had been relived, and the future spoken of. Now the old and the young were joined in common spirit. The Pacific rolled and crashed in the distance, and 550 war resisters affirmed in chorus their belief in the capacity of the human spirit to overcome human evil.

The next few hours were spent around whatever gathering places Asilomar afforded: pool tables, a lounge, an outdoor campfire. This was the essence, really, of the Conference: people meeting, talking, sharing in one of the most naturally beautiful parts of California. This was a good place to be at this time.

On Monday morning, August 6th, WRL Chairperson Irma Zigas convened the group for a symposium entitled, "WRL: The Next Fifty Years — Main Currents of Pacifist Thought and Action." Beverly Woodward, of the WRL Executive Committee, opened with a description of, and a call for a "transnational non-violent revolution." She outlined five stages of developing such a revolution, drawing upon George Lakey's new book, *Strategy for a Living Revolution*. Beverly saw the constructing of alternative systems and institutions as one of the Movement's most important future tasks.

Lee Swenson, of the Institute for the Study of Nonviolence, in Palo Alto, discussed some of the insights which anarchists could offer in the creation of a nonviolent social order. He cited what he sees as the close connection between the decentralist Gandhian economic program and the realization of a non-hierarchical, human society. He stressed the close connection between the personal "rituals" we live out daily, and the transformation of the larger social order.

David McReynolds spoke to the connection (which he and others are working to develop) between Marxism and pacifism. He first reminded the group, however, that there are plenty of reasons for its continued existence "now that the Vietnam War is 'over,'" to borrow the phrase most widely used by politicians and the media. He reeled off several. Among them: the release of the 200,000 political prisoners currently incarcerated in Thieu's jails in South Vietnam; the according of a universal and unconditional amnesty to the 500,000 war resisters of various types who are in need of it; the nuclear elimination of the arms race in an inherently unstable multipolar world; and the need for human liberation from the shackles of anti-human sexual stereotypes. In short, he said; "We can now get back to the much more fundamental tasks from which the Vietnam War has diverted us for 10 years."



Evan Thomas, WWI resister and brother of Norman Thomas, rests between conference sessions. photo by Bob Fitch

Workshop on the problems of farm workers at the WRL National Conference at Asilomar, Calif, 8/73. photo by Gracie Hedemann



Dave expressed encouragement that over half of the Conference participants were under 30, proof to him that, "however many things the nonviolent movement may have done wrong in the last several years, we've obviously done some things right". He strongly reaffirmed his belief that the coalition politics of the anti-Vietnam War years were necessary, and that the nonviolent segment of that coalition *had* influenced large numbers of people.

Dave reminded the audience that WRL had been founded by both pacifists *and* socialists who rejected the elitist, violent vanguard party of Marxism-Leninism in favor of a mass-movement, democratic Marxism. This Marxism, like pacifism, sees conflict—but *not* violence—as inevitable.

Dave underscored Igal Roodenko's insistence of the evening before on the necessity of both personal and social change. He chose on this occasion to emphasize the latter: "Now individual morality will not ever stop a war alone." Elaborating upon the ever-present tension inherent in the intertwining of personal and social change, he declared in ringing tones and to loud applause, that: "I am weary of confusing the concept of nonviolent revolution with organic food and compost heaps. ...I know that for the Blacks in the ghetto of Bedford-Stuyvesant, in the areas of



Joan Baez and Mimi Farina clown with Mandy Carter, WRL Staffer and conference organizer, at the beginning of Monday night's entertainment. photo by Bob Fitch

Chicago and Philadelphia, organic foods do not get rid of the rats or make their rooms larger."

Defining socialism as a "seizure of power and its relocation and redistribution," Dave emphasized that "for the Marxist, the enemy is *never* an individual. It is, rather, a complex of forces." He called for the essentially White, middle-class pacifist movement to have a "certain humility," and to not exclude the White middle class, but to begin to include Blacks, Indians, Chicanos, and lower-class Whites. He stated that the system needed fundamental change, and that certain misconceptions of radicals would have to be shed in the process: "I've heard a lot about power corrupting. And I agree, it corrupts. But I will tell you something: Powerlessness also corrupts, and absolute powerlessness corrupts absolutely. . . . Our search for personal and political morality must include a way of liberating the poor people in this country who at present have no control over their own lives. . . . A nonviolence that cannot relate to the underclass is not, in my view, a serious nonviolent movement."

Dave concluded by observing that at least 500,000 Americans have been "profoundly and permanently radicalized by the Vietnam War." He said that the American myth has been shattered forever, and that we must now either recreate and rebuild America, moving forward to a pacifist and nonviolent 1776, or sink back into an irretrievable 1984. There are no other choices.

Ira Sandperl, of the Institute for the Study of Nonviolence, gave a brief, strongly felt reminder that those in the nonviolent movement are too often gripped by a "moral, intellectual, spiritual fear," a fear of "alienating" people by insistently speaking out for Gandhian principles. He noted that, as a result, "we've alienated the wrong people." He strongly urged his listeners to speak openly within the various political coalitions, to "say love, say truth" which can be realized through nonviolence.

Monday afternoon included not only various WRL Regional reports in a session chaired by WRL national staffer Lynne Shatzkin Coffin but also some of the smaller-group workshop sessions originally announced for that evening. Among these was one entitled, "The Morals of Torture," led by Daniel Ellsberg. In it he pointed out the significant role which the League played (he attended the WRI 13th Triennial at Haverford, Pa., in 1969) in helping him reach his decision to make public the Pentagon Papers. He recalled, (with obviously deep-seated emotion) the time his wife, Patricia, read the part of the Papers dealing with "the ratchet," and the "turn of the screw," terms, circa 1964-65, which the Pentagon applied to the policy of military escalation intended to break Hanoi's will. Her reaction was, "This is the language of torturers." That insight, put just that way, moved Dan Ellsberg then—and now. Approximately 200 people attended Dan's workshop.

The early part of Monday evening was given over to more individual workshops, a format that allowed open, far-reaching discussions of topics of particular interest to those participating in them. In one, for example, Dave McReynolds developed in greater detail the intersecting currents of democratic Marxist economics and pacifism. In another, Joan Baez, Dan Ellsberg, and Ganetta Sagan (who was tortured for 40 days at the hands of the Gestapo) had an explanation/discussion of Amnesty International, an organization dedicated to "fighting a war of conscience" on behalf of political prisoners in over 60 countries.

The whole group reassembled for an evening of song with Joan Baez and her sister, Mimi Farina. "Beautiful" is a simple word, vague, overused, and awkward. Yet is the only one I find to describe the feeling in the room that evening.

Afterwards, there was another informal round of get-togethers. But there was also one very important piece of business going on: over 100 people met to plan an organized response to the increasingly critical situation facing the UFW a couple of hundred miles to the south. The group heard first-hand reports from people who had just come from the fields; then they discussed the possibilities. The next morning, Tuesday, at 8:30, Joan Baez led over 100 people from the Conference to Fresno, where they joined the picketing.

As Mandy Carter noted in her closing remarks that Tuesday morning to those who had stayed behind: "This is the perfect example of what the WRL is all



Monday morning's panel: Beverly Woodward, WRL Executive Committee member and post-doctorate student in Political Science; Ira Sandperl, founder of the Institute for the Study of Nonviolence; Irma Zigas, chairwoman of the WRL; Lee Swensen of the Institute; and David McReynolds, Field Secretary of the WRL, discuss "WRL: The Next Fifty Years—Main Currents of Pacifist Thought and Action." photo by Gracie Hedemann

about. We discussed nonviolent theory, and instead of passing a resolution, we took nonviolent direct action." (Included among the packet of Conference materials, which everyone received was a flyer reminding us that August 9th was Nagasaki Day, and calling for a demonstration in front of the French Consulate in San Francisco on that date to protest French A-Bomb testing. Again, action followed theory.)

There were more small workshops on Tuesday morning. One was a serious discussion of communal lifestyles in rural areas. Another considered the past, present, and future of WIN. The reassembled larger group heard reports on the tentative conclusions and recommendations which various workshops had reached.

And then, all too soon, the end was at hand. Mandy said a few words, expressing the desire to do herself out of a job, so that there will be no need for a WRL and a 100th Anniversary Conference 50 years from now. A telegram of support for the UFW was announced. And Igal Roodenko, with a perfect sense of the moment, told a little parable. It was about 2 mustard seeds, both buried in horseshit. One seed was stifled. The other seed, which Igal hoped we would emulate, made use of all the horseshit to grow. And just then, in that half-filled room, you knew that everyone around you was feeling the same thing: in the past three days we, and WRL, had grown. The meeting of love was not over; it had just begun.

The next 50 years are going to be glorious.

Robert A. Pugsley is a student at New York University School of Law, and Director of Peace Education Programs for The Christophers, New York City. This year's was his first WRL Conference, and this is his first appearance in WIN.

The caravan of conference participants leaving Asilomar for Fresno to join the UFW vigil 8/7/73. photo by Gracie Hedemann



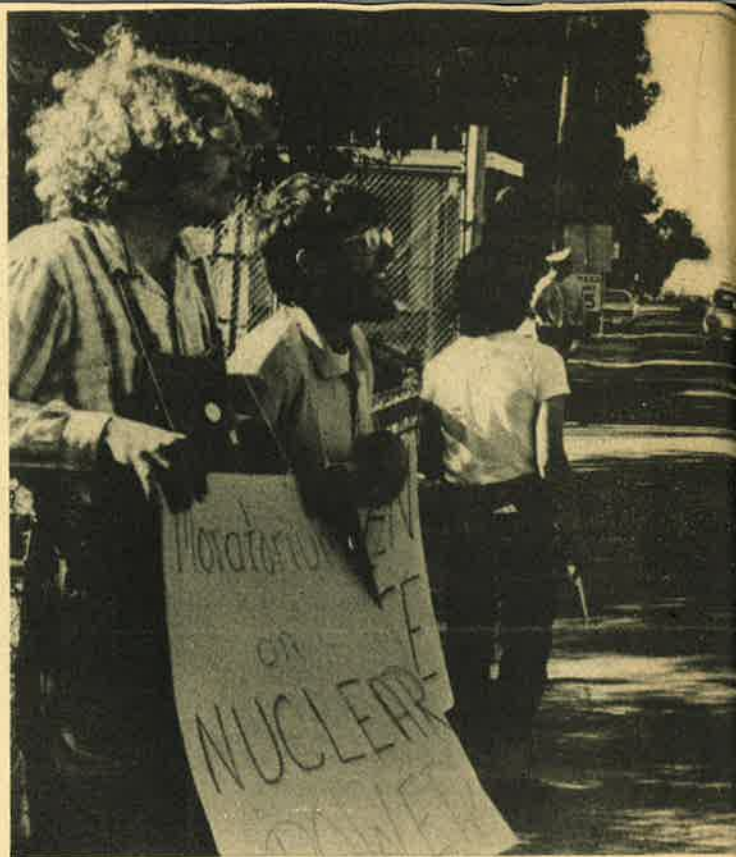
PUTTING WORDS INTO ACTION

BY JIM PECK

At the end of the WRL conference at Asilomar some 65 of those attending, boarded 16 cars for a motorcade to Fresno to nonviolently challenge, on August 8, an anti-mass-picketing injunction against the United Farm Workers. Among our group were Evan Thomas, 80-year old WRL veteran, Joan Baez, who would bring her songs to the picket lines and Daniel Ellsberg, hounded by the media since becoming Nixon's number one "enemy."

Shortly after we started picketing one of the big ranches, a newsman chided Ellsberg with: "What happens to be your connection with the striking farm workers?" He aptly replied: "The Pentagon Papers involved the issue of free speech. So does the farm workers' mass picketing. Furthermore, I have admired Cesar Chavez for some time and I am here today to give him my support."

It was a burning-hot day—like every day in that area—once the sun finishes rising. We had been picketing since long before sunrise, having gathered at the assembly point at 4:30 a.m. None of us knew whether or not we would be busted for our civil disobedience to the injunction. Some 450 persons were in jail, including Dorothy Day, who had come west to attend our conference. There had been no arrests in the two preceding days, but nobody knew when the arrest policy might be resumed. By mid-morning it became apparent that the sheriff, who was on the scene along with about eight deputies, would not renew the arrest



Demonstrators leaflet homebound AEC lab employees in Livermore, Calif., 8/9/73. Photo by Gracie Hedemann

policy that day. Possibly, the authorities feared the potential publicity of Daniel Ellsberg, Joan Baez and some 200 pickets joining the 450 already in jail. Possibly they took into consideration the fact that the injunction case was in the process of being argued in court.

I have been on many picket lines in my life, but this was my first in the vast California corporate farm area. I have on occasion been on picket lines which start early, but never before at 5 a.m., when we started circling along the road bordering a ranch associated with Barr Packing Co., one of the biggest.

Ordinarily, the only contact between pickets and strike breakers occurs when the latter enter or leave a struck plant. With the farm workers, pickets are in constant communication with strikebreakers who work not too far from the road to be out-of-hearing of the portable loudspeakers. Frequently, strikebreakers heed the pleas over the loudspeakers and decide to join the strike. Throughout our morning of picketing, our loudspeakers were in use. Ellsberg's talk was duly translated into Spanish and Baez's music needs no translation. Union spokesmen and spokeswoman who talked over the loudspeakers emphasized the principle of nonviolence, as advocated by Cesar Chavez. The talks were so un-hostile that at one point a dialogue was established between representatives of the union and a deputation representing the growers, who were gathered around an American flag a few yards inside the property.

At about noon, we boarded the cars and AFSC bus parked along the other side of the road and drove in to Fresno for a second mass vigil at the courthouse, where both the injunction case and the case for releasing the 450 pickets on recognizance were being argued. (I



just have learned that the pickets, including Dorothy Day, have been released and are back on the picket lines.) We had vigiled there the previous day, immediately upon arrival from Asilomar. As on that day, the vigil concluded with a mass rally in the park in front of the courthouse.

A few of our group stayed-on to picket with the farm workers. Some departed to return to their homes towns. Others, including Marty Jezer and I, got rides up to the Bay area in order to participate the following day in a Nagasaki Day demonstration organized by Craig Simpson of WRL-Southwest in conjunction with the conference.

The effectiveness of his organizing was proved when up to 70 persons showed up on the morning of August 9 to picket the French Consulate in San Francisco protesting the French nuclear tests in the Pacific. During the demonstration, a deputation of four, including myself, conferred in French with the consul. The demonstration was well covered by the media. The cool weather was a sharp contrast with Fresno the two previous days.

In the afternoon we got rides out to Livermore to demonstrate at the big Atomic Energy Commission lab there. We arrived in time to leaflet the homebound employees as they crossed the road to the extensive parking lots.

*Jim Peck has been active in the peace movement since before World War II. His own account of his most recent adventures appeared in WIN, April 26 and May 3.*

CHILDCARE

I'd like to share with you something that really bothered me at the recent WRL conference; but first I'll thank all the people who helped with child care—they really made the job easy. However, the children's enjoyment of the conference was limited because the conference was not planned with the needs of children in mind. For instance, having a very late session the first night was especially difficult for the children. They were upset by the travelling and the new place, so they really missed their parents.

We need to consider what is to be the attitude of WRL as a whole towards the small children. I strongly feel that children should be considered a part of WRL. This would benefit the children, their parents, and the other adults. The needs of these three groups mesh together. Children need to feel cared for and included with the adults around them. Parents need time with other adults. Other adults need time with children. We need, in short, to build a caring community of all our people—from the tiniest baby to the oldest person.

Creating this community would be difficult because everywhere children are second or third class citizens—people whose needs are the last to be considered. We will have to re-think our values. The needs of children must be one of our top priorities. Conferences, for instance, might consist of less sitting around and talking (which bores children) and more time with free dancing, simple music, painting, and other playing—with the children and adults together.

This is still another area for consciousness raising. Remember, though, that few things have as great effect on the future as our dealings with children.

—Emelyn Buskirk

*Emelyn Buskirk was childcare co-ordinator for the WRL 50th Anniversary Conference.*



Jim Peck and others picket the French Consulate in San Francisco on Nagasaki Day, 8/9/73, to protest French nuclear testing in the Pacific. Photo by Gracie Hedemann



Oak, Mwosi, and Janis play outside of the meeting hall at Asilomar. They weren't in "childcare." photo by David McReynolds



# ON TORTURE.....

The following exchange of letters will perhaps speak for itself. We wrote the Prime Minister of North Vietnam for reasons we tried to make clear in our letter. Another reason, not stated in our note of April 10, can be mentioned here. The American peace movement had taken a position on the charges of torture, which ranged from silence through outraged denial. In any and every case, an inadequate response, to say the least. There was, as far as we could learn, no unequivocal condemnation of such charges as the airmen had made—if true.

Most peace people, including pacifists, were seriously embarrassed by the charges; one sensed that an idol had fallen in the night. North Vietnam was an unimpeachable hero, undefeatable, vanguard of the human future, ethically out of sight, an angel of light in comparison with the slouching western beast. Now an *if* had reared its ugly head. If true, the charges forced us to face, not the apogee of our alienated dream, but a nation of beset, morally diverse, potentially violent men and women; a nation that had learned with utmost finesse the art of survival, and then (*if*) had applied the art to the shrinking flesh of their tormentors.

What to say, what to do?

You could be silent; the facts were not in. They were not to be learned from the papier mache stage hands who twitched at Nixon's tug.

You could deride the fliers, those pitiful killer-heroes, the last sour pressing of the good wine of myth, the non-heroes, the non-anti-heroes, the near zeros of our discontent.

You could straddle a moral picket fence and, with some discomfort to the crotch, go relativist. Torture etc., is bad for the good guys and good for the bad guys. Or: Look at what Thieu has done to uncounted thousands of South Vietnamese prisoners. Or: Look at what the fliers did to North Vietnam.

The situation and the American movement's response, are also historically interesting. It seems to us a sad fact of life that admiration for an admirable enemy gradually coalesces into idolatry of the enemy. At the same time, one finds nothing, or very nearly nothing of substance to admire, emulate, build on, hope for, cherish, in one's own culture—including one's

own community. People put their ethical money in secret, in foreign banks; it must be good if (one at a time) it's Soviet, then Chinese, then Cuban, then North Vietnamese. By "good" is meant nothing so modest, so various, so apt to kill, wound, disappoint, deceive, as well as to inspire, hearten, bring infusion of hope and great love—nothing like the conduct of actual men and women in torment. "Good" is a frozen platonic bullion; it is moral cash in distant banks, always at hand to be drawn on, inert, infallibly *there*, never devalued, mine.

In publishing this correspondence, we salute the North Vietnamese, who along with their compatriots in the south have trodden a technological hell; and emerging at the far end, have proclaimed a possible human future.

We salute also, and with a special affection and fraternity, the Vietnamese Buddhist community. They have chosen another way than violent resistance, and are still paying the price. And when will it be paid?

But I think our deepest reason is connected with the moral needs of our community at home.

There are certainly times when one can do very little or nothing at all to right the most atrocious wrong. It is not useful to die, it is not expedient to be in prison, policy is at a stinking impasse, the consciences of people seem transmogrified into an army of night crawlers, mucking about in Watergate. The congress, a child, bargains with the spoiled, tantrum ridden president, a child; so many more days of bombing. At such a time, it seems necessary to us to put something on the record.

Simple as that. One thinks of a message in a bottle, cast into a turbulent sea; or a time capsule with a message for the unborn. One has a kind of desperate sense in his loins, that, if there are to be children, generations, a human future, they should know something of us. Something, that is, beyond the cruel headlines that day after day, bear witness to our folly, our despair, our hatred of life. That most assuredly and with shame; but something else as well.

What then? A kind of human manifesto: that we would not countenance, or ourselves inflict, physical torture or moral degradation, on any other human. Whatever the provocation, whatever the crime.

—Phil Berrigan

April 10, 1973

Pham Van Dong  
The Democratic Republic of Vietnam  
Hanoi

Dear Friend,

We are writing you, our friend in the struggle for human justice. We are, as you are aware, brothers and priests who have served prison sentences in defense of the rights of our Vietnamese brothers and sisters.

We confess that we are in grief and distress of spirit. The American airmen, after the release of the last of their companions one week ago, reported that many of the Americans had been tortured in the prisons of North Vietnam. You are undoubtedly aware of this; the released prisoners held press conferences in many parts of the country, spoke in detail of their sufferings at the hands of their captors, exhibited scars on their bodies which, according to them, resulted from such treatment.

We have been perplexed by this. It has been the common assumption of our movement that the Vietnamese people, under the most atrocious air assault in history, had yet shown magnanimity toward the captured fliers. And this treatment was accorded them in face of the fact that many among them were war criminals.

We also considered them criminals, and have said as much. But we believed that your generosity and mercy, shown above measure to these men, were offering the only possible alternative to the violence of America. We were sure that you would not permit even the destroyers of hospitals, schools, pagodas; the destroyers of the sick, of children and the aged—that you would not permit even such men to be degraded in spirit or wounded in body.

Please believe that we are brothers who rejoice to name you our brother.

It is in this spirit that we ask you to comment upon these charges. Please believe that our letter is motivated by our deep love and admiration for the Vietnamese people.

We will do everything possible to refute these charges, once the facts are made known to us.

The cease-fire, for which so many Vietnamese have paid such enormous sacrifices, brings joy and renewed spirit. We continue working at your side until the peace is finally assured.

Devotedly and fraternally,  
Frs. Philip and Daniel  
Berrigan

copy to the Committee of Solidarity, Hanoi

Hanoi 26 May, 1973

Dear friends,

We have received a copy of your April 10 letter sent to our Prime Minister Pham Van Dong.

We are also aware of the current campaign of slander launched by the US Administration against our Government on the treatment of American captured pilots. It is for us no surprise that the men who have committed the most odious war crimes ever known in human history are able to distort the truth recognized by the peoples all over the world.

As you are certainly aware, our people have always treated humanely prisoners of war. That policy of lenience is also our long-dated tradition. Many foreign visitors, including American friends, have met with captured pilots and have witnessed that they have been given adequate housing, foods, clothes. Only their health condition totally different from that of Vietnamese held in US-Thieu's prisons has proved that they have been humanely treated.

But the current campaign of slander by the US Administration is not an isolated act. It is aimed not only at justifying why Nixon has continued the war during his four years previous term but also at justifying his further plot of military involvement in Indochina. It is also aimed at covering up US-Saigon's sabotage of the Paris Agreement and the delay of releasing political prisoners they are still holding in their prisons and their plot to transform South Viet Nam into a US new type colony and to indefinitely divide Viet Nam.

Finally we thank you for your good feelings towards our people. We hope that you will continue to help us, as you have done, in our struggle for a lasting peace and for our national independence and freedom.

Fraternally yours,  
Trần Trọng Quát  
Vietnam Committee for  
Solidarity with the  
American People

NEIL FULLAGAR

# Prosecution Case

Beyond the three week limit originally set by U.S. Judge Winston Arnow, the trial of the Gainesville Eight continues under heavy security. The trial so far has been marked by contradictory testimony, surprise informers and a now famous apparent attempt to bug the defense office.

The Eight, all members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, are John Briggs, Gainesville, Fla.; Scott Camil, Gainesville, Fla.; John Kniffin, Austin, Texas; William Patterson, El Paso, Texas; Peter Mahoney, New York; Alton Foss, Hialeah, Fla.; Donald Purdue, Hollywood, Fla., and Stanley Michelson, Gainesville, Fla. All except Stan Michelson are charged with conspiring to cross state lines to create disorder in Miami during the 1972 Republican National Convention. Michelson is charged with aiding the conspiracy after the fact. Scott Camil is also charged with possessing an incendiary device, and demonstrating the making and use of incendiary devices.

Before the opening of the trial, a gag order was given, prohibiting all parties from discussing the case with anyone. Judge Arnow intended to apply this to "all interested persons, that is, anyone in the world". His attempts to control free speech and reporting continued even to holding a CBS news artist in contempt for drawing courtroom scenes from memory. He was quickly overturned on this by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The selection of the jury began Tuesday, July 31. Nightly demonstrations began that night. Sixty sisters and brothers including several of the defendants, marched to the Federal Building. Most wore gags in reference to Arnow's ruling. After reaching the Federal Building they ripped the gags from their mouths and shouted, "Victory!"

Earlier that day, two FBI agents had been spotted in a closet adjoining the office assigned to the defense. A defense assistant noticed a movement behind a vent leading to the closet, and marshalls were called. Flushed from their hiding place the agents, Carl Ek-bald and Robert Romans, were found to be carrying a soldering iron, screwdrivers, two microphones, two amplifiers, meters, tape, a piece of paper with several telephone numbers and a copy of *The Electronic Invasion* by Robert Brown.

After a hearing on the agents in the closet, Arnow ruled that there was no evidence that anyone was being bugged.

On Friday, August 3, the jury was seated and opening statements were presented. Assistant U.S. Attorney Stuart "Jack" Carrouth presented the government's case. The prosecution, he said, would prove every point in the indictment, from which he read salient passages. According to the indictment, "It was part of the said conspiracy that the defendants... would organize numerous 'fire teams' to attack with

automatic weapons, fire and incendiary devices police stations, police cars and stores in Miami Beach, Florida... fire lead weights, 'fried' marbles, ball bearings, 'cherry' bombs, and smoke bombs at police... using wrist rocket slingshots and cross bows", during the Republican Convention.

Carrouth tried to convince the jury that the VVAW was not on trial. The government, he said, supported the right of the VVAW and other groups to demonstrate peacefully. He told the jury that these defendants were a "splinter group", and that they were not supported by the VVAW.

Larry Turner, attorney for Don Purdue, and defendants Scott Camil and John Kniffen made opening statements for the defense. The other defendants elected to make their statements at the close of the government's case. Camil said that if there was indeed any conspiracy, it was a governmental conspiracy to harass himself and the others. Turner told the jury that it was paid government agents who talked constantly about violence, and it was a government agent who unsuccessfully tried to sell Camil automatic weapons.

That afternoon Carrouth presented his first witness, Charles "Tex" Marshall. Marshall was, at the time of the alleged conspiracy, the head of a rent-a-cop agency and was Scott Camil's landlord. According to Marshall, Camil came to his office early in 1972 and told him with some relish about his plans for using slingshots, homemade grenades and firebombs, "fried" marbles and automatic rifles to "make the pigs come down hard" on demonstrators, thus starting riots. Marshall also testified to having seen a cardboard box containing "two M-14 rifles" in Camil's apartment.

During the cross examination Marshall admitted that he had never handled an M-14, but said he had seen one displayed at The Rancher, a Gainesville store. He was then asked to describe a M-14, and finally admitted he could not. He then was asked to describe what guns he had seen. The description was greatly different from the description gun dealer Don Barrett, manager of The Rancher, gave of M-14's.

Don Barrett was another early government witness. According to his description of M-14's and M-16's, the guns described by Marshall could not have been either. Barrett testified that neither type of rifle is an automatic weapon. Only automatic weapons are covered in the indictment. Barrett also testified that The Rancher had never displayed an M-14. The only "incriminating" testimony obtained from Barrett was that Camil had asked about the price of 30 caliber ammunition by the case, had asked whether The Rancher carried any slingshots, and had bought one bag of steel reloading balls. Barrett testified that 30 caliber ammunition could not be used in any automatic weapon.

# Misfires in Gainesville

The fifth witness was William Lemmer, a former VVAW member who turned out to be an FBI informer. From his role in this case Lemmer has achieved a notoriety probably as great as that of the Eight. Lemmer told of "political assassination squads" being organized by Camil. This brought forth vigorous objections from defense attorneys since there is no mention in the charges of any plans to assassinate anyone. After Lemmer's statement, a few minutes later, that Camil was to obtain automatic rifles and mortars by trading "dope" for them, there was a motion for a mistrial because of the inflammatory nature of Lemmer's testimony. As Arnow has done at least five times now, he denied the motion for a mistrial.

Apparently Lemmer is acting out of a grudge against the VVAW. In one of his letters to his former wife, Lemmer is reported to have written of vengeance against Martin Jordan who Lemmer replaced as Arkansas coordinator, and other VVAW members, indicating that he will not make noise when he comes after them, but will come in "tennis shoes", equipped with a "length of piano wire... I am not a leg infantryman like them. I am an elitist paratrooper, S. F. (Special Forces) ranger".

His testimony is no more reliable than other prosecution witnesses. At first he testified that he had been in Special Forces, later saying that he was not, was only trained by Special Forces and that he had never claimed to have served with Special Forces.

On cross examination by defendant Bill Patterson, Lemmer was asked about a list of difficulties suffered in the service which he had made at the time of discharge. Among those listed were frequent depression, excessive nervousness, unconsciousness and amnesia. Lemmer stated that he could, "recall all but the amnesia."

Lemmer was followed to the witness stand by Charles Becker, another FBI agent who had assumed a position of leadership within VVAW, by Louis Anchill, an agent of the Florida Bureau of Law Enforcement, and by Emerson Poe. Poe was also a paid FBI informer, and his appearance came as a total surprise to the defense.

Poe was, until the day he was exposed in court as an agent, the State Coordinator and Assistant Regional Coordinator for Florida. He had been considered among Scott Camil's friends and confidants. He had even been represented by the same counsel as the defendants when called before the grand jury last year. According to defense witnesses called in a special hearing to decide whether Poe's testimony could be admitted, Poe had been actively involved in the planning of defense strategy while making regular reports to the FBI. The judge did not consider that the evidence showed that Poe had indeed been a party to any attorney-client relationship, and therefore his testimony

was admitted. Becker, Anchill and Poe largely reinforced previous testimony rather than adding new material. However Poe testified to having been asked to take Camil's guns for safekeeping on several occasions when it appeared that Camil would be arrested.

At the close of Poe's direct examination, Arnow threatened to have Bill Patterson gagged because he had objected too many times that Poe's testimony was on matters not in the indictment. Patterson, Kniffen and Camil, are acting as their own counsel in this trial.

Despite the tension in the court, the trial has not been without humor. During the hearing on Poe's testimony when Schneider asked Nancy McGovern, Camil's girlfriend, if she was at that time "in love with Mr. Camil", John Kniffen echoed the prosecution's frequent objection, "calls for a conclusion on the part of the witness." The judge took more than a minute to stop laughing long enough to overrule the objection.

On Monday, August 27, the prosecution tentatively rested its case and Judge Arnow again denied a defense motion that the case be dismissed for lack of evidence. Despite 27 prosecution witnesses and a great deal of talk about guns and other weapons, under cross-examination all have testified that the only weapon that they saw as figuring in the convention plans was a slingshot. The FBI and the forensic sciences division of the Armed Forces Institute of Pathology conducted tests on the slingshots and reported that "if used against fully clothed adults it would appear that serious injury is unlikely."

Live rabbits and pigs were used in the tests and this resulted in a strong protest from the Humane Society.

*Neil Fullagar lives and writes in Gainesville.*

## CONTACT

The trial is likely to continue for months. If you support the defendants they can use you in Gainesville. But only if your desire is to support the defendants. If your desire is to create confrontation with "the pigs", or to trash something they insist that they do not need you.

If you cannot come to Gainesville, you can help at home. This trial is important. The American people should know what is being done in their name in the courtroom in Gainesville, just as they are now learning what has been done in their name in Southeast Asia. If your local paper doesn't carry news of the trial, ask to see it. The wire services are covering the trial. The news is there for the papers to print if they are moved to do so. And of course, money. Contributions can be sent to Gainesville Conspiracy Defense Committee, Box 13179, University Station, Gainesville, Fla. 32604.



Potential Lice Statistics—Friends and Members of the WIN commune. photo by Diane Ghisone

# CHANGES

## COMMUNES NICE FOR LICE?

More than two million Americans were infested with lice last year, according to a report by Dr. Leslie C. Norins to the American Academy of Dermatology. Korins attributed some of the lice problem to "the increased popularity of communal living." —NYNS

## CALL FOR AN INTERNATIONAL DAY OF CONCERN

A coalition of peace activists have joined together to issue a call for an International Day of Concern for South Vietnam's political prisoners to be observed on September 23, 1973. Religious services, vigils and other forms of activity are anticipated on that day which will focus on the continued U.S. aid upon which the Thieu regime and its prison system still rely.

Individuals and groups are also being encouraged to organize activities throughout the entire week of Sept. 16-23. Already peace groups abroad have indicated that they will cooperate in this project.

Among the initiators of the call are Robert Alpern, SANE; Lynne Coffin, WRL; Tom Cornell, FOR; Myrtle Feigenbaum, WSP; Don Luce, Indochina Mobile Education Project; Doro-

thy Steffens, WILPF; Barbara Webster, PCPJ; Ronald Young, AFSC; Trudi Young, CALC.

More specific information can be obtained from Don Luce at the IMEP, 1322 18th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036. —MC

## U.S. TO RETAIN STOCKPILE OF DEADLY NERVE GAS

The Joint Chiefs of Staff on August 3 reaffirmed their policy of retaining stockpiles of deadly nerve gas, estimated to be more than enough to kill the world's 3.7 billion humans.

"The unusual Pentagon action presumably was prompted by the increased momentum of a campaign by several members of Congress to have all nerve gases and other toxic agents destroyed," explained the *Denver Post*. Five days previous, the *Post* carried a story from the chief of its Washington bureau quoting an aide of the National Security Council to the effect that no review of present policy is being considered.

Denver's special interest in the question is based on the fact that a reported 4,500 tons of the deadly gas is stored at Rocky Mountain Arsenal, not far from the airport. A fatal plane crash at the site would mean total ob-

literation of Denver's population. However the amount at Rocky Mountain Arsenal is less than 10% of that stored at Tooele, Utah.

In 1969 President Nixon renounced the use of weapons such as nerve gas but, according to the National Security Council aide interviewed by the *Post*, the stockpiles are being retained for "retaliatory capability." —J.P.

## "DOLLARS FOREVER: THE POST-WAR WAR:"

National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex (NARMIC), a project of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), has prepared a new slide show, "Dollars Forever: The Post-War War."

The show illustrates how American money pays for war and repression in South Vietnam. It includes photos and eyewitness accounts by AFSC staff in Vietnam, journalists, and Pentagon officials.

NARMIC's first slide show, "The Automated Air War," was shown by more than 1,000 anti-war groups across the country. They hope that "Dollars Forever" will have a similar outreach.

"Dollars Forever," which consists of 160 35mm color slides, script and complete documentation, will be avail-

able in September from NARMIC, 112 South Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102. The cost is \$50, first class postage paid. —LNS

## DAVE IN SOLITARY CONFINEMENT: JUDGE REFUSES ARRAIGNMENT

Dave cannot be seen in front of the White House these days. He's not tired out after more than two years on the sidewalk. He hasn't given up hope. His spirits are high. But his body has been placed in a cell in D.C. Jail, where he is held in "deadlock"—solitary confinement.

How did this happen? On Tuesday, August 14, dozens of people joined the White House tour line to pray for peace. Dave joined them. About 60 people (including vigilers Bill Henschel and Dave) were arrested for praying. Dave was asked his name and refused to give it. The policeman knew Dave by first name and thus he got listed as David (Refused), which is how he is still known by the authorities. When he was brought before Judge McArdle of D.C. Superior Court that same day, the judge refused to arraign him and ordered him held on \$2,000 bond. No date for trial has been set and Dave has not been asked to enter a plea.

Both Liz Nicholson and Bob Walsh have talked with Judge McArdle. His position is that he will not arraign Dave until Dave gives him a name. The judge seems undisturbed about the lack of due process involved in 1) imprisoning a person indefinitely without a trial and 2) refusing to arraign a person.

Dave reports Judge McArdle would not look at him. After his last previous bust, that judge wouldn't look at him either. Dave decided that the judicial system insisted on dealing with names, rather than human beings. He decided to refuse to give a name by which he could be categorized in an effort to get the people in the system to deal with a human being in a humane manner. He is firmly resolved to continue this effort.

**WHAT YOU CAN DO:** 1) Pray for Judge McArdle and for Dave. 2) Write Judge Paul F. McArdle, D.C. Superior Court, Washington, DC 20001. (Copy to White House Daily Meeting, 120 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002.) 3) Write David (Refused), D.C. Jail, 2000 19th St., S.E., Washington, DC 20003. (Remember jails censor letters.) —The Vigiler

## IMPORTANT REMINDER! RE: AMNESTY RULING IN CANADA

The Canadian Government has enacted certain immigration laws of benefit to American war resisters in Canada. (WIN 8/2/73) Every exile who arrived there by Nov. 30, 1972 irrespective of how he came there or under what conditions he stayed, will be able to apply to have his residence in Canada legalized.

This not-to-be-repeated period ends **Oct. 15, 1973.** Present centers where more information can be obtained are:

- \* Halifax Committee to Aid War Immigrants, 167 Argyle, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 902-429-6994.
- \* Toronto Anti-Draft Programme, 11 1/2 Spadina, Toronto, Ontario (416)-920-0241
- \* Winnipeg Committee to Aid War Objectors, 175 Colony St., Winnipeg, Manitoba (204)-774-9323.
- \* Montreal Council to Aid War Objectors, 3625 Alymer, Montreal, Quebec (514)-843-3132
- \* Vancouver Committee to Aid War Objectors, Suite 204, 144 West Hastings, Vancouver 9, British Columbia (604)-588-9656.
- \* Calgary Committee on War Immigrants, Box 3234, Station B, Calgary, Alberta
- \* Ottawa Committee, 121 Glenora, Apt. 3 Ottawa

Aid Centers are also being established in the following areas: Edmonton, Saskatchewan, Thunder Bay, and the Maritimes. Specific addresses and phone numbers for these centers will be available from the aid committees listed above or from the National Council of Churches, Room 767, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027; (212)-870-2192. —NJ

## VISITORS TO NIXON SHRINE EXPRESS DISILLUSIONMENT

Evidence of Nixon's decline in popularity with voters has even crept into the leather-bound, gold-lettered guest register at the little white frame house where he was born in 1913.

The book's first 40 pages, covering January 1972 to April 1973 are just what the president ordered—"You regret, Nixon" (10/29/72) or "Thank God for Mr. Nixon" (3/4/73).

But beginning May 13, two days after the Senate Watergate hearings began, the registers' comments took on a different tone. For instance "Watergate-Waterloo" (5/26/73) and by June some of the entries were positively embarrassing—"Impeach him" (6/3/73).

The entries stopped July and did not start again until August 11, the first weekend after the hearings recessed. Hurless Barton, president of the Nixon Birthplace Foundation, said he re-

moved the book during July because "of this Watergate business" and because he was afraid vandals would deface it. —LNS

## ARIZONA PEACE COALITION COMPLETE DOUBLE-FOCUSED PEACE CAMPAIGN

Four Arizona peace groups joined forces recently in a unique double-focused consciousness raising campaign which culminated on August 15. A full weeks' activities aimed at (1) encouraging Phoenix residents to pressure for adherence to the August 15 bombing halt, before and after that date, and (2) exposing major war contractors in the area, kicking off an on-going 'corporate responsibility' campaign.

Everyday from the 8th thru the 15th, people gathered at 7 am in front of war producers' plants and offices, and federal government buildings. We leafletted workers and passers by, discussing with them the direct relationship between what takes place throughout the Valley, and what happens in Southeast Asia—in a real sense—Phoenixians are dropping bombs on Indochinese. (There are over 400 local contractors and subcontractors on the "Defense" Department's reserve list—with 173 current contracts being filled here).

The project was surprisingly successful—from many aspects. Media coverage was extensive, and positive. Thousands were made aware of the significance of a date which otherwise would have gone by unnoticed here. War contractors were drawn into the spotlight with a public image they considered less than desirable. We met with executives and P.R. men from all but one of the companies, catching them off guard with our well documented evidence of what is going on behind their gates. Honeywell's legal counsel even volunteered some useful, tho awesome information which we hadn't known—a federal statute empowers the President to force companies to produce weaponry and equipment for 'national defense' even if that company prefers not taking the contract—in peacetime and in war (this did not happen to Honeywell, he indicated, but did occur once to its predecessor here, General Electric.)

The public and workers were offered concrete methods of detaching themselves as much as possible from the companies' war making activities. In applying for jobs—we urged them to request commercial divisions; where

already working, pressure for commercial priorities over "defense" (!); at least voice protest as private citizens—against military priorities, and against resumption of overt or secret bombings. As consumers—join boycotts.

Other aspects of the project included a mail-out to a few hundred clergy, encouraging discussion of August 15 on the preceding Sunday, and an extensive letter writing campaign to newspapers, and advertisements. The groups decided early in the week that the Coalition and corporation project could not end on the 15th. Plans are being made for regular visits and continuing exposure programs throughout the year. —Arizonans For Peace

## TWO YOUNG PEACE ACTIVISTS DIE IN ACCIDENT

Jack Riley and Laurie Torgan died in August as a result of a car accident. They were on their way to upstate New York to look at farm land for a land trust that they hoped to set up with other friends.

Laurie and Jack were involved in many peace activities such as the IBM Project in Poughkeepsie, N.Y., Rockland County Draft Center Demonstrations and more recently in the WIN farm area, working on the Farm Worker's Boycott. —NJ

## GEORGE WILEY, DROWNING VICTIM

Dr. George Wiley, former head of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO), drowned Aug. 8 when he fell off his boat in Chesapeake Bay off the Maryland coast.

Wiley was one of the original founders of the NWRO. He helped build and coordinate local chapters around the country, bringing the membership to a high of over 125,000 dues-paying members. An excellent organizer and fund-raiser, Wiley led welfare recipients in mass, militant demonstrations from Washington, D.C. to Las Vegas, Nevada. Formerly active in the civil rights movement, Wiley also led recipients in antiwar demonstrations. He saw the connection between poverty in the U.S. and the government's genocidal policies in Vietnam.

An August 12 memorial for Wiley held in Washington, turned into a protest. After services hundreds of peo-

ple carrying candles surged peacefully from the church to the White House, where they heard several speakers. —Guardian

On September 12 in New York City a memorial service will be held at the Mariners Temple, beginning at twelve noon. It will conclude with a march to the offices of the state welfare department, where a demonstration will be held around demands George was fighting for. —PCPJ

## DOVE TALES



Gentlemen's agreement: Sen. Ervin's statement about our legal system devised by (and for?) the "Anglo-Saxon race" and Atty. Wilson's "little Jap" slur.

Out Now? Because 5 Vietnamese students in California were summoned to the Immigration office, 2 others had scholarships revoked, and 7 were told to leave this country; WSP, 5899 W. Pico Blvd., LA, is sponsoring petitions to defend the Vietnamese students who have opposed the war.

Land co-ops: "How to Form a Land Trust," a pamphlet by a year-old land trust, we-LIFE, established by Institute Mountain West. Subtitle: "Neither a landlord nor a tenant be!!". . . . Peacemakers Sharing Fund which has been giving up to \$225 a month to spouses and children of imprisoned c.o.'s, is depleted, partly as a result of our inattention (10208 Sylvan Av., Cincinnati) . . . . The Briarpatch Cooperative Auto Shop in Palo Alto is a new venture supported by Portola Inst. and the mid-peninsula nonviolent community. . . . In June the newsletter of Prisoners Strike for Peace (156 5th Ave., NYC) described a project to build a center for nonviolent resistance in N.H. to serve as a transition for newly released prisoners as well as a place to discuss movement problems. It offered to all donors a Certificate of Investment in a Human Future. We hope it got off the drawing board.

Show & tell: Women's History Library, "the only archive in the world devoted solely to women," has been indexing and archiving WIN material for the last 5 years. They ask now that we mention their Directory of Films which is \$3 to individuals and \$5 to groups. (Ann Bishop, Women's History Research Center, 2325 Oak St., Berkeley) . . . . Received, through a thoughtful friend, a packet of material from the Peoples Bicentennial Commission. Interesting, but they try too hard to cram every event into a 200-year mold. Particularly unfortunate is an attempt to offer clues to the thinking of social science professors by the way they answer key questions. Not our tea party! . . . . War Tax Resistance has a pamphlet on the fiscal 1974 federal budget and is financially unable to advertise it! It is 16 pages, has articles by Melman, Proxmire, etc. and some pithy Mauldin cartoons (912 E. 31 St., KC Mo.). . . . Tacoma and Seattle gay communities have issued an album of revolutionary gay music in country-western style, available from Shelter Half, 1902 Tacoma Ave., Tacoma.

Midwest: From a letter by Larry Roth to the *Chi. Daily News*, 7/30, concerning Nixon's June 15 visit to Peking, Ill.: "I was in attendance with four other individuals from the Chicago area to protest to the President (citizens do still have that right). We came with signs. . . stating our opposition to the not well-publicized Cambodian bombing. . . . I was holding one end of a large banner that was ripped down by a White House advance man. . . . Earlier, when Mr. Nixon was arriving, a red-haired Secret Service agent (wearing an orange button with a black 'S') stood on top of our pile of signs and rested his foot atop the later torn banner." . . . A judge has ruled that Milwaukee 14 participant Mike Cullen is an undesirable alien and therefore must leave the U.S. forthwith. A good-bye party is planned in New York in September. . . . Hyde Park Kenwood Voices, now a monthly supplement to the *Reader* (Chicago), has been running a series of articles "The most remarkable abortion story ever told;" written by participants of *Jane*, a recently folded underground abortion service. . . . State Sen. Gordon Roseleip last February opposed liberalization of Wisconsin's birth control law: "Now you want to give contraceptives to poor people. Where are we going to get men for the armed forces if we have another conflict? It's a good way to destroy an army." (From a quote in *La Wisp*, 7/73). —Ruth Dear

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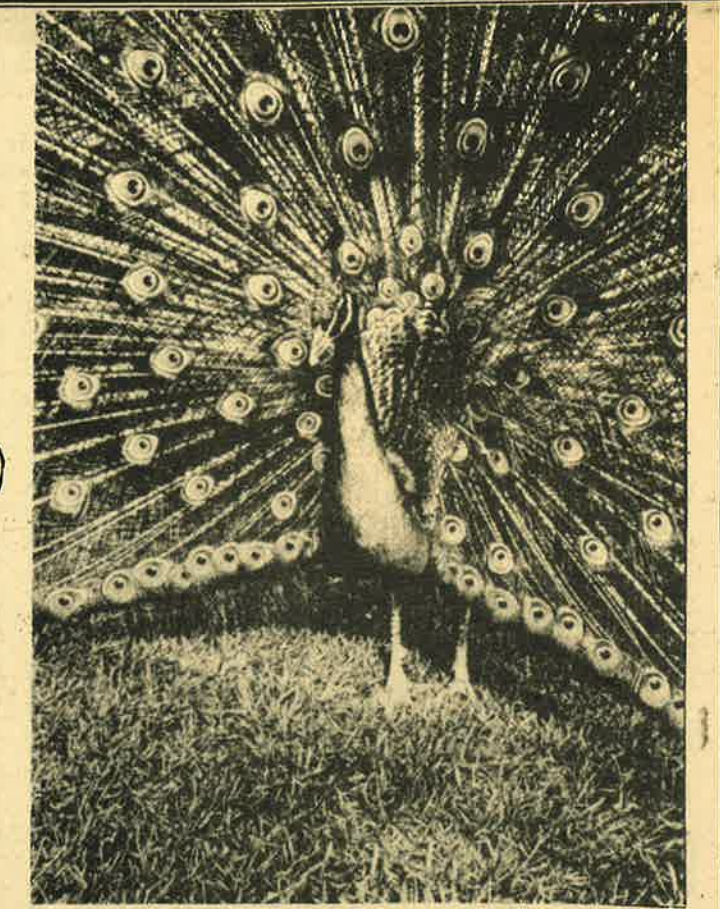
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CCCO is currently looking for someone to work, beginning immediately, as editor of its *Newsletter on Military Law and Counseling*. NOMLAC. Writing/editing experience is desired along with a background in military counseling. Salary is negotiable, to \$3,600 and included hospitalization and liberal vacation. If interested, call (collect) and send resume to Scott Thomason, c/o CCCO, 1251 2nd Ave., San Francisco, CA 94122, (415) 566-0500.

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Soon to be released from prison California artist wishes to communicate with women, artists, and any other freedom loving people, especially from the New York area. Write to Edgar Jorgenson after August 17 at 7709 Lankershim Blvd., apt 120, North Hollywood, Calif: 91605.

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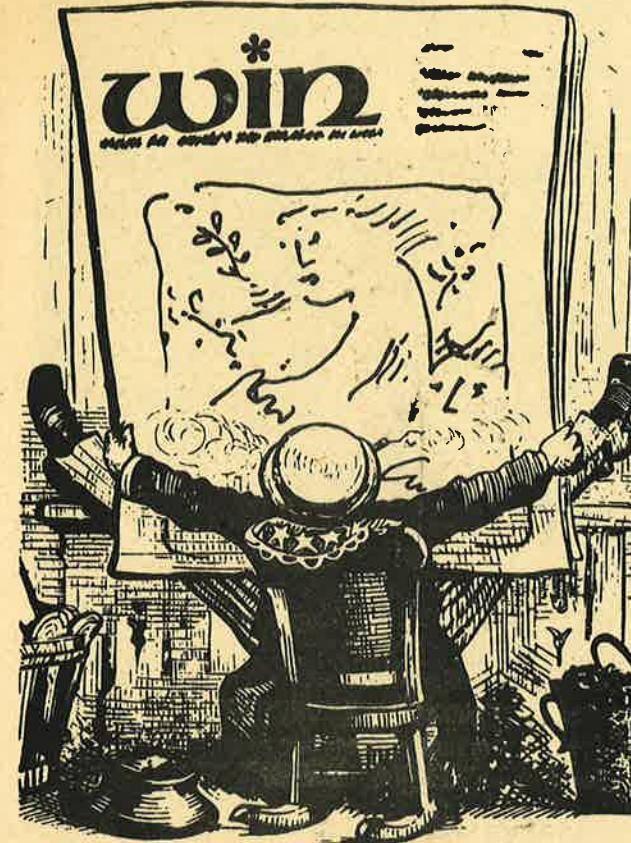
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Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_