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PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

WOMEN

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Leah Fritz: Women and Religion
Martin Luther King Memorial in Atlanta
Nonviolence and the Mid-East
More FBI Documents Revealed
February 2, 1974/204



Photo by Peter Goin/North Country ANVIL

LETTERS

Paul Johnson makes the point (WIN, Sittin-In, 12/20/73) that refusal to do personal harm to anyone has very little to do with the need for nonviolent world change.

He brings up the what-if-someone-were-raping-your-wife question that us paceniks have heard from every little audience (on Peace Walks, etc.) that ever came to hear our strange doctrine.

Best answer I ever managed with it was: What if it were your brother or best friend that was the rapist? You would, of course, perhaps, be concerned about both parties if you held affection for each. That is, whatever I did, which would depend on exactly what was happening, I hoped I would act in such a way as to injure no one. Not take advantage of the licence to do bodily harm that the law provides in certain situations. Not get angry. Anger, I would say in those days, never helped at all—in any given situation I can do better if I am not angry. Very violent men usually know that too; a calm exterior at all times. Very often uptight inside. How we '50s pacifists were. Still, we always made our tactical suggestions: Unilateral Disarmament—Complete Withdrawal, and pointed out that these would only be to behave sensibly. That you didn't have to be a pacifist to be in

favor of an end to this (whatever) war of armament.

But Paul, the need to point this out does not make us change our religion. A separate matter. Tolstoyan Pacifism—a narrow sect that believes itself in possession of the true way—the only true way.

It is not that one goes limp. Going limp is the barest beginning, to get the police, or whoever, to stop beating on your head. It is the talking that you do that counts—the struggle to be heard, speaking quietly to angry folks, speaking sensibly and in friendliness. Knowing that the worst those who misunderstood me could do was kill me—that there were far worse things I would be doing to myself if I cooperated with injustice, surrendered the right to say and do what I thought was right. If your conscience demands it, said we, refuse to pay taxes for war. (We thought the first five words would keep us out of jail by stressing the religious approach—we were, I think, scared to present a radical program. Staff tended not always to mention its own political views—to speak down to an audience assumed to be less politically sophisticated.)

So the emphasis was always your personal decision (ala Billy Graham) to break laws that required one to do harm to your brother. To go in armies or pay for guns.

These days I do get angry. Accept Goodman's pacifism with fistfights. The idea is not to deny the animal nature, but to

loose it—it is a gentle, clever beast.

Animals do not kill their own as we do.

But a fist is not a gun. Not that I challenge the right of others to carry guns, to defend themselves. In the Civil Rights South of the early '60s, our hosts, in whose homes we stayed, often had (almost always had) guns.

People "believe that governments, with their armies and police forces, are a necessary evil," not because pacifists get their heads beaten in but because the family structuring they endured has built a need for authority into their heads. Whether you and I shoot, back or not we will not change this pattern. Any plan for a better society based on "pacifism as a majority position" within a reasonable length of time (that is to say, before the end of the world from industrial disease) is not a practical way to go about getting to the sort of society that I think we both have in mind.

You say, Paul, that the anarchist side of your pacifism has won out over the non-violent side. You have, indeed, become more anarchist, but not in the ways that you list—it is nothing to do with guns. You live in, founded, an autonomous community "somewhere in New Mexico", that's a very anarchist thing to do. I don't know at all how many folks there are there now. Heard many stories of the growing pains of a few years ago, read yr bk.

A very anarchist bk. I thought I could see your character and its changes clear

beneath the requirements of the genre. It was the only one out of that whole batch of books that folks were writing that had any human agony of a genuine nature. One of the characteristics of true art is that it conveys suffering. Congratulations.

Did not have any guns in it that I recall. You can be a smallholder defending his land-which-he-loves. It is a very American option, if old-fashioned. But it is not radical. You support with that gun, also, the protection of owned property from the desires of the property-less at all levels. If your action does not build toward the abolition of the private ownership of productive property (land or machine) it is, by definition, not radical action.

You are free to abandon pacifism as a religion; but not the realization that in a society of guns we are ruled by those with more guns.

If we are not to begin now to build the society of no guns, then when do you suggest? We have very little time. Or, to be realistic, we can not do it in the time remaining before catastrophe. We will have to do it after catastrophe.

That's why all the little survival-units, like yours, scattered across the country, are so important. They are the revolution. That's why it hurts me to see one of them pick up the gun. —ERIC WEINBERGER

W. Newton, Mass.

THE AUTHOR RESPONDS:

My initial reaction to the letters (1/17/74) in response to my truncated polemic for "Sittin' In" (12/20/73) is still the strongest: what totally different worlds we do live in, you and I. Everyone, except Mark Morris, naturally assumed I was talking all the while about the anonymous, incidental physical violence (muggers, burglars, etc.) that I thought I had gone to sufficient pains to distinguish as one of the reasons why I find urban existence so untenable. What I meant, when I said "I'd very simply shoot the bastard," was the charging-rhino sort of situation: "very simply" because it would necessarily be now-or-never (sorrow nad the shakes come afterwards), and "bastard" because such terms come naturally to my lips in moments of considerable stress, such as those I had in mind. But "bastards" are people too, to me, as are machos (an epithet, I've found, you don't sling around loosely if you've ever encountered the genuine article, unless you're the type who also calls cops pigs and anyone who disagrees with you a fascist).

If it's merely a question of some poor junky after my money (hah!), my TV set (double hah!), or my virtue (!?!), I grant you, there's usually plenty of room to exercise imagination and compassion; not so with some berserker who sees only a handy surrogate enemy to wreak his instnat vengeance upon.

We live in an area with somewhat less than five people per square mile, and nobody's anonymous, although, assuredly, not everyone is friendly. The commonest felony prosecuted is probably homicide-while-intoxicated, and the stiffest sentences for it that I've heard of are two-to-three years, mostly unserved. Every family has at least one gun, and a lot if not most folks take one with

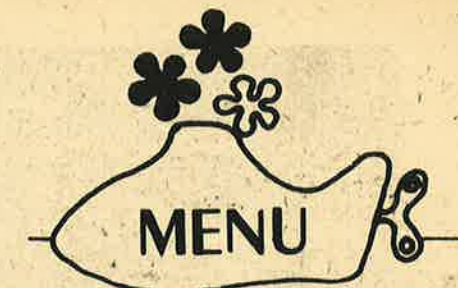
them, wherever they go (perfectly legal here, handguns or whatnot, so long as it's either unconcealed or unloaded.) If this sounds like a Hollywood western, friends, well yes, it can be like that sometimes. But we certainly wouldn't exchange it again for what you have to put up with in New York, Chicago or wherever.

On reading my own piece over, I was aware most of all of what I didn't say, and how sloppily I worded almost everything I did. The original was half again as long; I approved the drastic last-minute cuts, and so can't blame Maris or anyone else, but I realize now that they made next to nonsense of my entire argument.

Just for instance, I ended with perhaps 300 words on guns themselves. Admittedly, this was not nearly enough to begin to penetrate a subject on which almost everyone is so vehemently and irrationally pro or con, but without that section, my single bald reference to "the several loaded guns we keep in our home" was bound to mislead completely. Our guns are primarily meat-making tools—for hunting and slaughtering our own stock; and we keep them loaded because a) what good's an empty gun when there's a hawk or a weasel in the chickenyard, and more importantly, b) that's the safest way to keep them. It took me quite a while to be persuaded to this position, but think for a minute: it's either the gun that was thought to be empty, or the head that was empty, that blows accidental holes in people. So, treat every gun as always loaded (and don't try to kid yourself that you will, if it usually isn't), and also stay clear of jerks who don't do this (e.g., out of woods full of city hunters in deer season). Guns are plenty dangerous, sure; but both statistically and actually, any motor vehicle or farm equipment or home workshop machinery is more so. We all know how to handle, load, and fire every gun we have, and where each and its ammunition is kept. In answer to Mark's queries, we haven't yet, and sincerely hope we never have to shoot any human being, but we realize that situations without alternatives short of very weirious harm to ourselves can occur.

A few words concerning the editorial not on "the martial arts" as an "effective answer" to personal attacks: I'm sure it wasn't intentional, but it seems to me that the question here was phrased in a biased manner, bound to influence any judgement of the worth of any form of self-defense, violent or nonviolent. The real, continuing function of such weapons or abilities is not to go around trashing muggers and other bad guys right and left, like an old-fashioned comicstrip hero; it's to make such attacks not happen at all. Just as fear, insecurity, and indecision during crisis seem to attract and amplify the potential violence in others, so self-confidence (the real thing, not just cockiness) repels and diminishes it. In other words, people who truly know they can take care of themselves somehow, whatever the circumstances, almost invariably don't get attacked in the first place.

—PAUL JOHNSON
Aigunlugar, NM



February 7, 1974

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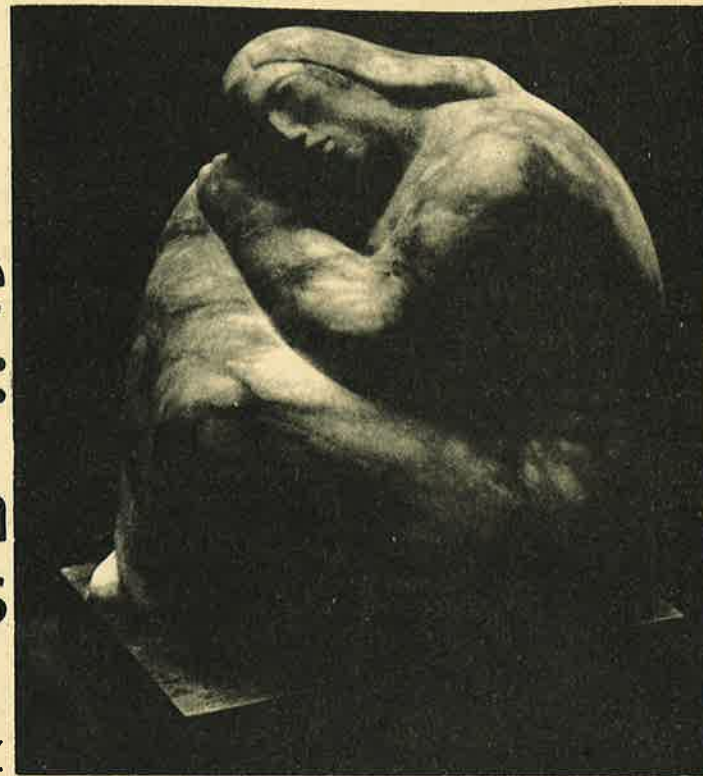
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WIN is published weekly except for the first two weeks in January, 2nd week in May, last 4 weeks in August, and the last week in October by the WIN Publishing Empire with the support of the War Resisters League. Subscriptions are \$7.00 per year. Second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

Thinking Like a Woman, II: Musings on Man and His Gods

by Leah Fritz



Cleo Reiger

Once, early in the '60s, I paid to attend a lecture by LeRoy Jones. He spewed froth all the venom which had collected in his soul from a long, cruel history of white villifications toward blacks. Everybody who was there listened with respect and took his pain to heart. Whites on the left have been spoken to forthrightly by blacks, and the response has generally been one of increased respect and empathy. Radical white men do not speak of the black movement for freedom as "Black Lib." Minstrel shows have ended and you would probably have to read a KKK magazine to find any cartoons making fun of full lips and kinky hair. Black people are no longer a joke in America—however far they still may be from achieving full liberation.

A few women have now arrived at the kind of consciousness which moved Fannie Lou Hamer to say for her black comrades, "I am sick and tired of being sick and tired." We are hurt and, yes, angry. We have been abused for thousands of years by men of all races, nationalities and religions. We have been abused consciously by evil men and unconsciously by good men.

It is the good men I am trying to reach with these essays, just as it was the good whites Jones and others fairly successfully moved.

In order to change their way of feeling things, good people must accept responsibility for the evil they have done and continue to do. There is little point in rushing to make amends out of half-perceived guilt. The result of such impetuous, guilt-allaying action is to expect immediate gratitude and to be dismayed when it isn't forthcoming.

Women will be angry at men for a long time to come, and the anger is likely to increase as the bones are thrown to us, because what we are getting is very little and very late.

Some men are now ready to give us half, or almost half, the pie. This is a step in the right direction, but it is important for men to see that they have made the whole pie rotten, and it is not their pie that we want but our own. For their sake as well as ours, I reiterate, women must be allowed—no, begged—to make a new pie. To organize society anew. To use our genius for socializing and domesticating to make the world positively peaceful, positively liveable. It is time for the arts of womankind to flourish and for men as well as women to enrich themselves by these arts.

We have too long been included in and confused by the generic term "man," as in "All men are created equal," and "Man's inhumanity to man." We can see from the original Constitution of the United States that the generic term wasn't meant to include either women or other oppressed groups. And I do not accept responsibility for "Man's inhumanity to man," although I am obviously included in the victim end of that phrase. But perhaps not. Men have been so blinded to the existence of women as a part of what they call humanity that they may not consider it of any real importance that man has also been "inhuman" to women.

But how, anyway, can man be "inhuman"? By man's own definition, to be human is to be a man, and to be a man is to be human. Who but man has invented and perpetrated such evils as mass murders, castrations, gas chambers, electric chairs, "Chinese" tortures, racism, antisemitism, witch burnings, "an eye for an eye," rape, taboos regarding homosexuality, hypocritical laws against prostitution, money, fame, competition, tyranny, wars, guns, bombs, revolutions, counter-revolutions, power, coup d'etats, brainwashing, harems, slavery, armies, football, boxing, wrestling, fraternal initiations? Rarely have they con-

sulted women. The name Ilsa Koch comes to mind—but is the story about her true or apocryphal? And while the tale of her lampshades is certainly obscene, she did not order the deaths of the people whose corpses she made use of.

Men are very quick to point to the opposite side of the coin. In defense of the accomplishments of tyranny Harry Lime says in the movie *The Third Man*, that during four-hundred years of democracy, Switzerland only produced the coo-coo clock. But, of course, during the inquisition we had Michelangelo and Leonardo and Galileo, and just before the holocaust, Freud and Marx and Einstein. The names of the benign geniuses women must conjure with—not least in importance Jesus and Moses and Thoreau and Ghandi! More: Shakespeare, Rembrandt, Beethoven, Einstein, Ozu. . . all of them men! How richly they have added to my pleasure and understanding. Their names are forever engraved on my consciousness, these men who rose to greatness on the backs of slaves. You say many of these men never had slaves? But they all had women to clean for them and cook for them and relieve them of drudgery.

In my own family, one grandfather was a poet, the other a scholar, my father an architect, two of his brothers lawyers. His sister? An eccentric! I think of the rabbi of my childhood, immaculate in the pulpit among the men, while I sat upstairs in the women's balcony, clutching the prayer-book I had been awarded from his hands for good work in Hebrew studies. How cruel was that kindly man! How brutal that religion which taught me justice, charity, dissent and martyrdom—and how to cook chicken soup. These men of wisdom who encouraged and discouraged me with the same gesture!

And still I am encouraged and denied. Still I wait judgement tensely, apprehensively from men who barely acknowledge my existence, while they glory in their own. Men whose perceptions, sensitivity, intelligence are often clearly inferior to mine, according to their own hierarchical standards. Men who, before my full indictment is written, call me castrating, paranoid, hysterical—epithets they never laid on LeRoy Jones.

As it happens, I did not need the synagogue to teach me charity and martyrdom, my mother exemplified them both. *Only the more lurid acts of masochism are learned from religion.* Incapable of simple womanly gentleness and patience, our religious fathers require starvation, sexual abstinence, "turning the other cheek," self-flagellation—a whole galaxy of melodramatic self-denials.

There is one biblical horror story that I've never been able to shake from my mind. Maybe it is the essence of all female victimization by male religions. Truly I don't know what psychological significance it has for me, but it was one which left me murmuring to myself as a child "Why? Why?" and I have never discovered a satisfactory answer. It's the story of Hannah who sacrificed seven children rather than have them kneel before a "false" god. Then, when she begged to be killed herself, the king postponed her murder for a day out of some perverse sense of "kindness."

Now why the hell did she care which gods her children knelt to? What slave mentality drove her to such martyrdom for *any* master? What good did that demanding, jealous Jehovah ever do for her? I prefer

the modern story of Sojourner Truth who used her wits to lead her people out of slavery. I prefer Sojourner Truth to John Brown, who wound up getting everybody killed.

I am not unmindful that in this man's world risks must be taken for the sake of survival and a life that's worth living. But martyrdom, like war, argues to me a lack of mental agility. If the tryant's game is throwing Christians to the lions, avoid playing that game. Because the next game will be Christians burning Jews and witches.

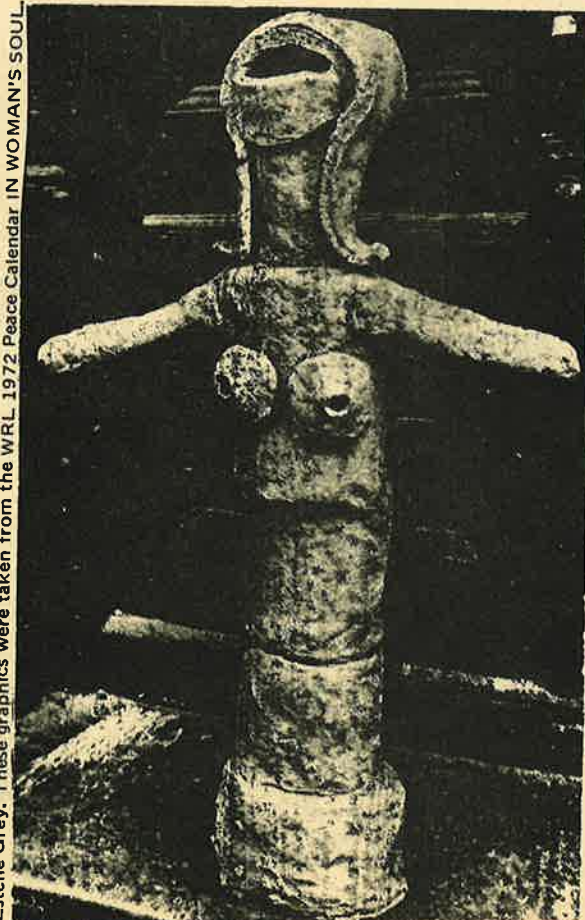
Am I saying that many men and women have died in vain for men's sacred causes? Yes, I am saying that. Many parents learned belatedly that their sons died in Vietnam for an evil reason. This knowledge is hard to take. But there may be not good reason to die for any man's cause. Or for any woman's.

I mourn the death of Martin Luther King, but it was not his death that made him good in my eyes. It is the poetry of his and Coretta King's life, their love and concern for people, their wisdom which led them never to end communication with the tyrants, to walk in dingy for a more loving world and to turn marches back when it looked as if martyrdom would be the end. The blessed motherly feeling for children they had, leading them into jail but being ever so careful for them there. And leading them out again safely. His death was another blot on man's record, but no more a glory to him than the casual, everyday slaughter of many black people in this country is a glory to them, or all the murders of innocent women at the hands of outraged "lovers," on abortionist's



Shay Rieger

Estelle Grey. These graphics were taken from the WRL 1972 Peace Calendar IN WOMAN'S SOUL



filthy operating tables or in the thousands of rape-murders which occur each year are a glory to these women. He didn't seek death to prove he was some kind of a saint, and death could not ennoble a life which was already noble. His death, if anything, brought on a kind of bloodlust he would have avoided at all costs.

And Coretta—what has become of Coretta? Her gentle work goes on in the south. From time to time there is an appeal, one of those horrid direct mail things without which I suppose no work of charity can get along in this man's world. She continues where "her husband left off"—but Coretta was always actively there! Coretta with her own beautiful identity working for peace. Coretta with more charm than Abernathy, more modesty than Martin, and a family to raise. Coretta believing, perhaps, in a certain aspect of Christianity but offering up no more martyrs. Coretta without the "Rev." in front of her name.

I am rambling on emotionally here, because I want to reach feelings. I want men to understand what Joseph Conrad called "the horror" of the world they have made and perpetuate. That some men are able to evade the worst evils of a gruesome tradition of murder and victims and spurious glory is to be commended. But we can no longer rely on "exceptions" as leaders.

The world is too frenetic under men's rule, too full of constipation and violent catharses. Too full of angles, too lacking in curves. Too erratic with genius, too wanting in sense, Too worshipful of lightning, too unappreciative of mists.

Man has outstripped the thunderbolt with his weaponry and women are weary of the gods. A strange thing is happening in our movement. We are growing softer and more sensitive. We are enjoying each other's company, the womanly talk which has not been drowned out by all your media. We are not making rules or working out heavy tactics for taking over power. We are simply making friends, sympathizing with each other's problems, helping each other to cope. We take heart in the knowledge that we are, after all, a majority, and it may be enough in the beginning to smile knowingly to one another in the presence of men.

As Bob Dylan sang in such a different context, "You don't know what is happening, do you, Mr. Jones?" If men will not acknowledge us as people, that disturbance may simply be obviated by our own acknowledgment of each other. We have resurrected the old grapevine, the kaffee-klatch and, in some cases, the sewing circle. Powerful forces, these, not to be taken lightly. We will not penetrate with lightning thrusts but infiltrate as mist reaches bone. Some of us will retrieve mystery and the secret knowledge of women which often reveals itself not in tears but in a case of the giggles. After all, what is funnier than the pompousness of men and their gods?

I am suddenly shaken, myself, with a kind of wild, heretical laughter which I could only confide in an anarchistic magazine. It's a kind of sick joke, but Jesus has been dead for so long, he won't mind. It's just the image of Jesus' last gasp to the monster he created: "God, why hast thou forsaken me?" And Mary, knowing full well, waiting patiently to take her mad son down.

Leah Fritz thanks all the people who responded so encouragingly to her last article.

ENERGY CRISIS HITS ROCK MUSIC

The record conglomerates are planning on using the highly touted "energy crisis" as a reason for an across the board, dollar a record price hike. Albums that now list at \$5.98 will list at \$6.98 at most companies within a few months. Columbia and Capitol lead the way during the peak record season in December with strong artists, Dylan, Santana and Ringo Starr, all marked up to the new price.

Most Americans have come to the realization that there is no shortage of petroleum, which the record companies use as a base for vinyl. Profits in every oil company were up last quarter while, according to the *Washington Post*, some oil companies were actually exporting oil overseas as the American price went up as a result of the shortage. The big record moguls decided to go along with the planned scarcity created by the oil industry to increase a few people's profits.

In the record companies as well as the oil companies, they hardly need to increase profits. Capitol records, one of the first companies to increase the list price to \$6.98, has reported that its profits for the last three months of 1973 were an indecent 608%. They can only be expected to increase with the new markup.

The "vinyl shortage" promoted in tandem by the big oil companies and the record conglomerates is a textbook example of how monopoly capitalism works. It isn't just the oil companies, or the record companies, or even Nixon who is screwing us over. It is the monied interests in general.

Six months ago, before the newspapers were filled with stories of "shortages" of gasoline and toilet paper, they were full of stories about the weakness of the American dollar, particularly when compared to the hard currencies of the world, like the German mark and the Japanese yen. Today, with the Rockefeller money people (David Rockefeller at Chase Manhattan) acting in concert with the Rockefeller oil people (Standard Oil), the world oil "crisis" has hit two countries even harder than it has hit the United States. Which two countries? You guessed it. The value of German and Japanese currency has dropped due to the unavailability of oil while, at the same time, the value of the American dollar has risen. And so we see how the American monopoly capitalist system works. Instead of producing for need, it operates with planned scarcity as the motivating economic force. In the case of the record industry, the planned scarcity of vinyl's petroleum base is used as the reason for raising the price of records.

All of this sets one thinking about the necessity of an economy based on planned surplus rather than planned scarcity. Nothing, at this point in time, could seem more logical. A real, American movement for a democratic socialist economy could begin with a drive for nationalization of the oil companies.

Imagine. An economy where artists are treated as people, not commodities, and products are produced and priced according to surplus and need.

In the music business, anti-profit record stores are springing up all over the country. And a significant dent is being made at the point of production by Rounder records, 185 Willow Avenue, Somerville, Mass.



David Gahr/CREEM

Collectively run and anti-profit, Rounder has produced about 30 albums, most of which other companies would not produce. The basic royalty for the artist is 50% per album, compared to the 2-5% agreement for most of the artists on the conglomerate labels. The Rounder collective, which is an IWW shop, says that they are "trying to show that worker control can be a productive reality and a true alternative to the capitalistic organization of work."

While the Rounder collective treats its artists well, big companies like Columbia continue to put the dollar sign ahead of art. To punish Dylan for signing with a competing company (Warner-Elektra-Atlantic's Asylum), Columbia records recently released some of his more mediocre stuff—songs that didn't even make it on *Self-Portrait*, one of his worst albums. The artist's wish not to have the songs released was not taken into account—only the stakes in the corporate power game mattered. Dylan became, ironically, a "pawn in their game."

But, in the long run, the record buyers are always the pawns. And nobody wins.

Except, of course, the big money people.

—Brian Doherty

CONTACT:

Bread and Roses Collective, 1734 20th NW, Dupont Circle, Columbia (DC) 20009, for information about starting an anti-capitalist record store.

Brian Doherty is a member of the Bread and Roses Collective, a non-profit record store in Washington, DC.

Martin Luther King Center Rising in Atlanta

ATLANTA—Two days before what would have been Martin Luther King, Jr.'s 45th birthday, Eugene Duffy, a Morehouse College sophomore and student trustee, sounded the alarm at a campus rally:

"It's become very fashionable to say that the student movement is dead. . . and when they asked me how many buses to order to go to rally for the memory of Dr. King, I said maybe ten. And they said can't you even try 20, it's only 800 people. And I said, sadly to say, that's all. But if they were giving out free tickets to the benefit concert with Sly and the O'Jays and Albert King, how many buses would we need? Maybe 50? And if they were giving out free weed and wine, how many buses would they need?"

Duffy talked about student indifference, the concept of education for "me". He wondered why there were so many rapes at Atlanta University—what had divided the community, and alienated it from its upwardly mobile youth?

"Students from AU fought and died downtown for our rights to vote and go where we wanted: if we were fighting and dying now, how many would be sitting in the dorms drinking wine and playing cards? When Dr. King was here, obviously he didn't pursue a degree just for 'me'. When Dr. King was here he must have had in his mind, obviously, that he was going to help who he can, when he can, where he can, not ask how much can I get out of it. Where is the legacy Dr. King left with us, the student?"

* * * *

In the dizzy rootlessness of America, few people are buried within a hundred yards of their places of birth and work. Martin Luther King, Jr. is one of those people.

The King family wasn't, and isn't, poor—but their wealth was relative. And the political influence of being a comfortable black family in Atlanta was, until recent years, nil. Which is a way of saying that his neighborhood, once the center of the black community and its small professional class, now edges on oblivion. His birthplace on Auburn Avenue—a rambling wooden post-Victorian house, stands empty. A block away, only the Martin Luther King Souvenir and Refreshment Center in a low brick structure, and Lynch's Barbecue, remain, along with a truck parking lot, on two square blocks where his childhood friends lived.

As you move downtown on Auburn Avenue, past King's solitary grave and the plain brick Ebenezer Baptist Church (founded by his grandfather and pastored since then only by his father, brother, and himself) you pass through the center of Atlanta. It's not very different from the main streets of many other black districts in America. Demolished wastelands awaiting promised "redevelopment" surround a few speculative structures: single housing towers here and there, a church-financed medical building, the partially realized accomplishments of unplanned speculation, public and private, that have uprooted thousands of poor people.

Then comes the inevitable expressway, high above the remaining homes and stores, carrying its morning and evening crowds of solitary white males in big cars

through polluted air to the all-white suburbs from their downtown office towers.

Where Auburn Avenue, symbolic main street of a black community now mostly dispersed further south and west, meets Peachtree Street, symbolic main street of the south's financial capital, there's a small city-block size park. There are no trees and no benches in the park: people have a way of congregating where there's shelter and comfort, and those who would come here, so close to Dr. King's Auburn Avenue, are black, jobless, and in many cases hopeless. They aren't welcome; the "new" Atlanta, like the old, is an American city, a machine for making money. Martin Luther King, Jr. knew about Southern cities, or course, and their way of hiding their hopelessness. And he knew the power of economic reprisal, as he knew the mentality of hopelessness. The March on Washington in 1963 was for "jobs and freedom", not a march for the handouts and abstractions of the "new" Atlanta.

If he were alive today, would Dr. King lead a march to this barren park, would he use the responsive litany which Jesse Jackson has in his Chicago services, "I am. . . somebody. . . I may be poor. . . I may be on welfare. . . but I am. . . somebody. . ." And I have a right to sit in the park in my home town. . .

* * * *

The sixth posthumous birthday celebration for Martin Luther King, Jr. was designed to publicize the proposed Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change, to be built where the souvenir stand, barbecue shack, and truck parking lot surround Ebenezer Baptist Church. The Center's proposed budget is ten million dollars. It will include some community facilities: a nursing home, baseball field, small park, and community center. Mostly, however, it is to be a "memorial" where "writers, candidates for advanced degrees, historians, sociologists, philosophers and others who wish to study the performance of the founder of the nonviolent movement for social change in the United States" can come.

There have, of course, been major changes in the South since King died; his associates planning the ten million dollar center behave as if these are fragile and reversible, and they may be right. Rabid segregationist and former Georgia governor Lester Maddox is given a good chance of succeeding Governor Jimmy Carter, a liberal by southern standards. Carter declared January 15 Martin Luther King, Jr. day in Georgia—a proclamation with no legal effect, the legislature having refused to make the day an official holiday. Maddox, his alter ego, recently denounced Carter's plan to hang a portrait of King in the State Capitol. "You might as well hang a picture of Gus Hall in there," Maddox said.

Thus the strategy behind the proposed King center seems to be: keep its purposes vague, the financing impressively large, the big names involved. That way, Lester Maddox or no Lester Maddox (and there's one like him in every hamlet in the south, waiting to rise again) black people will never again have to rely on the mortal godhead of a Martin Luther King, Jr. to obtain elementary decency. The center would be a think tank—action center, backed by a Board of

Trustees featuring such Freedom Fighters as Edmund Muskie, Whitney Young (posthumous), Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Edward Brooke, Hubert Humphrey, and Edward Kennedy.

* * * *

Jesse Jackson isn't on the Board of Trustees. Neither, more significantly, is Hosea Williams, who recently ran against Atlanta's new black establishment for City Council president. He campaigned against continued racial discrimination in downtown and suburban shopping center employment, and racism in the Atlanta police—fourteen black people, most of them unarmed, were killed by police here last year, some of them in circumstances that can only be called executions.

Jackson, Williams, and to some extent, Ralph Abernathy and the still active SCLC, aren't part of the Ten Million Dollar strategy, though they were close associates of Dr. King in his struggles. Their absence indicates the dangerous presumption that the blacks running it won't sell out too far (King, as early as Selma in 1965, had begun to kid Reverend, now Congressman, Andrew Young for his "Tom" willingness to conciliate prematurely. Young, along with King's widow, is the main advocate of the Center.)

The Ten Million Dollar Strategy also calls for an extensive workout for the phrase "nonviolence," used in a way which would almost certainly not delight "the founder" (A.J. Muste et al. forgotten?) of the nonviolent movement in the United States. Over and over again, speakers at the Birthday events repeated the theme, "Do Something New—Make Nonviolence a Part of You." Inevitably, they ignored the hard facts of urban disease as they asked the "criminals" and "violent in the schools" to make nonviolence a part of them. Young and Coretta King sermonized a hundred "business and professional leaders" at a downtown bank tower luncheon about nonviolence, conveniently forgetting that those present already had nonviolence under control, since they have others less scrupled to do their violence for them. The talk of nonviolence, even by Cesar Chavez, who humbly accepted the Second Annual Martin Luther King, Jr. Nonviolent Peace Prize, neglected the collective nature of nonviolence as a tactic.

A King biographer has written, "The consequence of Martin's tactic of massive, peaceful confrontations was that it democratized the attitudes that had, until then been held by a special minority." These attitudes, of course did not become successfully democratized to assuage the fears of businessmen, or for use as a pacification tactic on the unruly—they were successfully democratized to mobilize for change.

* * * *

Inevitably, there is great disagreement about what Martin Luther King, Jr. did and didn't accomplish in his lifetime, and what he would and wouldn't be doing had he lived to be forty-five. The debate now seems more historical than political—the glitter concert and unopposed mass march which were the highlights of this year's birthday celebration seemed more

than six years from King's bitter conflicts with the Johnson administration over the slaughter in Southeast Asia which King courageously denounced. For Andrew Young, Maynard Jackson (Atlanta's slick new black mayor), and Coretta King, another era seems to have begun. An era far different from the one King saw in one of his final talks, "A Time to Break Silence:"

These are revolutionary times. All over the globe men are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression and out of the wombs of a frail world new systems of justice and equality are being born. The shirtless and barefoot people of the land are rising up as never before. "The people who sat in darkness have seen a great light." We in the West must support these revolutions.

—Larry Bensky

Larry Bensky, a former Managing Editor of Ramparts, worked with associates of Dr. King in planning the April, 1967 Spring Mobilization in New York. Since 1971 he has been a reporter and producer for Pacifica KPFA in Berkeley, and is now living in Atlanta.



Brad Lyttle and his Martin Luther King poster and float. Photo by Diana Davies.



Partial Victory for the Peace Movement

by Michael Klare

In a series of unpublicized decisions, the U.S. Congress voted in November and December 1973 to abolish U.S. police training programs in foreign countries and to prohibit any form of assistance to the South Vietnamese police and prison system—including computer services and training at the International Police Academy (IPA) in Washington, DC.

The Public Safety program of the US Agency for International Development (USAID) has conducted police assistance programs in Latin America and other Third World areas since the mid-1950's. Such aid has consisted of outright grants of police and paramilitary hardware (jeeps, helicopters, small arms, riot gasses, radios, computers, etc.), "in-country" training by US "Public Safety Advisors" stationed in each Third World country, and advanced training at IPA and other police schools in the United States. According to US Government documents, USAID spending on this effort totalled \$308 million between 1961 and 1972. Worldwide attention was first focused on this program with the kidnapping of Public Safety Advisor Dan Mitrione by Uruguay's Tupamaro guerrillas in 1970, and the subsequent dramatization of the event in Costa-Gavras' film, *State of Siege*. Public outrage at the coup of Chile and at President Thieu's failure to release 200,000 political prisoners held in South Vietnamese jails and prisons has added to the drive to abolish the Public Safety program. In response to spirited lobbying by peace and social justice organizations (including Indochina Peace Campaign, Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, the American Friends Service Committee) several Congressmen agreed to sponsor bills calling for the abolition of the Public Safety program. Although USAID campaigned intensively against adoption of these measures, most have been passed into law. These provisions are contained in two laws:

The *Foreign Assistance Act of 1973* (Authorization act), passed in Dec., in *Sec. 112*, provides that "No part of any appropriation made available to carry out this Act shall be used to conduct any police training or related program in a foreign country." Exempted from this provision is training at IPA and other police schools in the US, special narcotics training programs conducted by the FBI or Drug Enforcement Administration, and training programs already underway in foreign countries (these latter cannot, however, be extended when present contracts expire). *Section 801* of the same Act requires cancellation of all economic assistance to South Vietnam "unless the President receives assurances satisfactory to him that no assistance furnished under this part [Part V: Indochina Postwar Reconstruction], and no local currencies generated as a result of assistance furnished under this part, will be used for support of police, or prison construction and administration, within South Vietnam." In the Conference Report submitted by

members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and Senate Foreign Relations Committee who adopted the final language of the bill, which forms part of the official record of the Act, it is stated with respect to *Section 112* that "... it is the intent of Congress that present programs being conducted by the Agency for International Development in foreign countries should not be transferred to some other agency of the Government in order to avoid this prohibition. The new language is meant to phase out such programs financed hereunder and the objective should not be circumvented by using other funds for this purpose." (This 'intent of Congress' statement does not have the force of law, but would be critical in any litigation arising from the Government's failure to comply with terms of the Act itself.)

The *Foreign Assistance Appropriation Act* for Fiscal Year 1974, passed in late December, places further constraints on US aid to the South Vietnamese police apparatus. *Section 112* was amended to state: "None of the funds appropriated or made available pursuant to this Act, and no local currencies generated as a result of assistance furnished under this Act, may be used for the support of police, or prison construction and administration within South Vietnam, for training, including computer training, of South Vietnamese with respect to police, criminal, or prison matters, or for computers, or computer parts for use for South Vietnam with respect to police, criminal, or prison matters." This amendment, introduced by Senator Hatfield, extends the prohibition on police aid voted in the earlier Act to include training of South Vietnamese police personnel at IPA and other US police schools, and to cover computer services. (A US computer firm, Computer Sciences Corporation of Los Angeles, now holds Defense Department contracts to provide computer services including training for the South Vietnamese National Police.)

The Conference Report on the Appropriations Act (which, like the one on the Authorization Act, has a bearing on future litigation) has a long statement on US Assistance to Police and Prisons in South Vietnam which rebuts Administration statements that such aid has been terminated in compliance with the January 1973 peace settlement, and confirms the peace movement's contention that such aid continues under the cover of other Government programs. Specifically, the Report notes:

—The existence of political prisoners in South Vietnam is beyond any reasonable dispute. Only the numbers are in question. . . . Reliable and objective sources suggest that there are between 40,000 and 60,000 political prisoners being held. Further, substantial accounts of cases of mistreatment and torture of such prisoners have been authoritatively reported.

— . . . there is a total of \$1,787,000 in the budget for Indochina Postwar Reconstruction which is proposed assistance to the South Vietnamese National Police as identified and acknowledged by AID. [\$917,000 for police training at IPA and \$870,000 for police communications systems in S. Vietnam.] Further, the Agency informs the Committee that the Department of Defense [DOD] will contribute \$10,626,000 in support to the South Vietnamese

National Police, including \$7,519,000 for the replacement of "uniform accessories, spare parts, etc." . . . and \$1,343,000 for "spare parts and accessories" for the Nationwide Combined Telecommunications Directorate [a police-run agency] that is reimbursed to AID by DOD. . . . Thus, in a very major way AID is serving as a conduit for Department of Defense funds providing assistance to the South Vietnamese National Police.

—The Committee is deeply troubled by the acknowledgement that at least \$12,513,000 is proposed as assistance to the South Vietnamese National Police, to be carried out through the auspices of the Agency for International Development. The Committee is further concerned that portions of these funds were initially not made sufficiently clear, being listed under other categories of the budget presentation. Further, the Committee is most deeply alarmed that AID is being used as a channel by the Department of Defense for the provision of very substantial amounts of such assistance.

—The Committee believes that it is not in the best interests of the Agency for International Development or any other agency of government to be identified with the police system of South Vietnam.

—The Committee strongly believes. . . that such assistance to the police and prison systems of South Vietnam should now be totally terminated.

—The amendment would also eliminate that assistance to the Nationwide Combined Telecommunications Directorate which supports the South Vietnamese police or prison systems.

—It is the intent of the Committee that the Agency for International Development (AID) cease functioning as a conduit for Department of Defense programs related to "public safety" functions in South Vietnam. Specifically, the Committee interprets the Senate [Hatfield] amendment . . . as also prohibiting any AID involvement whatsoever in Logistics Technical Support Programs or Public Works General Support Programs insofar as these programs relate, directly or indirectly, to "public safety" functions in South Vietnam, for which AID has received, in the past, reimbursement from DOD for services performed.

In sum, Congress has voted major restrictions on US police assistance programs in the Third World. Still exempted by the two bills are training for non-Vietnamese policemen at the International Police Academy and ongoing Public Safety programs outside Vietnam not due to expire for several years. Also, the bills do not cover police assistance provided by the CIA or the Department of Defense (except that AID cannot serve as a conduit for funds from these agencies). Clearly, the peace and social justice movements in the United States have won a substantial victory in their effort to cut off aid for authoritarian governments abroad, although it is just as clear that much more needs to be done. Legislative action in future years will probably focus on efforts to close the International Police Academy, and close other loopholes in the 1973 bills.

Mike Klare is the author of *War Without End: American Planning for the Next Vietnams* (Random House) and is living near Boston.

NONVIOLENCE IN THE MID-EAST: REPLIES TO BRAD LYTTLE

Brad Lyttle's essay on nonviolent defense in the Middle East (Sittin' In Column, 12/27/73) is the first attempt I have seen to cope with the question of Israel's potential use of nonviolence. Brad presents a simple and intriguing argument for Israel's "transarmament" to civilian defense: "... the Arab position is one of increasing military, economic and political strength. . . Israel's projection is one of increasing mortal insecurity." For a combination of practical (i.e., the alternatives are worse) and moral reasons, Brad argues that Israel must turn to a nonviolent resistance defense, and proceeds to present a simple program that Israel might follow. Unfortunately, it is from the simplicity of this program and that of the rest of Brad's argument that problems arise. The Middle East conflict is probably one of the most, if not the most complex in history. From a practical viewpoint, Israel is in probably the worst position of any country when it comes to adopting a strategy of civilian defense.

The practical theory of civilian defense is based upon a particular theory of political power: "All rulers [including occupation regimes] are dependent for their position and power upon the co-operation, submission, and obedience of their subjects" (This quote is taken from an essay by Gene Sharp written in 1963; for a detailed discussion of this theory of power, see his *Politics of Nonviolent Action*). The applicability of this theory to occupation regimes is based upon the inability of an occupier to run a country without the cooperation of the indigenous population (which in turn assumes that the goal of the occupier is not the expulsion of the indigenous population—I will assume that this is *not* the goal of the Arabs); this inability results from the supposed impracticality of the occupier to bring in sufficient manpower from elsewhere to take over the roles necessary to run the country. The one probable exception to this theory is the Middle East.

The experience of Norway in World War II suggests that an occupying power requires at least a 1:10 ratio of its men to the local populace to effectively control a resisting country; in most cases this is an impossibly high level to maintain. In the case of the Middle East, where the Arabs outnumber the Israelis by at least 20 to 1, the Arabs could probably muster an occupying force with a 1:2 ratio and maybe even a 1:1 ratio. Furthermore, between the indigenous Arabs and the exiled Palestinians, there are probably more than enough persons to come in and take over any roles that the (Jewish) Israelis were unwilling to fill, though at present the Arabs probably lack the necessary skills to do so (they probably will have those skills at some later date). What I am suggesting here is that unlike any other situation in the world, the potential occupiers (the Arabs) could probably run an occupied Israel with absolutely no cooperation from the indigenous non-Arab population. Since the

theory of nonviolent national defense is dependent upon the *need* for cooperation, the theory breaks down in the absence of that need.

This analysis assumes that nonviolence is used in a coercive way to resist an occupation regime. What about the other two mechanisms by which nonviolence operates (cf. Sharp and Lakey): conversion and persuasion (or accommodation)? Generally these mechanisms are seen as something to try before turning to coercion. Thus, normally if coercion is not a viable technique, it is not likely that either accommodation or conversion will work either. In the very long run, conversion might succeed where coercion would fail, but in the Middle East one must consider both the long run and the short run; and there is a serious doubt as to whether a disarmed Israel could survive to see the long run.

What does this analysis suggest for the Middle East? From a purely practical viewpoint, civilian defense at its current stage of development is not likely to be a viable alternative for use by the Israelis given the current situation (the Arabs in areas occupied by the Israelis in 1967, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, might be able to use nonviolent resistance very effectively; it would be difficult for the Arabs to employ civilian resistance in the Sinai since there are few, if any, civilians present in the Sinai). After a period of disengagement during which the problem of the Palestinians is solved, nonviolent defense may well become a viable alternative for Israel. This is not to say that the military alternative is viable in the long run either; on this point I wholeheartedly agree with Brad. In the long run, Israel must find a peaceful, non-violent means to live with its Arab neighbors.

—HERBERT M. KRITZER
Chapel Hill, NC

We are glad to see that the always challenging and enjoyable pages of WIN Magazine have had more material recently on the difficult, painful but critical issues of Israel, Zionism and the Middle East. WIN's willingness to print controversial and maintenance pieces on these topics may very well spark more activism in an area that the peace community has seemed to skirt or totally avoid. In this spirit, we welcomed the appearance of Bradford Lyttle's article in the issue of December 27, 1973. However, in an effort to maintain dialogue and clear up certain confusions, we must be critical of Lyttle in certain respects.

Lyttle urges Israel to "adopt nonviolent resistance defense for basically moral reasons." This assertion tends to ignore the existing realities of the Israeli state. Israel is a Jewish state, based on the maintenance of a *a priori* privileged position for Jews in Palestine. Would Lyttle have Israeli-Jews maintain their privileges but simply change their tactics from military to nonviolent? Our perception of nonviolent action is that to be progressive and not reactionary, it must be linked with a commitment to eco-

nomie and social justice which necessarily includes equal distribution of resources and equal rights for all. Clearly, any non-Jew, especially a Palestinian-Arab, does not have an equal access to resources or equal rights in a state that is *de jure* Jewish. There are countless examples to document this phenomenon. Perhaps the clearest is the Israeli Law of Return, promulgated by the *Knesset* (Israeli Parliament) in 1950. It provides that any Jew in the world has the automatic right to Israeli citizenship. At the same time, thousands of Palestinian Arabs, many of whom lived in the region for generations, are denied citizenship for several reasons: either they failed to perform some technical details of the citizenship law concerning non-Jews (Israeli Nationality Law of 1952) or the Israeli state simply decided by executive decision that a particular person was not entitled.

Social and economic discrimination exists within the Israeli-Jewish community and between that entire group and the non-Jews. The Jews of Israel are essentially from two backgrounds: Ashkenazim (European) and Sephardim or Oriental (Yemen, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Egypt, Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco). Oriental Jews make up the majority of the Jewish population of Israel. However, according to 1969 figures; only 16% are high school graduates; 12% enter the universities and fewer graduate; per capita income is 44% of European income; only 12% of the *Knesset* is Oriental; about twice as many people, often more, are assigned to space designed for Europeans. If Oriental Jews are second class people, then Palestinian Arabs have to be classified third class inhabitants. The entire social structure is geared to benefiting Jews at the expense of non-Jews. Many jobs are available only to those who have served in the Israeli army. Of course, this proviso eliminates for consideration almost all of the non-Jewish population. Thousands of Palestinians from the occupied territories have been utilized as a cheap labor source by Israeli *Kibbutzim*. No land owned by the Jewish National Fund can be leased to a non-Jew. The Emergency Regulations provide for the "legal" dispossession of any village that the government chooses. The above are only examples; the list could go on and on.

During the period of the British Mandate, Palestinian Arabs have engaged in nonviolent, as well as violent, resistance to protect themselves from Zionist settlers and British imperial rule. Throughout the 1920's and 1930's, there were massive general strikes protesting Zionist policies of land acquisition, dispossession of tenants, exclusive consumption of Jewish products, and the British cooperation with these efforts. While it is true that these efforts were unsuccessful and also led to violent confrontations, it is important for the nonviolent community to take cognizance of the fact that these events occurred.

Resistance has continued in modern

times. In the summer of 1972, Israeli Jews joined Arabs in aiding the villagers of Birim and Ikrit who were seeking entrance to their villages after waiting nearly 25 years. The villagers had left their homes peacefully in 1948 and promises were made by the Israeli Defense Forces that they could return in a few weeks. When the weeks became years, the people appealed to the Israeli Supreme Court, won a judicial victory, but then the military blew up their homes and the court reversed itself. There have been numbers of peaceful rallies and protests, but the Israeli government has not budged, citing "national security" (a familiar expression) and the danger of setting a precedent for many other villagers who are in similar positions living both within and without Israel.

Lyttle was wrong when he asserted that the United States "may drop Israel." Israel has played and continues to play an important role for the United States in the Middle East, acting as a brake on the aspirations of the Palestinians and radical Arabs and Jews who constitute a threat to American investments and control of natural resources.

In the December 28, 1973, issue of the *Boston Globe*, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was reported to have told a group of prominent American Jews that the United States was completely committed to the security and integrity of the state of Israel. To hypothesize seriously that the United States would simply drop Israel does not reflect a willingness to rationally assess United States foreign policy formulation. The United States may chastise Israel and force it to make certain territorial and political concessions, but this is not the same as dropping Israel. After all, the American arms flow to Israel remains as massive as ever after the October, 1973, ceasefire. The tax-exempt status of the United Jewish Appeal, the huge fundraising apparatus of the American Zionists continues under the good graces of the American government.

Further, to maintain that the Soviet "side is winning" is simplistic and also does not reflect reality. Sadat threw the Soviets out of Egypt in 1972, has increased political and economic links with the United States, and indications are that Sadat intends to more closely align Egypt within the American orbit (See the *New York Times Magazine*, "The Arabs: Why Now?", Lucius D. Battle, Page 32, October 21, 1973.). Many leading personalities in the Middle East are rabid anti-Communists: Feisal of Saudi Arabia, Quaddafi of Libya, Hussein of Jordan, the Shah of Iran, all the sheikhs of the Persian Gulf states.

The time is long overdue for the nonviolent movement in America to critically examine long-held views and beliefs concerning Zionism, the state of Israel, and the Middle East. There are serious class tensions in Israel. Israel has many political prisoners. As presented in this article, the nature of a theocratic state is inherently antithetical to elementary notions of democracy. A new grouping, the American Congress on the Middle East, will try to conduct a spirited dialogue on the issues of Zionism and Israel. In the next month we will be printing the statement of political

prisoner Rami Livneh to a Haifa court before he was sentenced to ten years in prison for his part in an alleged Jewish-Arab spy ring. For more information on this or other matters or for further dialogue, please write us at 25 Willoughby Street; Somerville, Mass. 02143.

—MARTIN BLATT
—PAULA RAYMAN
Somerville, Mass.

Brad Lyttle's Sittin' In column in your December 27th issue that advocated nonviolent civilian defense for Israel really excited me, since it got me thinking and hoping that such a policy could indeed "work." If only it were tried and proved successful. . .

In December 1972 I participated in a panel discussion at my synagogue on Judaism and war that was based on a column I'd written about Judaism for my school newspaper. After discussing my own conscientious objection and how it stemmed from my perception of the Jewish tradition, I was asked by someone in the audience what I would do if I were Israel's Prime Minister and the Arabs attacked.

First I mentioned a bit cynically, I guess, that the question was difficult to answer since I couldn't begin to imagine Israelis electing me, a CO and a pacifist, as Prime Minister; if they did so, it would be an incredibly different country. But then I suggested that I'd respond to an Arab attack with a policy of nonviolent civilian defense and really felt foolish even mentioning the idea, since I knew that everyone listening thought such a policy foolhardy at best and suicide at worst.

Later in the program a man in the audience got up, commented that relatives of his had been killed by the Nazis and then called me a "punk" for refusing to fight against such people like Hitler and the Arabs. His words were applauded by many around him, but my family, relatives, and parents' friends in the audience, sympathizing if not agreeing with my viewpoints, more or less booed.

After the rabbi calmed everyone down, I replied that I condemned Hitler and murder and oppression as much as everyone in the room, the only difference being that I had a nonviolent way of "fighting back." I concluded, "And if this makes me a punk, so much the better." My family's side of the room cheered, the other side was silent. I heard later that my parents, loving as they are, started crying.

"At the end of the program, a sister of another panelist told me that she liked what I said and sort of felt compelled to tell me so. She was in her early teens.

It was a worthwhile if personally difficult evening, and one which filled me with both hope and despair. Brad Lyttle's article reminded me of all this, and I thank him for daring to be a punk. It's a helluva burden to carry, isn't it? —STEVE BARKAN
Stony Brook, NY

Brad Lyttle's article in "Sittin'-in" (Dec. 27, '73) contains a number of inaccuracies, and a basic misassumption about the Arabs that is unworthy of a peace person.

He assumes there are no doves on the Arab side. He flatly states the Arabs were out to overwhelm the state of Israel. If the Arabs have been impressed by nothing else

in recent years it's that the United States is Israel's strong partner, and that to attempt the total destruction of Israel is to invite direct American aggression. The Arab leaders said this in so many words at the outbreak of the war. They said publicly that the United States would never tolerate aggression against Israel beyond the '67 borders. Therefore the Arabs said they would go as far as the '67 borders and stop. Lyttle is entitled to assume that once the Arabs got a successful offensive rolling they would go all the way. But that is his assumption. He cannot state as fact that the Arabs were going all out against Israel this time.

Lyttle cites "evidence" that this was indeed the Arabs' aim—but on examination the evidence doesn't hold up. For example, he says the Arabs mounted a force big enough to wipe out Israel—*ipso facto*, he says, they were going to do it. He says the Arabs would not have called for aid from outlying Arab states, if they didn't intend to finish Israel off. A look at history will confirm that the Arabs—once they decided to get the occupied territories back—were bound to put together the biggest force they could.

Lyttle, having dismissed out of hand that the Arabs might—as they maintained—only have been interested in getting the occupied territories back, then goes on to paint a grim picture of what the Israelis face now, at the hands of their implacable Arab enemies. He lists two awful alternatives: they must either become hypermilitarized, or abandon the concept of a Jewish national home. He cites one way out for them: to disarm completely, laying themselves open totally to the Arabs, who, presumably, then have no excuse for carrying out their supposed policy of genocide against Israel, the world refusing to permit it.

The flaw in Lyttle's reasoning is that he accepts that the Israelis have a right to the occupied lands. No one accepts that, other than the Israelis. The United States is on record supporting Resolution 242, calling for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories. These territories have to be negotiable, if there is to be peace in the Middle East. How can Lyttle, a sincere pacifist, ignore the alternative of negotiating a way out of this impasse, as is now being attempted at Geneva? There are doves on both sides, Arab and Israeli. Now, when both sides have a healthy respect for each other's destructive capabilities, is the best time to try to negotiate an end to this mess. If, as Lyttle suggests, the Israelis' only alternative is absolute disarmament, then the Israeli hawks are confirmed in their policy of undertaking "hypermilitarization". I don't think that is the Israelis' only alternative. I think there are plenty of doves on the Arab side, Sadat among them, who would settle for getting the occupied lands back. As long as we continue to pay lip service to the stereotype of the Arabs as unregenerate vengeance seekers, we condemn ourselves to sitting by while this endless escalation of confrontation goes on in the Middle East.

—STEVE PELLETIERE
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San Francisco, CA

BATTLE FOR THAI DEMOCRACY

A Student Leader's Account

The rebellion by Thai students in October unified the Thai people and focused their anger and frustration at the corrupt, brutal, arbitrary rule of the Thanom military regime. With the many issues facing the Thai people, it was surprising that the demand for a constitution would spark the upheaval.

As late as May, 1973, the National Student Center of Thailand (NSCT), the largest Thai student organization, was preparing a campaign against US military bases, using exhibitions about the Indochina war and War Crimes Tribunals to be conducted at major Thai universities.

But the plan for a national campaign against US bases was swept aside in June, when nine students were dismissed from Ramkhamhaeng University for satirizing and criticizing the military rulers in a student publication. 40,000 students protested the dismissals and raised for the first time the demand for a constitution.

The growth of the student-led democratic movement continued during the summer and climaxed on October 5, when a former NSCT leader publicly appealed for a constitution and presented a list of 100 important Thai personalities who supported the demand, including members of the ruling class and the Prime Minister's brother. On the following day, 13 activists in the constitutional movement were arrested while leafletting and charged with treason. These arrests led directly to the massive demonstrations and violence which toppled the regime.

Saksan Prasertkul stood at the center of the events in October. He was the delegate from Thammasat University to the NSCT, chief of NSCT public relations and was elected after the overthrow as the NSCT representative for all vocational schools, teacher training colleges and high school students in Bangkok. He later broke with NSCT and founded the Federation of Independent Students of Thailand.

He came to the US at the invitation of the Thai Federation in Los Angeles and Chicago. Jack Nicholl and Alex Knopp interviewed him on December 4, 1973. This article is reprinted from Focal Point, the publication of the Indochina Peace Campaign.

Question: How did your involvement in the events of October begin?

Saksan: Last October, 13 people were arrested for campaigning for a constitution. It was an obvious attempt by the Thanom government to eradicate student activities. They had vowed to use strong measures before. So I organized a demonstration in my university. The demands of the demonstration were the release of the 13 people.

But after we got such a huge crowd on the street—almost a million people—the demand was not only for releasing the 13 people, but also it became a demonstration for a constitution.

We stayed at the University for five days and nights, then sent an ultimatum to the government. They didn't reply, so we marched out of the University on the 13th of October. Once we were on the streets, people joined us until we had almost a million.

Q: Why would the demand for a constitution attract such a large following?

Saksan: Because this government had been in power for more than ten years without being checked by the people. We know they have violated human rights, been corrupt, killed people. They have violated the laws they want the people to obey.

Early this year, we had lots of crises, like a rice shortage while people in the government were smuggling rice out of the country and making money. And many of them have been opium traders. So that started the feeling that this is a horrible government we have, unchecked by the people. One way out is to demand a constitution, a national law to specify what the government can and cannot do and the people's rights to check and investigate what the government is doing.

At first, on the 14th of October, the government released the 13 people and promised a constitution within a year. Yet people were not satisfied. They wanted a constitution immediately or as soon as possible. On that morning there was a little incident: police and students clashed. Violence spread all over the streets, more people were killed and that just generated more violence. That was Bloody Sunday.

Q: Did the students continue to receive support from other sectors of the population?

Saksan: Yes, but people were scared. One way they showed support is financial support. And especially during the demonstration of five days and nights, the money just poured in. On Bloody Sunday, once people learned that soldiers were shooting students, people threw all their guns and pistols to the students and told them to fight. At that time, all the people demanded—although not articulated into a single demand—to get rid of that government.

Q: What happened After Bloody Sunday?

Saksan: There was a coup d'etat within the military. We alone could not drive the government out, they have all kinds of weapons and people. When violence took place, there was a split among military leaders. Finally, the three guys [Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn, Deputy Prime Minister Prapas Charusathira and Thanom's son, Narong Kittikachorn] were forced by their fellow military men to quit. [They later fled Bangkok.]

Most students are naive enough to believe that they themselves overthrew the government, and the military who came to power want them to feel that way. Everybody seems to feel that this was the turning point of Thai history, the beginning of democracy.

Q: Do you agree with that feeling?

Saksan: It depends on how well we score in the second round. The great majority of Thai people seem to be waking up at this time. It is different than the time they were given a constitution by this or that leader. This time people are involved, and they die for it. I'm not sure about the future of democracy, but one thing I'm sure of is that people are becoming more politically aware.

Q: Is the student base capable of carrying out the work of the second round or will new strata have to be involved?

Saksan: The people at large are excited about what has happened, but they are unorganized so it is impossible for them to do any work to lay the path for democracy. Intellectuals are being organized at the moment. We have a union for the protection of political liberty and human rights now, and we have "people for democracy" groups newly organized.

It is wrong if you send intellectuals and students from Bangkok to talk to people in rural areas about the philosophy of democracy, the system of parliament. They want something to solve their problems. So, we are trying to organize them into a credit union, cooperative, groups that are geared to solving other people's own problems.

Q: What is the program of your group?

Saksan: Our principles are, first, to preserve the national institution of nationhood, kinship and democracy; second, to study the country's problems and propose solutions to the government and the people; third, to carry out our activities with the people's interests as the highest priority; fourth, to support the organization of students and people all over Thailand; and fifth, to preserve the sovereignty of the Thai people economically, politically, militarily and culturally.

We are trying to make our members more sophisticated. Then we will have political education for student leaders among highschool students, vocational school students and certain groups of people. Then we will call for student volunteers to live in a far-away province in a remote area for two or three months, in order to learn about people's problems. Then, they will come back to the university with a link with the village.

Q: In what areas have you begun to develop these contacts?

Saksan: At the moment the government is trying to coopt student organizations into government organizations. They know students are going to go to the villages. So they set up a coordinating center you must go through. They say if you go to the village without coordination from this center, they might not be able to protect you. They say you might get shot or killed by a terrorist. So the selection of the area involves a political dimension, not only an economic dimension.

Billboards in downtown Bangkok reveal presence of Western imperialism. Photo from FOCAL POINT.



Q: What do you expect for the future?

Saksan: I dream for a peaceful transformation and that is painful because you must be patient. And it needs a lot of people's efforts to do their best in their positions, and there must be certain groups of reformers to try to coordinate all efforts in Thailand toward the same direction of change.

Q: What if the military tries to prevent this change or block the new constitution?

Saksan: I don't know. Last week, the Thai people were very scared because there were strikes every day. And a military leader vowed, "Okay, we can no longer stand this," or something like that. It would be sad if they committed a coup d'etat again because people are waking up and they are not going to let this dictator come back and exploit and oppress them again.

Then, you have two cases left: a dictatorship—left or right wing. Here I try to find a middle way. To a certain extent, I favor socialism, but not a violent transition. I am also interested in Hinduism, Yoga, Zen. I try to combine spiritualism and materialism.

Q: How much do you emphasize foreign bases as enemies of Thai interests?

Saksan: I give highest priority to your economic penetration and your cultural penetration. Your bases are only the logical conclusion of these two.

Q: What is your message to the American people?

Saksan: Leave us alone. Leave it to the people about which way they want to go. If the United States intervenes in Thailand and makes a coup, there will be a civil war. And if the United States intervenes in the civil war, then there will be another Vietnam.

If we are so poor, and we find that one of the causes is you and the Japanese, and that you have so much interest in Thailand that you can hardly get out. . . then you start fighting and start claiming this is Chinese subversion, Russian subversion, Vietnamese subversion; then a Communist country will take a side, and then you know. . . . So don't do anything at all.

No one can live without the people, even the military. If they want to be dictators, exploiting the people, oppressing the people, they can't live long. Ten years is just a little amount of time in history. Because people will never go back to sleep. They keep waking.

FBI Plot Against The Left

Under pressure of a Federal court order, the FBI has released documents which detail an extensive three year campaign by the Bureau to "disrupt and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership and adherents." The documents—directives from then-FBI director J. Edgar Hoover to regional offices—were made public after a 26-month court battle waged by a Ralph Nader legal group on behalf of NBC newsman Carl Stern. Stern learned of the program from the mention of it in one of the Media Papers as published in WIN. (March, 1972).

The two documents released were the directives in which Hoover first set up the "Counterintelligence Program", called COINTELPRO, and later discontinued it. The Freedom of Information Clearing House won access to the documents in court and the FBI chose not to appeal the decision and handed over the two documents.

In the first memo from Hoover, dated May 8, 1968, the director announces that "the Bureau is instituting a Counterintelligence Program directed against the New Left movement and its key activists." Hoover explains that "the purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership and adherents."

The memo explains that the goal of the program must be to "frustrate every effort of these groups and individuals to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents." Hoover stressed that "no opportunity should be missed to capitalize upon organizational and personal conflicts of their leadership."

Among the suggestions Hoover offers to do the job is to use "the cooperation of reliable news media sources." He also warned that when using the press in this manner, caution must be taken that "the source will not reveal the Bureau's interest or betray our confidence."

The memo makes clear that this was not the only such activity conducted by the FBI but rather would serve "to complement and stimulate our accelerated intelligence investigations." Hoover did warn, however, that this mission was particularly sensitive and stressed that "the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau and appropriate within-office security should be afforded this sensitive operation."

Hoover concluded the directive by expressing his concern that "the anarchistic activities of a few can paralyze the institutions of learning, induction centers, cripple traffic and tie the arms of law enforcement officials." He stressed that "law and order is mandatory for any civilized society to survive" and again emphasized that "the importance of this new endeavor cannot and will not be overlooked."

In a much briefer memo issued on April 27, 1971, it was announced that "to afford additional security to our sensitive techniques and operations, it is recommended the COINTELPRO operated by the Domestic Intelligence Division be discontinued." That memo reported that "at the present time this Division operates several COINTELPROS as follows:

*COINTELPRO — Espionage

- *COINTELPRO — Disruption of white hate groups
- *COINTELPRO — Communist Party, USA
- *Counterintelligence and special operations
- *COINTELPRO — Black extremists
- *Socialist Workers Party — Disruption programs.

The memo states that "although successful over the years" these programs should be discontinued "for security reasons because of their sensitivity."

At first, the released documents would seem like the Pentagon Papers in that they confirm charges leftists have been making about government policy for years. The language, timing and suggestions of the memos, however, offer hints that government involvement in the left might have been greater than even leftists guessed.

The Hoover memo announcing the program was dated May 8, 1969, about one month after the assassination of Martin Luther King (with the black rebellions that followed it) and in the midst of the Paris May uprising and the student rebellion at Columbia University. The memo terminating the program "for security reasons" was issued on April 28, 1971.

The events of that brief three year period were significant, indeed, for the left. Major splits occurred in the Students for a Democratic Society and the Black Panther Party. Campus rebellions peaked during the US invasion of Cambodia in the spring of 1970 with hundreds of schools being shut down, only to have the student movement stunned and shocked by the killings at Kent State and Jackson State universities.

"They told me quite frankly that the Bureau informers within the Black Panthers had been told to align themselves with either the Cleaver faction or the Newton faction and intensify the split," one college professor who had consulted with Bureau officials recently told the *Boston Phoenix*.

Similarly, talk of a new push for a grand jury investigation into the Kent State killings surfaced last fall when an Ohio National Guard commander implicated a civilian undercover FBI informer as having fired the first shot. The informer, Terry Norman, who now is a policeman in Washington, DC was never called before the grand jury which convened right after the killings.

Such information has led people like Peter Davies, the author of *The Truth About Kent State*, to speculate that the killings there were a calculated effort to clamp the lid on student protest. Davies suggests that future historians may find "that Kent State was the worst can of worms in the Watergate era."

Certainly enough information emerged in almost every major conspiracy trial coming out of that period—from the Chicago 8 to the Harrisburg 7—to establish that FBI and government provocation and infiltration were more the rule than the exception.

—LNS

The Committee for Action/Research on the Intelligence Community (CARIC) has obtained copies of the COINTELPRO documents released. People wishing to obtain copies can write: Intelligence Documentation Center/CARIC, PO Box 647, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, DC, 20044; or call (202) 785-8330. Please enclose \$1 to cover the reproduction cost and mailing expenses.

VIETNAM ONE YEAR LATER: THE WAR STILL RAGES

January 27, 1974 was the first anniversary of the Paris Peace Agreement. But there is no peace. The US still seeks a military solution to avert political defeat. Since the peace treaty, almost 60,000 Vietnamese have been killed. The US still pays more than \$1 billion to keep the Thieu regime in power. Included is \$800 million in military aid, including the cost of 6,000 "civilian" advisors who perform military duty; 22,000 barrels of oil per day for daily air and ground attacks on PRG territory; and \$10 billion for police and prisons. 200,000 political prisoners are still held in Thieu's prisons and press censorship and political suppression is almost total. Frances FitzGerald, author of *FIRE IN THE LAKE*, writes that US policy has come "full circle to the same moment of decision in which the Tonkin Gulf resolution was passed in 1964" leading to overt military intervention. What's changed is that three countries have been partly destroyed and a million people have died in the interim. "A lot more will die if the American public continues to pay the war no more attention than it did in 1964."



Photo by Rick Lanborne/LNS

CHANGES

QUAKERS PROVIDE SANCTUARY FOR DRAFT RESISTER

The Friends Meeting of Washington (D.C.) provided sanctuary for non-registrant Bruce Baechler on Wednesday, January 23. Bruce refused to register for the draft when he turned 18 in March of 1973. In November, Bruce asked the Meeting to provide sanctuary for him when his arrest became imminent. The Meeting agreed.

On January 22, the FBI informed Bruce that they had a warrant for his arrest. Bruce agreed to call them the next morning to arrange for the arrest. He called them about 9:15 AM shortly after a called meeting for worship began from the Meetinghouse and told them where he would be. The press was also notified of the sanctuary.

About 50 people came to the meeting. The meeting was powerful and emotional, as people considered their own commitment. About 10:15 AM, FBI agents arrived at the Meetinghouse. They were uncomfortable with the circumstances, including the presence of the press. After about a half hour, they finally came into the room in which the sanctuary was being held.

Two agents, one of whom knew Bruce from a meeting they had had, moved quickly to Bruce and tapped

him on the shoulder. Since he did not choose to leave the meeting voluntarily and go with them, they each took an arm and dragged him away. Bruce's father, who had been sitting next to him, followed. Richard Chanler got up and quickly moved in their way and stood silently. The agents just moved over him. Richard got up, went outside and sat on the agents' car. After the car had gone a short distance and stopped, Richard got off and requested arrest, as he also is a draft resister. The agents simply drove away.

Later that day, Bruce was taken before a federal magistrate and released on his own recognizance. The US Attorney, who had prosecuted Bruce a few months earlier for praying in the White House, vouched for Bruce.

Since Bruce lived in North Carolina when he turned 18, he is to be arraigned in North Carolina in February. He has not yet been indicted. The trial could occur sometime this spring in Greensboro. Bruce plans to defend himself. Plans will be made for supporters to be present at the trial. Anyone wishing to be informed of arrangements for the trial should write White House Daily Meeting, 120 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, DC 20002; or call Bill Samuel at (202) 546-8646 or 546-6231.

—Bill Samuel

SIGNIFICANT RULINGS ON TAXES AND WIRETAPS

Two important federal court rulings—one on tax resistance, the other on wiretaps—were handed down in January.

In what the AFSC characterized as "a landmark decision in judicial recognition of conscientious tax resistance," Judge Clarence Newcomer in Philadelphia outlawed withholding as a method of collecting income taxes from two employees who are tax resisters "because such withholding violates the free exercise of their religion as members of the Society of Friends." Though the decision is limited to religious tax resisters, it sets a precedent. WRL presently is facing government seizure of its bank account for refusing to withhold from its tax refusing employees.

The second decision, which involved WRL and other peace organizations, was handed down by Judge Aubrey Robinson Jr. in Washington, D.C. It maintained that the government must reveal the nature and extent of wiretaps and electronic surveillance of anti-war groups and their

leaders. The government had held that such information should be kept secret for reasons of national security. The suit was filed in 1968 under that year's Omnibus Crime Law, which calls for payment of \$100 compensation for each day of subjection to illegal wiretapping. —Jim Peck

ARMY GEARS FOR AMNESTY SHOWDOWN

Despite Nixon's claims that the Vietnam era has ended, the Army continues to severely punish war resisters who return from exile. On Tuesday, January 22, the Fort Dix (N.J.) command lodged additional charges against Lew Simon and Ed McNally, the Vietnam veterans who surrendered to FBI agents in New York at Christmas to dramatize the need for amnesty. Although their public surrender was watched by millions of TV viewers, the Army now charges that both men were "captured", thus adding an additional year's imprisonment.

Safe Return and FORA (Families of Resisters for Amnesty) are organizing a massive demonstration at Fort Dix in early February. Safe Return officials predict this will be the largest demonstration at an Army base since Moratorium, 1969. At a rally there on January 19, fourteen leafleters were arrested by MPs equipped with attack dogs, despite a recent federal court order declaring Fort Dix "open" to all peaceful visitors. —Safe Return

FARAH STRIKERS WIN BIG

A National Labor Relations Board Judge, accusing the Farah Pants Co. of "lawlessness" and "trampling on the rights of its employees", granted virtually all the demands of striking workers there and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. Farah was ordered to rehire six employees fired 20 months ago for union activities with back pay and to accept the return of the 2,000 strikers at their old jobs. Moreover, the judge assured the ACWA the right to organize and ordered Farah to pay all legal costs, including those of the union and the NLRB. Farah now has 20 days to appeal.

The strike of mostly Chicano workers was accompanied by a nationwide boycott of Farah pants that forced the company to close four plants. —M.J.

RABBLE FROLIC AT IMPEACHMENT BALL

On the eve of Richard Nixon's inaugural anniversary, approximately 3,000 people gathered at the downtown Ramada Inn in Washington to sing, dance, and rally for impeachment. The Ball was organized by the Washington Area Impeachment Coalition with the help of the National Campaign to Impeach Nixon, and, at least initially co-sponsored by the local chapter of the ACLU. But the ACLU pulled out, almost on the eve of the Event, leaving the two Impeachment groups to share the fun and funds of a very successful evening. Entertainment included a local Third World band, Zapata, a former Georgetown street-singer Cassie Culver, DC singer Ellen Deks of the Community for Creative Nonviolence, and good old faithful Phil Ochs, back with the same old songs and two sparkling new 'broad-side ballads' about you know who. Doug Schocke of Peoples Party auctioned off Nixon memorabilia including no parking inauguration signs, campaign buttons, and even a Nixon ceramic urn decorated with Watergate figures. There were costume awards like the Edison Award for the most inventive costume, a Susan B. Anthony Award for the most liberated costume, and a Hoover Award for the most subversive get-up.

Upcoming events for the DC Impeachment organizations include a 'State of the Union' demonstration January 30th, and continuing work to get local groups from all over down to DC for the National Impeachment Lobby-In, February 4th through 8th. For more information, contact the National Campaign to Impeach Nixon, 1404 M Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005, 202-659-1118. —Peg Averill

"THE MAN THE VISITORS 'HATE AND FEAR' THE MOST"

"For the second year in a row, President Nixon topped the list, in a poll of visitors to Madame Tussaud's wax museum in London, as the man the visitors 'hate and fear' the most. He was followed on the list by Adolf Hitler, Jack the Ripper and, in a tie for fourth place, the Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan and Libya's head of state, Col. Muammar el-Quadafi. About half the visitors to Madame Tussaud's are from overseas, many from the United States." —from the NY Times

AIM LEADER LEADS PRIMARY FOR TRIBAL PRESIDENT

"People are ecstatic out here," said a member of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee (WKLDOC), discussing the results of the primary for tribal president of the Pine Ridge Reservation, S.D. on January 22. Of the field of 12 candidates, Russell Means of the American Indian Movement (AIM) came in first with 667 votes, beating current tribal president Richard Wilson who received 511.

The vote was particularly significant because Wilson and Means personified the two opposing sides, on the reservation, during the siege of Wounded Knee last year. Russell Means, an Oglala Sioux from the Pine Ridge Reservation, is a national spokesperson of AIM and, with Dennis Banks, is standing trial in St. Paul, MN as the first of the Wounded Knee "leadership" cases. The run-off between Means and Wilson is to take place February 7. —LNS

B-1 PROTEST BEGINS

On Thursday, January 17, a national Campaign of the American Friends Service Committee to stop the proposed new B-1 bomber system got underway with a morning vigil, with signs and leaflets, at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Fairborn, Ohio. Despite limited organizing and some last-minute changes in the plans, nearly a hundred people from Dayton, Yellow Springs and Springfield, and from Wilmington and Earlham Colleges traveled to the large air base to publicly announce their opposition to the new electronic bomber system which, if put into effect, will cost every American family more than \$1000 in tax money. A planned meeting between AFSC and Air Force spokesmen was cancelled by the Air Force several days before the demonstration, as was a similar meeting with GE officials involved in the bomber planning.

All three Dayton television stations gave very good coverage of the demonstration which proved, among other things, that there is still energy for such action if important issues are at stake and opportunity presented for people to act nonviolently. This was only the start of a significant and sustained campaign. Those who want information about the B-1 system and how to stop it should write to Ronald Young, National Peace Secretary, AFSC, 160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia, Penna. 19102. —Larry Gara

PEOPLE FOR SELF-MANAGEMENT DISCUSS WORKERS' CONTROL

The first annual conference of People for Self-Management, a new group dedicated to workers' control and participatory democracy, attracted more than 125 teachers, students, trade unionists, and people from various radical causes to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology over the weekend of January 12-13. There were representatives of a cooperative in Brownsville and junior executives complaining that they are as alienated as blue collar workers. Members of the US Labor Party came too, and disrupted the proceedings briefly three or four times.

People for Self-Management was organized to work for a radical alternative to the bureaucratic control imposed under both traditional capitalism and traditional socialism. It was founded by Jaroslav Vanek, a theoretical economist who has been working on the general theory of the participatory economy, and some of his students and colleagues at Cornell. More than a dozen papers on participatory economics were delivered or distributed at the conference on topics like worker control abroad, the problems of a self-managed community, and how American industry could be organized on a self-managed basis.

One of the main speakers at the opening session was Irving Bluestone, a vice president of the United Auto Workers. Bluestone has visited Yugoslavia to see workers' control in operation and came away disappointed. Though Yugoslav automobile plants operate under formal industrial democracy, he noted, they still organize their work exactly as General Motors does. Workers' control is not a panacea, he said; it will not make a boring job interesting.

Walter Kendall, a founder of the Institute for Workers' Control in England and a teacher at Nuffield College, Oxford, believes that workers' control is a practical way of implementing libertarian socialism. He told the conference of a number of successful experiments with workers' participation and control. But he agreed with Bluestone that creating a non-bureaucratic society is harder in practice than it sounds in theory. "In real life, to say you are against bureaucracy is like saying you are against sin," he said. "Everybody is against sin, and in my experience they commit adultery as they're saying it."

The discussions between trade unionists and the others at the conference often became heated. AUAW official from Canada complained that most of those at the conference wanted to replace existing unions rather than work with them. Vanek replied that trade unions are not perfect and in the long run he did want to replace them, but he said he wanted the help of the trade unionists in doing it.

The unions were criticized by many conference participants. One of the people from Brownsville told of a black co-op that had been put out of business and its members put out of work by union pressure because it couldn't afford to pay union wages. He said most American unions have consistently hurt blacks and the unorganized.

A student of Vanek's who now works in Yugoslavia pointed out that one advantage of workers' control is that it gives workers an incentive to eliminate featherbedding and even to take wage cuts when necessary to keep an enterprise alive. Over the mutterings of shocked trade unionists and of some of the squarer Marxists, he insisted that heresies like those have enabled Yugoslavia to attain the second highest rate of economic growth in the world.

If you are interested in workers' control, you should join People for Self-Management. The \$2 fee includes a subscription to the *PFSM Newsletter*, published every other month. Write People for Self-Management, c/o Program on Participation and Labor-Managed Systems, 490 Uris Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14850. —Henry Bass

CONSPIRACY NEWS

Donald Freed, the Kennedy assassination expert who wrote the story *Executive Action* has announced a nationwide petition campaign to pressure Congress into opening a public investigation into the JFK killing. According to Freed, investigators have uncovered two suspects allegedly involved in the assassination which resulted—evidence has led many to believe—from a triangular crossfire. The only suspect identified, "Jim Braden," is a Los Angeles ex-convict who was photographed at the scene of the assassination, questioned by police, and quietly released. He is believed to have left the United States.

On another front, Victor Marchetti, a former high ranking CIA staff member, has identified Clay Shaw as a paid CIA contact in the early 1960s. New

Orleans DA Jim Garrison had accused Shaw of involvement in a New Orleans based conspiracy with other CIA operatives involved in the Bay of Pigs, to assassinate JFK, but was unable to prove that contention in court. Garrison has long insisted that CIA harassment has prevented him from pursuing his investigation. Marchetti, whose book on the CIA entitled *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* has been blocked by the CIA in an unprecedented attempt at pre-publication censorship, says that it is possible that low-level CIA operatives engaged in such a conspiracy. According to Marchetti, "If a contingent of that sort within the CIA was involved in the assassination and if the agency learned about such a plot—after it had been carried out—I believe that the CIA would try to cover up the entire affair," which is what Garrison has been claiming all along.

In a related event, Paul Krassner, editor of *The Realist* magazine, has released an open letter to Watergate conspirator James McCord in which he claims that McCord and another member of the Watergate burglary team were involved in the assassination of President Kennedy and in various acts of political sabotage including the 1971 bombing of the Capitol Building.

Writing in response to a letter from McCord notifying him of a libel suit to be filed pertaining to an article in *The Realist* by Mae Brussell which implicated McCord in the assassination, Krassner implores McCord to drop his cover and let the world know how deeply the government is involved in totalitarian practices.

The specific charge against McCord came from this statement by assassination investigator Mae Brussell in *The Realist*:

"Jose Romero, soldier of fortune, was approached by a hired assassination team from the US which planned to kill Kennedy during his 1961 visit to France. Romero definitely remembers Frank Sturgis as one of the representatives from the US. James McCord, according to Louis Tackwood, was in Dallas the day Kennedy was shot, and flown afterwards to the Caribbean. The National Archives have FBI reports indicating Frank Sturgis was a friend of Lee Harvey Oswald and David Ferrie. Sturgis had a Miami arsenal of weapons, and original plans were to kill JFK in Miami in 1963."

Krassner adds that in 15 years of publishing *The Realist* only one libel suit against him has actually come to court and that one he won.

—Various Sources

REVIEWS

SMALL CHANGES

Marge Piercy
Doubleday, hardcover, \$8.95

In the past week, two women I know from New York came to visit me. I had not seen either of them in over a year. The one I think of as strong, capable, original and stable is at a point in her life where she weeps constantly and compulsively criticizes herself, her work, her husband and her four year old daughter. She's pregnant again. The one I'd decided was forever doomed to flounder among grandiose and dogmatic schemes has, in the past year, begun to do exquisite batiks, as part of a women artists cooperative. At the age of forty she looks better than ever. The moral of this story is: growth is, at best, an uneven proposition.

Marge Piercy's new novel *Small Changes* is about this uneven proposition. How people move from A to B to C, growing or shrinking through time and circumstances. How escaping from one trap, the trap of an empty and joyless marriage, for example, inevitably leads to a second and third trap—the trap of the sexual revolution, the trap of rigid ideologies. It is a story about strong, promising young people who are crushed and weak, timid young people who gather strength.

The book has two main female characters, Beth Walker and Miriam Berg. Beth is a slightly built girl from a working class family who we meet on her wedding day. Her wedding gown fits so tightly she can hardly breathe and when she looks in the mirror, despite her mother's attempts to hide her freckles, "her face looked like rough plaster, but they all had to admit, you could still see her freckles." Beth is naive, under-educated, without talent or special skills. Miriam, on the other hand, is a math whiz from an old Left family who, after her first year in college, turns from an overweight, myopic duckling into a buxom beauty. Her first love affair is poetic, exciting and satisfying, while Beth's short-lived marriage is dull and dulling, sexually pathetic. From these beginnings one would expect that to Miriam would go the highest achievements, to Beth would go the pain and failure. One would expect, or at least I expected, that Miriam who begins with so much energy, talent and success would, despite tribulations, end the same. But Piercy doesn't trust precociousness. In her previous novel *Dance the Eagle to Sleep* one of her heroines, a tough, independent, sexually free flowerchild ends up believing fervently in psychoanalysis and school teaching. Piercy mistrusts blazing talent, sparkling nineteen year olds. Instead she opts for slow, quiet, painful and lonely growth processes which, in the end, yield an enduring sense of self and possibility.

Miriam's sexual adventures, her inability to do without love even for a day, her academic success which is bought at the price of being hated and feared by male colleagues wears her out, exhausts her resources. At the age of twenty-five, she is tired of fighting and a conventional marriage seems to offer the one hope—a life of love and security.

Beth runs away from her husband, comes to Boston, gets a job as a typist at MIT and for a long time she lives alone in a tiny furnished room on Beacon Hill where she reads dozens of used paperbacks. She moves into a women's commune which breaks up, then into a guerilla theater commune. By the end of the novel, Beth is a fugitive, living under an assumed name with her lover, Wanda,

also a fugitive, and Wanda's two children. When challenged about her life-style by a male lover, Jackson, Beth replies:

I don't want to face in toward somebody and make them my struggle—not even you, Jackson. I don't want you for my life. With Wanda, we have problems, we fight, but we aren't each other's problem. We work together. I don't want to love a problem. . . I want to love somebody and face outward. . .

Beth and Miriam meet at MIT where Miriam is a graduate student, Beth a typist. Their lives intersect and separate, intersect and separate and around them members of the new Left move and change. Women have total collapses and rise out of their own ashes; women become gay or find a good man or leave a bad man or get indicted. They go back to school or start a school. The men get strung out on skag, become carpenters, teachers, leave one wife, find another. In general, the men suffer less than the women and they grow less.

Most feminist novels (using the term loosely) which have appeared in the last few years are about women alone or women and their problems with men. *Small Changes* is the first novel I have read (and I have not read them all) which deeply concerns itself with women's relationships to each other. Much of the book documents the clumsy but hopeful way in which women are trying to climb over the barriers which separate them—when they succeed, when they fail. Wanda, Beth's lover, angrily sums up the issues:

Women are always trying to push each other into the mother role or accusing each other of taking that over. I won't be the one who has to give and give like a personal soup kitchen and who isn't allowed any weaknesses. Most women act as if they're terrified that some so-called strong woman will make demands on them. Then they'll suddenly be six and in mother's pocket again. I don't want a wife. I don't want to be your loving friend. And I think you're strong enough to carry your share of the load.

Small Changes is intelligent, gripping, painful, and joyful.
—Michele Clark

THE NEW WOMAN'S SURVIVAL CATALOG

Edited by Kirsten Grimstad and Susan Rennie
Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, \$5.00, paperback

After I had read *The New Woman's Survival Catalog*, I was struck by an odd thought, a thought that seemed even stranger as I realized that we are now well into the 1970s. I suddenly comprehended that despite the massive doses of media that barrage us daily, the Woman's Liberation Movement has somehow remained partially in the Stone Age when it comes to communication. Sure, we managed to get our ideology out into the world in books like *Sexual Politics*, leaflets like the *Woman-Identified Woman*, and finally magazines like *Ms.* Even some sketchy news about what was going on outside New York or Los Angeles managed to filter around the country by means of small underground feminist newspapers like *Off Our Backs*. But still the way of spreading vital information was mostly oral and haphazard, to put it mildly.

In fact, women's liberationists are in the communication condition often attributed only to homosexuals in this society; that is, our information comes to us via a "grapevine." When I travel to Florida, Ohio, New England, or anywhere in the US for that matter, I usually ask my New York contacts to find out if they know of any women's groups or far-out women I can rap with wherever I go. Inevitably, through this oral searching process (often complicated by wrong addresses, incomplete names—and sometimes arriving

"cold" and thus having to start looking on my own in a strange place by asking strange people), I do manage to find the type of women I am seeking and usually have an "up" experience as a result.

It certainly seems that the editors of this catalog have done a lot of this same hard searching, and the result will move us out of the Stone Age and save us a lot of footwork and time.

Nevertheless, I do not want to leave the impression that this work is merely a women's "yellow pages," for the catalog goes far beyond that. *The Survival Catalog* is inevitably to feminists what the *Whole Earth Catalog* is to the rest of humanity, and the book gives descriptions of women-owned businesses, runs short reviews of books and albums, interviews women involved in various activities (such as rape crisis center), cites pertinent legislation (such as the laws on marriage and divorce), tells you how to file a job description suit (and lets you know where to get a feminist lawyer to help you), prints leaflets and manifestos from organizations, and displays some magnificent posters.

Of course, I have a lot of quibbles with this catalog. Several of my dissatisfactions are of a practical nature and deal with the physical aspect of the tome, such as the size; approximately 11 inches by 15 inches. As I said before, I need a catalog like this most when I travel, and I'll be damned if I'm going to lug around something that big and heavy—not when I didn't notice any listings for hernia clinics. The other item is the price—a hefty \$5 for this paperback. I suppose that's cheap considering the mere poundage and beautiful layout and typesetting (all done by women).

I also disliked some of the inherent biases contained within the book, although there was no claim to objectivity anywhere, and it may be difficult to be objective even in this type of work, since it is not restricted to mere yellow pages-type listings. Still, it seems that the editors could have tried harder to be less one-sided in the following areas: (1) There is an urban rather than rural bias. I have discovered, much to my great delight, how much is going on in the hills of West Virginia and on farms in Vermont and New York State. When doing their traveling, the editors might have spent a lot more time between the big cities. The editors seem to share the city chauvinism that affects a large proportion of city people, and thus missed a lot. (2) The book leans towards heterosexuality rather than lesbianism. Strictly lesbian groups are not mentioned in a section of their own, and many groups are completely omitted because they are dyke separatist rather than feminist oriented. In general, lesbianism, because there is no recognition of the separate problems encountered by homosexual women, seems to be treated as some sort of appendage of feminism, which it is not. (3) The book is definitely oriented towards white middleclass women rather than Third-World women or lowerclass working women. There seems to be little if any mention of Black Feminist Groups, for instance. Maybe the "new women" of the title was not meant to include the Black, rural, lesbian, but it should!

Other groups are slighted through manipulation of space. This is a more subtle bias, but one which can be equally harmful. For example, there are lavish reviews of West Coast feminist bookstores, but for Labyris Books in New York City they merely reprint without comment a leaflet with street directions and on the same page is the cryptic remark that "there are, curiously, substantially fewer feminist bookstores on the Eastern seaboard." Is it so curious? Could it be higher prices for rent, more competition from nonmovement stores? There is no analysis and

the remark seems, inadvertently perhaps, to be a put-down of New York stores or women's interest in them. Other groups are slighted by complete omission. Where are the organizations for prostitutes, such as Coyote? the organizations for illegitimacy, such as the several lesbian mothers' unions across the country? the organizations for women in prison—since such groups do exist apart from the Fortune Society?

But as I've said, there are quibbles—perhaps important to me because I expect a lot from a "Woman-made Book" as this one says on the cover. My faith in women assures me we can notice the inherent biases and make our choice accordingly and I'm sure whatever has been left out can and will be added to the next edition which I'm positive will be out before long. And a third edition and a fourth. Because this useful book will be around a long time.

—Karla Jay

THE POSTWAR WAR

A Slide Show
by NARMIC (National Action/Research on the
Military Industrial Complex)

I thought I would never have to see another Anti-War-In-Vietnam slide show again, but here it is, on the first anniversary of Henry the K's prize winning performance in Paris, *The Post-War War*, courtesy of NARMIC of Philadelphia.

Here are the same mournful Vietnamese women, the same bearded farmer who tells of his life "before the Americans came," the same prisoners and the same prisons. Against a picture of tanks, soldiers and refugees, an American reporter is quoted, "Just as we heard [listening to Nixon's peace proclamation on the radio] the words hailing 'the beginning of a new era of world peace,' the first of 26 five hundred pound bombs were dropped by South Vietnamese fighter bombers a hundred yards ahead of us. . ."

It's all a little depressing, coming, as it does, a year after it was all supposed to be over. It is not the evening's entertainment you would prefer to look forward to. But that's organizing, and organizing is what this slide show is all about: telling people what they don't particularly want to hear, and getting them to act on it. The trouble is, the script is a little short on ways of acting on it. And so am I. And so are all my friends. Five, eight, ten years ago action was easy. But now? NARMIC suggests demonstrating against companies making money off the war, writing to Congress-people, and talking to neighbors. People might be interested in knowing, for example, that 80% of the Thieu Government expenses are paid by American taxpayers. That's right, 80%! And as the Saigon Colonel says, "If we have a good supply from the US, we can fight this war forever."

Well, the script is loaded with information, and the total presentation is quite effective. If you have some action (\$) you'd like to organize, the NARMIC slide show is a great tool to have around the house. It runs a little over a half an hour, and can be abridged in various ways, depending on to whom you're showing it. (Like you can cut out all the shots of PRG soldiers in the forest.)

The whole package, including slides (160 of them), script, and documentation costs \$50 and can be ordered from NARMIC, 112 S. 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102.

The good news, incidentally, is that part of the show may be obsolete. Congress apparently passed a law in December outlawing aid to the police and prison systems of South Vietnam (see article, p. 10). This, the slide show demonstrates, was some of the more repressive aid we'd been giving to South Vietnam. . . and to other clients around the world.

—Fred Rosen

People's Bulletin Board

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WOOLMAN HILL WANTS A FARMER BY THE END OF MARCH and experienced, well-organized, organic farmer able to produce a major portion of the food consumed by the 30 residents of this Community School Conference Center. This good person must be able to coordinate the garden and animal operations, to educate the community in methods of organic farming, and to organize the group work projects and the farm records. The exchange is living space, good food, and subsistence salary. Woolman Hill is beautiful—100 acres of woods and pastures and gardens—there are healthy cows, pigs and hens to begin with. For more information write to Laurie Campbell, Woolman Hill, Derfield, Mass. 01342 or call (413) 772-0453.

"Lonely" young prisoner wishes to correspond with sincere people. All letters will be answered with respect. Please write: Ricky Ray Bohannon; 21320-175; PO Box 4000; Springfield, MO 65802.

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JIM HAYES—Where are you now that we need you? All is forgiven. Contact WIN.

Libertarian Book Club 1974 lectures, Thursdays, 7:30 PM, Workman's Circle Center, 369 Eighth Avenue (SW corner 29th St), admission free: Feb. 14, IWW NY Branch, "LIP and Workers' Control"; Feb. 28, Sam Dolgoff, "The Spanish Collectives"; Mar. 14, Nunzio Pernicone, "Enrico Maletesta, The Formative Years," Mar. 28, Sharon Presley, "Anarchism and Feminism"; Apr. 11, Sylvia Barnes, "Labor and the Left," Apr. 25, Irving Levitas, "The Anarchism of Gustav Lardanes."

Searching for experience/ideas/literature on organizing men's groups. Bob Mast, Project Redirection—Detroit, E-1, 691 Seward, Detroit, Mich. 48202.

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