

win

PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

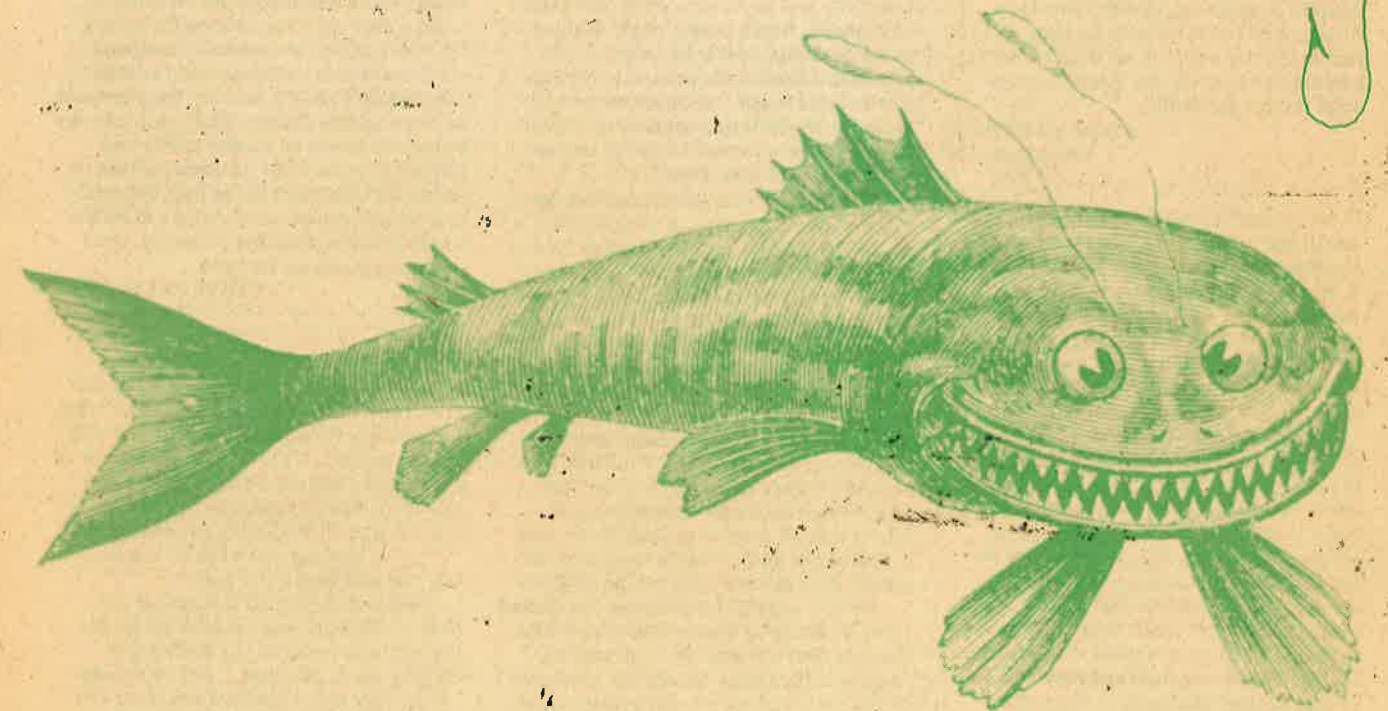
SEPTEMBER 5, 1974 / 20¢

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BACK TO SCHOOL!



In regards to the August 1 article "It's Time to Start Worrying About the Bomb Again, I have a point to raise. The author says that of the possible reactions to the United States unilaterally disarming its nuclear arsenal would be that "The other powers might refrain from following our example. But that the chances of an accidental war or war through miscalculation would be lessened."

What about the possibility of nuclear blackmail? Wouldn't we be at the mercy of the Russians, let's say? They would be in a position to make any demand that they wished. And could threaten to blow up a sizable US city or two if we didn't comply. I would like to know the authors' viewpoint on this possibility.

—BOB NIEMEROW
Menlo Park, CA

In his article "It's time to start worrying About the Bomb Again," (WIN, 8/1/74), Hendrick Hertzberg quotes Senator Harold E. Hughes as having said that, if he ever were President, he "would never, under any circumstances, use nuclear weapons." Is there a difference between having people killed by "conventional" weapons instead of by nuclear weapons?

Hertzberg, who himself suggests the abolition of atomic weapons (nationally or universally?) assumes that Senator Hughes was in favor of unilateral nuclear disarmament. It is regrettable that well-meaning people, like Hughes and Hertzberg, do not appear to have yet achieved a full understanding of the problem that plagues mankind. The problem is not nuclear or conventional weapons or nuclear disarmament. The problem is war itself and its abolition. Even if nuclear disarmament were attainable—which is exceedingly improbable as long as nations are feverishly preparing for war. Is there any reason to assume that nations, one or all of them, wouldn't restore the production of atomic weapons immediately upon the outbreak of war?

Our efforts should be directed towards the abolition of war as a so-called legitimate institution, universal and general disarmament. The establishment of a supernatural

agency for the enforcement of universal disarmament and for mediation and arbitrations of disputes and conflicts between individual nations, and towards the limitation of the sovereign power of nations by outlawing national armies and abolishing their war-making facilities.

—OTTO NATHAN
New York City, NY

In Seth Foldy's article in WIN [8/1/74] I was quoted as saying that feminist socialism meant "to come out, to be gay, to discover the gayness in everybody." I never defined feminist socialism as being exclusively gay or sexual. I do believe that one major part of feminism is to not only work for the recognition of gayness as normal and healthy, but also to admit and experience the gayness that is in all of us. But that is not the total definition of either feminism or feminist socialism. Seth's prejudice against using "labels" for the People's Party should not have led him to quote me out of context or to try to discredit those of us who pushed for "feminist socialism" by not even doing us the service of including the definition that we presented to the conference. It read, "We advocate feminist socialism, which represents a combination of the social and economic changes necessary in our society. Feminism encompasses both the realization that sexism against women and gays must end, and the concept that all human relationships based on inequality and oppression must be replaced with ones in which people relate in equal, non-intimidating ways. Socialism is a decentralized democratic economic system where workers and consumers control the means of production. Socialism also calls for the people's control of all the institutions that affect their lives."

Second, Seth completely omitted the major reason that many of us pushed for the People's Party to define itself as feminist socialist. We believe that it is important to make one's radical positions clear—even if it means temporarily alienating people who have been conditioned to fear anything but the existing economic and social system in the USA. It is true that there can be many definitions of feminist socialism, just as there can be many definitions of democracy, totalitarianism, "the left," etc., but that doesn't mean that we can't use any of what Seth calls "labels"—it just means that we have to be clear in our definition of our labels when we speak to the people (and to each other on the left).

We also believe that feminism, as quoted from an article by Christi Thies (an HRP member who attended the convention), "speaks to the reality of who the oppressor of not only women but also young people and minorities is, the powerful white male. Feminism also defines a mode of action characterized by non-aggressive, non-authoritarian, non-hierarchical attitudes and behavior. Finally, the concept of feminism speaks to the ideal of going beyond a classless society to work for an androgynous one as well. Coupling the word feminist with the concept of socialism also speaks to the nature of sexism and how it does

not have its roots in capitalism and will not immediately disappear with the advent of socialism, but will continue to be a struggle under all economic systems." In other words, we wanted the People's Party to define itself as feminist socialist because we believe that that term best expresses our politics, the politics we want to see talked about on the left and to the public, and the politics that we would like to see in the society that we would call ideal. . . .

—DIANA AUTIN
Ann Arbor, MI

I want to commend WIN and Dellums both for the Congressman's article on the Military Budget. [WIN, 7/18/74] Dellums seems to me to go right to the heart of understanding the country's predicament. During the Johnson years, Johnson tried to tell us we could have guns *and* butter—Johnson proved himself when he asked for taxes to pay for the war. Now, it seems our politicians are saying to us, "OK, it's true. We can't have guns *and* butter. But, face it, we're going to have to settle for guns *over* butter. Because guns are more important." Against this reasoning, Dellums has developed a telling argument: What are we buying with our taxes to support the military? Protection? No, we're perpetuating the military bureaucracy. I think his example of the S. Koreans, armed and trained to the teeth, is a good one. I think the Peace Movement needs to separate its friends from its enemies—Dellums provides us with a neat measure for doing so. If the Congressperson (whoever s/he may be, who's asking for our vote), is a hawk, s/he's no friend. And especially, articles like Dellum's should show up the phonicness of Senators like Jackson (D-Wash.), who try to pose as hawks on foreign policy and liberals at home. That's a contradiction in terms. Jackson can't be for high defense appropriations *and* social welfare at home. As things are constituted presently, there isn't enough money for both.

—STEVE PELLETIERE
Berkeley, CA

When Thomas Alford Reynolds, from his prison cell, advised Larry Erickson to "stop feeling sorry for yourself, get out and help change things" (7/11/74) it reminded me of a little story Wilfred Burchett told about one of his Vietnamese guides during his trip through NLF territory around 1964.

"...we had just one week of married life," he said with a rare sigh.

That was during the war against the French. Then she was rounded up by the Diemists and tortured. . . I don't know whether she is still alive. . . I can't remember her face try as hard as I can (but) I remember how soft and gentle she was with me but made of steel when it concerned the enemy. Life can be bitter at times. But compared to many of my comrades I consider myself lucky. I knew the beauty of a woman's love for a week. Many of my comrades, men of 40 and more, have never known this beauty.

It takes one who is imprisoned and unable to help change things on the outside,

to offer good advice to another whose suffering surely can't get any worse by pitching in to help others far worse off than himself.

And that goes for John Stoltenberg too (in the same issue). With so much anguish and torture facing so many hundreds of thousands of human beings around the world today, who gives a bloody damn about his erections! —CLAIRE CULHANE
N. Burnaby, BC

Ed Agro's letter [WIN, 8/1/74] on alternate funds and banks lead me to write a little about the approach of the Washington Area Fund for Life.

Our Fund decided upon its founding that it did not want its money in a commercial bank. So we put our funds in a community credit union operated by a settlement house. This particular credit union has been helpful to resisters in the past by letting them know when IRS was after money from their account so they could take it all out, leaving nothing for IRS. It loans out its money only to members (like all credit unions), most of whom are poor and couldn't get bank loans. Similar credit unions exist throughout the country and can be used as alternatives to banks.

We also have not styled ourselves as a joint escrow account. This does not mean members are left in the lurch when IRS takes all their assets—we consider ourselves a mutual aid society and are able to help if financial difficulties arise from IRS action. But we presume we won't need to return all the tax money donated and therefore make grants with some of it. So far, we have not had any mutual aid requests.

Those who want to get in touch with us may write Washington Area Fund for Life, 120 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002.

—BILL SAMUEL,
Washington, DC

I was really shocked to find a favorable review of the film *Chariots of the Gods?* in the July 18 issue of WIN. Ironically enough the word "undogmatic" is used several times in describing the film, although it makes one of the most dogmatic leaps of faith possible. It is a belief that I'm afraid too many Marxists, as well as apologists for the imperialist system share: that Western Christian civilization (i.e., our own present way of life) is the only civilization capable of performing great deeds, therefore the only one worth historically considering.

As civilizations go, Western Christianity is very young and (by Arnold Toynbee's account) but one of 21 advanced civilizations to make its appearance on the earth. This doesn't take into account eight "arrested" and "abortive" civilizations to say nothing of the thousands of "primitive" societies, each with their own unique (if unused) contributions. Unlike most other civilizations, ours is a crassly materialistic, self-centered and bigoted one. Through the use of superior armaments we have been able to obliterate other existing civilizations and primitive societies giving us the license to equate our way of life with Civilization in general.

Through its admittedly excellent photography, *Chariots of the Gods* examines several awe-inspiring historical relics and asks the logical question, "How could these ancient people do such fantastic things?" Building a flourishing civilization in the Guatemalan Jutle, the statues on Easter Island, the Egyptian pyramids, and the Andean "landing strips" are all indeed remarkable. But were these ancient dark-skinned people so inferior to us that they needed the assistance of fair-skinned, blue-eyed, male, space-voyaging "Gods" to get it together?

Is it a blow to our vanity to admit the Mayas could create a calendar more accurate than European ones of the same period? That possibly the people of the Euphrates Valley could invent an electric battery cell before the birth of Christ? That perhaps the Egyptians were more imaginative engineers than we are?

Anyone who has read much about the Inca civilization or contemplated aerial photographs of Inca cities and irrigated fields carved into the Andean Mountains can't help but feel a sense of amazement. Here is a civilization comparable in size, scope and administration to Rome yet with considerably more democracy and artistic achievement. It spanned altitudes of 20,000 feet and flourished without the use of writing, wheels or draft animals. If Rome could build great aqueducts (the movie doesn't question *this*) why couldn't the Incas have built the massive walls the movie finds so unexplainable?

The history of ancient peoples is indeed a mind boggling study, but we should get an appreciation of how remarkable their contribution to our society is, rather than deny it, simply because it is so hard to understand. In appreciating our past, the last thing we should do is free ourselves from the "current dogmatic pursuit of 'pure science' based upon 'hard cold facts,'" as your reviewer advocates. To do anything else is to rely on faith.

I am ready to believe *Chariots of the Gods?* but first I must be presented with facts. This the movie does not do. It relies instead on weird music and photographic distortions to give the viewer a false sense of wonder about oftentimes explainable phenomenon. Its conclusions are hastily drawn, often contradictory and sometimes downright dishonest. Examples of dishonesty: "Egyptians couldn't possibly move the stones for the pyramids on wooden rollers because the native palm could not take the weight." Fact: Egyptians were importing cedar from Lebanon during that time specifically for pyramid building. Or: "archaeologists say the Nazca landing strips were roads. But these roads lead nowhere." Fact: In all my reading of the Incas and dozens of references to the Nazca Pampa, I have never come across references to "roads." It is universally accepted by archaeologists—which the movie is anxious to discredit as a class—that the designs were meant to be seen by dieties in the sky.

Lastly, your reviewer wants us to adopt a "more exploratory imaginative and creative

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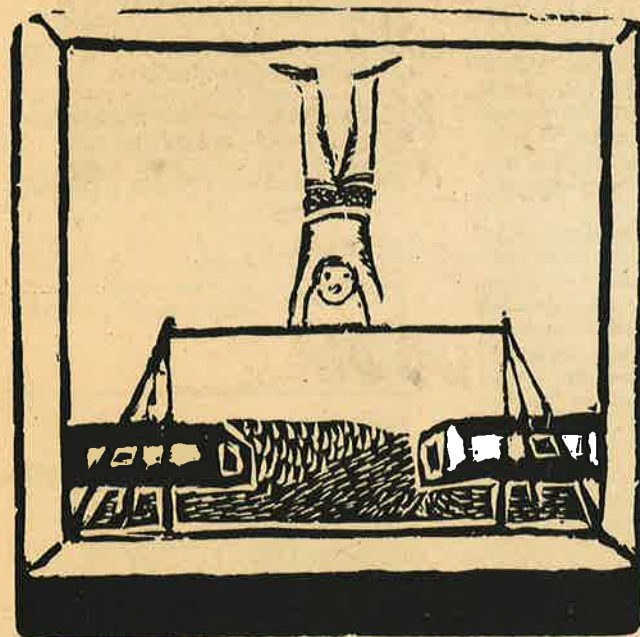
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Better Schools for Kids

BY RUTH DAVIDON (age 10)

I went to visit my friends Barbara Deming and Jayne Verlaine (they're grown ups). We talked about a school kids would like better. They started me thinking.

A school that kids would like better would probably be an outdoor school. We wouldn't have desks, we would have boxes to keep things in. In summer, spring and fall we could have school under a tree, and in winter we could have school indoors. The indoor school would be a one-floor house with five rooms, and four bathrooms (2 for girls and 2 for boys). One room would be a cafeteria, another a school room and another gym room. The classroom would be a pretty big room but instead of desks maybe just small cushions to sit on. The kids could learn about cooking in the cafeteria. There would probably be about 20 children of different ages. The outdoor school would have a building right near the tree for washing our hands, getting drinks and going to the bathroom.

The teachers would just sort of hang around and help us when we needed help.

We could study more about animals, people and plants. We could go on nature walks and find out things. We could grow our own crops and flowers.

We could do plays and useful arts and crafts, or just arts and crafts for fun. We could make things for the school. To hang on walls and places outside, we could paint pictures. We could go on lots of field trips too. We could visit farms, factories and stores. We could go on overnight hikes.

We could have more books to read and a small library. Everyone could pick their own private quiet space and read. There wouldn't be any grades, just kids learning things all together. This is all just a thought. If kids really want this kind of school maybe someday there will be a school like this.



photo by Cam Smith from BUCKMINISTER FULLER TO CHILDREN OF EARTH

Learning at home

BY ARTHUR S. HARRIS, JR.

Elsewhere, in magazines like *Outside the Net* and even in the Sunday supplements, I've chronicled how Phyllis and I, both one-time teachers, became so disillusioned with public schools that we just *had* to withdraw our two boys at the end of their fourth and sixth grade years and oversee their education ourselves. Rather than go over all that ground again, I'd like to move on to how we're doing.

First, who does the teaching? Frankly, we don't have much teaching. We believe that children learn best what they want to learn when they want to learn it. Too often adults actually get in the way of learning. Taken to its infinite end, one could wonder whether schools with all those instructional hours don't sometimes hinder learning.

Both Phyllis and I are ex-teachers. In fact, Phyllis was a part-time public school "art teacher" as recently as last year. I put "art teacher" in quotes because Phyllis brought up all manner of subjects in her dis-

advantaged schools. Auditing art supervisors and principals loved it. So what if she showed slides of our trip to Japan or arranged to bus a class to see maple syrup being collected? The children were interested, weren't they? My own full-time teaching, in college and prep school, ended some years ago. But both of us began to question increasingly the structured establishment in which we taught. Were people being "taught" or did they "learn" in spite of us?

So we sit back and let our older son Kevin read. For six months he read almost nothing but books and articles about astronomy. For awhile he got hooked on the American Revolution after seeing the play *1776*; then he got back into the A's again with astrology, architecture, and archaeology. They're not subjects ordinarily offered in grade school, but who are we to dictate a child's interests? Our youngest child, Clifford, who is no reader, is always taking engines apart or building something or fixing a leaking radiator in my car. Is this learning? Why not? Since he has more "personality" than almost anyone you'll meet, we recently were gratified to learn from the Christopher Jenck's study that personality (along with luck and graded performance) had much to do with success in life.

Our own children seem to learn without that omnipresent teacher. Probably Professor Louis Agassiz demonstrated this in the way he taught his student, Nathaniel Shaler; he had poor Shaler spend over a hundred hours examining a fish without telling him anything about the fish. He wanted Shaler to learn *for himself*. In the same way, we feel the most important thing is for a child to learn *how to learn*. The trouble with school is that too much is "taught." Too often a teacher is positioned between a child and the material, blocking natural access to that material.

Curriculum: The word is an anathema to us. If we laid out a course of study for our sons, they'd surely feel they were back in school again with those narrow subject areas of history, English, geography, and math. Sometimes I get the idea that the mere defining of a subject is the first step toward robbing it of its mystique. When Kevin is reading about some archaeological discovery in Mexico, he isn't consciously thinking, "Now this is archaeology." In the truest sense, subjects all fuse with one another. Once Kevin became absorbed in Transcendental Meditation (and took a college credit course in it at Queens University in Kingston, Ontario) he began to delve into psychology, religions other than Christianity, the culture of India, mysticism, even elementary Sanskrit—all sorts of things, almost none of them offered in school. Who are we to fence his learning with narrow subject areas of math, history, English, and civics? All right, so far as American history goes, he knows nothing whatever about corruption in the Harding administration, probably doesn't even know a man named Harding was ever President. But I'll bet he knows more about the American Revolution than anyone on our block. Is this bad?

And if you tell me he isn't becoming well-rounded, I will show you most of his school contemporaries (I probably should slip into jargon and call them his "peer group") who know *nothing* of architecture, archaeology, astronomy, or astrology (just to take the A's), to say nothing of zen, penology, psychology—well-rounded *indeed!*

Social Life: It's the same as before: Kevin, our introspective reader, is still a loner without friends as he was throughout the first six grades. Clifford, our gregarious one, has dozens of friends of *all ages* just as *he* always did. We don't try to change either one and admire Kevin's self-sufficiency. In general we feel American schools are obsessed with "interpersonal relationships" and thus give the "loner" a complex. By the way, either boy may return to school anytime he wants. So far, no takers.

Physical Education: They exercise as they used to—i.e., one boy is very athletic, the other somewhat sedentary. Both have ten-speed bicycles and do a lot of cycling. Our so-called non-athletic one has lately been entering 18-mile bicycle races and spends time "training." Both take swimming lessons to perfect their crawl strokes. Clifford is an ardent bowler. Both ski. By the way, not *one* of these sports was offered in school where the concentration was on sports requiring large groups.

Compromises: Kevin does take a course in guitar and an adult education course (*sic*) in touch typing.

Classrooms: Who needs a room with 30 desks facing north and one desk facing south? Take away all that glass and brick and learning is likely to take place anywhere. Since our boys left school, we spent six months

in Mexico. I'm not going to make big claims our children learned sociology and geography out in the field, but I do hereby solemnly attest that Clifford picked up elementary but fluent Spanish, and nobody set out to teach him a single word of the language. Incidentally, he was the only one among us who could understand rapid Spanish spoken to us, and often translated before the rest of us could say *despacio, por favor*.

Diplomas, Certificates, Regent Exams, Report Cards, College Boards: We have successfully weaned our children away from all these tons of paper. When we feel they've "finished high school," we'll get our friend Kari, an artist, to make them up diplomas with more scrolls, ribbons, and fancy printing than anything the high school offers. A college admission director has already told us (at a cocktail party, not in his office) that a home-educated applicant would be most appealing—what a challenge to track him along all those traditional high schoolers with their grade-point averages! This admissions director told us Kevin's application would undoubtedly stand out among many others as rather intriguing—it would be hard to turn down flat.

Legally: Although we both feel that our state's compulsory school laws are unconstitutional and were once prepared to stand on these grounds as long as the money held out, we reached an accommodation four years ago with the city school system. Our attorney found a provision of the state's education laws pertaining to the education of a child at home. Granted the provision was undoubtedly drafted for the infirm who couldn't make it daily to a classroom, but still this section of the law happened to be marvelously applicable to our situation, for it allowed at-home education provided that the instruction offered was substantially parallel and equivalent to that provided in the schools.

Once we'd dug this provision out and shown it to the school authorities, they began to be more reasonable. Also I spent a weekend writing for them in term-paper length our philosophy of education and how we'd expect to proceed once our children were weaned from those brick school buildings. In good term-paper fashion, we listed the writers who had influenced us—Holt, Kozol, Leonard, *et al.* Finally the school "authorities" mellowed and eventually agreed to let us try to provide this "alternate and equivalent education" ourselves rather than continue with their legal harassment which had already caused them to give us an enroll-or-else-go-to-court ultimatum.

At first, regarding our venture as a sort of experiment, they appointed a go-between, a school system staffer with a doctorate in education. He was charged with getting us off to a good start. Fortunately he seemed surprisingly sympathetic to our ideas and immediately understood when he handed over to us a bunch of dull textbooks that we really weren't going to use them; he seemed to sense that we felt schools emphasized the printed word too much and that traditional textbook-learning was something we wanted to get away from. In the four years since we had this first meeting with our "go-between," we have left each other alone. Once he hinted that we really ought to keep some kind of record or documentation of what we were doing—"just in case," but neither he nor the system has bothered us. In turn, we have borrowed through him such things as a microscope, but have had no long dialogues. In a word, I guess he has confidence

in us and feels we are making it all right.

Sometimes we feel we got off so easily because the brand-new Superintendent of Schools on his first really big job in our city didn't need our curious dispute breaking out in the newspapers and wanted the whole case swept under the rug. Then again, perhaps the fact we'd both been teachers was decisive. Perhaps more ex-teachers should consider our approach.

Questions Often Asked: Q: But what about science? A: If Thomas Edison could drop out of grade school and never return, why should we worry? Is science only something taught in Science 1-A? Our family friend, Charlie Fox, a geology freak and professionally a geologist for the State of Vermont, has been pointing out rock formations to our children for half a dozen years. Is this science? Kevin has built an enormous telescope. Two years ago he attended a rocket convention alone in Pittsburgh.

Q: But aren't they missing the fundamentals? A: What fundamentals? If you mean reading, we have always felt that Kevin originally taught himself to read, just as both of them taught themselves how to talk. Kevin only recently became interested in algebra when he realized it would help him with his telescope and his interest in astronomy. (Notice that I said *his interest in astronomy* rather than *his study of astronomy*.)

Q: Aren't they missing a social life? A: Our house, filled with animals, records, tapes, workbenches, photographic equipment, plants and so on is envied by every kid in the neighborhood and is a magnet for them all. Sometimes we wish there were fewer children around on winter afternoons after 2:30 P.M.!

Q: Why not a free school? A: We see "free" or "open" schools as an improvement on traditional schools, but wonder whether more people might not be encouraged to try No School. We have friends in a Vermont commune; none of their children go to school, yet they are obviously learning so much—especially nutrition, crafts, silk screening, photography, farming, music, art. Who is to say that Latin is more

important than nutrition, or ancient history more significant than ceramics.

Q: All well and good for you two; you were both teachers and can teach your children, but what about the rest of us who've never been teachers? A: Our five-pronged answer to that would make a long essay in itself. Basically we feel that our teacher experience has helped us most of all to realize how bad schools can be, how little is actually "taught" in so much time. As I said, we really don't look upon ourselves as teachers of our children or their tutors. They teach themselves. Since we got Kevin out of school before his love for reading had been completely killed, he spends more time in the library than any 20 children put together. Not long ago I noticed he was reading the *Autobiography of a Yogi*. Shortly after that, on his own, he became a vegetarian, questioning the whole concept of eating meat, the ecology of meat-processing plants, the idea of getting protein secondhand from animals, etc. Lately he's been reading about nutrition.

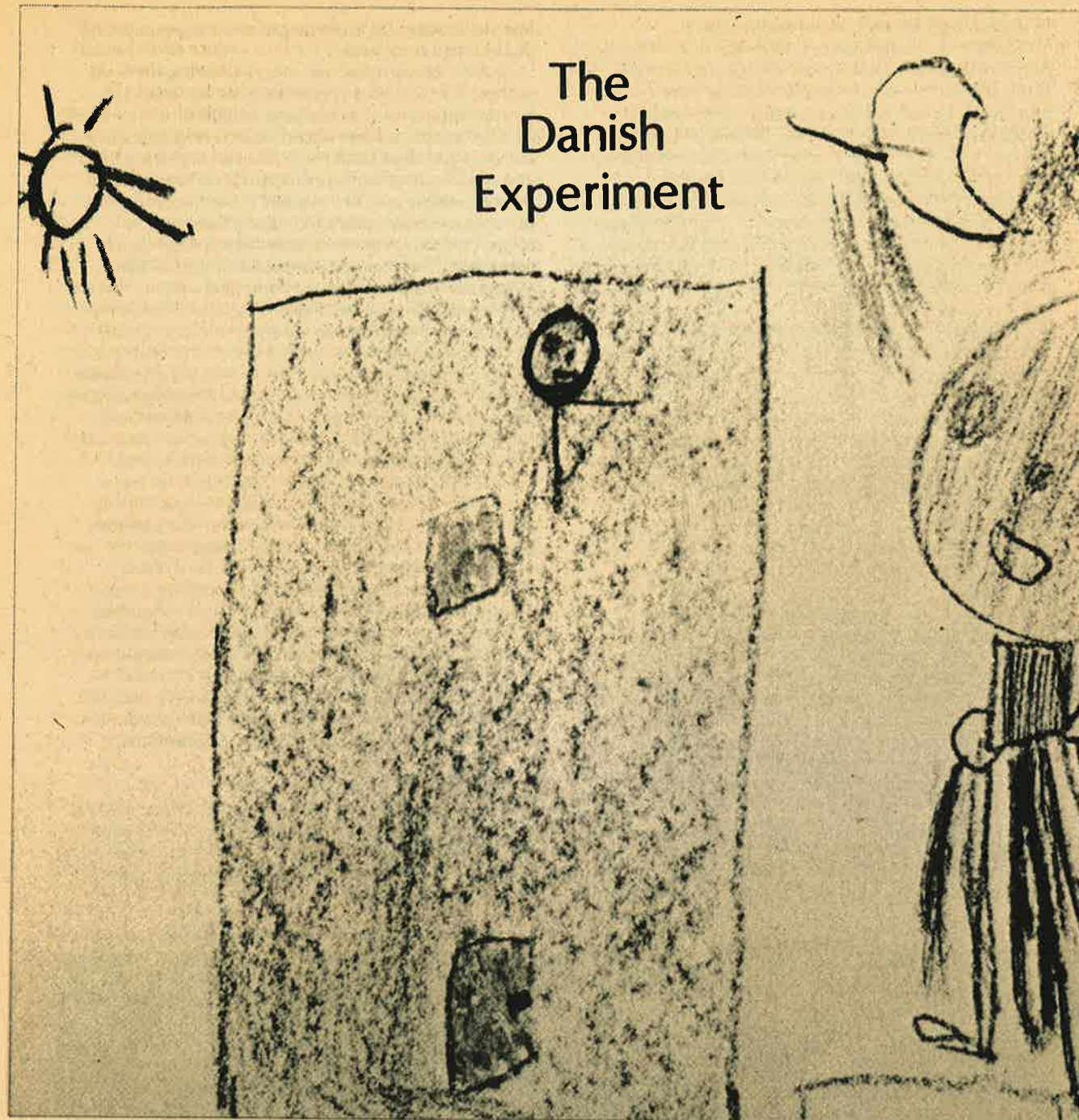
But I'm now rambling when all I wanted to say was that deschooling could take place in a lot more homes than anyone imagines. True, I've been a little cozy about what city we live in for fear the publicity might hurt our truce with the city schools, but for what it's worth we live in the State of New York. Since each state has different education laws, I hope someday to compile a list of various state provisions providing for at-home education under some sort of guidance. Yet all this compliance with those insidious compulsory school laws bothers us, and we hope the day comes when state by state these laws are declared unconstitutional. Perhaps then more parents will feel comfortable with their children learning at home.

Arthur S. Harris, Jr. is a long-time contributor to WIN. This article appears in the just published *Delta paperback* (\$3.25), *Will It Grow in a Classroom?* edited by Beatrice and Ronald Gross and reprinted with permission of the author.

photo by Cam Smith from BUCKMINSTER FULLER TO CHILDREN OF EARTH



The Danish Experiment



child's drawing from BUCKMINSTER FULLER TO CHILDREN OF EARTH

BY CRAIG CHAUDRON

There is an increasing debate in educational circles on the subject of the socio-political dynamics of education. Despite much progress and experimentation in psychological learning processes, few developments in a more critical social or political learning environment have come about. At issue is whether education, from nursery schools and up, is simply a preparation for the individual to find his proper place in a predetermined society, or whether it is a means of developing the individual's critical abilities toward himself and his environment, and thus his creative potential as a social animal. In the midst of this debate, the experiences of a small, homogeneous and relatively progressive country such as Denmark can exemplify some of the possibilities for both reformatory and revolutionary education, that is, for both preparatory formation and for more critical self-realization.

In Denmark the basically social reformatory government has supported for many years all levels of educational institutions, both the normal public educational system (resembling England's and other European countries') as well as more atypical institutions in the private and public sector, such as kindergartens, youth centers, adult education schools and Folk high schools.

The Danish monarchy has long had a benevolent and popular involvement in education, but it was not until the 1800's—when locally organized groups of farmers (and later, workers) and small landowners, inspired by the Enlightenment and later revolutionary events in the rest of Europe, began demanding support for local programs for post-elementary education—that a unique movement developed from the thinking of a Lutheran minister and psalm-writer, N.F.S.

Grundtvig. This is the now well-known Danish *Folkehojskole* (Folk high school) movement, which today comprises over 70 quite varied "colleges," mostly for 18 to 25 year-olds, but utilized by all ages (there are, for example, family summer camps). With no entrance requirements and no degree programs, the four to eight month stay at such schools provides the participant with an opportunity to learn and adapt to others in an unpressured environment. Many of these schools are now influenced by vocational interests, such as gymnastics, nursing and agricultural technology, but all offer more or less liberal arts curricula, some with not a slight tinge of religion blended in.

With the example of the *Folkehojskoler* as a background, several socialist workers' and educators' groups formed private study circles and educational societies in the late 1800's and early 1900's. The Social Democratic government of the late 1920's publicly supported the establishment of a national Workers' Educational Association, following the example of several other European countries (France, Germany and Sweden), which began to implement adult education programs in all areas of interest—hobbies, politics, history, culture, crafts, and so on. These have since expanded in character to include special associations and technical preparatory schools for grammar and *real* school dropouts, providing them with the necessary diploma for continuing their education at teachers' training colleges, or trade or university-preparatory schools. The intention of all these efforts has been to extend the educational level of the population as far as possible, to give everyone, particularly adults with limited education and financial resources, an opportunity to keep abreast of the present society's requirements.

In the past ten years these developments have had a greatly increased influence due to new legislation (now threatened by a more conservative government) affording financial support to any group of ten to twelve or more interested in studying some subject or subjects as leisure-time (i.e. not occupationally oriented) activity. This "leisure-time law" now supports a wide variety of schools and courses, including the above-mentioned adult education programs, youth centers, and the playgrounds mentioned below. The potential for employing such legislation is extensive, and many organizations have made good use of it, so that the general level of public enlightenment and contact between people (notably the elderly) is quite high.

However, many socially involved educators and social workers have become engaged in a more radical critique of the present capitalist society, and thus find both the normal school system and the previously mentioned institutions to be at best patchwork progress, and at worst a means of occupying the population and distracting them from their realities. Notably, several nursery schools and kindergartens, some private elementary schools, and some folk high schools have established collective leaderships and employed more revolutionary techniques (often learning from Chinese and Soviet models) to involve their pupils and students in a direct confrontation with their local social environment, as well as with their own personal development.

A good example of this is a playground in a working-class district of Copenhagen. As early as 1943 *byggelegepladser* (junk, or creative "building" playgrounds) had been organized, where children could build houses and other things from junk materials. These have become quite popular and stereotyped, adjacent to almost every kindergarten, but a group of activist

Marxist teachers in Copenhagen saw the opportunity in 1970 to turn a vacant lot into a more revolutionary "building" playground, instead of allowing the local authorities to build a sterile high-rise kindergarten-youth center meant to cage the neighborhood children.

The result has been a great success with the local children and their families. With reluctant government and positive neighborhood support, children between the ages of five and 17 have had a place to go in their otherwise deadly inner city, where they could play and relate to their social realities in their free time. The playground functions both as a day-care and after-school recreation center. Decision-making on all levels is collective. The children and teachers have openly and actively been involved in political demonstrations: strike support, financial contributions (including a day-long solidarity party for the NLF) and the like, mostly involved in local problems, housing and employment conflicts. Although its future may be uncertain, due to political pressure and censure, similar kindergartens, playgrounds and youth centers have been collectively organized and appear to be continuing to do so.

Another unusual radical educational attempt in the past five years is a Folk high school and Teacher's College, collectively organized on a self-owned lot out in the country on the Danish peninsula of Jutland. *Den rejsende hojskole* (the travelling high school) was organized under the usual Folk high school law by young activists who were not interested just in sitting in classrooms. Its basic idea is that a team travel effort (in remodelled school busses) to the third world would provide the necessary personal experience to deal with both the interpersonal and intercultural and political problems of today. The participants have constructed their own pre-fab school buildings, with a self-operated garage and workshop for the busses, a collective administration, and even a publishing house for the printing of their travel reports (on India, Yemen, Pakistan, Peru, Denmark and others).

After several years' success the school established a Teacher's training college (on the same four-year basis as all others in the country) in which one year's experience with the travelling high school plays an integral part. In preparation for the trip, the students undergo group-dynamic and decision-making experiences, as well as scholastic work on international relationships. Then during and after the four-month trip they discuss their experiences and work out reports, trying to relate everything to their actual cultural milieu. The next three years consist of special studies, outside vocational employment (in schools and factories and offices) and group living in self-owned houses in their working community. The intention is obviously to give the participants the greatest possible experience in the lives and milieus of their prospective pupils and their families, as well as a fundamental awareness of the creative potential of relationships between people.

The uniqueness of these and several other radical educational attempts in an otherwise highly developed and inherently contradictory class-structured society is admirable for its employment of the present reform-oriented educational opportunities in a more revolutionary direction.

Craig Chaudron has taught English in Denmark for two years in a technical preparatory school for dropouts under the leisure-time law and for half a year in a kindergarten.

INSIDE EDUCATION

SCHOOLING IN PRISON

BY LARRY GARA

In the past several years numerous educational programs for prisoners have been introduced, including one in New York to establish a new, tuition-free state college with a student body composed entirely of prison inmates. The prison college never got off the ground because of opposition in the legislature, but many educational programs for prisoners are currently underway or about to begin. The programs vary considerably, including rather traditional high school and college courses, vocational training, special art and music classes, and legal aid courses. Most of them are carried out within the prisons or jails, though some include release-study which enables prisoners to leave the prison environment for a nearby campus during the daylight hours. Much has been reported in the press about these programs, and since the news releases are usually public relations handouts they provide glowing pictures of the various projects and what marvelous results come from prisoner education plans. Little is said of their shortcomings or of the serious problems which often interfere with their stated educational objectives.

All prison education programs, if at all successful, provide those who take them with a better self-image. Any prisoner who finds himself or herself making progress in a study program will inevitably gain in self-confidence, a growth which should never be underestimated when considering the worth of such activity. For instance, a federally-funded prison class in carpentry offers 90 days of classroom teaching coupled with on-the-job training. One of the students reported that the schooling proved a "turning point" in his life. He had been in and out of prisons since 1957, and the carpentry job was his first that paid well. He enjoyed the work and was reassured for the first time that he could make it outside prison.

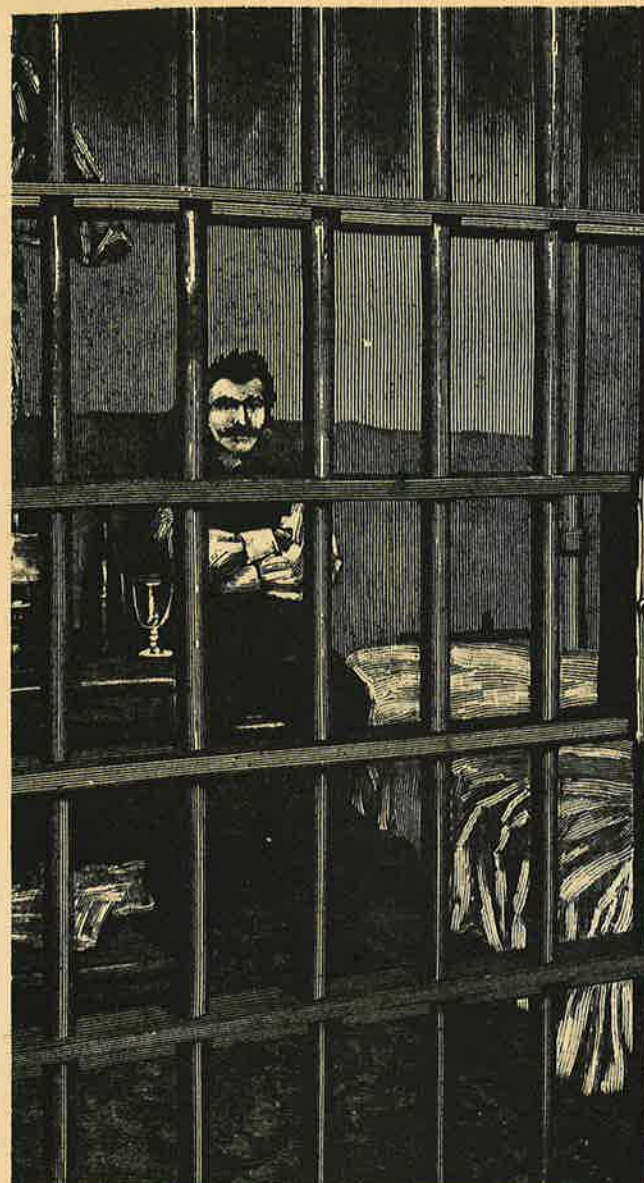
Not all vocational training in prison succeeds as well. A frequently-voiced prisoner complaint is that such programs are often more window dressing than substance, and that the training offered is too elementary or unrelated to actual work situations to provide skills and hope to the prisoners involved. Walter Collins, who served time as a draft resister, complained about classes the Jaycees established in prisons with such courses as salesmanship and elocution. "Classes like that," he said, "have no use except to show prisoners how to get over on their own people. They

teach us to say the right thing, to be cons, to manipulate everyone except people of property."

A wholly different approach to prison education involves eight New York University law students and two professors who spend one evening a week teaching a course in criminal procedure and constitutional law at Bedford Hills State Prison for Women. The course was designed to teach very practical skills to the women prisoners. "Many women in prison don't understand the court process or how they got there," commented Professor Barbara Swartz. "We want them to know their rights and to be able to help themselves." Several of the women taking the course have begun to file for or reinstate appeals of their sentences. The teachers are also getting valuable educational experiences. Some of them have reportedly had to abandon their prior stereotypes of women prisoners. One who expected to find hardened, tough women found most of her students "docile, almost pathetic." The teachers were pleasantly surprised by the ability of their students. "I had difficulty keeping up with them," one reported.

Similar courses to teach the rudiments and techniques of law to prison inmates are now available in a number of state prisons. They are among the most useful of prison educational programs. Another very helpful type of program is one initiated and implemented by inmates without official support and sometimes with considerable opposition. These vary from classes in religious instruction to study groups on black awareness and Marxism. One of the factors contributing to the Leavenworth rebellion of July, 1973 was the disciplining by officials of members of a black study group. Such prisoner-controlled educational experiments have added substantially to the new political awareness of many prisoners.

Increasingly, prisons are offering opportunities for inmates to take high school or college courses. Such programs vary greatly in value, according to the available teaching staff and the variety of subjects offered as well as the conditions in the institution. For example, in one Ohio prison college classes are offered by competent instructors from a nearby college, but the students take the courses after a full work day. Guards also monitor these classes and their presence certainly affects the discussions and class sessions. When some of the teachers complained about having the guards, some of them armed, in class, the institution then made the courses available to its staff and guards became a part of the class itself.



Some of the college programs are excellent. When first introduced at the Federal Youth Center, Ashland, Kentucky, the federally-funded Newgate Project not only provided college courses within the prison but offered scholarships for successful students, enabling them to continue their college careers after release. (This aspect of the Newgate program was short-lived, however.) Each plan must be examined on its merits in light of the total environment of the students. Since a campus is more conducive to learning than a prison, several institutions have provided for a study-release program enabling prisoners to leave the institution during the daylight hours to take classes on a college campus. During the current academic year, 60 prisoners from the Ossining, New York Correctional Facility are on such a study-release program at Hostos Community College in the Bronx. Several hundred federal prisoners at various institutions are enrolled in study-release.

Yet all of these programs suffer from handicaps unique to the prison situation. Many prisons exercise some form of censorship of reading material and those responsible for censoring printed matter seldom take a very broad view of their task. Censorship is arbitrary, quixotic and unpredictable. Some jails and prisons exclude books and publications concerned with prison reform, some try to keep out material which the officials deem inflammatory or likely to stir up resistance, and some exclude daily newspapers from the inmates. Even approved books must usually be sent directly from the publishers, and procedures are often deliberately designed to discourage reading material from the outside. In 1971 the American Civil Liberties Union filed a suit on behalf of New York prisoners, listing some of the publications then declared contraband in the state's prisons. The list included the *National Geographic*, the *United Nations Declaration of Human Rights*, Marshal McLuhan's *Understanding Media*, Oscar Lewis's *La Vida*, and Peter Gay's *The Enlightenment*. When books are available for study courses they are often outdated and in scant supply. Censorship policies obviously pose a handicap to any prison education program.

The concern for security, which at times becomes obsessive in prisons, is another impediment to even the best educational programs offered. New York legislation which provides for a study-release program excludes a vast number of prisoners, among them all those associated with organized crime, those convicted of violent crimes, those considered escape risks and "those who display undue emotional upset."

For those prisoners who are fortunate enough to participate in study-release the pressures are so strong that some voluntarily leave the study program rather than try to make an adjustment to what seems an impossible situation. Such student-prisoners are subject to severe restrictions on their movement as well as on what they can do while on the campus where they are studying. An inmate at the Terminal Island Federal Correctional Institution, for instance, while attending classes at the California State College at Long Beach, avoids all contact with women on the campus. "How am I going to explain to her that I have to get up and leave the table because I have to be home by 6:30?" he asked. Each prisoner must submit to a complete body search before putting on civilian clothes and leaving for class. The process is repeated upon his return. Prisoners must finance their own studies and those who were not residents of California at the time of their arrest must pay more than a thousand dollars annual out-of-state tuition. As if those problems were not enough, 70% of the prisoners who apply for the program are turned down for one reason or another.

Prejudice of prison officials against draft resisters and other political prisoners can also affect the working of an educational program. For example, when the Newgate Project of college courses was introduced at one Federal Youth Center, all draft resisters were systematically excluded. When some of them protested such discrimination they were told they could participate only if they paid for the courses which were free to other prisoners, even though some of the resisters lacked any financial resources. Later, resisters in small numbers were included in the Newgate classes.

The close association of education with prison discipline poses another serious stumbling block on both



photo by Jim Rosenbaum

students and teachers. Virtually everything in prison is concerned, directly or indirectly, with discipline, and education is no exception. One college teacher who commuted an evening each week to teach a class in a nearby state prison found himself under strong inmate-pressure to award good grades to all the students, whose concern for grades became an obsession. A good academic record might contribute to parole, and he became involved with students who played a variety of games to achieve their objective. Sometimes prison officials admit that the educational programs at their institutions offer the inmates a carrot of possible early release for acceptable work. James Codd, prison education director at the Washington State Penitentiary, commented that inmate-students wish to complete classes because "they realize education is their best bet for winning a parole."

Basic to the whole problem is the fact that a prison environment is not conducive to creative education. By their very nature, even the most progressive prisons

are oppressive. The power of the officials and guards is nearly absolute and prisoners are told in a thousand and one ways that they are inferior beings. The dreary monotony of prison routine is itself demoralizing and oppressive, making serious study very difficult. The main psychological impact of a prison is similar to that of a slave plantation, where some are more privileged than others, but no inmate may act upon his or her rights or assert a sense of independence. With all their shortcomings, therefore, release-study programs are infinitely superior to classes within the walls.

Prisons are depressing institutions and inevitably those who agree to teach classes within them are affected by the experience. Yet should a teacher become interested enough in the well-being of a prisoner-student to inquire about a minor complaint, prison officials are likely to revert to their role as security-conscious keepers. A teacher who began to champion the rights of inmates at Lebanon Correctional Institution in Ohio was suddenly fired, though he was effective

and well-liked. The action taken by the prison officials was not unusual, for they always frown on "meddling" in the prison operation. When the Dayton, Ohio Ex-Cons for a Better Society began to openly criticize conditions in the Montgomery County Jail, where its members conducted inmate classes to prepare people for state high school equivalency tests, the sheriff cancelled the classes. The reason given was that the "program has deviated from the original format."

Yet in spite of the difficulties, virtually all those who have taught or taken classes for prisoners, and many prison officials, agree that almost any educational program is better than none. All such programs have positive potential for some of the individuals involved and at times the results are outstanding. In 1969 the first prisoner to earn a college degree graduated with honors in sociology under the government's Project Newgate. He was 32-year-old Richard Shoblak, who had been sentenced to life by a judge who described him as "the most immoral man to come before my bench." Shoblak was paroled just before graduation and was offered a graduate assistantship and a job with the Newgate Project at a Pennsylvania prison. Interviewed by the *New York Times*, Shoblak said that he believed 80% of the men in prison should be involved either in work release or educational programs such as Newgate. "Education is the best way out of prison. You can walk tall because no matter how depressing the prison system is, your mind is with it," he commented. "While you're being dehumanized by the prison system, you are humanizing yourself."

Another former prison inmate, Robert Lovell, who served a sentence in Maine State Prison for forgery, also worked on a college degree while he was confined. After release Lovell organized a volunteer unit to conduct high school classes at the Augusta City Jail. He, too, became convinced that educational experience was the key to fighting recidivism. "I firmly believe education is the tool that's going to create the means by which inmates will be accepted back in society." The testimony of these two men is echoed by many who have worked with prisoners.

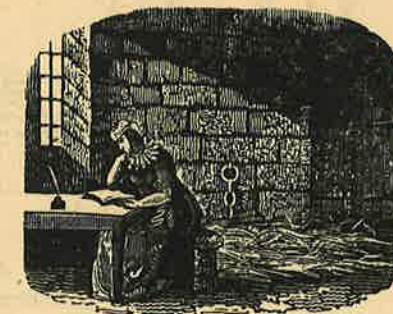
Those programs which involved release-study are especially valuable in creating a situation where men and women do not spend their entire time under sentence within a penal institution. The fact that prisoners can study effectively on a college campus and mingle with the rest of the population should become an important tool in educating people to the possibility of finding alternatives to prison, an institution which enlightened officials, criminologists and judges frequent-

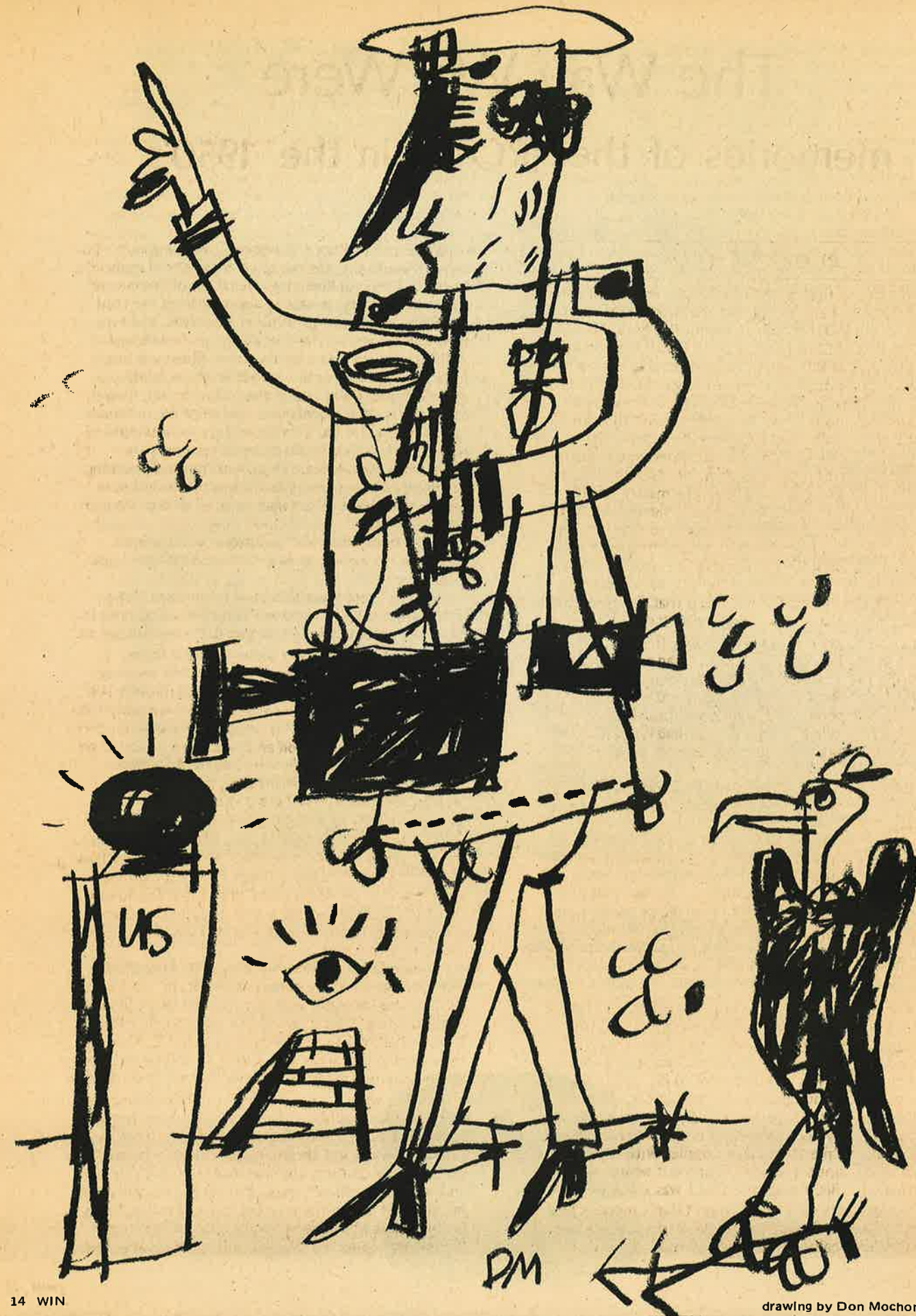
ly admit has no positive effect on the individuals confined and in turn nothing but negative impact on the society they are designed to protect. Study-release and work-release programs are halfway steps to eliminating prisons altogether.

The need to educate the public about the negative impact of prisons is only part of the problem. In the meantime there is also need to change attitudes towards former prisoners. An essential aspect of prison is the stigma attached to those who have been imprisoned. All states have laws which deny ex-convicts some of the rights accorded citizens, including such things as the right to vote or to get a driver's license, the right to be licensed for certain occupations, or to qualify for civil service jobs. In addition to those legal restrictions, prejudice against former prisoners has the practical effect of keeping them from any employment at all. Ex-prisoners find it necessary to hide their arrest and prison records in order to find employment and in many situations where forms require work experience and references this is almost impossible. William vanden Heuvel, chairman of the Board of Correction of New York City, said sadly, "Rehabilitation stops at the prison gates." When jobs are scarce employers become reluctant to hire ex-convicts and some are forbidden by law from doing so. Former prisoners in New York City holding jobs in supermarkets or working at a golf ball driving range lost their jobs when beer licenses were granted to their employers, for in New York it is illegal for ex-convicts to work in any establishment where beer or other alcoholic beverage is sold. "When the job market is good, employers have fewer qualms about hiring ex-cons than they used to," commented Lawrence Blinderman of the Osborne Association. "When it's bad, like now, they become more selective. They'll take the guy without a record over the one with a record. What happens? Despair, that's what. A guy wants to work and he can't. What does he do? You tell me."

Obviously the task of education concerning prisoners must be viewed in a twofold context—that of providing meaningful educational experiences for those in prison, and of sharing information and changing attitudes about the prisoners and prisons. The best educational program in the world will not be of much value if vindictive attitudes towards ex-convicts persist and if discriminatory, often stupid practices are permitted to survive.

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The Way We Were

memories of the JROTC in the 1950's

BY ROGER A. McCAIN

From time to time notes in WIN have expressed concern (rightly, I am sure) about the recent growth of high school ROTC. I was a student in a high school ROTC unit in Shreveport, La., 1957-60. It strikes me that readers of WIN might be interested in my memories of that rather bizarre experience. I rather doubt that they have any cosmic significance—they seem merely ridiculous to me, looking back—but perhaps that is more reflective of the boy I was then, marvellously lacking in social consciousness and quite ignorant of pacifism, than of their intrinsic importance. I am unable to judge and I leave the matter to you.

I grew up in the country outside Shreveport. Violence was simply a part of life to the country people I knew, and although I would not say that they were at all militarist, killing as a policy was accepted as a matter of course by most of them. I do not exclude private killing if it should come to that. I learned to fire a rifle, a pistol and a shotgun by the time I was nine, and target practice was a fairly frequent amusement. When I was in high school I had a bolt action .22 rifle and a bolt action .410 shotgun which I kept in my bedroom. I was never very good with a shotgun but felt competent with a rifle, and had fired several kinds. I had killed "varmints" but had never had any success to speak of in hunting; I gave it up as a bad job. I was fifteen.

Beginning in the ninth grade I rode a bus about 20 miles, one way, "to maintain an arbitrary racial formula:" 100% white. (Actually, as my baby sister reminds me, the black high school was even further, in the opposite direction.) At that time Shreveport had two white high schools, Fair Park and Byrd. Byrd was rich and Fair Park poor, by reputation. Both had junior ROTC units. JROTC was fairly common in the south at that time, I believe. I do know that Houston and Galveston, Texas had such programs in their white high schools and I think that some New Orleans schools had them.

ROTC was available in the tenth grade, and I never hesitated about taking it. There were, I think, two reasons. First, I am asthmatic, and I have always thought of physical education teachers as my natural enemy. ROTC was an alternative to PE. Second, I was genuinely interested in learning about weapons and fighting. I had a young man's romantic interest in this activity, which seemed the natural activity of human males to me at that age, coupled with a matter-of-factness about it which I suppose is white-southern. Having said this, I must add that I was always a physical coward. Although I am large, I don't suppose that I ever "won" a fistfight as a child. Perhaps these feelings are not really so inconsistent after all.

While at Fair Park I "hung out" with a group who were, I would say, stereotypical high school eggheads. We read a little philosophy—Nietzsche, of course—we wrote bad poetry, or talked about writing, we read the Beats and began to think of ourselves, in a very pale way, as Beats. There was a little off-standard politics, though it was by no means always leftist. Like Kerouac we could be reactionary as readily as anything else. I was one of the reactionaries, myself, except that I felt a profound contempt for nationalism (which I still feel). In those days a contempt for nationalism did not seem to be an exception in a reactionary world-view. There was, in short, nothing very unusual about us unless it was our isolation in Shreveport, and the fact that most of us were in high school ROTC.

(I might say that that group was strictly male, though none were then gay, to the best of my knowledge.)

In ROTC, we came to school in uniform three times a week, twice in "dress" uniforms, and once in "fatigues." Monday was a fatigue day. On Monday we cleaned our rifles, and occasionally got a chance to fire on the target range or to see some big weaponry from the National Guard armory. I remember a 106 mm recoilless rifle mounted on a truck especially clearly. (The "recoilless rifle" is actually a rocket-launcher; that's why it has no recoil and so can be mounted on a fairly light vehicle.) We were issued M-1 rifles of WWII vintage, without firing pins, and, of course, without bayonets. We "got to know" them fairly well; I rather think I could puzzle out how to field-strip an M-1 today if I had plenty of time and nobody trying to help me. We didn't fire the M-1s at Fair Park though: target .22's only. It was on the firing range, when I was in the tenth grade, that I first found out that I am nearsighted. My scores were better after I got glasses, though never excellent. I could fire "sharp shooter" at my best.

Wednesday and Thursday were drill days. They were the days that we came out in "dress" uniforms and marched around, with our emasculated rifles over our shoulders. I didn't mind that very much, as a rule. It was a hell of a lot less strenuous than PE. Now and then we had Battalion drill during assembly period on Wednesday or Thursday. (We had five short companies of JROTC, which normally met at different times of day, just like English or Math.) Women were not allowed in JROTC, but a few became "sponsors." A "sponsor" was a girl chosen by an officer, who got to dress up in a uniform and march around with the unit and with "her officer" on all drill days. Naturally, this bit of sexist and elitist crap led to some rather funny problems, as when a new "cadet captain" or "cadet lieutenant" chose his steady as his sponsor, and they

broke up two weeks later. Once chosen she was the sponsor, for his unit, for the whole year.

Tuesday and Friday were the days for "academic" study in JROTC. We came those days in civvies and spent our time memorizing the characteristics of "our" weapon, the M-1 rifle, along with the chain of command. We were also informed of the way in which the "new pentomic army" had been reorganized to cope with tactical nuclear warfare (it had two headquarters units, some distance apart so that if one was wiped out by a nuke, the other could take over right away) and small unit tactics, and the like. I got a lot out of small unit tactics—I always have liked maps, and that was a large part of it. See, if your unit is crossing a road or something like that in the daylight, you all rush at once, whereas at night, you sneak across one at a time. Got that? Well, never mind. I sort of dig it, even now.

I guess I wasn't military material, though. I almost never got promoted. I had started out with the usual dream of being cadet colonel, of course, and so the fact that I remained a buck private while everyone else advanced to corporal sort of bothered me. Even Truck-Driver Mike, my best buddy, who thought he was a Marxist and was as unmilitary as any creature ever made, was a PFC. Second year, though, my slick sleeve became something of a mark of pride. I heard somewhere that no-one had ever gone through three years of ROTC and remained a slick-sleeve. I had something to shoot for! But I was foiled even in that modest military distinction. When the old APMST (Assistant Professor of Military Science and Tactics) left at the end of my junior year, he raised all the juniors to four-striper (we had no three-stripe sergeants) and when the new replacement came the next year, he bucked everybody one stripe. So, as a new senior, I was an undistinguished Sergeant First Class. Oh, unhappy fate!

Worse yet, because I had somehow been saddled with the rank, I was assigned to be a squad leader, which meant that I must march at the head of a file and that I would be in the chain of command. I didn't want to: by now I was determined to be a military nothing (seeing as how I couldn't be anything much). I went to the APMST and demanded that he take the stripes back, because I didn't want them. He told me what an unworthy thing I was doing and how It Would Be On My Record. I wept. I've never been able to cope with authority. So I remained a five-striper in cadet rank, but there was a modest compromise. I was not made a squad leader but only a team leader (though I had one stripe too many for that lowly station).

I had even gone to summer camp, twice.

When I went to Louisiana State in the fall of 1960, I found that two years of college ROTC was mandatory for males. (This was still a requirement for land-grant colleges at the time.) I signed up for Air Force ROTC, with some vague idea of staying on for four years. I don't learn easy. After one year of AFROTC, though, I finally figured out that ROTC was really not meant for me, and got myself excused from the second year—one year of the requirement being satisfied by my three years of junior ROTC in high school.

I can't say that I regret having taken high school ROTC. The public schools are such totalitarian institutions that ROTC, in and of itself, cannot make them much worse. The regimentation in ROTC was *pro forma*. I felt, if anything, more regimented in English

class than in ROTC. But, of course, ROTC in itself might be nearly harmless, and it might still be effective in recruiting young men into the army. It was effective in that way with many of my classmates. They were lower middle class boys, like myself; and they were not "eggheads." College was no sure thing for them. (College was no sure thing for us, either, come to think of it, although the Sputnik panic helped. Truck-Driver Mike never made it, so far as I recall.) They could not get jobs. Some of them got in trouble with the law. And they remembered that they had been "somebody" in the ROTC: cadet major, maybe. Drill team guidon bearer, maybe. First PFC in their company, maybe. So it came pretty naturally to go into the army.

Few "poor-white" kids were in ROTC, as I recall. Some of them took it for a year and then dropped out. Many were not "well enough disciplined" to keep out of trouble in high school ROTC! (What became of them, I wonder, when some of them were drafted to be cannon fodder, or volunteered in desperation when they could not find a job?)

Generally I think it will be the lower middle class boys who are likely to be the target of JROTC as a recruiting device, now as then. Many young men of the lower middle class are extremely vulnerable, in an economic sense. They want to find a secure livelihood and to "be somebody." These are needs which the army meets fairly well, at a price we all know. Some of these young men will go to college, where they will major in Business Administration, or perhaps in psychology. Others will go into the army, and many of these will become "lifers."

This poses a difficult problem for those who intend to resist the JROTC recruiting policy. To oppose JROTC will seem to be an attempt to deprive the young men of "an opportunity to improve themselves." I have no complete or certain answer to this problem. First it seems fairly clear that the resistance must be from within the school community, not without it, and should ideally spring largely from the children who are the primary targets of the recruitment through JROTC, and from their parents. Perhaps this is not entirely unrealistic; it is my impression that peace activists come from many strata of society, with the white lower middle class in particular well represented. (The non-white lower middle class will also be a target of the recruitment, however.) It may be that religious resisters will have an advantage insofar as religion offers an alternative sense of "somebodiness" to that deriving from military unit and rank. No doubt it will be important to make it clear that the pacifist opposition to JROTC is linked to a vision of social revolution and a better society in which security will be available to each and so will the full development of the individuality of each. However resisters cannot, of course, expect very much from mere slogans which are certain to appear utopian to the young men who are the targets of JROTC. On the other hand, a link between resistance to JROTC, direct action to improve educational opportunities, and a struggle for open enrollment in colleges and professional schools and against the tracking system may go some distance toward establishing the bona fides of the resisters. To the extent that state colleges are an alternative to the army (and they are for many of the target youth) this may be a very realistic, even if Fabian, tactic against JROTC. Criticism of the false

plastic security of the corporate economy may help, especially if it is vivid and rests on examples of just how insecure that kind of "status" really is. Do not expect people to be grateful to you for showing them that the goals they are seeking are hollow goals, though. If it is possible to directly acquaint some of the young people with the alternatives to bureaucratic-corporate-military "security," that may help, at least in some cases.

Where the struggle against JROTC is well advanced, one possibility might be to organize a sort of Junior Nonviolent Action Corps. The Corps, as I visualize it, would be a direct but anti-military parallel to JROTC. It would teach techniques of nonviolent struggle, and their history and traditions, just as ROTC teaches the techniques of armed struggle and their traditions. It would teach "job skills" useful in organization and nonviolent struggle, such as (perhaps) typewriting and jalopy repair. It would put the same stress on equality and sisterhood/brotherhood which the ROTC puts on rank and hierarchy. Of course, it would be open to women, as JROTC will probably have to be, not as ornaments (though hopefully all the young people of the JNAC will be ornaments) but as comrades in struggle. I think it might be worth-while to include a unit on useful skills of running and hiding from armed forces, which might well be cribbed from the manual of small unit tactics used by the JROTC. In so far as the work of nonviolent resistance is a constructive work, basic civil engineering, architecture, and an introduction to small-scale technology might well be optional units in the JNAC course.

The JNAC would initially be organized by conscious students, parents and friends on an after-school basis. It would then demand 1) introduction into the school curriculum on a parity with JROTC as an alternative to JROTC, or 2) the suppression of JROTC, or the substitution of JNAC for JROTC as an act of commitment to the survival of the human race. Naturally the struggle for these demands will be a laboratory for nonviolent action on the part of the students and others involved. Perhaps the best result to be expected will be that JROTC might be gotten rid of as the price of keeping hippy-commie-pacifism out of the schools.

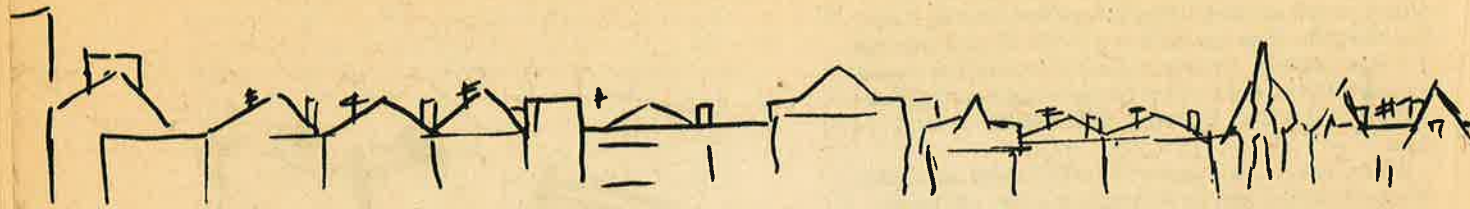
That, of course, would be success. I think there are plenty of academic resources for the organization of such a high-school course and corps for nonviolent survival. I would be interested in participating in its conception, if I should have anything to contribute.

In summary, I would say, on the basis of my past experience, that the purpose of JROTC is to recruit noncommissioned officers, and some warrant officers and lower commissioned officers, from the lower middle class of all ethnic backgrounds. The resistance against JROTC will have to proceed with this in view. The target population are young men from economically insecure backgrounds, and perhaps insecure backgrounds in other senses. They are from backgrounds high enough in the hierarchy of our propertied society to have something to lose, but low enough to have a very realistic fear that they may well lose it. Successful resistance must take the human ambiguity of the young victims of the JROTC ploy into account.

Roger A. McCain teaches Economics at the City College of New York.



drawing by Don Mochon



The Politics of the Anti-Grouper Laws

BY RICHARD SCHRADER

Consider the Town of Hempstead on Long Island, New York and its milieu: the largest township in the country with almost 850,000 residents, each living in an environment shaped quite consciously by real estate interests and their local governmental friends whose only operating principle has been one of constant growth and capital gain. But with that growth has come sprawl, the ugly, visually polluting stream of main street industries and side street rows of cramped one-family houses, a process which has inestimably contributed to the overall cheapening of the suburban landscape. On June 11 the town's ruling council, all-male, all-Republicans, and all decidedly middle-class cast a vote for the ages. In accordance to the town's new ordinance, it is now illegal for more than two people not related by blood to live under the same roof, if that roof is zoned as a one family domain.

There's nothing very much creative about this most recent example of civic irresponsibility. The town board has merely passed a measure modelled after the Supreme Court's Belle Terre decision. As originally designed, the judicial precedent articulated by Justice William O. Douglas applied to the sleepy village of Belle Terre, a semi-rural town of about 600 residents in northern Suffolk county. Douglas upheld the rights of that municipality to use its policing power to preserve the single family character of the community. The decision has precipitated a windfall of concrete legislation across the Island, legislation now being referred to as the anti-grouper laws, which threatens to disenfranchise all the college students, senior citizens, religious groups, and poor families now presently living in a grouper situation.

Rarely has a more mean-spirited, potentially disastrous law been foisted upon so vulnerable a public. At the hearing on the day of the law's passage several members of a group fighting the bill, Long Islanders for Residential Rights, asked members of the town board if, under certain circumstances, a home could be specially zoned to rent to college students. Alphonse D'mata the youngish supervisor of Hempstead, replied that, yes, some homes could be rezoned. He



added that this procedure would cost "between \$300 and \$400."

At that, the proceedings took a noticeably grim turn. The opponents of the bill hurled some choice invective at their governing board, while D'mata denounced those present as "vicious animals" and stalked off the podium into the inner sanctum. As the rest of the board followed suit, Kurt Kumpherman of Long Islanders For Residential Rights asked, "You mean that justice costs \$400?" In fact, D'mata's figures have already been declared too low by fellow town official Edward Sutherland, secretary of the Board of Zoning Appeals, who was quoted in the June 21 *Long Island Catholic* as saying, "various architectural and zoning fees for a variance under the anti-grouper law could run to at least \$1500."

Other groups, the Catholic Charities, ACLU and the Nassau County Human Rights Commission among them, have registered full opposition to any implementation of this law and plan to challenge the statute in both state and federal courts.

Several professors of property law feel that the anti-grouper legislation has an excellent chance of being overturned in court. New York University law professor Larry Saeger suggested that the enormous discrepancy in sheer size and geography between Belle Terre and Hempstead creates very serious constitutional questions for the Hempstead measure. Professor Abraham Sofner of Columbia University feels that an effective legal argument could be centered around the unreasonableness of the zoning procedure, stating that the law simply "doesn't fit into the needs of this particular community."

Given the Long Island housing situation, the virtual absence of low-income homes and the continual growth of large commuter universities like Hofstra and Adelphi located in the town of Hempstead, no rousing broadside aimed at the zoning ordinance should be necessary. But the law has provided the suburban politicians with a singularly exploitable issue. D'Amata stated at the first public hearing for the bill, that the anti-grouper measure was aimed at expediting the prosecution of homeowners violating the zoning ordinance by renting rooms to boarders. By inclusion, both the landlord and the tenant are in violation. Therefore, civic associations would be able to

vigorously preserve their one-family neighborhood and at the same time rid their localities of greedy landlords, lewd collegiates, and troublesome slum dwellers.

Essentially, the town fathers have created a situation where most local ills can be hung on a convenient rack—those damn groupers. The political leaders' strategy is to toss the blame for society's ills onto a defenseless, largely unpopular segment of the community, and isolate them legally by either forcing their relocation or outlawing their presence, so that the public forgets all about the genuine day-to-day problems like non-existent mass transit, crippling property taxes, or skyrocketing utility bills.

This strategy has proven historically successful in dealing with the racial issue. For two decades, the reigning Republicans have campaigned on a none too subtle Save the Suburbs program. In late June, the irrationality contained within this officially administered policy of exclusion erupted in the village of Hauppauge when an angry mob threatened to burn down a neighbor's home because she had sold it to a black family. The crowd broke windows, splattered paint across the walls of the house and stuffed the sinks with rags while turning the water taps on full force. The new resident, a long-time citizen of the south, just shook his head and wearily told a *Newsday* reporter, "Mississippi was tight but this is much worse."

Civilized Long Island in 1974. Unless anti-grouper laws are defeated, groupers can expect to be painted with the same brush formerly reserved for blacks and long-hairs. Citations and eviction notices will add an unappreciated dimension to summer vacationing for those weekend swingers from the city accustomed to Southampton partying. Poverty pockets like Hempstead, Roosevelt and Freeport will be bombarded by harassing police searches and late-night premises inspections. The Long Island community will become increasingly homogenous and socially shallow. And once again, we will all be victims of the cynical manipulations of the local power brokers who keep us frustrated, divided and powerless.

Richard Schrader is a member of the Executive Committee of the Long Island Citizens in Action, an Island wide consumers group, which is presently involved in fighting the anti-grouper laws.

Imagine that you are a whale



**YOU ARE HUGE.
YOU WEIGH MORE
THAN 3,000 PEOPLE,
BUT THE WATER
CRADLES YOU.
THICK FAT WARMS
YOU. YOU SING WHALE
SONGS OVER
HUNDREDS OF MILES.
YOU LIVE IN BIG,
FRIENDLY FAMILIES.
(WHALE BABIES GROW
ON MOTHER'S MILK;
AND WHALES BREATHE
AIR.) YOU EASILY
SWIM THOUSANDS OF
MILES TO FOLLOW
YOUR FOOD. YOU ARE
SO BIG THAT YOU
HAVE NO REAL
ENEMIES EXCEPT ONE:
PEOPLE.**

Whales have lived in the oceans for millions of years. But in the time it took for your grandparents to grow up and grow older, people have killed two million whales.

Russia and Japan kill most of the whales today. Russian people kill sperm whales for rocket oil and animal feed. Japanese people have eaten whale meat for hundreds of years, but if they kill off the whales, there will be no more to eat. Many kinds of whales are almost extinct. Extinct means that there are no more and can never be any more. Extinct is forever.

BY BLACKBIRD

Because it is a small and overpopulated series of islands, Japan is very visible. One sees there with the clarity of miniaturization.

Traditionally, Japanese attitudes towards nature have been joyful and reverent. In Japan today, however, delight in the world has been usurped by throw-away culture, what one conservationist calls a concentration on objects rather than on states of mind. Because of Japan's obsessive materialism, the ideas of relationship or connectedness have been fragmented or forgotten. The natural world itself has become a souvenir or a "useless animal." Once-charming Oriental customs have warped. Today, ardent souvenir hunters unthinkingly destroy whole ecologies with the complicit agreement of the Japanese National Parks

System behind them. The idea that living creatures live in their own right rather than as vessels for man's use of momentary pleasure is a very unpopular idea. It is considered unrealistic and sentimental.

The firefly ceremonies are a lucid instance of how things have changed. Once upon a time in Japan, folks delighted in a ceremonial closeness to fireflies, making living lanterns of the clustered insects' light. Today, because of the extreme air poisoning, there are no insects in Tokyo. So, crates of fireflies are imported into the growing desolation of this industrial center. There, they are released into the interior of a restaurant where expectant Japanese snare them into plastic bags.

Cicadas are another story. Cicadas have had a history of cheerful cohabitation in Japan. Sometimes, they were caged in tiny bamboo houses where their chirrup brightened the bigger house. But in an increasingly poor environment, young children racing



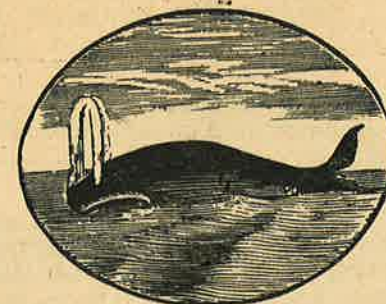
A long time ago, people saw you as a devil fish.



You frightened them. You were so big.



Worst of all, they began to see you only as a product.



You grew lonely. Your parents, brothers, sisters, and friends were gone. You swam, calling your songs over long distances.

to catch the cicadas becomes a sad and pointless game. "Every year I have to act witchy with the children," one woman in Japan told me during my visit there. "Their mothers don't teach them any regard for living things, neither do the schools. Cicadas take years to mature, that's what I tell them when I catch them—snatching the poor creatures from the trees. They have such a short time to mate. My country is very backward about animals, anyway. It is among the last in the entire world to pass a cruelty to animals law... and that was passed only last year."

Japan today is a very brutal, and brutalized place. The intensity of its self-poisoning makes it an intensely visible demonstration of the results of drastic industrial speculation. Western environmentalists should take a very close, careful look at Japan, for soon—unless we begin to work more earnestly at both short and long range solutions to the problems of pollution—we will face the same horrors in ten years' time that Japan faces now.

According to unreleased data from Japan's Environmental Ministry, 45,000 people are expected to die in the next few years alone, from known lethal poisons, such as mercury, cadmium, and air pollutions. This is not pleasant information to impart, and in Japan itself where environmental fear is as much in the air as pollution, it is the height of bad manners to discuss this biocidal rush of Japanese culture.

So Jun Ui, the most outspoken pollution researcher in Japan is "hot" by his own definition. He shocked his countrymen and the outside world by bringing horribly deformed victims of Minamata disease (mercury poisoning) with him to last year's Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment, and though he is well-known in the West, he stands nearly alone in Japan. Much of the time without official sanction from Tokyo University, and with a frank disgust with "kept scholars," he consolidates his researches and enlarges his activism through open-ended Monday night Lectures.

Unfortunately, few people have his vision. Political activists are absorbed in stemming Japan's export of industry and pollution in southeast Asia, but few act with a connected vision of political/environmental change. Conservation societies, on the national level, at least, are notorious in Japan for their do-nothing pose. I called the chief of the World Wildlife Fund and asked for his cooperation in the work of Project Jonah to save the remaining great whales. I mentioned that the World Wildlife Fund US Appeal's strong position paper for whale conservation, and also mentioned that the US Appeal was considering urging the International Appeal to support a European Common Market Boycott on all Whale Products. He hemmed and hawed, and finally managed to conclude, "Whale population figures must be studied more before we can actually decide." No matter that most species of great whales are already extinct, even conservationists continue to stand idly by and wait for sanctified "hard facts."

INDUSTRY, INDUSTRIOUS, INDUSTRIOUSNESS

Most Japanese work six days a week, giving few folks the time to work for change, (or even to relax very much.) People usually work for one company all their lives and are very loyal to it. A respected worker in the consumer movement told me that one group of workers, angered at reports that their company's product

was polluted, drank it to refute the claim. All of them became very ill.

Many people in Japan are industriously supporting a lethal, poisoned system. But some groups have risen locally to counter pollution.

Goodmen of Yurato Bay, working in Kochi, a center of the whale market in southern Japan, blocked discharge of pulp waste into the bay by plugging the pipe with concrete. Save Our Seas, a group working through Toba Aquarium, works to remedy mercury and other pollutions in the local seas. In Osaka, a citizens' group angered at ceaseless noise from Osaka jetport, won a limit on night jet flights, on the basis that every being has a right to a quiet night's sleep. These groups and others like them have sprung up in response to specific, urgent and local problems, and often, they have surprising success. But few groups are working on general, long-range solutions to Japanese pollution.

To sum up: Japan is suffering the results of a condensed industrial greed, and a corollary fragmentation of vision—the natural world is fading from popular memory. Unless outside influence brings a rapid change in popular consciousness (change is going slow in Japan itself) it seems Japan is doomed to suffer the fate of a guinea pig for what was once only Western materialism.

WHOLE, LIVE WHALES

Japanese regard whales as protein. Whale meat consumption is decreasing according to figures from the fisheries themselves. But it is a popular idea, encouraged by the fisheries, that whale meat consumption is a growing and crucial part of Japanese protein. Actually, whale meat is the least popular source of animal protein. Because Japan is in such a fearful and poisoned situation, people there are very anxious about food, and this general anxiety has been misplaced onto the whale. There is a pervasive cultural fear that these islands will be deprived, which totally ignores the fact that they are already deprived.

Recently, the three main fisheries (also the three main whaling companies) formed a public relations group to counter adverse world opinion. The whaling companies alternate between uttering soporific pronouncements about how whales are being preserved by scientific killing, and hysterical articles (from a fisheries union newspaper) berating all supporters of the ten-year moratorium as "lunatics" and insisting that consumers are demanding more whale meat.

Few people act as individuals in Japan, and because the whale issue has been misrepresented and misunderstood, few people have come forward until recently

to work together for the whale. One man, a painter, said, "Most Japanese get their energy from whales as protein, but I prefer to get my energy from whales leaping."

Japan is the leading whaling nation in the world today, with Russia running a close second. Between them, they account for over 80% of the yearly whale kill. But they begin to look more and more sorely isolated. Eight out of the 14 members of the International Whaling Commission voted in favor of a ten-year moratorium on whaling in 1973, and the IWC has traditionally been a sanctum of whalers, not a voice for the whole, live whale. This change in heart mirrors wide international outcries for the preservation of the whales. Presently, in the US, Canada, and Europe, large boycotts of Japanese and Russian goods are proceeding. In Japan, these boycotts cause much concern. Even adverse world opinion, without the economic lever of boycott, causes widespread concern.

THE PROJECT JONAH

The Project Jonah group in Japan includes journalists, zoologists, people disenchanted with national "conservation" societies, students, teachers, and grass roots activists. During my visit, we opened an office in Tokyo through this group, which is now circulating a petition calling for a ten-year whaling moratorium among several hundred influential Japanese. Work is progressing on the International Children's Campaign as well; several ecology clubs in Japanese schools, as well as youth clubs known as Kindness Clubs, and Boy and Girl Scouts, have taken on the Children's Campaign as an action for ecology.

Most recently, Jonah sent three young girls, one each from Canada, US, and Sweden to make a public appeal for the remaining great whales. They hoped to deliver 75,000 letters from youngsters in many countries to Prime Minister Tanaka. Although he was unable to meet them because of his campaign schedule, the delegation made some important points on a ten-day public tour in Japan. They spoke for whole, live whales, and though many Japanese branded their viewpoint as sentimental, we hope that by repetition of this viewpoint, Japanese dulled by industrial culture will come back to their senses.

Blackbird works with Project Jonah. She changed her name from Gail Medonia because of a desire to embody another living creature. As Ponderosa Pine said, "If we don't start naming ourselves for trees and animals pretty soon, there may be none left."



HIROSHIMA DAY

At Wright-Patterson Air Force Base on August 6th 50 demonstrators held a vigil of concern for the victims of the Hiroshima bomb and to protest the continued manufacture, testing and stockpiling of nuclear weapons. A copy of the call to the vigil along with an invitation to join it was sent to the commander of the base. Three weeks later the Judge Advocate General answered, warning participants not to enter the base or block traffic and suggesting that they get a permit from city authorities in Fairborn where Wright-Patterson is located. Horace Champney spoke with base personnel and got quick clearance from the Fairborn authorities. Copies of the Judge Advocate General's letter went to the press along with other advance material and apparently aroused considerable interest.

A number of demonstrators began leafletting at 7:00 am when many people enter the base to work. Others soon appeared and eventually vigilers stood on both sides of the entrance to the base holding large, single-letter signs spelling out "No More Hiroshimas," the message clearly visible from all angles of traffic. Those not needed to hold signs distributed leaflets explaining why the vigil was being held, urging the US "to take the lead in ending the production of nuclear weapons," and inviting "citizens of other countries to demand the same of their governments." Many who passed by seemed genuinely interested in the message and took leaflets. Very few were hostile.

The vigil line contained persons from Cincinnati, Dayton, Lebanon, Wilmington and Yellow Springs, Ohio and from Chicago and West Virginia. The group, which contained some toddlers and one octogenarian, was greeted cordially by an official of the base, where security was very low-keyed. When Air Force photographers

began taking individual pictures of the vigilers they were stopped by an Air Force security officer. At 8:15, the hour the bomb was exploded, there was a short time of absolute silence. After the demonstration Barbara Reynolds spoke briefly about the meaning of Hiroshima for our day. —Larry Gara

HIROSHIMA DAY II

At one of the biggest nuclear and conventional war think-tanks—Riverside Research Institute, in New York—protestors gathered around mock-coffins to reminisce about the US outrage of August 6, 1945 and to vow "No More Hiroshimas!" The demo was co-sponsored by WRL and Scientists & Engineers for Social & Political Action.

In San Francisco WRL, WILPF, AFSC and Ecumenical Peace Institute joined in sponsoring a demo with placards in Union Square. Thousands of leaflets and hundreds of paper cranes, the symbol of survival in Hiroshima, were handed out.

Other WRL Hiroshima Day demos took place in Seattle, Albuquerque, Atlanta, Kansas City and Morgantown. —Jim Peck

HIROSHIMA DAY III

Few people realize it, but there are some 1,000 survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki who are American citizens by birth, marriage or naturalization but for whom the American government provides no medical or psychological aid whatsoever.

A Committee of Atomic Bomb Survivors has been set up in Los Angeles, where there is the biggest concentration of survivors, and in San Francisco. Other such committees are being organized in Washington, Oregon and Hawaii.

Dr. Thomas Naguchi, Los Angeles County Coroner, who has taken up

the cause of these survivors, explains that those who became American citizens after World War II can obtain medical treatment in Japan by traveling there at their own expense, "although few can afford that." But the Nisei, who constitute some 40% of the American survivors, are denied treatment in Japan and no US government financial aid or facilities are available to them. A bill which would give them such aid is bogged down in the House Judiciary Committee and, according to Dr. Noguchi, "there seems to be a complete lack of interest in doing anything further."

He also pointed out that American doctors have had no experience with radiation sickness in either its physical or psychological manifestations. Many of the American survivors, he said, have despaired at obtaining help in the US after being told by doctors that they were suffering a mild form of anemia or that their headaches, poor eyesight, dizziness, etc. were largely psychosomatic. —Jim Peck

"NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR FAIRNESS TO THE PRESIDENT" WILL NOW ATTACK THE MEDIA

Now that Richard Nixon has been booted out of office, you might think that the National Committee for Fairness to the President, organized by staunch Nixon-supporter Rabbi Baruch Korff, would be out of business.

But no such luck. Rabbi Korff says that the committee will now focus on the "giants of the media," who he believes "are fearful of history judging them as assassins."

The group will campaign for what the rabbi called curbs on the media; their ultimate goal "for those leftists and liberals to go to hell."

For now, Korff has returned to Boston where he serves as chaplain for the Massachusetts Department of Mental Health. —LNS

CONTACT:

Jonah is working within the United States, too. In addition to the international great whale works, we are acting for the smaller whales, those porpoises and dolphins who die yearly "incidentally" in the nets of the tuna industry. "What's really in your tuna fish sandwich?" we are asking Americans. We want people to see that supporting an industry that kills 200,000 porpoises a year as a side effect of its industrial profit is unhealthy and destructive for everyone who participates in it in any way. To open this and other ideas to many Americans, Jonah recently produced a conservation comic called Net Profit, which not only details the tuna/porpoise situation, but explores the mythology of dolphins and porpoises in other cultures, and offers people various ways of acting for these smaller whales. The book has already made some ripples across the country, and we hope that it will make such waves in popular consciousness that dolphins and porpoises can live out their own natural lives, instead of drowning as a side effect of industrial profit. Single copies of the book are available for \$1.00 from Jonah, Box 476, Bolinas 94924, California.

MA BELL RINGS BOTH WAYS

American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the nation's largest private employer, has announced a policy within its New York headquarters to bar any discrimination against gays in hiring or promotion. The company had come under frequent fire in the past from gay-rights groups, among others, for its employment policies.

The headquarters newsletter, *AT & T News*, made mention of the policy in response to an employee's question. "An individual's sexual preference," said the publication, "isn't a criterion either for becoming an employee or remaining an employee of the Bell system."

The statement continued, "An individual's sexual tendencies or preferences are strictly personal and information about these matters should not be sought out by company personnel." The newsletter added that AT&T would not support any company manager who took action against homosexuals.

—Straight Creek

AMNESTY NOW?

President Ford's announcement that he will offer a conditional pardon to draft resisters and deserters is a recognition of the importance of the amnesty issue and the growing strength of the amnesty movement. It is unusual for a President to declare a policy without having a specific proposal in mind. His reasons for doing so are probably uncertainty about the relative strengths of pro- and anti-amnesty sentiment and a sense of urgency created by a need to grant at least something resembling amnesty to war resisters before giving amnesty to Nixon—which must be done before the September Watergate trials. The Administration would prefer to defuse the issue by offering the possibility of pardon to the white, middle class resisters—and it should be clear that it is no more than a possibility: 90% of those whose cases were considered by the Truman review board were not pardoned, and the policy of draft boards during the Vietnam Era shows us that "objective" criteria have not replaced arbitrary, racist and punitive judgements by such bodies. Our task in the next few days is to make clear, as the exiles have already done so eloquently in the national media, that a conditional pardon for draft resisters and deserters is unacceptable, and will not undercut our demand for unconditional amnesty for veterans with less than honorable discharges, draft resisters, deserters and others suffering penalties for their op-

position to the war, the draft, and the military.

We hope that your response to the Ford "feeler" has been and will be a barrage of telegrams, phone calls and letters to the White House, and public announcements that you are continuing your amnesty programs this fall.

There will be a Sept. 29-Oct. 6 Week of Concern, which can provide the focus for your early fall activities. This is a joint project of the amnesty and anti-war movements, and wide latitude has been given for local initiative. Therefore the type of activities and the degree of emphasis on each issue depends heavily on your initiative.

This is a crucial period in the history of the amnesty movement; we hope that you will join us in ensuring that universal and unconditional amnesty becomes a reality.

—Jon Steinberg
National Council for Universal
and Unconditional Amnesty

NED RICHARDS—OBJECTOR IN BOTH WORLD WARS—DEAD

Ned (Edward C.M.) Richards, resister in both world wars and founder and past chairman of War Resisters League, died August 6 at the age of 88 in Tucson Arizona.

It was his daughter Elizabeth who took care of him at WRL's 50th anniversary conference in California last summer—he was confined to a wheelchair. "His great joy was attending the WRL conference and seeing such a vital, active group," she writes. Persons attending may recall that at the opening session, Igal Roodenko asked World War I CO's to rise. Ned Richards and Evan Thomas were the only ones.

In World War I, he headed the Near East Relief Committee in one of the most dangerous parts of the world at the time—West Persia. He helped the sick and homeless, combatted catastrophic epidemics, buried the dead, helped break a famine and organized a textile factory for civilians.

In World War II, Ned, like Evan, refused to register under a law which required registration of men between the ages of 45 to 65. The 14 older men who took that position were placed briefly in custody and registered by the authorities. During the war, he wrote two significant pamphlets: "Federal Convicts—College to Prison," based on the cases of two nonregistrants including his son, Fred and "They Refuse to Be Criminals," based on the case of his older son, Bill, who refused to accept the restrictions of parole and good-time. Bill, now a doctor in Canada, has

been a substantial contributor to WRL for many years.

A memorial service will be held September 15, 3 pm at Pima Monthly Meeting, 739 East Fifth Street in Tucson. His family requests that in place of flowers, an appropriate memorial gift be made to WRL.

—Jim Peck

FROGS ON THE MARSH

The African clawed frog stinks, eats voraciously, reproduces bountifully and apparently isn't disturbed by a chemical war biologists are waging to destroy it.

"They just move out of the water, until the chemical clears up and then move back in," said Fisher biologist Ron Telzman.

Several of the frogs, which have no known natural enemies, recently escaped from research ponds into reservoirs at the University of California at Davis.

Telzman and his colleagues at the State Fish and Game Department view the frog as a "major threat" to the delicate ecological balance of the sprawling Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta.

They are afraid the highly fertile amphibian, which can deposit up to 15,000 eggs at a time, will reach Putah Creek near the University. From there the frogs could spread along a complex network of canals and tributaries into the Sacramento River and then to the delta.

The frog is without natural enemies, glands on its skin secrete an obnoxious odor that make it anything but a delicacy to its natural predators, like bass, turtles and native bull frogs.

On top of that, the amphibians will "eat anything they can get into their mouths."

The frog feeds on small fish, amphibians and their eggs. In addition, it moves rapidly in water and not only hops, but has been known to crawl up to half a mile at a time.

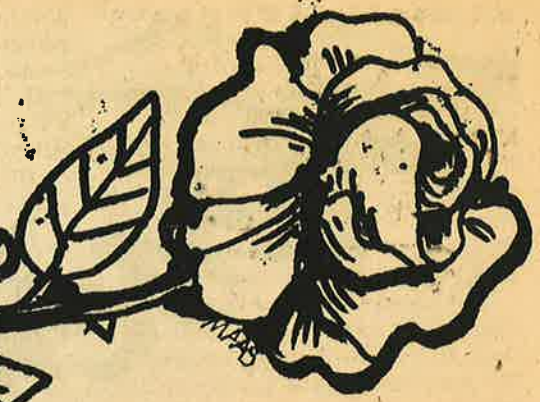
Telzman said that with its insatiable appetite, natural immunity and mobility, the African clawed frog could move with impunity through the delta threatening a multi-million dollar recreational industry based on game fishing.

"We see the frog as a major threat to the native amphibian population, native fish and particularly game fish of California," he said.

Biologists have used "several different" chemicals in an effort to kill off the frogs, but while the biologists have been able to hold the population in check, the frogs still thrive.

—Win Frog Bureau

Bread & Roses Too



If you need something to keep you awake at night, try to imagine what might have happened in our continuing serial, "As the government falls," had a couple of characters been changed. Suppose, upon Agnew's resignation, Nixon had followed his instincts and appointed not Gerry Ford but John Connally as Vice-President. Then, as the impeachment resolutions were snaking their way through the House, Nixon resigns on the same day that the grand jury indicted Connally for his role in the milk deals. A double resignation in the cards, House Speaker Carl Albert heads out to his neighborhood bar for a few too many courage bolsters, smashes up his car on the way home and heads for those great Oklahoma hills in the sky. Never fear, though, the system works (as the television commentators never tire of telling us) and as John Connally resigns, the constitutionally designated successor, the President Pro Tempore of the Senate, prepares his speech for the nation. As Dan Rather concludes his bio-description of Senator James Eastland of Mississippi with the words, "... a moderate man much needed to moderate the times. All in all, a man who will heed the mood of the country and rise to greatness, much as did Harry Truman:" the new president steps up to the mike and says, "Ladies and Gentlemen, I want to speak to you tonight about public enemies number one and two—the coloreds and the commies..." In the next few weeks, members of Congress will be showing where their class interests lie. While the press would have us believe that the major controversy about Rockefeller is due to his alleged "liberalism," the real question about the Vice-President designate will be whether or

not the Executive branch will no longer be merely a tool of the monopoly capitalists but a base of operations for one of their kingpins. For those puzzled by who are the liberals in the Democratic party and who are the left-liberals, watch how they line up on the Rockefeller confirmation. . . . Socialism is being spoken of more openly in America these days, perhaps more so than at any time since the thirties. As the protest generation of the sixties examines its mistakes, a clear and systematic democratic socialist analysis is replacing the vaguely populist proposals that many of us put forth in the sixties. There is, of course, always a desire to learn more. One excellent guildbook on resource materials, *Socialist Alternatives for America: A Bibliography*, was published this spring by the Union for Radical Political Economics (URPE—pronounced urpee, like in slurpee). It gives an extensive description of traditional socialist history and theory books as well as the most comprehensive compilation of synopses of works on recent socialist thought through this is available to non-scholars. It's available for two dollars from URPE, Office of Organizational Services, Michigan Union, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104. . . . Radical toymaker Ben Katz, who is trying to put together a people's toy project-collective, needs a writer to help publicize that very noble idea, a lawyer to help with the legal problems, and engineers to help design and produce the toys. If you agree with Plato, who suggested that the toys of children become the ideas of adults, drop Ben a line at 51 West 8th Street, New York City, NY 10011. . . . The American Institute for Free Labor Development, a twelve year old

international anti-communist front group for the AFL-CIO, has been up to bad things in a number of countries during the last decade, but the organizations actions in Chile were positively disgusting. If you'd like to find out more about a union group that, according to one of its corporate (!) advisors, "urges cooperation between labor and management and an end to class struggle," contact the Emergency Committee to Defend Democracy in Chile and ask them about their excellent pamphlet on the subject. They're at 316 S. 19th St., San Jose, CA 95116. . . . A few years back, movement media was awash with articles on the Diggers, a European anarchist grouping that, by their own description, believes that "all political systems are bankrupt of ideas and usefulness." The Anglian Diggers is making available a copy of their "Manifesto and Program" for merely the cost of postage from Great Britain. Postage and packing is 10 pence in Great Britain, so you'll have to figure out for yourself what it'll run to get it over here. Contact the Anlian Diggers, 113 Shelford Road, Trumpington, Cambridge, CB2 2NB, England. . . . The Chicago Black Cross Group is also concerned with anarchists, particularly those who are imprisoned or those who have been garrotted, as was a young Spanish comrade last March. They publish a magazine of news and communication and raise money for prisoners. They're located at 713 Armitage, Chicago, Ill. 60614. . . . Devi Prasad will be touring the US from Oct. 2 to Oct. 16. Write c/o Ann Davidon, 7 College Lane, Haverford, PA 19041. . . . Remember, September 11 is the anniversary of the fascist coup in Chile. It should be a Red Letter day in America.

—Brian Doherty



WOMAN'S CONSCIOUSNESS, MAN'S WORLD

Shelia Rowbotham

Pelican paperback, 1973 / 126 pages, \$1.95

In her introduction to this short work Shelia Rowbotham explains that it was originally written as part of *Women, Resistance and Revolution* (Vintage paperback), her major contribution to women's social history. Because of considerations of length it was left out of the latter book and has now been published separately. Anyone who has read *Women, Resistance and Revolution* will be very pleased by this short appendage.

Shelia Rowbotham is very much a collective intellectual representative of the women's liberation movement in Britain. The British movement has also produced Juliet Mitchell (author of the essay "The Longest Revolution" which appeared way back in 1966 and *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*, a new book of Freudian theory published by Pantheon in April) and Selma James. Rowbotham's major work has accurately been called the most important over-all synthesis since Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*.

Woman's Consciousness, Man's World is largely a scattering of theoretical and autobiographical notes and questions for the future. It isn't a major theoretical work by any means but rather is an effort to return from the fragmentary plain of social history to the realm of the personal and the political.

In a chapter titled "Living Doll" she explores her own feminist awakening. I found this autobiographical sketch especially interesting because Rowbotham was an activist in the 60's and while I think I know something of the male experience during that era, it was enlightening to follow the same events through the mind of a woman.

Rowbotham's intellectual project is not at all dissimilar from that of other women: she proceeds from the personal to recover herself with the help of her sisters and then to history to restore countless other women who have been effaced by male history, including numerous women of the left. As Rowbotham reminds us men are known as historians but women are known as women historians (or women filmmakers or women bus drivers). Perhaps a pause of intelligent reflection is in order rather than emotional defensiveness the next time we (men) hear one of our pillars of thought or action referred to as "a male thinker" or "a male leader."

As a Marxist Rowbotham relies upon a radical analysis which situates individual oppression within the context of a specific historical formation, in this case capitalism: "...our delicacy, our incompetence, our softness, our hysteria, emotionalism, sentimentality have no more a mysterious source than the 'ignorance' or workers, the cheerfulness of the 'naturally' grinning 'nigger.' They serve the same 'useful' economic function of making groups who lack power

and control within capitalism accept this state of affairs with the minimum of resistance." (p. 77-78).

Rowbotham advances Marxism in the areas of authoritarian social relations, sexuality and the family, precisely where it has been most deficient. For years socialists have been beating their heads against the wall trying to get workers (usually men) to unite with each other as workers while ignoring the fact that male workers identify with a specific cultural definition of maleness which channels most of their frustrations and illusions onto women (through male domination in the family and the pursuit of women as sex objects) and away from the actual sources of their oppression.

Rowbotham promulgates a political insight that is as subversive as a page from the Communist Manifesto: "Our lack of control over our own bodies matches the workers lack of control over production." (p. 37). And, it should be added, the women's movement shows every sign of matching in intensity and historical significance the long struggle of workers against capital. This revolt of women is spreading throughout the world, has appeared in contexts as varied as the Chinese cultural revolution and the bedrooms of suburbia, has been co-opted on one level only to reappear like the old mole of revolution on yet another.

There are fewer men each year, whatever their politics, who are willing to deny the fact that it is destined to affect all of us in ways we could never have imagined just a few years ago. Shelia Rowbotham didn't write this book for men but I suspect that some will read it if only to find out what their wives, comrades, co-workers and mothers may be saying about them. In fact they will find out that they are often too busy with their own liberation to say much at all regarding men. But perhaps this discovery will lead to the solution Rowbotham has in mind: "The generalization of our consciousness of our own subordination enables them to discover a new manner of being men." (p. 43).

—Thomas Good

RALPH NADER'S STUDY GROUP REPORT ON FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK: CITIBANK

David Lewisdorf and Donald Etra

Foreword by Ralph Nader

Grossman Publishers, New York, 1973

xlii + 406 pages, hardcover, \$10.00

Citibank is the Nader team (Center for the Study of Responsive Law) report on the First National City Bank. It is an important book for several reasons. National City Bank is the second largest bank and the fifth largest corporation by asset size in the United States. This unique study of this mammoth institution reveals a great deal about banking in general, about how banks handle other people's money, and about the effect of a large bank's actions on the American economy. Citibank alone has 4% (\$1 out of every \$25) of all bank deposits in the United States.

This book illustrates both the strengths and the weaknesses of the Nader team's approach to the examination of the American economy. The great strength of the report is its detailed documentation of several key areas of banking as practiced by Citibank. By exposing these practices to the pitiless light of publicity, abuses have been uncovered and some reforms have been made by management, as is in effect admitted in Citibank's rebuttal to the report.

The report raises major questions as to the lending policy or Citibank. It alleges that Citibank favors loans to large corporations at the expense of alternative loans for residential mortgages. The authors of the report question this policy since the bank's residential mortgage loan portfolio is only about one fourth as large as savings deposits in the bank. The authors of the report suggest that the large number of

interlocking directors with major corporations probably is an important factor for this policy. The report also concludes that New York City furnishes a great deal of private profit to Citibank in the form of interest free demand deposits and other municipal services. Citibank should reciprocate by helping provide its housing through mortgage loans as a token of its long term commitment to the City and to the many small savers who live in the City and provide deposits to the bank.

The report also covers corporate banking, personal and pension trusts, and bank regulation with much thoroughness. The book includes the rebuttal issued by Citibank and a surrebuttal. One weakness is that the book gives no attention to the important international operations of Citibank—the bank has branches in 95 foreign countries and about 60% of the bank's earnings come from abroad.

The major weakness of the report is the same as that found in most of the Nader studies. Many major recommendations seem to call for passing a law to end an abuse. This is not surprising since most of the members of the Nader First National City Bank task force have their prime academic background in law rather than in business or economics. The effects of such legislation are often different than those envisioned by the lawyers who suggest the new laws.

For example, one result of *Unsafe at Any Speed* has led to mandatory installation of mechanisms that prevent cars from starting unless seat belts are fastened with the goal of improving safety. Milton Friedman asserts that a large majority of automobile owners, drivers, and voters would oppose such compulsion if they could vote on this issue. One side effect of this legislation has been to increase auto prices to pay for these mechanisms thus contributing to inflation. Another has been to increase the numbers of scofflaws who look for ways to short-circuit the mechanisms. The effect of this law on safety has yet to be proven.

Some of the recommendations of the report on Citibank would require changes in operations to better protect customers who have defaulted on loans. While such protection is in theory admirable, its result would be an increase in cost to the bank. The bank would either have to recoup these costs by raising its lending rates, which would raise costs to those who now borrow and pay back their loans, or exercise tighter standards on credit, thus forcing customers who were denied personal loans to switch to higher cost lenders or even to seek the services of loan sharks. Thus, the new proposed protections might well hurt many more people than they would protect. The automatic response of reformers to an abuse of "there ought to be a law," does not always benefit society in the long run.

Even if many of the legislative recommendations may be impractical or have different effects than those foreseen by the Nader group, the exposure of private sector abuses by the Nader task force by itself often has led to useful reform by companies who dislike unfavorable publicity. This book is recommended to all who are interested in the role of large banks in our domestic economy.

—Donald Grunewald

WORKER AND ENVIRONMENT

Eve Smith

South Island, BC, Canada, 1973

As one who has worked in a part of the world where deliberate annihilation has wrought the ultimate in devastation of land, sea and air—including every species of life in the area (Vietnam)—this small but stirring tract called *Worker and Environment* served to re-affirm the moral obligation we each share for the continuing degradation of the world in which we live.

Eve Smith, a resident of a small island off the west coast of British Columbia, from a long life span of concern for all living things, offers this stimulating and instructive critique which should be read in every home across the land.

Although environmentalists have for so long struggled to arouse fellow citizens to their fate, rarely have they combined their efforts with a social analysis as penetrating as that which we find compressed into the ten pages of this pamphlet.

We are told about the effects of Strontium 90 on bones; of Iodine 131 on thyroid, of Cesium 137 on muscles (all the outcome of radiation hazards from bomb testing)—of fibrosis of the lungs from asbestos fibres—of poisonous additives in baby food—of chemical pesticides with their disastrous consequences in fish kill and in human sickness, such as DDT in mothers' milk.

In reply to the rationale "...but you can't stop progress," the author rightfully calls our attention to the fact that "progress is not progress if it degrades the land and its inhabitants." Barry Commoner is quoted as explaining that: "...we could have a pretty high material standard of living with far less waste of natural resources and human efforts,"—and if we rejected the million and one stupid gadgets on the market, the author goes on to add.

What is most remarkable about this monograph is that, while tabulating our wastefulness, Eve Smith succeeds where so many others have failed. With clarity and logic she indicates the well-travelled road where successes have been scored, and by drawing upon stories about ordinary people, the reader is encouraged to persevere. We are told about a takeover of the Puget Sound Plywood Co. by 270 workers who now own the plant. From the elected president to the janitor, they each hold one vote, are paid the same wage, and collectively make all the decisions. A \$50,000 pumping system "which would recycle the water rather than dump it in the bay" is just one of their triumphs.

Nor are society's norms spared in her scrutiny, as she indicates how "full employment isn't going to help if the oxygen of the world is depleted, food is contaminated, air is unbreathable, water is undrinkable..." She scornfully attacks the "aristocracy of labour" which does not concern itself enough, if at all, with the less well-off workers either in their own country or elsewhere. How many protested, she asks, when AF of L chief George Meany, at the peak of the Vietnam conflict, disgustingly commented: "the workers never had it so good."

Emphasizing that it is the working class which fights the wars, produces the bombs and keeps the wheels of industry rolling, she reminds us that it is also the workers who could bring to a grinding halt this system which can only survive on war and exploitation. Ordinary citizens, she tells us, have succeeded in preventing the construction of nuclear plants, logging in parks, and flooding of land. In calling upon the reader to "take a more active part in all public matters not just for the possibility of gaining 'half a loaf' but to expose the power of private owners and their representatives in government, she tears away the last vestige of hypocrisy and shows the way to conservation of life, for all.

It is indeed disturbing that as we agitate for better living conditions, for an end to wars—"the greatest pollutant not only of the environment but of peoples' minds"—and as we edge towards nuclear brinkmanship, we still manage to pay so little attention to this creeping holocaust which bids fair to destroy all in its path, but which could be halted were enough people prepared to resist.

The essence of Eve Smith's message is contained in the phrase: "Environmental Solidarity." This we can understand. It differs sharply from the doomsday call of the Maurice

Strongs of our community who add to the prevailing frustrations with spectres of mass starvation, population explosion, and depletion of the world's resources. Their solutions depend upon additional billions of taxpayers' dollars to fund tighter managerial controls by the same forces which have created the chaos in the first place, and which would perpetrate it in order to extract the enormous profits created by so-called "crises." To be effective, conservation must be directly linked to community control.

It is equally safe to say that it is not in the nature of "homo sapiens" to willfully destroy itself.

Eve Smith has presented us with an article which fulfills two essential tasks—it highlights the repulsive nature of profit-mad governments and their haste to denude and destroy life as we cherish it—and it demonstrates how the tide can be stemmed by utilizing the knowledge and the determination of many groups of people—everywhere—NOW.

"Radicals and environmentalists, unite! You have nothing to lose but your pollution," is her final call.

We dare not ignore her warning. —Claire Culhane

TOMS, COONS, MULLATTOES, MAMMIES & BUCKS: AN INTERPRETIVE HISTORY OF BLACKS IN AMERICAN FILMS

Donald Bogle / Bantam \$2.25

It wasn't until I read Donald Bogle's preface to this history of black performers in films that I realized this is the first such work of its kind. Frankly, I didn't know what to make of it when I just glanced at the title. Oh, no!, I said to myself, not another "black rage" book! But Bogle's view of the generally shabby treatment black actors and actresses have gotten from the American film industry is remarkably understanding. And, like me, he holds a special and sentimental place in his heart for such "Tom" and "Coon" players as Stepin Fetchit, Rochester, Mantan Moreland, and the "Mammies"—Louise Beavers who played the domestic who lived a "me and my shadow" life in the classic, sobby 1934 version of Fanny Hurst's *Imitation of Life*, Hattie McDaniel who played scores of Righteous SuperChristian hymnsinging, Bible-spouting mammies and Butterfly McQueen, who starred with her in *Gone With The Wind*. What Bogle sees is how well these wonderful performers did under the conditions of their roles as slaves, chauffeurs, shoe-shine boys and domestics. Although he says he found it difficult to gather personal information on many of these players, Bogle tells us what details he can about their personal lives, how the strange type of Hollywood semi-stardom affected them, what they were like as people. It is fascinating and he obviously has a special affection for the generally "nicer" era of the '30's and '40's. The book also traces the careers of serious black actors and actresses including some almost forgotten names such as Rex Ingram and Nina Mae McKinney and Clarence Muse. There's a history of the "sepia" pictures, too, such as D.W. Griffith's racist *Birth of a Nation* and Marc Connelly's *Green Pastures*, a real shuffle-along "Tom" show. The book traces the history from the first "coons" in silents (who were actually white actors made up in blackface) through the black-financed independent production companies which turned out parodies of white films for black ghetto grindhouses, through Sammy Davis, Jr. Harry Belafonte, Sidney Poitier, right up to Ron O'Neal, Jim Brown, *Super-fly*, *Cotton Comes To Harlem*, *Putney Swope*, *Watermelon Man* and *Shaft's Big Score*.

It's a very good and comprehensive history you're bound to enjoy reading and you'll learn an awful lot you never knew before. —Tom McNamara

THE LORDS OF FLATBUSH

The Lords of Flatbush is, strangely enough, a movie which is precise in its small details and overwhelmingly false in its general portrayal of Brooklyn gangs in the 1950's—so much so that I felt a need to set the record straight. Things like the hairstyles (dips and d.a.'s for the men, curlers and teased hair for the women), leather jackets and clothes were terribly accurate—but so what? Who hasn't seen these already in old movies and new fifties nostalgia musicals like *Grease*? The scenes in the soda shop and "making out" at the Sunrise Drive-In also took me back along memory lane.

Some of the action was supposed to appear "campy"—acting tough around school, fighting other boys but losing in the playground and so on. But in reality, the Lords (there was a group in Flatbush called The Egyptian Lords) were not funny—especially to non-members. They were not (as they call themselves in the film) a "social club." Their main activities seemed to be robbing (not just cars for "joyriding" as depicted in the film, but also kids) and mostly fighting (but not the clean little fistfights of the movie—the Lords used chains, pipes, knives and probably guns). Most of it was totally unheroic. Once, a friend of mine came home from junior high school with a knife still sticking out of his back. And I remember some local gangs spent a lot of time drinking codine syrup while appropriately sitting on the tombstones in the local cemetery.

Courting a girl who wasn't a gang member (as does Chico in the movie) certainly wasn't part of the scene. Most and probably all parents knew about the gangs and wouldn't let their daughters go out with a greasy creep like Chico!

The greatest distortion, however, was in the depiction of the girlfriends. In the movie, they seem to have two major preoccupations: popping gum and getting the male Lords to wed them. I can vouch that popping and cracking gum was a very popular sport in the 1950's. Some of the Egyptian Lords may indeed have entertained marriage notions, but most of the girls were young teenagers and it would be impossible for me to conjure up the image of one of them trying on sparkling diamond engagement rings in the hopes of conning a Lord into buying it for her (as happens in the movie).

In fact, what I remember sparkling in their hands most was the steel edge of a switchblade. And how well I remember that! For one summer I was attacked by ten Egyptian Lords because I was standing on the corner with someone they were "after" (I never discovered why). They were bigger than I was—they were in junior high school or high school and I was probably in the 6th grade. They backed me up against a fence, pushed me around, and started to burn me with lit cigarettes. When they pulled out their switchblades, I made a wild dash through the pack of them and my speed and fear kept me ahead of them until I made it home.

I was one of the luckier ones. There were many stories (whispered because we were taught to be ashamed of such things) of the Ladies having knifed and even sexually mutilated girls.

Yes, reality is grimmer than fiction, so no wonder the nostalgic treatment of gangs such as *The Lords of Flatbush* made me ragingly mad. I'd rather see the stylized conflicts and mawkish romanticism of *West Side Story* than this perverted version of history. The good old days weren't much fun—for me at least—and I'm sick of this type of nostalgia, especially violence nostalgia. If you ever feel nostalgia for those old Brooklyn gangs, go to the Bronx. The names faces and clothes have changed, but the same grim ugly truth is there. —Karla Jay

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

science." Frankly I don't find it very imaginative to ignore the real world, which contains the most challenging stimuli to our imaginations possible. To believe in *Chariots of the Gods?*, as with the Guru or any other dogma, it takes but one fundamental leap of faith and the rest is easy (i.e., unimaginative). Understanding life, as with living it, is a perpetual challenge and it seems such a cop-out to take the easy way out, just because it is so challenging. —BILL PETERS
Washington, DC

Some people who fought for the legalization of abortion are having second thoughts about the meaning of that struggle. The drawbacks of having made abortion a primary focus of the organized women's movement become apparent as we see abortion used to control people by limiting the population. Thus the timing of granting legalized abortion is made suspect as the same grantors have denied day care, neighborhood health centers, a decent minimum income, etc.

Right to Lifers may have sensed that people are losing the choice of having children. While representing, to a degree, resistance to the structural changes in capitalism that would integrate women (more fully than before) into the corporate machinery, Right to Lifers chose to blame the women's movement instead of Nixon, the Rockefellers and ITT. Therefore, as Elizabeth McAlister [WIN, 7/4/74] discovered, the pro-life vs. anti-life categories are not helpful in understanding either the abortion issue or the current state of the women's movement.

The question is whether enough people have learned from the abortion case that if we do not possess the apparatus that defines the meaning of victory—in this instance, the clinics, counseling services, hospital regulations and conditions, pharmaceutical industry, etc.—then the results of that victory may be hollow. Unfortunately because we do not control that apparatus, having an abortion today is still made to be a dehumanizing experience for many women.

The other institutions which might make it possible for having and raising children to be a positive choice—the family, day care, health and nutrition, recreation facilities, clothing, schools, etc.—are still under corporate domination to the extent that without making them areas of struggle the woman's movement will be alien to millions who seek a positive alternative to abortion.

The ultimate struggle is not merely for the right to live, but—not meaning to sound trite—for control over the meaning of one's life. For the individual that may mean having an abortion, but for the masses controlling the conditions under which we live will be a more central and a harder struggle. The name that goal carries is socialism. —PETER POLLACK
Albany, NY

Thanks for Elizabeth McAlister's article on "Feminists For Life." [WIN 7/4/74]

I sympathize with her lament that some Pro-Life people are sometimes less than consistent in their philosophy of nonviolence.

Pointing out an oversight in the reporting however, may appease this lament.

There was a Pro-Life group—the National Youth-Pro-Life-Coalition (NYPLC)—at the National Right to Life Convention which does maintain a consistent Pro-Life philosophy of nonviolence. As a matter of fact it was out of a sense of outrage at the lack of consistency in some "liberal" ostensibly nonviolent philosophies emerging from the waning anti-war movement, that the coalition was formed.

Many founders of the NYPLC having worked against many of the "death-dealing" forces in this society were amazed when in 1973, the Supreme Court dealt still another death blow to the weak and vulnerable in this society. Even more amazed were they when they saw how readily this violence was accepted and promoted by the media and even the women's movement who for the most part supported the other Pro-Life positions. Sometimes it seems like we have to save some little place in our life for killing—like we really think we need a blood sacrifice for a revolution.

So the main thrust of our action is in the area of abortion because this struggle has been largely neglected by the other human rights movements.

The NYPLC does reject the use of violence in civil and international conflicts as well as in the more well hidden violences of our technocracy, e.g. the poverty economy, in the prisons, in the fields of harvest, et al.

The NYPLC tries vigorously to nurture nonviolent solutions to the problems humans have in their life from conception 'til natural death. —PATRICIA G. BARD
St. Paul, MN

As I was growing up I was told that I, like all Americans, had a powerful but kindly friend who would watch over me all my life. This benign Uncle would grant me many freedoms that people in other countries could not enjoy, including the most precious right of all, the opportunity to make all the money I could so that I could buy all the material possessions I wanted.

For all these benefits, my generous Uncle wanted only three things. First, I was told, he wanted me to vote. Secondly, because I had been born with a certain chromosome, he wanted me to kill people or build and maintain machines that would kill people. I told Uncle Sam I didn't want to do this. So guess what; he said it was OK. I could become a "conscientious objector." Good ole Uncle Sam.

Finally, I was told, I had to pay taxes. This money helped Uncle Sam kill foreign "enemies" and domestic "criminals." But I couldn't do that either; I was a "conscientious objector." Suddenly Uncle Sam stopped smiling. He said, "Look, pal, I can buy votes and I can kill gooks with billion dollar machines but I can't do either without money so pay up!"

I didn't pay. Recently Uncle Sam sent me a letter; "Pay up in ten days (with in-

terest and penalties) or I'll seize your wages, bank account, property and/or rights to property."

Now, if there's one thing I can't stand, it's pushy relatives. —JERE ROSEMEYER
Eugene, OR

How can I explain to hundreds of various groups and organizations, that their only chance in achieving success in the Creation and development of a "new society", is through the unity of their concepts, ideas and strategies? —ROBERT CRANK
Federal Youth Center
Ashland, KY

WHAT I HEARD AT THE AUTO PARTS

Fri morning
under Snap On tools
Globemaster electro magnifiers
sweet air stale car odor vanishes
I get the talk for the last time
: Nixon resigned, &
propylene glycol, Anti-freeze
\$5 a bottle, what're they
hoarding it for?

Food.
That's what—
Cows & milo, midland sorghums
the Kansas drought, an
old farmer's outraged talk
: price a grain's gone
skyhigh—

August,
& the tang of winter
in high mtn air. Need a
sparkplug, buddy?
Sell ya a tune-up kit—
Fender banger bodyshop \$30 hammer
on the bottom shelf—

Whatta peacekeeper!
I heard the ole man say—
Soft end's to-club em down, that
steel-tipped side for when
they really get rough—
We all laughed.

Who?
I wondered about that
all morning—
So Ford has inherited the
country? At last, a nation on
wheels. 10am, & already
Nixon back home in
San Clemente—

—John Brandy
8 August 1974

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PEACE CENTER COORDINATOR position open in early Oct. '74, interested people should contact: Schenectady Peace Center, 535 Schenectady St., Schenectady, NY 12307. (518) 374-3561.

STAFF POSITION AT CCCO-WR—Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors—Western Region is currently looking for someone to work in its office as program coordinator. Necessary skills include writing, editing and experience in military and/or draft counseling. Experience in coordination and fund raising is desirable. Salary is \$4,800 per year with fringe benefits. Interested persons should contact CCCO-WR, 1251 2nd Avenue, San Francisco, CA. Telephone (415) 566-0500.

A major liberal church, Boston, seeks Director, Office of Gay Concerns. Administrative, interpersonal, communication and educational skills. Salary approximately \$12,000 per year. Resume to UUGC, GCN Box 1000, 22 Broomfield St., Boston, Mass. 02108.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZERS NEEDED. We have openings for people to work in Reading, PA organizing among the poor blacks, whites & Puerto Ricans. The hours are long and the pay is low. For more information write: PO Box 72, Reading, PA 19603.

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MOUNTAIN WOMEN—the theme of the current GREEN REVOLUTION—Appalachian women speaking about themselves: sample 25¢. Our paper, published by a Catholic Worker community, gives a radical view of life in the mountains by Appalachians. Subscriptions \$1.50 (6 issues). Eight back issues \$1. THE GREEN REVOLUTION, West Hamlin, WV 25571.

Our Generation, Radical literature on Women, Labour, Quebec, Canada, America, Europe. Free lit. list, 3934 St. Urbain, Mtl, Quebec, H2W1T7.

INTERESTED IN AIDING THIRD WORLD LIBERATION? We can provide resources, info, organizing assistance. National Coalition for Social Change, 58 N. 3rd St., Phila, PA 19106. (215) 923-6763.

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