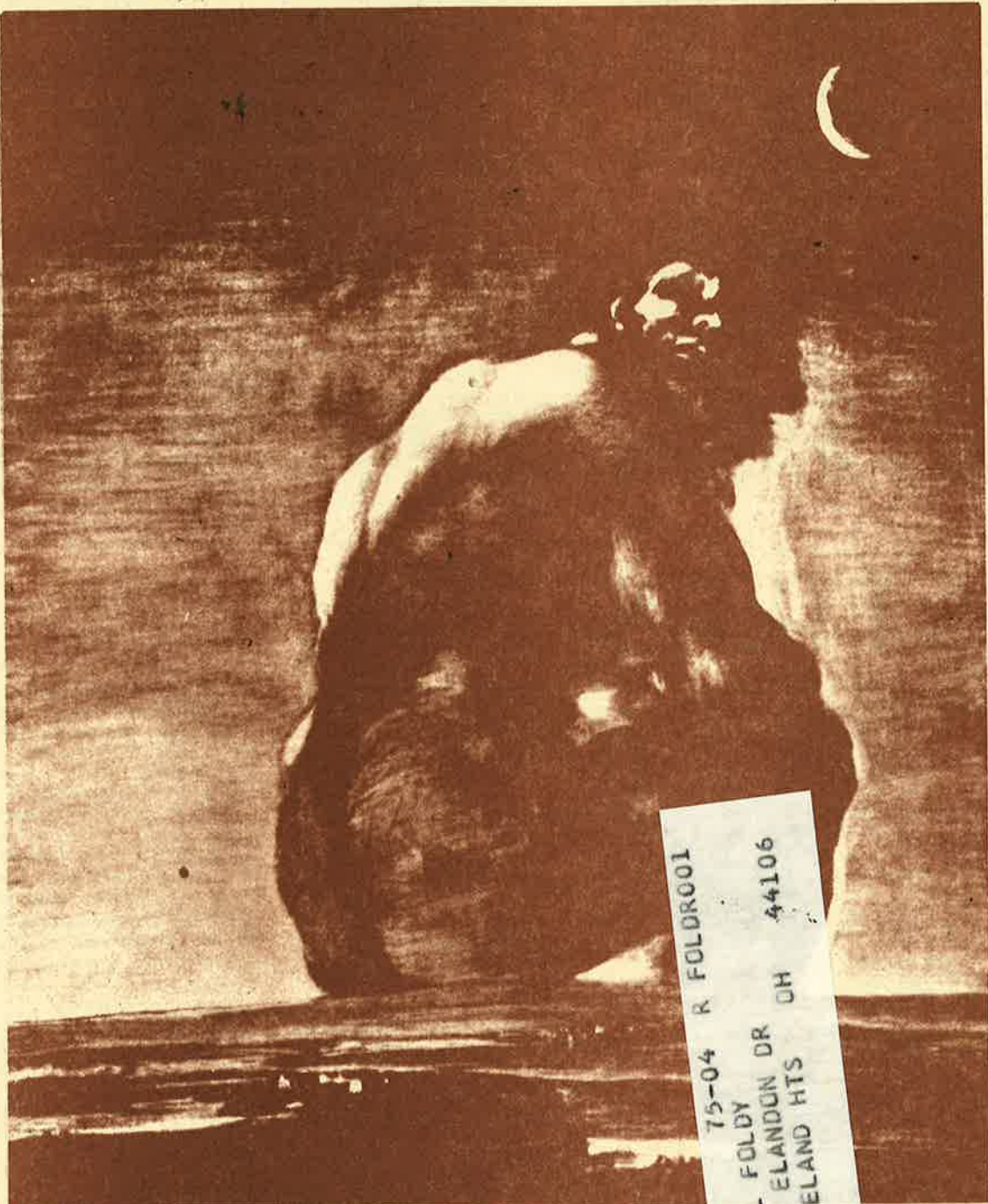


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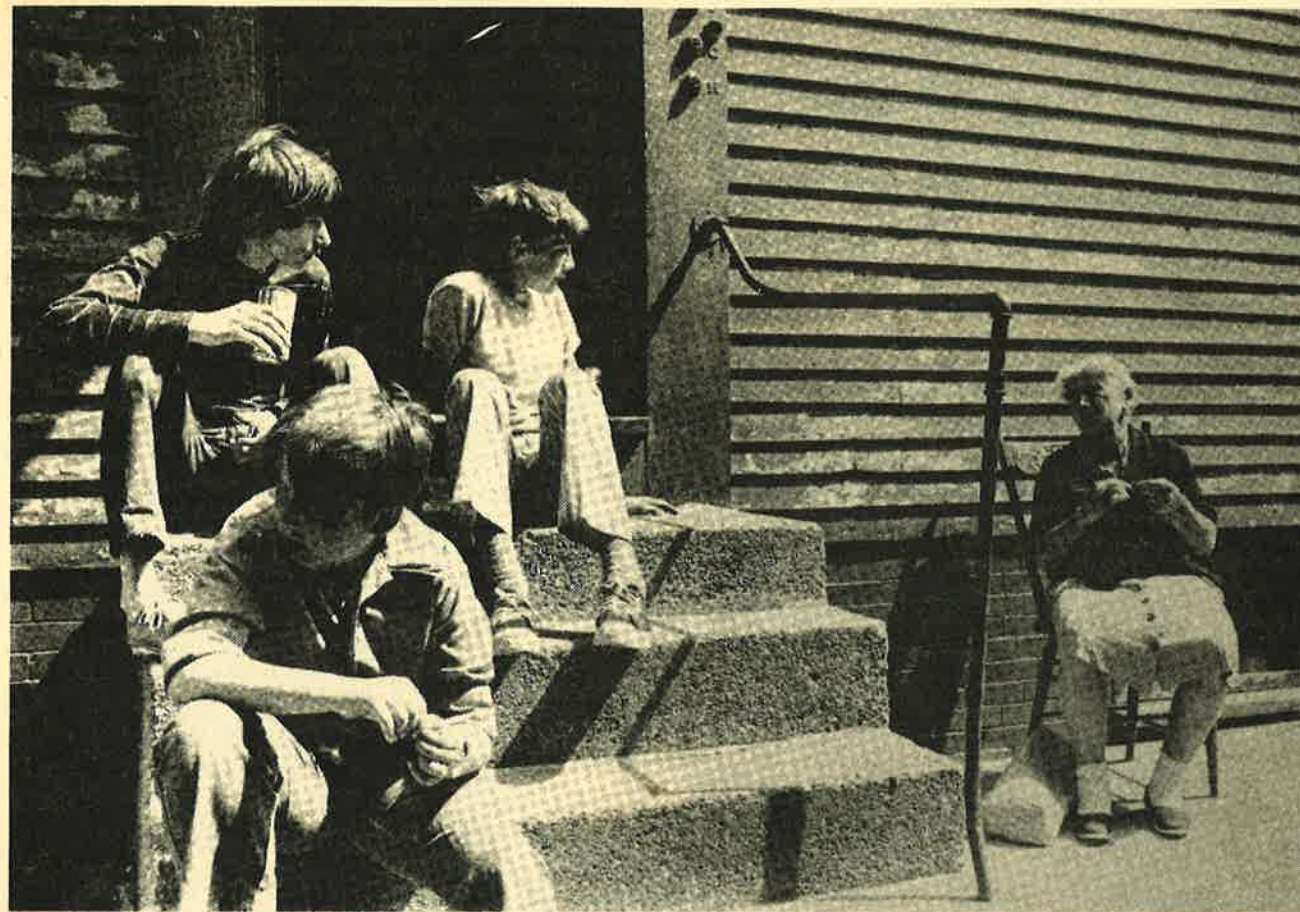
PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

OCTOBER 18, 1973/20¢

McREYNOLDS ON GAYS AND NONVIOLENCE
MORE ON WATERGATE AND THE MOVEMENT
WHAT YOU CAN DO ABOUT CHILE
DILEMMA ON THE MID-EAST



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CLEVELAND HTS



in Bayside, Queens, NYC. Photo by LNS Women's Graphics Collective

LETTERS

I would hate to think WIN is losing, of all things, its sense of humor, but the review by Martha Thomases [WIN, 10/4/73] of the Billie Jean King and Bobby Riggs "tennis" match makes me wonder, for it does appear to take the matter seriously. Surely we have to realize that women's liberation concerns were not involved in any way except as a butt of laughter, in a spectacle designed to make lots of money for the "contestants" regardless of sex. It worked. Picture Billie Jean King and Bobby Riggs, now off camera, skipping along hand in hand and laughing, as the saying goes, all the way to the bank.

Women's causes have a reputation for being defended humorlessly, but I do hope this is just a lapse, and not part of a new tone, in WIN of all places.

KARL V. TEETER
Cambridge, Mass.

Billie Jean King's triumph over Bobby Riggs was important to the feminist movement in several ways. For one thing, it was one of the first examples of feminine equality (or supremacy) in athletics, an arena in which men have always claimed superiority because of greater strength and speed. Billie

Jean's age advantage of 26 years isn't important in this regard, for in tennis circles it's previously been almost axiomatic that ANY ranking man, a Junior of 15, or a veteran of 60, could beat the best woman player in the world. Furthermore, Bobby Riggs, at his prime, was one of the finest players who ever lived. Jack Kramer, rated by many as the greatest, places Riggs in the top 10. I saw Riggs play Don Budge in their first tour after the Second World War, and will never forget Budge's comment to Riggs, "You're a great player, boy!" as an unbelievable backhand passing shot down the line answered one of Budge's sallies to the net.

In addition, Billie Jean beat Riggs with a man's game, pressure tennis, emphasizing the serve, volley and overhead. Only the best players in superb physical condition can adopt a strategy based on winning points by outright placements, rather than trying to coax the opponent into errors. Billie Jean demolished Riggs in 1973 the way Jack Kramer dethroned him for the professional title in 1950, with sustained, accurate power. Kramer is one of the most influential people in tennis, and an opponent of equality for women players. He saw the match, and

couldn't help but have been impressed.

The success of a woman in this way couldn't have occurred in a more important sport than tennis, for tennis is a very demanding game, taxing the player's skill, concentration and stamina beyond most sports, a traditional sport of the "elite", and perhaps this country's fastest growing participant sport. The match was able to attract the attention it did partly because great numbers of people in politics, business, the military (good or bad?), and entertainment play tennis. Billie Jean made the feminist point devastatingly to an audience that usually is remote from MS., and other radical and liberal publications.

The amount of money involved is also important. Billie Jean is supposed to have cleared \$200,000 outright for the match, and her final earnings including endorsements and other side benefits, may bring her income for it to more than half a million dollars. In a way, it is disgusting that anyone could make that much money for two hours playing a game. On the other hand, the amount places Billie Jean above such athletes as golfer Jack Nicklaus, basketball player Jerry West, or pitcher Tom Seaver in yearly earnings. This will benefit every wo-

man who tries to gain equal pay for equal work in comparison with men, not only in athletics but in all professions and jobs.

I wanted Billie Jean to win, but didn't expect her to, having seen Riggs at his prime and in his victory over Margaret Court. Perhaps as impressive to me as her victory was Rosemary Casals' exact prediction of the 6-4, 6-3, 6-3 score. Rosemary, granddaughter of the world famed cellist, Pablo Casals, and a ranking professional tennis player, was one of the ABC commentators for the match. I doubt that any man commentator has ever predicted that accurately the outcome of a five set match.

BRADFORD LYTTLE
New York, NY

Just a brief word on David McReynold's comments at the WRL Conference (WIN 9/6/73). While Dave is "weary of confusing the concept of nonviolent revolution with organic foods and compost heaps," I am equally weary of talk of organizing bureaucratic mass movements to "seize power."

A significant change has occurred in the past twenty years in the way in which this nation feeds itself. Food production has become a centralized corporate enterprise, with the predictable sacrifice of quality for profit. This centralized effort has also made possible a very extensive exploitation of third world countries. People have the opportunity through backyard gardens and compost heaps to "seize the means of production," and weaken our dependence on the plastic foods industry. While this opportunity certainly doesn't exist for everyone, the majority of our population lives in rural, suburban, and urban areas that offer these opportunities.

Admittedly eating organic food and building compost heaps will not, in and of itself, provide radical social change. However I feel decentralizing food production to its maximum extent will allow us to regain control of this important area of our lives. I don't want to take over General Mills, I want to disperse food production to the lowest level where it can be maintained with a minimum of administrative overhead.

To regain control of our lives requires escaping our dependence on those forces we are contesting. I feel living simply provides a means to achieve this physical liberation. While organic foods have little impact on the Blacks in Bedford-Stuyvesant, I suspect fifty years of socialist rhetoric has provided little more.

ROBERT BRUCE
Denver, Colo.

From the WRL Conference comments, [WIN, 9/6/73] it seems there has been some criticism, through lack of understanding, of those whose revolutionary commitment has led to rural residence for purposes of organic growing. Hopefully this brief comment will contribute to greater mutual support. CHOOSE ORGANIC ALTERNATIVES.

Revolution/Liberation on each continent is led by those whose HOME it is. And we support one another to the extent that we have energy to share; this strength comes from home. Guided by those who've been at home with "North America" since long

before the colonial name, and by those who've been brought home here by such guidance, we learn that a movement of all people—not only humans—is historically in tune with our struggle for peace and freedom.

BILL CURRY
Saskatoon, Sask.

Punishment is a rotten teacher, Leah Fritz tells us. Anyone disagree? She says she denies herself the ease of hatred. Yet she indulges a fantasy of violence. She envisions good women spanking the Seats of Power. [WIN, 9/13/73]

Can any reprimand be free of punishment or hatred or both?

—DALE WHARTON
Montreal, Quebec

The fascist prisoncrats here are making a last effort to isolate those of us who are in struggle against S.T.A.R.T.

People, one of the most diabolical so-called "Behavior Modification" techniques is to isolate or cut off all emotional ties, all avenues of any supportive communities, to be candid, to systematically destroy and withhold our mail!

This is happening more openly now! The neo-Nazicratic functionaries here realizing the extent and strength of our support have now subjected us to some so-called censorship rules, that suddenly have appeared just recently!

Recently they have been returning letters and newspapers to us back to you stamped unclaimed on them. Do not be deceived, people, or discouraged. Do not stop writing and sending us your letters and newspapers!

People, show your solidarity & support again by doing the following; write letters of protest to Norman Carlson, director of U.S. Bureau of Prisons, Dept. of Justice, Wash. D.C. 20037, requesting that he discontinue the censorship and that he removes the S.T.A.R.T. Brothers, William Ruiz, Forrest Gustave & myself from the program!

2) Letters written to DA P.J. Ciccone, Warden U.S. Medical Center for federal prisoners, Springfield, Mo. 65802.

3) Letters to Congresspersons, Bernie Sisk, John Conyers, Charles Rangel & Louis Stokes, at U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Wash. D.C. 20515 asking them to intercede in our behalf, requesting we be transferred from the S.T.A.R.T. Program.

4) Letters written to U.S. District Court Judge Oliver, Southern District, Springfield, Mo. 65801, requesting him to rule in our favor.

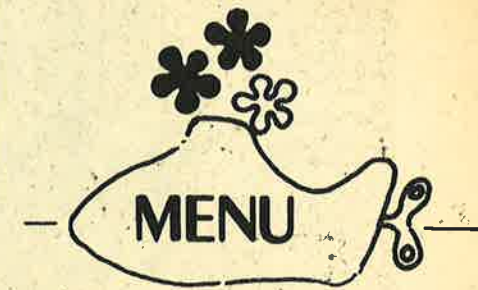
5) That all members of the radical news media reading this pass it along for others to print and print it themselves in whatever papers they may work on.

6) That any people having high standing in large movement groups reading this, organize a protest such as picketing or other types of support in our behalf.

7) That any people doing any of the above contact me at the address below, advising me of such.

8) And that letters of support be written to all the above prisoners at the same address.

GERALD WILSON, 19481-175
PO Box 4000, Springfield, MO 65802



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NO ISSUE NEXT WEEK

Readers please note. There'll be no issue of WIN next week. We are taking a vacation. The next issue will be dated November 1. (The missing issue would have been October 25). See you in two weeks. —WIN



STAFF

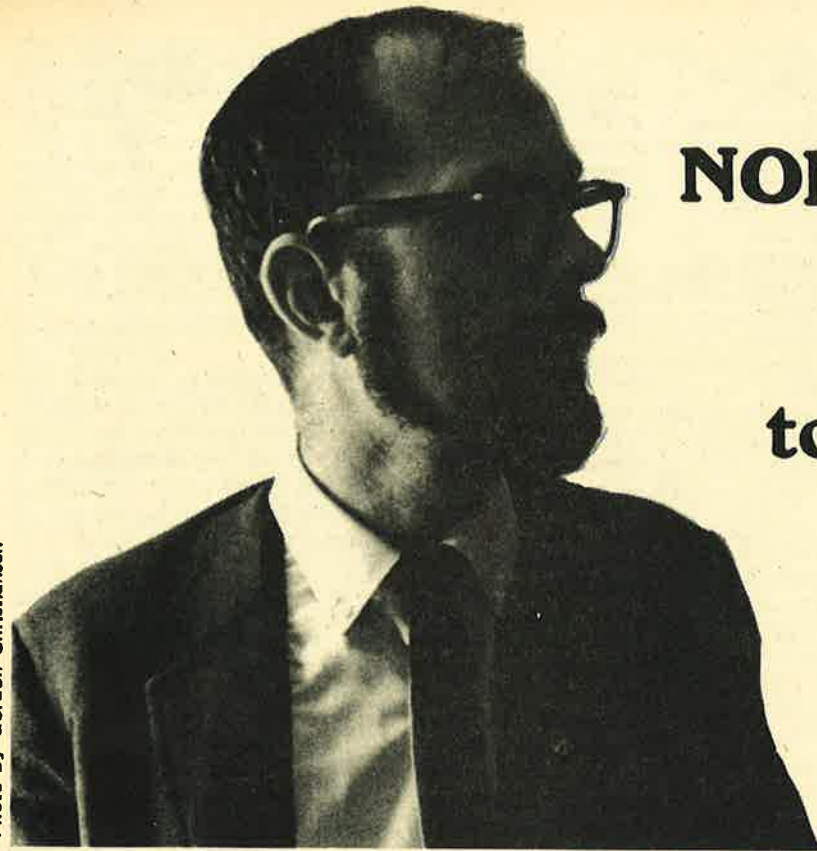
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WIN is published weekly except for the first two weeks in January, 2nd week in May, last 4 weeks in August, and the last week in October by the WIN Publishing Empire with the support of the War Resisters League. Subscriptions are \$7.00 per year. Second class postage at New York, N.Y. 10001. Individual writers are responsible for opinions expressed and accuracy of facts given. Sorry—manuscripts cannot be returned unless accompanied by a self-addressed stamped envelope. Printed in U.S.A.



GAYS AND NONVIOLENCE -PART II a response to Allen Young

BY DAVID McREYNOLDS

In the October 11 issue of WIN Allen Young discussed the fatal beating of Jeremiah Lynch, 21, in Boston, viewed it as a typical story of a murderous attack on gays by the straight community, and then raised the question of nonviolence and gays.

I have stayed pretty much out of the gay liberation discussion after my article in WIN November 15, 1969. For one thing I did not want to become identified as gay liberation's gift to the pacifist movement. Perhaps I am simply too old to fully identify as a "gay"—a term that in my youth was synonymous with weakness and escape from social struggle. But also I think people should be judged in terms of themselves and what they say and do, not in terms of the color of their skin or their sexual orientation. Blacks within the movement must find themselves in the same danger of being swallowed up in darkness, so to speak; being called on and looked to for special insights on *that* problem when, important as racism is to any racial minority, the black intellectual does, sometimes, want to discuss Vietnam, the Middle East, or Nixon without turning that discussion into a mini-symposium on "what it is to be a Black American". Another reason for my silence has been simply a lack of anything important to say that wasn't being said better than I could say it by people like Allen Young and a host of other militant young homosexuals.

But I write now because Allen has raised two important problems in his piece, and I think he has accidentally fallen into the trap of accepting sex roles as defined by society. He asks, first, how homosexuals can defend themselves, whether violence is proper,

and, if they can't use violence easily—and Allen admits he feels he can't, that he never took a karate class, has sold his .22 rifle, etc.—then what do they do to defend themselves and their right to community. Second, he said that "... it is no coincidence that gay people have always had a leading role in the pacifist movement," and then named three individuals, including myself, who have played such a role.

Taking that last point first, I think one might also say "... it is no coincidence that gay people have always had a leading role in the church... in the school system... in the sports world... etc." What Allen has done, unwittingly, is to accept the social concept that pacifists must be a little queer. I believe there are as many gay priests as there are gay pacifist bureaucrats; as many gay military men as gay peace leaders. The difference—and it is a crucial one—is that the pacifist movement is inherently permissive and supportive of the deviant personality. (I use "deviant" here in a very open way, not as a term of attack.) The pacifist begins with the assumption that every person is unique has special value, and must be considered as an individual to be respected. Others—including Marxists—tend to think in terms of a social norm and to measure people by how closely they fit that norm. ("Frank's O.K. but his wife is a little screwy—writes poetry and all that crap"... "John's really weird, like I mean he's into cooking, for Christ's sake"... "You know what I heard about Eve, she's going to *dance* classes!"... "You might think he was really a crackpot when you first meet him, he's got a beard, but if you just get to know him, he's a pretty regular guy"... "She's got a great face and body but she is kooky as hell—always wants to talk philosophy and Eastern religion").

In our society individuals are judged by how well they fit the collective pattern even though the secret is that *no one fits the pattern*. ("Jesus Christ was I shocked when I read about it in the paper! I mean he

works in my office for God's sake, and there is this big shot of him being arrested in front of the draft board! I mean, he must be nuts or something.")

The pacifist doesn't have a pattern. We expect people to be responsible to themselves—and to others—but not to fit into a pattern. We like some individuals and dislike others (or, as Igal is wont to say, "Thank God we only have to love everyone—it would be impossible if we had to like them") but not on the basis of beads, beards, barefeet, or braless breasts.

The key is that while other groups may tolerate, the pacifist movement accepts. And therefore someone like myself may be able to "surface" sexually without being fired, while in other parts of the society the price of openness is repression. ("You know what I mean, I mean I'd like to see him stay on as pastor, but it is really asking too much of the congregation. I mean, there are the young boys and he was running the youth program. I mean, you know, we all admire his courage tremendously in admitting he was gay—or whatever term they use—but you can't, you just can't, have a queer as pastor in charge of the youth program").

To list three homosexuals active in the pacifist movement and to note this is "no coincidence" is also something close to the old gay defense of gayness, which was a kind of litany: Whitman, Auden, Ginsberg, et al, and forgetting Eliot, Pound, e.e.cummings, Kenneth Patchen and William Carlos Williams—who were not homosexual. I prefer to take the position that *homosexuality needs no defense*; that if it felt right for *me* it wouldn't matter if there were only two of us in the world, it would still be all right. I don't need to know who in the peace movement, or the church, or anywhere else might be homosexual. And what, incidentally, of A.J. Muste, Ralph DiGia, Jim Peck, Brad Lytle, Jim Forest—or Irma Zigas, Lynne Shatzkin Coffin, Margie Rece, and Norma Becker? They aren't (so far as I know) gay and is it any coincidence that they are in the peace movement?

So my first rambling point is simply that pacifists are permissive and supportive and make it possible for people to conduct their "search for selfness" in a public way, so long as it is not genuinely destructive to them or to the group.

My second point is that gayness and violence have no link, either positive or negative. In our society gayness has always been associated with a shift in sex roles so that someone who is gay is considered (and usually feels) less masculine or less feminine than their sex would indicate. That is, the male who is perfectly able to engage in violence may feel, once he has come out into the homosexual world, that a direct violent response is no longer appropriate to his "new" role. This is too bad, because nothing has really changed at all. There is plenty of violence in the gay world anyway and it might be healthy if more of it saw the light of day. It is true also that in our society men may be driven toward a homosexual pattern starting at the other end: that is, because they fail to meet the normal definition of male, i.e., they do not like to fight, avoid physical conflict, etc., they may be made to feel like sissies and accept that definition as valid and move from there to homosexuality. But in other societies homosexuals have played quite different roles. In Athens, the legendary Atlantis of the homosexual psyche, men fought quite bravely, often alongside their lovers. In Germany, Hitler depended on the homosexually-led Brown Shirts to bring him to power.

Allen, working from his own distaste for violence (which I share) assumes that only a minority of gays enjoy violence, that by and large "it is no coincidence" that some pacifist leaders are openly homosexual. I suggest it is really entirely coincidence, that the individual homosexual is just as likely to be violent as anyone else. (One interesting example of this occurred at the Gay Liberation March and Rally this year. I had gone over to Washington Square to find Morris Knight and have a drink with him before he went back to California—and to urge him to get to Asilomar, which he did. While looking for Morris I watched an insane confrontation between a street transvestite named—I think—Sylvia and the gay bodyguards for the speaker's platform. Sylvia wanted to get on the platform to make a speech and the arrangements committee was having none of it. In all her finery Sylvia kept trying to get up the steps. It was both funny and sad but finally in a blaze of anger turned nasty. Sylvia, outraged when the guards pushed her back, finally tore open her blouse, ripped out the fake breasts, and screamed "I don't know about you, sister, but I'm a *man*, I'm a *man*, and I'll fight you mother fucking bitches to get on that platform. You want to fight? O.K., baby, fight!" She finally, thanks partly to Morris' intervention, was allowed on the platform, wounded, bedraggled and pathetic, to scream out at the audience her own lonely alienation and anger. Truly a victim of the sex war, in this case a war within her/his self.)

But finally I think pacifists are pacifists and reject violence not because they are any more or less homosexual than anyone else, but because from somewhere in a violent society they have tapped a hidden well and found the strength to believe in themselves; to see themselves in others, and others in themselves. Is there evil loose? Then it is in me, also. Is there goodness, truly? Then it must exist in others too. Have I been hurt? Then others can be hurt as well. Why am I crying when someone else is hurt? Why does my mother weep when I break my arm? How complex we are, how bound to each other. And it is at this point, simply because it seems obvious, seems the *human* (not gay, not macho, not normal) thing to do that we become pacifists. For what is the point of violence if, in inflicting it, I know that I hurt myself as much as any other? Or more. Or more.

Allen will note that I haven't answered one of his central questions—how does the homosexual community defend itself—because I have no answer. On the evidence, people who have guns are more often murdered than those who don't. And on the evidence we know there are times when there are no defenses that work except, perhaps, running. The point is that I am pretty convinced violence is not the answer and so, baffled like Allen, I have to stumble along without false hopes or illusions that karate or a .22 rifle will guard me from death. In the end, nothing will guard me from death. The problem with violence is that it may guard me from life which, while I have it, is all that is truly worth having. And the paradox remains: to find that sense of life, I may have to risk losing it. It is an ancient paradox. Like all paradoxes the answer lies in reality, not in print.

David McReynolds is a WIN fellow traveler and author of the book *WE HAVE BEEN INVADDED BY THE 21st CENTURY*.



CHILE



WHAT YOU CAN DO

BY LANCE BELVILLE

The horror stories get bigger and bloodier as the days go by. Thousands rounded up and herded into soccer stadiums around Santiago. For many the stadiums became torture chambers and death camps. The rumors of the murder count were whispered everywhere. At this writing the Junta which took power in Chile last month admits to around 400. But *Newsweek's* John Barnes slipped into a Santiago morgue twice and learned the body count processed through that sad place up to September 25th: 2,796! The score from the Chilean countryside can only be guessed at. Alleged eye-witnesses tell of helicopters dumping bodies into the sea. Chile, Latin America's land of hope has become the Indonesia of this decade. The comparison is an apt one: Reportedly the Chilean officers call their post-coup consolidation campaign "Operation Jakarta" an obvious reference to the 1965 massacre in Indonesia of an estimated half million so-called Chinese Line Communists. So much for the future in Latin America.

Reading the horror stories coming out of Chile daily, the inevitable question pops up: What can I do? Well *we* (meaning our government) already did plenty. In 1971 and 1972 we gave \$30 million in military aid, arms, credit for arms purchases and military assistance to that military which prior to September 11th was thought of as Latin America's most democratic. During that period we trained 4,374 of those professional, democratic-institution-loving Chilean officers. And of course, that's just the tip of the well-known iceberg. What *our* CIA and *our* businesses have been doing down there over the past few years would probably make the skin crawl.

Although Allende is gone, Chile is still a poor country in bad economic trouble. The fat underside of the military-run governmental belly is economic, world public opinion and especially public opinion here in the United States. Our generals and our businessmen helped their generals get where they are. And their generals will need our money, public and private, to stay where they are. Here is where all of us come in. Here is where the buck stops. With effort we all can have a very definite part in staying the executioners' hands in Chile. So here are a few suggestions of what

can be done.

First you can write, telegraph and call Chilean authorities, world organizations and individuals and branches of the U.S. government. The following is a suggested list of names and addresses. If you live in a city with a Chilean consulate you might shoot them off a letter as well. If not, here are a few places you might write:

Gen. Augusto Pinochet, President
c/o The Chilean Embassy
1736 Mass. Ave. N.W.
Washington, DC 20036

General Oscar Bonilla, Interior Minister
Santiago, Chile

Dr. Galo Plaza, Secretary General of the O.A.S.
17th St. & Constitution Ave. N.W.
Washington, DC 20006

Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General
United Nations Building
New York, NY 10017

Edward F. Kennedy, Chairman
Senate Sub-Committee on Refugees
Washington, DC

William Fulbright, Chairman
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Washington, DC

Thomas Morgan, Chairman
House Committee on Foreign Affairs
The House of Representatives
Washington, DC

Aga Khan, High Commissioner on Refugees
The United Nations Building
New York, NY 10017

Dr. Henry Kissinger, Sec. of State
State Department Building
Washington, DC

In writing and telegraphing these people you might want to bring up the case of political exiles as well as the general, barbaric situation in Chile. The lives of many political exiles in Chile are in immediate danger either from the Chilean junta itself or through the threat of deportation back to their countries of origin. This is particularly true of the many Brazilian and Haitian political exiles presently stranded in Chile. There are an estimated 8,000 Brazilian political exiles in Santiago alone.

If you want to mention specific cases, the following is a list provided by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) of Chileans and Latin American political exiles in Chile whose lives are in clear and immediate danger either from execution in Chile or deportation back to their homelands:

Luis Corvalan, general secretary of Chilean Communist Party; Pedro Enriquez, lawyer of the Chilean MIR (Movement of Revolutionary Left); Theotonio dos Santos, noted Brazilian political economist; Vanja Banbirra, also a noted Brazilian political economist.

Also Ruy Mauro Marini, Brazilian political scientist; Ernani Maria Fiori, Brazilian philosopher; Jaime Barrios, economic advisor to Allende; Alejandro Chilen Rojas, Chilean state publishing house; and Gustavo Beghaut, Uruguayan director of Latin American Studies at the Sorbonne.

Also Juan Lechin, Bolivian trade union leader; Elsa Pena vda. Hernandez, wife of Dominican revolutionist Homero Hernandez; Anna Napoleon, Haitian political refugee; Julio Cortazar, Argentine writer; Emma de Torres, wife of former president of Bolivia Juan Jose Torres and leader of defense efforts for Bolivian political prisoners.

Also Hugo Gonzales Moscoso, leader of the Bolivian POR (Combate); Patricio Gussman, Chilean filmmaker; Maria Ester Gillo, Uruguayan lawyer who defended many Tupamaros; Guillermo Lora, leader of the Bolivian POR (Masas); Angel Parra, Chilean singer; Pedro Chaskel, Chilean filmmaker; and Uirick Joly, Haitian political refugee.

USLA draws special attention to the case of Luis Corvalan who at this writing was about to face the Junta's firing squad.

In the midst of all the letter writing and wiring that I hope you will be doing, don't forget your own little old Congressman and Senator. The Chilean Junta is going to be expecting lots of shekles from Tio Sam. The door has already been opened wide for private

corporations to come back and continue grazing. On September 23rd, General Gustavo Leigh, a junta member, announced that, "we want to give confidence to the entire world. The doors will open for any foreign capital seeking a place in Chile." Reports out of Washington have it that our government is already studying huge loans to shore up the Chilean economy. Ask your congressman and senator to vote against any appropriations for the Chilean regime.

Programs of demonstrations, teach-ins, marches, rallies and other activities are underway all around the country, especially in New York, Texas, California, Washington, DC, and Washington State so if your taste for active participation runs stronger than letter writing you might check in with the USLA chapter in your area. While traditionally USLA has been closely associated with the Trotskyist policies of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliances, in many places they are the only game in town and can usually put you in touch with what's going on in the area. Although USLA itself is mainly interested in the problems of political prisoners, they are acting as a clearing house for all kinds of political activities relating to Latin America in general and Chile in particular. Their national office is at 150 Fifth Ave., room 311, New York, NY 10011. Their phone number is (212) 691-2880 and their local groups can be reached through that office. One of their main activities consists of setting up a speakers bureau.

Another clearing house for information and activities is the Chile Solidarity Committee, located at 244 W. 27 St., New York, NY. Their phone number is (212) 741-3480. The Solidarity Committee is a coalition of organizations ranging from unions to traditional peace groups to political organizations such as the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Founded three weeks prior to the coup, they are circulating petitions, organizing a speakers bureau, distributing films about Chile and sponsoring demonstrations at the UN.

A good source of information about developments in Chile and elsewhere in Latin America is the North American Committee on Latin America (NACLA), located at PO Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025, and PO Box 226, Berkeley, CA 94701. NACLA publishes an excellent periodical, the *Latin American and Empire Report*, and has some literature specifically on Chile. A new pamphlet on the meaning of the coup is in preparation.

And of course there is *Amnesty International* and its long standing concern for political prisoners everywhere and of all persuasions. They can be reached at PO Box 1182, Palo Alto, CA 94302, and 200 W. 72 St., New York, NY 10023.

If I sound overly optimistic about possible results in protesting against what is going on in Chile, it is because I have seen it work time and again in dealing with Latin dictatorships. While it won't work miracles it can and will improve conditions in the bloodied prisons and countryside of Chile.

A Chilean slum dweller told the *Newsweek* reporter in a recent interview, "They kill whoever they want to kill. There is nothing, absolutely nothing that we can do." Well, there is something we here in the U.S. can do. And it starts with not giving up. It starts with picking up a pen and writing. It starts with us.

Lance Belville was formerly a correspondent for ABC News stationed in Brazil. Currently he is writing plays in New York.

Arthur Waskow is a concerned citizen living in Washington D.C. and a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies.



A Letter to the Movement

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

I'm depressed. It's early fall, there is no popular movement to force Richard Nixon out of office, and it feels as if he and the Presidential Dictatorship have won: that is, after a decent interval of breast-beating, the Watergate Coup will enter American history as an unpleasant, but necessary way to govern this unwieldy country—only to be done more intelligently next time. The "economic Watergate"—Presidential control of the economy for the benefit of the corporations—is not even being challenged.

From March to September, we had the opportunity of a generation to organize a broad-based movement—because our prophecies had come true and people were angry at the State. What did "the Left" do during that period? Some elements of New American Movement began organizing around impeachment. The National Lawyers Guild prepared a court suit to invalidate the election of 1972. A few local groups did petitions. What else? Zilch.

So I have been asking myself, maybe I'm the one who's out of step, not all my comrades? But I try to work out an answer, and here are its elements:

1. Some groups have felt "the war" was their major responsibility. OK. But Congress *did* end the overt military aspect of the war, did so only after a decade of extraordinary political struggle; and Watergate *is* the war brought home. How long should we keep focusing on the war that we put serious limits on, and ignore the new one? Won't the old one be more likely to start again if Nixon goes scot-free? Isn't impeachment organizing the best anti-war organizing?
2. Some said: We'll just end up with Agnew. No difference, or worse. OK. But the political struggle necessary to bring Nixon down would have built barriers against *any* President remantling the dictatorship. What's more—now Agnew is in the soup too, and nobody seems to have said that *now* we can get going. Some say the Agnew affair is a Nixon trick. OK. Maybe Nixon is trying to turn what could have been a disaster to his own uses, as a diversion from Watergate. But are we powerless to turn the Agnew affair back to the uses of the people?
3. Some say that if parts of the ruling-class like Clark Clifford want Nixon out, we don't. Nuts. Clifford wants a resignation; we want removal. Fulbright wanted the war ended. So, after a point, did Clifford and the *Wall Street Journal*: Did that mean we didn't care? I do remember when some parts of SDS said the war was a liberal issue, but I thought we learned our way past that. Two-thirds of the public thinks Nixon is a criminal, and one-fourth would like him ejected from the White House. That is known as *masses*. Why aren't we with them?

4. Some say the economy is the real issue for the real working class. OK. But isn't Nixonomics serving the corporations just as Watergate did? Didn't Nixon pay off for those CREEP contributions with high food prices? Isn't Watergate connected to inflation? Can't we say those things?

5. Some say it all doesn't matter unless imperialism falls. Are there no intermediate steps? Doesn't at least self-defense for the Left matter? For the first time, momentarily, people *know about* and *are angry* at surveillance, sabotage, and provacateurism against the Left. Granted, they discovered it and got angry only because the Center, for a change, was also the target. But they *did* learn about it and *did* get angry. Don't we even want to get the goddam bugs off our own phones—or come as close as possible, and raise as much struggle around that as possible?

6. Some say we should beware of destabilizing the country because we have no alternative and instability therefore leads to fascism and therefore we should lie low. If so, at least that's honest, and we can face it. But to tell the truth, *until* we have an alternative I doubt that we can topple the ruling class—and in the meantime, if they got worried about the destabilizing affects of an impeachment campaign, they could settle for a calmer solution—like resignation. And anyway, how do we *build* an alternative if we lie low?

7. Some say, let's do local organizing; impeachment is too national. But 435 Members of the House of Representatives have to vote on it, and every single one could have every kind of political tactic from letter writing to sit-ins to Moratorium Days to mass marches to strikes and every kind of political content from principled conservatism to outraged religion to humanist liberalism to Marxism to anarchism, dumped vigorously on his/her doorstep. City councils could demand impeachment, labor unions could, etc. etc. It's a local issue, in a way that, unfortunately, the Guild's legal suit—focusing on one judge and asking people chiefly to be plaintiffs—won't be.

8. Some say—and that's most honest of all—: "Look, there are other important things in my life. A commune. A food co-op. Governing the city of Madison. Torah study." OK. But can't we integrate both direct life-giving alternatives *and* direct struggle against the State, into our lives? Do we have to alternate forever between the '60s of frantic confrontation and the '70s of quiet building—even if the time seems ripe for both? Can't we say—1/3 of my time, no more, no less, to force Nixon out?

All right. If you still don't think it's important, forget it. **BUT IF YOU DO**—it may just be that all is not yet lost.

PROPOSAL: Remember the teach-ins? They began when people felt angry but helpless about the war. Didn't know much about Indochina. Didn't see its relevance to our own lives, but were angry. Didn't know whether there *were* any political levers, old or new.

SO: What about a wave of Think-ins? They would be one way to act, in and through which we could also figure out other ways to act. They might be, but would not have to be committed to impeachment; simply to investigating the deeper meaning of Watergate—and how to respond. They could bring together analysis of food prices with analysis of "the plumbers," criticism of Presidential dictatorship with criticism of corporations, student governments, professional associations, unions, student governments, reform political clubs. They could be sponsored by labor unions, synagogues, churches, reform political clubs. They could be moments of high energy—in music, speeches, open mikes—at a time when our energy seems low, or at least inaudible.

In the greatest Constitutional crisis since the Civil War *and* the greatest economic crisis since the Crash, does it really make sense for the Left to disappear? Unless it doesn't exist.

In the struggle,

Arthur I. Waskow

P.S. The National Lawyers Guild has prepared a People's Lawsuit to Set Aside the 1972 elections and committees to set aside the elections have sprouted in many areas. The national office at 23 Cornelia St., New York, NY 10014 (phone: 212-255-8028) can provide literature on the campaign as well as putting you in touch with a local group in your area.

The New American Movement at 2421 E. Franklin Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN 55406, has an excellent guide to impeachment and is implementing a program around that demand.

The American Civil Liberties Union, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10016, has taken a stand in favor of impeachment but at press time we were unable to determine what program, if any, would be created around that demand.

—WIN

MID-EAST DILEMMA

BY MARTY JEZER

It is difficult for an American—particularly a Jew—to understand the latest Arab-Israeli War with any balance. The media is pro-Israel and the American Jewish Establishment more hawkish and anti-Arab than most Israelis. I suspect that much of the sympathy that the Arabs get from young Jewish leftists has little to do with the Middle East situation but is a reaction against the perception of Israel promoted by American Zionists, who dismiss any Palestinian claims to the area. I know that I instinctively rebel against hardline Zionism and find myself defending the Palestinian position when I am in Zionist company. But also I empathize with the Israelis when I am on my own. On one point the Zionists are right: the existence of Israel makes every Jew conscious of his or her Jewishness.

It is difficult to comment on the current war, which is in its third day as I write this. The Arabs have been criticized for crossing the Suez during Yom Kippur, the Jewish high holy day, but Israel drew the first blood in the '67 war and our own George Washington earned quite a heroic reputation for crossing the Delaware and catching the Hessian soldiers drunk with Christmas cheer.

Israel will no doubt win another victory and survive to fight another war. In the past, this seemed to suit both sides well. The Arab leaders needed a thriving Israel to serve as "The Enemy" and to divert their own people from demanding domestic reforms. (Repressive nation-states always need an enemy to forestall political change at home. That is why the U.S. invented the Cold War and the Soviet government happily took up the bait.) In a similar way, Israel also needed the threat of Arab aggression. The military is the one cohesive force in their melting pot and success in war has kept the Moshe Dayan-Golda Meir party in power. Moreover, American Jews readily respond with money to Israeli war-cries.

The Arabs attacked to win back the territories that Israel had won in the Six Day War. Israeli expansion into this disputed area is clearly provocative. According to Uri Davis, writing in *Peace News*, 50 new Israeli settlements were established since the '67 conquest and six more are planned for '73. Davis also quotes Moshe Dayan as saying, in 1968, "During the last 100 years, our people have been undergoing a process of building up the country and the nation, of expansion, of getting more Jews and settlements, and of colonization in order to expand the borders here. Let there be no Jew who says that we are near the end of the road."

From thousands of miles away, American Zionists echo this imperial call. Americans hear little of Israeli dissent or know (or even want to know) that there are Israelis who want to give the territories back to the Arabs and who want to return to the original Zionist vision of a decentralized collectivist commonwealth. This side, a minority within Israel, is unlikely to gain

strength as long as Arab and Israeli leaders look towards a military solution.

Israel also promotes unrest by projecting the concept of Israel as the homeland for world Jewry. The plight of Soviet Jewry may be authentic and emigration out of any country is a basic right. But Zionist propaganda (playing on American anti-Communism) has blown this issue all out of proportion—again to rally American support. Latin American exiles stranded in Chile certainly face far greater danger and blacks in America are probably as oppressed. But Israel recently refused to accept a group of black Jews who immigrated from America. Their color could only cause trouble in Israel where non-European Jews already face discrimination. Jews from Russia fit more comfortably into Israeli society and have added propaganda value.

Meanwhile the Palestinians continue to suffer. They are the true victims of the Arab-Israeli wars. Israel offers them no acceptable solution except to live as second-class citizens in an alien nation. And the Arabs need them in limbo the way Israel needs the Russian Jews, for propaganda purposes and as justification for military preparedness. Moreover the Palestinian guerrillas seem a fairly pathetic lot. Their elitism belies their ability to create a popular movement and their particular form of terrorism, against innocent people thousands of miles from their struggle, strikes me as cowardly and politically futile. But desperation seems their only recourse.

What can Americans do, especially American Jews who feel the emotional pressure of the Zionists propaganda and who respond (who cannot help but respond) in a polarized way, either for or against the existence of Israel? To accept these polarized views in distant America is to forget that Israel itself is full of contradictions. It is possible to support the existence of Israel as a historical fact and still oppose its government's arrogant, militaristic and expansionist policies. And it should also be possible to oppose the American Jewish establishment's hardline policy without denying one's own sense of Jewishness. Also, since the Palestinian voice is rarely heard in the United States, it would be useful to distinguish their problems from the nationalistic ambitions of reactionary Arab leaders, and to keep in mind that the military solution favored by both sides ignores their tragic plight. Lastly, we should keep a watchful eye on the Nixon administration and the large oil companies. The politics of oil are never far beneath the surface of the Middle-East crises and the future of the Israelis, the Palestinians, and the Arabs are all secondary to the needs of American Oil.

CONTACT

For more information on this middle and conciliatory approach to the Middle-East, contact The Committee on New Alternatives in the Middle East, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012. Also, an excellent film that explores the complexities of Israeli life in a sympathetic but critical way is Claude Lanzmann's *Israeli Why*, a French film (in the tradition of Max Ophüls's *Sorrow & The Pity*) that recently premiered at the New York Film Festival and deserves the widest possible screening.

Marty Jezer is now working part-time on the WIN staff.



Friday, October 5, Portugal's national holiday was observed by WRL with picket demonstrations at the Portuguese Consulates in New York and San Francisco, demanding an end to Portugal's U.S.-financed war in Africa, now in its 11th year. "Even on this national holiday, Portugal is bombing people who are struggling for their freedom in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique," say the leaflets which were distributed. "Our demonstration here today is an attempt to pierce the news blackout regarding this war. It also is an attempt to inform people of the U.S. government's complicity in the war. Portugal is a nation so poor that it might well be unable to pursue the war without the heavy subsidies from the U.S. in payment for maintaining American air bases on Portuguese territory."

Photo by David McReynolds

CHANGES

ONE PORTUGUESE "MY LAI" CONFIRMED

The *Johannesburg Star*, published in Johannesburg, South Africa, on Sept. 25 reported confirmation of a Portuguese massacre in Mozambique on December 16, 1972.

In a report from Nampula, in central Mozambique, the Johannesburg paper quoted Portuguese sources as admitting that Black Portuguese mercenaries of the Sixth Commando group had gunned down about 100 black civilians at close range in the village of Wiliamo. According to the sources, only 20 to 30 survived.

However, the report added, the sources had no information on a massacre of 400 villagers reported by Rev. Adrian Hastings in his July expose in the *London Times* (see WIN, July 26, 1973, "Changes"). Following the expose, newspapermen visited Wiliamo but saw no evidence of the massacre other than the fact that the village had been totally destroyed by fire.

Confirmation of the December 16 massacre came to light early in September, the *Johannesburg Star* explained,

after Colonel Armindo Videira, the Portuguese military governor of Tete district, where Wiliamo is located, was ordered to quit. —Jim Peck

CONGRESS OF WORLD PEACE FORCES TO BE HELD

Delegates from the War Resisters International, the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation plan to issue a call for increased freedom and dissent within the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia when they gather at the Congress of World Peace Forces in Moscow, USSR, October 25-31. Representing the WRL at the Congress will be Grace Paley and WIN editor Maris Cakars.

The Appeal for Freedom for Dissent begins by stating that its signers are "radicals and dissenters from many countries working actively for a world free from war, imperialism and all forms of exploitation and oppression Some of us have spent time in

prison in our own countries in the course of these struggles."

The appeal says that, "As radicals our primary commitment is to freedom and social revolution in our own countries. But we cannot be indifferent to the fate of dissenters in any country. . . ." It therefore calls for the release of political prisoners from Soviet jails and mental hospitals; freedom of speech and expression as guaranteed by Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, for Soviet authors and artists; an end to the persecution and harassment of Soviet dissenters Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Andrei Sakharov; increased freedom of movement within the Soviet Union and the right of emigration; and the release of those in Czechoslovakia imprisoned for working for democratic socialism. A number of people in prison in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are listed by name in the appeal. —Marty Jezer

POT: GOOD FOR TEETH—BAD FOR HEART

Marijuana smoking may be the latest weapon in the age-old battle against tooth decay.

Toronto dentist Dr. Harry Slade reports finding that his patients who puff away on pot suffer far less from tooth decay than those who don't.

Dr. Slade says he can always tell which of his patients smoke marijuana, and that when he identifies a smoker it sometimes alarms them.

The dentist says that what gives the smokers away is the fact that they have very little food "plaque" sticking to their teeth. "Plaque" is a food residue which combines with other chemicals in the mouth to eat away at the teeth and cause cavities.

Dr. Slade said that potheads have little or no "plaque", but he does not know why.

The dentist said he has treated patients who developed tooth cavities only after they had stopped smoking weed for a few months or more: after they started smoking once again, Dr. Slade said, their cavity problems quickly improved.

On the other hand, *The Journal of the American Medical Association* reports that government researchers believe that marijuana smoking might be bad for the heart.

According to JAMA, the medical researchers administered doses of T.H.C., the active ingredient in marijuana, to 7 volunteers, four of whom were previous pot users.

The three volunteers who had never smoked pot showed no adverse heart rates when tested; but the four previous pot smokers are reported to have showed "significant abnormalities" in heart rate, after receiving T.H.C. injections.

This study, based on just 7 people, caused *JAMA* to suggest that marijuana smoking might have a cumulative bad effect on the hearts of heavy pot smokers. —ZNS

WHO WINS MEDALS?

The best way to win the Congressional Medal of Honor is not necessarily to be brave in combat, but simply to be a career military officer. This is the finding of University of New Mexico sociologist Joseph Blake, who studied Congressional Medal winners in the Korean and Vietnam wars.

Human Behavior magazine reports that Blake has come up with two distinct conclusions: He found that military officers were more than twice as likely to win the awards than were lowly enlisted men; and he also discovered that when enlisted men won the award, they were usually killed in the process. Officers who won the Congressional Medal of Honor usually lived to talk about it, says Blake.

Blake found that only 17% of all Congressional Medals in Vietnam went to enlisted men, and that 19 out of every 20 of these winners were killed during their heroic acts.

Blake's study found that only one in five of the career majors, colonels and captains who were awarded America's highest honor were killed during their heroic act. —ZNS

IS THIS WHAT YOU MEAN BY SEXISM

The President of Lebanon recently pardoned a man who had served only nine months of a 17 year sentence received after having been found guilty of strangling his 15-year-old daughter because she "had flirted with boys." The pardon coincided with the Lebanese executive's refusal to recommend the repeal of Article 562 of the Lebanese Penal Code. Article 562 provides that a man may slay a female relative whose sexual conduct "dishonors the family," even though the conduct may consist of nothing more than a gesture of affection toward a male acquaintance. The President said that the laws that defend the "honor of the family" must be preserved. —Newsline/FPS

WIN RELEASE OF CANADIAN BUSTED HERE ON OLD DRAFT RAP

Gavin Naeve was released without bail in Burlington, Vermont, October 2—but only after his case virtually had become an international incident as a consequence of front-page newspaper publicity and sympathetic TV coverage in Canada. This publicity climaxed the previous evening when Prime Minister Trudeau's first assistant was asked on TV what official protest action he planned to take in the Gavin Naeve case.

The publicity was initiated September 30, by Gavin's father, Lowell, at my suggestion. He knew how to go about it since both he and his wife, Virginia have been active over the years on behalf of American war resisters in Canada. I urged him to publicize the case when he phoned to tell me about it.

Gavin had been busted September 25 upon arrival at Kennedy Airport from Bermuda, where he is working as a pastry chef. Basis for the arrest was an ancient warrant from Vermont, where the family used to live, charging him with failure to register for the draft in 1965. This, despite the fact that the entire Naeve family emigrated to Canada—with their landed immigrant papers—on October 10, 1965, eight days before Gavin's eighteenth birthday. All became full Canadian citizens five years later, in accordance with the law.

He was taken before a judge who demonstrated prejudice by declaring that the whole Naeve family is "rotten" (Lowell was a World War II CO—in Danbury with me). This judge set bail at the fantastic sum of \$50,000, which brought an objection even from the court-appointed attorney named to defend him. So, the final bail figure was \$10,000—still excessive—and Gavin was confined to the federal house of detention on West Street in New York.

The morning after Lowell's call, I phoned my friend, Mel Wulf, chief counsel for ACLU and he immediately assigned Burt Neuborn to the case. It was Friday and I wanted to get Gavin out before the weekend—he already had been in jail since Monday. Neuborn told me that if I got together \$1,000 cash, I could put up what is called a personal recognizance bond. I went down to court with the money only to find that Gavin's was a surety bail and therefore the cash was unacceptable. I called Neuborn who said he would try to contact the prosecuting attorney and if the latter OK'd it, I

could go down and put up the \$1,000. Since it was Rosh Hashanah, the attorney was not in his office and when Neuborn finally located him, he refused to OK my putting up the cash.

Newborn then was prepared to go to court Monday and ask for reduction in bail. But early Monday morning, Gavin was transferred to Vermont. He had been slated to go to Brattleboro but meanwhile, the tidal wave of publicity broke in Canada and the U.S. authorities apparently decided to get Gavin out at the earliest possible moment. So, they took him, instead, to Burlington where the federal court for Vermont happened to be sitting (the federal court in that state rotates from city to city) and released him without bail. The sole requisite was that his sister, living in Brattleboro, sign for him. But Gavin was on the street even before she arrived in Burlington to sign the paper. —Jim Peck

NO TAKERS

In Fall River, Massachusetts, Army recruiters ran an advertisement offering a bonus to any young man who signed up for four years in the infantry, artillery, or armored branches. The bonus of \$1,500 appeared in the newspaper as \$15,000, due to a typographical error. But in spite of this handsome offer there was not one response to the advertisement, although unemployment in the area stands at 7.2 per cent, far above the national average. Resistance to the military life, demonstrated by this example, is so strong that since the draft ended the Army has fallen about 2,000 men short of each monthly enlistment goal.

—from press dispatches

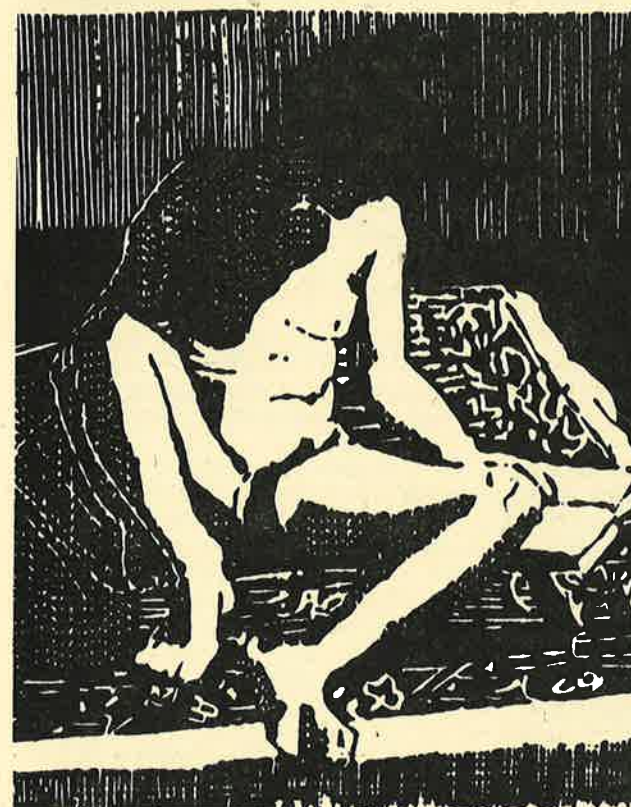
PRAY-IN PROTESTERS SENTENCED

Seven persons, including two Peace Center staff members, were sentenced September 26 for praying at the White House on August 9 to protest bombing of Cambodia. [WIN, 8/2/73]

D.C. Superior Court Judge Edmond T. Daly gave the four men and three women a choice: five days in jail, one year's probation vowing to break no law any way under any jurisdiction, or \$25 fine. Of the Peace Center staff, Rodger Whitehead chose to go to jail. Lucy Witt paid the fine.

Those who chose to go to jail felt that paying a fine was cooperating with the system and that this was inconsistent with their witness. —Washington Peace Center Newsletter

Reviews



Woodcut of woman by Irene Peslikis/WOMEN & ART/LNS

COMBAT IN THE EROGENOUS ZONES

Ingrid Bengis
Knopf Press

When I was in New York for a weekend in January, I was staying with a friend, Jill. We spent Saturday night with two men that she knew, her boyfriend and his roommate. We caroused around the city until three in the morning, as one does in New York, and at that hour we found ourselves in Jill's apartment, exhausted. The men didn't want to do the subways at that hour, so Jill said they could stay. Jill and I changed into pajamas, and everyone found a soft place to sleep. In the morning I woke up to find the roommate fucking me (*note to staff: if you can find a better word, use it, but I can't think of a single euphemism that is as blunt*). I was too sleepy and scared and fascinated at his nerve to get up and lock myself in the bathroom, the logical thing to do. Instead, I was completely passive and watched it happen to me.

Ingrid Bengis lives in New York City, and had some experiences that are similar to this. She has been followed down the streets when she just wanted a quiet walk, she has ridden in subways where men expose themselves and handle her. She has travelled all over the country, and to Europe, and knows that these things are not confined to New York. It is part of the general assumption by the male population that all a woman really wants is a man, any man, and that

she will be so thrilled to get a man that he has to but take her. Some men are more blatant about their expectations than others, but I believe that most of them believe this.

Ms. Bengis, however, knows that there are other needs. One needs to be able to take a calming walk alone occasionally. One needs the freedom to move. One needs the freedom to love. So she has written a book about her experiences, and what she has learned from them, and what they have made her. There are three sections: Man-hating, Lesbianism, and Loving. In ways these titles are misleading. Yes Ms. Bengis hates men, hates them for giving a running critique of her body every time she walks past a construction site, hates them for using her vulnerability against her when she is in love, hates them for making assumptions about her. Yes, she has had women lovers. But she finds herself drawn to men while hating them, not fulfilled by women while loving and trusting them. As she says, there are no simple generalizations. Especially none that can be applied to individuals, including the ones I've made in this article.

Perhaps the best thing about the book is its complete lack of rhetoric or dogma. She does not expound for pages on the virtues of gay or straight love, she talks about people she has cared for. She does not talk about oppression and society, she talks about her frustration at not being able to hitchhike alone or take a walk to clear her head at the end of the day. In other words, she discusses specifics, from her own life. Sometimes, she even dares to admit that she believes something that isn't fashionable. Multiple relationships may be fine for some, she says, but I want the intensity and commitment that come from just one person at a time. Free love, she says, may help some people, but until I find someone who can meet my needs, I'd prefer to remain celibate. She even suggests that it is all right, maybe necessary, to make demands on someone you love if that is what you need.

I want to recommend this book, make it required reading for anyone who wants any kind of self awareness, yet I'm afraid that my enthusiasm may be influenced by the similarities in my experiences and Ms Bengis'. When she talks about sitting and waiting for a phone call and hating herself for it, I squirm with recognition. When she talks about struggling to be taken seriously while men are naturally assumed to be serious, I get angry with her. And when she talks about how sex has become a battleground, I cry, with her, I assume I react this way because I have felt this way before I read this book. Maybe it won't affect you as strongly if you haven't.

Combat in the Erogenous Zone is not a pleasant book to read. There are no funny parts without sadness underneath. It is the record of the destruction of one woman's ideals, and her attempts to put them together again in a way that will work. —Martha Thomases

Martha Thomases works with *Coming Out*, a women's paper, from which this review is reprinted.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF SOLITUDE

Gabriel Garcia Marquez
Avon Books (paperback) \$1.50

Gypsies with "scientific instruments:" magnets, a telescope, ice. A man who makes his own sextant and calculates (long after Europe knew it) that the earth is round; who, finding that it makes no difference, goes on with his alchemy experiments, and ends up tied to a tree speaking a language that turns out to be Latin. Remedios the Beauty, the cause of four deaths simply because of her beauty, so unconscious, so natural. Too fine for simple dying she rises,

unannounced, into the sky. The rains, for years, brought on by the foreign owners of the rubber plantation, in retaliation for a strike. The Colonel who starts more than 50 wars and loses all of them. The ants, the animals, the ghosts, the people. So much here, so fine, so wonderfully balanced; *One Hundred Years of Solitude* is an astounding book.

Reality and fantasy, past and future inhabit this novel on equal terms, distinctions between them are false. Life, for the population of Macondo, is what happens to the soul. If you spend most of your time with ghosts, you get to know ghosts, that's all.

Its setting is South America; a village, Macondo; a family, Buendia. It is an allegory, a manifesto, a surreal history. The language flows like time: through jungle, through rain, through every corner of life. ("Time also stumbles, trips in the center of the room.")

Ursula had to make a great effort to fulfill her promise to die when it cleared. The waves of lucidity that were so rare during the rains became more frequent after August, when an arid wind began to blow and suffocated the rose bushes and petrified the piles of mud, and ended up scattering over Macondo the burning dust that covered the rusted zinc roofs and the age-old almond trees forever. Ursula cried in lamentation when she discovered that for more than three years she had been a plaything for the children. She washed her painted face, took off the strips of brightly colored cloth, the dried lizards and frogs, and the rosaries and old arab necklaces that they had hung all over her body, and for the first time since the death of Amaranta she got up out of bed without any ones help. . . . Those who noticed her stumbling and who bumped into the archangelic arm she kept raised at head level thought that she was having trouble with her body, but they still did not think she was blind.

Some more facts: the book was first published in Argentina in 1967. The translation by Gregory Rabassa is, I understand, excellent. It is 383 pages long, and I wish it had been longer.

—Van Zwisohn

Van Zwisohn is a member of the WRL Executive Committee.

THE AMNESTY OF JOHN DAVID HERNDON

James Reston, Jr.
New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973
146 pages, hardcover, \$5.95

Probably the most misunderstood of America's young are its Vietnam exiles. Not even the resisters who went to prison, or the veterans who returned to tell of the war's atrocities, have been the objects of such vicious and unremitting slander.

Save for their drastic rejection of the war, there is little that typifies the draft dodgers and deserters abroad. They acted, of course, with mixed motives. Yet the best and the worst of them are lumped together as traitors by a hostile public. Again, the delusions of the old continue to haunt the young.

Ignored in the debate is the sizable minority of exiles who are veterans of Vietnam combat. They deserted out of revulsion for what they had seen and done. Few could be called cowards.

John Herndon was a good example: Born in West Virginia to become a high school dropout who liked fast cars, Herndon enlisted in the Army at eighteen. He qualified as an airborne ranger and was sent to Vietnam, but he found on his arrival that he had been inexplicably reassigned to a

ground unit. His fifteen month tour was replete with such bureaucratic bungling. While on patrol he witnessed both the torture of Vietcong suspects and the senseless sacrificing of American soldiers. He quickly came to despise the war.

Just as he was preparing to go home, he was thrust into the cataclysm of the Tet Offensive. He returned to combat and was wounded a week later as he attempted to rescue two trapped GIs. For this he was presented with the Army Commendation Medal.

John spent a year stateside, then was suddenly transferred to a European paratroop unit. When he learned that he was going back to Vietnam, he deserted and went to Paris. For eight months he scrounged around France, alternately working and relying upon the support of sympathetic citizens. He returned, served time in the stockade, and deserted for good when he learned that he was again slated for Vietnam duty. This time he was to stay out for over a year and a half.

Eventually he settled in a Paris tenement, working as he could and struggling to survive. Through his contact with the American Deserters Committee he attracted the attention of Safe Return. In late 1971 the New York organization was searching for a suitable test case to publicize its demand for total amnesty. John was selected. Reston's book is an account of what followed.

It was a hectic March week as Mike Uhl and Tod Ensign of Safe Return struggled with the authorities to get John back into the United States. They desired a public surrender upon his return home, to assure maximum publicity for the "Nuremberg defense" of his court martial. John, meanwhile, had to prepare himself to come out of exile.

By the time he boarded the plane in Paris, the international media were following his story. He was arrested immediately after arriving at Kennedy. The military now had its fugitive, but one whose defense promised to be an embarrassing indictment of the war's criminality. While confined, he received the support of prominent antiwar activists and members of Congress. For three weeks the Army stalled in its prosecution, then suddenly washed its hands of the matter by reinstating a bad conduct discharge that had been suspended several years before. John Herndon was at last a free man. How will the Herndon case affect the administration of military justice toward deserters? Very little, I fear. Reston's optimism seems unfounded when he suggests that we are evolving toward something he calls "amnesty by default." He rightly emphasized that soldiers who wish to return must do so openly and with strong legal counsel, but he fails to convince with his assumption that they would have the same luck in raising the war as an issue.

As interest in amnesty fades, it seems likely that the majority of our exiles will remain. The issue looks especially bleak, what with Canada's new immigration restrictions and Sweden's barring of further exiles—both presumably accomplished under pressure from Washington. Nixon has chosen to close the discussion, but the judgement that these young men have made of America stands. It may be more to the point to consider whether this nation deserves them back.

Despite a few flaws, *The Amnesty of John David Herndon* is one of the most important contributions to the small library on the new exiles. Reston concludes with a call for universal, unconditional amnesty as the beginning of a new direction for our country. But it will be a long time before America realizes that 50,000 troops died for nothing, and that we lost in Vietnam because we did not deserve to win.

—John Kyper

John Kyper has been active with the VVAW in Boston.

PEOPLE'S BULLETIN BOARD

Free if no \$ involved but limited to 20 words. Otherwise \$1 every 10 words.

AMNESTY: Bumperstrips. 1) Support Amnesty; 2) Another American for Amnesty; 3) Veteran for Amnesty; 4) I support Amnesty; 5) Vietnam Veteran for Amnesty. Order of 25, or more .15 ea. Order of less than 25—25¢ ea.

COMMUNITIES: consultation, free literature list; Community Service, Inc., Box 243a, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE P.O.W. BRACELETS (\$1.00)—Wear as medical identification band, with the name and prison number of one of the South Vietnamese political prisoners, and join our letter writing campaign to free the prisoners. We can also provide you with additional material to help you organize. Contact: Clergy & Laity Concerned, 542 S Dearborn, Rm. 510, Chicago, Ill 60605.

NETHERS COMMUNITY SCHOOL seeking men with practical skills; interested in education, ecology and an experimental village for inner-city poor, to join our familial community. Box 41, Woodville, VA 22749.

THE AMERICAN ODYSSEY is forming learning teams now. Work-study-travel America 15 mos. for 2 yrs. college credit. A unique alternative in higher education for more info write: American Odyssey, 861 Vestal Rd. Vestal, NY 13580.

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Staff member needed for GI project in Jacksonville, North Carolina. The project is presently working with marines from Camp LeJeune/New River Air Station doing legal counseling and organizing work. Due to the fact that Camp LeJeune has and will continue to play an important role in riot control measures at home, and police actions around the world, the organizing effort here is crucial. Persons interested should be thinking of a one yr. commitment. If interested, write: United We Stand Bookshop, P.O. Box 1163, Jacksonville, NC 28540.

CONVICT serving double life needs money to get a television in solitary confinement. Western State Correctional Institution, Pitts. Pa. Send all donations to Miss Patricia R. Millas, 547 River Street, Wilkes Barre, PA 18702.

JOE FELMET, member of WRL and FOR, is a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives from the Fifth District of North Carolina. He wants sponsors, people who are willing to have their names on his letterhead. If you live in the North Carolina counties of Davidson, Forsyth, Wilkes, Ashe, Alleghany, Surry or Stokes, please write to him at 1831 West First Street, Winston-Salem, NC 27104.

JOIN THE STRUGGLE for justice for farm workers. Full-time and part-time help needed. UFW, 134 Elmwood no. 3, Evanston, Ill. 60202.

BONNIE BICKWIT AND MITCHELL WEISER Please call home. We love you and miss you. Sheryl Bickwit-Kagen.

SHARE COMMON IDEAS. I need a companion and/or roommate in this wilderness. Glenn Oswald, 711 W. Pioneer, Irving, TX 75061 (Dallas), (214) 254-8463, -9102.

INTEREST FREE LOANS to organizations in need, within 200 mi. radius of Bethlehem, Pa. Money from refused war taxes. WTR Life Fund, Box 573, Bethlehem, Pa 18016.

I am currently enrolled in a Pediatric Nurse Practitioner Program. I will be finished in Dec. and would like to know if there are any clinics or Pediatricians involved in poverty level Pediatrics that would like to have a red haired, nonviolent minded person with a temper that is sometimes hard to control working for them. There must be a Pediatrician covering what I do and available for referral and advice but I will be able to do well baby checks, screenings and much counseling plus recognizing the ailments that constantly plague children and the defects both physical and mental that must be referred to agencies for correction. I ask only that my salary be enough for living expenses and a monthly car payment. Barb Hurst, TWU Clinical Center, 1810 Inwood Rd. no. 129, Dallas, TX 75235.

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WRL SOUTHWEST, 1003 Forrester NW, Albuquerque NM 87104

ATLANTA WORKSHOP IN NONVIOLENCE, Box 7477, Atlanta, GA 30309

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