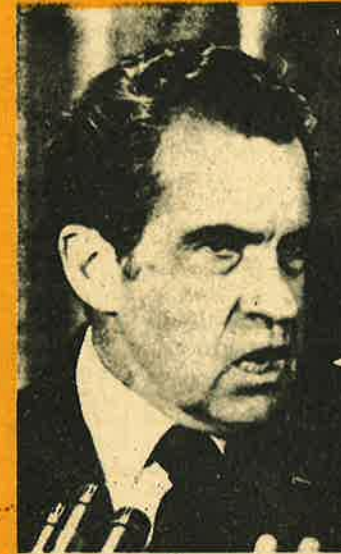


# win

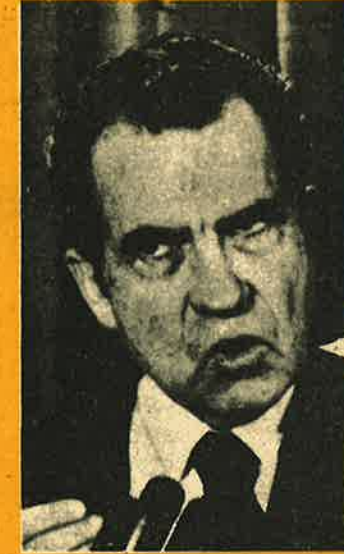
PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

Martin Luther King in Selma  
WRL on the Middle East  
How to Build a Tiger Cage  
Impeachment News

April 4, 1974 | 20¢



NOW,  
Erllichman,  
Haldeman, Mitchell  
and Kleindienst re-  
signed because of  
rumors that  
connected them  
with Watergate.



And...  
Agnew resigned be-  
cause the public be-  
lieved him guilty of  
tax evasion.



Richardson and  
Ruckelshaus resigned  
because they wouldn't  
obey my orders to fire Cox  
who was after my tapes.



BUT cheer up.  
You've still got me.



# LETTERS

I really empathized with Steve Trimm's article 2/14/74 WIN. Although not going to such drastic measures myself I did go to Canada after refusing to register on my 18th birthday. There was a definite feeling of finality upon crossing the border. I felt sure that if I ever attempted to cross back into the states I would be immediately captured. But after six months in Calgary I realized in many ways I did not want to spend my life forever cut off from those I loved and cared about. I simply went right back across the border with Alberta license plates and drivers license and drove back into the states with no hassles. Further since being back I have been quite heavily engaged in political activities and have never come close to being arrested for failing to register in 1970.

I don't know but I bet there are a lot of folks up in Canada (and elsewhere) who are missing out needlessly on many good times with their friends because they fear getting arrested if they attempt to return. True many have indictments, are AWOL, or for other reasons are being watched for at borders and home towns, but then there are probably lots of people like myself who really have very little to fear coming home and seeing old friends and regaining past interests. It sure seemed easy enough for me to come back to the states without having to turn myself in. Perhaps someone you know is in a similar situation and if so it might be helpful to pass this information along.

-NAME WITHHELD

Recently I read the last 10 issues of your magazine in the library.

I haven't been in a financial position to subscribe to your magazine for over a year, but have enjoyed reading it. The 2/28/74 issue had a statement on the Symbionese Liberation Army & the kidnapping in which you seem to say that free food giveaways are an insult to "Poor People."

Well, I'm a poor people and I live with poor people, and I know poor people. If anyone came up to me right now and said they're giving away free food, I'm sure I would come a-runnin'. And if one asked me if this should be a universal and ongoing project, I would say, "Yes!"

To question the right to eat in a country with such plentiful food resources is the thinking of only people who have the food to eat. There are many people who go without what most Americans consider necessities. I bet you don't believe it, but poverty is very common in America.

If you wish to criticize the specific kidnapping of Patricia Hearst, it is fine with me. But when it comes to the subject of free food for poor people, I think you don't know what it's like to be poor.

Perhaps you wouldn't eat a free turkey on Thanksgiving Day or accept the free can goods. Perhaps you go without? Everybody else in America celebrates Turkey Day and Christmas and poor people shouldn't?

-SIDNEY BUNCH  
Cuyahoga Falls, OH

I've just returned from spending three weeks monitoring the "non-leadership" Wounded Knee cases in Sioux Falls, SD. The government dropped its charges against the first four defendants. A defense pre-trial motion for the suppression of evidence gained in an illegal search was upheld by the judge in the case of Mary Ann De Cora and Vaughn Baker. The government will have to appeal the judge's decision or drop the charges. At present testimony is being heard on an identical pre-trial motion in the case of three Indian women arrested the night the siege began.

The government has issued sweeping indictments in the hopes of destroying the effectiveness of the Indian movement for justice and independence. Three hundred people face tribal, municipal, state, and federal charges for attempting to defend the health, dignity, and freedom of Indian people. This "legal" attack is as dangerous and immediate as the armored personnel carriers and M-16's were last year surrounding the village of Wounded Knee.

People and organizations concerned with peace, justice, and freedom must not let the challenge of the government go unanswered. The adequate defense of the people charged requires us to educate, agitate, and contribute money and energy until it hurts. The fantastic resources of the government must be met with the collective sweat of individuals who join Indian people in the fight to defeat the continuing attack and oppression of the Indian community. Knowing funds are scarce, I none the less im-

plure readers of WIN magazine and WRL members to give generously to the Wounded Knee Legal Defense-Offense Committee, Box 255, Sioux Falls, South Dakota, 57101. -NHAT HONG  
Northfield, MN

I am writing to comment favorably on the Murray Bookchin article which was published in WIN. (12/13/73)

In all candor, initially I doubted some of the Bookchin statements, but not now... not anymore. Through information contained in a newspaper article, I contacted the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS), an MIT based group of physicists, biologists and others. I forwarded a copy of the Bookchin article to that group and asked for comments.

My request was answered by physicist, Dr. Henry W. Kendall, who stated in part: "Mr. Bookchin's statements appear to be quite accurate. It is certainly true there are no chemical combinations which can mitigate significantly the effects of radioactivity and there is no way to destroy radioactive materials. I feel that Mr. Bookchin's discussion of the weaknesses of the nuclear program are quite accurate and careful and there is no question in my mind that his concerns are shared by many experienced people whose views cannot be disregarded."

"I am enclosing a brief overview which sets out our group's position on the nuclear issue. You are free to quote publicly both from the overview and from this letter."

Readers who desire more information regarding the enormous dangers inherent in the various aspects of nuclear power should write to, The Union of Concerned Scientists, PO Box 289, MIT Branch Station, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Enclose \$1.00 for a copy of "The Overview," a short non-technical 207-page report. "The Nuclear Fuel Cycle." -F. D. MARROW  
Ulster, PA

In the recent months I have noticed a change in the tone of WIN. It is a change for the better which I hope continues. In the 1960's many of us glossed over the differences in political perspective among the various groups and individuals which called themselves "the movement." Often these differences were regarded as merely differences in style, or were ignored altogether, usually to present an artificial appearance

of unity. Serious political discussion was either postponed or ruled out of order at gatherings and in movement publications.

Now WIN is moving towards correcting this error by running articles which serve to provoke discussion that should have been taking place all these years. It began with the article on Maris' adventures in Moscow and continued with Leah Fritz' series of articles and the debate on the Middle East spurred by Brad Lyttle.

There were two recent articles which I would particularly like to commend: the statement on the Patricia Hearst kidnapping and Stephen Suffet's "A Guide to the New, New Left." The Hearst-SLA article clearly presented the problems created for the left when a small elitist group resorts to terrorism in the illusion that it would bring about revolutionary change. Suffet's descriptions of the various groups on the scene today was accurate and, so far as I can tell, fair to all the groups mentioned.

Keep up the good work.

-ELLIOT LINZER  
Elmhurst, NY

I would like to take exception to part of Emelyn Buskirk's letter [WIN 2/28/74]. She states that in the Quakers, "women are running the show." In the Meetings that I attended before being incarcerated for draft refusal, the people ran the show together. All decisions are reached by consensus. Even the clerk (usually male) has little independent power, he merely implements decisions and helps structure the business Meetings.

-ROBERT L. BELL, ESQ.  
Sandstone, Minn.

Re: David Hill's review of *An Assassin's Diary*: [WIN, 3/14/74]

1. Herostratus is an historical, not a mythological, figure.
2. The autobiography of Lee Harvey Oswald would be of very little interest. Not only did he not have anything to do with Kennedy, he apparently didn't understand what was happening to him between the time of his arrest and his death.
3. It is a mistake to let hatred of George Wallace blind you to his importance. Remember that he was able to pull substantial votes all around the country, and to organize a political party that put him on the ballot in every state. That means something, maybe several somethings.
4. Thanks for saving me the trouble of reading the book.

-ARTHUR D. PENSER  
Huntsville, AL

David Hill (WIN 3/14/74) misses the psychological point in his discussion of Oswald, Ray, Sirhan & Bremer. The point—though this is not the only point, but one of them—is that in America today being on TV, gaining notoriety through the media seems to be the one sure proof that you are real, that your life has some importance. The media makes the extraordinary real & the ordinary only a dream & not a very important dream at that. Whereas, in fact, life's the other way around.

Arthur Bremer must've felt very very small, tiny, insignificant, a flea or a roach to do what he did for the sake of going down in history. He must've felt small & he must've felt enraged at being so unimportant. And, of course, everyone feels this way after they leave a copy of *Time*, turn off the TV or read the, say, *Village Voice*. In general, the media tries to make ordinary people feel like impotent, homely beetles. And they succeed.

Finally, Mr. Hill's chortles over high school girls' pregnancies & subsequent expulsion from school & humiliations does not speak well for Mr. Hill's self-awareness or compassion. Perhaps he should join a men's consciousness raising group.

-MICHELE CLARK  
Cambridge, MA

This is in response to Jan Barry's important, I should say historic, review of *The Tale of Kieu* [WIN 3/21/74]. As Barry points out, the *Kieu* (known also as the *Kim Van Kieu*) is not only the most cherished of Vietnamese novels, not only the "document" most often found on the bodies of dead Vietcong, but also that very sad but very hopeful story of a woman which has enabled the Vietnamese to withstand for 2,3, many decades unspeakable aggression, the epic poem which has sustained them in their people's war against the Japanese, French and American barbarians.

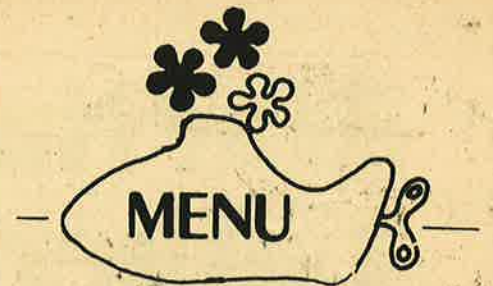
It was largely due to an article by Tran-Van Dinh, as Barry also points out, that the American public was first made aware of this book. Writing in the April '68 issue of the *Washingtonian*, Tran Dinh concluded: "... But I am not pessimistic about the future relations between the US and Vietnam after the war. Cultural ties will bind our two lands and the Vietnamese would be pleased at that time to know that some great American poet will write the American *Kim Van Kieu* for them to see, to read, and to weep over."

May I suggest to WIN readers that we have our "great poet" (although as ignored today as he was in his own lifetime; a poet who lies buried in the Bronx, in Woodlawn Cemetery) and that we do indeed have our "Kieu," and that it is perhaps one of the most violent epics ever written: *Moby Dick*. To my knowledge the only discussion of this "epic" within the context of the American/Vietnamese experience is Carl

LETTERS CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

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Here's a way to insure that you'll never again be bothered by those would-be-humorous WIN renewal announcements and at the same time make a substantial commitment to the cause of nonviolent social change by supporting WIN Magazine. Such a demonstration of faith in WIN at this time would mean far more than year after year of renewals. Please consider helping out in this way. -WIN



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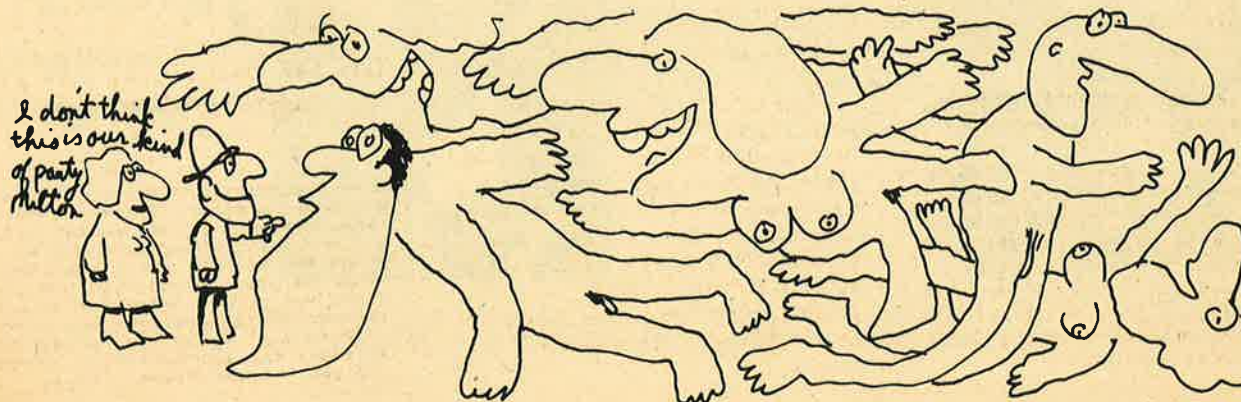
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Paul Palnik



# Martin Luther King in Selma

The events described here took place on Monday, February 1, 1965, in Selma Alabama.

Dr. Martin Luther King was killed on April 4, 1968.

It took hours for all the demonstrators to be booked and taken upstairs to the County Jail, which was the only facility large enough to hold them. Before long the people waiting to be processed began playing little tricks which drove the city policemen on duty up the wall: lining up obstinately at the white water fountain, switching the "white" and "colored" signs on the bathrooms, and generally acting something less than intimidated.

Public Safety Director Wilson Baker kept Dr. King and Abernathy to the last, hoping they would post bond and be off his hands. He knew about the planned "Letter from a Selma Jail," and still hoped somehow to head it off. But of course King refused to post bond, and Baker couldn't just let him walk out: he had no choice but to send him upstairs with the rest of the men, who were jammed into the County Jail's dayroom and had been shaking the cellblock's steel walls all afternoon with their spirited freedom singing.

The men were in a bay about 18 feet by 90 feet, with gray steel walls and floor, its only furniture a pair of bolted down large metal tables and several old mattresses strewn about the floor. The dozen or so regular black county prisoners watched in amazement from their cells across a catwalk, and all broke out in thunderous applause when King and Abernathy finally came through the clanging gate. King immediately took charge, but didn't want to make a speech, and suggested that the group have a "Quaker-type meeting," letting those inclined to speak or pray or sing do so as the spirit moved them.

The spirit was indeed moving, oddly enough in almost a direct hierarchical procession down from Dr. King. The first to speak was Abernathy, who produced a small Bible from an inside pocket and began with a reading from Psalm 27:

"The Lord is my light and my salvation," he intoned; "whom shall I fear?"

"The Lord is the strength of my life; of whom shall I be afraid?"

The passage summed up the mood perfectly. After Abernathy, Reese spoke, then a few other preachers

## BY CHUCK FAGER

and a white civil rights worker. The speeches were interspersed with more exultant, rhythmic freedom songs, and with the windows shut against the February chill, the room quickly became like a sauna bath, hot and extremely humid from the excited respiration of over a hundred men. But no one minded, and the meeting continued for more than an hour before breaking up into smaller groups, in which the men continued talking exuberantly, many now hoarse from their continuous singing.

Dr. King moved to the bars along the catwalk, and went down its length greeting the county prisoners and listening to the circumstances of their cases. He heard a series of depressing tales. One man said he had been there almost two years waiting trial, with no opportunity for bail; another had been there 27 months, after being snatched off the street one Saturday night and beaten up. He wasn't even sure what the charge against him was, though he had heard it was rape of a white woman. The others' stories were mostly similar, though they hadn't been in as long. These grim results of Black Belt justice left their hearers feeling depressed and helpless, but more determined to make their own confinement count. Their spirits held up even when Baker showed up a little later to spirit King and all the other staff workers among them out to the smaller City cells downstairs.

Almost 500 more people were arrested that day, most of them students who had stayed out of school to observe what the staff workers told them was a Freedom Holiday. There was something about the involvement of these teenagers that especially galled the whites. They regarded it as proof positive of King's evil, manipulative intentions, his disregard for the real welfare of the local black community. This was probably based on their traditional view of education and "self-improvement" as the legitimate, one-at-a-time route for black advancement, even though their practice consistently contradicted this profession (which it did even in their jokes: "What do you call a colored man with a PhD?" ran a current jest. "Nigger" was the answer) But by then the entry of the young people hardly amounted to manipulation on the civil rights groups' part; with all the action in town centered around the courthouse, and after their own teachers had marched, the students had actually been restrained from leaving their campus en masse until today.

The student marchers managed to make it all the way to the courthouse before being stopped and put on buses. Their singing and stomping made the vehicles rock and jerk strangely all the way to the Armory, a long low white building where they were taken to be processed. Inside, Probate Judge Bernard Reynolds was holding court on the dirt floor of the field house section, bringing the students one by one before him to state their name, age, school and parents' names; then they were released in the custody of their parents and warned not to come back. Many of them refused to cooperate with him however, and they were taken back out to busses and hauled away to Camp Selma, a state-run prison camp several miles west of the city.

Mass arrests continued Tuesday and Wednesday, and jail facilities all around that part of the state were soon full to bursting. Judge Hare was outraged by the presence of singing crowds around his courthouse, and had groups of them hauled before his bench to face charges of contempt of court. Attorney Peter Hall, a black Legal Defense Fund lawyer, managed to get into one such proceeding and made a game effort at defending them. He pointed out that the court had been in recess when the alleged contempt had occurred; he noted that the defendants had not even been inside the building when their alleged contempt was committed; and he made mince-meat of the deputy who was called to identify the defendants, showing that he didn't know one from another unless they first said their names, and that he had no evidence whatever that anyone present had been involved in the actions which had offended the judge.

But Hare was unimpressed by all this. His contempt power, designed to assure his control over the courtroom, was not subject to appeal or delay, and he quickly sentenced the group, and succeeding ones, to the maximum five days and \$50, with the fine to be worked off at the rate of \$3 per day if they could not pay it. On Wednesday he issued an injunction banning demonstrations in the vicinity of the Courthouse while the Circuit was in session, and Sheriff Clark read the order to more gatherings of marchers before hauling them off.

There were also large demonstrations and then mass arrests in Marion, the seat of Perry County 30 miles northwest, during this week. Dr. King had assigned only a few organizers to that area, but they had found the people receptive, and soon had a full house of people at the Morning Star Baptist Church ready to spill out its old battered doors and march around the columned white courthouse which was just down the street in the center of the little town square. Local authorities let them march on Monday, but by Wednesday their jails were full as well, and ringing with the inmates noisy music.

Sheriff Clark and his men had more of their kind of action with the coming of the mass arrests. The possemen pushed people around and made liberal use of their cattle prods, which left no scars, as they marched people off to the busses. And once in confinement, the prisoners had to put up with their style of hospitality. One group was taken to a prison camp only to find their compound stripped of beds and bedding, the floor covered with water, and the heat off. They spent the night standing huddled in corners, trying to keep warm. Two white Unitarian

ministers, Rev. Ira Blalock and Rev. Gordon Gibson, were taken to Camp Selma after being arrested later that week and found similar conditions along with 80 other prisoners, they walked past piles of mattresses and blankets in the hallways, and found their rectangular compound bare of any furniture except a tub of water with a single dipper and a stopped up toilet with no seat. There was nothing to sleep on but the smooth concrete floor. The windows were stuck open to the cold February air, and outside they could see their bedframes sitting on the grass, rusting newly from the mist and serving as novel perches for the camp's flock of poultry.

The food was not much better. The authorities were given standard allotments for provisions but were left to disburse them in the most economical manner they could devise; and the less that was spent actually feeding a prisoner, the more was left to pocket. Someone was making a lot of money in that business: at the Dallas County Jail, the standard fare was half a cup of blackeyed peas and a square of cornbread twice a day, a routine broken only once or twice by grits and syrup or, on special occasions, a boiled chicken neck. At Camp Selma the inmates were served beans and somewhat larger sections of cornbread, perhaps because the regular prisoners there had put in a full day's work.

For Dr. King, of course, going to jail was like a vacation, a blessed respite from the punishing 19 and 20 hour days he put in outside, and he and Abernathy immediately set about making the most of it once they were in the quieter quarters of the City Jail. The two had been to jail together almost every time they had been arrested, and had long since developed a routine for passing the time constructively. This was a concept they had borrowed from Gandhi; it included an initial two-day fast and a regimen of prayer, meditation, hymn-singing, exercise and rest, punctuated by conferences with aides and lawyers who were let in at intervals by city authorities. They were perfectly safe, and except for the fact that the bedding was lumpy and uncomfortable, in no hurry to end their interlude. Both stayed in jail until Friday.

Life went on in Selma that week despite the demonstrations, marked by two events which otherwise would have dominated local consciousness completely. On Wednesday, Hammerhill made its long-awaited announcement: their new plant would be located a few miles east of Selma; it would cost almost \$30 million, produce 400 tons of bleached kraft pulp a day, and provide 250 permanent jobs. Speaking at the luncheon held to celebrate the announcement, the president of the Chamber of Commerce, J.M. Gaston articulated the general feeling: "What this thing means to me," he said, "I can hear the cash registers ringing in my grocery store." Others looked forward to a second bridge across the Alabama River, and called the plant a major breakthrough in the development of the area.

The night before the announcement Governor George Wallace had come to town, to speak to a massive crowd from which all out-of-town reporters were barred. Wallace's popularity was such that every official of any local consequence was on hand, with the single exception of Wilson Baker, who was over on Sylvan Street keeping an eye on the mass meeting at Brown Chapel.



But the crowd didn't hear what it expected from their self-proclaimed super-segregationist chief executive. Martin Luther King was in their jailhouse, 500 more black people had been arrested in their streets that day, but Wallace's theme of "Selma's Bustin' Out All Over" was related to those events only by unconscious irony. The governor talked about his program of industrial expansion in the state; he bragged of having brought some \$400 million worth of new plant investment to Alabama in 1964; he praised Selma and Dallas County as outstanding partners in this crusade among areas of comparable size; and he predicted even greater heights would be reached as the plans for opening the Alabama River to deep-water traffic were completed. But he never mentioned segregation or demonstrations, not even law and order. There was, there had to be a message in his very silence on the subject; but he didn't pause to let the people draw him out about what it might be.

On Thursday there was a sudden pause in the demonstrations. One reason for the lull was that Judge Thomas was set to issue an injunction against the Dallas County Board of Registrars in response to another Justice Department suit and the black leaders wanted time to see just what tactical implications its provisions might have for their campaign. But another and possibly more telling consideration was the arrival in Selma that morning of Malcolm X.

Malcolm had been at Tuskegee for a speech the night before, and some of the SNCC staff people had gone over to listen and invite him to bring his black nationalist message to their city as well. Malcolm had been anxious to come; he was interested in talking to Dr. King, whom he had met only once before very briefly. He arrived at Brown Chapel Thursday morning to find several hundred people assembled, awaiting marching orders for the day.

But Malcolm's coming had some SCLC workers in a panic; they were afraid he might live up to his reputation as a fire-eating opponent of nonviolence if he was permitted to speak to the crowd of predominantly young people, and leave them with a situation they could not control. But the SNCC workers were insistent in their demand that he be permitted to speak, and the SCLC workers reluctantly gave in.

Malcolm was rather restrained in his remarks: "The white people," he told them, "should thank Dr. King for holding people in check, for there are others who do not believe in these measures. But I'm not going to try to stir you up and make you do something you would have done anyway." He urged them to take their case to the White House, and remind President Johnson that 97% of the black people had voted for him. If they got no response there, he said they should carry their grievances to the United Nations, and put American racism on trial before the world.

This was a new line for the people, but they knew a powerful speaker when they heard one and the response was warm. Outside, the SCLC workers were becoming more and more worried. Just then a car pulled up carrying Coretta Scott King and Juanita Abernathy, in town to pay a call on their incarcerated husbands. Andrew Young, the senior SCLC staff member present rushed up to Ms. King and said, "You're going to have to come inside and greet the people, because Malcolm X is here and he's really roused them. They want to hear from you."

"Andy," Ms. King replied, "I'm just not in a speaking mood."

"You must do it," Young insisted. "By the time you get inside, you'll feel like it."

The two women went in, and were greeted with a loud ovation. Ms. Abernathy spoke first, followed by Coretta, and both emphasized the importance of perseverance in nonviolence to the movement's chances for success. Afterward Ms. King was introduced to Malcolm, and he told her, "Mrs. King, will you tell Dr. King that I had planned to visit with him in jail? I won't get a chance now because I've got to leave to get to New York in time to catch a plane for London where I'm to address the African Students' Conference. I want Dr. King to know that I didn't come to Selma to make his job difficult. I really did come thinking that I could make it easier. If the white people realize what the alternative is, perhaps they will be more willing to hear Dr. King."

Malcolm then rushed out and drove off toward Montgomery. Ms. King was impressed with his sincerity, and passed the message on when she saw her husband briefly later in the day. And if Malcolm's appearance failed to make the hoped-for impression on the local whites, neither did it leave the SCLC chieftains with a howling mob to restrain. Their fears had proved to be exaggerated, and Malcolm, dead less than three weeks later from a chest full of assassins' bullets, never got the chance he wanted to meet Dr. King and talk further about their different, yet perhaps not incompatible, perspectives.

Judge Thomas issued his order at about the same time Thursday that Malcolm was leaving. The injunction was carefully drawn, reportedly with the help of the county officials subject to its provisions. The Board of Registrars was ordered to process at least 100 applications per registration day if that many people showed up, and to make provisions for eight people to fill out applications at the same time. He also directed them to stop using the Alabama literacy test, which had been challenged just a few days before in a Justice Department suit that sought to kill it in the whole state. Thomas also ordered the Board to act on all applications submitted by June first, 1965 before the end of that month; if that deadline was not met, he would appoint a federal referee. And in the meantime any rejected applicant could appeal the Board's decision directly to him for review.

The injunction represented a major attempt by the white leadership to head off the demonstrations in Selma. It contained what seemed to be real concessions which would open up the voting polls to larger numbers of black citizens. Even the SCLC workers weren't sure at first what its impact would be; Andy Young told the people at Browns Chapel, when they heard it was imminent, that "In every battle there are many rounds, and this round may have come to an end. We may have a little breather." There were other murmers about the possibility that things might be worked out.

Reportedly Clark had helped draft the order, in order to get himself off the hook with his more militant supporters. He could freely denounce the order as another example of tyrannical federal trampling on states' rights, even while edging himself toward the periphery of the scene in apparently reluctant compliance. The strain of facing the demonstrations and

struggling with the conflicting pressures in the white community was clearly taking its toll on him, as it was on everyone else involved.

But after looking it over closely, the civil rights workers decided that it was not enough to meet even their minimal demands. Their main objection was that it did not order the board to meet more often. There were only eight more sessions set before June first, which meant that the Board would process a maximum of 800 applications, most of which would probably be rejected. A significant portion of those rejected by the Board could hope that Thomas would order them registered on appeal; but that meant more time and trouble, with 15,000 eligible black people in Dallas County, what the process set up by the order amounted to was several more years' delay in getting them registered, several more years in which the whites could apply their quiet, nonviolent forms of coercion and intimidation, at which they were so experienced, to keep people out of the courthouse and off the rolls.

Thus on Friday, February fifth, they went back into the streets and back to jail, bringing the total number of arrests for the week to more than 3,000. The hopes of those who had written the order for a break in the turmoil in their city vanished. Moreover, that afternoon Dr. King posted bond and left the jail to meet with a group of 15 northern Congressmen who had come to Selma for a firsthand look at what was happening there, as part of their own efforts to get new federal legislation passed to give Southern blacks the right to vote. The Congressmen took depositions from several local blacks, listened to Mayor Smitherman tell them to mind their own business when they passed through City Hall, and returned to the capitol with their commitment to federal action intensified.

Dr. King soon followed them to Washington; he had appointments made on the next Monday to see Vice President Hubert Humphrey, Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach, and hopefully the President himself about voting legislation. But after he arrived the meetings were abruptly cancelled, because of the press of news from Vietnam: Communist guerillas had attacked several American bases there on Saturday; the airfield at Pleiku was hit hardest, and eight men were dead, over a hundred wounded. Retaliatory raids were mounted at once against bases in North Vietnam, by 49 Navy jets. "I've had enough of this," an angry president told a special meeting of the National Security Council that weekend. Holding the casualty list from Pleiku in his hand he said, "The worst thing we could possibly do would be to let this thing go by. It would be a big mistake."

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Chuck worked for SCLC in 1965 and was arrested with Dr. King in Selma. He is the author of *White Reflections on Black Power and Uncertain Resurrection: The Poor People's Washington Campaign*. Currently he is a construction worker and writes for Boston's *Real Paper* and WIN.



Francine Winham/In Sight

#### M.L.K.

The King is dead.  
Far down in the city  
coming eerie up  
the streets, sirens  
in Harlem.  
Murder, the King, glass cracks  
feet run  
past is dead. Radios  
tell it loud  
thousands of feet  
hands reach out  
to stop the sound  
is dead, a brick, stone  
a match  
blood seeping  
from Tennessee, fire  
in the dark  
radios in mourning  
preach to crowds  
the hawk is flying low  
no, peace,

peace: King now, cautious King is  
crowned, dead  
augury: and  
at his coronation feast  
the princes eat his flesh  
and pick his bones.

—Kathryn Kilgore



# WRL Statement on the Middle East

*This statement was adopted at an expanded meeting of the Executive Committee of the War Resisters League, March 2-3, 1974, in New York City. It is the most comprehensive statement on the Mideast adopted by any peace groups. We are publishing it in order to help stimulate discussion and dialogue on this extremely important problem.*

—WIN

Now that an uneasy peace has fallen upon the Middle East, we can examine the October 1973 war and gauge the dimension of the tragedy. In proportion to our own population, Israel lost twice the number of men in the October war that the US lost in ten years of combat in Indochina. The numerical cost in Arab lives has been far heavier. That is the human reality; young men who will never be fathers; fathers who will never return to their children; mothers who must now raise their families alone; unknown poets, Arabs and Jews, fallen in battle and their words written on the wind. War, death's hunting ground, birthplace of widows.

Why this fourth war in 25 years? Both Arabs and Israelis have their partisans, each insisting the blame rests solely with the other, each insisting peace would be possible if it were not for the other. We are partisans of neither side, but stubbornly against all attack, take the side of humanity within every Arab, every Israeli, every Palestinian and, as we know it, to the best of our knowledge, the truth within history, not the "truth" as presented by the Israeli and Arab Ministries of Information.

We must note with frankness that within the United States the greatest barrier to open discussion has come from the organized forces of Zionism which have sought to equate any criticism of Israeli policy with anti-Semitism. We emphatically dispute the charge that to question the role of Zionism is to make a covert attack upon Jews. This ignores the complex history of Judaism, in which Zionism as a philosophy has been opposed both by the extreme orthodox wing of Judaism, and by several other elements within the Jewish community.

There are basically three immediate parties to the Middle East conflict. One party is Israel, created in 1947 out of territory which for more than a millennium had been predominately Arab. The second party is the block of Arab states which, with the exception of Lebanon (which has a large Christian population and a moderately democratic government) are Moslem, reactionary, antidemocratic, and culturally alien to the West (though it was through Islam that the West acquired much of its knowledge, including even the numbers with which we compute the trajectories of our missiles). It is far easier for Americans to identify with Israel, the population of which is permeated with familiar European and American values, than with the Arabs, about whom most of us are regrettably uninformed. The first Arab-Israeli war in 1948 was a reaction by the Arabs to what they perceived, not without considerable justification, as an invasion of his-

torically Arab territory. Their reaction was not anti-Semitic, but followed a pattern of Arab reactions, dating back to their successful struggle to destroy the Crusader state, and their later struggles against Turkish and then British domination. The anti-Semitism of some Arab leaders is not reflected by the masses of Arabs. Long before the creation of Israel, Zionist settlers had bought land in Palestine and farmed it alongside Arab neighbors with few serious clashes. The basic Arab struggle has not been against Jews as such, but against the creation of a Jewish state in Arab territory.

The third party to the conflict are the Palestinians, driven from their homes in 1948 by the creation of Israel. The Palestinians are, in a basic sense, paying the price for the sins the West inflicted on the Jews of Europe. They have become the classic refugees, surviving decade after decade in sweltering camps, with no country willing to accept them, and Israel unwilling to permit them to return home or to take up seriously the matter of compensation for land and property seized. It is understandable that the Palestinians are bitter that Israel should encourage Jews from Russia, Europe, and the United States to emigrate to a "homeland" none of them have ever seen, while having no room for those who were born within the present boundaries of Israel, and whose ancestors are buried beneath the soil on which Israel was founded. Israel and the Arab states share the blame for the plight of the refugees, in whose camps hatred has festered against Arab governments and Israel. These, the homeless ones, are the fuel from which the fires of terrorism leap out in distant massacres, hijackings, and murder. The West often confuses the Palestinians with the Arab states and forgets that the Palestinians have no state and few rights of their own; they maintain a marginal existence in the refugee camps, or as refugees barely surviving in Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon. The conflict between the Palestinians and the Arab states can be seen in the murderous attack King Hussein of Jordan launched against the Palestinians in his country—an attack in which thousands of guerillas and civilians were killed and survivors driven into Syria and Lebanon.

The interests of each of these three groups conflict with the others. In the meantime the creation of Israel ironically helped spur a revival of the Moslem faith and a contemporary sense of an "Arab Nation" that embraces all the Arab states of North Africa and the Middle East. It accounts for the fact that no less than nine Arab states were involved in the recent war with Israel, and that the Arab states have successfully collaborated on the devastating oil embargo.

The other parties in the Middle East conflict are more distant, sometimes less visible. In the immediate situation those parties are the two super powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. The recent war was, in a sense, a war waged by surrogates: the Americans and Russians supplied the guns and tested new weapons; the Israelis and Arabs supplied the blood, and died. Before these two super powers began to jockey for position in the Middle East, the controlling outside force was Britain and one must go back to

Lord Balfour and his effort to enlist the support both of Jews in the West and Arabs in the Middle East for the British side at the time of World War I. Out of those complex moves by the British, two contradictory pledges were made: the Jews were to have a "homeland" in Palestine, and control of Palestine was to revert to the Arabs. The British subsequently reneged on both pledges.

But the Jewish Holocaust of World War II is even more crucial to understanding events than the conflicting pledges made by the British to both Arabs and Jews. For in World War II, one out of every three Jews then alive died in Hitler's gas chambers. Six million people were systematically destroyed. The handful who survived the death camps were rejected in the West. America was prepared to absorb only a small number of refugees. In desperation the survivors of the Holocaust fought their way to Palestine, ran the British blockade, swam ashore at Haifa (Israel is not, of course, simply a product of World War II—the longing for the return to Jerusalem is part of Judaic culture and Zionism was an active political force long before the rise of Hitler). It is easy for the non-Zionist to observe that the land the European Jews were claiming as their own was land where, as a people, they had never been except in history's distant memory. It is difficult and probably impossible for non-Jews, even with the best will in the world, to fully understand the impact of centuries of virulent Christian anti-Semitism, and, particularly, the Holocaust, on Jewish culture; the sense of desperation and anxiety produced by this history, and the impact of this history on events today.

The conflict in the Middle East is dangerous, not only to the states immediately involved, but to the peace of the world, because oil and the struggle of developed nations to insure a supply of oil, even by a possible military action against the Arab states. Already the US imports some of its oil from the Middle East. Japan is totally dependent on oil imports, the bulk of them from the Middle East. European industry would be crippled without oil from the Middle East.

Israel's role in world politics has been discouraging. On virtually every international question she has cast her vote with the United States. Israel remained silent on the holocaust in Indochina. When the US-backed military junta took control of Chile, and the new regime made blatantly anti-Semitic statements about the supporters of Allende, Israel did not open the doors of her Embassy to refugees seeking sanctuary—and she quickly recognized the junta. In our view Israel's diplomacy has been tragic. She now stands isolated in the world, except for her main patron, the United States. And the history of how nations make and break alliances should bring Israel slight comfort. After all, the Soviet Union was originally a sponsor of Israel, in 1948. As the US now arms and supports Israel, it may, tomorrow, if the US felt it to her interest, abandon Israel as Taiwan was abandoned. Already US policy has begun to "tilt" away from Israel as the US must worry about the long



term effects of the Arab oil embargo.

In the long run time is not on the side of Israel. Her population is tiny—the number of Jews living in New York City alone almost equals the total Jewish population of Israel. The Arab states command far greater potential resources, far larger potential armies. The position of the “doves” may not be a guarantee of survival, but the Israeli “hawks” virtually ensure that the lines between Israel and the Arab states will be drawn with such bitterness that the survival of Israel becomes problematical. This is a painful reality which Israel must face, as must her friends in the United States.

Therefore, given this situation and its seriousness, the Executive Committee of the War Resisters League finds itself in substantial agreement on the following points, and call them to the attention not only of our membership and the American public, but also, in such ways as are possible, to the peoples of the Middle East; Israelis, Arabs, and Palestinians.

Let us preface these concrete points by saying we have the gravest doubts about those forms of nationalism which blind one side to the humanity of the other, and the gravest doubts about the contemporary forms which “nation states” have taken, and the often blind allegiance these states command. Conflicts over boundaries and the struggles between nation states are among the primary causes of war. We do not have these doubts and reservations only about the Middle East, but have expressed them often about our own nation, and the tragic tendency for peoples to kill one another over small bits of territory which might more reasonably be shared.

(1) Regardless of how Israel came into existence, it does now exist and we believe its existence must be recognized by the Arab states, just as we believe Israel must finally recognize the rights of the Palestinian people.

(2) The Palestinians, victims of the creation of Israel, are truly a people without a home, denied land they once held, denied the right to form themselves into a nation-state. We might wish Israel would absorb the Palestinian refugees and make possible the creation of

a democratic, secular, and bi-national state within Palestine, but it is clear Israel chooses to remain a Jewish state, and will not accept back more than a limited number of selected refugees. It is clear also that neither do the Arab states want to absorb the Palestinians, nor do they want to be absorbed into those states. The Palestinians desire their own state and since this does not now exist, it must be created from the territory claimed by one or more existing states. It is neither our role, nor within our capacity, to suggest whether such a Palestinian state should be created from the West Bank of Jordan, now occupied by Israel, and Gaza, now also occupied by Israel, or from some other geographic arrangement. But it is our role and within our capacity to reiterate our belief that the Palestinians must have the right to self-determination and that the fate of the Palestinians must be negotiated by the Palestinians through such peaceful forms as they create. Further, since Israel has a responsibility for the creation of the Palestinian refugee community, she must take the initiative by compensating the refugees for the land and property once theirs and now controlled by Israel. Further, the Palestinians and Israelis may want to explore some mutual resettlement in which some Jews would be permitted to remain in Palestinian territory, and some Palestinians accepted back into Israel. We call upon the US and Soviet Union to shift from supplying the Middle East with arms, and to provide, in concert with other nations, the economic aid needed by the Middle East, particularly any newly created Palestinian state.

(3) Jerusalem, particularly Old Jerusalem, is truly a “city without a state.” It must be considered apart from all other questions of territory and boundaries. It is the city most holy to three great world religions—and, in bitter irony, the basis on which each of these three religions has at one time or another shed blood. It is a city to which the conscience of a large part of humanity may lay claim, but not nations. We leave to others the technical creation of what we know is possible—some formulation of internationalization or shared sovereignty. But we must say with absolute clarity that its present status of being solely under Israeli sovereignty is as inevitably provocative of violence as its earlier status of being solely under Jordanian sovereignty. What an obscenity that Moslems, Jews, and Christians should each have found Jerusalem the basis for holy wars. Must the Israelis now repeat the earlier folly of the Crusaders or the more recent folly of the Arabs in seeking to lay sole claim to the holy sites from which sprang the rabbis, messiahs, and prophets who taught the doctrines of peace, the oneness of humanity?

(4) The policies of the Superpowers have related solely to their own interests and are not based on any genuine concern for the survival of Israel or the welfare of the Arab states. American military aid, for example, now goes to Iran, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Kuwait, and Jordan. Soviet aid goes to Egypt and Syria, Iraq and Algeria, among others. The arms are sold at an excellent price, making the Russians and Americans true merchants of death, profiting from the wars others will fight on behalf of the respective Russian/American interests. Present Russian/American policy in the Middle East insures against genuine detente.

It has long been our position as pacifists to demand an end to US military aid to any foreign country, as

well as to urge the disarmament of our own nation, either alone or in concert with others. But that position, often dismissed as mere idealism, has political reality in the Middle East, where the Americans and Russians have a vested economic/strategic interest in selling arms, in maintaining an arms race. We absolutely oppose any US shipment of arms to any nation, anywhere, including the Middle East. Further, we call upon the US government—we demand of it—that it appeal to all foreign governments, an appeal in which we join, not only the Soviet Union, but any nation engaged in the sale of arms, that an absolute arms embargo be placed on all states in the Middle East.

(5) The peoples of the Middle East, especially the presently stateless Palestinians, and the Israelis, need to develop a regional framework which will give them control of their own resources, and make it possible to treat such natural resources as oil as a resource on which many people depend, and not as a political weapon. (The world is interdependent. A shortage of oil not only means a sharp economic crisis in Japan and Western Europe, but it also means a lack of fertilizer and thus a lack of food for the very Third World of which the Arab states are a part.) The establishment of authentic peace in the Middle East requires the disengagement of the great powers, whose presence distorts the situation and divides the various states involved.

(6) We believe that international waterways, such as the Suez and Panama Canals, while under the sovereignty of the nation through whose territory they pass, should also, by international agreement, be open to the ships and not merely the cargo of all nations. We suggest to Egypt that one of the most dramatic and least risky gestures she could make to restore an atmosphere of trust and goodwill would be the immediate, unilateral announcement that the Suez Canal would be open to Israeli shipping the moment the Canal was cleared.

(7) The compassion of humanity, if it is to be authentic, must be universal and not selective. The terrorism in which the Israelis, Arabs, and Palestinians have engaged cannot be excused. The roots of terrorism in the Middle East go back too far for there to be any merit in locating the first victim. All have become victims. The policy of an eye for an eye has left the terrorists morally sightless, and many innocent dead. From the isolated murder in Oslo to the killings in Munich, from the dead at Rome, Athens and Lod airports to the killings in Beirut, the trail of death must end now.

(8) We believe Israel must accept as her borders those that existed prior to the 1967 six day war, or any other borders acceptable to both sides, and that it continue a phased withdrawal of her forces to those borders. This means an immediate end to all efforts by Israel to colonize and develop any part of the occupied territories, as is presently being done quite openly in the Golan Heights and elsewhere. It is morally intolerable and politically impossible for Israel to present such settlements to the world as a “fait accompli,” and it is reprehensible for a government to expose its civilians to the military attacks that have been, and will almost certainly continue to be directed against such settlements established beyond the 1967 border.

(9) Negotiations should begin immediately to provide for secure borders between Israel and the Arab states. We note here there is a difference between “secure” and “defensible” borders. In military terms a border which one side feels is “defensible” will inevitably be felt by the other side to be “indefensible” for them. It is virtually a contradiction in terms for two hostile nations to find a common border equally defensible to both. Yet in view of the escalating violence of the last 25 years, in which first one side and then the other would launch attacks, in view of such raids and counter-raids between Israel and the Arab states, neither side—understandably—is prepared to act on the basis of good will alone. As pacifists we deplore that fact; as realists we must recognize it and seek a solution.

A “secure” border would be similar to the unfortified borders between the United States, Canada, and Mexico. To achieve such a “secure” border, we urge that, as Israel continues her phased withdrawal to the 1967 borders, there would be a buffer zone established between Israeli and Arab forces, such a zone to be under the control of the United Nations. (Let us note that the ultimate security for the states of the Middle East lies in their voluntary disarmament. Even an arms embargo from outside states will not resolve the problem, since the arms industry is the fourth largest in Israel, and she now supplies weapons to other nations. The Arab states also seek to become self-sufficient in arms.)

(10) We strongly urge the UN presence *not be armed*, that their presence be regarded as temporary, that they be in place on *both sides* of the 1967 borders, and not subject to withdrawal except by mutual consent and the concurrence of the UN as the third party.

It will be said that a disarmed force cannot keep the peace between the Israelis and the Arabs and Palestinians, but we say that pacifists in this country, and almost certainly around the world, including our co-workers in Israel and in the Arab states, would be willing to volunteer themselves and risk their lives to





form an international presence under UN auspices, a presence that would constitute a moral witness and a moral guarantee of the territorial integrity of all the nations involved. This suggestion is not made lightly, nor is it naive. We are aware that the accumulated bitterness of 25 years would be so great that partisan elements on both sides would fire upon unarmed patrols. But we also know that just as Israel itself was created by the power of ideas, and just as the Arab cause is animated by ideas, so, too, does this idea have a power and political force of its own. An international disarmed presence such as we suggest could involve both Moslem and Jewish youth who reject the war policies of their governments, and are willing to take the risks of peace. The Christians of the West, who for centuries have persecuted the Jews, have a direct obligation, out of the best in their own tradition, to join Moslems and Jews in such an international presence. The power of our suggestion is that where armed conflict limits participation to the able-bodied, a nonviolent force demands moral strength only. Men and women of any age can serve.

We are calling upon our representatives, who have Non-Governmental Organization status at the United Nations, to raise this proposal seriously and forcefully in that forum. We are, at the same time, communicating directly with the two international bodies with which we are affiliated, the War Resisters International, and the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, to ask them to place this suggestion before affiliates around the world. We are, finally, taking the unusual step of incorporating in this statement, at its end, a form which people may sign and return to us so that we can speak specifically in terms of actual individuals who lay this challenge directly before the United Nations, the Middle Eastern states, and the conscience of humanity.

Finally, we note that after 25 years of unrelenting conflict, the existing situation is so desperate that the parties to the conflict must seek an alternative to a set of policies which have brought *four wars in one generation*.

The state of Israel, born out of the horror of the Holocaust, built on the Zionist dream of a society suffused with a humanistic socialism and a sense of genuine democracy, has given way to something far less. Daily the military become more powerful, the generals commanding political forces like war lords, the Orthodox Rabbinate making a mockery of hopes for a secular democracy. Daily the dream of an open socialist society is being replaced by the reality of a society divided by classes, a society with deep internal conflicts between the European and Oriental Jews, a society in which the Arabs living within Israel have less than full citizenship. It is because we understand the hardship, the sweat, the sacrifice that created the Kibbutzim, the heartache and work of the men and women who brought the desert to bloom, that we say all of this is now at risk if Israel, the Arab states, and the Palestinians do not join in a search for peace.

In Egypt and Syria the people are oppressed by poverty, disease, illiteracy, homelessness, while the governments of these nations find their glory in war. The people need social revolution—and freedom. We directly challenge the Arabs to demonstrate that their sense of unity springs from a commitment to the redemption of their own people, the internal strength of seeking social justice for the exploited and the poor,

and is not a unity based on the weakness of demagogic hatred of Israel.

In the refugee camps the Palestinian people, hundreds upon hundreds of thousands, live under wretched conditions with no basis for hope, no reason to believe the dust in which they live today will be any different tomorrow or ten years from now. Even those outside of the camps live in alienation, without a sense of place, of belonging. And those penned in the shanty towns of the camps are caught in a nightmare of hatred, terrorism, poverty, with no legacy to leave their children except the terror of this nightmare continued.

These are the realities in the Middle East today. In 25 years and after four wars, the realities are more grim, more urgent, than in the beginning. The poverty is greater, the hopes for democracy are less. The realities are complex, compounded by the interventions of the two great powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, and the religious, economic, and ideological conflicts in the Middle East itself.

If war cannot deal with these realities, yet it seems easier than the making of peace. Peace requires creative vision, while violence has become a habit. Peace requires that at least a handful on both sides of the military front find themselves able to look across a sea of guns, through a mist of blood, and realize that on the other side are human beings, not an abstract "other." It requires a handful on both sides who will look first to their own faults, and ask first what initiatives they can take.

We take no sides—except the side of the children and their right to a future, whether they speak Arabic or Hebrew; the side of the dispossessed and their right to a home; the side of humanity within every Palestinian, every Israeli, every Arab.

This is our statement, on which we stand. We ask our members to carry this statement forth into their communities as the basis for dialogue. We ask our membership to become informed on the Middle East, so they can speak with sensitivity to the concerns of both Jews and Arabs. We ask those who would, to sign the statement below, indicating a willingness to become part of the proposed international Peace Brigade.

I have read this statement and its call for an international disarmed force to operate under UN auspices and to serve to guarantee the borders between Israel and the Arab states. I am interested in this project, I might well join it, and want further information on it.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to:  
War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St., New York,  
NY 10012.

# Building Tiger Cages

*Whack! The hammer hit the anvil with the high-pitched ping of steel under a blacksmith's hand. Steady and sure, the sound echoed outside all day in the 50° weather, as the hammer came down again and again until the first shackle was bent to size and ready to be welded to chain. The process was repeated late into the afternoon until there were enough shackles for three tiger cages, those tiny prison cells used for people in South Vietnam.*

*"Do you realize," said the blacksmith angrily, hitting the anvil hard, "there's people in this country who do this for a living! Can you imagine that somebody could actually make these things for people, knowing what they are!"*

*Art Morrone, the blacksmith, and in real life a horse-shoer by trade, was one of a dozen people who came from Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts to the Community for Nonviolent Action Farm in Voluntown, Conn. to help construct tiger cage replicas the weekend of January 12-14.*

*As Art worked outside, others worked in the AJ Muste Center, driving nails, measuring panels, drilling, glueing, cutting and painting. It took 30 framed panels, 48 painted bars, six sets of shackles, 48 bolts and wingnuts and a thousand nails to make three tiger cages. It also took sore knees, black and blue thumbs, pulled muscles and work from 9 in the morning til 10 at night: a challenge to our spirits and our understanding. We knew these cages would be used all over New England on exhibit to help educate people about the continuing US responsibility for the war in Indochina.*

*An American corporation, Raymond, Morrison, Knutson-Brown, Root and Jones, has been awarded US government contracts to build the cages (known officially as isolation*

*cells) for the Vietnamese whom the Thieu regime considers a threat. The real cages are made of poured concrete and steel. Twelve of us constructed ours from wood, covered with a thick coat of sandbased paint to simulate real concrete, with electric pipe conduit for the overhead bars. RMK-BRJ was given \$400,000 to build 384 cages. We had about \$260 to build 3. (Money for construction of these tiger cage replicas was provided by AFSC, North/South Vietnam Fund to which many New Englanders have contributed.)*

*After the first frame for the first panel of the first cage was built, the work proceeded easily and steadily. Half of us were unskilled, but we quickly learned (with help from the carpenters) the physics of a hammer and the ways of rule and wood. We had in front of us, too, an example of one to copy. This cage was built by AFSC's Bruce Martin and his friend Elliot Joslin, a professional set-builder for Broadway plays. Constructed half a year ago, the cage was so successful as a visual tool for educating and "people-stopping" that it was proposed that AFSC finance the building of more.*

*Half of us had never met before that weekend. Some of us had only recently ever heard of a tiger cage. None of us could really conceive of life inside one. We had seen the results of long-term detention inside such cages in the documentary film "South Vietnam: A Question of Torture" which we viewed Friday evening before our building began.*

*As hard as it was for us to imagine being in these cages, it was equally as difficult imagining someone consciously constructing them. As we tried to get our measures exact, our work meticulous in detail and accuracy, we wondered if the real-makers of these cages were as careful as we were.*

*Could the welder of the real shackles be reached?*

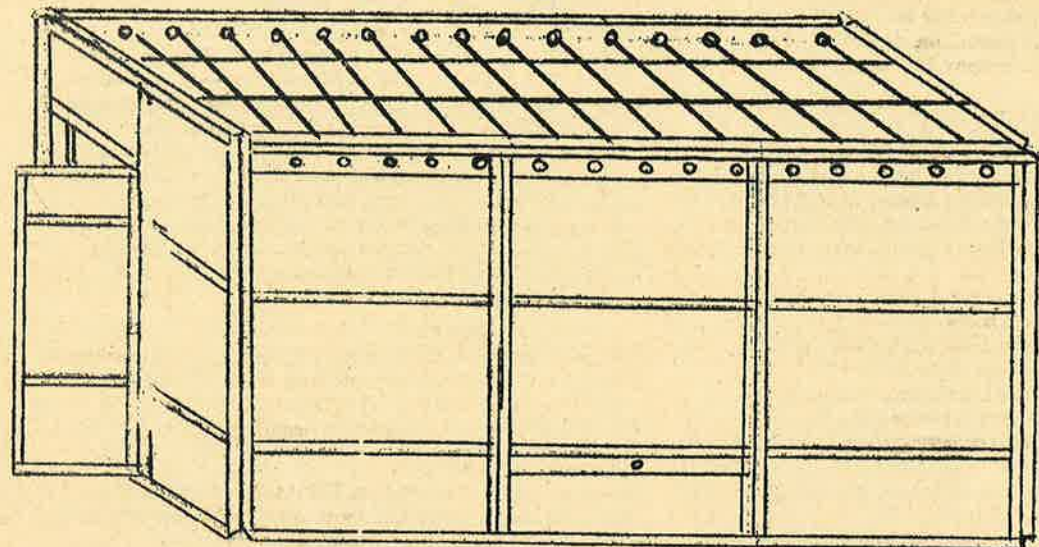
—MARTA DANIELS



Tiger Cage display on the altar of Trinity Church in Hartford, Ct. Bruce Martin (L) and David Loseno, both of the AFSC staff in Conn. simulate hostages of war in South Vietnam. Photo by George Cox.



# How To Do It:



This simulated "tiger cage" (8' x 5'4" x 5") consists of ten equal sized panels of plywood ribbed with wood lath. Four pairs of the panels are permanently hinged to make corners with two center side panels bolted in place when cage is erected. Panels vary slightly in construction (see sketches). One panel includes a door. Fifteen bars span the top with two laterals. Materials are basic. Substitutes are not recommended. The cage is completely "collapsible" and can be transported in any station wagon (even compacts) or on a sturdy roof rack. Cost of materials is \$85 to \$100.

## MATERIALS NEEDED

- 5 pcs. interior plywood 4x8x1/4
- 20 pcs. 3/4x1 1/2 lath (No. 1 white pine)\* (8' lengths—called lath stock)
- 11 pcs. 3/4x1 1/2 lath (No. 1 white pine) (10' lengths—called lath stock)
- 13 pcs. 3/4x10' thin wall electrical tubing
- 5 pr. 3" tight pin hinges (3/4" No. 8 screws)
- 5 lb. 5p blue lath nails
- 3 lb. 8p finishing nails
- 8 (only) 16p common nails
- 66 in. 3/8" chain
- 2 2x3/8" steel rings
- 6'x1 1/2x1/4" strap metal
- 1 qt. Elmer's glue
- 4 pcs. canvas strips 8"x5'
- 2'x5/8" hardwood dowling
- 2 gal. rough textured paint (dark gray)
- 1 gal. Flat water base paint (dark gray)
- 1 qt. flat black paint
- 1 large can black spray paint

\*It may be necessary to buy 4" stock and rip in half. Perhaps the lumber yard would rip it.

## Step No. 1 CUTTING PARTS FOR PANELS

Measuring carefully, divide each plywood sheet into three equal parts 32"x48" for a total of 15 pieces. Further divide three of those into ten pieces 12"x32". There will be plywood remaining from the five sheets. Note: saw cut will diminish size. Make necessary allowance to insure identically sized pieces.

## Step No. 2 CUTTING PARTS FOR PANELS

Bear in mind that a finished panel measures 32"x60". It will take one each of the plywood pieces to cover one panel. (See Sketch No. 1). Take accurate measurement of the width of

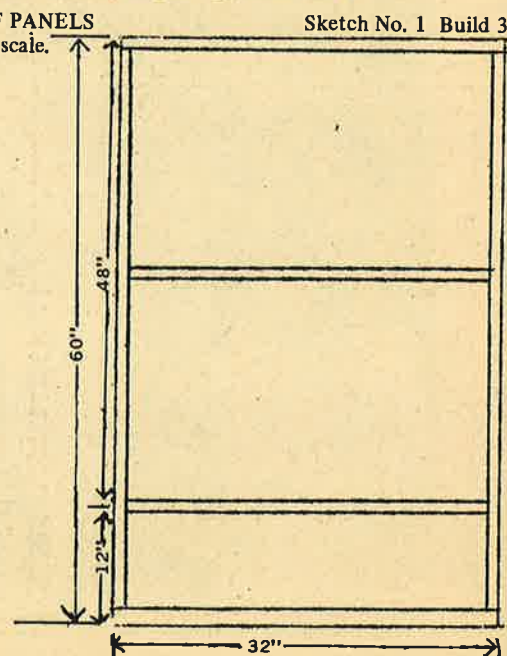
the plywood cut in Step No. 1 (they will be about 31 7/8). Using the 8 ft. lath stock, cut 40 pieces to that width measurement. Then using the 10 ft. lengths of lath, cut 20 pieces equivalent to the combined measurement of the two different pieces of plywood cut in Step No. 1 (these should be about 58 3/8). These "about" lengths depend on the exact thickness of the lath and the width of the saw cut as the plywood is cut. Be sure to keep these three different lengths in separate piles.

## Step No. 3 CONSTRUCTING PANELS

Take two each of the longer pieces cut in step No. 2. Nail through the shorter piece (31 7/8") into the end of the longer one with 8p finishing nails making a rectangular frame. Now take two of the shortest pieces cut in step No. 2 placing one 24" on center from edge of frame and second one 48" on center from same edge. (See Sketch No. 1). Take larger plywood piece cut in step No. 1 and place on frame good side up. Check the fit. Plywood should not extend over edge of frame. It can be trimmed a bit. (Note: frame may be racked to square with plywood). Edge of plywood should hit center of second spreader. Now take smaller size plywood and place below larger one. When fit is satisfactory remove plywood, glue frame receiving plywood. Replace plywood and nail

## OUTSIDE VIEW OF PANELS

—Drawing not to scale.



every six inches with 5p blue lath nails. Make three panels identical in this manner. Using the same method make four panels shown in sketch No. 2. Then make two shown in Sketch No. 3. Then build panel containing door. See Sketch No. 4. Number each panel to correspond to Sketch number on panel.

## Step No. 4 ASSEMBLING PANELS

Place two No. 2 panels and one No. 3 panel tightly together with No. 3 in the middle taking care to have the tops all at one end. These constitute one side of a finished cage. The row of 15 holes across the top edge to receive the bars (see sketches No. 2 and No. 3) should be 1 1/2 inches to the center of the holes from the top edge of side. The center of the first hole should be 6 in. from either side. \*A 15/16" wood bit should be used. Bore a 16th hole in the center of No. 3 panel so it goes through lath inlay behind plywood near the bottom (see Sketch No. 3) Repeat this entire step for the other side. Note: though the panels have been somewhat interchangeable up to now, after they are bored they become a side that should always include the same panels. \*Continue boring holes 6" on center.

## Step No. 5 HINGING CORNERS

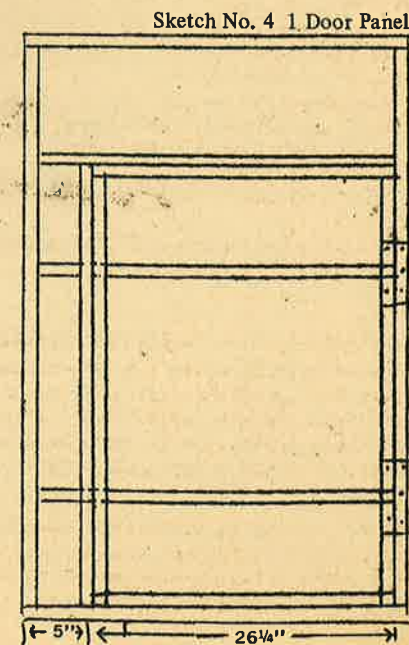
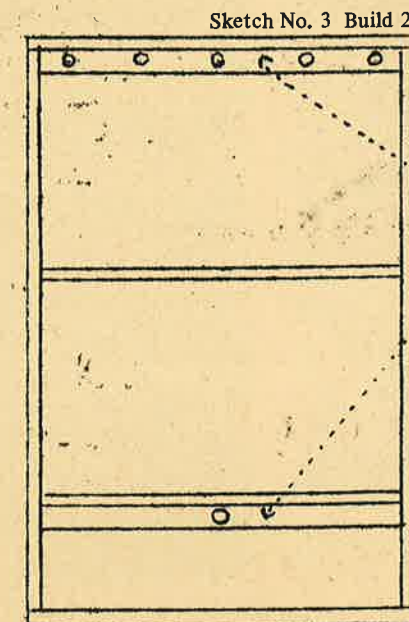
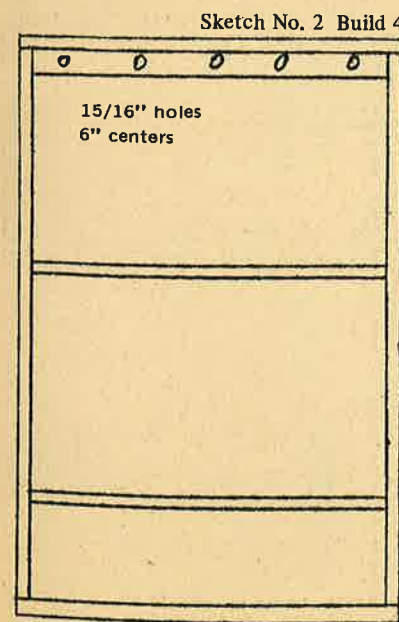
With side sections still on floor, place panel containing door so it will join to form left front corner of cage. Then place the remaining three No. 1 panels at the other corners. Place one pair of tight pin hinges on each corner eight inches from bottom and top edges of panel. After hinging is completed apply one of the canvas strips to each corner covering the entire seam by thinning Elmer's glue with one part water and brushing it on the plywood surface liberally and then laying the canvas in the wet area. Staple the canvas with 1/4" staples. Then saturate canvas on top with glue mixture.

## Step No. 6 ASSEMBLING CAGE

Stand upright hinged corner sections in their proper positions. Using C-clamps, join center rib joints (front and rear of cage) and drill 1/4" hole 8" from top and bottom and insert 1/4x2" bolts with wing nuts and tighten. Then do the same with the center side panels. Cage is now ready for bars.

## Step No. 7 PREPARING BARS

Cage requires 16 bars 66" in length and two bars 8' long. The thin wall electrical tubing comes in 10' pieces. By purchasing 13 pieces and gas-welding the cut-offs together, you will have sufficient number of bars. The two 8' bars should be joined by inserting the hardwood dowling inside two short bars equalling the 8' needed. The dowling can be attached permanently to one bar by drilling small hole through bar and driving small nail into the dowling. This enables this long 8'



bar to be shortened for transporting. Bars should be painted flat black.

## Step No. 8 PLACING BARS

Insert the 66" bars into the row of holes at the top of cage. This is best done by unbolting one seam on each side of the cage which will enable sides to be fanned out a bit to receive bars. After bars are inserted rebolt the two side seams. After lining up the bars side to side, bore a 3/16" hole through the top of the wooden frame and through the center bar. Place a 16p common nail in hole. This will hold sides together. Bore a similar hole in the bar at bottom of cage. It is on this bottom bar that the shackles are attached by putting ring over bar before it's inserted into cage side. Those 3/16" holes must be at each end of the bars.

## Step No. 9 SHACKLES

Shackles can be made from scrap strap metal by hammering into shape. Imagination comes in handy here. Chain should be welded at each end to shackles with 2" ring in center. Ring is then slipped over lower bar to secure the prisoner.

## Step No. 10 PAINTING

Remove bars before painting. Paint inside of cage with rough textured paint (dark gray). Paint outside with flat dark gray. When inside is dry, spray corners with black spray paint to suggest mold and age. (Other colors can be worked in here). Take care not to paint the bolts joining sides. Paint around them. Then separate cage sections and touch up. Cage is now complete. (For display, it is most helpful to make a "lime" bucket filled with flour and search out an old 5-gallon rusted paint can for a "Human Waste" container. In addition, two or three wooden bowls and brown rice add to the authenticity). Make signs & posters to hang on the outside of cage describing what people are looking at. *To Collapse and Port*: All panels can be stacked symmetrically one on top of the other. All bars can be bound together by two 2-lb. coffee cans slipped over the ends and then tied together with stout rope. (A few pieces of old tire rubber could also be used in addition to the coffee cans—to bind the bars securely). —BRUCE MARTIN

For more information or HELP, contact:  
AFSC in Connecticut  
Box 494, Voluntown, CT 06384  
Tel: 203-376-4098

*P.S. In addition to your posters and signs, it is very helpful to have a copy of the Navy Contract giving \$400,000 to RMK-BRJ to build 384 of these cages. This contract is available from Indochina Mobile Education Project, 1322 18th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036.*



# Throw the bum out!

Despite a year during which the corrupt nature of his rule has been exposed for all to see, Richard Nixon remains "The President," his power diminished but his office still shakily intact.

Recent events would seem to indicate, however, that his tenure at the helm of the Ship of State may be nearing an end. A combination of public revelations and continuing pressure by the people of America have brought about a situation in which no less a personage than Eric Sevareid now states that, indeed, Nixon will probably be impeached. Conviction is not certain, but impeachment seems inevitable.

Perhaps so. Perhaps a limited form of justice will be done, and Nixon will be brought to trial. But what if the current predictions turn out to be as wrong as the establishment predictions on the war were? What if the same slow-moving and chicken-hearted Congress, which allowed (and allows!) successive presidents to continue the Indochina war for 12 years, gets cold feet at the last moment, the moment of decision? Can we count on Congress?

Or, consider things from another angle. What if Congress does vote for impeachment? How then should that be interpreted—as proof that Congress really is a body willing to stand up and take decisive action? As a sign that we, the people can now feel secure in the knowledge that one of the three branches of government truly does represent our interests? Or,

as a victory for the American people, who first made impeachment possible after the Cox firing by means of massive outpouring of protest, and who have now brought impeachment very close to having happened by means of continuing and sustained pressure on Congress to move?

Some people may ask, "What does it matter? As long as he is impeached why worry about interpretations?"

It is the same issue as the interpretation of the success (or not) of the anti-war movement. One of the tragedies of the past year has been that many people who participated in forcing the main bulk of US manpower and troops out of Indochina, feel no sense of accomplishment. We have not learned from that experience the power that we, the people, have to force change if we organize and act together. And the same power can force impeachment.

But we haven't used that power sufficiently: there hasn't been a large unified, public demonstration of the strength of the impeachment movement, of the people's demand for impeachment.

That is the reason why the National Campaign to Impeach Nixon, a nationwide network with local groups in over 150 cities, has called for Demonstrations in Washington and Los Angeles on April 27, 1974. At a conference in Chicago the weekend of March 1-3 representatives from 37 cities met and decided that that time was the best for such action because of the April 30 "deadline" set by the Judiciary Committee for completion of the impeachment investigation.

In Washington the demonstration will consist of three parts—a march from the Lincoln Memorial Reflecting Pool to the Capitol beginning at 12:00 noon, a brief rally before the Capitol and an Impeachment Fair on the Capitol Mall. Some of the sponsors of the demonstration include Dr. Ben Spock, Jane Fonda, Pete Seeger, Phil Ochs (who may be present to sing his latest hit, "Here's to the State of Richard Nixon"), Tony Russo, Edith Tiger, Cong. Bella Abzug, Cong. Ron Dellums, Tom Hayden, Frank Somlyo of the DC Cooks Union, Gil Padillo of the United Farmworkers Union, AFL-CIO, and William Simon, president of the DC Teachers Union.

Further information on the Washington DC demonstration can be obtained by contacting the National Campaign to Impeach Nixon, 1404 M St. NW, 202-659-1118.

In Los Angeles the demonstration is being organized by a variety of groups. More information can be obtained by contacting the Peoples Action Union, 1853 S. Arlington Ave., 213-732-2445.

Because we want Richard Nixon to go... Because we place our faith not in Congress but only in ourselves and our people...

Because we know that impeachment will be a victory for the American people and want it to be seen as such...

**We Will MARCH TO IMPEACH NIXON**  
**APRIL 27, 1974**

—TED GLICK

## O N F A S T I N G

Hunger is a message from the mind not the body. Years ago attempting to fast I went thru agonies. Pangs in the stomach. Headaches. Cramps. I thought I was going to be sick. People say the hunger goes away after two days, but fasting in recent years I have experienced no hunger. No hunger at all. I have stopped eating & the happy feeling has started right away.

Why fast? Cleanse the body. Cleanse the mind. Take a holiday from the everyday world. A holiday from our incessant appetites. Fasting gives me a joyous high. A light free airy feeling. Like marijuana, but even less earth-bound. Fasting helps me center down on my true desires. Helps me cast off desires that weigh me down & finally bore me. When I'm fasting I'm flying.

People who find fasting difficult view it as a hardship on the body. They worry about depriving the body of nutrients & calories everybody knows it needs. Adele Davis stands there in the road, feet spread, hollering, "Don't do it!" I view a fast as a treat for my body. Giving it a well-deserved rest. Time to do those chores it never gets around to doing when I keep shovelling in the food forkful after forkful, day after day. Take it easy, body. Stretch out in the sun. While fasting I make great strides in my yoga.

During a fast I drink water. About two quarts a day. Once I got mild cramps in my calf muscles during a fast, so now I take dolomite tablets. I also take my usual daily vitamins—C, E, the B's plus zinc. I drink a cup of herb tea in the morning, one in the evening, sometimes one before bed.

While fasting I go about my usual daily occupations. A bit more slowly perhaps. Slowly not out of listlessness but out of finding increased capacity to relish each action as I perform it. Fasting puts me in touch with the thousand little gestures, thots, exchanges that make up my moment-to-moment life. I am more sensitive to my own reality.

Indeed, the problem with fasting is not too little energy but too much. I'm always creative during a fast—& productive. That's one of the reasons for fasting. I have to be careful not to over-do or I won't be able to switch it off. Once I broke a fast early after lying sleepless for three nights, my brain racing on & on while my body got more & more exhausted. Later fasts I was able to avoid this by not doing too much. By being sure to take some time to sit around & relax. To goof on what's going on. Wow.

My fasts have lasted between five days & ten days. Twice a year. Choose times when there's nothing from the garden. Once I was fasting when the sweet corn came in. I couldn't resist. I ate two ears. My bewildered body passed the kernels thru unchanged.

The body's response to a fast varies a great deal. Once I lost about twenty pounds, including two inches around my waist. But the fast before and the fast after didn't change my weight much. The lost weight didn't come back. I think this is partly because my body likes this new weight, partly because my eating habits changed. Finally I've gotten it thru my head that pleasure in eating comes from the taste, the fragrance, the texture on the tongue, the chewiness, the color, the appearance, the anticipation of food—not from the quantity. One egg at breakfast is as delicious as two. A second serving of pinto beans really doesn't taste better than the first.

A pitfall of fasting: Your mind will tend to dwell on food. You can have incredible food fantasies. Read a cookbook as tho it were a thriller. Ah, the meals I fix in my mind. Sometimes I think it best to draw away from such thots. They seem to make a fast drag on & on. Other times these fantasies are so real, so satisfying in themselves that it seems the better part of wisdom to go with them, to revel in the dazzling beauty of the things we eat.

Ending a fast. I'm always so high from fasting I think I'll never want to eat again. I don't get hungry so it seems I could go on & on. Why don't I? Maybe someday I will. But it always turns out there are certain things I want to do or need to do that I don't want to do while fasting. Eventually enough mount up & I decide to end the fast. Also, fasting is a burden on those you are living with, even if no one intends it to be. Their food ceases to taste good, they're always hungry no matter how much they eat—or else they keep putting off eating till they're ravenous & eat stupidly.

How to end a fast? Some plan for days for the gala meal whereby they'll reenter the world of food. Others break a fast in ways that strike me as barbaric—such as pizza & beer. I usually end a fast early in the morning with a soft-boiled egg & an English muffin dripping with butter & home-made blackberry jam.

Mark Morris was the first Managing Editor of WIN. Now he lives with friends on a farm in West Virginia, where he wrote this during a recent fast.



By Peter Green. From book, I WANT TO MAKE ONE THING PERFECTLY CLEAR/LNS.



# CHANGES

This is a sample ad prepared by Public Interest Communications to counter the media propaganda of the energy industry. Besides 6 ads, (like the one on the right) for the print media, PIC also has available a radio tape of 5 sixty second spots, and 4 separate television ads. Typical of these ads is one for TV that shows a man wearing a breathing apparatus at a gas pump marked AIRCO. He asks the attendant to "fill it up with regular, please," as a voice over says, "Think how absurd it would be if a few big corporations controlled the world's air supply. Think about it for a moment. Then think about oil."

These alternative ads are available free to all media outlets from PUBLIC INTEREST COMMUNICATIONS, 1300 Sansome Street, San Francisco, CA 94111. Why not ask your local radio or TV station and your local paper to run them.

## WHITE COLLAR CRIMINALS PROVE THAT CRIME DOES PAY

Executives of many of the largest corporations in the United States are ripping off the economy with wage increases that violate the 5.5% limit established by the government's economic stabilization program. At the same time, wage increases of union and non-union workers have held to that guideline despite the fact that in terms of purchasing power, real income has dropped three years in a row.

The executive with the biggest hand in the till is William S. Anderson of the National Cash Register Co., who got a salary hike of \$132,155 to raise his wage to a cool \$275,000. But Anderson is just a pauper compared with Frank T. Cary, chairman of IBM who got \$446,000 last year, edging out William F. Rockwell, Jr. of Rockwell International who dunned the company for \$432,000. The salary of last year's winner, Richard Gerstenberg of GM, has not yet been reported.

Other nimble-fingered execs are John D. DeButts, chairman of AT&T who went from \$256,250 to \$325,738; Chrysler's Lynn A. Townsend—\$311,140 to \$393,440; Reginald H. Jones of GE—\$231,674 to \$312,528; William O. Beers, the big cheese at Draftco—\$263,809 to \$320,913; John W. Hanley of Monsanto

## This oil executive will go to bed hungry tonight.



His COMPANY earned almost two billion dollars in profits\* last year, but that's not enough for him. Because he knows the world is running out of fossil fuels, and unless he can move in and monopolize a new power source, in the same way he's monopolized oil, he's going to be out of a job before very long.

That's why he says his company's astronomical profits aren't excessive—because he needs those profits to maintain his power. That's why he's asking for huge new hand-outs and tax incentives from the taxpayers—because he wants the government to pay the bills, and his company to reap the benefits.

If he doesn't get what he wants, he may not be able to go on collecting his \$300,000 a year salary. He may not be able to go on manipulating the world energy market to the benefit of his stockholders and to the detriment of everyone else. He may be forced to give way to a system where the public controls the public resources for the public good.

If you think America's energy supply is too important to be left to a few huge multinational conglomerates, write your elected representatives and tell them that. The oil industry is making its voice heard in Washington. Isn't it time the shivering majority was heard from?

### After-tax oil profits—1973

(in millions of dollars)	First nine months of 1973	Increase over 1972
Exxon	1,656	59.4%
Mobil	571	38.3%
Tesaco	839	34.8%
Gulf	570	60.1%
Standard Calif.	560	39.7%
Standard Indefno	350	32.2%
Shell	253	40.6%
Continental	163	23.4%
Atlantic-Richfield	178	36.9%
Total all nine	5,170	45.2%
All oil companies	52,500	40.8%

ENERGY SHOULD BE EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

\$281,900 to \$406,000; Harry Bridges of Shell Oil—\$325,000 to \$365,000; and Mary Wells Lawrence of Wells, Rich Green ad agency—\$284,127 to \$310,595.

These figures represent wages only, stock options, dividends, capital gains, etc. are not included. It should be noted that some executives are tightening their belts, staying within the law, and coping with inflation on last year's salary. David Rockefeller of Chase Manhattan, for instance, had his wage frozen at \$230,000, while William S. Paley of CBS settled on a \$481 raise above last year's \$385,000 base, hardly enough to keep pace with the rising cost of living. —MJ

## GIVE IT TO NIXON DAY IN BOSTON

March 18th is customarily observed in Boston as "Evacuation Day," to commemorate the evacuation of the British troops during the American Revolution. The Massachusetts People's Bicentennial Commission proclaimed the date "Give it to Nixon Day" and asked citizens to donate their personal papers to the Internal Revenue Service to demand the same kind of tax deductions that President Nixon received.

The action began with a "Taxpayers Town Meeting" at Faneuil Hall, attended by 200 people. Speakers included

representatives from Packard Manse (a local social service agency), the United Farmworkers, and the Southern Africa-Boycott Gulf Coalition.

At noon participants marched to the IRS office at the nearby John F. Kennedy Federal Building, led by a "town crier" dressed in colonial costume and by huge puppets of Nixon, Kissinger, and the Pentagon computer. At a demonstration on the mall, several people explained why they were giving their papers. George Wald, the Harvard biologist, presented the letters he had received after his famous "Generation in Search of a Future" speech five years ago. A man from New Hampshire presented the contemptuous replies he had received from his Congressmen, after writing them about Nixon's tax practices. Nixon gave 18½ minutes of his tapes, and Kissinger gave his integrity.

Many of the demonstrators moved into the JFK Building, where the IRS had set up desks to deal with the people. Those who tried to present papers were presented with an IRS statement explaining that no papers could be donated for deductions after 1969 (which was a year before Nixon donated his).

Another demonstration is planned for April 15th, Massachusetts Patriots Day, the anniversary of the battle of Concord bridge. —John Kyper

## TWO TOP PORTUGUESE GENERALS OUSTED FOR OPPOSING AFRICAN WAR

What one newspaper termed "Portugal's biggest political crisis since the fighting began in its African possession 13 years ago" occurred on March 14 when the dictatorial regime dismissed its two top generals for opposing the war. They are General Francisco do Costa Gomes, chief of the defense staff and General Antonio de Spínola, his deputy and author of a book which has become Portugal's best seller, "Portugal and the Future."

As pointed out by one reviewer: "It not only constituted a slashing attack on the war that Portugal has conducted for 13 years in her African colonies but it came from a man highly honored for his contribution to that war." It proposes that Portugal establish a federation granting equality to Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

The underground-left in Portugal views this proposal as too little and too late. Leaders of the African liberation struggle are waiting to see its actual effect on the war. However, as one headline four days after the generals' ouster points out: "The Crisis Continues." On that day, the commandant of the military academy was fired for permitting dissident officers to hold a protest meeting over the generals' ouster. Also dismissed was the naval secretary of the armed forces defense staff. As of March 18, 33 officers, mostly of junior grade, were arrested. Two days previous, 200 members of an infantry regiment participated in a 50-mile protest motorcade into Lisbon. —Jim Peck

## FAST ACTION NEEDED TO STOP HIDDEN GRAB FOR INDIAN LANDS

In the US Congress there now is a bill which provides a new way to violate Indian reservation land and sovereignty rights. Everyone who supports these rights should oppose this bill. H.R. 11748 was introduced Dec. 3 by Congressman Lujan (R. New Mexico) It is written in vague, tricky language, the way some of the worst land grab legislation has been written. People can't understand what it means until too late.

What this bill does is make individuals or corporations who lease Indian land "subject to the jurisdiction of the State and political subdivision in which the land subject to lease is located." That means that land (and "improvements" on it) leased by corporations or individuals are removed from tribal jurisdiction.

The likely results of this are very bad. Where tribes have managed to keep

control of their reservations' development through their own tribally-chartered corporations, their efforts are likely to be wiped out by taxes and state, county, or municipal regulations. Where non-Indians have invaded reservation land with leases, local jurisdiction most likely means the kind of local control that favors their interests at Indian expense.

Write, phone, or wire your Congressman and Rep. Lloyd Meeds (D-Wa.), chairman of the House Indian Affairs Subcommittee where the bill now rests. Contribute to the Wounded Knee Legal Offense-Defense Committee, Box 255, Sioux Falls, SD 57101. —AIM

## SEVEN MONTHS FOR "DESERTER" WHO SURRENDERED PUBLICLY

Lewis Simon, who along with Ed McNally surrendered publicly in New York last December to help publicize the need for amnesty, was sentenced to seven months in jail in a courtmartial at Fort Dix March 18. Two days previous, at Fort Dix, Safe Return conducted its third protest demonstration on Simon's behalf. Simon had taken refuge in Sweden from the Vietnam War.

He had wanted to testify for amnesty at the recent Congressional hearings, but was prohibited from doing so by the Defense Department. In addition to the prison sentence, he was given a bad conduct discharge. In an earlier courtmartial, McNally also received a bad conduct discharge, but no jail term.

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who had made a strong plea for Simon, told newsmen following the courtmartial decision: "This conviction will strengthen the movement for amnesty because it will increase our desire for justice." —J.P.

## PRISON NOTES

Early in March, six indictments for refusal to register for the draft, the first on that charge since the late 1960's, were handed down by a Federal grand jury in Pittsburgh. One of the indictments was for action's occurring in 1968 one in 1969, three in 1971 and one in 1972. The US attorney accompanied the indictments with a warning that any 18-year-old male who failed to register

was subject to prosecution. The *New York Times* reports that after the announcement draft boards were swamped by youths who claimed they had not known they were supposed to register. While such a crackdown is an obvious attempt to check the tide of nonregistration, it is dangerous and might well result in some jailings. Protests against such repressive actions should be sent to Attorney General William Saxbe in Washington.

In Australia the *Melbourne Age* reports that the Students' Representative Council of La Trobe University declared that their campus would be a haven for prison escapees, "in order to express the strongest condemnation of the mistreatment of prisoners in Victorian gaols." University students also announced that in 1971 and 1973, prison escapees had been harbored at La Trobe University and that prisoners escaped because they could not stand the way they were treated in jail. Both government and university officials said the council had no authority for the declaration and that they would be subject to a \$1000 fine for harboring an escapee. Pending legislation will add a possible year in jail to the penalty.

One of the more imaginative and positive moves to improve the lot of prisoners in recent years has been a series of work and study release programs which enable inmates to spend at least a part of their time outside the oppressive prison environment. In Ohio all such programs were abruptly ended when a county prosecutor, George Smith, hoping to become Ohio's attorney general, filed a court injunction to stop them. Smith claimed that inmates should not be released before parole and that Ohioans should not have to be "rubbing elbows" with convicted felons. He also alleged that six inmates on such programs had escaped. Several clinics treating brain damaged children used volunteer workers from Ohio prisons, and people connected with them have protested this politically motivated termination of the program.

One of the aspects of prisons which needs much more probing is the vested interest and profiteering from such places. In Virginia state auditors are currently investigating what appears to be between \$50,000 and \$100,000 missing from prisoner savings accounts administered by state prison officials. All prisoners in Virginia are compelled to deposit ten cents a day from money earned in prison jobs in a non-interest-bearing savings account and it is from this fund that the money is allegedly missing. —Larry Gara





# BOOK REVIEWS

## THE HOMOSEXUAL RIGHTS MOVEMENT (1864-1935)

John Lauritsen and David Thorstad  
14pp., published by the authors, 50¢

This little pamphlet is an informative capsule history of early organizational efforts of proud, freedom-loving homosexuals. The authors argue that in fact the current gay liberation movement should be considered a "second wave." Sadly, the authors point out, "the history of the first wave of gay liberation has been almost *entirely* suppressed and, thanks to the efforts of Stalinism and Nazism, many traces of it obliterated."

To trace the early history of gay liberation, we go first to Germany. There we meet Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, a German homosexual who, in 1864, wrote his first "social and juridical studies on the riddle of love between men." These were entitled "Vindex" and "Inclusa." Ulrichs and other early homosexual rights thinkers put forth the notion that homosexuals were a "third sex," and although like authors John Lauritsen and David Thorstad, I believe this is a "mistaken" notion, it is clear that Ulrichs' purpose is to place homosexuality within nature, and so the authors are correct in identifying Ulrichs as "the grandfather of gay liberation."

Tracing the campaign of German homosexuals and their supporters against Paragraph 175 (the German legal code's anti-gay law, passed in 1870), the authors' research led them to the Scientific Humanitarian Committee, founded in 1897 by Magnus Hirschfeld, a Jewish physician. Dr. Hirschfeld's struggle as a gay rights advocate is strikingly similar to that of present-day activists. It is a little scary, however, to think that he did it all way back then! Hirschfeld engaged in scientific research, he was an indefatigable public speaker (traveling to many nations), and he lobbied in the political arena (one of the German gays' staunchest supporters was August Bebel, the famous Social-Democratic leader). Hirschfeld and his colleagues circulated petitions, wrote pamphlets, and even made a gay-and-proud movie (apparently no copies are extant).

The efforts of the Scientific Humanitarian Committee (which had dozens of chapters and branches) led to the opening in 1919 of the Institute for Sexual Science, "truly a forerunner of the Kinsey Institute for Sex Research." In the early 1920's, Hirschfeld was attacked and nearly killed by anti-Semites, and before long, in 1933, Nazi thugs invaded and destroyed the Institute. Hirschfeld went into exile in France, hoping to rebuild the Institute, but he died in 1935.

The authors of this pamphlet cover early gay rights efforts in other nations, including Holland, England and the Soviet Union. They show clearly that socialist tradition prior to the rise of Stalinism tended to support the struggle of homosexuals, indeed, that many of the early homosexual spokesmen, such as Britain's Whitmanesque personality Edward Carpenter, were socialists and/or pacifists. As for the United States, the authors state that there "does not appear to have been much, if any, organized gay rights activity" during the period covered by their research. They note, however, that "one of the first, if not the first, public supporters of gay rights in the United States was Emma Goldman." They quote the famous anarchist's statements in support of homosexual freedom, resulting at least in part from her familiarity with the work of Dr. Hirschfeld. Goldman wrote:

*Even years ago when I still knew nothing about sex psychology and my own familiarity with homosexuals was limited to a few women whom I got to know in jail, where I wound up because of my political convictions, I firmly stood up in defense of Oscar Wilde. As an anarchist, my place has always been alongside the persecuted. The entire trial and conviction of Wilde struck me as an act of horrible injustice and repulsive hypocrisy on the part of the society that had condemned this man.*

The historical account in this pamphlet is fascinating and inspiring. It is presented in a straightforward and useful manner. I think it is unfortunate, however, that the authors do not provide footnotes or a bibliography. Such academic trappings are often a bore, but in this case, since we are dealing with such new ground, it would be useful.

In an introduction to the pamphlet, the authors indicate that it was first published in the Discussion Bulletin of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), "an organization to which the authors no longer belong." It would be interesting to learn how the SWP reacted to this research, and why the authors are no longer affiliated with this allegedly pro-gay group. Also, I do not understand why the authors did not make an effort to have this material published in the gay press.

Some of the same historical data, by the way, has appeared in an excellent series of articles by Jim Steakley in the *Body Politic*, a gay liberation paper published in Toronto. Steakley's articles, unlike this pamphlet, examine some of the internal contradictions within the early gay movement and seem to include a feminist-oriented analysis of the period. A segment of the gay movement, according to Steakley, confused gay rights with worship of masculinity, and this segment supported early Nazism.

For a copy of this pamphlet, send 50¢ to Lauritsen/Thorstad, 316 E. 11 St., New York, NY 10003. For the Steakley series on early gay history, send 80¢ (for two issues) to the Body Politic, 139 Seaton St., Toronto, Ont. M5A 2T2. —Allen Young

## PROMISE THEM ANYTHING

Edward Buxton  
Warner Paperback Library/ \$1.50

As anyone who has labored in advertising can tell you, it is far from a "glamorous" field of endeavor; it is a kind of work fraught with peculiar and nonsensical complexities, one that requires vast compromises by people of integrity, and one that is subject to massive insecurities. It is also an industry that has a grave effect on the manners and mores of the American consumer, which means just about everybody. It is a particular corner of enterprise badly in need of a couple of really well-done muckraking forays by dedicated writers of exposes. Unfortunately, Edward Buxton is *not* such a writer and although his title hints at an open-surgery look at the sins of the not-too-well-hidden persuaders, his book fails

to deliver much more than another glamorization written in the style of "The Romance of Advertising."

In *Promise Them Anything* we are introduced to some of the king-pins of present day advertising, many of whom you might know from elsewhere as they are far from publicity-shy. There's tweedy, English, David Ogilvy best-known, perhaps, for his copy for Rolls-Royce that claimed the expensive car was so quiet that at high speed you could hear only "the ticking of the clock." There are the trend-setting craftsmen at Doyle, Dane, Bernback who merchandised the Volkswagon in their unique, offbeat style and pioneered a new kind of ad for a wide variety of clients. The success stories abound. Buxton, who knows advertising well as editor of a leading ad trade journal, recounts anecdotes and draws profiles of the super stars of the ad game, art directors, copy writers, account executives, and agency heads who've garnered the big money and big publicity (as he points out, they almost always go hand-in-hand). For anyone venturing into these commercial precincts, *Promise Them Anything* will serve as a guidebook and inspirational text. For others, looking in from the outside, it makes for fairly interesting reading, although its entire tone is pro-advertising. It is not much of a source book for the Nader's Raiders types in search of examples of the evils of conspicuous over-consumption and unmitigated product-pushing. Buxton writes as if he doesn't even know such criticisms exist. In a chapter called "The Enemies of Advertising" he reports some of the gaffes that have been exposed by the Federal Trade Commission such as the case of the marbles used to make a well-known brand of soup photograph better for TV spots, but he passes over all this as if it were just a number of isolated instances of "too much enthusiasm" on the part of agencies and sponsors. Well, he is rather committed to the system as it is, so perhaps such blindness is to be expected but I certainly hope someone else without such myopia writes a book which clearly examines the actions of the advertising industry, digging deep down into the roots of its commercialized philosophies and illustrating the whole thing with clearly defined examples of its day-to-day deceptions. It could make for a very important and worthwhile book. *Promise Them Anything* isn't such a book. It is a slick, ain't-we-got fun-and-money publicity puff that reads like it was subsidized by the Advertising In American Life Foundation.

—Tom McNamara





## LETTERS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Oglesby's essay: "Melville, or water consciousness & its madness," which appeared in the Spring '72 issue of Tri-Quarterly (*Literature in Revolution*). Writes Oglesby: "Moby Dick is still a not-yet-contemporary novel. . . because Ahab is a still-developing, still-emerging force in our society, the same as in Melville's time. . . Ahab, the Yankee Fishfreak!"

May I simply urge that *The Tale of Kieu* and *Moby Dick* be read together, that these two classics, each representing the quick of our civilization, be somehow accounted for.

—JOHN DOWLIN  
Phila., PA

It's true: WIN really is exceptional in relevance, clarity and interest!

One of your admirable achievements is your Middle East coverage which recognizes, with lapses, that there is much to be said—in sincerity and with empathy—to all parties in the conflict, not just the Israelis.

In the latter regard, BRAVO to your reader Harvey Chertok (letter, WIN 3/7/74). Sometimes I wonder if the tendency of some to critique Israel exclusively as if the Arabs were not also involved is not the subtlest racism of all—against Arabs.

We all know Jews and, therefore, think we know Israelis. We all have some inkling however skewed, of Jewish culture and history. But who knows an Arab or anything of Islamic culture and history or of Coptic Christianity?

Are people afraid they can't communicate with Arabs or that the Arabs "won't listen anyway?" But surely if what we say is at all worthwhile and if we are not foolish or fanatical enough to believe that anyone, including (say) Palestinians, are perfect—there is much that Arabs, as well as Israelis, should be learning about nonviolence, human outreach, compromise and peace.

—EDWARD J. GOLDSTEIN  
Fresh Meadows, NY

Beverly Woodward (2/28/74) uses *non-violent, civil, and non-military* defense interchangeably. I suggest that good peace research begin not by lumping terms together but classifying and separating them. This will be a service to peace movement people who, because of lack of definitions, sometimes do not know what they are for and what they are against. I have always found it useful to distinguish *civilian defense*, as shown by historic examples in Adam Roberts collection of that name, from the more Gandhian, love-your-enemy *nonviolent defense*.

As an illustration, I suggest researchers could categorize somewhat along the following sketchy lines: NONMILITARY ACTION: *Nonresistant defense*—Walks second mile, gives second coat, turns second cheek; *Nonviolent defense*—Refuses unjust orders, but to individuals remains loving, truthful, open as above; *Civilian defense*—Sabotages property and hurls epithets, but refuses to

harm human bodies as above. MILITARY ACTION: *Code defense*—Uses no outlawed weapons, respects civilian populations, prisoners, hospitals; *Limited war defense*—Accepts all weapons but nuclear, all targets; *Total war defense*—Accepts no limits.

My second comment is more philosophical. Beverly says ". . . There will be no long-term warlessness without fundamental structural change." That may well be true, or there may well be wars for other reasons, as in feudal times, but in any case, isn't *achieving* warlessness too big a job for the peace movement? Good luck to those spending their lives that way, but I'll settle for less ambitious and nearer-at-hand way of handling the crises of injustice as they arise, because I think the victims can't wait.

Finally, and because I generally agree with Beverly's article as a whole, I suggest Namibia as a good spot to try out a united program of both peace studies and peace action. That country, 90% non-white, is occupied by the Republic of South Africa—how illegally, peace studies could determine. The UN has declared its jurisdiction over the territory but has not received backing by Western powers—again a subject for peace research, as well as what the next step for justice ought to be: maybe nonviolent defense against the aggressor, maybe civilian defense. Crusading, anyone?

—FRANKLIN ZAHN  
Pomona, CA

My heart and life are totally devoted to the cause of Peace and Freedom through non-violent action. Peace for all creation.

I live in a quiet part of the world, where the tragedy and despair of humanity is quite remote in its immediate sense.

I have my part to play in the bringing about of peace to humanity. I am a disciple of the guru Sri Chinmoy.

The purpose of my writing is to stress the importance and the effectiveness of meditation on Inner Peace.

If every member of the Peace Movement were to have inner peace, our strength and effectiveness power would soon grow and manifest an hundredfold. This is slowly happening, and I would like to quicken the process.

Unity in multiplicity, peace in each individual, steady growth—convincingly, transformingly—through meditation. The technique is quite simple:

Sit on a flat surface with legs crossed, or on a chair with back erect.

Relax

Place your hand on your heart. Feel the beat.

30 seconds

Close your eyes and concentrate on the heart-beat.

When you can quite easily focus your attention on the constant vibration you may place your hand in your lap.

Continue for fifteen minutes.

This is a centering exercise that will put your consciousness in the eye of the tornado, where there is all peace in action.

This process is a *self discipline*. For it to bring forth the desired fruit, it must be done every day for 15 to 20 minutes.

Best time is when you wake up. Results are immediate, and if you grow fond of the practice, you can do it again in the evening or at noon, or any time.

Results are in direct proportion to concentration and aspiration for Infinite Peace.

Any questions can be directed towards me at General Delivery, Roberts Creek, B.C. or Sri Chinmoy Lighthouse, 86-14 Parsons Blvd. Jamaica, N.Y. 11432 (call) 212 523-3471

—ALAN BECKERMAN  
BC, Canada

We are prisoners at Rikers Island, being held with and without various ransoms which the system ignorantly calls bail. We were transferred to this colony of cages (shipped like cattle) from various buildings of cage's in Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan and Queens, to await the pretense of a "speedy and public trial" (hardly ever "speedy"!); and an "impartial jury" (a sick joke for poor and ex-convicts etc!); and the "compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor" (but the state seems never to be able to force one's defence "witnesses" into a courtroom, while always seeming to get all prosecution "witnesses" into court!); and that most tragic force "to have the assistance of counsel for his defence" (such court assigned "assistance of counsel" is more equal to being assigned one's own Judas!)

Being poor we are forced to accept court appointed lawyers who usually inadequately represent us. These respectable educated lawyers continually harrass us to plead guilty, assuring us we have "no chance in a trial" because we are poor and often ex-cons; drug addicts; alcoholics; etc. and consequently we will "never be believed!" That these problems often stem from childhood shows how long we have had "no chance in a trial" and may explain some of our former convictions because we pleaded guilty due to fear—not guilt!! Facing 25 years and innocent, *but assured you can't win*, wouldn't you plead guilty to 7 years?

We therefore desperately need legal information and any materials concerning preparation for a criminal defense and if need be an appeal etc.

A good Brother responded to a letter by one of our co-prisoners that your magazine published. He sent a lawbook which is well used by us. Yet we need more, far more help, to educate and thereby protect ourselves in the lousy courtrooms of this system! Will our people help?

Render us what assistance you believe will help us to develop into more fortunate and humane beings. We ask help because we are in Great Need!!

—ERIC EGAN 346-73-4317 (Block 7)  
JAMES FISHER 141-72-9346 (Block 4)  
14-14 Hazen Street  
East Elmhurst, NY 11370



## PEOPLE'S BULLETIN BOARD

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

Trial and acquittal of the New York Panther 21 (a.k.a. Panther 13), told by one of the jurors: JUROR NUMBER FOUR by Edwin Kennebeck (\$6.95, W.W. Norton & Co., NYC).

DAN BERRIGAN writes: "The Recantation [of Galileo, by Eric Bentley] is a brave and skillful play. It sheds light on the dark spaces of the soul and the even darker spaces of the world. There, in the century of Galileo and our own, ruffians seek to extinguish the skill and bravery which are our only hope." \$3.25. Harper & Row, 10 E 53, NYC 10022.

Research? Turn of century woman authors. FREE BOOKLIST. Rt 1, Box 240-C, Oroville, CA 95965.

Considering Sterilization? VASECTOMY: A PERSONAL ACCOUNT. \$2.00—Scuccl, Box 293, Sunderland, Mass. 01375.

New Directions School is now accepting applications for administrative director and education director for the fall and summer of 1974. Write New Directions School, 2452 Pacific Ave., Long Beach, CA 90806.

SOCIAL WORKERS FOR IMPEACHMENT mass meeting to be held on Thursday evening April 18th at 7:30 pm in the Community Church, 40 East 35th Street, New York City.

ALTERNATE LIFE-STYLE, anarchism, revolutionary culture, ecology, youth liberation: books, pamphlets, posters. Free catalog; Times Change Press, Penwell-WN, Washington; NJ 07882.

THE COMMUNE MOVEMENT would like to hear from any groups who are working and living together and who would be willing to write about themselves in the movement's Journal Communes. Interested people please write to coordinator Dave Puddy, Trokes Family, Llanarth, Ceredigion, Cymru (Wales) U.K.

MICHELLE BANNON. I am still being held at the Bklyn House of Detention. Please write to me. Love and kisses your Black Prince.

Presently incarcerated. Interested in initiating a correspondence with a liberated female. I am 34 years of age, 6', 185 lbs. and blessed with excellent health and physical condition. James Pernick, No. 132-792, PO Box 787, Lucasville, OH 45648.

RECON, March issue includes Irish Republican Strategy, A Woman Marine's Story, The Purpose of the Volunteer Army, Air Force to Seize Tinian Island, and a review of "Arms & the Art of Revolution" by Katharine Chorley. Send 25¢ for copy, \$3 for a one year subscription (12 issues) to PO Box 14602, Phila, PA 19134.

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VOLUNTEER CONSTRUCTION WORKERS needed by community school in Blue Ridge Mountains struggling to finish solar-heated family house. If you have carpentry skills, or brawn (for moving dirt), if you can stay at least two weeks, write pronto to Carla, Box 41, Woodville, Va. 22749.

FREE MAGICKAL INITIATION BY MAIL! The Order of the Illuminati, one of the oldest Magickal fraternities in the world, is again accepting applications. Instruction is personal and always without fee. Write a long, detailed letter about yourself, and why you should be selected for this life's work. Write to Frater Aien Gorden, Grand Deacon, The Order of the Illuminati, 1437 Poik St., No. 4, San Francisco, CA 94109.

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