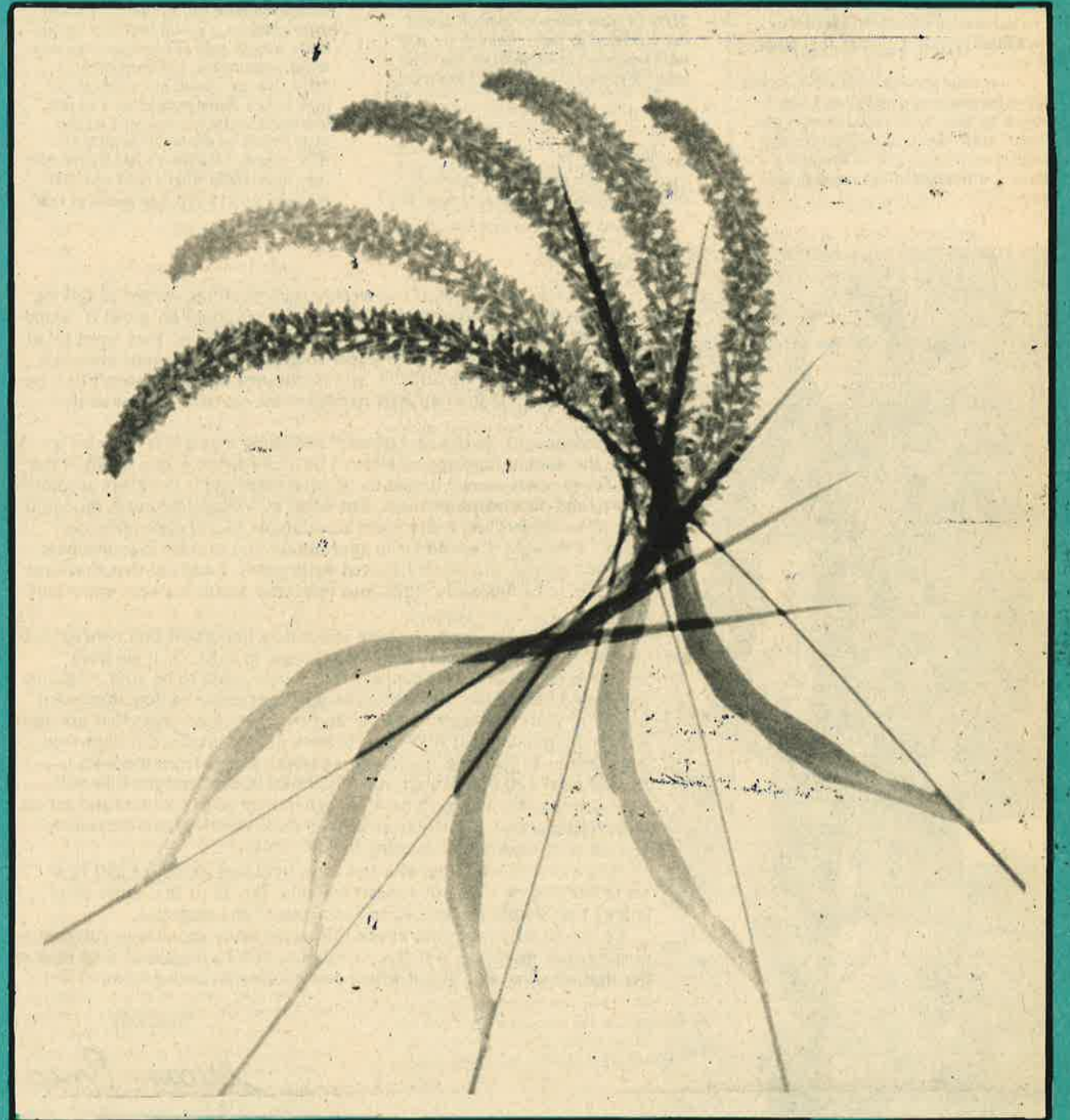


win

PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

Free Schools and Social Change
Violence and the Movies
On Refusing to be a Man
Dreaming of Henry (Kissinger)

July 11, 1974 / 20¢



LETTERS

I really like what's happened to the magazine in the last year or two & want the trends to continue.

How about a women's issue, tho? You never really did it—just let Leah Fritz stand in for all of us & she's a pretty heavy spokeswoman! I very much agreed with some of the critiques/responses along the line of Larry Erickson's.

Leah is quick to lay all the bad stuff on men and claim all the "goodies" for us women. While I have my share of anger, resentment & pain in growing up in a patriarchal society dominated by masculine values—it ain't all that black & white.

Your issue about yourselves and your lifestyles was very nice to get. I was struck by how the men did most of the "head" stuff—& yet, if it wasn't for the women we'd never get the magazine. Have you thought of balancing things any better?

Grace Paley's "Conversations in Moscow" was excellent!! Let's have more from more women (& men) speaking out of the variety of their experiences.

—JANE COMPO
Champaign, IL

—We did a Women's issue January 1970 which was so popular that we don't have enough left to sell. But you are right, we should do it again.

One problem with our issue about ourselves (any such issue) is it gives a static impression and if anything is constant here, it is change. You may have noticed that we have recently dropped titles from the staff listing. Since our 5/16/74 issue everyone's involvement has increased so that, although we still have separate responsibilities, the total effort is more collective. We keep trying.

—WIN

Re: WIN 2/21/74

I just read your issue on how radicals raise their children. It was real good but

there were two things I found lacking. The most important & the reason I finally went back and read it was: How do you direct children to do or not to do specific things without backing the directions up with threats of violence or coercion? Oh sure, you can reason with little folks, but they don't always see things the way you do; such as it's easier to leave half eaten fruit on the floor than to walk 20 feet to a trash can or it's all part of the game to chase the ball when it ends up on the busy street. Little people are always pushing things to the limit to see what they can get away with.

Unfortunately this issue didn't address itself with the discipline of movement children. I would honestly like to know how to help children become non-sexist, responsible, and nonviolent. I know this can't be done by threats or with bribes. Some people say you just have to show by example and let the little people's undesirable actions run their course. I realize it's imperative that they understand what's right and then they will do it, but it sure seems to raise

hell until they come to certain realizations.

My other thought on the issue is that it would have been good if you had mentioned the one company (group of people) that sells cooperative noncompetitive games. They are Family Pastimes, Bois-sevain, Manitoba, Canada, ROK OEO.

—MIKE RHODES
Fresno, CA

I must take exception with Larry Erickson's letter [6/20] about Leah. Like so many people, he passes judgements without first finding out all of the facts. From my personal knowledge of Leah, I can state that she is not "someone concerned only with her own class (i.e. women)." If she were, I am sure she would not have gone out of her way to personally try to raise money on behalf of me. Which she did, and without my asking her to. Also, she would never have sent me some of her own money, that I am sure she could have used herself for a dozen other things. And, Larry, all for a man, and a man that she has never seen at that. Certainly these aren't the actions of a woman concerned "only" with the problems of women.

As for suffering, man, no one has a corner on that market! You "nearly" had a breakdown. You "nearly" committed suicide. We have an old saying here in prison, "Close only counts in horseshoes." I don't say Larry has not suffered, but then who hasn't? But as I read his letter I could not help but think what nine year old Tchan-Wan Thung would say after reading it. Tchan-Wan, on May 25, 1972, live in Kuang-tchi province. On that day he suffered napalm burns of the face, arms and legs. Today his hands are deformed and non-functioning, his face and legs are massively scarred, and he is totally invalid. Or nine year old Nguen-Suang-Wan, two year old Nguen-Suan-tung, and five year old Nguen-Suan-Kuan, all severely wounded and crippled on July 2, 1972 by the fragments of a strike rocket.

As for those "old fashioned, get-waked-up-by-the-noise-of-your-own-screaming nightmares," I know what you mean. But mine didn't come from being called "fatso" or "tubby." Mine come two or three nights a week, and it is always when the State Police come charging in with their guns, shooting, and I've only got my bare hands to fight back. The only difference in my dreams, is you wake up by your own screaming, I wake up from the pain of hot lead tearing into my body.

But if you think we have it bad, remember Trung Hai Village: In 1968 & 1969 90,000 bombs and artillery shells fell on that village, an average of 280 bombs and shells for every man, woman and child that lived there. Of the handful of people that survived, how many of them do you think have their nightmares?

In short, stop feeling sorry for yourself, and get out and help change things. In prison we call it "getting your shit together." If you don't like the way

things are, your support of WIN can help change things. Sorry about the lecture, but when people start talking about pain and suffering, or falsely accusing others, I've just got to open my mouth. But then, that is what WIN allows for us, a chance to exchange ideas, and take exceptions.

—THOMAS ALFURD REYNOLDS
Greenhaven Prison

Leah Fritz's apology to Larry Erickson, which appeared in the Letters column 6/27/74 still contained the type of meaningless militant rhetoric which Arthur Harvey so elegantly denounced. She states that pervasive sexist propaganda is perpetrated by men—who else? The who else of the matter are mothers. For untold generations they have bought baby dolls for their daughters, toy guns for their sons, insisted that the boys mow the lawns and the girls wash the dishes. They talk of marriage with their female offspring and praise their male issuance who follow the professional careers of doctors, lawyers, and copy chiefs. Until Leah can see the whole matter in focus, I hope she will refrain from making sweeping generalizations.

—DAVID P. CANNON
Montclair, NJ

I fully believe that every man and woman in this county, guilty or innocent, should when arrested refuse to be tried, refuse to be a part of any trial. If convicted refuse to be sentenced and then refuse to be taken to the prison, by lying down and making them carry you everywhere, yelling or whatever is necessary to halt the court. Struggle all the way—make them wrestle you everywhere—but do not attempt to escape or assault them back.

And most important, state your conviction or convictions as to why—total justice, both in trial and if convicted in the place of confinement for rehabilitation.

Demand, all Constitutional Rights and make the courts go by the books all the way in trying you—no fast and speedy this or that to make it easier on the courts—they ain't gonna make it easy on you and if you're a sucker, or a push-over, or a no-wave maker, you may never see Justice, ever save in your cell reading comix books, where the word pops up now and then.

Don't be like a lamb led to the slaughter. Struggle is the word, make it your action and let us all come together in this struggle to form a more perfect union and down these animal farms called prisons and the corrupt police and the corrupt courts that send us to them with out any care for Justice whatsoever.

And if you're convicted and sentenced to a prison to be rehabilitated, you have the *Right to That Rehabilitation* and not just confinement and slave labor or some of the other more fascist, sadistic trips they run on a human being in prisons across the nation and around the world.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

Dear Friends:

The other day, at one of our weekly staff meetings, we got to talking about our financial situation and about what we could do about it. Someone mentioned that when the *NY Times* needed money, they went to advertisers and sold space in their paper to get money. Someone else said, "Yeah, but what can we do?" It was mentioned that *WIN* wasn't like the *NY Times* at all; that when *WIN* needed money it naturally asked its readers.

Someone said, "write that down," and being that it was my turn to write the weekly fund appeal letter, I dutifully wrote it down. When the *NY Times* needs money it goes to its advertisers and is therefore accountable to and dependent on them. But when *WIN Magazine* needs money it goes to its readers and is therefore accountable to and dependent on them. I thought it would be an appropriate line to stick in somewhere in a fund appeal. But when I started writing this, I realized that that's no mere line to be flippantly stuck into this letter, but it is a very important truth!

So it comes time again to think about how important that concept is to you. Without your support *WIN* would cease to exist. Or if we were forced to go elsewhere for support *WIN* would cease to be your magazine and would belong to our creditors or our advertisers. So how important is *WIN* to you? The response so far and the many comments that you have written in indicate that *WIN* must be very important. To this date you have sent in \$13,978.66 (including a \$1,000. pledge from the WRL). But we need \$20,000. We are still \$7,572.80 in debt and the bills still keep coming. We still don't have enough money to pay writers and artists and photographers. We still have to worry each week where the money for the next week's issue is going to come from.

And we're still thinking of other ways of raising money. Right now we're working on a benefit concert for July. But all of that takes away energy that should be devoted to each issue of the magazine.

So as you write out your check this week, think about how you're supporting *your* magazine, not Macy's, GE's or IT&T's magazine. And remember that we care, too, about where every penny is coming from.

Sincerely,

Susan Pines

Susan Pines



Photo of Susan Pines by Bobby Spiegel.



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STAFF

maris cakars
susan cakars
nancy johnson
mary mayo
susan pines
fred rosen
martha thomases

FELLOW TRAVELERS

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box 547 rifton new york 12471
telephone 914 339-4585

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Free Schools and Social Change

BY FRANK LINDENFELD

Some of the earliest free schools in the United States were begun by people active in the politics of social change. In 1964-65, for example, members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee set up "freedom schools" in Mississippi as part of the movement for civil rights and black liberation. The teachers and students involved in them had no question about the fact that they and their schools were part of a political struggle.

In many alternative schools established more recently, this sharp sense of struggle seems lacking. The more politically active free schoolers berate their colleagues who are merely content to set up counterculture islands. For example, Jonathan Kozol in his book *Free Schools* is angry with middle class whites who ignore the oppression of the poor in their own society. He rightly criticizes rural free schools for being apolitical; the same is unfortunately true of many urban ones. The curriculum of most free schools is weakest on politics. Many of their teachers do not see themselves as part of a movement and do not have a strongly developed political consciousness. Preoccupied with keeping their schools together, meeting the day-to-day needs of the children, and solving the perennial money crises, their teachers have little time or inclination to turn their schools into community centers or to organize cooperative intercommunity federations.

Some free school teachers hope that if their school stays "apolitical," if the school does not do anything to become noticeable, they will be let alone to "do their thing." They view themselves more as progressive educators and less as radicals committed to changing society. They are still caught up in the illusion that they can build utopian islands in the midst of an unjust society. While the children of the privileged meditate and play in tranquility on isolated country estates, the children of the poor in the American cities are ground down by the public schools and trained to take their places at the bottom of the society, while both the middle classes and the poor are indoctrinated to accept an unjust social order. At the same time peasant children in Latin America and other areas dominated by the United States toil from an early age and many of them go hungry and die young. When their parents rebel they are as often as not tortured in jails constructed with American money and killed by weapons made in the USA.

I agree with Kozol that we must radically change the system that causes such misery at home and abroad. We must replace production for profit by production for human need. We must dismantle

the huge government bureaucracy and the overgrown military machine. The question is how to bring about changes in the economic and political institutions, as well as in education, when only a small minority is so far convinced of the need for such change.

Free schools are attempts to create a better environment in the here and now, without waiting for the revolution that may one day benefit our grandchildren. But a scattering of isolated private schools for poor people (or the middle class, for that matter) will not necessarily change the social structure. In fact, such schools help to integrate some of the poor more securely into that structure by pushing them up into the middle class. That is one of the main reasons some working class families send their children to free schools—to make sure that they get ahead and don't have to suffer the same kind of lie as their parents. This is what the public schools would be doing if they were functioning more efficiently. Free schools, like the public schools, help the socially mobile, who don't necessarily aid the class they have left behind. Thus we find that Mexican Americans who make it through college often become so assimilated that they completely turn their backs on the interests of their less fortunate brothers and sisters. The same is true of Blacks, though the racism in American society has forced a Black consciousness upon many who would rather have quietly figured out an escape for themselves and their own families.

A further criticism of free schools is that they provide a safety valve, drawing the potentially most active teachers, students and parents away from the public schools. If the discontented people stayed and worked for change within the public school systems, such change might come about sooner and benefit many more people. (The counter argument is that staying to work for change in public education is like trying to plug a thousand holes in a sinking ship. Why waste your time if it is going to sink anyway?)

One of the dilemmas facing free schools is that although they can challenge the established social order, they are dependent on that order in several crucial ways. Not least important are compulsory school attendance laws; without such laws, public school enrollment would decline, but private schools would also lose pupils. Further, free schools that don't charge tuition are basically dependent on contributions from wealthy individuals or foundations to keep them going. (This is over and above the subsidy provided by unpaid or underpaid staff.) This financial dependence may prevent such schools from becoming politically too radical. At some point in the school's history, its survival needs as an organization begin to take precedence over its radi-

cal comitment: It will be argued that if the school ceases to exist, it will not have any influence at all. Kozol is on the right track in suggesting that free schools begin to run their own businesses to insure financial independence, although involvement in running a business might integrate them into the system as successfully as dependence on contributions from the rich.

If they can survive the inevitable attempts at co-optation and repression alternative schools will eventually run up against the concentration of power represented by the existing system of corporations and banks. For example, free schools need sites; those that purchase their own land and buildings are able to achieve a greater stability and life expectancy. In the absence of "peoples" community development banks, property can usually be acquired only through appealing for donations from the rich or asking banks or other conservative institutions to provide mortgages or construction loans.

I question whether free schools can place much emphasis on preparing their students for jobs and credentials and still keep their free spirit intact and alive. The whole thrust of our culture is to adjust and train the individual to the needs of the society. Once the free schools accept this approach, they lose their radical flavor and eventually become indistinguishable from other private schools. Free schools can and should help their graduates find jobs or higher education "within the system" to meet their immediate survival needs. But their main task, it seems to me, is not to adjust individuals to the needs of existing social institutions, but rather to train a new generation which will help to adjust the society more to the needs of the individual.

One criticism of the free schools is that they do not adequately prepare students to understand and

cope with existing technology. In some free schools there is a definite anti-technological bias. If the price of technological progress is atom bombs and a dozen years of war in Vietnam, many feel that price is too high. Some hold to romantic visions of returning to nature, abandoning or smashing the machines and living an integrated if primitive life. Others like Ivan Illich talk about making machines more simple so they can be used, understood and repaired by the average man and about spreading knowledge about tools as widely as possible. I myself feel there is nothing inherently noble in back-breaking toil and that we should use automation to enable all of us to have freely at least the basic necessities of life.

Some of the differences between Kozol's outlook and my own probably reflect different degrees of empathy for the counter culture. I like "hand looms and organic bean seeds" because they represent attempts to recreate a sense of wholeness of life. Perhaps in post-scarcity America they will be more relevant to most people's lives than computer programs. But why not provide opportunities for children and adults to learn about both?

Free schools can contribute to the movement for social change in several ways. They can reinforce the commitment of students and teachers to radical ideas and analysis, keeping alive the ideals of socialism and anarchism. They can serve as centers to organize students and teachers in public education. Together with communes, underground media and other counter-cultural organizations they serve as the beginnings of a network of alternatives that could eventually replace the existing system.

Free schools can and should inculcate the values of co-operation, equality, and anti-consumerism. They can help overcome the individualism that even so many of us in the counter-culture are ob-

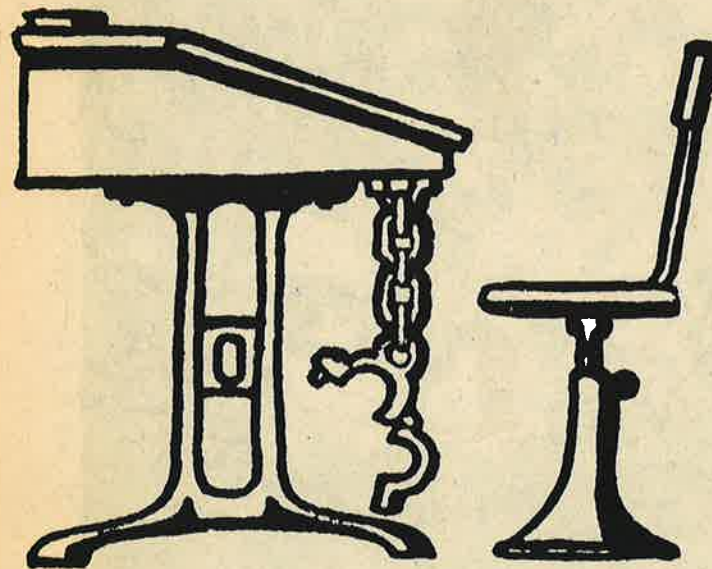


sessed with. Free school teachers cannot be politically neutral—so called neutrality is nothing but a convenient myth which obscures the indoctrination of students to accept the existing order. Free school teachers cannot support freedom for children to live and learn and love without also upholding their right to be free from conscription and police repression. If they support liberty they will inevitably take a stand against an imperialist system that suppresses popular revolutions abroad through military force.

At their best free schools can strengthen the commitment of their students to radical and humanistic values and encourage their graduates to support other alternatives such as co-ops and free universities. Hopefully, their graduates will have a strong desire to fulfill themselves and will refuse merely to fit into the jobs provided by the existing system. They will be maladjusted enough to go into straight jobs and try to change the system from within and to create new alternatives when they do not find existing social institutions to their liking.

By offering classes and study groups oriented around a radical perspective, free schools (and free universities) can help students untangle the prevalent myths about the social system. A continuing dialogue can take place within the free schools about the nature of the future alternative society and the means to bring that society into being. These schools provide a natural arena for debate on various strategies and tactics for social change and they may also be used as meeting places and information centers. The alternative schools can help combat self-defeating anti-intellectualism by promoting critical analysis and reason, helping people to understand the implications and limitations of various forms of political action, preparing them for a struggle that may take decades.

Free schools can aid the movement for change in the public educational system. That, after all,



FPS/CNS

is where most of the people are; this is especially relevant for the poor who do not have the resources to start private schools if the public schools do not meet their needs. Teachers in free schools can provide assistance to their colleagues trying to change public schools from within.

The free schools can provide a continuing challenge to the public schools by their mere existence, by calling attention to themselves as examples of what non-repressive education might be. They could help broaden the outlook of public school teachers and principals by arranging exchange visits and teacher training programs and providing speakers and seminars. They could produce and distribute films, magazines and newspapers and help public school students and teachers organize to promote change in the educative system. They could set up coffee houses as centers of radical influence similar to the GI cafes conducted by anti-war groups near military bases.

The minimal opposition to the free schools so far is a measure of their small size and influence and their political quietism. The more the radical implications of the free schools are translated into action threatening to the *status quo*, the greater the likelihood the establishment will react by attempting to crush them.

Alternative institutions could nonviolently replace the present political-economic framework through a gradual transfer of energies from the old to the new. Such replacement is possible, provided the alternatives become more attractive than working for large corporations or government agencies. The alternatives will have to provide a minimum level of economic productivity. The reason why so many people work for organizations with whose purposes they disagree—be this the public school system or the army—is that they need money with which to live. If we can establish alternatives that provide at least some pay then more and more people will be attracted to them not for the pay but for the freedom to work. This presupposes acceptance of an anti-consumer ideology, of sharing resources and living on a lower standard of living. The less pay we expect, the more feasible the alternative organizations become. The new alternatives will attract people prepared to accept a lower material standard of living than provided for employees of General Motors, state welfare departments, or the public schools, in exchange for a more satisfying and integrated way of life, with economic security and the feeling of having an equal say in the organizations within which they work.

As these alternatives gain momentum a "parallel" system will emerge which could eventually supplant the existing one. The old system will collapse if and when large numbers of people desert it in favor of an alternative system which satisfies their basic needs for food, clothing and shelter and which, in addition, provides for psychic needs of love and community that cannot be met within the existing social order.

Frank Lindenfeld teaches in the Social Sciences department of California Polytechnic State University.

1984 ARRIVES

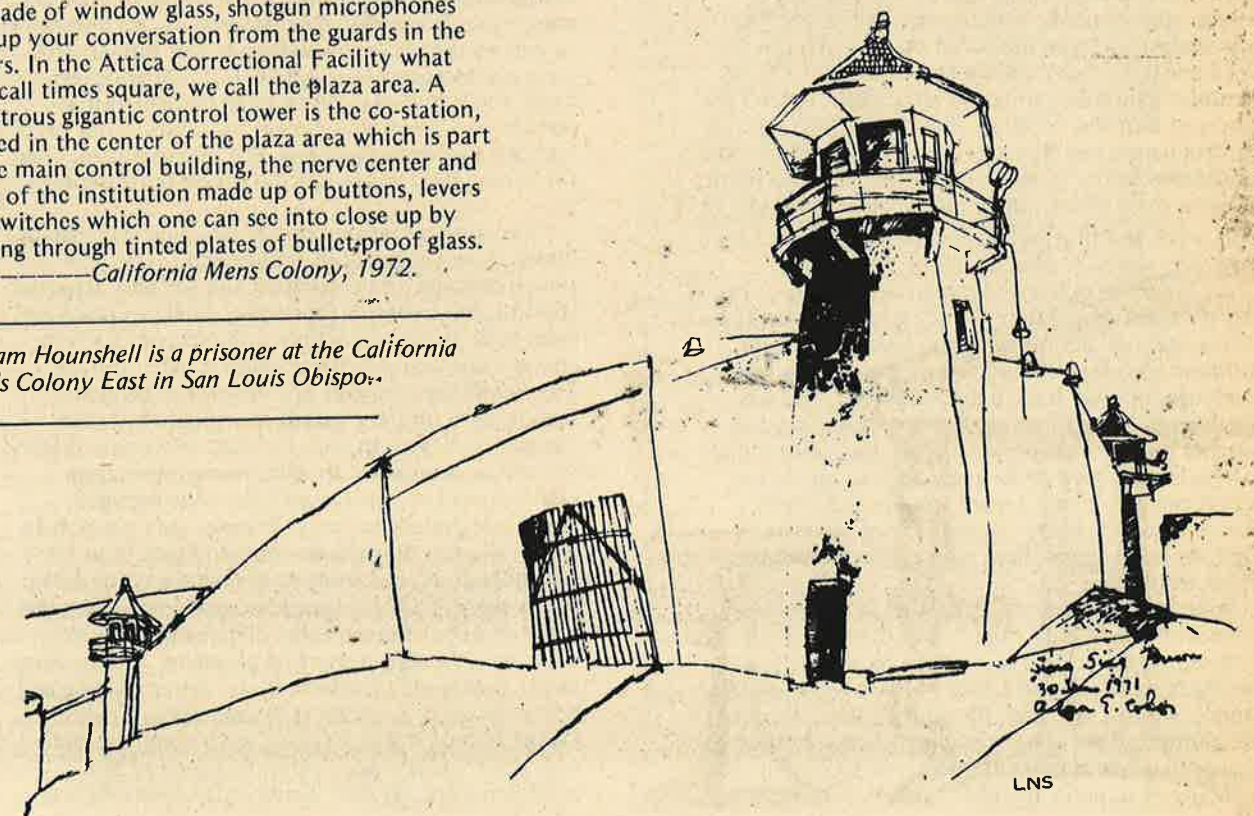
BY WILLIAM HOUNSHELL

There was, of course, no way of knowing you were being watched at any given moment. How often, or on what system, the Thought Police plugged in on any given individual wire was guess work. It was even conceivable that they watched everybody all the time.
—George Orwell, 1984

Two way mirrors, with gunports mounted at the bottom, one in each TV room and on each of the three floors in the buildings covering the front, left and right directions have been made so that you are being watched at all times under the threat of death. Infra-red gun sights, electronic surveillance equipment and the very same arsenal used in Vietnam is issued to the towers here in prison.

This is a four-in-one facility, divided up into four separate units of 600 men each, with a turnstile revolving gate that locks automatically if you don't show your identification card to the TV camera monitor set inside the turnstile. You are watched in your sleep every hour. The shower room walls are made of window glass, shotgun microphones pick up your conversation from the guards in the towers. In the Attica Correctional Facility what they call times square, we call the plaza area. A monstrous gigantic control tower is the co-station, located in the center of the plaza area which is part of the main control building, the nerve center and heart of the institution made up of buttons, levers and switches which one can see into close up by looking through tinted plates of bullet-proof glass.
—California Mens Colony, 1972.

William Hounshell is a prisoner at the California Men's Colony East in San Luis Obispo.



LNS

Violence and the Movies

By Mike Abell

The 20th Century has seen violence carried to such insane extremes that many people have felt the need to construct elaborate defenses against the thought that they themselves might contain some of the same bloodthirstiness in their personalities that possesses Hitlerian ghouls and therefore might share a portion of the guilt for this century's madness. In order to blot out the notion that we are somehow tainted with violent passions, we will erect barriers against this self-knowledge with complex and "objectively" abstract theses, generalizing about the subject in such a way that our own contribution to the blood guilt of the human race is minimized, or rendered negligible.

For instance, the development of a highly complex social system, such as our own, allows the individual to hide behind the curtains of his/her middle-class home and to point the finger of guilt at the poor, the deprived, racial and ethnic scapegoats, foreign governments, nuts, kooks, and so on. The war against Vietnam produced the information the B-52 pilots did not consider their tasks to be monstrously, inhumanly brutal at all. Hidden behind the banks of buttons, switches, dials and gauges on their control panels and flying at altitudes that caused the landscapes below to seem little more than geometric designs, these pilots simply did not see the results of their work and thus felt no involvement in the carnage they were creating far below themselves.

At the other extreme is the citizen who lives his life of "quiet desperation," paying his taxes on time, voting occasionally, mowing the lawn, rearing his children; who feels threatened by those of us who challenge his most basic patriotic beliefs, and who will turn to "tough" law-and-order legislation and tougher police-court-penal systems; but, who will also proclaim himself to be a law abiding, peace loving citizen who doesn't want trouble and doesn't like violence. He blinds himself to the violence he supports and blames those who challenge him for all his troubles.

Any way you look at it, most of us equate violence with the bloody evil of 20th Century wars, or with senseless murders committed by sick outcasts like Richard Speck and Charles Stuart Whitman. We cannot, we will not, and, for sanity's sake, we must not admit that we are as capable of being aroused to violent passions as mass murderers or soldiers in war.

Many of us carry the desire to refuse to accept



BONNIE AND CLYDE

complicity in the "Cain" aspects of our natures to the point of attempting to convince ourselves that we are not by nature violent, that it is the result of cruel exploitation by sinister forces over which we have no control that we are made to become violent or to share blame for the violence raging around us. One example of this desire to blot out our violent aspects lies in the campaign to remove violence from the visual media, TV and the movies.

I hope I will not be misunderstood here, for I too feel that violence is glorified in too many ways in our society. But I do take issue with the notion that removing, or sublimating, violence in movies and on TV is going to provide us with a solution to the problem of violence in our society or in our souls. My own feeling is that removing violence from drama is like removing a tumor without further investigating whether it is benign or malignant. In many cases the tumor is malignant—we are directed to believe that violent solutions to our human problems are necessary, just, noble. But on the other hand, the tumor may prove to be benign—it may contain the lesson that violent solutions to our problems are horrifyingly wrong. But in either case, only the tumor is attacked, not the cancer lying beneath it.

The most recent serious uproar about violence in filmed drama began with *Bonnie and Clyde*, continued through *The Godfather* and has now attached itself to *The Exorcist*. Of course, movie violence has been with us for a long time. I remember as a teenager the panic and hysteria which greeted the film *The Blackboard Jungle*. The movie was banned in many towns on the grounds that it glorified teenage gang violence. In fact, so many passionate denunciations accompanied the film that we teenagers couldn't wait to see it. And a lot of us brought along switchblade knives and homemade zip-guns to add to the fun. But the movie didn't glorify us teenage thugs at all. Far from it. Violence was the villain of the piece. Our violence, teenage violence, was the result of a social system that allowed violence to enter into the solutions of its problems. The violence in our lives wasn't glorious, it was dehumanizing and brutal. One punk shouts at teacher Rick "Daddy-o" Dadier (Glenn Ford), "Go on and hit me! My old man does it every day!" And the leader of the troublemakers, far from being a glamorous teenage

hood, is seen as a pathetically twisted, sick kid, whom even the other punks finally repudiate.

The same sort of reception as had greeted *The Blackboard Jungle* was prepared for *Bonnie and Clyde*. The graphic, almost clinically accurate depiction of the bloodletting in that movie couldn't possibly have been intended to glorify violence. Anyone who was able to hold his eyes open and keep his stomach intact during that final scene, with the car rocking and reeling from the force of the bullets, Bonnie and Clyde flopping lifelessly around inside, and the blood oozing out of the hundreds of bullet holes would have to ask himself, somewhere in the depths of his soul, if the career of these two outlaws had been worth the "retirement party." Surely, the idea that violence for whatever sake is simply too awful, too gruesome for anyone to justify, let alone glorify, must have seeped into somebody's mind after that movie. And what about those people who go on justifying violence? Who participate willingly in acts of violence? Is *Bonnie and Clyde* going to spur them on? For that matter, will *The Brady Bunch* ever deter them?

I can remember myself sitting through five consecutive viewings of *Rebel Without A Cause*. (In those days you could stay in the theater all day for the price of one ticket.) And for days afterward I walked around with the collar on my red nylon James Dean jacket turned up, and I wore T-shirts and beltless levi's, and while I didn't carry a switchblade knife, I did carry a churchkey can-opener, because it was supposed to make a nastier hole in your enemy's body. I never used my weapons, however, and I managed to pose my way safely through high school. It wasn't until some years later, while I was in the Army, when I had the opportunity to fire my rifle at a pop-up target, that I discovered how glad I was I never did have to use those weapons. It took me one shot at a piece of cardboard 100 meters away to realize that there was no way I would ever use a gun on anybody for any reason, and that was years before the word "pacifism" ever entered my vocabulary.

Violence in drama is as old as drama itself. Part of the fear and pity aroused in the viewer of an Aristotelian tragedy was caused by the violent end of the tragic hero. The tragic hero just didn't grow old and retire. He died, and his demise was usually bloody. Just as tragedy is viewed as catharsis for the viewer, the violence accompanying the tragic climax can be seen as an accompanying purgative agent. Let's face it. Violence surrounds all human lives. And though we may strive to live our lives nonviolently, it seems impossible that we are going to make it untouched by the river of blood flowing across this earth. To hide from that, to divorce the evil from our natures and assign it to demons floating in the night air waiting to possess some hapless victim, is sheer nonsense. We do feel anger, disgust, hatred, malice, all sorts of ill-will. Part of being nonviolent, to my mind, doesn't lie in denying these feelings in ourselves, but instead lies in recognizing them and attempting to hold them in control, to balance ourselves. But to deny them is to delude ourselves.

Tragedy, through the efforts of the tragic hero to overcome the forces arrayed against him in this life, inspires in us the feeling that the struggle to overcome all this evil is noble and good and right. But

the hero's death sobers us and makes us painfully aware of how doomed we are at the outset of our struggle, how pitifully mortal and damnably weak we are in the end. And the awful violence of the tragic climax is doubly sobering. It shows us the power of violence, but it also shows us the futility of using violent means to accomplish our ends. In viewing tragedy, then, we should be ennobled in spirit and purged of our own evil. If we left the violence out, or muted it, the catharsis would be incomplete, the purge would be frustrated.

It is said that in modern drama there are no tragic heroes, and I'm not certain how to respond to this, for I see tragedy that is noble without being grand. The grandeur of Hamlet's tragedy is peculiarly unsuited to modern literature. But I do know there are still heroes in film and the violence of their lives is mighty sobering. One example that comes to mind is the movie *Walking Tall*. In it, a young man who yearns to return to his hometown and a life of quiet farming, is thrust into battle against corrupt forces which have sapped the spirit of the town and left it rotting and stinking. The young man, Buford Pusser (appropriate?), sets out to wipe the slate clean. His chief weapon is a long club which he uses repeatedly to break skulls and backs. Buford isn't a tragic hero, for he wins in the end. But at what price? He is beaten several times, and nearly murdered, his wife is murdered, he perverts the law to his own end, and he beats the hell out of a lot of people. He doesn't succeed in purging the stain of evil from the land, though he does eliminate the visible results of the town's evil. His violence does not succeed for him, either, for besides bringing about his wife's death, it has caused his son to adopt the ethic of bloody revenge that Buford himself abhorred but had used because he could see no other way. Thus, this peace loving man is left with a wracked body, a dead wife, and a son who embraces the "shoot-to-kill" ethic, and a town half of which is still rotting in spiritual decay while the other half is foaming at the mouth with vigilante bloodlust. *Walking Tall* is hardly the answer for advocates of bloody vengeance against anti-social forces.

If we disallow such movies, we will not yet be rid of violence. Instead, we will only push it further from our self consciousness and make it so remote that we will ultimately be like the B-52 pilots in Vietnam—unaware of the terror and destruction we are capable of causing. In a fit of self-righteous anger against our "oppressors," our "enemies," we could even forsake our nonviolent principles to support, directly or indirectly, violent efforts to solve our problems. Certainly there are examples enough in the movement today to bear me out on this point.

So I think it's good to be exposed now and then to the more grotesque side of our human nature. How else can we truly embrace nonviolence if we cannot know the depths of our own violence? If we cannot see the "Cain" side of our selves, we can never become "whole" people at all. Nor will we ever fully appreciate the urgency of our need to know our own violent natures, that we may be guided by this knowledge in our efforts to stem the violence of others.

Mike Abell lives and goes to the movies in Maryland. He is a frequent contributor to WIN.

Riverside Institute: Merchants of Death

BY JON M. BACH

Riverside Research Institute, one of the nation's largest weapons research laboratories, was once part of the Columbia University School of Engineering—spawned in the post World War II missile race. It was known then by the harmless sounding name, Electronics Research Laboratory, and contributed to the guidance systems of the major generation of missiles; e.g. Nike, Red Eye, and variations of the ABM. Electronics Research Lab also dabbled in economics, performing extensive work on the economy of nuclear war: how to kill more people cheaper and how many Americans would be salvaged per dollar by civil defense in event of nuclear attack.

In 1967 the ERL attempted to turn the entire School of Engineering into a weapons think tank, and was kicked out of Columbia. Lawrence H. O'Neill, the head of the ERL, was ousted at the same time. Columbia deemed that his work was not "compatible with the aims of higher education." However, his work was obviously compatible with the aims of other higher institutions, and today this pillar of society reigns as the president of the Riverside Research Institute and is chairman of the US Army Scientific Advisory Panel. He also serves on the Ballistic Missile Defense Advisory Committee and the Scientific Advisory Group to the Commanding General of the US Army Test and Evaluation Command. Weighty titles.

So, the ERL migrated south to 64th street and a lower profile and took the name Riverside Research Institute. 200 scientists, technicians, and support people, virtually all male, virtually all white, work in a six-story, non-descript, wearied building in a desolate neighborhood amid the anonymity of train yards and newspaper printing plants. The building is marked with a plaque which reads, "Consumer Services."

The Riverside Research Institute is 85% weapons oriented. Brilliant and deadly ideas are born there; governmental support, citizens' acquiescence, and tax money give these demonic ideas cold metal flesh, which will, with certainty and gravity, reach their target: human flesh.

The history of past projects at RRI is linked to the history of this country at war, and at "peace." In addition to the ABM frontier work (RRI was there on the ground floor in the late '50's), it also takes the credit for developing a formula for bombing villages in Indochina so that enemy radar is avoided. The ABM work was also useful in a more generalized way in designing offensive missile penetration aids to confuse enemy radar.

Present work includes nuclear war economics, aiding the Department of Defense in defining its programs and in reviewing research proposals. There

is extensive involvement in the use of lasers to interpret sonar signals in the anti-submarine and undersea warfare program. (It is expected that what the ABM was to the '60's, undersea warfare will be to the '70's: the locus of the next big jump in the arms race spiral.) General radar work such as that applied in Indochina continues to be pursued and electro-optics techniques for cutting down the time a computer takes to interpret a radar blip goes on in both conventional and nuclear war efforts. There is much preparedness for the next dirty little war as well as the next big one. Both are viewed, from the work perspective, as eventualities.

Riverside has always tried to have about 15% non-weapons activity going on. It does this for two reasons: it needs money to keep weapon's teams together between grants, and it needs the morale boost. Presently, to keep this necessary civilian element within the shop, RRI is working on something of a social systems program for the State Department of Education. The State, for example, is paying for a full, highly qualified professional staff, but RRI is actually subcontracting temporaries to do much of the computer work and brain storming.

For a number of months a number of community people have been gathering around the Union Theological Seminary on a regular weekly basis to discuss nonviolence, resistance, and community in terms of the culture and their lives. The seminarians, nurses, social workers and community organizers have undertaken a process of sharing and expression, of reflection and thought, and of concern and action; trying to bridge the chasm between professed beliefs and life styles and social involvement; enforcing life priorities amid death. And of this they have become convinced: that those who follow the leadings of the Gospel or human interaction are called to lean with the weight of their lives against death's trajectory, to stand with those in its path, the victims, and say NO, with their words, with their actions, with their lives. The Riverside Research Institute was a place to begin.

On Good Friday, a day of sacrifice, an involvement with suffering, a day of blood, approximately 20 such people left Union Theological at 9:00 a.m. They walked down Broadway, over 50 blocks, and carried upon their shoulders a 10' cross, a sign of human agony.

They brought with them leaflets stained with their own blood, the blood of unseen victims. They brought with them a huge photograph of a Vietnamese woman holding her dead child and looking with infinite sorrow, rage, and impotence at the sky from which death rained. The photo covered most of the sidewalk in front of the Institute's entrance. During the service of remembrance a sizable amount of blood was poured upon the picture and doorstep to make visible the blood shed and the agony of those whose deaths were planned and produced by

the Institute. The blood came from the arms of those who stood there that morning to say that agony was theirs as well. They attempted to speak on behalf of those who cannot speak: the dead, the dying, and unborn generations to be. They attempted to speak to those who work at RRI, who create newer and more sophisticated versions of the cross without ever imagining the tearing of human flesh. They attempted to speak to their brothers and sisters who passed idly by, who purchased those efforts with tax money and who sanctioned its continuance with forgetful silence, who never see the carnage invoked by their silence.

The liturgy was held, the blood poured, the bread and wine shared, songs sung, leaflets disseminated. The scientists took in the scene with mostly unbroken stride.

Two weeks later, the same group was back. There was another leaflet, blood stained, another liturgy, and the cross which was carried along to witness on behalf of human compassion. In the morning light, the cross cast its shadow over the doorstep and the very real presence of blood on it.

And two weeks later, a further step. On the morning of May 30, four of the community entered the lobby to place their bodies between the scientists and their jobs and their victims. The four knelt in front of the elevators, denying access, symbolically standing for those in the path of that deadly work. Outside, some 35 of their friends celebrated the third liturgy there, and poured more blood over the doorstep.

There was another leaflet with the ubiquitous blood. It said in part, "In the spirit of Barmen and Pentecost, given courage and hope, we come to your door once again. How many more times will we have to return before you really see the blood which is spilt? How long before you know that war is no mathematical game, but the mutilation of human lives? How long, dear friends, how long?" Entering workers were confronted with those words as they had been on previous occasions. This time they were also confronted with bodies.

A similar action had occurred three months before. Six men and women had entered to block the elevators and had been kicked repeatedly and deliberately by a few workers who brought closer to home the cruelty they previously had had to sublimate over long distances. The most energetic place-kicker (kidneys, groin, ears, etc.) was the Institute's Vice President, a man who obviously had risen to his competency level.

There was no violence this time (other than the normal massive amounts). The police arrived, moved through the folks celebrating the liturgy, walked through the blood on the doorstep, and left with the suspects in custody. On his way out one law officer stepped on the chalice holding the wine and broke it. A secretary came to the door looking disgruntled at the blood and said with fraught voice, "What is this?" One person said, "It is the blood of the victims." Another said quietly, "It's what your paycheck is signed with."

The four spent most of the day in jail before the case was heard. In spite of the Institute's demand for a 15 day jail sentence, the judge pronounced his judgement as "Action Contemplating Dismissal," an interesting use of words in such a circumstance, and which means if they don't get busted at the same

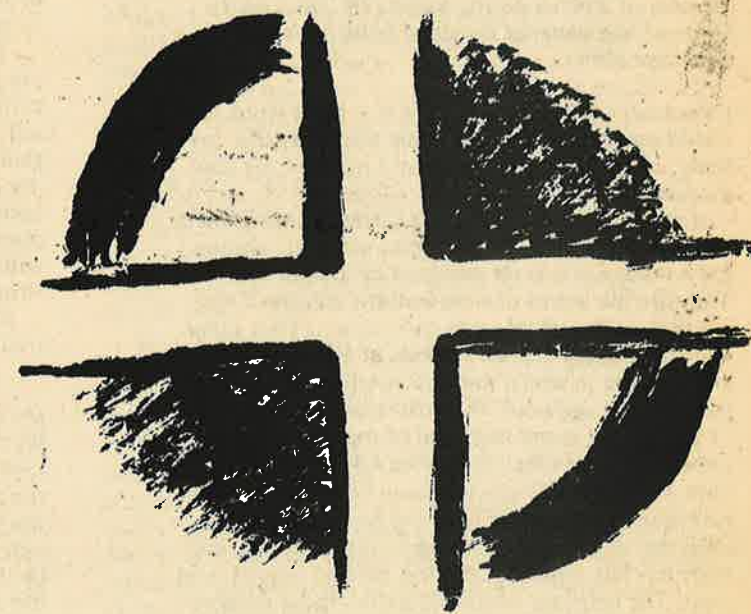
place doing the same thing in the next six months, all charges will be dropped.

Like the judicial system, the institutions indirectly involved in the action were not much interested. The administrative, faculty, and student bodies at Union (three of those arrested were seminarians there) could not be bothered in spite of public and private invitations. And the media, especially the press, saw little or nothing of redeeming value "fit to print" or cover in the actions in spite of press releases and a gruelling number of phone calls.

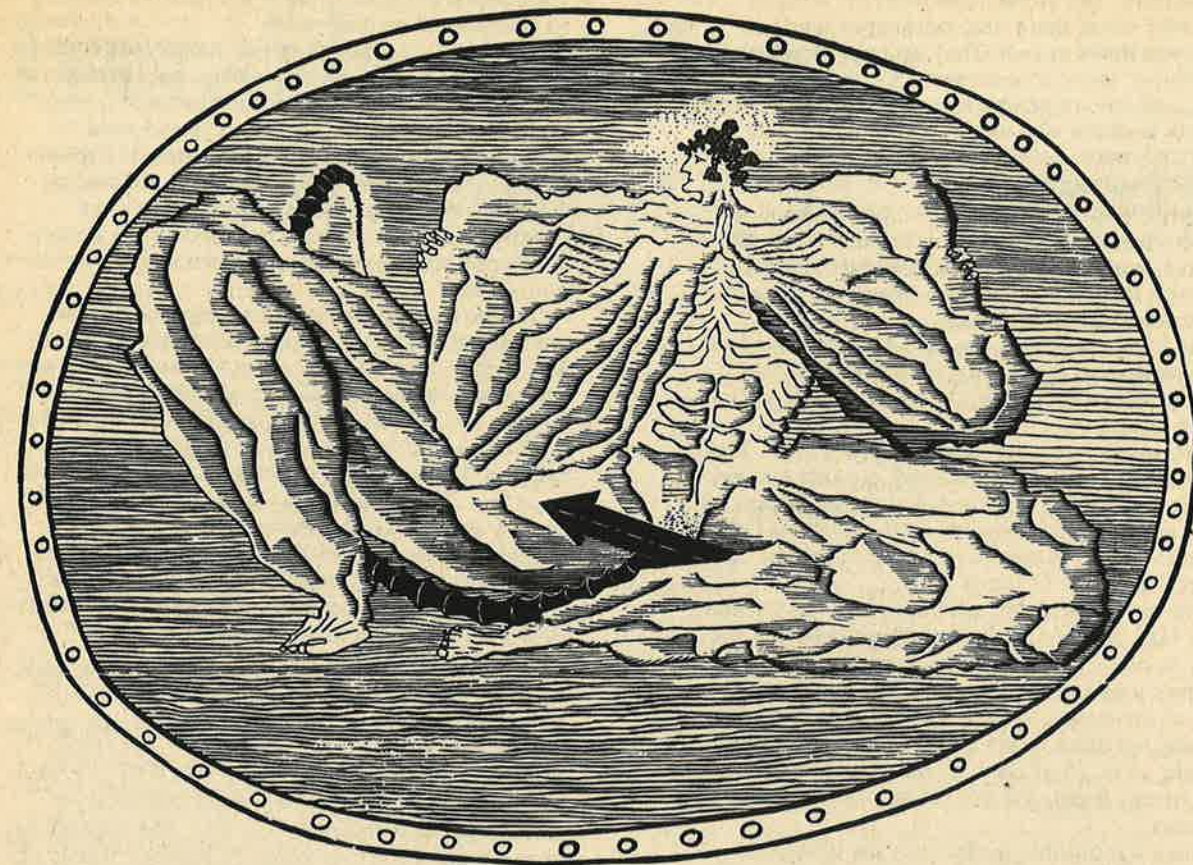
But no matter: there was, perhaps more than anything else, a sense of joy and seriousness prevalent within the continuity of the actions. There was an honest search, an involving of the self and the community. There was an awareness and embracing of the freedom and responsibility (ability to respond) which does not reside in good order and good law. There was a breaking away from what society and seminaries, the media and the courts consider successful and effective and worthwhile. Nearly engulfed by institutions and social norms which could hardly care less, here was a community of people struggling to care more.

NOTE: New York SESPA (Scientists and Engineers for Social and Political Action) has been picketing RRI twice weekly for four years and holding regular demonstrations there for such occasions as Hiroshima Day. Over 20 people have quit RRI as a result of the actions and the productivity there has declined. Morale is thought to be low. The message has been the same for four years: technology should not be used for mass murder. It has not lost its impact. Every action against RRI decreases its ability to do weapons research and design. People are still quitting for reasons of conscience. For more information about RRI call (212) 865-4766 or (212) 666-7823.

Jon Bach is a member of the Jonah House collective in Baltimore.



Marquita Platov.



Woodcut by Marky Bulwinkle.

REFUSING TO BE A MAN

BY JOHN STOLTENBERG

John Stoltenberg originally read this statement at a meeting of NOW in New York City, 6/19/74, as a member of a panel on the subject of "bisexuality." Some of this material is from a book he is writing on sexual ethics.

I wouldn't say I'm bisexual. That is not a word I would use to tell you something about my life, my body, or the people with whom I make erotic commitments.

I would be angry if anyone carelessly called me a bisexual, a heterosexual, or a homosexual. Those are not merely inexact words; they are bad words. They are the words of a masculinist culture. They are the vocabulary of male domination. They come from a language devised by men in order to perpetuate a system in which men are conditioned to be the pursuer, the aggressor, the possessor, and the fucker.

I renounce being that kind of man. I reject any use of language which in any way defines me as that kind of man. And I abhor the language which indicates gender when that language would be used to objectify the bodies of the persons with whom my body has felt intimacy, sharing, mutual respect, and trust. The language which objectifies those partner-

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ships objectifies both partners in the relationship. I am not an object; I reject anyone's erotic objectification of me. And I do not make love with objects, nor with people who clamor for objectifying attention. Not anymore. I no longer want "to be a man" in any conventional sense of the word—and here I refer specifically to masculinist genital functioning.

The truth of my body and the sexual ethics of my life have nothing in common with the lies of the culture in which I live. I would like to say of myself: I intend to live as a moral androgyne. I am genitally male, but I endeavor with my heart to rid my life of male sexual behavior programming. My body never accepted that programming in the first place. I used to think there was something wrong with me. Now I'm dead certain there's something wrong with the program.

My body doesn't lie. The truth of my body contradicts cultural masculinist expectations.

* * * * *

My body longs to be together with someone I love. We live in a rhythm of reunion and separation. Our love is recent. We plan to live together soon and for the rest of our lives. The truth of our reunions is the shared truth of our friendship, our work, our moral intelligences, and our bodies. Our bodies don't lie. I can only imagine life together. I cannot imagine life apart.

And there are a few other people in my life, whom I care about with my heart. And we are compassionate companions. And with each of them my body has been, or could be, for the time being intimate, if in the moment that became our mutual choice—a way of being together appropriate to the fullness of our feelings for each other.

But I could not be in the bed of a man who is masculinist—whose sexuality has the theme of prowling and pronging, whose body has internalized all the cultural expectations of exertion, tension, and performance—of getting erections and having orgasms—of making something happen. I reject encounters with such men as biologically inauthentic. They toxify me. I don't want to know them. I don't even want to hang around.

And I could not be in the bed of a woman who has internalized those expectations of male sexual behavior and response. I refuse to be her oppressor.

* * * * *

Please understand why I am about to say what I am about to say. I believe that in the so-called male bisexual, his masculinity is a constant. Whether he is "attracted" to men or "attracted" to women, he obtains his manhood as he takes his pleasure. For a man to call himself bisexual is to pride himself in the functioning of his cock: it pops up and is ready to have sex with more warm bodies than before. There is a dangerous consistency in male sexual behavior programming which makes not very difficult the shift from fucking men to fucking women or from fucking women to fucking men. The fact that male bisexuality has become trendy worries me a lot. I think for males, bisexuality is just another form of phallic imperialism—just another adventure in the quest for assistance in masturbation—and just another escalation in masculinist sexual aggression.

The man who can bang away to orgasm in the vagina of a woman is just going to bang away in my ass. The woman whose sense of herself depends on male approval is just going to expect me "to be a man to her" in a way that would be wholly dishonest for both of us.

So I don't want to talk about bisexuality. I don't like what it means when it refers to male sexual activity and response. I don't believe in bisexuality. I reject it as a word. I reject it as a way of life. And I don't want to have anything to do with it.

But I want to talk about masculinity. I want to say something about male sexual biology. And I want to say something about the difference between what I feel to be the truth and what I understand to be the lies of our culture—our male-dominated, female-victimizing sexual politics.

* * * * *

I want to talk about two lies. The lie of the male orgasm. And second the lie of male erection.

First: the lie of male orgasm. The lie is that male orgasm and ejaculation are the same thing. The lie is that if you're male, you first have a genital sensation of two or three seconds of "inevitability" during which you couldn't stop if you tried, and next you experience certain internal genital contractions which include squirting out of semen, and thereafter you have a "refractory period" during which your penis usually gets soft and rather uncomfort-

table if touched very much. This refractory period lasts from 15 to 30 minutes or longer, depending on age and so forth, before the man could presumably have another erection and come again.

In my experience, this is not true. In my experience, orgasm and ejaculation are not the same. In my experience there is a male orgasm separate and distinct from ejaculation, and these non-ejaculatory orgasms can be multiple. These non-ejaculatory orgasms can and will happen over and over again if stimulation continues. And the only built-in biological cause for stopping is fatigue.

There is no sensation of "inevitability" before such orgasms. My body doesn't know in advance that such an orgasm is going to happen, but my body knows that such an orgasm has happened after it has happened. There is no discomfort or extreme sensitivity afterwards, but there is a clear refractory period, which seems relatively short.

To me, these orgasms seem to occur in waves. They are without effort and tension. I do not "make them happen" nor does my partner. They seem to occur naturally in the general interflow of erotic communication. I do not intergally "jack myself up" in order to function, perform, and come. In fact, since that was my conditioning, I went through a period once when I rather consciously unlearned that old way to have an ejaculation. My body still knows how. But my body doesn't like to do that anymore, and I avoid encounters where that would be expected of me.

I know for a fact in my body that there is a sensation of completeness, of being-one-with, and of wholeness during and after—if I have not strived in any way for that other fiction of sexual achievement.

Ejaculation is another phenomenon. Sometimes ejaculation happens also, but I have come to mistrust my conditioning which identifies the so-called "necessity of ejaculation" as being part of a scenario of male sexual success and satisfaction. In fact and in the truth of my body, ejaculation is something else. I have learned that if I have strived for ejaculation, or put effort into ejaculating in any way, the result is a rather uncomfortable refractory period—which I take to be the body's message that I strove inauthentically to achieve some cultural lie about "release of sexual tension."

In my experience, my body has learned and remembers that ejaculation will happen naturally, of its own accord, if in fact my body has an authentic wish to discharge an accumulation of semen. And my body will tell me if that's what's about to happen, and I can let it happen or not let it happen—but I no longer choose to make it happen. Because I prefer the truth of my body to the lies of the culture in which I live.

And if I think about ejaculation, it is in the context of the politics of birth control—and the responsibility that I take for my ejaculation in relation to the body of a woman.

So-called "premature ejaculation" I understand to be an instance of ejaculation without orgasm—a natural biological discharge mechanism similar to nocturnal emission in young males. And were it not for the fact that the culture puts such a premium on inauthentic male sexual performance, it would probably not be such a big deal.

Similarly, what's called "impotence" is another

internalization of a perverse system of male-dominant cultural values. Men (and women) are taught to believe that a cock is either limp and dysfunctional or erect and functional, and anything in between doesn't have sense unless it's clearly on its way to erectness or legitimacy on its way to limpness (a legitimacy which can be presumed only if ejaculation has been achieved).

Which brings me to the second lie I want to talk about: The lie of male erection.

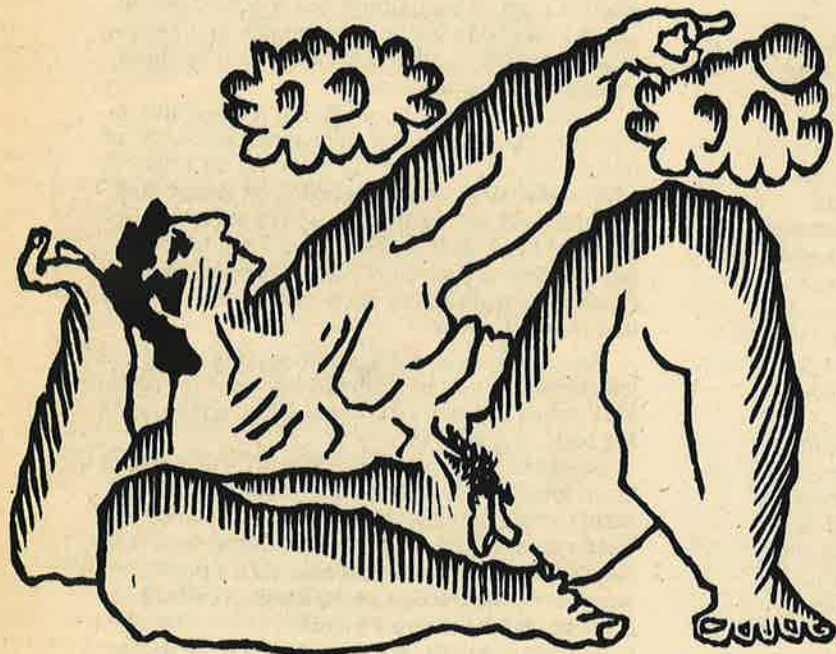
The lie is that rigidity means arousal, rigidity means power, rigidity means manhood, and rigidity means the urgency for something called "release of sexual tension." In fact, I now believe, rigidity is usually a symptom of tension artificially induced. (I say "usually" because I am discounting those rigid erections which occur naturally in males when the bladder is very full.)

The truth is that bone-hard erections aren't very comfortable. They stick out from your body and are painful if bent. And they feel a little dead. They function in fucking very well, in that they are good for rape. But the idea that they feel good—that they are sensate—is only a cultural illusion.

I believe that the culture reinforces stiff hardons as symbols of male aggression and power. And I believe that in order to fulfill that cultural expectation, a man growing up in this society learns how to make himself hard by certain internal muscle constrictions and by certain fantasies of penetration and violation. The culture teaches men those fantasies all over. The man learns to induce that muscle tension in his body on his own, by various pelvic thrusts and squirms. The muscled, tense, and aggressive body of the macho-male-America is the product of this conditioning. All forms of social aggression—in speech, dress, body movement and military and economic exploitation—help men support their erections—erections which, if the truth were known, would be perceived internally as biologically inauthentic.

* * * * *

I have suffered these lies in my life. My mind has



"POET" 18/30 by Mark Bulwinkle.

asked questions: Will it stay up? Will I get it in? Why is it getting softer? What's wrong with me? I wish I were harder. Now my mind asks: What's wrong with the society I live in? Why has this society made me keep thinking about the hardness of my cock, such that to this day my mind has been trained to wonder: What am I feeling in my genitals? Is this feeling appropriate? Am I male enough? What will my partner think? How can I manage to keep up passions and appearances? And so forth.

I realize, now finally in my 30th year, that the society I live in had an economic use for me and tried to groom me: for the military... the police... the government... the corporations... the universities... the professions... the religious power structure—all the positions you have to "be a man" in order to get to and in order to perform in. Somehow, in my case, society failed. Somehow I never made the connection between aggression and my sensual feelings.

My father, I suppose, was not society's accomplice. Inadvertently, and quite naturally, he never helped society to program me as a domineering, pleasure-seeking male. My father is gentle, loving, caring, and responsible. I can't recall him ever having given me another kind of message that there is any other way to be a man. He really broke the rules.

I guess in my life I have tried masculinity: during the period of a marriage which ended without recrimination, and during a period of coming out and acting gay. But I never imagined or pretended I was good at it—neither in relation to the bodies of men, nor in relation to the bodies of women. So I was at liberty to learn the immorality of the politics of male-ism: the politics of genital objectification, sex role delineation, and the oppression—and profound victimization—of women throughout their lives.

Finally, I feel at liberty to say: I intend to do what I can to renounce—and to overthrow—the culture we live in with its masculinist lies. And to discover and speak, with my words and with my body, some other truths instead.



HEADS AND TALES is an occasional column for essays on human liberation and personal experience. Should you care to write about where your head is at, please limit your contribution to 800 words.

I woke with a start. What had I been dreaming? Henry Kissinger again! He had been hugging me like a big warm passionate bear. The sensual glow still clung, and I was reluctant to shake it off. Yuk, you say, that manipulating monster who helped Nixon & Co. bomb Vietnam into bloody chaos, that conniving Rasputin who plays power politics with human lives as pawns, that id-powered egomaniac who races all over the map like Budd Schulberg's frantic Sammy, that Forsaking Father? What kind of stupid, silly, sickening, subversive, sentimental subconscious does a person have who dredges up such dreams? I lay examining it, the glow fading.

It was not an orgasmic event, and nothing so simple as conquering the "enemy" with love, or power with sex. I had to admit that there is an *elan vital* this man projects that is appealing (not only to me, apparently). In reality he may be in some ways repulsive and compulsive; but the bouncy vitality, the self-pleased grin, the gusto that he appears to bring to whatever he takes on—Russians, Arabs, women, the world—has an attraction that pacifists must face and deal with. I say pacifists specifically because it is Henry Kissinger who presents himself to the world as a peacemaker (and to my dream as a comforter) and gets away with it.

Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin brought some of that verve and bounce to the anti-war movement, but they came on more as carefree, chaotic children than as happily reassuring father/lover/peacemakers. The longtime image of the pacifist—nurtured in Hindu and Christian asceticism laid upon Judaic self-righteousness—is of the lean and tight-lipped puritan, the sad and soulful martyr. How can one enjoy life and revel in all its sensual aspects when weapons and war, poverty and ignorance weigh us down? It's true that the War Resisters League, of all the long-standing peace groups—FOR, WILPF, AFSC—has developed an image somewhat more Dionysian in recent decades (and even the FOR is known to break out a bottle now and then, unheard of in the old days).

But it isn't those superficial aspects of eating, drinking and making merry or harry that I mean: one can do all these in excess and still be tight and cold, or one can do them in moderation and be warm and expansive. One can also seem warm and expansive and be very superficial (my conscious mind suspects that Henry's ebullient empathy does not go terribly deep). Of course there are warm and expansive pacifists, some so warm and expansive they can't get anything else done; and we are all

mixtures of these loose and tight aspects in some degree. But that life-affirming openness, that vital spark, is too often half-smothered by our public and private burdens and petty irritations. Not to mention father and mother hang-ups from way back (which no doubt make people like me dream of Henry Kissinger).

We can't just say, "I'm going to be more warm and expansive," and become that—though it might help. And thank GE (genetics/environment) that we aren't all the same and never will be. Some of us are going to go on being too tense and driving when others are too relaxed, too flippant when others are too serious, etc. Some may be offended by this piece, some may say right on; some will think it obvious, some revelatory.

What we can learn from HK is that there is a time to work and a time to play (though possibly K has this too compartmentalized in his own life). Work and play can be pursued with equal zest, and sometimes together. What Kissinger has to learn from pacifists is that peacemaking is something other than juggling terror, trading off time and lives, buddy-ing and bullying diplomats and dictators. To the extent that K's winning warmth falls short of the genuine empathy which underlies justice and mercy, to the extent that his expansiveness is only of wit and not depth, of power and not vision, wars will occur despite his efforts—and so will peace. And Henry will have nightmares (or dream of being hugged by pacifists).

—Ann Davidon



Ann Davidon is the one on the right. A member of the War Resisters League Executive Committee, she frequently writes for WIN.

CHANGES



A Dalkon Shield —LNS

DALKON SHIELDS RECALLED

Dalkon Shields, a type of IUD commonly prescribed for women who have not had children, have been taken off the market. The manufacturers of the device, the A.H. Robins Company of Richmond, Virginia, sent letters to physicians informing them of the fact that 36 women had infected spontaneous abortions in mid-pregnancy while this kind of intra-uterine device was in place. Four of these women had died from the infections.

IUD's are classified as "devices" and not "drugs," and therefore are not subject to FDA regulations. No one is sure exactly how or why they work as contraceptives.

The Dalkon Shield was often prescribed for women who had not had children because of its low expulsion rate. Because of its shape, oval with lots of little "feet" all around, it was harder for women to expel with the uterine cramps that often accompany insertion of any IUD. However, a relatively low rate of effectiveness and suspicion of common infection had caused Planned Parenthood and many doctors to stop recommending the Shield to their patients.

Women who have Dalkon Shields should see their doctors and have the device removed as soon as possible.

—Various Sources

THE COURTHOUSE BEAT

The Eighth US Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis, MO, has decided not to hear Bobby Williams' appeal of his Nov. 23, 1973 conviction under the Federal Gun Control Act.

For Williams, a long-time civil rights leader in Cairo, Illinois, this was the last appeal step below the US Supreme Court. He has been tried and convicted three times on charges of giving false information when applying to buy firearms in 1971. Two previous convictions were reversed by the Eighth US Circuit Court.

In Cairo, Williams said: "I am not guilty. I am going to take my case to the US Supreme Court. In the meantime I will continue to work for poor black and white people here in southern Illinois."

Mrs. Betty Lee, chairperson of the National Committee to Free Bobby Williams, said that she was disturbed by the Circuit Court's decision. "It's getting late," she said. "We're starting to get mail and some contributions, but a Supreme Court case is expensive. It will be hard to even get a hearing." Then she added: "Let's face it, Bobby's only guarantee of freedom is the support of concerned Americans. Without that, he goes to prison for five years, and the civil rights movement goes backwards again."

For further information contact: Nat'l Committee to Free Bobby Williams, 27 Windermere Place, St. Louis, MO 63112. 314-725-1082.

Steve Squire, anti-war activist in the Charlottesville, Virginia area, was jailed on Monday, June 9th. In April, 1972, Squire had held a poster protesting US involvement in Vietnam at a ROTC parade at the University of Virginia. He was arrested on so-called "disorderly conduct" charges by campus police, convicted, and given a \$25 fine and a suspended jail term.

Feeling that his First Amendment rights to freedom of speech were violated by the enforcement of the vague "disorderly conduct" statute, Squire appealed and again was convicted, this time receiving a stiffer four month, \$600 fine-plus-court-costs sentence. After a lengthy series of appeals, during which Squire was free on bond, the US Supreme court

finally refused to hear the case, sending Squire to jail.

Squire and his wife have little money to pay the fine and court costs, estimated at \$400, and any donation from the working public would be greatly appreciated. Send to: Steve Squire Defense Fund, c/o Charlottesville Resistance, Box 85X, Newcomb Hall Station, Charlottesville, VA 22903.

Franklin Glenn and Leonard Holt, defense attorneys in the Lawton-Gardner case, have been summoned to appear before the Riverside County Grand Jury June 24.

The Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee says this is a part of a pattern of harassment of people supporting Gary Lawton and Zurebu Gardner.

Lawton is a community organizer. He and Zurebu Gardner are black residents of Riverside charged with killing two white policemen in 1971.

Two previous trials of the two men ended in hung juries and most of the jurors have voted for acquittal. An unusual trial is scheduled to begin July 29 in Riverside.

On Wednesday, June 5, Glenn and Holt issued a joint statement calling on District Attorney Byron Morton to drop all charges against Lawton and Gardner. They stated, "It's undisputed that for three years Morton has had the total resources" of the FBI, Calif. Attorney General, Riverside Sheriff's Dept. and Riverside Police, "and has not been able to convince two predominately white juries."

"There were those who thought the election (DA Byron Morton was re-elected on June 4) would allow the district attorney to invoke some sanity and to abandon this three-year-long need to make scapegoats of Messrs. Gardner and Lawton, when the real killers are roaming the streets of Los Angeles."

When asked for a reply on Wednesday, Morton said he had no comment at that time. Two days later, in an unusual action, the District Attorney subpoenaed attorneys Holt and Glenn to appear before the Jury, but proceedings were postponed until June 24. Morton would not reveal the reason for the subpoenas.

Marc Kitchel, speaking for the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee stated: "This is another attempt to intimidate those working for the defense. In the last three years there have been many incidents of harassment and intimidation by

The Riverside District Attorney's Office and Police Department against the defendants and defense supporters. We call on all people concerned with justice to write Riverside District Attorney Byron Morton (3535 Tenth St., Riverside, Calif. 92501) and call on him to stop this new harassment and to drop all charges against Lawton and Gardner."

For more information contact: The Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee (RPPDC), 3859 Main St., Rm. 22, Riverside, Calif. 92502.

—Various Sources

JOAN JARA COMPLETES TOUR RAISING FUNDS FOR VICTIMS OF CHILEAN JUNTA

Joan Jara, wife of the slain Chilean folksinger Victor Jara, wound up her fund-raising tour of the US at a series of rallies in California. Traveling with her two young daughters, Joan spoke before an overflow crowd on May 23 at the University Lutheran Chapel in Berkeley.

She reminded the audience that in Chile now, while "you feel the repression. . . there's an organized opposition," noting that "Down with the junta" appears more and more, scrawled on Santiago walls.

Victor Jara died in the National Stadium some days after the coup, having been brutally tortured—his fingers cut off—before he was machine-gunned to death. He died trying to lead his fellow inmates in a song. The story of his death has become one of the better known horror stories to come out of Chile since the September 11, 1973 military-coup.

However, less is known about Victor Jara as he lived, and during her appearances, Joan described his life. Jara, a strong supporter of Salvador Allende, was representative in many ways of the people that saw a future for Chile in the visions of the UP government.

"He was the son of a farmworker. His mother was a famous folksinger—famous, that is, among her fellow peasants. Senora Amanda had a lovely voice and sang at parties and funerals. . . ."

"The family came to Santiago when Victor was 13, to escape the poverty of the countryside, only to find more poverty in the city. It's a familiar story—hard working mother, who killed herself with work, a father who drank.

CONFERENCE ON CHILE

The National Co-ordinating Committee in Solidarity with Chile is currently making arrangements for a Legislative Conference in Washington DC July 14-15.

The main activity of the Sunday session will be workshops on each of five demands: (1) Cut-off military aid to Chile (2) Cut-off economic aid and international financial credit (3) Extend Chilean visitors' visas and open up our borders to refugees (4) Establish an embargo on trade with Chile (5) Open hearings

on US involvement in the coup and the circumstances surrounding the deaths of Frank Teruggi and Charles Horman, two Americans last seen alive being taken by the junta.

The main point of the two days, of course, is the mass lobby on Monday, which we hope will provide the impetus to cut off aid and at the very least force a congressional resolution condemning the continued-violation of human rights in Chile.

For more information contact The Committee to Save Lives in Chile, 542 Dearborn St., Chicago, IL 60605. —NCCSC

MANIFESTO

I don't sing just to sing
or because I sing well.
I sing because the guitar
has its own feeling and meaning.

It has a heart of earth,
wings of a dove.
It's like holy water
sanctifying glory and pain.
My song got caught in it
As Violeta would say.

Worker guitar
with a smell like spring—
not a guitar for the rich
or anything like that.

My song reaches up
step by step to the stars
because a song means something
when it beats in the veins
of one who will be singing real truths,
not passing trivialities or foreign things.

This is a song of heavy words
sung to the depths of the earth,
where everything ends
and where everything begins.

Song sung courageously
will always be new song.

—Victor Jara

We are five thousand
Here in this little corner of
the city.
How many are we—in all the
cities of the world?

All, all of us, our eyes fixed on death.
How terrifying is the face of fascism!
For them, blood is a medal
Carnage is a heroic gesture.

Song, I cannot sing you well when I must sing out of fear.
When I am dying of fright
When I find myself in these endless moments
Where silence and cries are the echoes of my song.

—Last poem of Victor Jara:
written in the National Stadium of Chile

WRI MOVES TO BRUSSELS

After 51 years of being headquartered in London, the War Resisters International is moving this month to new headquarters in Brussels. So is the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, formerly headquartered in Denmark.

"This move and the sharing of facilities is consistent with a strong resolution passed by the IFOR Council in April," says the last issue of the WRI Newsletter to be put out in London. "The resolution calls for strengthening of ties with WRI and states: 'Members of IFOR Council dedicate themselves to positively investigating the possibilities within their fellowships for an international union between WRI and IFOR.'"

First major action slated by WRI in Brussels is the organization in October of a European Anti-Militarist Congress, "whose purpose will be to examine the present militarized situation in Europe and to develop strategies for peaceful alternatives."

Location of the new WRI headquarters is a large house named *La Maison de la Paix*, purchased in 1968 by a well known Belgian pacifist and placed in trust to be used for peace work. WRI and IFOR were in-



The Living Theater Confronts Exxon. Photo by Brad Lyttle.

invited to occupy the space in the house rent-free, but were not in a position to move at that time. The address is Van Elewycckstraat 35, Brussels 1050, Belgium. —Jim Peck

FREE THE PHILIPPINES!

Wednesday, June 12, about 30 people picketed and rallied at the EXXON building, 1251 Avenue of the Americas, NYC, to commemorate Philippine independence day. The EXXON building houses the headquarters of both EXXON, the world's largest oil company, and AMSTAR, a giant sugar company that distributes

Domino sugar. Both corporations support dictatorship over Filipino workers. The demonstration was sponsored by the Friends of the Filipino People (FFP), Harana (a Filipino cultural group), Kt Katipunan ng mga Demokratikong Filipino (KDP), the Movement for a Free Philippines (MFP), and the National Association of Filipinos in the US (NAFUS). Speakers included Anie Cruz (KDP), and Lulut Valte (MFP), and Ernie Ordenez. Charles King and Rev. Kirkpatrick sang, and the Living Theater did one of its lively and inspiring things.

—Bradford Lyttle

The "little red songbook" of Wobbly fame is still around, and a bargain at that for seventy five cents. It has some great songs compiled by the IWW like "Pie in the Sky" as well as all five verses to The Internationale. While it is admittedly hard to remember all the words to The Internationale, it's too bad that meetings of radicals these days no longer end with the singing of that song sung by millions of others around the world today. At one time, American radicals could look forward to singing it at the end of every meeting. No matter how rancorous the preceding debate was or who called who a name, everybody stood up together and got through at least one verse. Most of us know how debate-filled meetings end today after some particularly heavy things have been said. Maybe we could think of a better song to replace the Internationale. The point is that the American left should start singing again. One way to check out how radicals used to sing is by ordering the Wobbly songbook through the oldest socialist publishing house in the United States, Charles H. Kerr Publishing, 431 Dearborn, Chicago, Illinois 60605. . . . If you're interested in the Industrial Workers of



the World, you can rest assured that they are still alive, kicking and organizing. You can get a copy of their paper, the *Industrial Worker*, by writing to IWW, 752 W. Webster, Chicago, Ill 60614. . . . The Party of Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas is still around today also. Following a reorganization period a couple years ago, the *Socialist Party, USA* has been recruiting new members from people committed to the idea of democratic socialism. They just held their convention in Milwaukee, a city with a strong socialist heritage. Despite what we may have been taught in school, cities like Milwaukee

elected socialist mayors and council-people at one time. Victor Berger, one of the few socialist congresspeople we've ever had, came from there. Things are looking up again too. Recently a member of the Madison city council joined the party. The Socialist Party, USA, is headquartered at 1012 North 3rd Street, Milwaukee (!) Wisconsin 53203. . . . One of the finer "alternative" papers that still sees itself as an alternative and yet remains a thriving concern is the *Ann Arbor Sun*. Mixing the best parts of the counter culture with good, hard reporting on day to day life in Ann Arbor, the staff consistently puts out a highly readable paper that goes a long way toward actually changing peoples minds on things. If you subscribe, you actually get a free record, which is in keeping with their policy of actively trying to link music and politics (they don't really have to link it since they are already pretty well mixed). If you'd like a sample copy, drop them a line at the *Ann Arbor Sun*, 208 South First Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan. . . . And if you'd like anything included in *Bread & Roses Too*, drop a line to *Bread & Roses*, 1734 20th St. NW, Washington, DC 20009. —Brian Doherty

REVIEWS

CHILDREN AND WAR

Howard Tolley, Jr.
Teachers College Press, 1973
196 pp. \$4.95 paper.

Howard Tolley's study of "political socialization to international conflict" offers some hope for the future of peace, but little present solace for the efforts of anti-war people. From a survey of 2,677 children aged seven to fifteen conducted from January through March, 1971, in New York, New Jersey and Maryland, Tolley finds that "the children surveyed display no greater pacifism or anti-war sentiment than young people polled in the 1930's. The widespread opposition to the Vietnam war apparently has not generated revulsion for all war."

However, at the end of the book, Tolley concludes that "concerned adults should note with pleasure that a concerted effort to change attitudes through formal education has significantly modified children's outlook on international conflict. Further efforts to teach respect for national values of a nonviolent philosophy should have a similar effect."

Although the book's price exceeds the profundity of its conclusions, Tolley's work stands as a helpful indicator of some of the social conditions affecting anti-war work. His main interest is in discovering which "agents" in a child's world most affect her or his knowledge and attitudes about war and, in particular, Vietnam. The five important teachers are:

1) *Family*: For most children, parents, school and race "account for the most significant variation in children's attitudes toward the war." "Neither sex nor knowledge of Vietnam significantly influences opinions of the war." Although "boys are consistently more patriotic, more opposed to communism, and more favorably disposed to war in general than are girls, differences are less than expected and are not significant."

Basically, Tolley finds that parents play the most important role in shaping children's specific opinions about the Vietnam war and other specific political issues. But while "Parents greatly influence what children believe about the war," the media exerts the greatest influence on what children know about the war. In turn, the schools, especially the public and parochial schools, seem to be the strongest forces shaping the more generalized, broadly patriotic, anti-communist attitudes of young people.

However, "in homes where adults rarely discuss politics, outside influences undoubtedly contribute more to political learning. Children whose parents are vocal and attentive learn opinions at home which outweigh the effect of con-

current or subsequent experience. Committed parents instill distinct values in their children regardless of school or media influence, whereas children of the "silent majority" learn more from sources outside the home."

Another interesting finding is that "young people whose fathers had served for many years in the armed forces seem no more disposed to accept the necessity of war than do children raised by parents with no military experience, nor do the military children express firmer support for patriotic values than those from civilian homes."

2) *School*: The "polling was conducted in public, private and parochial schools from urban, suburban and rural" communities. Significantly, over 30 schools refused to let Tolley in the door because "principals or parents felt the questionnaire unsuitable." Some 49% of the teachers interviewed felt that "they should never express in class personal beliefs about the war, and some principals who declined to participate in the survey argued that such a controversial topic should not be discussed in school. . . . In some classes, children laughed aloud when asked, 'How much do you learn about the war from teachers in school?' On the other hand, children in classes whose teachers believe they should expressly support the government's policy, display the greater support for American involvement in Vietnam. Thus, it would seem that when teachers explicitly and purposefully enunciate a partisan opinion of the war, their views have an effect."

On instruction about the war, Tolley finds that although 86% of the teachers interviewed "said they had mentioned or discussed the war in the six months preceding the survey, less than half had spent an entire period or lesson on Vietnam since the war began. The limited instruction had little or no observable impact on test results. The finding provides evidence that schools have done little to inform pupils about particulars of the Indo-China conflict."

3) *Media*: Although between the ages of five and fourteen the average American child witnesses the violent destruction of 13,000 human beings on television, Tolley's survey "produced little evidence that television influences children's outlook on war in general or on the Vietnam conflict in particular." Instead, he finds that children regard TV as only "their most important source of information about the war." "Our results," he writes, "offer little to support the contention that television has fostered disapproval of American policy." Tolley believes that "children quite conceivably pay less heed to opinions expressed by impersonal figures than to those of their parents, teachers and brothers and sisters, with whom they have daily contact."

Tolley's findings generally conform to others. Increased

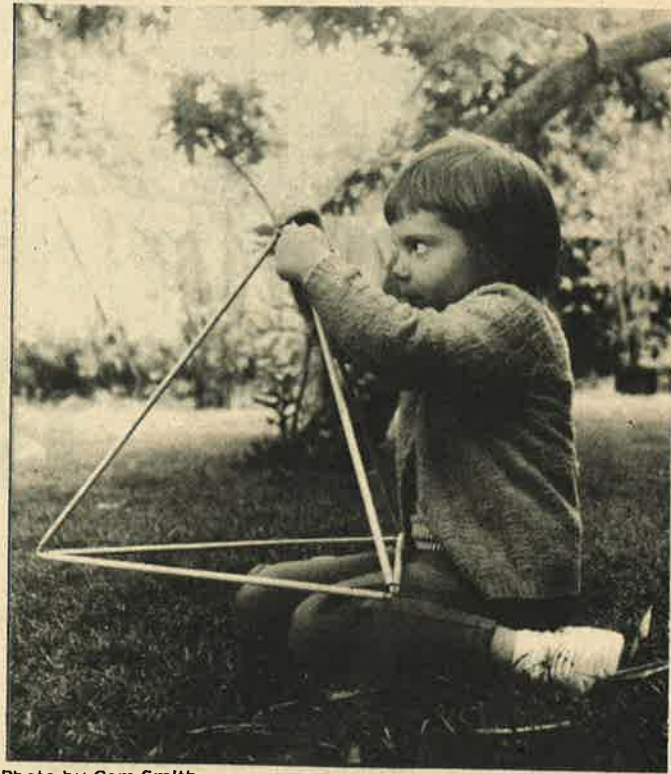


Photo by Cam Smith.

knowledge about an issue does not necessarily shape or change one's opinions about the issue. In fact, opinion often precedes knowledge. People view the media selectively, tending to discard or ignore information that conflicts with their opinions. People are also generally reluctant to adopt, and especially to express, opinions that conflict with those of the significant people with whom they live and work.

4) *Community*: Here Tolley focuses mainly on race and income. "Twelve per cent of the black as opposed to 3% of the white children report a relative killed in Vietnam. In addition, 28% of the blacks and 15% of the whites indicate a father or brother had fought in the war." In general, although black children indicated less factual knowledge about the war, they opposed the war more than their white counterparts. In particular "upper status black children oppose the war more than all other groups in the sample." They also lost confidence in the President and learned to oppose the war at an early age. A number of black children displayed acute sensitivity not only to the disproportionate personal costs being borne by their fathers and brothers in combat, but also to the impact of the war's general costs on the health and welfare of the black community.

Ironically, "white children from suburban middle income homes as well as rural families rank highest on the War Acceptance Scale and also express the greatest interest in joining the armed services." These children also "express greater confidence in the President's credibility, approve his handling of the war, and sanction the use of atomic weapons in Vietnam to a far greater extent than children from wealthier families."

5) *Religion*: Of the five teachers, religion plays the least, almost negligible role. Except for children attending a Friends school, the minor observable effects of religion are disconcerting. "Children professing the major Christian faiths" have a slight tendency to approve the war more than Jews and non-religious people. "Catholic and Protestant children, for example, more readily accept that 'Everyone should be ready to die in defense of his country's freedom.'"

They also express "fewer doubts about the President's leadership in wartime." The only slight exception is that "children who attend Jewish services each week appear more favorably disposed toward war than those who have never taken part." Tolley notes parenthetically, that "the fund-raising campaigns conducted in many synagogues since 1967 for contributions to Israel's defense may partly explain the result."

Some of the specific attitudes expressed by the children were as follows: In general, their attitudes paralleled those of adults in 1971. About one-third of the children supported American policy in Vietnam while half did not approve. Interestingly, however, "despite their objections to American policy and their doubts about the President," 75% agreed with the statement: "I hope the US wins the war in Vietnam." Only 6% disagreed. The children were almost unanimously agreed on the pious platitude about war being a no-no. Specific wars were, as usual, another matter. "One-third of the children believed 'war is good if the US beats the communists.'" The majority agreed that "wars are sometimes needed."

Interestingly, 30% believed that "war is exciting, although only 5% believed it was good." A much larger proportion, 60%, regarded "peace as exciting, which suggests that there is no undue glorification of military conflict." Furthermore, "the young do not blindly accept the proposition, 'My country, right or wrong.' Asked how they would respond if the President decided upon war, less than one-fourth say they would fight if they believed he was wrong. A larger proportion, 36% would fight only if they agreed with his decision, and 10% indicate they would not fight under any circumstances."

One major difference between Tolley's findings and those of studies done a number of years ago is that children today do not have an idealized view of the President. For example, only 22% believed that Nixon always tells the truth about the war.

Although the findings of this book are not especially

startling, they do clarify some conditions of which we need to be reminded. Furthermore, Tolley is to be encouraged for attempting a significant PhD dissertation rather than the usual drivel, for trying to practice science for the people, and for sparing us much of the dissertationese that so often afflicts first books in the social sciences.

On the basis of these findings, it's hard to resist a few reflective extrapolations. For one, the ranked importance of the "five teachers" is inversely related to their accessibility; that is, it's generally easier to get into churches and synagogues to show films and talk to people about the war than it is to get into the media, schools and homes on the same terms. Yet the latter clearly influence people's outlooks much more than religion.

The poor showing of the churches suggests that the religious peace fellowships have a great deal more work to do. I know, for example, from experience with the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, that while the EPF is active in important ways in the national church structures, its effective grass roots, parish-level constituency is almost non-existent. This was partially reflected at the last General Convention when the lay House of Deputies declined to pass a modest statement on amnesty approved by the House of Bishops.

There is, further, a tendency toward self-segregation among many anti-war folks, whether it be moving to rural locales or just living in city neighborhoods inhabited by higher than average percentages of like-minded people. Many are also segregating their children by educating them at home, in communal settings, experimental schools, or among the better-off, in established private schools. But one of the costs of trying to save the children from the stultifying confines of the mass educational system is that precisely those children and their parents who might have a liberating effect on these schools are absent. The millions of children who, for various reasons, find themselves locked into the "system" do not have sufficiently supportive referents by which they can reach out and touch base with viable alternatives. Models of pacific conduct and anti-war attitudes are scarce. Tolley's study reflects this incidentally. If the responses from the children at the Friends school are dropped from his sample, then the number of pacifists and the proportion of children opposed to the war also drops significantly.

Perhaps, then we should think more carefully about "unwalling" the "movement" instead of letting it become unglued into segregated particles like the rest of our society, and shifting, without wholly changing, the spirit of the emphasis from communities of place, of living-together-in-closed-space, to communities of fluid action covering extensive space.

Well, that's a bit abstract, but consider schools. Instead of trying to sustain full-day experimental schools among kindred souls, why not encourage experienced organizers to help establish experimental afterschools in neighborhoods and towns where these ideas are unknown or suspect? If they really offer exciting alternatives, then many neighborhood parents and children in the regular parochial and public schools may want to get involved too. Perhaps then, the after-school would become strong enough to become full-time, or better yet, its example might actually turn the regular neighborhood school around.

Within the schools there are many good teachers who desperately need strong parental and student support for educational innovations. The absence of such support can leave even the best intentioned teachers frustrated and cynical if not already fired. By the way, *WIN* might also establish special classroom rates so that teachers could use it instead of, or at least in addition to *The Weekly Reader*, *Time* or *Newsweek*. If half of *WIN*'s readers initiated this

arrangement with just one teacher, then *WIN* would have an additional circulation of approximately 100,000! At the very least, one hopes that *WIN* readers and their children are taking it into their classrooms to share with teachers and friends.

The importance of the schools is attested by the alacrity with which the Pentagon has decided to attend. As Warren Hoover of NISBCO recently noted: "Junior ROTC, National Guard in lieu of high school senior year, military aptitude and interest tests, registration for the draft by high school personnel, college ROTC scholarships, military presence at career days are very much a reality." In April the military staged a spectacular performance in New Orleans at the annual convention of the American Personnel and Guidance Association. The APGA is the umbrella organization for the nation's guidance counselors.

Why is the military so interested in counselors? For one, they reach thousands of young people everyday on one-to-one bases. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, high school counselors spend much of their time doing vocational guidance. They touch the lives of students when they are often most vulnerable. Counselors usually do not have much influence on students who already have their heads together or who are securely settled into an educational-vocational track. Instead, they are most able to do their thing on the many students who are emotionally, intellectually and occupationally adrift, open and vulnerable to suggestive influences like "Why not join the military—security, good pay, steady work, travel and all that."

Having ample slush funds, the Pentagon is dangling the money bags before the educational mules. For example, the APGA is having financial troubles. But now, judging from the number of full-page recruiting ads in the APGA newsletter and affiliated journals, it appears that the Pentagon is providing an important subsidy for the Association. There is not much hard evidence on this yet, but it seems more than coincidental that while regular education, health and welfare funds are being curtailed, the Pentagon is bopping off to school with bonanza budgets.

But, if Tolley's findings are accurate, then we need also to be much more sensitive to relating to people on their home grounds. Basically, this calls for more amiable neighborliness, however trite that may sound. Yet the ease with which it is possible to participate in public actions often seems to substitute for the difficult, but equally important work of relating and communicating on the more personal levels, where enemies and strangers can meet and understand one another as human beings, not as objects of propaganda or audiences and actors in political theaters.

In this it also seems important to avoid the trap, reflected in a statement that crept into Elizabeth McAlister's recent and otherwise thoughtful piece on resistance. At one point she writes: "In America, one can identify maturity, freedom, conscience only among those resisting." I doubt she meant it to sound as harsh as my reading of it, but unless we admit of a very broad interpretation of "those resisting," the statement contains dangerous tones of neo-Christian chauvinism. The white West has had enough hang-ups with "the chosen people" mystique. Coupled with its Christian evangelical embellishments and our notions of progress, it produces devastation. When they can resist, as most do, people will not allow themselves to be approached on this basis.

Finally, it might be a wise move to call a moratorium on the use of mimeograph machines. I suspect that on a per capita basis the "movement" pushes about as much paper as the government with equally dismal results. So, that therefore, concludes this lengthy use of paper. Forgive me trees and shade my bones.

—John Kincaid

I say around the world for we are all human beings and we are all struggling for the same things, only in different languages and sometimes different ways, let us come together in our struggle's and make power to the people a reality. . .

-CARL L. HARP No. 126-516
Washington State Penitentiary

WIN readers and friends should know that another outpost of radical journalism and commentary, *American Report*, is in serious trouble and needs whatever help we can provide it. *American Report* is the newspaper of Clergy and Laity Concerned, and has been published biweekly for almost four years now. Formerly it was devoted to mostly Indochina War and resistance reporting; but since the "peace" agreements, it has been broadening its focus to the empire, and the anti-imperialist struggles, at large. And its coverage has been getting better and better: it was where the "great Berrigan debate" began; it made national news with a story about the comments by US Ambassador to Vietnam Graham Martin about the work of an antiwar New York seminary president; and its revelation that American humanitarian aid money intended for Bangladesh is being diverted to the postwar-war effort in Vietnam may provoke a Congressional investigation.

American Report has a solid, competent radical staff, headed by Bob Hoyt, who built the *National Catholic Reporter* into the major voice for change in American Catholicism, and later ran the press operation for the Harrisburg Trial. Hoyt and his staff have a plan to make *American Report* largely self-sustaining; but a sudden money crunch at CALC has forced them to temporarily suspend publication while they rush to try to raise \$25-30,000. Without that sudden infusion of money, the newspaper will probably die.

It would be a shame if it did. As Marty Jezer pointed out here recently, the press at large is still doing a crummy job of reporting on the empire; those of us who want to change this need all the help and information we can get. *American Report* is well on the way to becoming an important source of that assistance, if it can stay alive.

Most Vietnam-era movement groups, and their publications are in financial trouble these days, as WIN people know only too well. And in gauging our own priorities for stretching a small amount of resources, we have to try to make our few dollars count. I believe that *American Report* deserves a high place on our priority lists, and I hope you will agree. Subscriptions are \$10 a year, and larger donations are welcome. Send them to *American Report*, 235 W East 49th St., New York, NY 10017. It will be a good investment.

-CHUCK FAGER
Cambridge, MA

Letter to Randy from Spiller Creek

Randy Kehler, imprisoned for non-cooperation with the draft, sent to minimum security prison, Safford Arizona, where he refused to work and was transferred to La Tuna, maximum security prison, Anthony-La Tuna New Mexico

granite and lodgepole
don't lie
neither do deer
or meadows
filled with ground squirrel

last evening a finch
and this morning
a hermit thrush
sang their songs
unequivocal

the air is clear
the water pure

when it storms
everything gets wet
we all feel it

even the avalanche
is whole

alive here
I feel my length
and breadth my skin
and voice the song
of my breathing

La Tuna Federal Prison
glare of whitewashed
parapet walls
sliding green
electric insides
and guard-towers
men with rifles outside
thinking they could lock up
your subversive clarity
granite lodgepole water

straight from El Paso
we drove
to visit you I
a little wary remembered
another time and place

we ate summer squash and rice
in a third-story flat
beneath a wedding photograph
of you and Jane
a circle of friends
at the beach

I wasn't clear
that night
smog above the city
rusty tap water

and you were
granite lodgepole water
grass too, bending
listening yielding

I accused myself
and left shaken
the insides of
a condemned house
plaster
falling down

La Tuna's towers
and parapets
hundreds of little windows
all barred
staring out from bright
white walls

we waited in the sun
you wore kakhi
and were surprised to see us

"can I get you anything?"
"no" you answered
"thanks"
I've got all I need"
you meant it too

easy talk quiet
laughter
you told stories and
worried about Jane
we talked about the outside
and you the inside
your brown hair
so thick the prison barber
couldn't stop its growing

there were no walls
we were at the beach
in a park
in your flat
Spiller Creek, or
La Tuna Federal Prison
no blame

we hugged good-by
you walked through
a sliding green
electric door
and did not look back

leaning against granite
lodgepole pine all around me
I think of you here

clear water (sure
I know
you're muddy sometimes)
flows finds its own
level fills
flows down
fills again

we each drink
and are.

-Jim Black

People's Bulletin Board

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

Amnesty Bracelets (anti-war answer to POW campaign) with resister's name. ID style. \$5.25 donation. Safe Return. 156 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10010.

Cuba/Chile '74, an exhibition and concert. Philamonic Hall, July 28, 8 PM. Tickets start at \$3.00 Write: Box 738, Old Chelsea Sta. 10011.

US COMPLICITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICAN RACISM AND COLONIALISM. End the news blackout. Read about People's Movements, US political, economic, military involvement. Read SOUTHERN AFRICA monthly magazine, \$5/year. Write for sample, SAC, 244 W. 27th Street, Dept. W, New York, New York 10001.

The Peace Center in Princeton NJ needs a coordinator to organize local anti-war activities. Subsistence pay available. Looking for someone with imagination and commitment to social change. Contact Allan Smith, 51 West Broad St., Hopewell, NJ 08525.

FOR SALE—Hard cover manual on "EXORCISM." Tells how to exorcise a person or place. Great fun & gift item—\$3.20 Don Hone Ltd., Dept. 10, 1399 Franklin Ave., Garden City, NY 11530.

RECON, July Issue includes: B-1, The Manned Bomber Resurrected; No Equality for Military Women; Anti-NATO Conference; Americans Remain in Vietnam; review of "Village War"; and much more. Send 25¢/copy or \$3/year (12 issues) to RECON, PO Box 14602, Phila, PA 19134.

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New Midwest research institute seeks unselfish, socially-conscious, non-careerist MA-PhD economists, political-scientists, etc., who can get grants or raise funds. Semi-scholarly studies on war-peace re-conversion etc. Read Gross and Osterman "The New Professionals" pp 33-77. Midwest Institute, 1206 N 6th St., 43201.

Join America's most militant and democratic labor union: THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, 752 W. Webster Ave., Chicago, IL 60614.

I'm locked up for civil disobedience. Get out next year. Would like to correspond with some females. Will answer all who send a photo. Eddy J. von Steiner, (35258-4E4), PO Box 1000, Steilacoom, WA 98388.

In Albuquerque, NM, a good place to get WIN and other good things to read is the Living Batch at 2406 Central Ave., SE. In Memphis, TN, try the Whole Foods General Store at 1783 Union Ave., Rear.



CAR NEEDED FOR TOUR

Hans Joachin Winkler, a German pacifist/socialist plans a tour with friends of the US from July 20-25 until the end of Sept.

Have you a car to loan or give them? They can spend about \$300. on it, and at least two of them are mechanically inclined.

They also want to meet with peace groups. They will follow this itinerary: NYC, NH, Montreal, Toronto, Niagra, Detroit, Chicago, Denver, Yellowstone, Salt Lake City, Reno, California, Las Vegas, NM, Texas, Mexico City, New Orleans, Tenn., DC, Phila, NYC.

If you have a car they might use, or would like to arrange a meeting with them, contact. Bradford Lyttle, 339 Lafayette St., NYC 10012, (212) 777-5560.

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