

# win

PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

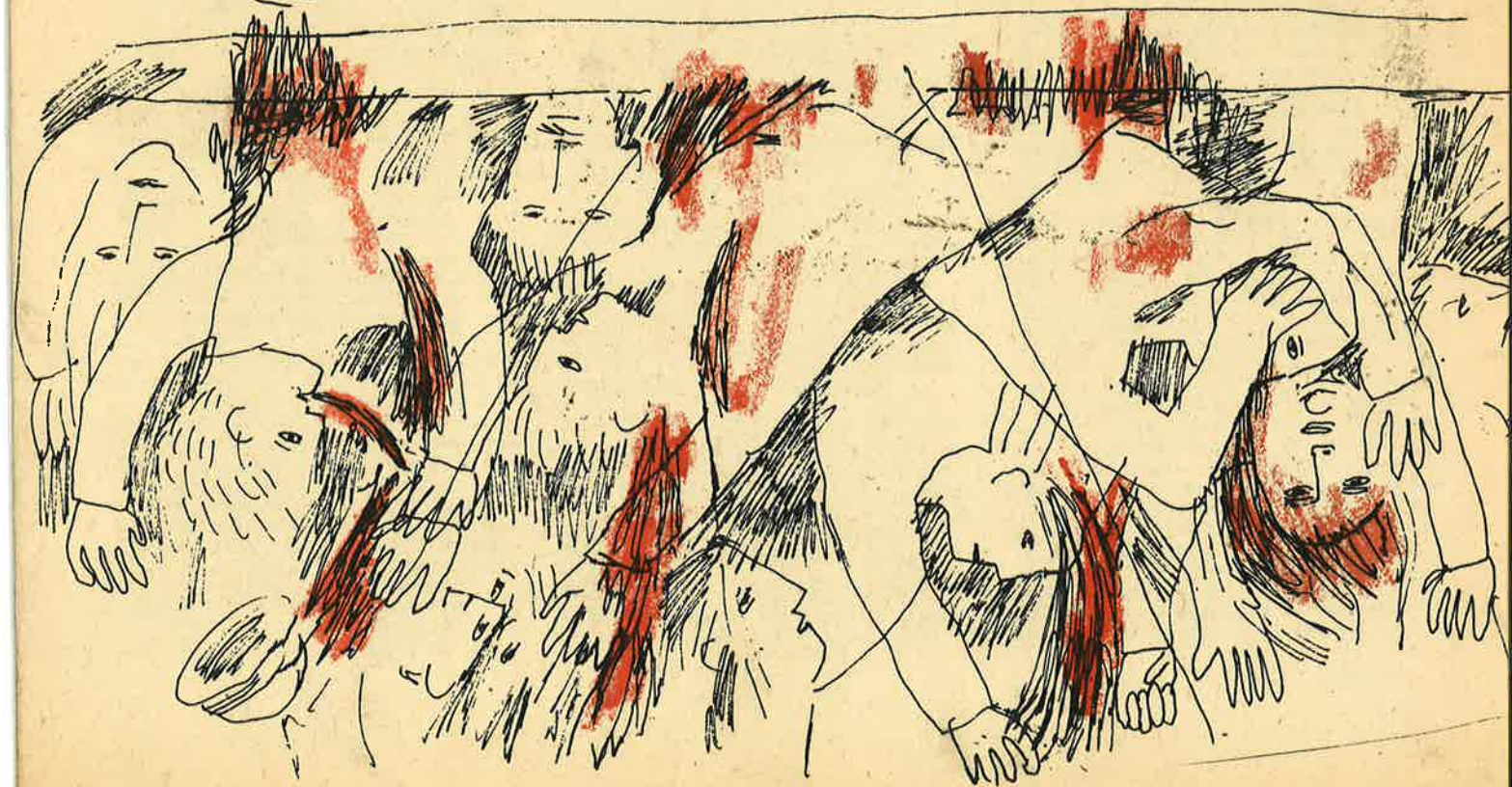
November 22, 1973/ 20¢

SPECIAL ISSUE:  
AN ANALYSIS OF THE COUP IN CHILE  
plus CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN THE USSR

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# CHILE

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Chilean workers at a nationalized cement plant at Polpaico, north of Santiago, met to organize marches in support of Allende in the Spring of 1972. Photo by Ted Polubbaum/LNS.

# LETTERS

Marty Jezer's article on the steadily re-escalating war in Vietnam (WIN 11/16) raises an issue that has been bothering me for some time: the tendency of much social and political analysis in the "Movement" to become rigid and tied to possibly untenable assumptions. Successfully challenge the basic assumption of an argument, and you can thoroughly demolish that argument. In a number of areas, the "Movement" is setting itself up for a fall.

The particular issue raised in Marty's article (the re-escalation of the war in Vietnam) is illustrative.

Let me begin with a few simple facts; the Saigon government has repeatedly violated both the political and military provisions of the cease-fire agreement. There was quite possibly never any intention on Saigon's part to observe that agreement. The war is now escalating. And finally, nothing can justify American re-entry into the war: the cost in money, land, and—most importantly—human life is simply too great.

The problem is that in trying to demonstrate this last fact, many groups and individuals have taken positions that in fact carry the assumption that certain actions by the PRG and/or DRV would justify re-intervention by the U.S., or which at least give that impression; all too often, the response to an accusation that the PRG or DRV are violating the cease-fire is an outright denial or an attempt to show that the violation is in fact "legal." The logical con-

clusion of this argument is that if there was a real cease-fire violation by the PRG or DRV, military action would be justified. Therefore, to continue to oppose military action by the U.S. and Saigon, you must maintain the position (here's the untenable assumption) that the PRG and DRV have committed no cease-fire violation.

Marty takes the "it's legal" tack in trying to refute the construction of airfields in South Vietnam by the PRG as a justification for military action by Saigon and possible re-intervention by the U.S., quoting a protocol of the agreement as allowing "the use by each party in areas under its control, of military support elements, such as engineering and transportation units. . . ." In addition to the fact that I find this singularly unconvincing as a way of showing that airfields are "legal," the fact is that the offered quote is incomplete and misleading. The entire section reads thus:

"(a) The above-mentioned prohibitions shall not hamper or restrict:

"(2) The use by each party in areas under its control of military support elements, such as engineer and transportation units, in repair and construction of PUBLIC FACILITIES and the transportation and supplying OF THE POPULATION." (Protocol on the Cease-fire, Article 3. Emphasis added.)

Combine this with the prohibition in Article 7 of the Cease-fire Agreement against introduction of "war materials" into the

South, and I'd say that military airfields are pretty well ruled out. And yet Marty seems unable to say this—perhaps feeling that to do so is to imply that military action against those airfields is somehow okay, or perhaps unwilling (as so many people seem to be) to face it himself.

We've trapped ourselves into a "good-guys-versus-bad-guys" analysis of Indochina: the "good guys" being the PRG and DRV, who wear white hats, violate no agreements, and are the innocent victims of the evil aggression of the "bad guys," the U.S. and Saigon. Despite all our (often too loudly) proclaimed "sensitivity," we seem unable to escape from a search for heroes who do no wrong and have no bad intentions. (The PRG violate the cease-fire? Oh, come now! Would Hop-along Cassidy shoot someone in the back?) To challenge the "good guy" image of the PRG and DRV is to challenge our entire offered basis for opposition to the war.

It seems to me that we should be able to go beyond that; to break out of our self-imposed trap and deal with—and in—truths, even unpleasant ones. Rather than involving ourselves in convoluted explanations and indignant denials, we should take the more honest—and truthful—course of keeping in mind one of the most valuable of all questions: so what?

All right, so the PRG builds airfields in South Vietnam in violation of the agreement. So what? Does it justify military attacks by Saigon—does it justify Saigon's

violations? It does not.

All right, so the PRG restricts freedom of movement, sends peasants off to indoctrination camps, turns them into forced labor and takes their rice as a "tax". So what? Does that justify Saigon's holding of 200,000 political prisoners, stealing water buffalo, and shelling villages? It does not.

Violations of the cease-fire by the PRG and DRV are quite simply wrong and should be opposed—even condemned. But they are irrelevant to the issue of American and Saigon violations of that same agreement, violations which are more serious, more constant, and of greater implications, for the future of Vietnam. As long as we continue to base our opposition to U.S./Saigon policies on a claim that the PRG/DRV have done nothing wrong, we continue to leave ourselves open to having our argument demolished—and, in fact, we continue to live in a fantasy.

—LARRY ERICKSON  
Long Branch, N.J.

I was astonished by Ted Glick's letter (WIN 11/8)—not by its disagreement over the value of impeachment organizing, but by its tone. I think it's fair to say that its tone and language are a great deal more "violent" than anything in my Oct. 5 "Letter to the Movement." This makes me feel bad, but it is not only a matter of my individual feelings: this kind of language has made it hard for many movement people to remain in their movement work, and has driven many into silence or worse. I will survive, but we should try to avoid such language rather than sending ourselves through a constant gauntlet of abuse as a way of selecting the survivors.

If we avoid brickbats, we still have the task of working out a way of judging such events as Watergate and deciding how to relate our ongoing work of building life serving the people to direct anti-state organizing. Of course you are correct in appealing to the necessity of hearing and serving the people. But before the Cox crisis, 25% of the American people wanted the President impeached. Why wasn't the Left hearing and serving those people? (This is not a rhetorical or sarcastic question.)

How shall we discuss the meaning of a Watergate? In my "Letter" I did not repeat the arguments of my July 12 WIN article on Watergate: that Presidential dictatorship is the crest of the crisis of capitalism; that therefore if the left organized for impeachment it would both be able to educate about capitalism and be able to blunt capitalism's most important weapon in this generation; that if we do not defeat the State when it tries fascism clumsily and tentatively, we will never be able to dissolve it; that the outcome of Watergate might mean victory for the Presidency (if Nixon stays), or for the Yankee part of the ruling class (if he resigns), or maybe for parliamentary liberals (if he is impeached without a public organizing campaign), or for the people—if, only if, there is a great popular campaign to force him out.

If this analysis is true, is the Left not obligated to move? If it is not true, are Leftists not obligated to explain why? Is it not at least correct for someone who believes this analysis to urge the Left to move? "Do your own thing," certainly, even during a fascist coup—God forbid that either of us should ever sit on a Party Central Committee that gives orders to the other!—but can't I even urge you to consider opposing what I think is a fascist coup, as part of your thing? If we can't do

that kind of discussion with each other, then there is no Left, only a scattering of nice peoples.

I am happy that after the Cox crisis Ted concluded the analysis was at least partly correct, and joined vigorously and ably in the Washington-area impeachment campaign. If he had continued to disagree, I would have been just as happy if he had explained why and argued with the analysis—instead of denouncing it.

—ART WASKOW  
Washington, D.C.

Allen Young's struggle with nonviolence and homosexuality has been useful and in many ways provocative. But I'm not sure if he hasn't missed the point. [WIN 10/11/73]

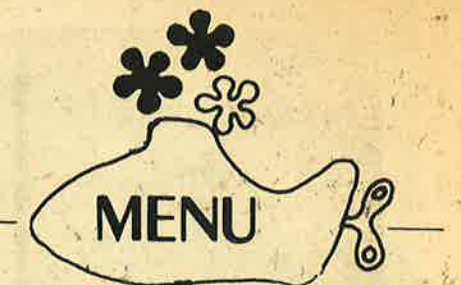
I think that what attracts people to nonviolence is a way of dealing with the idea of oppression. All people are oppressed. Not only as categories of people, i.e. blacks, women, gays, etc., but also as individuals. People are fat, ugly, have acne, are shy, are lousy athletes, walk with a limp or, as with me, stammer. Society usually relates to people who are not "normal" (and no one is "normal") or do not "fit in" (and why should people "fit in") in silly, unfeeling and often cruel ways. If our society allowed people to be as they are, people would not feel left out, different, oppressed.

But oppression alone does not make a person or a person righteous. Blacks, women, gays, etc. do not constitute a vanguard because they are oppressed. Some blacks, women, gays, etc. may be a vanguard because they have qualities that others admire, they've therefore earned a position of leadership. How should one respond to his or her oppression or to the oppression of people like him/her self? Some merely want to turn the tables and oppress those who have oppressed them. This may be emotionally understandable, but it is politically reactionary. Others, by understanding the dehumanizing effects of their own oppression, try to understand how oppression hurts others and then tries to work with others to lift the common burden. This is a revolutionary attitude. Possibly it is utopian. Certainly, it is a first step towards nonviolence and, for me, the way I want to be in the world.

I suspect that gay people are more open to nonviolence because they have become more in touch with their own oppression. Men whom Allen calls, "straight" are often afraid to admit to their oppression or their own vulnerability, a basic human trait. This is the problem of machismo, which is a cultural characteristic of most men—"straight" and gay. Men who do not come to acknowledge their own pain can hardly be expected to understand the pain of others, much less empathize with it. If Richard Nixon only knew how sad and pathetic a figure he was! But his defenses are so overwhelming, who could show him? Nevertheless, as Allen says, many gay men in coming to grips with their oppression are also dealing with machismo. Some straight men, too.

But the ability to cry, to admit weakness and vulnerability, and to want to be with others as equals and not in relationships of power is a human trait, not a feminine trait. Further, I've yet to see any evidence (in relating to people with all kinds of sexual preferences) that one's choice of a bedmate has anything to do with political or social awareness or his or her struggle to be a decent and nonviolent human being.

—MARTY JEZER  
New York, N.Y.



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# Chile: The Final Days

by Bob Nichols

## Center Parties' Strategy

The mutiny of the Chilean army and the assault on the Moneda on the morning of Wednesday, September 12, had been preceded by years of strategic maneuvering by all parties—either to advance, or prevent the coup. There was a *golpista* wing of the Christian democrats on the right; and a “compromising wing” among official Communists and Socialists on the left devoted to preserving the government at all costs. In fact the centrist line appeared to be the predominating one up to September 12. After that date it became clear that the right extremists had won and would impose fascism. And that the position of the left extremists had been correct: that of M.I.R. and the Socialist militants. But it is not that simple.

Up until the last week it had been said that the center Christian-Democrats had been looking for a *Golpe secco*—a “white” or a “dry” coup. Knowing the *Nacionalista* party as they did, they had good reasons for this.

The group, associated with former President Eduardo Frei, was opportunistic, had ties with *Patria y Libertad* with their violence-in-the-streets, and shared plans for subversion with them. But up until the end one had the sense that these worthy men wanted to use the extremists for blackmail purposes only, not to be used by them.

What the Frei wing wanted was simply power. Their final demands were:

1. Allende's submission to certain legal and parliamentary moves that would make the principal acts of the government “unconstitutional”, in particular the nationalization of industries.
2. In the transport sector, MOPARE would be abolished. State factory-produced trucks and imported trucks and parts would go to the Truckers Association and insure the private truck owner's monopoly guaranteeing a stranglehold on Chile's economy.
3. Army officers should be appointed to run the government—not only as cabinet officers, as before, but at all levels including middle administrative positions and heads of line departments.

The Christian—Democrats (the majority party thru the 60's) were united in this: they knew that for the *Nacionalists* to be in power would put Chile back to where it was before the 1962 elections, back even beyond the parliamentary and liberal-technocratic revolutions of the 19th and early 20th century—during all of which period the landowner-oligarchy had kept its hold. The two Christian—Democratic wings differed in that Frei's group were ready to risk bringing the government down, in a “black coup”. The other wing, headed by Fuentealba and Hamilton (who feared the Right move) wanted to give the government room to stay alive—and open it up for further compromise.

In light of the above it would not be going too far to say that throughout the last months the Communist Party's strategy (the most conservative of the U.P. coalition) was not that much different from the liberal Christian-Democrats. Both parties were Cen-

trist. In the day-to-day effort to keep the government surviving, the Communists were joined by much of the Socialist party, elected officials and by MAPU.

The crucial struggle revolved around the loyalty of the Armed Forces. For over a year Allende tried to buttress his cabinet with “loyal” army generals, in particular Carlos Prats. Day in and day out, month after month, the Communists, the solidarity cadres of MIR, and the head of the Socialists, Altimirano—all appealed to key garrisons to remain loyal and to the draftees and non-commissioned officers not to follow *golpista* colonels. But subversion in the army had already gone much deeper.

Details of the take-over of the army by the mutineers were revealed to Jonathan Kandell, the *New York Times* correspondent, recently by one of the colonels: a three year preparation, initially outside the Chiefs of Staff; gradual screening out of commanders loyal to the government and transfer of units away from key areas; training and indoctrination of *golpista* units in the *allanamientos* (searches of factories and workers' halls for arms); practise of violence—from the assassination of General Schneider, to the aborted Army coup or *Tancazo* of June 29—which identified loyal commanders and telegraphed the loyalists' responses.

It would have been nice, right after the elections which brought Allende to power, if this army had been Castro's liberating army from the Sierra Mestra, or Mao's army fresh from defeating Chiang, or Tito's army or Ho Chi Minh's army. But it was not. It was the Chilean army. It had never purified itself by defeating fascists or imperialists in a war.

Add to this power (in Chile proportional to the U.S. Armed Services) the power of the parliamentary majority and the courts. One can appreciate that Allende did not start with an altogether clean slate. I have been re-reading Debray's *Conversations with Allende*. Allende (no reformist loud) has been speaking of his personal friendships with Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh. Then Debray asks:

*Let us now discuss the present situation in Chile. With Frei reformism ended, it failed. With you in government the Chilean people have chosen the road to revolution, but what is revolution? It is the transfer of power from one class to another. Revolution is the destruction of the machinery of the bourgeois state and the replacement of it by another and none of this has happened here. What is happening then?*

ALLENDE: *Excuse me, comrade, let's deal with the question in stages. . . During the electoral campaign we said that the purpose of our struggle was to transform the regime, the system. That we sought to form a government in order to obtain the power to carry out the revolutionary transformation that Chile needs, to break the nation's economic, political, cultural, and trade union dependency. And you say nothing is happening here? What country do you think you're in? . . .*

*You must take into account the fighting tradition of the Chilean working class. . . As for the bourgeois*

state at the present moment, we are seeking to overcome it. To overthrow it!

DEBRAY: But bourgeois democracy remains intact here. You, in fact, hold executive power.

ALLENDE: Yes.

DEBRAY: But not legislative or judicial power; nor the apparatus of police power. Legality, the Institutions, these were not the work of the proletariat; the bourgeoisie formulated the Constitution to suit its own ends. . . .

The workers behind you have voted you into office, but if I ask you how, and when you are going to win real power, what is your answer?

ALLENDE: My answer is that we will have real power when copper and steel are under our control, when saltpetre is genuinely under our control, when we have put far-reaching Land Reform measures into effect, when we control imports and exports through the State, when we have collectivized a major portion of our national production. . . .

DEBRAY: Yes. Undoubtedly, at the moment the main emphasis of your activities, the main front battle is concerned with the economic infrastructure.

Brief mention that Allende had just fired the Chief of Police; that the Army was outraged at the assassination of General Schneider. But no real discussion, in this interview of 1970, of the loyalty of the Army itself—of its crucial and fateful power. Or of fascist subversion within the army.

One looks back now on the government's holding actions in the last three years with a sense of pathos. Politics. But in a way it had been orthodox Marxist politics. In China Mao had called "ultra-left" any revolutionary strategy that did not require winning over the middle peasant and small factory owner. In Chile, the U.P. had won with the support of a section of the middle class. To hold them meant political persuasion.

But even as a political strategy one cannot say it was implausible, or inevitably doomed. The fissures in the Christian-Democrats were there, which could have been exploited in future elections. On the economic front all that was necessary was to make the majority of the people slightly better off than before; with jobs, housing and food. In near-feudal Chile where most of the people lived in shacks and took in less than the health-minimum proteins, this would not have been difficult. Add to the difficulties massive industrial sabotage, the flight of capital, the U.S. blockade. Yet up through this Year's March elections this strategy seemed to have been successful. But there had to be free elections. But what was being added to the poor had to be subtracted from the bourgeoisie. The privileged opted

out on free elections and stood aside for the subversives.

The government made a bold move just before the March elections—food rationing; a crack-down on the black market and speculation. This released great energies in the *poblaciones*: the *almacenes populares* etc. With the electoral victory, there was a surge forward by the left. . . . If only Allende had had a little more time.

Even in the critical sector of transport—the jugular vein of Chile—there was a political game to be played by Allende in the transport strike. Only to "tough it out". And here too there were weak points in the opposition.

What the government was faced with, in the transport strike, was a massive sabotage of the whole economic system. The losses due to the October 1972 strike had been very severe, the closing of factories due to lack of materials, all sorts of shortages for the consumer sector particularly milk. But most damaging of all, the lack of seed and the loss of planted acreage for future harvest. Transportation is an absolutely key sector in Chile. The whole country suffered incalculably from last year's strike. This year's strike—more widespread and tighter—also came during the planting season.

In the transport strike, the government's most intransigent enemy was Leon Vallarin, with solid support in the small truckers' associations of the agricultural south. Vallarin, a rabble-rouser with ties both to the *golpista* wing of the Christian-Democratic party and with the terrorist Fatherland and Liberty, was heard as the loudest voice in the press. But Vallarin was not the most powerful man in the National Confederation of Truck Owners.

This was Adolpho Quinteras, head of the *Sindicato de Transportistas Interprovinciales*, the big fleet owners. This group had a stake in the contracts for the big nationalized industries—whether under Capitalism or Socialism, who cares? The government was dealing with him "pragmatically"—endless and painstaking negotiations. . . .

A third force was the Santiago syndicate of Taxi and Microbus Owners, who were also negotiating.

In the big truck parks, the drivers—who had been promised daily wages from the strike fund but who had been short-changed by Vallarin—were turning sour and stealing parts from the trucks for themselves.

Again—if the government had had only a little more time. . .

How many millions of dollars in the strike fund? Who did finance the six week transport strike? Allende's widow, at a press conference in Mexico, claims it was the C.I.A.

In any case, there was too much force. The army did not break the strike. The government collapsed. Allende's, and with him all the Centrist parties' options were closed.

# Chilean Diary Revisited

What we have been reading in the papers about Chile is not news but a long funeral announcement with names, dates and the location of cemeteries. Chile was news when she was alive—struggling and experimenting. The *Golpe* has brought a month of macabre melodrama.

Grace and I have been re-reading our "Chilean Diary" (WIN May 17 thru June 7). Diary is a good word. At the time of this immense struggle, Chile appeared to have a common place character under the surface. Now, since the *Golpe*, everything is framed. The people whom we met and talked with every day in the most ordinary way have been cast into roles. They have become emblems.

The drunken man who treated us to a bottle of wine in Quillota, who showed us a satchel full of money, and then took us in a taxi to visit his poverty-stricken family—was a truck driver, a *transportista*. A real ruffian and undoubtedly a *Patria y Libertad* member. Quillota is in the heart of the farm country only three hours drive from strike-starved Santiago during the transport strike. That man was a key figure.

He remembered us from the day before when Grace and I had stopped at the roadside *cantina* after our walk through the *fundo* where the crucifix was and the children were singing their catechism. In 1970 this land had been distributed "voluntarily" by the owner among his tenants.

The *transportista* had been in the *cantina* with his boss, his *patron*. We struck up a conversation with the latter about the irrigation canals. He seemed to have much polish and authority. Who knows? Could he have been the old owner of the *Hacienda*, or one of his sons, and the trucking operation financed by selling off the slaughtered farm livestock? And the patron himself a *Nacionalista* and *Patria y Libertad* member?

In Santiago our boarding house was with *7th Comuna*. Here marketing activities were limited to the block. Below our window was an *almacen* or small market where the women used to stand in line for scarce articles. The *almacen* was owned by an Arab man with a small truck who used to bring in supplies every day mysteriously. Was he a member of the striking Small Shop Keeper's Association which along with the professionals, backed up the truckers and helped bring the government to its knees? In the last week, how did our boarding house get their food?

The *7th Comuna* was mixed. It was neither the *barrio alto* where the *burguesa* had lots of black market supplies on hand; nor was it one of the favored working class neighborhoods where the *almacenes populares* had been established and which the government was committed to supply with minimum rations. The workers' organizations were all engaged in foraging for food, and these had ties with out-city farmers' organizations, the *Consejos Campesinos*—much like the 1870 Paris communes. Jaime in a letter we received on September 6th, wrote: "Our *Juntos do Vecinos* are bringing in food despite the terrorists. But the masses are organized and are stronger, nothing can defeat them."

What happened the week of the *Golpe* in Jaime's *poblacion*? The *New York Times* describes it as the



The graphics on Chile in this Article were culled from Chilean newspapers and magazines by Bob Nichols.

"hardest hit section of Santiago, the extensive slum on the western boundaries, where residents in every *poblacion* could confirm at least one death, in some cases as many as four." The headline is: "No Massacres but Senseless Killings."

Jaime, what has happened to him—that slightly droll figure of the High Consciousness Left with his rhetoric and his bad complexion? Luckily we never knew his last name. We would have put him in danger—or in worse danger than now—by using it in our article.

In *Poblacion Pablo Neruda* the subversives were also shot and the bodies disposed of in the Municipal dump. But Neruda himself was buried in a real cemetery. A public ceremony. But the mourners were locked outside the gates where they sang the *International*.



Bodies were also found daily in the Mapocho River near where we used to see the gypsies.

The *poblaciones* are now occupied territory. How do the "soldiers" find the "subversives" in a neighborhood where 90% were supporters of Allende? Jaime mentioned there was a minority of Christian-Democratic workers in the *barrio* who "caused trouble and always had to be argued with." Some of them had to be paid informers and they have blood on their hands.

Jaime spoke patronizingly of the *Miristas* (Movement of the Revolutionary Left). He described them with the standard CP line, that they were ultra-leftists and a danger because they provoked the army. The few of them in the *barrios* should have made easy targets. I hope they are safe—away from the informers and in hiding.

#### EL CENTRO

Apparently the energies of the U.P. supporters had faltered in July-August. After the June 29 army coup had aborted (the *Tancazo*, or Little Tank Gambit) the Left had organized a rally, a giant "Reply of the Masses" in which I imagine the streets of El Centro to have been filled with *jota-jotas* and red, yellow, blue and green flags and Constitution Square packed, facing the Moneda. This building was strafed on September 10th and Allende lost his life there.

Downtown Santiago—the streets of El Centro—had been pretty much taken over by the Rightist students and by the Fascist youth of *Patria y Libertad* in the last weeks with their spiked clubs and *milli-litre* bombs. This brand of the party had loudly proclaimed it was "going underground" until the fall of the government. It did constitute itself as a para-military force at the same time as the "truck-drivers' wives" and the "army wives" were demonstrating. These mobs were not often dispersed by police water hoses.

#### EXPROPRIATED FACTORIES

Now the dusty wall slogan in front of the *Said Fabrica in Quillota* must be painted over: "One Year of Operation as a state industry." It has been returned to its original owners, the magnificent Yurars. Would that little group of shop stewards be standing at the gate as the factory was re-possessed? The *Times* described how in Santiago the old former manager walked by lines of silent workers to take over his office at the large milk-processing plant, Soprole. Though under guard he must have been a brave man and a Chilean and in Allende's words "impudent."

In any case those union leaders have been fired, whether they were social activists or merely the Centrist Trade Union officials of C.U.T.

On our visit every street corner in Santiago had its sidewalk reading gallery and open *kiosk*. These have all been shut down "at the request of the store retailers, who have complained to the military about the competition." When the Frei regime was defeated in the elections in 1970 it wrote into law "Constitutional guarantees of a Free Press"—insuring that the majority of news media (owned by the Right) would be in operation. Now there are only two newspapers—*El Mercurio* and *Tribuna*.

We spoke of the Chilean workers' gift of *lambrecito*—making things run with a few wires, and how the cars and trucks were miraculously kept going. In the crippling transportation strike this became a key. The fleet-owners kept their vehicles guarded in enormous truck parks and removed engine parts.

This tactic was countered by a government group MOPARE—organized to restore parts and repair trucks. In addition the government diverted whatever trucks it owned to keeping the *poblaciones* fed and the raw materials coming in to the state industries.

And here I cannot help thinking of German, head of the Forestry Department in Talca. How proud he was of those half dozen shiny new Hungarian tractors, and his Ford pick-up! They must have been used, in some strategic way, in the last days.

The ironies of a sudden twist of power relations in history. Now M.I.R. is on the wanted list—with most of Chile. During the days of the U.P. it stood for ultra-puritanism and against corruption and red tape in government. In the week after I was to leave Talca the Forestry Department was to be visited on a tour of inspection by M.I.R. for some comradely criticism, and German had been somewhat apprehensive.

#### MINOR PERSONNAGES

I am thinking of Ruth and Alphonso who ran the boarding house. They never said a word of politics—merely took turns standing in the long food lines—while the students went to political rallies. But food has been rationed again under the Junta. The boarding house must be empty of its radical foreign students—first ordered to the local police station then detained for screening in the outdoor sports stadium and then in city prisons.

Another of our friends was Roberto, in *Vigna del Mar*, Elena's sister's husband. He is something of an inventor, a perennial small businessman (he had a plastics business in his house). But he was a strong government supporter. He writes in August: "I have a new idea for a line to expand my business but it will have to wait awhile. Things are terrible here. Tell me, is there anywhere in the U.S. where you can get for me some *materia prima* (raw material)? His wife was always complaining that he couldn't make money.

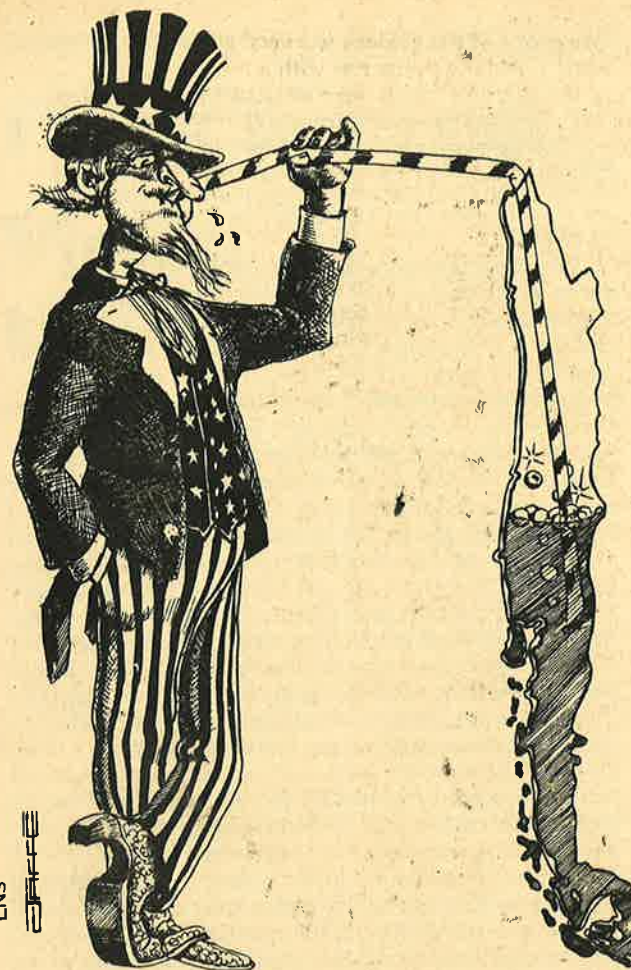
Finally, Parra—the poet who wrote about the pigeons in *Plaza de Armas*. He was no socialist sympathizer—in spite of his nieces and nephews and his famous sister, the folksinger Violetta Parra. If anything he was anti-Marxist and when he was in New York read the Christian-democratic magazine *Er-cilla* faithfully each week. As yet Nicano Parra has not returned to his teaching job at Columbia. He has been detained—probably because of his book of translations which he began in Moscow 20 years ago. *Poemas Russas*.

And so for these people—in these large and small ways—fascism has been brought to Chile.

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Bob Nichols lives in Vermont. He has visited Chile and written extensively about it.

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The wretched events in Chile are part of a general pattern established long ago by the U.S. in Latin America. The Monroe Doctrine was not set forth to protect Latin America from Europe, but to make it secure for American exploitation. Recent events include the overthrow of the elected left wing government of Arbenz in Guatemala in the early 50's; the abortive Bay of Pigs adventure in 1961; the invasion of the Dominican Republic to crush a constitutional uprising against the military junta (at the cost of an estimated one thousand Dominicans); the overthrow of the Goulart government in Brazil and the installation of a military junta. With the sole exception of Cuba, the U.S. has won these various encounters with Latin American nationalism and has blocked efforts to achieve a social revolution peacefully and democratically.

The greatest test came in Chile, for Allende had filled the requirements of American liberalism: he had been elected democratically; he had pledged to maintain full civil liberties and constitutional government. (It should be noted in passing that while

Allende had less than a majority of the popular vote when he became president, most recent elections in Chile have seen the President elected with only a plurality of the votes, not a majority—due to the multi-party situation). Allende confounded his critics when, in the first elections after he came to power, he increased his percentage of the vote from 36% to 44%—despite inflation and economic dislocations. In fact, if anything triggered the coup, it was the realization by the Chilean military and by the U.S. that Allende was democratically and non-violently consolidating his power and would not be overturned in a free election. (Much the same thing happened in Greece—when it became clear to all that the Left, led by Papandreou, was about to sweep to power with a heavy majority, the Greek Colonels seized power and blocked the election.)

On the surface, Chile seems to have been paralyzed solely by internal problems. It was plagued by inflation, food shortages, and general economic dislocation. Unlike most of Latin America, Chile has a large middle class and it was this class—particularly the truckers—who went on strike toward the end, with strong support from shopkeepers, professionals, etc. However, behind all of this was the United States and rarely has our intervention been so well documented. One does not even have to fall back on placing generalized blame on the CIA—the record of ITT is public enough. In the election just before Allende took power ITT funds were instrumental in assuring victory for the Christian Democrats. And, in the election where Allende did take power, ITT made special contact with the CIA, pledging massive corporate aid for any covert projects the CIA might undertake to prevent Allende's winning the election or, if he won, blocking him from assuming power.

The full dimensions of the events in Chile are slowly becoming apparent. Military coups in Latin America have usually had an air of musical chairs, with politicians resigning and flying to Spain to live on their Swiss bank accounts. Violence has been limited—the cards got shuffled, not torn up, and the deck was never changed. This time, operating with American training, the military moved with brutal force to liquidate not only the Allende experiment, but Allende himself and all those closely associated with him. Allende was apparently murdered in the Presidential Palace, which was largely destroyed by direct military attack. All schools were closed. All Marxist political parties disbanded. Thousands of Marxists were killed—others have sought sanctuary in foreign embassies.

Non pacifists have said Allende made his basic mistake when he failed to move first. "See," we are told, "you can't achieve socialism peacefully—Allende tried it, he followed the rules, allowed free speech, let the reactionaries organize, and now look—Allende is dead and the revolution is dead with him. He

# Chile post Script

## by David McReynolds

should have shot first." It is an appealing picture—a little violence at the right time would have saved the revolution.

This view overlooks reality and fails to take account of history. For example, in 1917 Lenin seized power from Kerensky's faltering government (virtually without violence). In a short time Lenin had total political power. All opposition to the Bolsheviks was outlawed and, within the Bolshevik Party, factions abolished. The secret police were efficient. The cells were filled with counter-revolutionaries and, in time, all opposition "liquidated". The Russian Revolution won—but at a terrible cost.

Our first observation then, if that in at least one case where the Revolution defended itself by violence and succeeded in destroying the counter-revolution, the revolution itself became tainted with internal defeat.

Turning to the argument that Allende should have armed the workers, one has to ask first if he *could* have armed them. From the beginning the peaceful revolutionists were faced with two hard facts. First, they lacked a majority of the people and while Allende increased his vote to 44% in the last election, polarization of the country had deepened. Second, the army was neutral *so long as Allende faced no real crisis*, but it continued to receive arms directly from the U.S. *after all other U.S. aid was cut off*—and Allende did not dare stem that flow of arms. Had Allende tried to arm the workers, or had he shut off the military shipments from the U.S., it is virtually certain the military would simply have moved sooner. Indeed, shortly before the junta took power the military had begun to raid the few left wing arms caches that existed as further justification for the military takeover. Given this delicate balance between Allende's minority government, and the power of the military, it doesn't take a pacifist to see that Allende's only real hope was the historic force the Constitution might carry: the fact that Chile was proud of the strong record of democratic and constitutional government. It was a long shot and in final weeks became increasingly risky, but there was never a realistic chance the "masses" could be armed—the "masses"

were split from the beginning, as the truckers, miners, shopkeepers, etc., demonstrated.

In the end the U.S. managed to create the kind of crisis which made the military junta possible. Foreign credit was cut off, creating new economic dislocations added to those already created by a social revolution. Waves of strikes paralyzed the economy, opening the way for the junta to "save Chile" by destroying its freedom.

The important thing for us to see is that a debate about what Allende might or might not have done is academic if *the real problem is here*, in this country, and the real discussion should be about what we might do or ought to have done. There is no doubt in our minds that if the United States had not exerted the enormous covert pressures it did, and if it had not sent arms into Chile, Allende would still be alive today and the peaceful revolution continuing. Bloody as the events in Santiago were, the problem does not lie in Allende's tactics but in our own.

We must see that American policy has traditionally been weighted against support of democratic regimes and toward military governments. Where the U.S. had to choose between reactionary and moderate forces, *it has always chosen the reactionary forces*. This has been a consistent policy since the end of World War II. There are no exceptions. Washington did not flinch when the Indonesian military killed a half million Communists and their supporters several years ago. Nor did it protest the military junta in Chile in recent days. However the very limited criticism the social democratic government of Sweden made against U.S. policy in Indochina was so offensive to Washington that we have not had an ambassador in Stockholm for over a year! So long as the political and economic structure of America remains unchanged, the chance for peaceful and democratic revolutions elsewhere will be small. Rather than the movement here wasting rhetoric over how violent the Allende government should have been, let us organize for basic change in our government here so that nonviolent change elsewhere is possible.

## Contact

See the October 18, 1973 issue of WIN for suggestions on WHAT YOU CAN DO ABOUT CHILE!

David McReynolds is on the staff of the War Resisters League. This analysis is drawn from a staff memo which is available in its complete form from the WRL, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012.

# Frank Terruggi, Victim of the Junta

The headline in the Saturday paper jumped out—"Slain Brother Was Allende Supporter." Not fully reading the name beyond Frank... 23 years... and I thought "Oh, that poor man got caught up in the coup and couldn't get out of the country in time. He must have been some kind of activist to be down there. Wish I could go to Cuba. I'm glad it's not somebody I know. I wonder how it is to be one of the family and learn of his obvious execution so far away." Later in the day Joanie called out, "Hey, did you know Frank Terruggi is dead? Yeah, look at the paper." Then it hit me and the headline flashed in my mind again. "Those Bastards, God damned filthy fascists..." and all of the rest of the hate rhetoric of the left, but this time *I felt it!* I left the house, wandering down the block—"If I just had a machine gun, the power to destroy them, to murder them just as they had Frank..." but it was too late. My fist broke open, curled again, then faded into my pocket. He was gone forever. Never will I run into him again, reminisce about old times, talk politics... only an empty void there. Death is so strange to me; it's like when someone moves to the East Coast to never be seen again. I guess that's why I like peace-nik conferences so much—to touch and hold old friends again, and catch up on their latest doings.

I first met Frank during a series of pot luck dinners that the Resistance held in the Vine Street Friends Meeting House about three years back. They were held mainly to bring together people who opposed conscription into the military, assorted pacifists, and their friends. Even at first I noticed this short student type who seemed outgoing enough to circulate with most of the people in the small room; in fact, usually there were small groups of people around him wherever he drifted. It was so unlike me that at first I remained a bit stand-offish with him until I found him to be sincere and intelligent—no, not witty, but a thoughtful type of intelligence.

As the People's Park demonstrations—most of which I stayed away from because of the lack of a nonviolent attitude—were going on then, we had a lot to think about. Frank usually felt strongly that pacifists should be out there on the street exercising a moderating influence, often getting caught in between the two warring factions of police and bottle throwers, and I felt more strongly to noncooperate with anything that didn't have a nonviolent discipline. Since then I have changed my opinion, and have become less formal and will play a demo by ear. His talk was also translated into action. He had boundless energy for meetings and political activities. He was forever up on the Cal campus, and later, during

the military occupation of Berkeley, helped with the training of nonviolent monitors for the mass demonstrations which continued.

After a while, Frank changed his mind about the personal direct action approach for electoral politics and worked at the campus and in the community in the Dellums campaign. We spent hours trying to convince each other about the political effectiveness of our own positions, but in the end he would go out to canvass again. Soon his enthusiasm waned for pacifism when his radical sympathies grew. It seemed he lost interest in the house also, and as the people left he failed to recruit new people to fill the vacancies. He talked of traveling outside of the country, when last I saw him before the house drifted apart.

The next I heard of him was last week in the newspaper, slain by the military he was so opposed to. But my anger didn't last long. Shooting some other mother's son would not eradicate that news headline. It would only bring sorrow to some other family. What would I have done in that situation, Frank? Sniping from the roof tops—probably at some other man who didn't want to be in the Army, except out of fear of the firing squad or a jail term. Or maybe he was out there out of economic pressure, or because he was raised in an environment which taught that the military was an honorable and manly occupation. I know what it means. I was raised a "navy brat" myself. No, sniping didn't even make military sense. The Army can shell (and did) the whole building, killing the people who live there, hiding under the furniture, and demolishing the whole structure.

Well, how about the traditional socialist approach, Frank—defend the factories where I work? An estimated 500 did at the Sumar Textile factory in Santiago. The Air Force bombed it, leaving only a shell, as they did the Moneda Palace. It may be good for symbolism, but how effective was it? Even militarily, it isn't wise.

That leaves a guerrilla type resistance, Frank—with the interminable internecine warfare, with the disruption of the total social fabric and the horrors of political assassination for everybody. I doubt you could ever, despite your sympathy with the oppressed, be into any armed resistance.

My anger subsided. Who am I kidding? Damn it. During the last two electoral campaigns I had plans to bug out to Canada in case the political climate shifted to fascism under LBJ or Nixon. "Live to fight another day?" Bullshit. To hide. I'm tired of their jails, their arrogance, and their global oppression. What can a just man do under an unjust government?

Perhaps, Frank, a civil disobedience of the curfew like you possibly did, except organized, a public sitdown in the main square, or related Czechoslovakian civilian resistance, would be what the honest, humble, man can do. I don't know. It's better than offing my opponent because of my political opinion, and God only knows how temporal and imperfect that can be.

Yes, Frank, whatever your final political position was, I loved you. The rest who didn't know you lost something too. A humanitarian. A dynamic personality... a friend. —JOHN-I-THIN STEPHENS

John-I-Thin Stephens has been active in the peace movement, on both coasts, for many years.



# World PEACE CONGRESS OR MARIS GOES TO MOSCOW

At first it was hard to figure out what was going on. A peace conference with no one singing "Give Peace a Chance"? A peace conference receiving every courtesy from the government?

It was the World Congress of Peace Forces, convened in Moscow during October 25 to 31. It represented an important broadening out of the World Peace Congress gatherings that have been taking place for at least two decades. In the past the policy had been to invite, with very few exceptions, only individuals and groups in general agreement with the foreign (and domestic) policy of the Soviet Union. This time, however, a variety of forces were drawn in: The World Council of Churches, World Federalists, Amnesty International and the International United Nations Association (Kurt Waldheim himself had expressed support of the Congress).

The reason for this broadening out can be traced right back to the policy of detente that the Soviet Union and the United States are pursuing with such vigor currently. The Soviet Union is determined to play the role of just another "social system" and one that can get along with everyone else just fine. At the same time the inclusion of these other forces lent credibility to those positions that the Congress took, the ones that are of paramount importance to the Soviet Union and therefore were bound to be accepted by the Congress: namely the condemnation of Israel, China and the coup in Chile as well as the support of India, various liberation struggles (particularly in Africa) and the general policy of detente.

Despite the ecumenical aspect certain precautions were taken to make sure that things didn't get too

broad. The various national preparatory committees approached their task from a certain orientation and made certain that the point of view that is sympathetic to the Soviet Union would be well represented. In certain cases as with the U.S. SANE delegation, a representative of the War Resisters International from England and some Belgians (and quite possibly others) visas were denied by the USSR.

Still, the composition of delegates to this Congress represented a great step forward that should be welcomed widely.

With this background over 3,000 delegates from 144 countries assembled in the Palace of Congresses within the walls of the Kremlin. All of the plenary sessions met there and in general the addresses were rhetorical and pro forma. The exceptions were a moving address by Mme. Allende in which she described the extent of the fascism that has been visited upon Chile and the denial of the most fundamental civil and political rights in that country under the junta and Leonid Brezhnev's two and a half hour speech on Soviet foreign policy.

Although Brezhnev's speech was so dull that even the Russians were falling asleep, it was important because of the completeness of its review of Soviet policy. Everything was touched on from an analysis of the Mideast situation to an attack on the Jackson amendment because "What if we should reciprocate? What if we should demand modification of bourgeois laws and usages that go against our ideas of justice and democracy as a condition for normal interstate relations?" Singled out for special attention were India (an "example of a consistent policy of peace and democratic solutions of internal problems!")

and China which was blamed for nearly every crime since Cain slew Abel. Among the things that the Chinese do, according to Brezhnev, are: refuse to halt attempts to poison the international climate, make territorial claims on the USSR, repeat anti-communist propaganda, attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of the USSR, block disarmament, continue to pollute the atmosphere with nuclear tests, merely pretend to support the Arab cause and, finally, "shake the hand of a representative of the fascist Junta of Chilean reactionaries." That last charge was possibly the most serious that could be levied in the context of the highly emotional support for Chile at the Congress.

The speech was originally scheduled to be given on Thursday but it had to be postponed for a day because the section on how peace had been achieved in the Middle East had to be revised.

The real business of the Congress took place in the Commissions—something like workshops in this country. There were 14 of them ranging from "Peaceful Coexistence and International Security" to "Cooperation Between Intergovernmental and Nongovernmental Organizations". Possibly the most controversial ones were "Middle East", "Peace and Security

in Asia" and "Social Problems and Human Rights". The latter is the one that Paul Mayer, Grace Paley and I participated in, and therefore the one that I know the most about.

In that Commission some 700 delegates met and about 150 spoke. For the most part the speeches—subject to a five minute time limit—were predictable but there were exceptions such as the Polish trade unionist who pointed out that in many sectors there is a wide gap between what socialism stands for and what actually takes place. Belgian, Swiss and English delegates made excellent statements in regard to political prisoners in all countries, particularly the Soviet Union, and condemned imperialism even when it takes the form of one socialist country invading another, as in Czechoslovakia.

It is hard to report on the details of particular speeches because, although a daily summary of the previous day's events was published, one could hardly rely on that summary. For example, Paul Mayer read a lengthy statement that was quite critical of the politics of some of the Soviet dissidents while strongly supporting their right even to be wrong. The statement was reported in the following day's *Bulletin* as "Paul Mayer (USA) strove to give grounds for his right

Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, addressing the World Congress Peace. He described the policy of the USSR as "consistently peaceable."



by MARIS CAKARS

to defend so-called Soviet dissidents." Period.

The statement that Paul read raised quite a fuss. Signed by Noam Chomsky, Dave Dellinger, Dan Berrigan, Paul Mayer, David McReynolds, Sidney Peck and Grace Paley, the statement received a great deal of attention in the Western press (it was the lead story in Voice of America as well as being the subject of one of William Buckley's columns).

The reaction to the statement was swift as Paul was gavelled out of order at the moment his five minutes were through (previous speeches had gone on to 10 minutes or more). A whole series of speakers from the USSR, the USA, Mongolia and elsewhere rose to respond by pointing out that there is no such thing as political prisoners in the Soviet Union and even if there were, to bring the matter up constitutes interference in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless the statement was quite a hit in that we were mobbed with demands for copies.

But the main idea was to make an impact on our Soviet hosts and the other members of the 160 person American delegation. Apparently it made more of an impact on our own delegation. The Russians took the whole thing relatively calmly while the US delegation's steering committee met till four in the morning discussing this development and it finally decided to call a meeting of the whole delegation at which it would recommend that the delegation disavow the statement and censure Paul for presenting it.

The following day the delegation voted 67 to 31 to support the steering committee recommendation. Paul had already resigned his co-chairmanship of the delegation but apparently that gesture in the direction of unity and detente was not enough to satisfy the forces of those who believe in human rights only for "progressive" political views. A similar sequence of events took place in the Belgian delegation.

The next day, our last in the Soviet Union, a certain sentiment developed to withdraw the censure part of the motion. It was too late to get a meeting together so there's no telling what would have come of the motion but I wouldn't be surprised if it hadn't been inspired by delegations from other countries—possibly even the Russians—commenting that our folks had overreacted.

This type of deviation from the official line was rare but it kept cropping up everywhere. In the Commission on the Middle East it took quite a while for it to surface but finally a number of delegates—Americans in particular—brought out the idea that unconditional support of the Arab nations may not necessarily be the best way to peace in that region. In the Commission on Peace and Security in Asia the Vietnamese, Cambodians, Laotians, Koreans (North), New Zealanders and Australians put up a strong fight to moderate the position to be taken *vis a vis* China.

The result of all of this political infighting was a series of documents which are, on the whole, quite good. The report of the human rights commission, for example, advocated abolition of capital punishment, recognized the right of conscientious objection under certain circumstances and called for the freeing of "prisoners detained for their progressive political views." Veteran World Peace Congress participants reported that in their opinion these were very substantial gains.

To everyone's surprise the concluding session of the Congress, at which the final declarations were to be announced and adopted, was held up for nearly four hours as a result of last minute political disagreements. It reminded me of the Democratic national convention at which McGovern wound up giving his acceptance speech at three in the morning.

The speeches and resolutions represent important aspects of the Congress but possibly the most significant result for many participants was the face to face contact with delegates from remarkable places like Vietnam, Africa, Palestine and Cambodia. The understanding that came from such encounters is something that moves people to action in a way that no resolution ever can.

For me personally the most moving part came when I went down to GUM, the Soviet Union's largest and busiest department store, to distribute leaflets—in Russian—calling for the release of some of the 10,000 or so political prisoners in the USSR. Lacking the courage to pass the damn things out one at a time I was putting piles of them out here and there. Apparently I was observed because as I was leaving the building they nabbed me and dragged me to the police precinct across the street—Moscow's 171st precinct.

Once there I started to feel very much at home because the place was so much like police stations in this country—with a lot of miserable-looking people trying to relate to a bunch of officials who didn't seem particularly concerned.

Of course in my case they were very concerned and before very long some folks from "uptown" arrived to deal with the problem of me and my leaflets—while a huge crowd gathered in the hallway to try to get a peek at the leafletter. I had no idea what would happen—whether I would get 30 days or six months or six years or what—so I was very surprised when they let me go after a mere three and a half hours, a very brief time indeed to spend as a political prisoner. Needless to say, if I hadn't been an honored delegate to the Congress I would have fared quite differently. Had this incident occurred a few years earlier I'm sure that the reaction would also have been different. I've done up to five days for comparable crimes in this country.

We left Moscow the following morning with our delegation in disarray and feelings of hostility running at a fairly high level. But in the process we few who had spoken out for human rights *everywhere* had found new friends and allies even within our own delegation and, more importantly, we were secure in our belief that our actions had indeed had some effect in terms of opening up dialogue in the Soviet Union and the Communist movement in general. The Soviet Union is a strong country that has made real and important contributions to human progress and if it is to take its rightful place in the mainstream of history it's just going to have to learn to operate in an open and noncoercive manner. Let us hope it learns soon.

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*Maris Cakars has been active in the peace movement for about 10 years but has never before found himself in a situation like this.*

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# ON SOVIET DISSIDENTS

Let us begin by identifying ourselves as outspoken critics of the foreign policy of the United States. We have opposed that policy whether it took the overt, cruel, and monstrous form of the attacks on Indochina, or whether it was the more covert but no less effective intervention we have just witnessed in Chile.

Nor have we separated the issue of foreign policy from that of domestic policy within the United States. We have been vigorous in our defense of the civil liberties of all citizens and in our opposition to every effort to intimidate, harass, and silence those who dissent. We have sought social justice for those, who by reason of race or religion or national origin, found themselves at economic disadvantage.

It is not a secret that our actions have been viewed in a hostile way by the government of the United States and that some of us and many of our friends have at various times been brought to trial or imprisoned for our actions, or have been forced from jobs because of our dissenting views. We mention these matters not to be self-serving, but to make it clear we have earned the right to speak on the question of Soviet dissenters. We are not Cold Warriors. We welcome all steps toward genuine detente with both the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China, and all steps toward an end of the nuclear arms race which threatens the entire planet.

It is with this background that we speak. We note that much of the Western press has identified all dissenters within the Soviet Union—and in the countries under the political control of the Soviet Union—as liberals or radicals when, in fact, many are not. Among the dissenters are writers such as Solzhenitsyn, who combines a major literary talent with a conservative viewpoint; or leading intellectuals such as Sakharov, Galich, and Maximov, who can appeal for the personal safety of the late Pablo Neruda while otherwise avoiding comment on events in Chile because they are "too distant". We say first, to these, our Russian friends with whom we may have disagreements; that it is only the curtain of silence maintained by your government and by our own which prevents you from knowing that there have, for years, been voices raised against Soviet actions in suppressing dissent. And we say to you that there are at this hour men and women in prison in Saigon and Santiago—and in the United States—whose situation is at least as desperate as your own, and who need the strength of your voices raised in protest on their behalf, as you have asked them to plead your cause.

But your actions cannot determine our own; your views cannot permit us to be silent in the case of some Soviet dissenters and protest on behalf of others. It is intolerable—absolutely intolerable—for anyone to set the limits of free speech or of the freedom to write and openly distribute and discuss what has been written. It is a fact that all governments are fearful of such freedoms. The entire series of events known as "Watergate" symbolize an effort by the powers of the United States to curtail such freedoms as we still enjoy. There are a thousand moments in history when men and women have fought for their rights and won them—but there is not a single example of a government freely granting such rights.

We therefore join in condemning the Soviet government for its campaign to silence not only your intellectuals, but any Soviet citizens who seek to exercise their rights—rights already defined by and contained in the Soviet Constitution. We point out that there is an unhappy parallel between the events in Chile in 1973 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968. In both cases efforts to create a "Marxism with a human face" were destroyed by military intervention. In 1968, with a minimal loss of life but with 500,000 invading troops from the Warsaw Pact; in 1973, with a hideous loss of life and an army equipped by the United States.

All will applaud as the Great Powers move away from that Cold War which so often in the past generation had threatened to become an open military encounter. But there is more than one war which must be ended. Not only do we oppose the threatening gestures great powers make at one another, brandishing nuclear weapons; we also oppose the hostile and repressive acts made by those powers against their own people or their weaker neighbors. This, too, is a kind of war which must end and which can be ended only when the conscience of humanity finds a clear voice, one that does not permit itself to justify the suppression of freedom in one country but not another. We support the Soviet dissidents in their demand for the right to free speech and assembly. We call to the attention of the Soviet Government its own Constitution—and to those human rights which no state has the right or authority to infringe.

Initiated by:

Noam Chomsky

Dave Dellinger

Rev. Dan Berrigan

Rev. Paul Mayer

David McReynolds

Sidney Peck

Grace Paley

*This is the text of the statement that was read by Paul Mayer in the Commission on Social Progress and Human Rights at the Moscow Congress of World Peace.*



# Tiger Cage Builder Gets Award

On Friday night, October 26, the ex-student's association of the University of Texas held an alumni ceremony at the LBJ library mausoleum. And, coincidentally, Direct Action also held an awards ceremony at the same place and at the same time and for the same person. The person being so honored and unhonored that evening was George Rufus Brown, who is head of Brown and Root, Inc. Brown and Root is a major part of the monstrous construction combine Raymond, Morrison, Knudson-Brown, Root and Jones (RMK-BRJ), which built the infamous Tiger Cages on Con Son Island, South Vietnam.

The evening began around 5:30 with some early leafleters reaching the dinner guests and George Brown himself. A well-publicized rally began two blocks away at 6:00 with about 50 people gathered around. At 6:30 the crowd along with our tiger cage walked up the hill and by the time we reached the library our small number had grown to over 200. It was amazing!

The demonstration was by now in full progress with chanting and leafletting the very well-dressed guests. The tiger cage was set up right by the entrance with five people chained inside. We were even "honored" with a big Texas grin from John Connally. One person got arrested for trying to go inside. He had to take a piss. At 7:15 we moved down to a glass door right outside of the auditorium. Our presence was noticed by everybody. "Brown Builds Tiger Cages!" and "The Rich Live High While the Vietnamese Die!" were our favorite chants. The police line, which was between us and the door was stone-facedly doing their duty.

Pretty soon a yellow nylon rope was passed down their line and all Hell broke loose. The tiger cage was smashed by the police, with people still inside of it and the front row of demonstrators was being turned topsy turvy, but they held their place. After 30 long seconds it was over and all that was left was a broken guitar, a smashed tiger cage, some bad Karma and some very determined demonstrators. Nobody was about to leave now!!! We sat down, we sang, we shouted, we joined hands, we told jokes, and we sang some more. This went on for two and a half hours and it was the most beautiful scene the Austin peace movement has seen in a long time.

Meanwhile, five of us got tickets for the event, dressed up, and entered as part of the guests. The first demonstrator in the audience, Susan Fox, rose when George Brown was officially being introduced by MC John Connally. She spoke out against his receiving the award and was quickly ushered out. Outside she signaled the crowd and chanting was picked up. All during the ceremony, chants of the 400 or so demonstrators could be heard, whenever the doors were opened. Guests were commenting to one another about the demonstration—by the end of the evening, all knew about George Brown, tiger cages, and the Vietnamese.

After Brown was officially given the Distinguished Alumni Award, the next two "well-dressed" demonstrators, Christi Bourgeois and Hal Womack, presented him with a framed photograph of a tiger

cage, a framed reproduction of the contract to build them, and letters from the Student Senate and Student Body President protesting his receiving the award. They tried to make a statement, but were drowned out by The Walter Cronkite film and by John Connally mumbling something over the PA system. Police and plainclothesmen came quickly down two aisles and escorted them out—unarrested.

Now there were just two of us left, Pamela Owens and Ed Hedemann. At the end of the ceremony everyone stood and sang "The Eyes of Texas," turned to the exit and were confronted by an eight foot sheet banner which we unfurled in the back of the auditorium reading "George Brown: Build Understanding, Not Cages" and in smaller print "200,000 people still held in South Vietnamese prisons with US aid." We were there for about a half a minute seen by perhaps a couple of hundred people, when a young woman guest ran up to grab the banner from us yelling "Get the Hell out of here! We didn't invite you!" etc. We remained silent; the cops rushed in and we tried to sit down with the banner, but were dragged out into the hallway where demonstrators outside saw us and cheered. Ed was pushed up against a wall and handcuffed (not Smith & Wesson, though). Ed asked why this was necessary: "It's just for your own protection! We tried talking with the police (two plainclothes University police) to explain why we were demonstrating and they had no reason to fear that we might run or attack them or anyone else. Fortunately, they were quite friendly and they got along well with us as they chauffeured us to the police station where they kept us for about 30 minutes. The prosecutor then refused to press the charges (disruptive behavior) apparently feeling he couldn't win. We were then chauffeured back to the "scene of the crime" and joined the demonstration still in progress.

Yes, we were still going strong and Frank Erwin, one of the regents at UT was getting pretty uptight. Finally, he came marching out and passed the order to "Move 'em out!" This was about 10:30 pm and there were about 50 demonstrators still present. Before long the yellow rope was out and before we knew it two of our brothers had been arrested for resisting the police line, one being Direct Action member Bruce Maxwell. After this incident, the vibes were really bad and the tension was high, so, Direct Action folks felt the best thing to do was sing a song, give ourselves a hand, and go bail Bruce and William out. Which we did.

The night was wonderful and everyone was on a really movement high. This was one of the best demonstrations Austin has participated in and the nonviolent feeling was very prevalent. So, we did good and we think George Brown will think twice before he signs that next Defense contract. . . . . maybe.

—Ed Hedemann & Mary Robinson

*Ed Hedemann and Mary Robinson are active with Direct Action, the WRL group in Austin.*



Impeach Nixon demonstration at White House, October 27. Photo by Roger Kranz/LNS

## CHANGES

### HOW IT FEELS TO BE A HERO

Remember last February, when the returning POWs were being used to churn up patriotism and the antiwar POWs faced prosecution? It looked as if the Administration had something up its sleeve—a new intervention in Indo-China, a new wave of repression at home. . . . And then came the Watergate disclosures, and President Nixon was in trouble.

Now we have one POW's story of what it was all about. In the September 1973 issue of the Army magazine *Soldiers* (printed at government expense), Sergeant First Class Donald J. Randler, captured by the NLF and held prisoner five years, has explained: "We're giving the American people what they want and badly need—heroes. I feel it's our responsibility, our duty to help them where possible shed the idea this war was a waste, useless, as unpopular as it may have been."

Playing with the "post-war" American psyche, telling us we were right, getting us ready for another intervention and providing a justification for the continued bombing of Cambodia and the costly support of the

Saigon regime: hero worship as a substitute for the truth. After the Korean war, Vietnam war expert Maxwell Taylor once wrote, the American mood was one of frustration and this was partly responsible for the lack of attention to limited wars in the years that followed. The higher-ups who planned the return of the Vietnam POWs must have been determined that this should not happen again.

Like other returned POWs, Parker was showered with gifts. Reluctant at first, he soon accepted them gladly. "Most of the people are so sincere and feel they just aren't doing enough, it would be a crime, almost, not to accept their offers," he said. His perception may have been accurate. What a gap there is between Nixon's "middle Americans," who felt they weren't "doing enough," and the thousands of antiwar protesters over the years who felt they weren't doing enough to stop the war!

The works of Lenin and Marx that he was given to read in North Vietnam only made him a "stronger anti-Communist," Parker said. He resented the "trash" they told him about minority conditions in the United States and

their attempts to "alienate" him from his white comrades by talking about the Black Panthers and Martin Luther King's assassination. "I don't hate the North Vietnamese people," Parker said. "They deserve pity. I was a prisoner for five years. They're prisoners for the rest of their lives."

When he got back to the United States, Parker was amazed by "the abundance of blacks in respectable jobs." The medical care that he received in Army hospitals was "superb," especially in comparison with the inadequate and negligent treatment he received in bombed-out North Vietnam (Other Vietnam veterans may wish to take exception to Parker's views on the Army's medical services.)

And what was the conclusion to all this? "I plan to remain in the military," Parker says. "Right now we need a totally dedicated armed force made up of volunteers. We must establish a hard, well-trained core of professionals. I hope to be one of those professionals." —Eric Prokosch

### BANNER YEAR AT NEW COMMUNITIES

This is the year everyone has been working towards at New Communities, Inc. in Georgia, the first major land trust in the United States. As the rich harvest comes off the fields—corn, soybeans, peanuts, sweet potatoes, etc.—all those involved are rejoicing to know that the total farm income this year (around \$500,000) will more than compensate for the last four years of struggle to keep the land and realize some of the dreams which have kept us going.

Plans for the future include a Little Farmer's Market to handle produce from the NCI farm and other small farms in the area. Neighborhood small farmers will be provided with technical assistance and encouraged to produce for this retail market. Plans for a more diversified farm operation include pigs, cattle, winter wheat and early peas.

The Education Committee of NCI has inaugurated a tutorial program for the entire county, designed to raise the educational level of disadvantaged students from 6 to 17 years of age. One hundred fifteen students are attending every week. The fact that this largely black group is attending a school on the NCI cooperative farm, run by their own people, has educational significance far beyond the immediate objective of the program itself.

—International Independence Institute

## ANTI-WAR STUDENT WINS \$1000 AND APOLOGY FROM FBI

In an unusual case, Ronald Eachus, former University of Oregon student, won an out-of-court settlement to his \$11,000 damage suit, when the FBI agreed to pay him \$1,000 and to issue a public apology.

Eachus charged that an FBI agent in Eugene, Thomas Ackerman, had leaked the content of his file to the news director of Station KPNW in 1971, who then passed it on to *The Daily Emerald*, the university newspaper, for the purpose of discrediting him because of his anti-war record.

In the public apology, Sidney Lezak, U.S. attorney for Oregon expressed "regrets concerning the recent unfortunate incident" and stated that "appropriate disciplinary action was taken in this matter in that Mr. Ackerman was reprimanded by the FBI and suspended for one month."

Regarding the \$1,000, Eachus's attorney, Charles Porter—who, incidentally is a WRLer—announced that one third of the money would go for legal fees and the rest to Medical Aid for Indochina. —Jim Peck

## FRANCE TO HALT A-TESTS IN AIR—BUT NOT BEFORE '76

"France, apparently yielding somewhat to world opinion, has begun work on plans to hold future nuclear tests underground at two uninhabited atolls in the Pacific, the area commander for the tests disclosed today." So stated a UPI dispatch November 3 reporting an interview with Admiral Christian Claverie, commander of France's Pacific fleet.

The dispatch mentioned the "ruling by the International Court of Justice to stop testing in the atmosphere," but did not mention the unprecedented protest actions this year which included Australia's complete boycott of French goods and services, England's one-week boycott and New Zealand's dispatching a Navy protest vessel into the test area, augmenting the group of private protest vessels.

Admiral Claverie "said it was impossible to determine when the underground tests might begin to replace the atmospheric tests," the dispatch continued. "Government sources said that France might conduct open-air nuclear tests in 1974 and 1975 before the underground installations were completed sometime in 1976."

—Jim Peck

## "THE POST-WAR WAR:" A NEW SLIDE SHOW BY NARMIC

The signing of the Paris Agreement changed the character, but not the goals of the war in Vietnam, a point that is amply documented in "The Post-War War," a new slide show produced by NARMIC (National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex).

In their first slideshow, "The Automated Air War," NARMIC, a project of the American Friends Service Committee, documented the development of the electronic battlefield in Indochina. In their new show, they set their sights on "postwar" developments in South Vietnam, illustrating how the U.S. acts to prop up the Thieu government in South Vietnam.

Like its predecessor, "The Post-War War" could become a central educational resource in the campaign to oppose the continued war in Vietnam.

The show which contains 160 slides and accompanying script, costs \$50. It comes with a pamphlet that documents all the material in the slides and script. A 25-minute version of the show is also available.

Write to NARMIC, c/o AFSC, 112 South 16th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102. Orders must be prepaid. —LNS/Common Sense

## ROUND UP OF RECENT NEWS

As anticipated (WIN 11/1/73), the Teamsters reneged on their agreement with the United Farmworkers and the AFL-CIO and have indicated that they will honor illegal "sweet-heart" contracts with California grape growers. The future of the UFW now rests with the consumer boycott. Picketing of Safeway Stores has been stepped up in California and in Delano, on October 20, 29 were arrested. In Montreal, the Catholic School commission has voted to stop buying grapes and iceberg lettuce. The University of Pittsburgh also agreed to respect the boycott, after students and faculty rallied in support. In New York Farmworker picketing has caused D'Agostino supermarkets to remove scab lettuce and grapes from their shelves. Boycott Safeway, iceberg lettuce, grapes, Franzia Bros. Wine, White River Farms Wine, and all Gallo wines. (See complete boycott

list in WIN 11/8/73). . . . Riot and arson charges against former SNCC leader H. Rap Brown, stemming from the black rebellion in Cambridge, Md. in 1967 have been dropped for "lack of evidence." And the prosecuting attorney was fined \$350 for publicly admitting the charges were bogus. D.A. Richard Kinlein said he'd "rather defend than prosecute" Brown. Still, Brown was sentenced to 1-year for failing to appear for trial in 1970. He'll serve that concurrently with the 5-to 15 years he's serving in New York for "armed robbery." . . . In the Chicago Conspiracy trial, the original 159 contempt citations issued by Judge Julius Hoffman in 1969 have now been reduced to 19. . . . Also in Chicago, Tom Smit, one of the Chicago 15 who was underground for four years and was busted leaving the WRL Conference in California this summer, (see WIN 9/27/73) began a fast on October 31 to protest the unconstitutionally high bail under which he is being held: \$450,000. His next pre-trial hearing, before Judge Edwin Robson, will be December 5 at 10 a.m. . . . On November 1, Karlton Armstrong was sentenced to 23 years (out of a maximum 25). He pleaded guilty to bombing the University of Wisconsin Army Mathematics Research Center in 1970. A graduate student doing research in the building was killed in the blast. For two weeks prior to sentencing the defense was allowed to present testimony about the war, and how it may have motivated Armstrong. Dan Ellsberg, Phil Berrigan, and

a number of Vietnam veterans testified about the war in Armstrong's behalf. . . . In Massachusetts the Old Cambridge Baptist Church announced that it was going to withhold the federal excise tax on telephone use "to protest continued U.S. involvement in Vietnam." Telephone tax refusal was widespread during the height of the anti-war movement. . . . In New York City, November 10, a small but enthusiastic crowd turned out for the kick-off "Impeach the President" rally. Bella Abzug gave a rousing speech and Flaming Youth, a hard-driving women's rock band provided music. . . . By a vote of 93 to 7 with 30 abstentions, the United Nations adopted a motion recognizing Guinea-Bissau as an independent nation. The new republic in West Africa is still fighting to liberate itself from Portuguese rule. The 7 nations who voted to uphold Portuguese imperialism were Brazil, Greece, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, the United Kingdom and the U.S. of A.

—Marty Jezer

## ACTIONS FOR CHILE CONTINUE. . .

Sunday, November 4, the Chile Solidarity Committee held marches and demonstrations in support of democracy and Socialism in Chile. Other recent Chile rallies have taken place in Berkeley, Chicago, Toronto and London where 20,000 marched. It was a clear day in New York. A cold gusty, northwest wind seemed to have swept the sky clean of pollution, and the wind turned the Hudson dark. But the cold didn't discourage the 3-400 demonstrators who stuck through the three hour rally, stamping their feet, swinging their arms and huddling together for warmth.

Several of the speakers spoke in both English and Spanish, and all were eloquent. They included Edward Boorstein, an economist who has worked in Cuba and with the Unidad Popu-



lar (UP) in Chile; Joe Collins (pictured above) from the Institute of Policy Studies; Che Velasquez, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, imprisoned for draft

resistance; Margie Albert, District 65 Union; Reed Wolcott from Bella Abzug's office; and Alan Howard for the Chile Solidarity Committee. Members of El Grupo provided spirited songs and guitar music.

The speakers stressed the importance of continuing protests against the coup, and continuing demands that executions and torture cease, and that all political prisoners be freed. The Ugarte government must never believe that the world will sleep while it persecutes its opponents.

"Chile will Win", said the banner behind the speakers stand. This will come true if the people at the rally, in the slums and ghettos of this country, and in countries throughout the world, remember that the differences which divide them are nothing compared to their shared dream of justice, freedom and peace. —Photo and Story by Brad Lyttle

## PRISON NOTES



People in prison who resist the tyranny they confront daily need and deserve support. Some recent calls for help include:

Three women who are on strike in the Intensive Program Unit at the California Institute for Women against a program of forced behavior modification. Their report, published in the September-October issue of *The Out-Law*, says: "The structure of this program employs the use of transactional analysis, without the benefit of trained staff or professional medical persons. We are under constant pressure, with 6 hours of attack grouping and two hours more of structured evening activity. This along with being locked and segregated from the main population 24 hours a day, without basic freedom or rights that are accorded other inmates of the institution."

A group of inmates at Lorton, Virginia Reformatory call themselves Jailhouse Lawyers, Inc. and consider themselves "people's servants in the avenues of progressive prison reform. . . para-legal counsels, as we have knowledge of civil and criminal law." These men are in need of legal material, legal reference works, books on prison reform, as well as postage stamps. They can receive all material. They are Nathaniel Wright III, Tyrone Hunt, Benoraris T. Webster and Larry C. Clemons. You can write them at the Lorton Reformatory, Lorton, Virginia 22079.

Lorton inmates are also concerned that word be circulated about the non-violent work stoppage which started in the industrial division laundry department and within a few days spread to the kitchen. It later spread to other shops involving more than three hundred men. The object of the action was to get better pay and working conditions. At latest report the situation was still unresolved and the men hope that publicity will help them obtain the improved conditions for which they are risking so much.

At last word a group of inmates of the Ohio Prison at Lucasville were still under 24-hour lock-up for their action in support of organizing an Ohio Prisoners Union. One of them reported, "Ever since we held a 'peaceful' work stoppage May 24, there has been a 24-hour lock-up, beatings, mactings and simply barbaric tactics taken against Ohio Prisoners Labor Union Members."

Political repression continues as a policy of an administration riddled with corruption and illegal actions on the part of its own officials. The *Washington Post* reports that the case against the Detroit 15, indicted for conspiracy to bomb various buildings, was dropped by the government rather than expose the way its evidence was obtained. Yet Guy Goodwin, the government's special attorney for prosecuting political cases, maintained that the case against the weather-people for the Chicago "Days of Rage" in October, 1969 would still be brought to trial as would "several other conspiracy cases still pending around the country and that some of them involve two or three defendants." Any such trial is serious business and those charged should be supported by movement people. These court actions tie up legal talent, place a terrible psychological burden on the people involved, and drain valuable resources from the movement. Legal costs for the defense of the Gainesville Eight came to \$150,000, while the Ellsberg-Russo defense cost nearly \$1 million. Tom Wicker noted these financial facts in his *New York Times* column and suggested that federal judges should have the discretion to assign part or all of the defense cost to the government when prosecution is blatantly unnecessary. Since the financial drain is a part of the planned repression, the chance of the government's accepting Wicker's proposal is about as likely as the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to a pacifist. —Larry Gara

# A Film:



When public transportation people in Santiago de Chile went on strike for 24 hours, workers found other ways to get to work. Here students and workers on a truck with tractor in tow and a non-striking bus head for voluntary labor in Cerrillos. Photo from La Nacion/LNS.

## A BEAUTIFUL FILM

An issue of WIN featuring Chile would be incomplete without a review of the really great film, *Que Hacer* (What's to be Done), which opened at New York's Bleecker Street Theater a few days after the tragic, military takeover. I hope it will be made available to moviegoers in other cities. It can be rented from Impact Films, 144 Bleecker St., New York, NY 10012.

Photographed in color, with an excellent cast of unknowns, it gives the feel of Chile in that period of hope leading up to the election of Salvador Allende in 1970. You see the rugged Andes mountains, which characterize Chile, the flimsy hovels sparked at the time with revolutionary hopes, the billboards advertising American products—constant reminder of U.S. economic domination.

You meet the people on the scene at the time, ranging from a group of totally insensitive Americans carousing at Santiago's Sheraton Hotel to a revolutionary priest who is assassinated in an outlying village. You dig the prevailing political dissent in the contrast between a Stalinist legislator living in luxury and the son, who expresses his revolt by joining the militant, ultraleft.

Linking the opposite poles, on centerstage is a CIA agent posing as an engineer who dates an idealistic Peace Corps worker sympathetic with Allende. He offers to drive

her back from Santiago to the village where she is working (and where, subsequently, the revolutionary priest is killed).

During that ride, these two persons are physically close together but mentally far apart. As the car speeds along the road, he is daydreaming about fucking her, while she is daydreaming about how the U.S. is "fucking" the Chilean people—which is deftly brought out by flashback technique.

All the various characters in this sensitive blend of fiction and documentary are real human beings with their respective weaknesses and indecisions. Nobody is 100% certain of being RIGHT. It is a sensitive film done with such artistry that one is reminded of the great Costa-Gavras film, *State of Siege*, which was photographed in Chile, though the action takes place in Uruguay, except that *Que Hacer* seems more for-real, possibly because of its nonprofessional cast. Credit for *Que Hacer* must go to its directors Saul Landau (who did an earlier, well-received documentary on Fidel Castro), Nina Serrano and Raul Ruiz.

The artistic quality of the film was reemphasized to me a week later when I saw another film on Chile, *When The People Awake*. Produced by MIR, one of the militant ultraleft groups critical of Allende's united front policy, this film is one of those propaganda jobs which keep hammering you over the head till it hurts. All that can be said in its favor is that it is pro-left, rather than pro-right.

—Jim Peck

# A Book:

## THE PEOPLE'S LAWYERS

Marlise James  
Holt, Rinehart & Winston, N.Y., 1973  
368 pages. \$8.95

The cultural revolution has brought many changes in the daily lives of most Americans since the early 1960's. Most of these changes are the subject of intense investigation and heated debate by social historians, philosophers, theologians, politicians, journalists and just about every other citizen. Even the cultural revolution itself has undergone several transformations in the last few years. Most of these changes have occurred so rapidly, and have been of such a fundamental nature, that even many activists in the revolution have been unable to keep up with them.

It seems like more than five years since I attended the first Nixon counter-inauguration in January, 1969. But one memory is vivid. During the rally which preceded the march, several speakers ran down their thing, and at the very end of all these speakers, three women took the platform. They identified themselves as members of the Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell (W.I.T.C.H.) and then began to speak to the crowd about the situation of women in society and in the revolution. The reaction of the crowd varied from snickers and giggles to outrage and vehement attempts to shout them down. And now, nearly five years later, everyone in America is hotly debating Women's Liberation.

And so it goes with many other areas within the cultural revolution. One area which seems to exist in a special vacuum is the "People's Law Movement," an outgrowth of the legal defense work by lawyers on behalf of thousands of Movement people since the early 1960's. Yet, for all the work these attorneys have done, for all the people they've represented and defended, many of us have very little knowledge of who these attorneys are, or how widespread across the country and within the Movement they are.

Marlise James has written *The People's Lawyers* in an attempt to clear up the ignorance and confusion that surrounds the "People's Law Movement." The need is real, and Marlise has tried mightily to fill that need. But look at the scope of her task! There are hundreds of attorneys working through all kinds of law firms, collectives and communes, and they are everywhere in this country. How does one go about presenting the incredible amount of information that now exists and needs to be conveyed? Well, Marlise has tried two methods, and, while they both involved a tremendous effort on her part, somehow they don't always work—in some ways they tend to cloud the issue rather than shed light on it.

First, she tried to organize her book either around a particular attorney and the type of Movement law he/she represents, around a law organization and some of the people who made that organization work, or around a selection of the country and some of the attorneys and legal organizations working in that section. The result is that I often found myself confused as to Marlise's intent in each chapter. Did she want to concentrate on the attorneys or the organizations, and what kinds of law do these people practice (most of the firms handle a wide variety of cases)?

The second method Marlise used to develop the book was to leave herself out of it as much as possible, and to allow the attorneys to speak for themselves. She had interviewed many attorneys and she transcribed their responses to her questions, without also transcribing the questions. But the book too often got sidetracked into long passages of attorneys' opinions and speculations without sticking to the point, which was to develop a perspective on the law being practiced by these "People's Lawyers." Another problem arising from this method was that she didn't rearrange the transcriptions, so that I found myself, at each new paragraph, asking the question which pattern had shown was next on Marlise's list. The repetition was somewhat wearisome after awhile. In some cases, the transcriptions became confusing in an amusing way. In one section of the book, Marlise had interviewed members of the People's Law Office, a commune in Chicago. Anyway, in a spirit of preserving the collective thinking of the commune, Marlise attributed none of the quoted material to anyone in particular. At one point, I had gone two paragraphs into a transcription where the speakers had changed before I realized that not only were the speakers two different people, but they were two different sexes as well.

Finally, there are two other problems I had with the book. Marlise has a frustrating habit of mentioning cases and people in an offhand way without filling in any of the pertinent details about them. For instance, she tells about John Butenko, an American engineer charged with espionage. Leonard Weinglass (of Chicago Eight and Ellsberg-Russo fame) defended Butenko and the trial became the longest espionage trial in U.S. history. But what was the outcome? In another instance, Marlise mentions that Leonard Boudin of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC) defended Judith Coplon in an espionage case, and Rockwell Kent in a freedom of travel case. There is no other mention of these names and I'm still not certain who they are, though I think I've heard of Judith Coplon.

There is one other nitpicky gripe I have. Given the large number of names, law firms and collectives, cases and other data, I think the book demands an index. If you were ever to use this book to locate source material, you'd be lost without an index. Perhaps future editions will include one. I hope so.

But for the few shortcomings, *The People's Lawyers* is a fascinating book. Marlise introduces us to some articulate, hard working, interesting people. They often disagree with each other's methods, lifestyles, and opinions about the viability of courts as instruments of social reform. Sometimes, their disagreements border on contempt for each other. But they are all dedicated to making the law work for the people. The pictures of certain attorneys, like Jerome Cohen of UFWOC, are exceptionally vivid and expertly drawn.

Marlise James has put a lot of effort into making this book. I think if it had appeared as a series of articles in a major daily newspaper, she'd probably win a Pulitzer Prize.

And you learn all sorts of nifty little things in this book. Did you know that when Clarence Darrow represented John T. Scopes at the famous "Monkey Trial" in Tennessee in 1925, Darrow was working under the auspices of the ACLU? Ain't that sump'n'? —Mike Abell

# People's Bulletin Board

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

**HANG IN THERE**, an album by HOLLY NEAR. The songs, born of experiences travelling with the FTA Show and with the Indochina Peace Campaign, speak of war, women, and change. (\$3.50) Redwood Records, 565 Doolin Canyon, Ukiah, Ca. 95482. Airmail with your holiday card enclosed (\$4.50).

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**SAY GOODBYE DICK!** Bumperstickers—35¢. Inquire about bulk rates. Checks to N.J. SANE, 324-W Bloomfield Avenue, Montclair, N.J. 07042.

Noted craftswoman Karin Thies DIGLA will conduct three workshops, covering a variety of basic techniques in macrame, off-the-loom weaving, pottery, making simple gifts and creative gift packaging. The workshops will be held at WRL headquarters, 339 Lafayette Street, from 1 to 4 p.m. on November 24, December 1, and 8. This is a benefit for the WRL so, a minimum contribution of \$25 is required for admission to any one of the sessions. Call (212) 228-0450 for info.

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

**NO AMNESTY FOR NIXON** stickers 18"X3" 5/\$1, 100/\$10, 1000/\$50. N.A.F.N., Box 804, Adelphi, Md.

Two Chilean university students are in need of jobs here in New York. If any WIN readers can offer them employment or refer them to someone who can, please contact Jonathan Lee, 706B Carman Hall, Columbia University, N.Y.C. 10027.

Prisoners collecting Stamps—Donations of Stamps, Albums, Books. Anything Philatelic Needed. Terry L. Flower, P.O. B. 2304 Station B, Lincoln, Nebraska, 68502

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are several lines from a Christmas meditation by Thomas Merton: "Into this world, this demented Inn, in which there is absolutely no room for Him at all, Christ comes uninvited." The cards are 10 for \$2, 100 for \$15 or 500 for \$60. Add 10% for postage and handling, and send payment with order. A brochure of other cards (as well as books and other gifts) is sent on request. Write:

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