

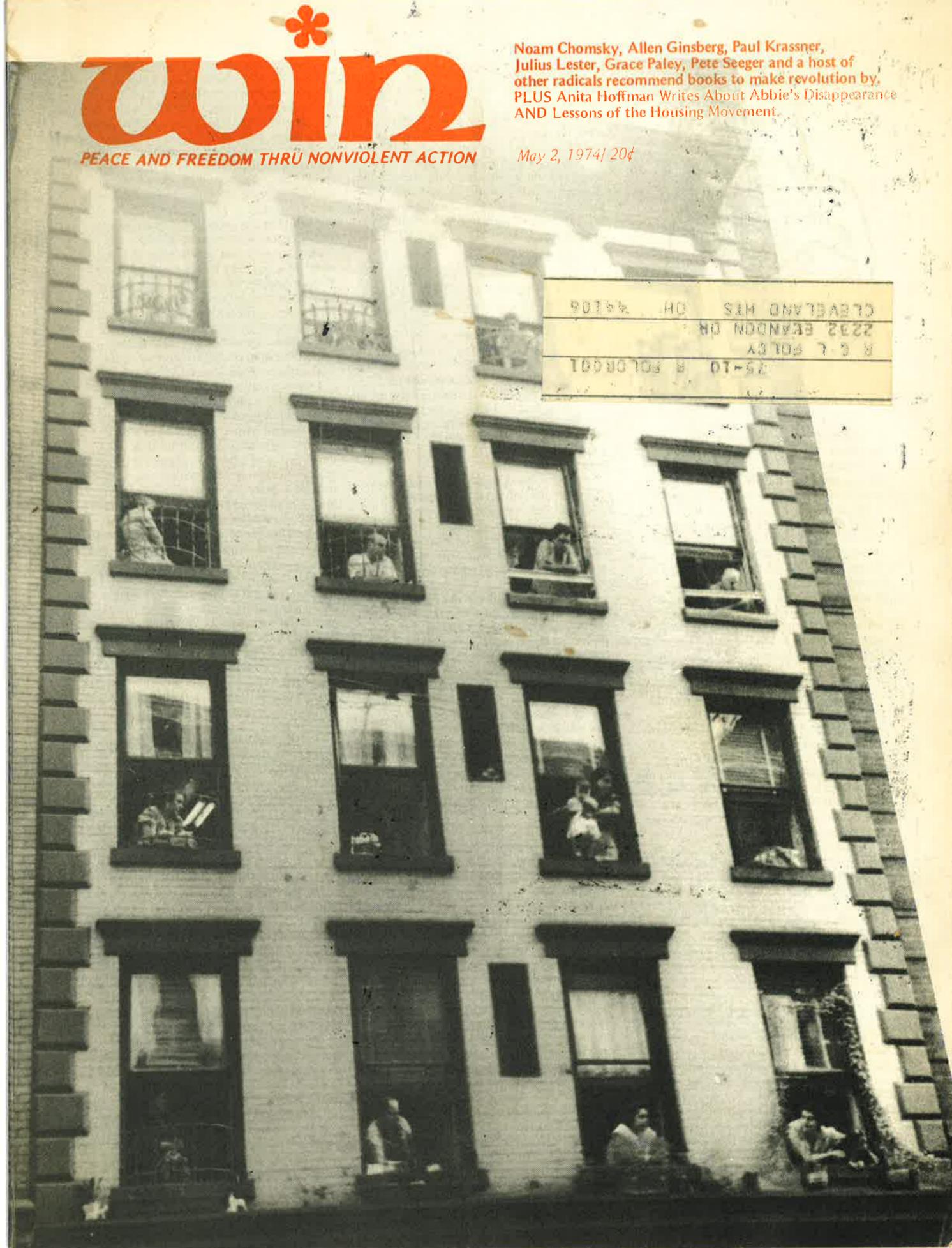
win

PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

Noam Chomsky, Allen Ginsberg, Paul Krassner,
Julius Lester, Grace Paley, Pete Seeger and a host of
other radicals recommend books to make revolution by.
PLUS Anita Hoffman Writes About Abbie's Disappearance
AND Lessons of the Housing Movement.

May 2, 1974 | 20¢

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Before I say anything else, I want to say thanks for the Men's Issue [WIN 4/11/74]. It's beautiful.

Having said that, I want to make some criticisms. Bob Lamm's "Cautionary Note" is about the most important piece in the whole issue, and you've stuck it at the end as if it's just an afterthought. The extent to which the Men's Movement is of, by, and for upper middle class men is appalling to me even though I am extremely involved in it and love its ideas. Just read that piece you printed by Noel Tepper! The whole article is stifflingly heterosexual, cool, bourgeois, and generalistic. It represents the worst aspects of what the Men's Movement can get into.

For me, the point of men's liberation is to further a social revolution by smashing patriarchy and the male sex role. We can only begin to do that by giving up as many male privileges as possible. Being cool and complacent is, I'm afraid, a distinctly decadent, upper-class privilege. My dilemma in my own life is how to unify the two trends of being radically anti-sexist but also extremely aware of the bourgeois life-style as oppressive and horrible.

I have always thought of WIN as a big help in trying to bring together these two types of radical consciousness. But the main articles in this issue didn't confront it at all. That just reinforces people's criticisms that the struggles against sexism are only relevant to upper middle class people. I wish someone would write an article dealing realistically with this problem, and help people like me resolve our feeling of splitness.

—JEFF KEITH
Northampton, MA

Just a very quick letter to compliment you on your special issue on Men. I was recently almost a statistic as a result of our patriarchal system—suicide—because of ignorance on my part. I'm not fully out of my ignorant bag but your article entitled "My Male Sex Role—And Ours" really got down to the essence of the problem. "Patriarchy, GUS & I" was running a close second to "My Male" since it gave

us some more history which is very important. "...And A Cautionary Note" I would say is important—thank God you put that in there—I guess it really tied the whole thing together.

Now lets have some more, more about the history of our men, more about the history of our women. Help us. How about an issue on man + woman + marriage. You know there are people walking around on this earth who desperately need your kind of literature.

—SANDRA BATORSKY

Your special MEN issue [WIN, 4/11/74] disappoints me as male who is also gay. Over the last few years we have been spewing our guts out in gay papers. To your "men," we remain as invisible and non-existent as ever. Without even mentioning faggots, Marty Jezer admits he didn't see "any women writers, poets, intellectuals, or artists (they were there, but I didn't see them, i.e. take them seriously)." Didn't he notice that Greenwich Village was a gay ghetto; Washington Square our cruising ground?

I think a breaking down of roles must be at the heart of liberation—not only roles between male and female but also those between homosexual, heterosexual—and if you wish celibate or bisexual. Harsh roles of what it is to be a man or woman or fag are a measure of slavery and authoritarianism.

Your "men" skirt sex like a disease; obviously they are uncomfortable conceptualizing themselves as sexual beings—preferring an image of poet, scholar, and theorist of revolution.

Finally, a cautionary note about Bob Lamm's claim that some feminist, gay liberation and men's movements have been coopted. Has that argument ever carried any weight against worker's organizations, anti-imperialists or Third World movements? Lamm might profitably check into the financial backers of his own New School for Social Research or Queens College.

—CHARLEY SHIVELY
Boston, MA

I have some uneasy feelings about the recent WIN Men's Issue. You obviously decided to exclude gay men from the issue, acknowledging our prior contribution to the pages of WIN. But on what basis does this exclusion occur? It is my belief that gay men, socialized as men ("making it" at times, often failing), would have something to say about the male experience.

You wrote that the issue was published "to correct the dearth of creative response by heterosexual men to issues raised by the movements for women's and gay liberation." As a faggot, I feel I have to say that the men writing in WIN didn't do a very honest job of responding to gay liberation. In fact, I wonder if any of them have read any of our literature or listened to us at all. Joseph Pleck, for example, says he was a failure in gym class—but did he ever get called "fairy" or "faggot"... and what did such epithets mean for his experience?

It is the nitty-gritty of sex which is perhaps the most revealing aspect of men's consciousness-raising, and the WIN men are silent on this. What about masturbation, gang bangs, prostitution, anal eroticism, attitudes toward oral sex, impotence, non-genital sensuality, male and female orgasm, circle jerks, conquest, high school and collegiate dating, abortion, breast fixation, penis size, etc.?

I think it is a good thing for straight men to begin to explore their minds and bodies as a response to feminism and gay liberation, but they have a long way to go. We gay men, by the way, also have a long way to go in responding to feminism. In fact, a very good subject that should have been included in your Men's Issue is the unique response of the gay male to the feminist revolution, an article that could deal with our growth and our failures.

My most crucial objection to the so-called men's movement is its affirmation, repeated in this case, of its predominantly heterosexual nature. I don't mean a dogmatic "everyone is gay" riff by this. I do mean that men who find themselves involved exclusively with women sexually need to explore the homosexuality they have repressed over the years. This is a step toward eliminating the sharply distinct line between homosexual and heterosexual (those clinical terms!), and ultimately creating a new kind of social interaction between human beings so that the gay experience is not confined to dark alleys, urban gay ghettos, smokey bars, and, yes, gay liberation meetings. When men no longer feel the need to affirm their straightness, when "faggot" is not an ugly put-down, a lot of people will be happier and more free.

—ALLEN YOUNG
Royalston, MA

I really enjoyed your issue concerning Men's Liberation. After reading about Women's Lib for the last few months I was beginning to wonder if a male was entitled to break out of his bonds, also. Thanks!

—BRUCE CHRISTENSEN
Rochester, MN

Reading Phil Berrigan's short article, [WIN, 4/18/74] on resourceful Arnold's manner of dealing with prison violence brought back a memory still vivid in my mind.

I performed part of my alternate service in the back ward of a state institution for mentally retarded persons. The "inmates" were profoundly retarded (IQ 0-25) adult males who had been grouped together because of their purported aggressive and hyperactive behavior.

The ward atmosphere was one of bedlam and random violence. The badly understaffed attendants relied upon fear to maintain some degree of "law and order". Violations of any vestige of human dignity, regular physical brutality and sheer meanness were commonplace.

I grew to respect greatly the rare staff person who resisted this type of conduct, but more than that I admired the few in-

mates whose strength of spirit kept them from being totally institutionalized.

Well as I said, Phil's article made me think of one of the "boys" in particular. This guy had no external indications in appearance that he was retarded. He was in excellent physical condition. Although he could not talk at all, he could communicate pretty well by gesture, and he liked to keep himself neat—something nearly impossible in the ward he was in and a very rare trait among his fellows. During the summer months particularly, he liked to take a shower to cool down during the day. Naturally, his wish represented a break in the ward routine, and if he persisted in asserting it with the attendants, he was well aware that he'd get clobbered.

So the guy worked out a regular practice that not only got him his shower, but

also prevented any attendant from laying a finger on him. You guessed it—Arnold's shit trick—smears from head to toe.

I guess the plight of the human beings which society places in total institutions—be they places of "rehabilitation" or "custodial care" is a common one, and the few "inmates" who manage "to get their shit together" are to be admired.

—J. MURPHY
Cranston, RI

In your 3/28/74 issue on pg. 9 there is a very nice wood cut. However! If you will look closely one of the banners says "Socialism means Brotherhood." What about the sister holding up the whole thing?

—CINDY EDGERTON
Ambler, PA



Dear Friends,

After scrambling to get the April 4th issue prepared in time for the bus to the city (and the printer) we sat down, top exhausted to talk at first. Then Marty put a record on the player and the phone rang. "Hi! This is Occupied New Paltz calling!" A group of students at the college in nearby New Paltz had taken over the administration building and called us to ask if any of us would care to come over and run workshops or something. Susan commented, "And we thought it was the apethetic 70's!"

So while we sat discussing whether or not we could get up the energy for this new adventure (we wound up visiting them the following afternoon) the conversation, as it often does, got onto our financial plight. Once again the question of whether or not the printer will print since we couldn't send him a check this week came up. Maris was going to call one subscriber to ask for a substantial contribution to get us out of our present particularly tight bind but the person he was trying to reach wasn't home.

We almost had a benefit lined up for the middle of April but just as things were firming up for it we learned that another major concert in the area was already being advertized for the same night, and what with one thing and another all our plans were discombobulated.

So it is time to turn again to you for help. By now most subscribers will have received our fund appeal letter describing just what a bad hole we're in. Initial response has been very good, but we have a long way to go before reaching the \$20,000 we urgently need to continue.

Our policy for years has been to keep the subscription price within the affordable range of people with low incomes. As the letter explains, income from subscriptions and renewals has never covered more than half our expenses. We have always depended on the generosity of those of you who can afford it and like our work well enough to bail us out and keep us going.

Over the past year we have printed all sorts of stuff which may have delighted, annoyed, amused, disgusted, informed, depressed, confused, activated, educated, stupified, inflamed or pleased you. Please help us keep it up.

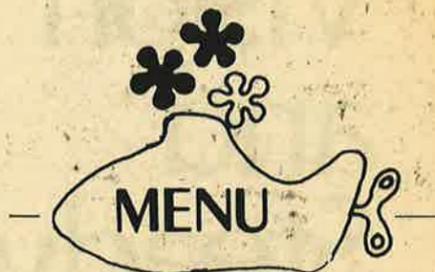
Now is the time your contribution really counts.
Thank you.

Love & Peace,

Mary E Mayo

PS. You won't be seeing us next week. We're taking a week off from publishing so that we can catch up on other things. But we'll be back the week after with our 200th issue!

PPS. We have come up with a painless way that people in the New York area can contribute to this campaign. See p. 21 for details.



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Cover: Photo by Karl Bissinger

ERRATA: The photos with "Feeling the Holes of Hundreds of Bullets" in our 4/18/74 issue should have been credited to Don Luce.

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Vision and Steady Work: Some Lessons for the 70's

In the Greek myth, Sisyphus must spend his eternity in Hades pushing a boulder up a mountain slope. When he nears the crest, the great stone rolls back down and he must begin again. . . and again.

One senses—in these demoralized times—that efforts of common men and women to wrest control of their conditions from the seemingly faceless forces of urban decay and stagnation are condemned to a similar fate. Great bursts of popular energy build and explode only to be suffocated under a cloud of hopelessness, a funk of cynicism.

These pulsations of energy and despair present a stark contrast to as recent a time as 1967, when mayors of every major city in this country kept fire-watch through long summer nights of anger and pride. Yet these are not repetitive cycles. Make no mistake, the ups and downs of popular revolt are each influenced—one way or another—by what came before. It requires, one admits, something like faith to say this, but there is also some evidence that the revolutionary spirit is cumulative. And if so, it is here that we must discard the Myth of Sisyphus as a useless metaphor to the current situation in America. The Greek scenario was unequivocal, explicit—Sisyphus wasn't going to make it, not ever.

In the tenants' movement one sometimes gets a sense of the size of that boulder, and the immense frustration of endlessly rolling it. After all, the "housing crisis" of the cities is very much with us; no sudden, massive, life-changing victories which affect thousands of families are recorded in its history. But before one succumbs to creeping fatalism, one needs to broaden the focus of vision, to understand the context in which this history speaks to us.

The challenge, while examining the record of a social movement such as this one (which is less than world-shaking) is to discern in it what it may become. Even if it appears limited in the nature of the issues it engages, and the kinds of people it appeals to in its present form, it makes an indirect contribution by the experience which its participants may later bring to other issues and groups. This challenge forces us to think historically about the future. What is it about the present from which men and women will learn and gain in a few years' time? (Of course, unpredictable events and yet-to-emerge social forces may prevent the

transference of experience from one period to another; especially is this so in social movements of common people acting for their own collective interests.) When the formal historical writing, the newspapers and the libraries are all filled with markings of the Great upon history it is easy to lose the record of the struggles of Everyman. And because it is easy to lose them, today's activists sometimes view each task as if it were an entirely new one, without precedent or tradition to help guide one's work. This may lead to arrogance, an overweening refusal to learn from others, or to needless duplication of avoidable errors.

Because popular struggles are not well-served by formal media of communication or history, they depend greatly on person-to-person communication. Older workers teach younger ones about how the union was formed; parents teach their children about the great marches in which they participated.

Recently, a student at the University of Michigan interviewed a veteran of the Detroit automobile factories about the organization of the UAW-CIO. Here is a passage from the interview with Jim C. who discussed the early union meetings of workers at Ford's Dearborn plant. The time is the late Thirties:

We may have maybe 20 people at the meeting, and the leader, if you want to call him a conference leader, may come from the coal mines down in Pennsylvania. He would be introduced as Mr. Smith, and he would have been in the United Mine Workers' organization for so many years. He would be an older man than we would be. . . . I remember Michael Woodman who was the first organizer for us and he came from the coal mines. But he was a member of the United Mine Workers. He was an organizer sent out by John L. Lewis to organize other industries. And John L. Lewis believed in the CIO because he had a running feud with the AF of L because AF of L thought it was above them. He sent out those leaders, lieutenants of his, and those are the people who addressed us in the meetings, and told us the things we would get and the things we needed for a better living: security, better wages, better conditions. Because we had been abused. . .

"He would be an older man than we would be. . ." So saying, Jim C. is telling us that the organization of the CIO did not pop out of the Depression on land innocent of the plow. Right there, at 1199 Michigan Avenue, says Jim C., one generation made, face-to-

face, the link to the next. (The struggles of the miners paid off in Detroit as well.) This is an example of historical continuity that worked. Our more recent experience is less successful—though certainly not devoid of the same general relations. One aspect of the experience of the New Left is an example of this.

In 1964 Students for a Democratic Society was two years old, still small. Its view of both the Communist and nonCommunist Left was compressed into the notion that both were "Old Left," both preoccupied with issues which were irrelevant, practices which were obsolete, theories which had failed. Based on the experience of one of the chapters (at Swarthmore College) which had engaged in an alliance with blacks in Chester, Pennsylvania, the organization judged that mass radical politics could be organized amongst the poor people of America—both blacks and whites alike. Community organizing of poor people became the strategic thrust of large and influential parts of the SDS leadership.

The resulting series of projects had originally been funded by a grant from the UAW for "economic research and action." This was part of the continuity: younger sons and daughters of UAW leaders were members of SDS, and through them there was access to and some support from this sector of the labor movement. But the lack of militancy of the contemporary trade union leadership led the members of SDS to look elsewhere than labor, elsewhere than the traditional working class in its analysis of potential radicalism. Yet, as we embarked on community organizing in order to achieve, in the words of a working paper of that time, "an interracial movement of the poor," we were warned that it is very hard, if not impossible, to organize for political action the most desperately poor members of the society. And we were further warned by older leftists and trade unionists, that students on a summer vacation, or middle class graduates making an indefinite, but still temporary commitment to such organizing work, would not be effective. And finally, we were told that our spartan style of life, with little or no money to support ourselves, crowded living conditions, and intense, totalistic preoccupation with the organizing projects would burn us out, exhaust and disillusion us.

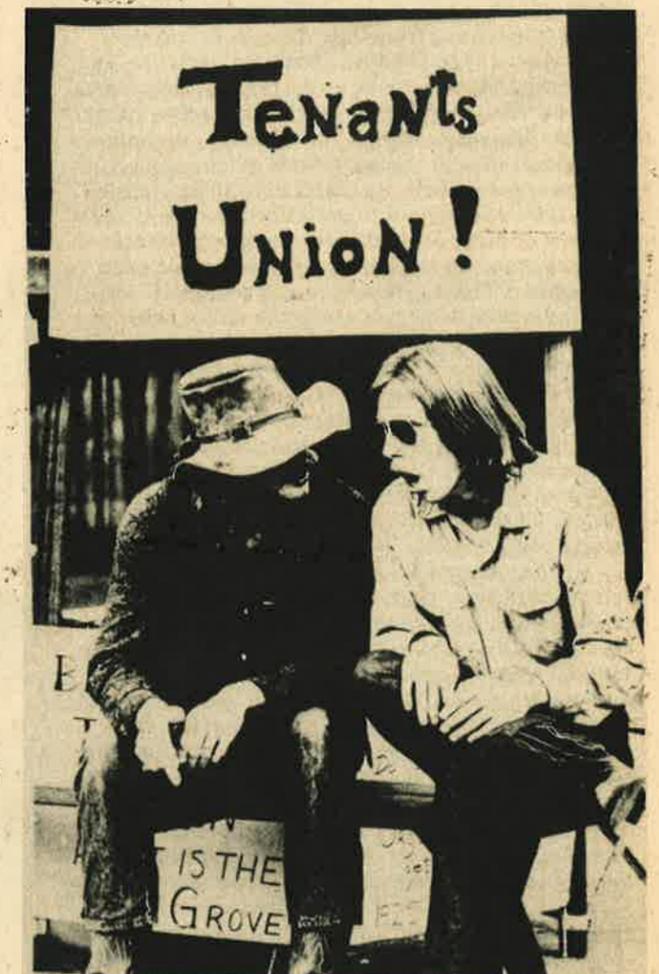
Nevertheless, in the summer of 1964, even as thousands of white students were working with SNCC in the Mississippi Freedom Summer, SDS members were working in a number of Northern cities to organize what later became community unions.

It was a momentous time in the history of our republic. Goodman, Chaney and Schwerner, three civil rights workers, were killed in Mississippi; in August, the Gulf of Tonkin nonincident occasioned a Congressional Resolution which Lyndon Johnson used to authorize war in Vietnam; and LBJ himself ran a peace campaign against Barry Goldwater. At the Democratic Convention the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, made up of integrated civil-rights challengers to the Dixiecratic regulars, was refused seating at the meeting. Never again were youthful civil rights militants to work so closely with established politics.

Through that summer, students in SDS laboriously made contacts in the poor neighborhoods in which they had taken up residence. In Chicago an effort was made to organize unemployed Appalachian migrants. Names were painstakingly gathered by leafletting at

the office of the unemployment compensation bureau. Then one of the project members would visit the person, trying to convince him or her that through a united organization something could be done to provide decent jobs at decent pay for everyone. A small meeting would be called, and the student organizers would pick people up and bring them to it; the meeting would be long and frustrating. As the hot months wore on, the self-blame of the people emerged as one of the largest obstacles to organizing. Too often, the organizers thought, collective political action was made impossible by the peoples' feeling that they themselves were responsible for their plight. To counteract this, the slogan was adopted: In Unity There is Strength.

As the summer ended most of the project members went back to their colleges; the one or two who stayed on felt that a different strategy was needed. The transition, which was successfully managed only with tremendous effort, resulted in the formation of JOIN Community Union, based in Chicago's Uptown area. Even then, it was only years later that the participants began to understand some of the truth in the criticisms which had been given to them prior to their effort. The consuming and spartan existence was conducive to burning people out; transient students *do not* make good or even adequate organizers; the most desperately poor people *are* frequently too disorganized personally to sustain political leadership.



By Robert Ross

The gap between the last generation of organizers and the present one had been so sharp that we could not take their knowledge and use it. And this discontinuity made our efforts fragile; five years later none of the seven or eight projects were left.

Those were different, less mobilized times: but another part of the lesson still holds. Outside of the gleaming corporate world, where office furniture magically appears out of overhead budgets and duplication machinery blinks and hums like figments of Buck Rogers' imagination, the work of organizing and sustaining organization is painfully slow and hard. But even when the right moment and competent political work and a deeply felt issue do mobilize people, as is frequently the case, the work is just begun.

Consider the tenants' movement of the Sixties and Seventies. Such a prodigious amount of energy of hundreds of people: passing out petitions, learning the intricacies of housing and legal codes, fighting off eviction notices, demonstrating at slumlords homes, contacting the mass media to get a "mention" of the struggle, running out at midnight to find a magic marker to finish the poster announcing tomorrow's meeting, and, after a while realizing that very little has been won, that life in the slum is still precarious, dangerous, dirty, and depressing and that many poor people are resistant to organizing efforts. So much work, so little to show for it.

Yet, wherever people are working seriously at the grass roots in or for a peoples' movement, there is much to be learned from their experience and much that needs to be thoughtfully analyzed, recorded, and transmitted. When we look at the tenants' movement, a number of "lessons" emerge. Here are some examples.

First, the requirements of unity and the complexity of the legal situation facing tenants require vast amounts of work before a rent strike can be undertaken. This is important to notice because the experience of many activists in the struggle for Black Liberation and against the War in Vietnam has been somewhat different. These have very frequently involved symbolic targets in which the activists did not risk everyday things—like eviction from their homes. (This should not be interpreted to mean that they do not run high risks: they do.) And they have tended to be open for voluntary participation in contrast to the specific need for tenants of a given structure to be unified. Thus, not only the most militant, informed, enthusiastic people need be recruited—but the least likely tenant must be too. This requires intensive political work.

Second, the tenants' movement is filled with classic reminders of the pitfalls into which organizing can fall. Excessive legalism can kill enthusiasm; excessive rigidity around one tactic—the strike—can deprive the tenants' group of some extremely potent auxiliary tactics. Utopianism, too, is forbidden by a careful reading of the economic situation in slum housing: taking over ownership of even an abandoned building requires great effort and the mastery of complex programs to gain the capital necessary to run the building. Study of this movement, then, is another reminder that change sought on a small scale may, despite both liberal and conservative claims, be harder than change sought on a larger scale. For many tenants, gaining victory over the landlord in a struggle for power is confounded or even useless because the real villain is

the system to which even the landlord is enthralled.

Third, the tenants' movement, reminds us that ordinary people can organize themselves, can devise winning strategies, can advance their own cause. As we move into the decade of the Seventies this lesson is perhaps the most important. The temptation to depend on experts, social planners, or government action to initiate social reform will be and has been very great. There is a fear of the mass of people in America, especially among the educated and affluent. Solid work in such movements as these makes such fear foolish, even mean.

Many people of goodwill note the problems involved in these lessons, and they turn their efforts into more orthodox—that is, routinized and conventional—channels of work. They work for this piece of legislation or that; they take up employment with this public agency or that political liberal's administration; they try to wring from the "system"—which they claim they are "within"—the meliorating action which action-oriented popular movements have only partially won. They turn to the State: they work for reform.

But our post-war history shows, especially in housing and the attendant urban quagmire, that from Washington to Manhattan the governmental structure is incompetent. I do not mean that individuals are stupid or venal—although surely many are; rather, that urban reform has failed and is failing to solve problems. Name the program, and the dismal record can be produced: public housing; urban renewal; community action; model cities; where are the results now that we need them?

In 23 years the public housing program has failed to construct the number of units projected for its first five; those it has constructed are some of the greatest disasters of social policy of the century. Pruitt-Igou in St. Louis, Robert Taylor homes in Chicago, these fortresses of horror would be bad even if they housed enough people.

Urban renewal has redistributed amenities from low income residents to middle and upper middle income residents of the city; it has redistributed tax benefits from workers to the middle class; it has torn down more housing than it has built; it has failed in its own goals to attract middle class whites back to the city despite the costs of the attempt; it has contributed to crowding and the spread of ghetto neighborhoods even as it claimed to deter them.

The community action programs have been stripped of funds and freedom, leaving some new black leadership, but little in the way of service, or help. Its successors, model cities, invite residents to participate in the deployment of funds too small to make a difference.

In the meantime, as the tenants' movement is sharply aware, the economics of slum real estate and the soaring property taxes in the cities lead to abandonment of buildings, and make the profit in cheap housing dependent on the neglect of maintenance. Increasingly, the cities become economic dependencies of the federal government, collecting points of too many people with too few of the skills which the economy is willing to compensate adequately.

There are those who will attribute these failures to technical matters; but this writer's judgement is different. Planning and reform efforts fail because they are subject to the same dreary parade of power

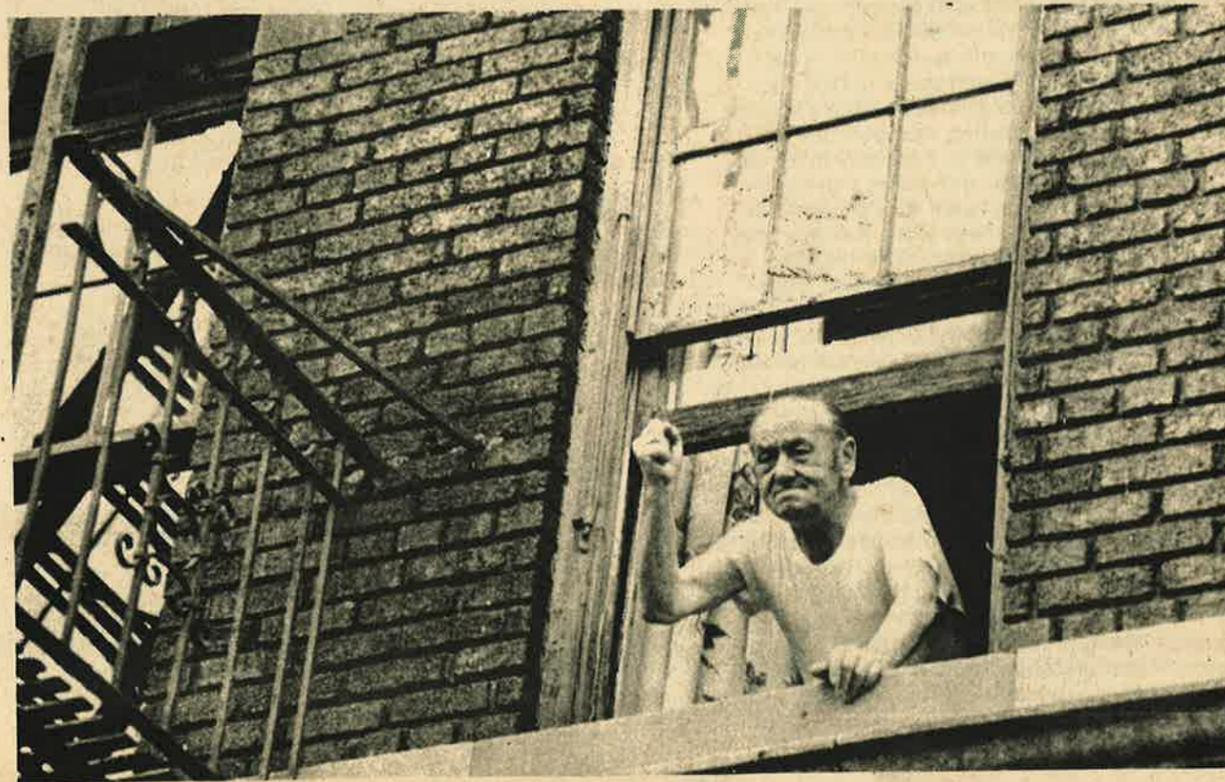
and privilege which caused the problems to begin with. They do not represent the victories or the establishment of popularly based power: They are the results of reform which redistributes *nothing to the poor but symbols and slogans*. Even while the federal government, for example, is spending money on public housing, it is spending far more on subsidizing middle and upper income housing through tax laws. Consciously or not, the reforms of the era of Big Government have yielded free enterprise for the poor, but a welfare state for the rich.

Now it is an event of no small social importance that liberal democracy has become institutionalized as an ideology appending to the large public bureaucracies in Western Capitalism. Since the New Deal in this country, there have been relatively clear "parties" in regard to the future of capitalism. One—the unreconstructed "royalists"—has defended, and continues to defend the rights of capital in the face of all social need. The other, which has been ascendant since Roosevelt, is "enlightened" and understands that reform for preservation is in the long-run interest of the royalists, as well as in the short-run interests of various affected constituencies who must seek the power of the state to compensate for the skewed justice of the market. Those with this second perspective, but without the personal ties or history in the large institutions of corporate capitalism, have tended to cluster around public bureaucracies: social welfare, education, public health, etc. But somewhere during the Second World War the reforming zeal of their constituency melted. There is no social movement of reforming liberalism. Left stranded, historically, in charge of social welfare institutions, many of these administrators have "displaced goals" that is, they have come to see the survival of their institutions, and the possibilities for careers like

theirs, as the definition of the (incrementally) good society. So, increasingly, this sort of liberalism is bureaucratic in base, and oriented to orderly institutional functioning as content. How far have we come from the more or less humane genesis of this ideology? Consider how retrospectively sympathetic we are with the big auto sit-ins of the Thirties, and how presently disturbed are the urban managers at welfare sit-ins and tenants' squat-ins.

Despite the pitfalls, the uncertainty of results, the difficulty and slowness of progress, the route to social justice and better life in the cities requires change that is initiated from the bottom, and that embodies the power of masses of people, organized. This preference for the rougher path of social movements for positive changes is not a product of tantrum or derangement, or even, as some commentators say, of "bitter alienation." It is a choice based on experience.

Glancing over the tenants' movement, then, we have seen some of the things to be learned from it; a sort of learning that can be critical to future movements which neglected past experience at their peril; and we suggested that despite the problems encountered by the movement, activity like it which is based on popular organization and struggle by the people affected is, in the long run, the better path to take. But the reader may wonder at the tone, the use of conditional terms, qualifiers, and the somewhat defensive style of these comments. And the defense of the value of the movement has been somewhat abstract, as if retreating into generality protects from an admission of concrete failure. The reasons for this can be stated clearly, though: We get no guarantees when we undertake this kind of work. The tenants' movement is most probably both reformist—in the sense that it struggles for changes which turn out to be relatively minor—and a potent resource—in that



David Fenton/LNS

it trains people for the use of their own power. For the sake of the latter, we engage the former.

When we act in the present, we make tomorrow's history. Not the history of History—the Big Decisions, the Finland Stations, the Gulf of Tonkin—rather we create the experience from which we and our successors can sift and sort, and from which the material of that Bigger History is made. We do small tasks so that greater ones will be possible. In his recent essay on the New Left, a veteran Communist organizer, Gil Green expresses a part of the dilemma this represents for a radical: "The fight for reforms, whether economic or political opens the door to reformist thinking; but to fail to fight for them closes the door to a mass movement." (Gil Green, *The New Left: Anarchist or Marxist?* International Publishers NY, 1971.) The small tasks may be merely the raw material for another Senator's presidential boomlet; but they may, too train the organizers of next year's upsurge of potent rebellion.

The big city newspapers record a steady percolation of tenants' activity; it is a movement at the grass roots. It is not what one would comfortably call a mass movement as yet, or a revolutionary one. Indeed, one wonders whether we are straining reality by isolating tenants' struggles, analyzing them separately from the great movement for black liberation in the cities. It is, perhaps, best seen as a manifestation of black and minority and poor white restiveness within these new reservations called cities. Yet there is enough working class and lower middle class participation in it, and enough focal concern around the problem of housing itself, for it to be discussed in its own right. This is especially true if we keep the larger context of the advance and retreat of the broader social movements in view.

Because so many of the tenants' unions have been organized by young leftists, it is critical to note that for a few years there have been large groups of student and former student leftists who understand the institutional and class isolation of their campus-based movements. Most successful on elite campuses, the student Left has been basically middle class in background, and also in its style and concern. One does not condemn it by observing, however, that a broader social base is needed for change; moreover, the requirements of justice demand it. For many leftist students, the organizing of tenants remains a strategy which puts these radicals in touch with people with whom they would not otherwise work; it builds, they feel, a solid base for organization, rather than the "sentimental" or "symbolic" nature of much leftist student agitation.

The danger, of course, is that a larger vision, or a fundamental challenge to existing power, will be lost in the complex minutia of everyday work. Many former radicals in the labor movement, for example, seem to have traded in their radicalism in return for a sense of concrete accomplishment. Yet, if Green is right, and I believe he is, the risk must be taken.

The protections available to avoid the trivialization of tenant organizing—as any other area of social struggle—are easier stated than implemented. For example, leftists say, usually to one another, "keep politics up front;" "build consciousness about capitalism;" "avoid overly technical, non-struggle strategies." These are all even harder to heed when there is a pause or a retreat in popular militancy.

Then, it seems, all one can do is hang on, wait for a more propitious moment.

In modern America especially, holding to a vision of popular democracy and economic justice is made ever so much more difficult by the saturation of the culture with images of bogus freedom. When human freedom is defined as the choice of auto color, style, or vinyl top, the political organizer is faced with not only the power of the economically privileged and the politically entrenched; he faces, too, a culture which divides his constituency and weakens its will. Tom Hayden's recent book on the Indochina war, for example, is called *The Love of Possession Is a Disease With Them*.

Given this situation, the veterans of the New Left, the younger organizers involved in the tenants' movement, indeed, any radical or peoples' advocate must do his or her work with great care and forethought. In the current period, especially, the temptations for different kinds of strategic excess are many. The problems of reformism have been mentioned. The other temptation involves a kind of flight from the present reality through what is sometimes called the "new culture." Escaping from the oppressive present, fleeing from the historical "now," many former activists see the future of the new culture as the future of the revolution. Through orgasmic music, uninhibited styles of dress and personal relationships, and a refusal to be taken up in the mundane concerns of "straight" society, these cultural revolutionaries symbolically choose to live in their version of an exotic new society, rather than transform the old one.

But the flamboyance of rock music and the new culture just doesn't speak to the needs of the poor or the hard-pressed lower middle class residents of the big cities. On the other hand, strict enforcement of housing codes, or a five-dollar reduction in rent, will not affect the general conditions of urban life. The radicalism of the Seventies, for which the experience of the tenants' movement can be a fertile resource, must be balanced somewhere between avant-garde and exotic culture, and petty meliorism. This will not be easy. The two poles seem to be related: in desperate rejection of reformism, the American Left repeatedly flirts with exoticism. Combining vision with steady work; that is the task before us. Twelve years ago, when SDS wrote its Port Huron Statement, it ended with these lines: "If we appear to seek the unattainable, as it has been said, then let it be known that we do so to avoid the unimaginable."

In the decade that followed, despite the rebirth of American radicalism and the growth of popular struggles, the unimaginable happened. America has, in Vietnam, committed barbarous act after barbarous act under three governments and in the face of the most active domestic opposition to a modern foreign policy. Ten years from now it will be 1984. By then, if the unattainable has not become more real, who knows what bestiality the unimaginable will hold.

Robert Ross has been active in radical politics for well over a decade. He now teaches sociology at Clark University. This article is the forward to Tenants and the Urban Housing Crisis ed. by Stephen Burghardt and available from The New Press, 9200 Island Lake Rd., Dexter, Michigan 48130.

Read Any Good Books Lately?

From time to time, WIN asks some interesting people to send a list of books they'd recommend for movement folks to read. We ask for three books published during the last year but are glad to hear about whatever impressed the responders enough to want to share with others. This year we sent out a lot of letters to a diverse group, and we got over 30 diverse answers.

If there is any trend at all that can be seen in this list, it's a fascination with background and roots. Now that people are reaching an understanding of who they are, they seem to be looking at how they got that way. So there are lots of historical books, books about socialism and pacifism and radicalism and straight post-war politics. Also there are lots of spiritual books, on religion and mysticism and morality. And there are books about women and homosexuals, in all aspects of their lives.

But there is little fiction, and even less poetry. Most of these books are serious and heavy, not at all the kind of book you would take into the bath with you. Not the sort you can read a few chapters of to relax before falling asleep at night. Perhaps next year we'll ask for a daytime and a nighttime list.

Jan Barry

THE TALE OF KIEU, By Nguyen Du (Trans. Huynh Sanh Thong), Vintage \$1.95.

Vietnam's national classic (reviewed WIN, 3/21/74); first available translation for Americans.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE CHINESE, By Arthur Waley, Vintage \$1.95.

Two famous collections (1919, 1941) of classic Chinese poems, reprinted in paperback (1971) in time for recent China boom; most of poems translated from Po Chu-i, twice exiled for criticizing T'ang "golden age," Vietnam's most popular Chinese poet; other classics from 3rd century BC through 17th century AD.

HOME FROM THE WAR: VIETNAM VETERANS, NEITHER VICTIMS NOR EXECUTIONERS, by Robert Jay Lifton, Simon & Schuster \$8.95.

A study of VVAW "rap groups," and preliminary investigation into the psychology of warriors and "anti-warriors"—soldiers turned against war—in light of the American Indochina experience; Lifton is gifted at shattering myths, including those of his own profession, in a career of searching America's collisions with Asia for the root truths.

Sue & Henry Bass

THE ALMANAC OF AMERICAN POLITICS—(1974), Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa, and Douglas Matthews, Gambit, 1974, paperback, \$6.95.

A giant treasury of information on the US Congress. Detailed political profiles of every member of Congress and the constituencies they represent. This book belongs near the tv set of everyone planning to

watch the show of the century.

WAR AND POLITICS, Bernard Brodie, Macmillan, 1973.

After reading this book I understand why Brodie is considered America's greatest military thinker since Alfred Thayer Mahan. There are many arguments in this book that pacifists will reject but none that we can afford to ignore. A brilliant and thoroughly entertaining discussion of American strategy in the last four wars, of the causes of war, of the prospects for disarmament and arms control, and of theories of military strategy.

THE POLITICAL THEORY OF ANARCHISM, April Carter, Harper Torchbooks, 1971, \$1.60.

For years I have felt that there was no adequate introduction to anarchism. This book fills that gap. It is also essential reading for those who have read a lot about anarchism already, since it covers many issues more systematically than other books have.

FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE: PACIFISM IN AMERICA, University of Tennessee Press, 1971, \$11.95.

Although there are several good surveys of the peace movement in the 20th century, this is the first definitive history of any part of that period. Chatfield has done an enormous amount of original research on the movement in the first World War and the period up to World War II. He came up with thousands of fascinating details—the intricacies of the struggle with in the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the 1930's between pacifists and violent revolutionaries, for example; and the fact that, at the age of 40, Richard Gregg gave up the practice of labor law to study agriculture and work on a farm.

THE MORAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT OF MAHATMA GANDHI, Raghavan N. Iyer, Oxford University Press, 1973.

I have read lots of books on Gandhi and believe this is the best of the lot. Iyer is fair and undogmatic. He stresses the relationship between Gandhi's moral and his political thought but criticizes Gandhians who have made extreme demands on human nature as though the Gandhian system was a sort of moral equivalent of a Charles Atlas course.

LIVING HISTORICAL FARMS HANDBOOK, John T. Schlebecker and Gale E. Peterson, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972; available from the US Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402, 65¢.

A historical farm is a museum open to the public which preserves the agriculture of a particular historical period. This book, first of all, is a guide to the more than 50 historical farms and agricultural museums already in existence in the US and Canada or in preparation. Included are a farm at Old Sturbridge Village, Mass., that preserves the New England agriculture of 1840; the Berkeley Plantation in Charles City, Va; Living Historical Farms, Inc., in Des Moines, Iowa, which when complete will consist of three historical farms representing midwestern agriculture in

the 1840's, around 1900, and in 1970; and the ranch museum at the University of Texas at Lubbock. The book also gives pointers on how to set up a historical farm, many of which are applicable to starting any kind of museum. It is especially shrewd on fund-raising.

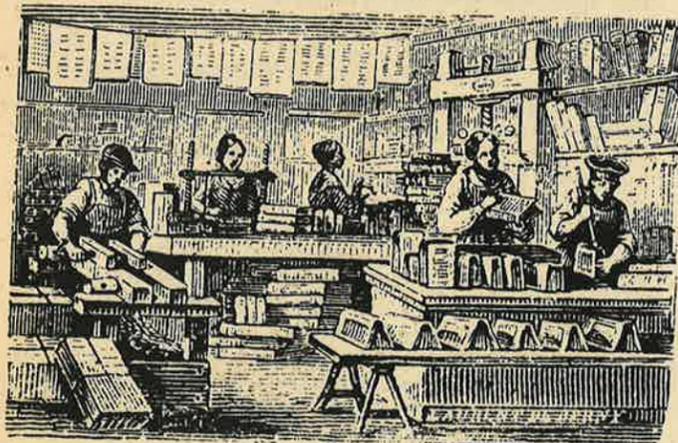
Eric Bentley

I do read quite a few new books, but on the other hand nearly always find some old book or other more important to me. This includes old books I re-discover and old books I discover for the first time.

During 1972-4, the author who has most stimulated me into re-thinking certain fundamentals is S.G.F. Brandon—all his books—nearly none of which is easy to come by in this free, rich land. Probably, by ordering it, you can get the paperback edition of his *JESUS AND THE ZEALOTS*, Scribner, \$10.00. Stein and Day published his "shocking" *TRIAL OF JESUS* but quickly let it go out of print.

My second favorite subject of the period—after the re-assessment of Christianity—has been women—and the reassessment of them. (I would like to have written here that my topic was gay liberation. I have been reading all the books on that. I learn more, on homosexuality, from certain books on women, not always books that deal with female homosexuality.) One book has been a bridge for me between my two subjects of religion and femininity, and this was *William E. Phipps' WAS JESUS MARRIED?* Harper and Row, \$5.95. Among the books on women I have learned a lot from I would put *Carolyn Heilbrun's TOWARD A RECOGNITION OF ANDROGYNY*, Knopf, \$6.95 very high. I also find myself going back to *Simone de Beauvoir's SECOND SEX*, *Modern Library Giants*, \$4.95—which incidentally leads right into her book on old age—I can hardly bring myself to write the mistaken English title, *THE COMING OF AGE*, Putnam, \$10.00, which only suggests to me *Coming of Age in Samoa*. You can tell what anyone thinks of women or of homosexuals by asking: how d'you like *old* women? how d'you like *old* homosexuals? (Unfortunately, Simone de Beauvoir didn't have access to much material on the latter group.)

Last, let me recommend one neglected classic: *THE BROOK KERITH* by George Moore. And, believe it or not, it is in print—Liveright, \$7.95.



Noam Chomsky

THE TWISTED DREAM, Doug Dowd, Winthrop, \$5.95.

THE ANARCHIST COLLECTIVES, Sam Dolgoff, editor, Free Life Editions, Inc. \$3.45.

REMAKING ASIA, Mark Seldon, editor, Pantheon, \$3.45.

FALSE PROMISES, Stanley Aronowitz, McGraw-Hill, \$10.00.

THEM AND US, James Matles and James Higgins.

It is unpleasant to make invidious distinctions. I could easily name several others from which I've learned a good deal.

Michele Clark

THE JOYFUL COMMUNITY by Benjamin Zablocki, Penguin, \$1.95.

This is a book about the thriving Bruderhof commune in America, its history and its present. But it sheds a lot of light on all efforts at community building, why one wants one, what are the payoffs, why intentional communities fall apart. As in reading books, say, about China, I finished this one with a feeling of both envy and scepticism. Envy—because I want to be part of a joyful community so much. Scepticism—because I'm not sure I'm able or willing to pay some of the prices.

SUMMER BEFORE THE DARK by Doris Lessing, Knopf, \$6.95.

Just as you're getting around to asking the question, Doris Lessing comes up with a book addressing just that question. This one is about how a middle-class mother of four children, wife of a doctor comes to terms with herself as woman and person at middle-age. It is very heavy, powerful, smart, and encouraging. I put it on this list particularly because it is encouraging.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL by E.L. Doctorow, \$1.50.

A novel about the son of parents who were electrocuted for allegedly passing A-bomb secrets to the Russians. The book is not historically accurate, it's not meant to be. It is a painful book to read, I felt like I couldn't breathe half the time I was reading it. For me, it put into perspective a lot of my thoughts and feelings on old left vs. new left. It is one of the first novels I've read, maybe the only one, which really combines history and fiction—how the individual at a particular time in American history is changed, and moved by events. Novels like this abound in other countries, but in the US it has been particularly difficult to write a good novel about history/politics and individual persons which also assumes a leftist viewpoint on events and persons.

Ann Davidon

I have been reading *Anais Nin's DIARIES*, including the new one that just came out (Vol. 5), Harcourt, Brace & Janovich, \$7.50, and am moved by them, especially by her exhortation to proceed from the Dream. Also, *Grace Paley's* stories *ENORMOUS CHANGES AT THE LAST MINUTE*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, \$6.95 and *George Lakey's STRATEGY FOR A LIVING REVOLUTION*, Grossman, \$2.95. May as well get all our friends in there.



Barbara Deming

Feminist books have meant the most to me this year. Many more than three of them. But let me mention:

THE FIRST SEX by Elizabeth Gould Davis, Penguin, \$1.45.

A sister told me, "I've just read *The First Sex* and I'm not a Christian any longer." I was surprised, read the book, and am not a Christian any longer myself. *BEYOND GOD THE FATHER, TOWARD A PHILOSOPHY OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION*, Mary Daly, Beacon, \$8.95.

As Mary Daly says, "if God is male, then the male is God." Once one allows oneself to look at this truth, one wonders and wonders at oneself for seeing it no sooner. (Daly writes, "Why indeed must 'God' be a noun? Why not a verb, the most active and dynamic of all—Be-ing?")

WOMAN-HATING by Andrea Dworkin, Dutton, \$6.95.

Tells (as *The First Sex* does) some of the story of the long vengeful war that has been waged against women since that prehistoric time in which divinity was seen as female and women, the first civilizers, were held in awe. *Woman-Hating* is the title the publishers gave her book; she wanted to call it *Freedom or Death*. The freedom she sees for us all (and what Mary Daly sees) is "community built on (a new) androgynous identity. . . If we can create androgynous community, we can abandon power altogether as a social reality." Mary Daly names this possibility (of which I dream, too) "the sisterhood of man."

3 GUINEAS, Virginia Woolf, Harbinger, \$1.95.

I can't help adding this 4th book first published in 1938. She said back then, in loneliness, what so many women are saying now: "the public and the private worlds are inseparably connected; the tyrannies and servilities of the one are the tyrannies and servilities of the other." How to break the old habits? Women are "outsiders," she saw clearly (much as Mary Daly sees this now), and only as we recognize and value ourselves as just that can we help to bring into being what is really new.

Martin Duberman

Either I've been reading the wrong books, or 1973-4 hasn't been a year of much publishing interest for movement people. I did just finish reading an impressive set of galleys: *Dolores Klaich's WOMAN/ WOMAN: ATTITUDES TOWARD LESBIANISM*; the book's due from *Simon and Schuster* in June. *Juliet Mitchell's* new book *PSYCHOANALYSIS AND FEMINISM*, Pantheon, price not set, arrived a few days ago and judging from the first 20 pages, it's a major work.

Leaving the book world, I'd strongly recommend two

new journals: *HISTORY OF CHILDHOOD QUARTERLY*, 2315 Broadway, NYC 10024, and *FEMINIST STUDIES*, 417 Riverside Drive, NYC 10025. Both are only 3-4 issues old, and chock full of fascinating historical/psychological/anthropological material. While on journals, let me sound some praise for *GAY SUNSHINE*, PO Box 40397, San Francisco, 94140; for some time now each issue has featured an intensely personal literary/sexual interview with a gay artist; the one Allen Young did with Ginsberg (Jan./Feb. '73) is nothing less than a masterpiece.

Karen Durbin

SEX AND TEMPERAMENT IN THREE PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES, Margaret Mead, Dell, 95¢.

In this book, first published in 1935, Mead examines the sexual customs and gender-oriented behavior patterns of three societies that might sound, depending on your point of view, more liberated than our own. It's still one of the best and clearest commentaries around on masculine/feminine role differentiation, and it has some interesting things to say about aggression as well. Besides which, it's a very good read. *GRENDDEL*, John Gardner, Ballantine, 95¢.

The Beowulf legend told from the monster's point of view. A novel about love and violence, faith and despair. I thought it was wonderful.

THE MOUNTAIN PEOPLE, Colin Turnbull, Simon & Schuster, \$2.95.

An anthropologist's angry, painful account of his two years with a tribe of starving people who live on the edge of a game preserve in Uganda. Life is cruel to the Ik, and so they meet it with equal cruelty. Turnbull's reactions to the Ik are as much the subject of the book as the Ik themselves. A sobering story of humankind in extremis, the book raises interesting questions about nature versus nurture as shapers of human character and also about individualism versus community as survival mechanisms. (It's interesting to read this back to back with *The Forest People*, Turnbull's buoyant, loving study of the almost idyllic life of a Pygmy people living in a Congolese rain forest. Also an S&S paperback.)

PATHWAYS TO MADNESS, Jules Henry, Random House, \$10.00.

The late anthropologist-turned-psychologist closely studied the lives of five families, each of whom had a child in a mental institution. The book attempts to discover some of the ways in which the family drives its members mad, and since the families studied are ordinary and familiar-seeming, it's a useful and fascinating book.

Chuck Fager

My favorite-books list for 1973 books looks suspiciously like my list for 1972—it's dominated by the same author, the French sociologist and theologian *Jacques Ellul*. The two books from last year were published earlier in France, but only recently translated. First is *HOPE IN TIME OF ABANDONMENT*, Seabury Press, \$8.95, cloth. In it Ellul tries to relate the sociological development as an evangelical Protestant. The combination is too rich and complex to be set out here; suffice it to say that the mixture is dynamite. Ellul's sociology has been devoted to bringing out in stark and comprehensive detail the contours of the Leviathan he calls the Technological



Society, the institutional complex into which we are all being steadily and apparently irreversibly absorbed. His theology has been preoccupied with seeking whatever insights into this condition and resources for dealing with it can be found in the Bible-centered tradition of his French Reformed Church.

This enterprise may sound ridiculous to secular readers, but it is not. In fact, out of it has come some of the most penetrating and healthy criticism of recent radicalism, religious or not, that I have read anywhere. Consider this quote about what he calls the "conformity to tomorrow. It consists in a moderate opposition to the existing political power, together with the espousal of the ideas and doctrines of the most sensitive, the most visionary, the most appealing trend in the society. This is a trend which, from the sociological point of view, is already dominant, and is the one which should normally be expected to win out. . . In this way the political stand has the appearance of being independent, whereas in reality it is the expression of an avante-garde conformist."

That quote is from *FALSE PRESENCE OF THE KINGDOM*, Seabury, \$4.95 cloth. This book was originally written as a critique of the social activist movement within Ellul's national church. But the amazing thing is how much of both the general argument and the specific comments he makes can be applied directly against most any recent radical tendency one would care to name. Which is one of the things I like most about his books: if his religious outlooks are unusual and hard to get hold of, there is plenty of solid application of it in these volumes to keep a reader turning pages and thinking.

Finally, of course, I can't help but mention again Ellul's number one source, namely *THE BIBLE*. In this year of our Lord, 1974, with its particular set of discontents, a thinking radical would again be surprised to discover just how much of it was focussed in on contemporary issues, for instance, how to shape a genuine anti-imperialist struggle, and how to keep a resistance movement together. The Bible could fit well into most any of our personal booklists, I think.

Jim Forest
First, *EARTH TALK*.

This is, let me risk your judging me arrogant, the most important pacifist book to be published in several years—something I say despite my awe with Gene Sharp's *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, George Lakey's *Strategy of a Living Revolution* and five or six other recent books of extreme importance to anyone concerned with nonviolent social change.

Earth Talk was occasioned by the UN Conference

on the Human Environment. This isn't about that gathering of state-selected heavies so much as the others who came—scientists, the folk of the counter-culture, gurus, nudists, students, musicians, farmers, pacifists, clergy people, and those who war against any such labeling.

Tom Artin wrote this book. He came to Stockholm with his trombone. As Dorothy Maas has written of his book, he "also brought an eye for the pageantry in all of its colorful and often absurd detail."

The main event in the book is the Dai Dong alternative conference—the conference that happened just before the UN's event and which has since been recognized as being a far more vital and relevant happening than the gathering it was occasioned by. (The BBC 90-minute film documentary of the UN conference ended up being half on the Dai Dong alternative conference. Steve Roberts, the BBC director, explained, in justifying his shift in focus, "Dai Dong emerged as the sanest and most vital of the groups present and I think that this emerges in the film and is given a perfectly valid emphasis.")

Against a background of comic, bizarre and unlikely events, the Dai Dong (a Vietnamese phrase meaning "huge community") conference explored the major elements that have brought this planet of ours to its present difficulties: militarism, economic injustice, environmental fractures, nationalism, etc.

Too many books have been written on each of these areas. The few that bring the elements together tend to make it as boring as possible. Tom Artin has managed to put the issues in a way that makes it difficult to stop reading the book once it's begun. It is one of the few serious books that I've read that allowed me some laughter, even joy.

I also recommend two things, put out by the *Hoa Binh Press*. I shouldn't. I am one of the several *Hoa Binh Press* editors and this probably isn't ethical. But, after all, this is WIN.

First, *Thich Nhat Hanh's THE PATH OF RETURN CONTINUES THE JOURNEY*. Thich Nhat Hanh, as most WIN readers know, has been—though in exile in Paris—one of the spokesmen for the Vietnamese peace movement, so many of whose members are in prison. This play-meditation was occasioned by the death of five village workers of the School of Youth for Social Services. One, Mai, had burned herself. The four others were taken one night to a river bank and shot to death. The play finds them after their deaths. Mai comes down the Saigon River in a small boat, invites the four to come with her, and offers to take them wherever they want to go. The conversation they share might be an occasion of great meaning to any reader. (Vo-Dinh did the drawings for the book, and the translation. There is an introduction by Daniel Berrigan, who is again with Nhat Hanh in Paris as this is written.)

Next, *THE WOODCUTS OF VO-DINH*. This includes about a dozen of Vo-Dinh's woodcuts. A few of these have appeared, much reduced in size and suffering a loss of quality, in WIN and other pacifist magazines. Readers may also recall his paintings, several of which have been published as cards by Unicef and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. My own introduction to the woodcuts, a brief essay called



"Reflections," is part of this portfolio. The sheets come, by the way, in a bright red heavy binder. The page size is 11 x 17 inches, and the paper and printing are of excellent quality.

All of the above are available through the *Fellowship of Reconciliation*, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960. *Earth Talk* is \$1.95; *Path of Return* is \$1; and *The Woodcuts of Vo-Dinh* is \$4. Add 10 percent for postage and packaging.

Leah Fritz

This was the year I discovered *Jane Austen*. I have never been able to read *Pride and Prejudice* because the movie was so perfect. So I started with *EMMA* and went on to *PERSUASION* and *SENSE AND SENSIBILITY*. What struck me immediately was the obviousness of her influence on Henry James, and afterwards, the subtlety and delicacy of her perceptions. How she is able to transmit these perceptions by means of such unpretentious prose into our *Clockwork Orange* world; how she is able to transcend the limitations of her circumscribed female existence in pre-Victorian England to create characters of universal interest and truth; how she is able to give the lie to Herman Melville's dictum that a major novel cannot be written about a mouse; finally, how she so tidily circumvented seemingly impassable barriers as if they weren't there must surely count as a wonder in this world. In spite of a kind of skin-deep snobbishness and a classical sense of the fitness of things, she is a gentle joy to read and learn from.

Larry Gara

Gene Sharp's *THE POLITICS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION* (now available in a three-volume paperback edition) is a compendium of information which is indispensable for anyone interested in all aspects of nonviolence, its theory and practice and its history. It is not a book one can sit down and read through quickly, but it is a basic reference work, one which no activist or student of the peace movement should be without. *Sargent*, \$24.95.

John Swomley's *LIBERATION ETHICS* is especially useful for those who question the relevance of non-violence to revolutionary and liberation struggles. It supplements Bart de Ligt's classic, *The Conquest of Violence: An Essay on War and Revolution*, which was first published in English translation in 1937. Swomley's work includes analysis and comments of movements and actions occurring since that time, and provides the same challenge to the assumptions of the violent revolutionaries that the writings of Fanon and Marcuse provide for those of us who endorse the power of nonviolence. *Macmillan*, \$2.95.

For a third choice I'd like to call attention, not to one book, but rather to 328 which are included in the *Garland Library of War and Peace*. This remarkable set reprints significant writings about war and peace from the Renaissance period to the present,

and includes such titles as Norman Thomas, *Is Conscience a Crime?* (with much information about World War I resisters), Aldous Huxley's *Ends and Means*, and a book of selected writings and unpublished correspondence of Evan Thomas, edited by Charles Chatfield under the title *Evan Thomas and the Faith of a Conscientious Objector*. This is an expensive set which should be placed in as many libraries as possible. Those of you who have been searching for a long-out-of-print book may find it in this collection. Individual titles are also available.

Allen Ginsberg

VISIONS OF CODY, Jack Kerouac, McGraw Hill, \$8.95.

THE WILD BOYS, William Burroughs, Grove Press, \$5.95.

CUTTING THROUGH SPIRITUAL MATERIALISM, Chogyain Trungpa, Shambala Books, \$3.50.

Marty Jezer

Stanely Aronowitz's *FALSE PROMISES*, McGraw Hill, is an intelligent and humane discussion of working class consciousness in which "the workers" emerge not as "the people" or "the masses" but as real live human beings. Doug Dowd's *THE TWISTED DREAM*, Winthrop, is a history of American capitalism and makes real a subject more mysterious to me than anything in Carlos Castaneda's books on Don Juan, the Yaqui man of knowledge, a favorite in previous years. Daniel Aaron's *WRITERS ON THE LEFT*, Avon, 1961, \$1.65 and Harvey Swados' *STANDING FAST*, Ballantine, 1970, \$1.50, two older books, new to me, have introduced me to my radical roots and speak to the present by describing the past. Kirk Sale's exhaustive study, *SDS*, Random, \$15.00 lays out recent movement history and raises crucial questions that beg answers. Paul Goodman's *FIVE YEARS*, Random, \$1.95, and Margaret Atwood's poetry *POWER POLITICS*, Harper & Row, \$2.95, contain much wisdom. Atwood, has an eye for the absurdities of human relationships that make me shudder with recognition.

Paul Johnson

STUDY OF BIRD SONG and *BIRD DISPLAY AND BEHAVIOR*, Edward A. Armstrong, Dover paperbacks, \$4.00 and \$3.50.

SMALL IS BEAUTIFUL: ECONOMICS AS IF PEOPLE MATTERED, E.F. Schumacher, Harper Torchbooks, \$9.00.

SATURDAY NIGHT SPECIAL, Robert Sherril, Charterhouse, \$7.95.



They all hit me hard and taught me a great deal about human beings, especially the first two.

Kathryn Kilgore

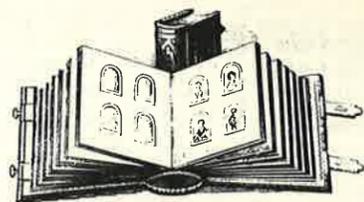
BEYOND GOD THE FATHER: TOWARDS A PHILOSOPHY OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION, Mary Daly, Beacon Press, \$8.95.
AMERICA, A PROPHECY, Jerome Rothenberg and George Quasha, eds., Vintage, \$3.95.
DIVING INTO THE WRECK, Adrienne Rich, Norton, \$1.95.

Paul Krassner

PYGMY KITABU, Jean-Pierre Hallet, Random, \$10.00.
THE LAST PLAY, James Ridgeway, Dutton, \$8.50.
HILLBILLY WOMEN, Kathy Kahn, Doubleday, \$7.95.
IN THE LIFE: VERSIONS OF THE CRIMINAL EXPERIENCE, Bruce Jackson.
THE ART OF SENSUAL MASSAGE, Gordon Inkeles and Murray Todris, Straight Arrow, \$3.95.
WHOLE GRAINS: A BOOK OF QUOTATIONS edited by Art Spiegelman and Bob Schneider, Links Books, \$3.95.
WHOLLY ROUND, Rasa Gustaitis, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, \$7.95.
PLAYING IN THE FM BAND, Steve Post, Viking Press, \$7.95.
THE ANATOMY OF HUMAN DESTRUCTIVENESS, Erich Fromm, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, \$12.50.
CENTER OF THE CYCLONE, John Lilly, Julian, \$6.95.
WOMEN AND MADNESS, Phyllis Chesler, Doubleday, \$8.95.
THE MAN WHO TURNED ON THE WORLD, Michael Hollingshead, Abelard, \$7.95.
THE HOG FARM IN OPEN CELEBRATION, Wavy Gravy, Links Books, \$3.95.
PLANET STEWARD, Stephen Le Vine, Unity Press, price not set.
THE WATERGATE FILE, Buschel, Robbins and Vitka, Flash Books, \$3.95.
SIXTIES GOING ON SEVENTIES, Nora Sayre, McKay, \$9.95.
WHITE DOG, Romain Gary, New American Library, \$1.25.
THE COLLECTIVE UNCONSCIENCE OF ODD BODKINS, Dan O'Neill, Glide, \$3.95.
THE BIRTH BOOK, Raven Lang, Science & Behavior, \$6.00.

John Kyper

Here are the "most meaningful" books I've read in the past year:
THE ALMOST WORLD—Hans Koning's freeform autobiography as immigrant and political activist. Dial, \$7.95.
MAURICE—E.M. Forster's long-suppressed gay novel. Norton, \$6.95.
PRISONERS OF LIBERATION—Ailyn and Adele Rickett's firsthand account of Chinese thought reform. Anchor, \$2.50.



Julius Lester

Ah, yes. Important books that I'd like to share with others.

JOURNAL OF A SOLITUDE by May Sarton—a record of the interior journey and struggles of an older woman and just confirmed my feeling that it gets better (life, that is) as you get older, if you don't lose that capacity to struggle. Norton, \$6.95.
A SEPARATE REALITY and *JOURNEY TO IXTLAN* by Carlos Castaneda. I really wouldn't know where to begin to talk about the meaning of these two books for me and I'm reluctant to recommend them, because I think you have to be at a certain place in your own interior journey to know how to use them. They're easy books to misuse. Simon & Schuster, \$2.95 and \$3.25.

NEW SEEDS OF CONTEMPLATION by Thomas Merton. For those of us whose religious orientation is primarily Christian, this book defines the contemplative life in a way that does not place one in that false position of opposing contemplation and action. New Directions, \$2.25.

And along that same line, I guess the most important book for movement-type people would have to be *RESISTANCE AND CONTEMPLATION* by James Douglass. A very significant book. Doubleday, \$5.95.

AND WE ARE NOT SAVED by Debbie Louis. The best book yet on the civil rights movement analyzing the class structure within the movement and how that influenced actions and decisions. A frank, sobering look at who we really were on one important level by one who was there. Doubleday, \$2.95.

THE MORNING COOL by Mary Elizabeth Witherpoon—a novel about a middle-aged white southern woman during the McCarthy era and her confrontation with the meaning of her radical past. It's seldom that novelist's choose middle-aged women for heroines, particularly ordinary (quote-unquote) women. A really fine, fine book. MacMillan, \$6.95.

DESERT SOLITAIRE by Edward Abbey. If you feel any kind of relationship at all with what is euphemistically called nature, experience some new levels of that with this book. A beautiful little book. Simon and Schuster, 95¢.

THE BIBLE, particularly *The Psalms*.
And last, but not least, the *RAND-McNALLY ROAD ATLAS*, most profitably read while driving across country with no destination in mind and no appointments to keep, except to see where some of those lines on the maps, particularly the ones without numbers, lead to. But be sure to take along yourself so you won't get bored. Rand, \$2.95.

David McReynolds

THE CHINESE GOLD MURDERS, Robert van

Gulik, Penguin paperbacks, \$1.25.

Did I read this in the past year? Or the year before? No matter—one of the neglected and great writers of mysteries, the late van Gulik presents another in the series of Judge Dee stories—the Sherlock Holmes of the T'ang dynasty.

KIND AND USUAL PUNISHMENT, Jessica Mitford, Alfred H. Knopf, \$7.95.

Absolutely devastating attack on the American prison system. An imperative book, due out in paperback this fall.

THE MELANCHOLY HISTORY OF SOLEDAD PRISON, Min S. Yee, Harper's Magazine Press, \$8.95.

The account, bullet by knife stroke, of the events at Soledad which, beginning on January 13, 1970, led directly to the deaths of nineteen people by August 21, 1971. As chilling and compelling as any mystery—but more so. The falling bodies are real and include the Jackson brothers. The screams are not fictional but still echo through the prison system. The blood was not ketchup but flowed, from prisoners and guards alike.

Raymond Mungo

THE LANGUAGE OF CATS, Spencer Holst, newly reissued by Avon paperbacks, \$1.95.

Spectacular subterranean parables.

DRY IT YOU'LL LIKE IT, Gen. MacManiman, Fall City, Washington.

This book tells you how to dehydrate fruit, vegetables, meat and fish, and how to build your own food dehydrator. Published by the author, it is enjoying phenomenal success on the West Coast. Available for \$4.25 postpaid (\$3.95 retail) from Gen. MacManiman or Montana Books, 1716 North 45th St., Seattle, Washington 98103.

TROPICAL DETECTIVE STORY, Raymond Mungo, E.P. Dutton, \$4.95.

This is my own book and a total failure as a commercial product—but I love it. It illustrates a common insanity and paranoia which may follow five years of communal living and acid.

Gurney Norman

THE MEMORY OF OLD JACK, Wendell Berry, Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.

This is Wendell's new novel. It's about an old man



in a Kentucky farming community, his memories, his old associations with friends, family and his native land. It's vintage Berry.

HARLAN MINERS SPEAK, REPORT ON TERRORISM IN THE KENTUCKY COAL FIELDS, Da Capo Press edition of Harcourt, Brace original, 1932, \$12.50.

An account of hearings conducted in Harlan County by Theodore Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, John Dos Passos, and others, inquiring into terrorist practices against unemployed miners in Kentucky seeking to organize. Extremely relevant now as history seems to repeat itself in Harlan County through current UMWA strike at Eastover Mine.
MANDALA, Jose and Miriam Arguelles, Shambala Press, \$5.95.

The phenomenon of the mandala as it appears in nature, human psychology, art, and ceremony of tribal and folk cultures. In the mandala, psychology and religion become the same thing. I consider this book indispensable to my own increased spiritual and political awareness.

Grace Paley

DAUGHTER OF EARTH, Agnes Smedley, Feminist Press.

COUNTRY OF THE POINTED FIRS, Sara Orne Jewitt, Grosset & Dunlap, \$6.50.

THE ODD WOMEN, George Gissing, Norton, \$1.95.

And for the kids:
AND THEN A HARVEST FEAST, George Dennison, Random House, \$3.95 because it's spring-planting time.

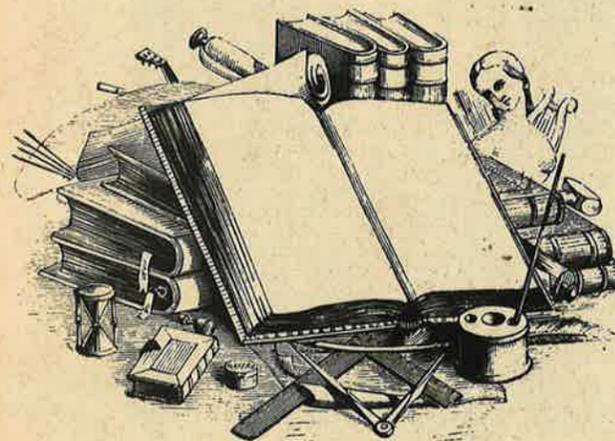
Paula Rayman

ISRAEL'S POLITICAL-MILITARY DOCTRINE, Michael Handel, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1973.

Handel, an Israeli PhD, candidate at Harvard, has provided the first English survey of Israel's military doctrine within a political context. It offers, in addition, a critical look at such issues as national security vs. peace and small states vis a vis the big powers.

PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST, Alexander Berkman, Schocken Books, 1970, \$2.95.

An intense, beautiful autobiographical account of Berkman's 14 years in the Western Penitentiary. The cruel inhumanity of prison existence is juxtaposed with Berkman's growing acts of trust and love for his fellow inmates.



REVOLUTION AND EQUILIBRIUM, Barbara Deming, originally in *Liberation* 1968.

For those of us in the beginning stages of learning about nonviolence Deming's essay presents lucid insights of why and how nonviolence is powerful. It also shows that nonviolence is intimately related to political, economic and social justice for the individual. This will be one of my perennials.

Kirkpatrick Sale

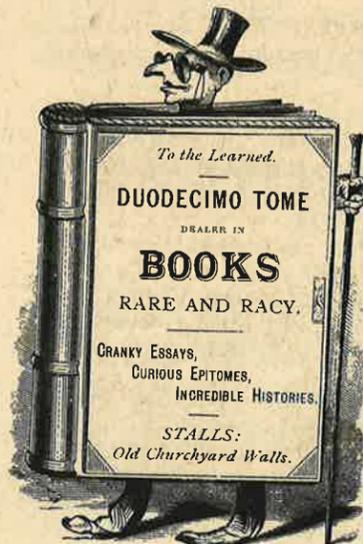
STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1973.

The Governments compilation of facts and figures about *everything* in this country from the median family income in Vallejo-Napa, California, to the number of milk cows in Connecticut, and I have found it of surprisingly great value in getting a picture of the way this vast country is put together. *FALSE PROMISES*, Stanley Aronowitz's perceptive look at workers and the ways they can, maybe, be brought around to the side of the revolution. And three books by William Domhoff, none of them in the last year but which I've read and been impressed by in the last year, *WHO RULES AMERICA*, Prentice Hall, \$2.45, *THE HIGHER CIRCLES*, Random House, \$1.95, and *FAT CATS AND DEMOCRATS*, Prentice Hall, \$5.95, which together supply a coherent way of talking about American power structure, your enemy and mine, and an enemy we've got to get to know.

And oh yeah, there was that really important work—well cordially reviewed, anyway—on the history of SDS, by whatsisname.

Ira Sandperl

The two books I would suggest for your spring list are: *THE DISCOVERY OF PEACE* by R. V. Sampson, Pantheon, \$6.95, and *HOPE ABANDONED* by N. Mandelstan, Atheneum, \$12.95. The first is a brilliant examination of power and the second is a uniquely powerful presentation of the absolute necessity for the renunciation of all violence.



Pete Seeger

Just have two! *FANSHEN*, William Hinton, *Monthly Review*, \$3.35 and *THE SIBERIANS*, Farley Mowat, Little, \$7.95.

Wendy Schwartz

THE INCOMPLEAT FOLKSINGER, Pete Seeger, Simon and Schuster, \$12.50.

When I reviewed this autobiography for WIN, I wrote that it should be read over and over. I've just finished reading it for the third time, and I agree more with each reading that Pete's own statement suits his book best: "like another sunrise, or another kiss, this also is an act of affirmation."

THE OTHER ONE, Colette, Penguin Books, \$1.65. One indication of a woman's maturity is her ability to understand the writings of Colette and to empathize with her characters. I've finally reached the point where I savor each of her thoughts; there is no other writer—contemporary or historical—who so accurately captured the spirit of the female personality, in this, and in her other works.

RED EMMA SPEAKS: SELECTED WRITINGS AND SPEECHES BY EMMA GOLDMAN, Compiled and Edited by Alix Kates Shulman, Vintage, \$2.45.

The consummate anarchist, Emma Goldman understood perfectly the machinations of American society. Her later writings, in which she tempered the violence of her rhetoric, are still, unfortunately, valid analyses of our government and wise and compassionate prescriptions for its ills.

Martha Thomases

GRAVITY'S RAINBOW, Thomas Pynchon, Viking, \$4.95.

A book that assaults you from every direction. It's impossible to simply say what it's about, but there's a little something for everyone; bananas, Pavlovian psychology, nuclear weapons, sex, concentration camps, lemmings, and more—all combined and stirred to create a moving novel.

NAKED LUNCH, William Burroughs, Grove, \$1.25. Finally got around to reading this one. Getting back to basics.

Any and all things written by Dorothy Parker (*Viking*). Poems, short stories, essays and criticism. She has an ear for what people mean despite what they say. Although she wrote during the 20's, she described the kind of games people are still playing with each other.

Arthur Waskow

JEWISH CATALOG, Jewish Publications Society, \$4.95.

A remarkable collection of "how to do it Jewishly"—how to pray, understand prayers, make a mezuzah, create a Jewish Fellowship, bring the Messiah, liberate Jewish women. Brilliant graphics.

BUSY BEING BORN, Todd Gittin, Straight Arrow Books, \$3.95

Poetry.

THE DYBBUK, SI Ansky, Liveright, \$2.95.

A story of exorcism that hallows, instead of degrading the human spirit. Written by a Bundist (Jewish Revolutionary socialist) 75 years ago. Ought to be a movie.

Ellen Willis

SULA, Toni Morrison, Knopf, \$5.95.

A powerful, unsettling, cryptic lyric/novel about a black rural community and the relationship between two black women.

DANIEL DERONDA, George Eliot, Peter Smith, \$5.00.

Really two novels in one—one of them a terrific portrayal of a woman who marries for money—a study of power and powerlessness.

ANY OLD WAY YOU CHOOSE IT, Robert Christgau, Penguin, \$2.50.

Best book of rock-criticism-cum-pop-culture-theory to come out so far.

And, if I can stick in an extra, for sheer fun, *ODD JOB/SIRIUS*, two science fiction novels by Olaf Stapledon.

Beverly Woodward

This isn't a book, but a new French quarterly journal with serious articles about nonviolence theory, as well as book reviews, news of the French non-violent movement, etc. Excellent and highly recommended to anyone who reads French. To subscribe send a check for \$5.50 to: *ALTERNATIVES NON-VIOLENCE*, 22, rue de l'Eglise, 69003 Lyon France. (Make check payable to G. Didier.)

WAR AND MORALITY, ed by Richard Wasserstrom, Wadsworth Publishing Co, \$2.95.

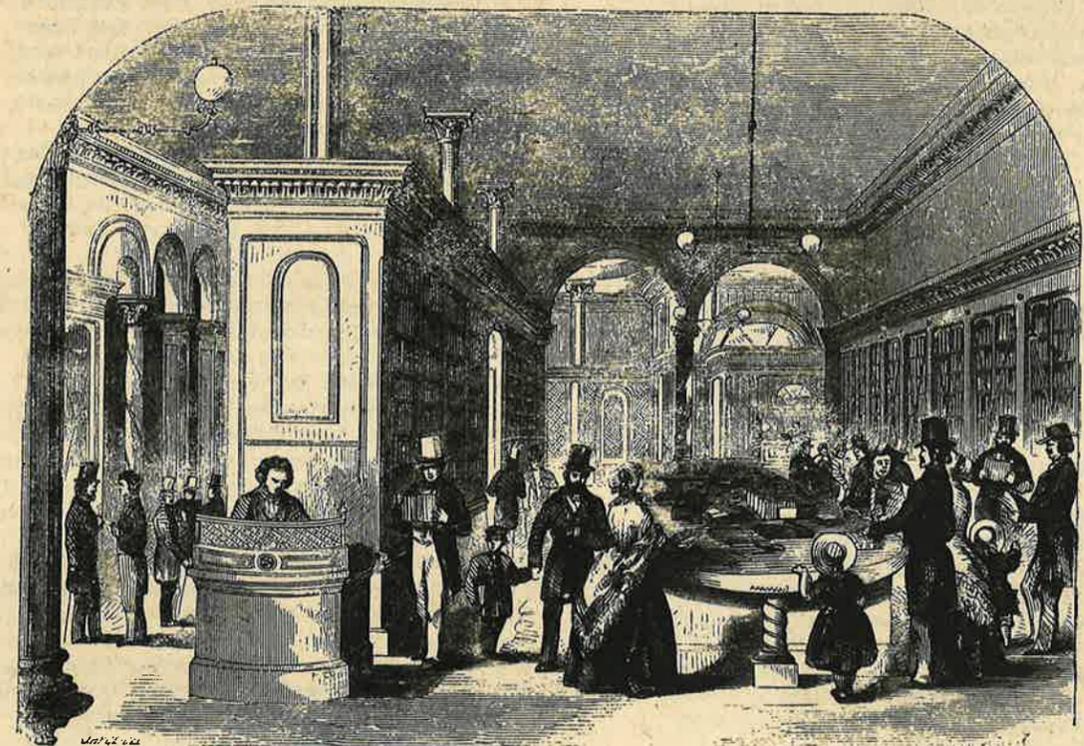
For the philosophically minded a good collection of articles on moral issues related to the problem of war. The fact that it contains many arguments against pacifism doesn't make it any the less worth reading (though Marvesson's article is confused).

PHILOSOPHY, MORALITY, AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, ed. by Virginia Held, Sidney Morgenbesser, and Thomas Nagel, Oxford University Press, New York, 1974.

Again for the philosophically minded. Articles by Wasserstrom, Bedau, Falk, Woodward (sorry about that), Morgenbesser, and others. Discussion of topics like selective conscientious objection, individual responsibility for war crimes, ecocide; genocide, imperialism, and nonviolence.

THE JOURNAL AND MAJOR ESSAYS OF JOHN WOOLMAN, ed. by Phillips P. Moulton, Oxford University Press, New York, \$10.50.

The Hopewell Friends Meeting in Indiana, to which Peter belonged and true salt of the earth I have learned, gave this to Peter and me when we got married. It was only this year that I got to reading it. Refreshing and moving testimony from one of the world's purer spirits.



cases were so absurd they never even reached the trial stage, but they used up a lot of time and money, and permanently weakened Abbie's health.

He estimates that he's been arrested 25 to 40 times in his life and has always been vindicated. The early arrests occurred in the 1960's civil rights marches in Mississippi; the later ones stemmed out of the ban-the-bomb and the anti-war movements.

Abbie's political activities and continual struggle to test the limits of free speech have also brought him difficulties in getting his later books published. In an article coming out in the May issue of Harper's Abbie describes his trials and tribulations in the publishing world. Because of IRS threats of tax investigations of publishers, no one would publish *Steal This Book* and Abbie had to publish it himself—making no money in the process, although his books have sold in the hundreds of thousands. This pattern was repeated with his latest work, entitled, *Book of the Month Club Selection*. Again the IRS made threats and Abbie spent months searching for a publisher. Which brings me to the background of his latest entrapment.

Last year Abbie, America and I were living quietly in my mother's house in the country. The birth of our son, America, has put us through many changes. We discovered that we must find new sexual and parental roles, new modes of living in order to grow with America and not stifle him with our own discontent. We both became more interested in the problems of people over 30 and in new alternate life-styles. We concentrated our energies on our child, our friends, our dog and our wonderful vegetable garden. We needed money, however, and Abbie set out to write a sequel to *Steal This Book* entitled *Book of the Month Club Selection*. After a winter of searching for a publisher, Lancer Books agreed to publish *Book of the Month Club Selection* in the spring. He was finishing the book in August when he was busted. After he was bailed out of jail it became apparent that Lancer was bankrupt, so *Book of the Month Club Selection*, as of now, still hasn't any publisher.

The book has a big chapter on DRUGS. Since he needed a lot of information on the distribution, sale and quality of illicit drugs Abbie gathered information mailed into him and also went out into the field. A street person himself, Abbie hung out around dealers, narks, and underworld figures trying to piece together the drug scene in order to write about it. He got some heavy information about the New York City drug traffic. He also got entrapped. The police have said they didn't know it was Abbie until the day or so before the arrest but we know for a fact from both a relative of one of the police officers and other sources that the police were watching Abbie continuously. They therefore had an opportunity to see that Abbie was writing this book and had developed contacts in the drug world. They obviously knew that Abbie had some unsavory acquaintances and was hanging around the drug scene. That made it easy to entice him into that hotel room.

People say that Abbie must either be guilty or very stupid to walk into such a situation. He is not guilty. He has never dealt drugs. Anyone who knows him knows that he has always had too many other activities going on to have the time for the careful paranoid state of mind characteristic of the drug dealer. And money has never been a goal in Abbie's life. In fact the one time he received a lot of it (for

selling the screen rights to *Revolution for the Hell of It*) he donated it—\$22,000 to the Panther 21 Bail Fund. The person he helped bail out forfeited the bond although he was later acquitted, so we lost that money—and never missed it because our happiness has never been dependent on money.

We also know that Abbie isn't stupid, although perhaps in this instance he was a bit naive. The government has been harassing us for so many years that Abbie and I have almost gotten used to it. The only way to stay sane in that situation is not to become paranoid. We simply couldn't afford to—under almost constant surveillance one would have to cease to live. So while the threat of disaster has always haunted us, we've refused to really believe in it. Until now.

The government seems to be using the drug bust of the '70s the way they used the communism bust of the '50s. It is the dirty trick of the decade, the smear which frightens people the way communism did in the '50s. Cocaine is not a narcotic but it is classified as one and considered a hard drug. People would have laughed if the government used marijuana to entrap Abbie so they chose a drug which still frightens people and has connotations of organized crime and big money.

Most of Abbie's actions and books have been about testing the limits of free speech. That is what led him into this latest mess. I believe and he believes that he will ultimately be vindicated. It will be proven that he is no criminal.

Our little family has been broken up by the exigencies of this nightmare situation. I do not know what the future holds or when any of us will see Abbie again. Perhaps it will be tomorrow or next week, perhaps it will be years from now. I only hope that one day America, Abbie and I will be re-united in freedom.

Perhaps it is appropriate at this time to recall the pseudonym Abbie used for his first book, *Revolution for the Hell of It*. Those of us who love him hope it will always be an appropriate name for Abbie.

He called himself "Free." —Anita Hoffman

*I love Abbie Hoffman, a brother
Subject of excessive alarm and equal good humor.
I pray for the police chasing him.
I pray for Abbie Hoffman or tranquil.
I contributed essays to his defense fund.*

AH

*Let us breathe space more calmly.
Top heavy military budget \$100,000,000,000 —
This remains problem of domestic police
aggression and dishonesty.
New York narcotics bureau is hardly so honest
that it has cause to complain and build
up more images of aggression.*

AH AH AH

Easter blessings, Christ fugitive again.

*Wherever Abbie is we hope he's happy.
And we hope the police get happy, and the
judges get happy and Nixon gets happy
to be relieved of his ego and secrecy.*

OM AH HUM

—Allen Ginsberg

JUDGE REFUSES TO DISMISS WOUNDED KNEE CASE: TRIALS CONTINUE

"The many revelations of Bureau [FBI] negligence and carelessness have brought this court to the brink of dismissing this case," said Judge Fred Nichol, April 17, in his ruling on a motion for dismissal in the case of Dennis Banks and Russell Means. The trial of the two national spokesmen for the American Indian Movement (AIM) had been interrupted for five weeks for an unusual evidentiary hearing looking into governmental misconduct relating to the occupation of Wounded Knee and the legal cases coming out of it.

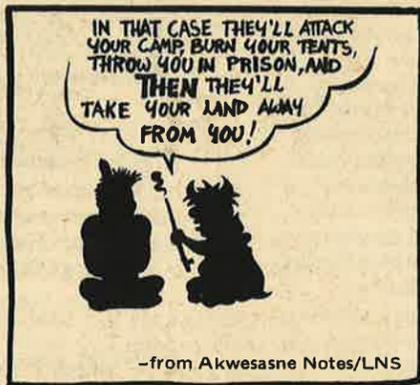
The five weeks of hearings uncovered a tremendous amount of evidence. It was revealed that the government had installed not a tap, but an *extension* phone to the phone in the trading post used by those occupying Wounded Knee. It was also revealed that the FBI had collected 315,981 documents (each from 1-600 pages long) relevant to the case, which despite previous court rulings, had not been turned over to the defense.

"The behavior of the FBI in this case is negligent at best," Nichol ruled; but he refused to dismiss the case. However, Nichol also said that "If further misconduct occurs on the part of the government, I would certainly consider a renewed motion by the defendants."

While Means' and Banks' case is recessed until May 1, the other Wounded Knee cases are starting up again. There are approximately 120 other defendants besides Means and Banks and the other 4 people charged with being "leaders" of the 71-day occupation which began February 27, 1973. Those cases are currently being tried in Sioux Falls, SD.

However, because the judge hearing all of the non-leadership cases is from Lincoln, Nebraska, the rest of the Wounded Knee cases will be moved there in less than a month. Lincoln, which has 200,000 people and is larger than Sioux Falls, has a strong Indian community.

Meanwhile, the cases coming out of the protests in Custer, SD on February 6, 1973 are to start soon, not only in Sioux Falls but in Pierre, SD as well.



-from Akwesasne Notes/LNS

The protests followed the killing of a young Indian man, Wesley Bad Heart Bull by a white businessman. The murderer was convicted of second-degree manslaughter and given a two month suspended sentence.

The judge who will preside at the cases to be tried at Pierre, Jon Fosheim, achieved a notoriety for attempting to revoke the bail on a number of the Custer defendants. Pierre, with a population of 10,000 has been so hostile to the defendants that defense committee members have been denied service in restaurants and harassed in the streets.

At pre-trial hearings in the first of the Custer cases, Vine Deloria, Jr. (author of *Custer Died for Your Sins*) testified about the 1868 Great Sioux Nation-US Treaty. The defense has made a motion challenging the jurisdiction of any court to issue indictments in the case since, under the treaty, Custer is still part of Sioux territory. Deloria explained to the court that the western part of South Dakota was granted to the Sioux forever unless 3/4 of the tribe's adult males voted to change the treaty. Wuch a vote was never taken.

* * * * *

The Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee is in dire need of funds. Send anything you can to WKLD/OC, Box 255, Sioux Falls, SD 57101. -LNS

REPORT FROM SOUTH AFRICA

News from The Africa Bureau in London describes what it is like to have a family in South Africa, a country dependent on American banking institutions and corporate enterprises for its economic stability.

African women working on contracts as domestic servants within the West Rand Bantu Administration Board's area (which comprises a considerable part of Johannesburg) are being compelled to sign an official document undertaking never to allow their children to join them on their employer's premises. The document also demands that the employee or worker give details about her chief, husband, and the number, names and ages of all her children. Another portion of the document has to be signed by the employer. It states: "I... the undersigned, being the employer of the Bantu female... accept it as a specific condition of her employment that she will not be allowed to introduce any of her children/dependants into the prescribed area and that the service contract will be terminated if she: (a) Introduces her children/dependants into the area; or (b) fails to

reside in approved accommodation whether it be on my own premises, hostel or any other housing.

The Black Sash (a Caucasian women's resistance organization) comments on the document: "It illustrates the horror of families torn apart by the pass laws. Women who are allowed to work on contract in Sandton and Randburg are seeking this permission because poverty and unemployment in the Bantustans force them to move far from home to earn a living for themselves and their children."

They must seek work in the limited areas where they are allowed to do so but they must at the same time accept that their contracts of employment will be terminated by the authorities if they bring their children to stay with them. Imagine losing your job because your children come to spend the school holidays with you. And from an editorial in a South African newspaper, this comment: "Of course the Government has acted logically in requiring African domestic servants in the Randburg and Sandton areas to sign an undertaking that their children will not live with them. . . . Africans, in this case women, do not have the right to enter the "white" cities except for work purposes. In official language they are "temporary sojourners." So when it is found that many of the 6000 women registered as single, domestic servants in these areas are in fact married, with children living with them, the authorities are obliged to act. . . . In the perspective of Government policy each successive step is relentlessly necessary. . . ."

Millions of American dollars are invested in the South African economy. Isn't it time again to look at the fundamentals of this policy? -from Sybil Sticht

PRISON NOTES

Last word from the Leavenworth Brothers Offense/defense Committee is that two of the Brothers, Alf Hill and Alfred Jasper, were convicted in what can only be described as highly prejudicial proceedings which included, among other things, the same all-white jury for both trials.

Martin Sostre lost another round in his battle for freedom when Judge John T. Curtin refused to overturn his conviction and denied Sostre a new trial. It took Judge Curtin nine and a half months to decide that the recantation of the state's main witness, Arto Williams, was "unworthy of belief."

The Martin Sostre Defense Committee continues to support Sostre as the victim of a frame-up. He has already served six and a half years of a thirty-year sentence and is now 51 years old. The Committee, desperately in need of funds to carry the case to the US Court of Appeals, asks "all people of conscience to help save the life of this political prisoner of such great courage." Those who wish to express support or provide funds should write the Committee, Box 839, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, New York 14205.

Another victim of racism in the courts is Ben Chavis, who, along with others in the Wilmington 10, is currently faced with a severe sentence (he could be jailed until 2009) on charges of firebombing and conspiracy growing out of racial unrest in Wilmington, Delaware in 1971. The Reverend Ben Chavis is the Washington director of the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice. He went to Wilmington committed to nonviolent social reform and to help avoid potential violence, but was soon arrested on a series of trumped-up and petty charges which led the *Charlotte Observer* to comment editorially on his "harassment" and "persecution." Chavis, said the *Observer*, "is beginning to look more and more like the target of political rather than criminal prosecution." Coleman McCarthy called attention in the *Washington Post* to the plight of the Wilmington 10. Theirs is a very important case and should get more attention from persons interested in the movement for social justice.

Despite continued repression, some small gains for prisoners rights continue to be made. Federal Judge Luther Bohannon recently ordered the State of Oklahoma to stop mistreating inmates at the state prison at McAlester and also ordered an end to racial segregation at the institution. In California, US District Judge Stanley Weigel issued a set of very comprehensive guidelines limiting a local prison's authority to censor mail and reading materials. He ruled that censorship as practiced in the Deuel Vocational Institution at Tracy was uninformed, capricious, arbitrary and in violation of the prisoners' rights under the First and Fourteenth Amendments. He ruled that any book or periodical requested by an inmate had to be approved or disapproved within five days and that reasons must be provided if the request is denied. He also ordered that inmates should be informed within two days if mail is disapproved. California prison officials said they would only apply the decision in the one institution. "We regard it as unreasonable and we plan to appeal." a spokesman said.

-Larry Gara

CURSING COPS LEGAL

The US Supreme Court has struck down a New Orleans ordinance making it unlawful to curse at police officers. The decision overturned a ruling by the Louisiana Supreme Court upholding the conviction of Mallie Lewis, who was arrested January 3, 1970, on charges she said an obscenity to a police officer.

-Lancaster Independent Press

COME TO A WINE AND CHEESE TASTING PARTY AT THE HIGH TOR VINEYARDS

HIGH TOR



Sample the splendid wines of High Tor and taste cheeses of five nations. Go on a tour of the winery and the vineyards conducted by the winemaker himself, Father Tom Hayes. Enjoy the majestic beauty of High Tor Mountain overlooking the Hudson. (Near New City in Rockland County.)

And, because this is a benefit for WIN, help contribute to the 200th issue campaign fund.

It all happens on June 1, from two to four in the afternoon (rain day, June 8) with tours at two and three. The price of admission is only \$5 which should be sent to WIN. Since attendance is limited, send your check today to make your reservations.

Find out for yourself why High Tor wines are among the most prized wines of New York State.

WIN * Box 547 * Rifton, NY 12471

CHANGES

People's Bulletin Board

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SUNRISE

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Remember Woodstock? If so, you're lucky. To most people, it never happened; it was just another hype-filled photo essay, concocted by the editors of *Life* magazine to fill their pages and their coffers. But the mere whispered thought of "Woodstock" brings to mind to some people flashes of honesty, openness, idealism, music, culture, people, and the way it should be. *SunRise* isn't trying to live in the past, but hopes to promote the feelings and emotions that Woodstock personified that weekend in upper New York. In this day and era of crises-managed government and crises-sickened people, it's a pleasant thought among those of reality: HOPE. *SunRise* is still trying to help out people in the dominant culture of boredom, the economy of starvation, and the energy crisis with a bright, coherent and intelligent

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