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BARBARA DEMING & BRAD LYTTLE ON GAY LOVE  
EXILES REJECT BOGUS AMNESTY  
RADICAL LAND TRUST IN WEST VIRGINIA  
KENNECOTT MOVES IN ON A TOWN IN WISCONSIN  
NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE BY THE FARMERS OF LARZAC

PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

**win**





Just a note about your review of *Prairie Fire*, [WIN, 9/19/74].

First of all the quote "A single spark can start a prairie fire," is not anon. but Mao Tse-Tung. It comes from a letter he wrote on January 5, 1930 in criticism of certain pessimistic views then existing in the Communist Party of China.

Secondly, the book is now in print in an above-ground reprint from *Prairie Fire* Distribution Committee, PO Box 40614, Station C, San Francisco, CA 94110 for \$1.50 plus .25 mailing. —SANDY KOSKOFF  
Portland, OR

I'm writing to inform you of a serious misstatement of fact in the Sept. 19 issue of WIN. I've been overjoyed, been made to feel proud, been inspired by everything else that I've read in WIN (my sub's about a month old) so maybe I should've written earlier to tell you that, but it ain't my style. Complaining about error is.

I refer to the short article by Samuel Tyson on page 6, in which our recent Prop. 9 is characterized as "the toughest political reform measure in the nation" which "will put into effect enforceable lobbying and campaign donation restrictions applicable to all lobbyists" and was opposed only by "the largest teachers' group, Teamsters, AFL-CIO, Commonwealth Club, Farm Bureau and UFWA," further stating that 9's supporters were Common Cause and Peoples Lobby.

Also opposed to 9 were the Bay Area Know-Nine Committee, which warned against the fascist potential of this lengthy proposition; and the California Peace & Freedom Party. *Mellow Dove*, the former statewide newsletter of the California Peace & Freedom Party analyzed what is wrong with Prop. 9 in their Apr/May 1974 issue. For further information or comment please contact me.

—WACCO ABI  
6561 Cerritos Ave.  
Long Beach, CA

Regarding a blurb in "Bread, and Roses, too" by Brian Doherty [WIN, 9/19/74] about the war resister who was arrested by US agents in Canada:

Ronald Anderson, an Army deserter, was apprehended and arrested on Canadian soil, subsequently dragged across the border and eventually put in the Ft. Lewis (Washington) stockade. This was in August.

He was arrested by the American agents, but his arrest was facilitated by the Canadian authorities. I say this because it is obvious that the National Crime Information Center Computer had Ronald's British Columbia license plate number on tap. Ronald was discovered by the American border officers because the Americans put his BC license plate number through the FBI computer.

Ronald was released from the US six days after his capture in spite of the Canadian government and the US government. He was released because public protest on both sides of the border demanded his release.

—RICHARD MOORE  
Burnaby, BC, Canada

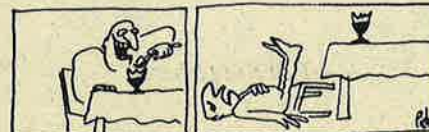
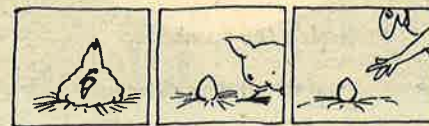
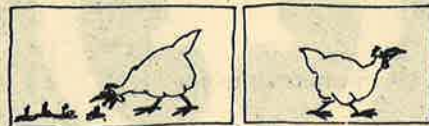
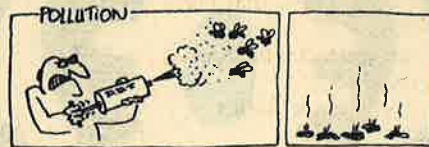
Re: Brian Doherty, "Bread & Roses," WIN, 9/19/74.

Please, please do not write phrases like "Since women are usually more sensible than men..." Pedestals are almost as uncomfortable and confining as chains. Sorry to disappoint you, but we women unfortunately are only human beings too. We're just as likely to register for the draft and make other such mistakes, given the opportunity, as men are.

—MOLLY TITCOMB  
Nevada City, CA

In her article in your Sept. 19 issue, Barbara Garson says, "You didn't start pollution! I didn't start pollution!" Obviously true. I agree that spending all your time peeling labels off bottles won't return our land to its natural state. Your average neighborhood factory pollutes more in a day than you can clean up in a year or ten. But that's not what recycling is all about. What it's about is consciousness, an awareness of who you are and where you are.

I am sure Ms. Garson has blown up no factories or otherwise stopped their production. What is more probable is that day by



day, juice can by juice can, soda pop bottle by movement newspaper, she continues to feed her consumer habit and support the vicious system she says she's against.

The corporations are not evil beings with a will of their own. They are creations and servants of normal people like us, the masses if you will, and the consumer lifestyle we follow. There'd be no aluminum cans and aerosol sprays if we didn't buy them. No trees would be cut down if we stopped using virgin paper for printing our revolutionary outpourings. But we do buy, use, and discard, instead of making the corporations eat their waste.

Ms. Garson talks about us being the victims of corporate ecocrime. That's why recycling can sometimes be a bummer. It robs you of illusion, it makes you aware of how powerless you actually are, how much a part of the system you are. But the effort of recycling is worth the knowledge gained (it's no great effort, just a few simple habits).

Every can you throw into the recycle bag by the sink is a reminder of your effect on the world, of how you and the river and the sky and the factory are one. The consumer lifestyle is the passive life of the victim. Recycling can be the first act of the ecorevolutionary. It shouldn't stop there of course.

—J. SOUSA  
Roxbury, MA

The following is from a letter to a Local Board of the Selective Service System:

I am writing to return my draft cards to you and to inform you that I can no longer, in conscience, cooperate with the Selective Service System and the military for which it was created. I can no longer carry a draft card nor comply with the directives of the Selective Service System. To do so would be to go against all that I believe and all that I hold of value and would be a disservice to myself, to my country, and to humanity...

I am returning my draft card in protest of President Ford's so-called "amnesty" for my brothers in other countries and his "free, full and absolute pardon" of Richard Nixon. I return my card to you as a showing of solidarity of conscience with those who refused to kill in a war which a majority of the American people now admit was a "mistake" and was "morally wrong." Our system of equal justice under the law no longer holds any meaning for me, and it is evident in the two pardons which President Ford has granted in the last several weeks.

1) He gave a "free, full, and absolute pardon" to a person who broke almost every one of the highest laws of our land, including his oath of office to the American people; then he gave a conditional amnesty of the most naive nature to 70,000 of my brothers whose only crime was that they refused to kill others.

2) He did not even require Richard Nixon to sign a statement of guilt or allegiance; he's asking 70,000 of my brothers to sign such a statement, when the guilt of the Vietnam war is upon each one of us.

3) Richard Nixon is not required, in any way, to "earn his way back" to full rights in this country for the awesome crimes which forced him from office; President Ford has

stated that many of my 70,000 brothers will have to "earn their way back" with up to two years of civilian service at a low wage.

4) President Ford said that his predecessor has "suffered enough"; and he is totally unaware of the "suffering" of 70,000 of my brothers who had the courage and strength to stand by their convictions and who have been barred from their country by a system of justice which can be manipulated by persons in high positions of power to suit their own needs.

There is another reason why I am returning to you my draft cards and why I can no longer cooperate with you or the system which you represent and uphold.

Throughout the Indochina war I have been a conscientious objector. The file which you have on me contains reams and reams of statements, letters, and reasons for my stand, grounded in a religious stand for my moral and ethical values. On August 17, 1971 you granted to me the status of 1-O, recognizing me, legally, as a conscientious objector to all war and killing. Let me explain to you why I can no longer accept this status.

To accept any classification would mean to accept the legitimacy of the system of conscription and the military for which it exists. I cannot do this. I have been brought up all my life to believe in the rights of individual conscience and have been told that a person must stand by his "religious" be-

liefs even to the point of martyrdom. I have been taught that it is morally wrong to force a person to go against what he considers moral and just.

The system you represent defies this individualism. You grant the status of conscientious objector to those young men between 18 and 26 who are able to articulate their beliefs in a convincing way to you. As a result, only the well-to-do, educated are able to escape from the draft. Many thousands of my brothers in exile left this country because their local draft boards did not believe that they showed enough reason or proof that they could not kill; many went to prison. I cannot condone a system that exists on the premise that all men can and should be able to kill other men, unless they can prove to their draft board that they cannot. I cannot condone a system whose sole purpose is to provide enough manpower to wreak violence and death upon other peoples of the world in the name of freedom, justice, and world peace.

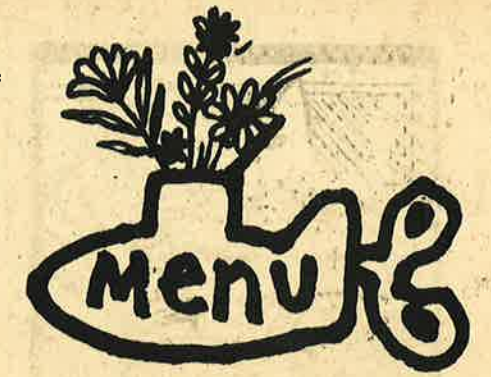
I stand in solidarity of conscience with all the peoples in the world who are oppressed, imprisoned, exiled and tortured for their moral and political beliefs. I only hope they can find it inside themselves to "pardon" me for having taken so long to stand beside them.

—JAMES A. DEGEL  
Director, Spokane Center for World Justice and Peace

### TRY TO REMEMBER

Try to remember the 7th of December when death was chic and oh so mellow  
Try to remember the kind of December when Marines were keen and Japs were yellow  
Try to remember the 7th of December when Mars was a tender and callow fellow  
Try to remember and if you remember then bellow  
Bellow bellow bellow  
Bellow bellow bellow  
Try to remember when war was so tender that none was killed except the soldier  
Try to remember when life was so tender no guns were kept beneath your pillow  
Try to remember when life was so tender cities weren't embers about to billow  
Try to remember and if you remember then bellow  
Bellow bellow bellow  
Bellow bellow bellow  
Early in September its hard to remember altho you know the shit will follow  
Early in September its hard to remember without a clot the heart is hollow  
Early in September its hard to remember the bombs of December that made us sallow  
Early in September our wounds would remember, and bellow  
Bellow bellow bellow  
Bellow bellow bellow  
Bellow bellow bellow  
Bellow bellow bellow...

—Tuli Kupferberg



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# To Crack Our Single Selves

AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN

BARBARA DEMING AND BRAD LYTTLE

*This past summer Brad Lyttle visited me one afternoon and we fell into a discussion of homosexuality. Brad thought it very wrong to deny homosexuals their civil rights, but at that time still felt that homosexual relationships were substitute relationships formed by people who were unable to form satisfactory heterosexual relationships. I argued that homosexuality was as natural as heterosexuality. Soon after, we exchanged the following letters.*

—BD

Dear Barbara,

I've been attempting to sort out our last discussion, understand what you were saying, and clarify my own ideas. Before going further, though, with this letter, I'd like to ask if you really want to discuss these matters with me. Don't hesitate to tell me if you feel it's a waste of time.

That said, I'd like to put down a number of ideas in a somewhat systematic way.

If human animals possess a genital differentiation, obviously for purposes of sexual reproduction, it seems reasonable to expect them to have a corresponding and appropriate emotional differentiation. Hetero-

sexuality would seem the appropriate biological attitude.

Yet, large numbers of human beings aren't heterosexual. Why? There are traditionally two places to search for an explanation for feelings and drives. One is biological. The other is social. Gayness seems to have no reasonable biological origin. Why should nature frustrate the mechanisms of procreation?

A social origin for gayness seems much more likely. It would seem reasonable to believe that gay people have been effected in some way by society differently than heterosexual people.

Before talking with you, I was inclined to regard gayness as a kind of "damage." Your ideas have led me to reexamine this notion. Gay people seem to be capable of as full emotional satisfaction in their relationships as are heterosexual people. In fact, it may be that most gay relationships may be better emotionally, for they may contain fewer elements of oppression, exploitation, and role playing. Since society rewards heterosexuality so highly, many of these relationships may be completely dominated by notions of ego satisfaction, status, and wealth. Gay people, however, would tend to have "purer" experiences, for they would seek each other out of genuine need for each other, rather than for manipulative or abstract reasons. Consequently, the emotional and psychological benefits to gay people from their relationships may be greater than those most heterosexuals derive.

I'm inclined to this view because it tallies with a number of my observations. Radical politics is an exceedingly demanding field. To be successful in it requires exceptional sensitivity to others, and objectivity concerning oneself. Some of the most successful people I know are at least partly gay.

Also, I think of the recent gay rally in Sheridan Square for which I provided the sound system. The quality of speaking and singing—overall—was perhaps higher than at any rally I've ever attended, including civil rights rallies. Gayness didn't impair the capacity of those people for feeling injustice, identifying with each other, expressing their ideas, and being creative. There wasn't a stale or rhetorical word. Some of the feelings expressed were bitter, but it was superb radical politics.

Now there have been many successful heterosexuals in radical politics, too. But there are also many heterosexuals who have been seriously inhibited in their political activity by sexual damage. Simply being a "normal" biological heterosexual guarantees very little in terms of personality development.

Photo by Diana Davies

As you know, I've been reading Wilhelm Reich a great deal these days. I may have mentioned that I'm in almost complete agreement with the ideas he expresses in *The Function of the Orgasm*. Reich doesn't deal at length or depth with gayness, indeed at one time he expressed deep contempt for gay people. But there is nothing in his ideas about sexual dynamics that condemns gayness, for gay people should be as capable of "orgastic potency" as heterosexual people. Orgasms aren't dependent on genital differentiation, rather upon genital stimulation and friendship. Two gay people who love each other undoubtedly could have deeper orgastic experiences than two heterosexuals who simply engage in the reproductive act. And all the psychological benefit that Reich describes as flowing from "orgastic potency" would come to gay people as well as to heterosexuals.

Reich's discoveries about sexual dynamics led him to believe in a generalized sexual energy, which, if fully released in orgasms led to mental health, but if damned up led to neurosis. These are Freudian notions too—at least roughly. Reich then went on to try to generalize sexual energy into cosmic energy, which he called "orgone energy," and here he leaves me, mainly, I think, because he began to speculate too much, and didn't have enough experimental evidence to support his ideas. In comparison with his later ideas about orgone energy and metaphysics, his early ideas about a generalized sexual energy were rooted in clinical observation.

This notion about a generalized sexual energy, leads to a corollary that Reich didn't seem to see the significance of, that is that the energy doesn't necessarily have a male or female character. That's obviously the consequence of a theory of unified sexual energy. What this means in regard to the question of gayness is that the male or female psychological aspects of a person's personality are superficial in comparison to the person's deeper sexuality. Whatever the cause, be it biological or social, whether I am a man or a woman is less important than that I am a human being capable of love—sexual and orgastic love—in its fullest sense.

This brings us back to your statement that a gay relationship should not be considered a "second class" relationship. You are right. It may well be a better relationship than most heterosexual ones. It is inferior only in that it can't produce children, and in the dawning age of test tube babies, controlled genetics, the agonies of contraception and abortion, how much of an inferiority is that?

In regard to my notion about "sexual damage," I'm inclined to revise it this way: Gayness probably has a social rather than a biological origin. All human beings are always sexual, and biologically they may have a slight tendency to a psychological differentiation that corresponds with their genital differentiation. Social influences in infancy and childhood, which are yet little understood, may override the biological inclination and produce gayness. Gayness represents neither a change in a person's sexual nature, nor damage, it is simply a different form of development.

Such a theory explains a number of phenomena in society. If the biological tendency toward maleness or femaleness is only slight, then to maximize heterosexual differentiation, a society would have to invoke strong social control. As you pointed out, that's what's happened. Heterosexuality is highly rewarded. Why do some people believe that this strong polarization, is desirable? In some societies it is an advantage. Which ones? In warlike societies. The "male" personality is created to fight. Gayness is always "put down" in societies that place a high value on military struggle, be they reactionary, as in fascist Germany, or revolutionary, as in Cuba and China.





Gayness flourishes, and is accepted in societies that deemphasize war and emphasize culture and peace: classic Greece, and the American counter-culture.

Who regards gayness as "degenerate," and societies in which gayness flourishes as "decadent?" People who see life in terms of ruthless competition, and ultimate violent conflict.

My own hunch is that in an unexploitative, peaceful society, without capitalist and militaristic institutions, most people would be heterosexual, because that's the biological inclination, but there would also be many gay and bi-sexual people who would be fully accepted.

It also occurs to me that this line of thinking explains why ancient and primitive societies, particularly agricultural ones (like that which gave birth to the *Bible*) so oppose gayness. Like the military, they needed bodies, children, to replace those lost to epidemics and accidents, and to till the fields. I would expect that as the vulnerability of a society to natural disasters increases, as the death rate rises, the society becomes anti-gay.

Our society faces disasters of its own making. Enforced sexual polarization contributes to our problems. The feminist and gay movements I therefore see as at the center of the struggle to avert moral brutalization and biological extinction—and I can write this as a pronounced heterosexual.

Love,  
Brad

Dear Brad,

Yes, I really do want to discuss "these matters" with you—sexuality.

You write: "If human animals possess a genital differentiation, obviously for purposes of sexual reproduction, it seems reasonable to expect them to have a corresponding and appropriate emotional differentiation. Heterosexuality would seem the appropriate biological attitude." I don't follow you here. Would you try to put into words for me what you feel to be the appropriate emotional differentiation? How should a man feel toward a woman, a woman toward a man? My own strong conviction is that this very belief that we *should* feel differently toward one another lies at

the root of all our difficulties. Yes, the genital differentiation is for purposes of reproduction, obviously. But what purposes would you say that the emotional differentiation serves? I would say that down through history the claim that there must be such a differentiation has served the purposes of male domination.

Actually, later in your letter you yourself write in a way that plays down those so-called differences between us. Writing of Reich, you say, "[His] notion about a generalized sexual energy leads to a corollary that Reich didn't seem to see the significance of, that is that the energy doesn't necessarily have a male or female character." And you write: "What this means in regard to the question of gayness is that the male or female psychological aspects of a person's personality are superficial in comparison to the person's deeper sexuality." I very much agree. And here is a question for you: Does this energy not have a biological source? I ask this because you write earlier in your letter, "Gayness seems to have no reasonable biological origin. Why should nature frustrate the mechanisms of procreation?" I'll answer your question with another question: *Shouldn't* those mechanisms be frustrated rather more often than they are? Isn't overprocreation a problem? And I'll answer it with a deeper question: Is the only reason for sexuality procreation? That's not Reich's view, is it? (You say that you find yourself "in almost complete agreement" with him.) I've not yet read Reich, so let me speak simply for myself. I would say myself that our sexuality is given us to that we can commune with one another—and with our universe. It "cracks our single selves," I say in a poem I'll enclose. And for me this reason for its being given us is quite as primary as that of procreation. Without sexuality we would be impossibly isolated within our individualities. We could not experience community, could not experience in our flesh the truth that we are, all of us, "members one of another," and of all that is. The sense of this is very lacking in the modern world—because our sexuality is, yes, very damaged. Damaged, I would say, by the attempt to split it into the so-called male and the so-called female—the one sex supposedly by nature dominant, the other supposedly happy in surrender—all possibilities of communion weakened by this lie. For dominance and submission can produce only distortions of communion.

If we can free ourselves of the will to dominate (or the willingness to submit), our sexuality allows us, I very much believe, to commune not only with other people but with the whole world of nature. You write that "Reich's discoveries about sexual dynamics led him to believe in a generalized sexual energy, which, if fully released in orgasms led to mental health, but if damned up led to neurosis." I would express the same belief—except that I would leave out the words "in orgasms." The language of genital sexuality is a wonderful language for communion, but not the only language. There have been periods in my life when I have been, literally speaking, celibate and yet in such communion with others that I felt no sexual frustration at all. (This was very much so for the months I was on the walk to Cuba, for example.) I know that others have had comparable experiences. I have just been looking through some of Rilke's letters and here is a sentence from one of them: "And I really believe I sometimes get so far as to express the whole impulse of my heart, without loss and fatality, in gently laying my hand on a shoulder."

Let me quote a passage, too, from a kind of journal in which he describes a communion with the natural world which I would call sexual in a profound sense. (He is writing of himself in the third person):

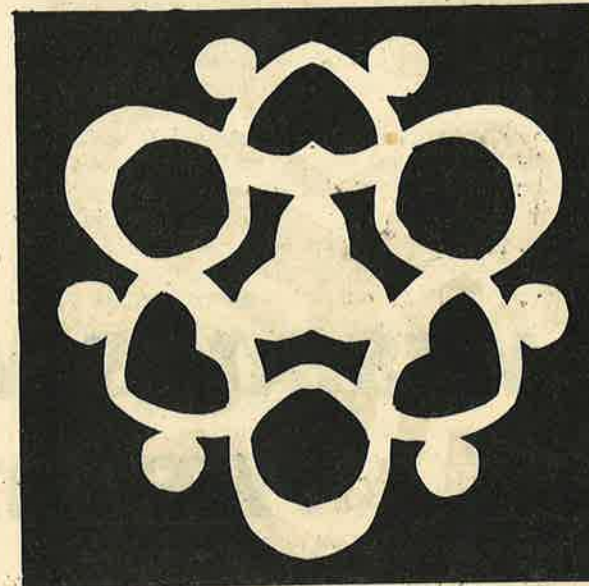
"It could have been little more than a year ago, when, in the castle garden which sloped down fairly steeply towards the sea, something strange encountered him. Walking up and down with a book, as was his custom, he had happened to recline into the more or less shoulder-high fork of a shrublike tree, and in this position immediately felt himself so agreeably supported and so amply reposed, that he remained as he was, without reading, completely received into nature, in an almost unconscious contemplation. Little by little his attention awoke to a feeling he had never known: it was as though almost imperceptible vibrations were passing into him from the interior of the tree. . . It seemed to him that he had never been filled with more gentle motions, his body was being somehow treated like a soul, and put in a state to receive a degree of influence which, given the normal apparentness of one's physical conditions, really could not have been felt at all. . . Nevertheless, concerned as he always was to account to himself for precisely the most delicate impressions, he insistently asked himself what was happening to him then, and almost at once found an expression that satisfied him, saying to himself, that he had got to the other side of Nature. . . Later, he thought he could recall certain moments in which the power of this one was already contained, as in a seed. He remembered the hour in that other southern garden (Capri), when, both outside and within him the cry of a bird was correspondingly present, did not, so to speak, break upon the barriers of his body, but gathered inner and outer together into one uninterrupted space, in which, mysteriously protected, only one single spot of purest, deepest consciousness remained. That time he had shut his eyes, so as not to be confused in so generous an experience by the contour of his body, and the infinite passed into him so intimately from every side, that he could believe he felt the light reposing of the already appearing stars within his breast."

Our sexuality, I would say, makes possible experiences like this—which I have known, too, and assume that you have known. Would you not agree that we lack fullest mental health if we are not capable of *this*?

Sexuality can dissolve the boundaries of our individual selves; it makes possible a deep relation with the rest of the world. Reason enough for being placed within us. That the act which can result in the birth of new life results itself from this urge to touch other life than our own is as it should be. But the creation of children is not the only reason for our sexuality.

You write that "the biological inclination" is to be heterosexual. I would say that the biological inclination is simply to be sexual. You write "A social origin for gayness seems. . . likely." I would say that a social attempt to force us to be heterosexual is obvious. If society did not try to make us all heterosexuals—and if patriarchy were dispelled and, with it, the power inequities that make most heterosexual relationships so distorting, my guess is that we would find ourselves quite naturally attracted to either sex. It would be a matter simply of which individual person awakened love in us.

Love,  
Barbara



Spirit of love  
That blows against our flesh  
Sets it trembling  
Moves across it as across grass  
Erasing every boundary that we accept  
And swings the doors of our lives wide—  
This is a prayer I sing:  
Save our perishing earth!

Spirit that cracks our single selves—  
Eyes fall down eyes,  
Hearts escape through the bars of our ribs  
To dart into other bodies—  
Save this earth!  
The earth is perishing.  
This is a prayer I sing.

Spirit that hears each one of us,  
Hears all that is—  
Listens, listens, hears us out—  
Inspire us now!  
Our own pulse beats in every stranger's throat,  
And also there within the flowered ground beneath our feet,  
And—teach us to listen!  
We can hear it in water, in wood, and even in stone.  
We are earth of this earth, and we are bone of its bone.  
This is a prayer I sing, for we have forgotten this and so  
The earth is perishing.

*Brad Lytle is a peace activist currently working in Chicago. Barbara Deming is a writer and activist. The poem at the end of her letter appears in her book We Cannot Live Without Our Lives, Grossman Publishers, 1974.*

# WISCONSIN ECOLOGY THREATENED

BARBARA MINER

To some, Kennecott Copper Company is a fairy godmother, coming to poor Wisconsin to sprinkle it lightly with jobs and taxes. To others, it is a tornado which will whirl away huge amounts of high grade copper. Midas-like, the company will turn the copper into millions of dollars of profits while a ravaged state wonders what hit it.

Kennecott, the nation's largest producer of copper, plans to start construction of Wisconsin's first copper mine in mid 1976 or mid 1977. The mine is located near Ladysmith in Rusk County.

Proponents of the mine hope it will bring much needed jobs to the small, sluggish town of Ladysmith and to Rusk County. Opponents of the mine say Kennecott will:

- leave after 11 to 22 years with no clear responsibility toward long term environmental effects.
- pay minimal taxes while earning \$5 million a year in profits.
- exploit non-renewable resources before the state is able to develop a sound copper policy.

While controversy rages and Kennecott calmly plans, many of the people in Ladysmith—who don't even know details of the mine—take a wait-and-see attitude. A woman in the local drugstore said typically, "I don't know much about it. I haven't considered it cause I'm not that well versed on it. I guess I'm in favor of it."

Its not that Kennecott has been secretive, but they're letting the public hear only what the company wants. As Mike Jansen of Rusk County said, "People have not been educated to know the true impact of it all." For or against, Vera Jansen echoed everyone's conclusion. "The only thing that's clear is that Kennecott is going to mine."

With the mine will come a few jobs and some economic activity, and that makes most local businessmen glad. "Anything that brings some money to the town—fine," said one. Another, while for the mine,

was less enthusiastic. "I don't expect to see any great impact on the community—either taxes or employment."

The mine will employ about 40-50 men locally. Unemployment, averaging 8.6% and as high as 14% in the winter, will go down to about 7.1% as a result of the mine. The monetary impact of the mine is estimated at \$1,750,000 a year: \$1 million in salaries; \$200,000 in goods and services; and the remainder generated by local spending.

What's going to happen to the environment when Kennecott mines? Will the mine pollute the Flambeau River? Poison the local ground water? Drive away wildlife? These environmental worries can't be completely soothed because no one knows the answer.

"We just don't have enough data to predict what will happen in 50 years," said Brent McCown of the Institute for Environmental Studies. He is especially worried about the lake created when Kennecott fills the used-up mine pit with water. "This body of water will be created principally as a convenient dump for the toxic wastes created by the mine. An initially short term mining activity has the potential of creating a long term liability for whoever assumes responsibility for the area in ensuing years."

Others are concerned that the highly toxic sulfide wastes may seep into the Flambeau River or the local ground water. Sigwald Ringstad of Ladysmith, who before he retired worked for the state in conservation, said, "I'd bet a million dollars if I had it that some of those pollutants are bound to get into the river."

Although Kennecott plans to build a 190 acre waste disposal area surrounded by a 60 feet high dike, 25 gallons of toxic seepage are expected. Ed May, Kennecott's representative in Ladysmith, was asked if Kennecott would assume any long term environmental responsibility. He replied, "You asked a multi-million dollar question. It's premature to say 'this is what we do when we're thru.'" Another Kennecott spokesman answered simply, "We endeavor to be a good neighbor wherever we go."

The mine will be a 55 acre 285 feet deep open pit mine, situated 300 feet from the Flambeau River. It

will produce 160 tons of copper concentrate and 840 tons of potentially toxic wastes a day. Kennecott will strip mine for 11 years and, if it is profitable will mine underground for another 11 years.

Kennecott is coming. Although a second cafe might open and the Miner Theatre may start showing a Sunday matinee, don't expect a new school or better roads. Neither the city nor the school district will receive a cent in taxes from the mine.

"I was wondering why Kennecott got into Rusk County—this is a small project," said Joel Schilling of the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency. "But I think I'm beginning to understand. The taxes are so small, they'll get a better return here. It's a giant rip off."

The town of Grant, where the mine is located, will get a little over \$10,000 a year in taxes from the mine. The state will get about \$375,000 a year, and Rusk County will receive about \$4,600 a year.

Arizona, a major copper producing state, has a tax which brings in about two to three and a half times more revenue.

Meanwhile, Kennecott will pay off their \$15 million investment in two to three years and clear over \$5 million a year in profits for the rest of their stay. At least that's the best that can be figured. Ed May was asked what Kennecott expected in profits. He answered, "I'm sorry I can't answer that."

If Kennecott manages to pull off their great con job on the people of Wisconsin, partial blame will lie with state officials and legislators who let it happen. Although Wisconsin has potentially large reserves of high grade copper, there is no state policy dealing with its extraction.

John Rigg, chief of the metal mining division of the US Interior Dept., predicts that northern Wisconsin and northeastern Minnesota will be the largest copper and nickel producing areas in the US by the year 2000. They are potentially the largest copper producing areas in the North American continent.

Al Gedicks, author of *Kennecott Copper Corporation and Mining Development in Wisconsin*, fears that history may repeat itself. "Wisconsin's northern counties were once major suppliers of iron ore for Ameri-

Copper mine and smelter in Arizona shrouded in pollution. Photo by Cornelius Keyes/LNS.



ca's steel mills. But half a century of mining activity has not resulted in thriving industrial communities; rather, it has resulted in widespread poverty and unemployment which has necessitated large migrations from the region."

Lt. Gov. Martin Schreiber recently stated that open pit copper mining could turn the face of northern Wisconsin into a "devastated moonscape" unless there is long range planning.

Over \$30 million a year has been spent by 35 mining companies exploring for copper in northern Wisconsin. Meanwhile, the state is having trouble forming a copper policy study committee. As the state bumbles along in ignorance, Kennecott moves ahead confidently. It is well experienced in changing copper under the ground to money in the bank.

Kennecott owns four other copper mines in this country. It is perhaps most famous as the former owner of the El Teniente mine—the largest underground copper mine in the world—in Chile. Salvador Allende, the late president of Chile, estimated that Kennecott, along with Anaconda Copper Company, had taken \$3,800,000,000 out of Chile on an initial investment of \$10 million.

Kennecott also hopes to mine in Puerto Rico—if they don't run into problems. A former official of the Puerto Rican Mining Commission recently charged that the copper ore deposits in Puerto Rico are worth at least five times more than Kennecott and American Metal Climax are offering. He said that the copper companies had concealed the richest veins in their negotiations.

Peabody Coal Company, which has 47 mines in this country and is involved in extensive strip mining in the East and West, is completely owned by Kennecott.

Passage of a low copper taxation bill rushed thru the state legislature last spring gave Kennecott the green light to go ahead with their plans, after Kennecott threatened to walk out of Wisconsin if the bill were not passed.

Rep. Dueholm, chairman of the Taxation Committee, wanted to call Kennecott's bluff. "I didn't buy their threat then and I don't buy it now. A bill that big shouldn't go thru so fast. I'm a politician by accident. But I can smell something rotten and this stunk. What burned me up more than anything else is here's something that will deplete our resources and it goes through without proper action before any committee."

Rep. M. Midge Miller, also of the Taxation Committee, said, "The objection I had was that I had no way of knowing if this was a good or a bad bill and we had to make the decision so fast. I wanted to study it more."

The bill calls for a 1.5% tax on the value of the minerals taken from the ground. It does not make Kennecott pay property tax on the copper deposit, stating, "the value of the mineral contents of such lands" is not to be taxed. The value of the mine—its expected profits—is between \$40 and \$70 million. The bill, introduced by Rep. Joe Sweda of Rusk County, was never publicly presented to the people of Rusk County. Introduced late in the legislative period, it passed about 2 am the last day of session.

Barbara Miner is a journalism student at the University of Wisconsin and works with Community Action on Latin America, a campus based anti-imperialist group.

# Radical Land Trust in West Virginia

PAUL SALSTROM

The "Appalachian plateau" of western West Virginia is geologically distinct from the much higher Appalachian mountains to its east. Once higher than the Himalayas, the Appalachian range has worn down over many million years to altitudes about 4500 feet above sea level and 2500 feet above the rivers which drain it. Not created by erosion, the mountains have nonetheless been shaped by it.

This ex-plateau west of the mountains, on the other hand, has become a tortuous network of hollows and ridges due entirely to erosion. Neither the mountains nor the plateau have been glaciated for many millions of years. But back when the mountains soared to Himalayan heights this plateau to their west was flatland. Over the eons while torrents were lowering the mountains so drastically, the placid rivers to the west managed to incision their network of hollows only about 500 feet below the originally flat plateau.

Today the Appalachian plateau comprises roughly western West Virginia and eastern Kentucky. Over two million people call it home—and with a fervor often missing from the word "home" elsewhere in the United States. But until the 1970's the written history of the region, with the exception of its labor struggles, has rarely amounted to more than local color. Now in the wake of Black history and Chicano history, a comprehensive approach to Appalachian history is finally emerging. Henry Caudill's *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* is a good introduction to the region.

Present-day residents of the Appalachian plateau are almost entirely descended from the region's 19th century settlers. There has been much moving around within the region but surprisingly little in-migration from outside. And who were the 19th century settlers? Where did they come from and what could possibly have attracted them to a wilderness of steep hills and hollows? Did they perhaps have some vision to fulfill?

Neither the Declaration of Independence nor the Constitution curtailed the importation of black slaves from Africa, and neither document curtailed the importation of indentured whites from the industrial slums of England, Scotland and Ireland. Imagine a poverty the only escape from which was to promise your "benefactor" seven years' labor as repayment for your ocean passage. People signed up by the hundreds of thousands.

Many of these indentured whites escaped before serving their full seven years, often entering or crossing the Appalachian mountains to avoid arrest. Others, who stayed and worked like honest folk, nonetheless tended to find themselves too poor as freemen to buy either land or trade tools, and reluctantly joined the migration west beyond civilization.

In 1799 while Jefferson and Company were maneuvering for power in Washington, a dissolute band of ex-indenturees was poling its flatboat out of the downstream current of the Ohio River, into and against the current of a tributary called the Guyandotte, penetrating what was then the wilderness of northwestern Virginia. (Today Huntington, West Virginia stands at the confluence of those rivers.) Our band of ne'er-do-wells found a few scattered Indians, Cherokees, who knew ingenious ways to catch fish but by and large were so poor as to virtually starve every winter.

From what few remains their laborious lives have left on paper, nothing suggests that these people came bearing a vision. Their motive was escape from the net of a civilization which had consigned them to serfdom. Their foremost plan was to grow enough corn to last through the winter. Their liveliest fancy was to grow enough extra to make whiskey. Promiscuity was common, including incest.

Bibles trickled into the hills only later, with the literate "preachers" who could read them. Churches were built last—long after the cabins and barns and hog pens—not first, as some New Englanders can boast of their forebearers' churches.

The names of the men and women who first settled what is now Lincoln County, West Virginia would cause no surprise among present-day residents of the county. The first record, of a McComas, dates from 1799. Several years later an Adkins arrived; today 20% of the county's residents bear that name, often behind fictitious middle initials assigned by their local postmasters.

These earliest settlers claimed for themselves and their heirs the largest bottoms of fine soil along the Guyandotte River. Later waves of settlers took to the ridgetops. Not until after the Civil War did many of the side-hollows, with their acre or two of bottomland bordering the creeks, begin to attract settlers. Before the Civil War all living was on a subsistence basis with the exception of a few lawyers and merchants. Even preachers weren't paid. And a mere one or two acres of good soil—all most hollows could offer—wasn't enough to support a farm with its animals. As it was, few enough farms fulfilled Jefferson's rural idyll.

After the Civil War, money gradually began changing this picture, first through the timber business. Timber operators didn't pay much, but they were the first to pay anything. Besides the regular jobs, they'd pay up to a dollar for riding a raft of huge virgin logs down the Guyandotte River the 40 or 50 miles to Huntington—two to three days on the river besides the walk back home. In the 1890's the coal operators and the C & O railroad arrived together, but they merely passed through Lincoln County up river to the famous coalfields of Logan County.

As these natural resource industries arrived—to be followed soon after 1900 by the natural gas interests—young people were increasingly drawn away from the patriarchal family homesteads. By establishing homes in the hollows they could commute out to jobs, still retaining enough leisure to cultivate the acre or two of bottomland a typical hollow afforded.

Perhaps by coincidence, the arrival of money in the area was accompanied by the arrival of the organized church, the church as an institution. From Civil War days, if not before, most villages had included a Community Church to which all local Christians gravitated. Nominally, most of these churches were Methodist. Around 1900 the Methodist hierarchies began imposing "educational standards" on preachers in the region, triggering a mass exodus. Most of the disgruntled congregations eventually joined one or another Baptist sect, marking the end of unified community churches. This is still the Bible Belt, but a subtle demoralization haunts the churches here as elsewhere in America. Few churches are full.

And yet, despite the inroads from outside of these last hundred years—the arrival of various raw material industries and the sectarianization of the Christian community—Scotch-Irish culture in the hills carries on as one of the few homogeneous survivals in the American melting pot. I have gone into detail about Appalachian history because I think it explains, better than anything consciously visionary could explain, why back-to-the-land hippies have met with a deep acceptance in Appalachia, and why this acceptance may portend a new and brighter era for the region. Since 1970 many thousands of hippies have entered Appalachia every year and put down roots. This is the first grass-roots in-migration since the Civil War. My thesis is that during its 175 years of evading civilization, Appalachian culture has engendered and nurtured a myth about itself which is only now approaching its consciousness. Why now? Why should hippies catalyze this myth? Because they care.

Unlike previous outsiders, the hippies (many of whom would prefer to be considered ex-hippies) have come neither to exploit nor change the hill people; they've come to join them, and learn their way of life, and pass it on to their heirs.

It was only five years ago that the first hippie settlers arrived in Lincoln County, West Virginia—a small group of Catholic Workers. Now in 1974 the county contains over 350 hippie landowners, and a comparable number looking for land. The pace of in-migration more than doubles every year. And behind the scenes, while hippies turn mountaineer, many a mountaineer is turning hippie.

Emerging, I suspect, is a myth which can encompass the demoralization and possible breakdown of American civilization—a myth of how entanglement was again evaded, but not this time through rugged individualism. This time through rugged communitarianism. How ironic that had not some early victims of a civilization on the make escaped here 175 years ago, we products of that civilization's success might in our turn have no chance of escape from the debacle now as its moment of truth approaches. Our disillusion with the American dream has been more last-minute than we realized when we came to the hills. (Meanwhile, complicating the picture, more than ever before the American dream is penetrating the hills. For the generations since television, the psychic center of affairs has shifted away from the home counties. In making our last-minute escape—indeed, to make it—we can't afford to be ungenerous toward anyone still committed to the crumbling psychic structure. What would survive, after all, if our example failed to inspire our heirs to attempt moral survival in the pressures ahead?)

It's a fine line between resisting evil and overcoming evil with good, but that's the line our future lies in walking. If the famines of Asia and Africa begin coming home to roost, we'll have the option of voluntary poverty. Already this year many of the 350-plus hippies in Lincoln County are working in the tobacco harvest at \$1.50 an hour. As Janis Joplin sang, "Freedom's just another name for nothin' left to lose."

Of all the ironies, the overriding irony is that the disillusionment with nation-statism should be accompanied by an emergency step-up in the nation state's demands. Coal! We hear the cry from many quarters. We intend to fight it tooth and nail (nonviolent tooth and nonviolent nail). In September 1974 Governor Arch Moore of West Virginia fired the state's Commissioner of Natural Resources, who had been refusing to issue permits for strip-mining in Lincoln County on

# French Farmers Fight Militarism

In November 1970, Minister of Defense Debre quietly announced at the annual meeting of the Gaullist Party that Camp du Larzac would be extended from the present 3,000 hectares to 18,000 hectares—about six times its original size, taking the best land on the plains away from the peasants. It was not until Oct. 25, 1971 that Debre made an announcement of the extension on TV to the French public and a stunned Larzac peasant audience.

What were they to do now? If they lost their land they would lose their life, their traditions. Most of the farmers were apolitical, isolated from their neighbors as they scratched a living from the soil—how were they to oppose one of the world's largest armies? Lanzó del Vasto, a world-renowned pacifist associate of Gandhi's who lives in the 20-year-old non-violent Community of the Ark 40 km. from Larzac, came to visit the peasants in the area.

Del Vasto, an articulate man with a white beard and a charismatic personality, drew the support of the local clergy and was allowed to speak in churches and meeting places throughout the area, about non-violence, about militarism, and about the extension of the camp and its effects on the inhabitants of the Larzac.

Out of these meetings, 103 peasants and farmers agreed to refuse all offers by the army and to resist all attempts at extension. The French pacifist movement with the encouragement of Lanzó del Vasto and

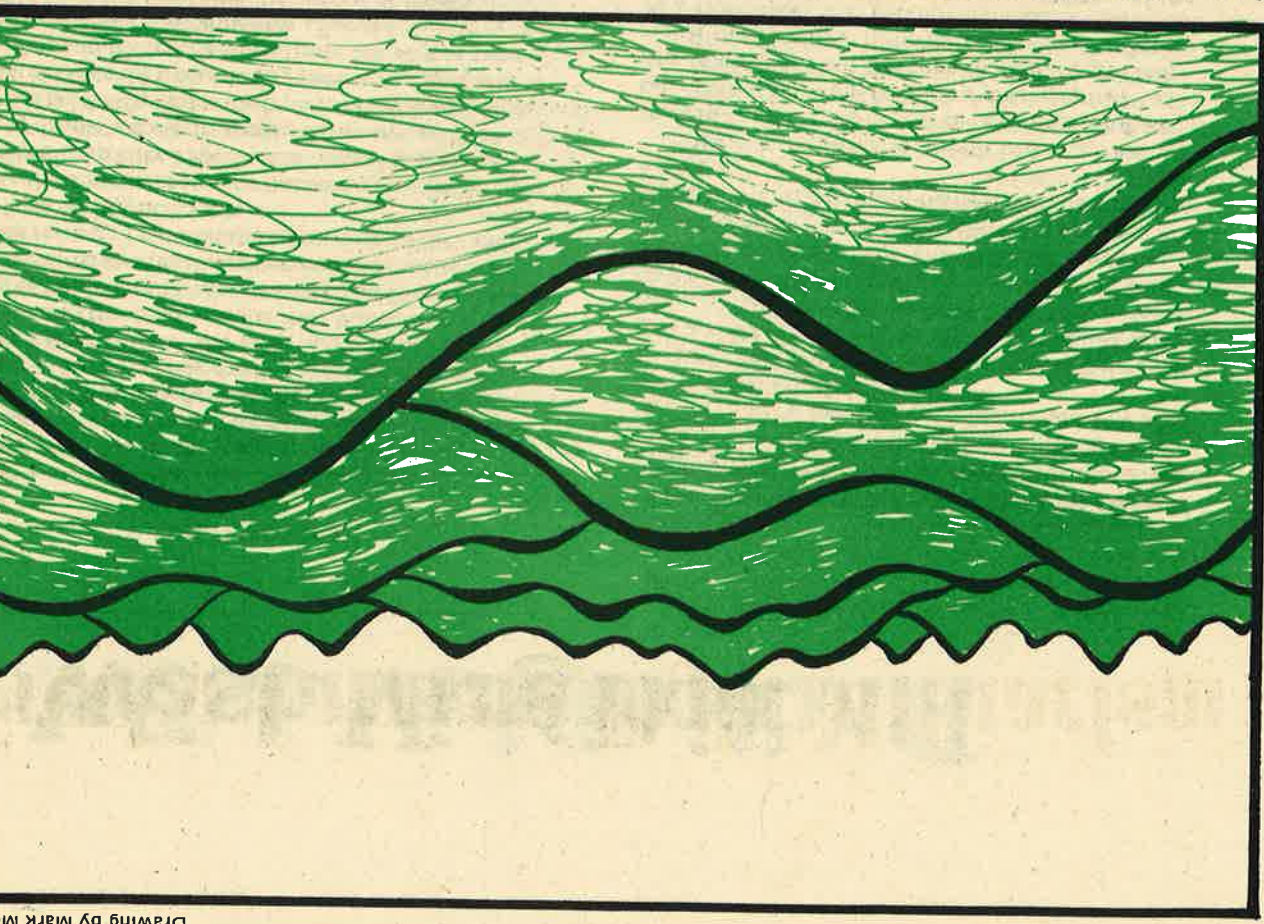
I had heard little, if anything, from the American peace press about a small group of farmers on a plain in southern France who were nonviolently resisting attempts by the military to extend a training base on their land. Until mid-August, when I was sent to the Larzac to help coordinate a WRI work camp in conjunction with the *Fete de la Moisson/Ters Monde*, I thought it was a small, irrelevant struggle.

But, after ten days on the Larzac, working, talking, watching the participation of 100,000 people in the *Fete*, I have come to realize the fight of these 103 peasants has terrified the French Left, strengthened France, given nonviolence a reputable name in Europe, and motivated an ethnic movement in that area of France, near the town of Millau). It looks a lot like ranean (near the town of Millau). The climate is very dry and hot in the summer, winter is very harsh, beginning in early October. There isn't much vegetation, only clumps of trees in small canyons or around rock formations which dot the landscape. Conservationists have talked about its qualities as a habitat for rare birds and plants. There is little water on the plain.

The peasants have lived on the Larzac for centuries. The majority are very poor: four-fifths of their livelihood is in sheep-grazing—mostly for making the world-famous Roquefort cheese; one-fifth of their labor goes for growing grain products like wheat. They come from a very strong Catholic tradition and have a separate culture from that of the majority of the county. The language is old French; they have their own folk dances, their own village family-dominated culture and crafts. But they remain the poorest and the most illiterate in French national life. The past several years a separatist movement has been attempting to revive the language and traditions of this beaten, oppressed minority. The Larzac farmers also suffer from poor housing, no jobs, bad schools, children leaving the land for better opportunities in the cities in the North.

In 1902 the French Army set up a small training camp here which was, at first, for the training of reserves. More recently Camp du Larzac has become a training ground for what French radicals call "the internal fight"—repression of civil war. The Camp also came to be used by foreign troops—most notably England—in preparation for civil war in Northern Ireland. The changing role of the Camp greatly disturbed the generally apolitical residents of Larzac.

CRAIG SIMPSON



Drawing by Mark Morris

want to join us in declarations or actions devised to protect the mountains from atrocities like strip-mining.

Have you ever seen a strip-mine operation? Have you seen a strip-mine operation on a 20 or 30 degree hillside? The first analogy that leaps to mind is of photos of bomb free zones in the highlands of South Vietnam. Here is land, that if truth were told, nothing will significantly rehabilitate for a thousand years. The topsoil is gone. Much of the clay is gone. Whether or not a few scraggly pine trees can take root, the land will be unfit to support human life for a thousand years.

There are 1,059,159,000 tons of recoverable coal in Lincoln County. Only 34,100,000 of these tons can be strip-mined according to the W. Va. Dept. of Mines. To mine this strip-minable coal which is less than 1% of the coal in our county means the destruction of 43.2 square miles of the land, 9.8% of Lincoln County. If you count the spoil banks, 29.4% will be ruined (United States Bureau of Mines figures).

YOU CAN DO SOMETHING! To stop strip-mining from coming to Lincoln County, write to the Department of Natural Resources, tell them you expect them to enforce the strip-mining moratorium in Lincoln County. Their address is Division of Reclamation, Room 322, W. Va. Dept. of Natural Resources, Charleston, W. Va.

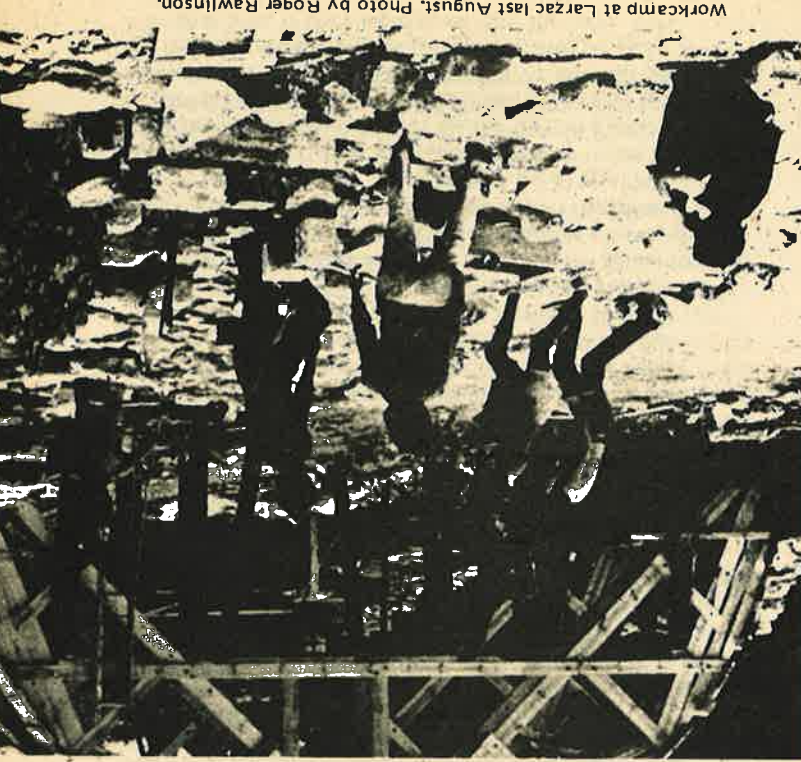
Paul Salstrom has been active in the peace movement since the early 1960's. For feedback on this article write to him at Box 65, Myra, WV 25544.

the grounds it would be illegal to issue such permits. Since 1971 the West Virginia legislature has declared Lincoln and 21 other of the state's 55 counties off-limits to strip-mining. The Governor's strategy is to turn the tables on the anti-strip-mining forces—to issue permits and allow strip-mining to proceed, despite its illegality. The court battles will be won too late to save the hillside from destruction. Unless we can save them by some means faster than court action alone.

By the grace of God, such a means may already be emerging. Several weeks before Governor Arch Moore's new man was installed as Commissioner of Natural Resources, a small conference was convened at the Catholic Worker farm in Lincoln County to write the charter of a state land trust. As fate would have it, each of the six tracts of communal land which were donated to the new trust are inhabited by groups and individuals with backgrounds in nonviolent direct action. Three of the tracts are outside Lincoln County and inhabited by Peacemakers, a radical pacifist group that dates from 1948 but is now composed largely of young people. The other three tracts are inside Lincoln County and total between 400 and 500 acres.

Into the land trust charter was written a clause stipulating that in the event of a threat to any of its holdings, especially in the event of a threat from strip-mining in the area of a holding which could affect its watershed, all parties to the charter would "meet to consider unified direct action against the threat, including nonviolent civil disobedience."

To our knowledge, this is the first such clause to appear in a community land trust charter. We hope to see more such commitments, and in fact are contacting other land trusts and organizations which might



Workcamp at Larzac last August. Photo by Roger Rawlinson.

Jean Toulat, nonviolent strategist and theoretician, called a conference in the Millau area to support the farmers in their decision to resist the military. Many anti-war and anti-militarist groups came from all over France.

The two main groupings in France are the theoreticians of nonviolent strategy and those involved in direct action and alternatives. Many nonviolent activities characterized the French 1968 uprising of workers and students, which helped spread an anti-militarist attitude throughout France, especially among high school students. Then there are the environmentalists who in the past few years have joined with the nuclear disarmament movement to oppose French nuclear testing in the Pacific.

Finally there is Lanzo del Vasto, his 75-member Community, their followers and support communities.

A conference was called to give support to the Larzac farmers in their struggle. Lanzo del Vasto and Jean Toulat began a 15-day fast to draw nationwide attention to the plight of the Larzac.

The peasants first began by organizing letter campaigns. They mailed thousands of letters to the Ministry of Defense with the result that a Commission was called to investigate the camp extension. It ruled that the peasants' objectives were "not in the public interest."

Other inquiries were promised but not held. In July of 1972 the farmers held a huge demonstration in the city of Rodez, which 15,000 attended.

The Army began to adopt a low-key strategy of waiting to slowly obtain the land. A conservative member of Parliament who owned a great deal of acreage in the area sold out entirely to the Army.

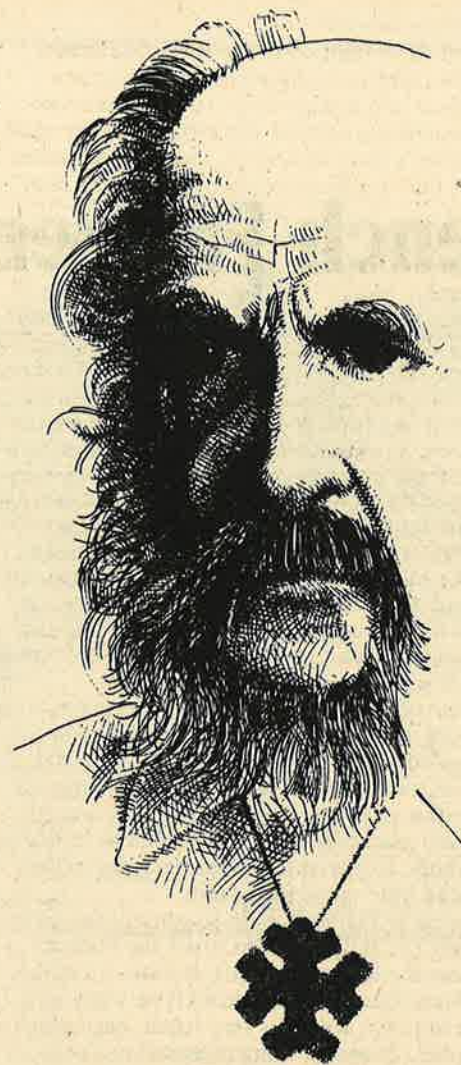
The extension of bases throughout Southern France has helped politicize the peasants. Many bases had been extended on farmers' lands with promise of compensation but none came, and hundreds of farmers were left landless.

The Larzac has gradually become the testing ground, the point where farmers would take their stand. The struggle in the Larzac has become more and more desperate and important.

The nonviolent strategy offered to the peasants by Lanzo del Vasto caught their interest when other channels failed. "Wheat makes Life, Bombs Kill" was a slogan used to show their philosophy and tactics of resistance. They also became aware that the extension of the base might be used as a stockpile for nuclear waste in the underground caves. The base could be a take-off point for NATO in Southern France as the French military concentrated its bases close to the Mediterranean, making it an access point for wars in the Third World.

To draw national publicity and raise national consciousness they drove sheep into the streets of Paris and grazed them under the Eiffel Tower, saying this would be the only place left for their sheep to eat if they were pushed off their land. In January 1973, the March of the Tractors from the small city of Millau to Paris took place. As they passed through one town the police put up barricades, and peasants on the other side of town gave their own tractors, so the journey could continue. Farmers and peasants gave housing and food showing their solidarity all the way to Paris.

The Army first conceded shepherds the right to graze their sheep eight days a month on one side of the highway which divides the Larzac, and six days on the other side, if they were to extend the base. This



was rejected: where would the sheep go the other half month? Then the Army offered to bring water and electricity to the Larzac on the condition of extension. This was also rejected.

During Pentecost 1973, the Larzac farmers and peasants announced the building of *La Bergerie*, a large sheepfold, holding over 300 sheep, in a small hamlet near the present Camp. The Army declared this project illegal but the peasants continued using stone from the old buildings in the hamlet and breaking the rocks found on the plain. A part of the French public which supports the Larzac farmers began to refuse 3% of their taxes and to send that money for the building of the sheepfold.

In August of 1973 the peasants invited the French public to see their *Bergerie*. A special call to workers and peasants brought 80,000 people from all over France including workers of LIP, the watch factory which was closed by striking workers and reopened under worker control.

Winter was a waiting period—much work stops because of the harshness of the winter winds. The peasants held together: they started a school for their children and cooperated more than ever.

The Army began to carry out other attacks. They shot into the communal property; bullets and shells can now be found throughout the plain—many have cut the feet of the sheep and caused physical damage.

The frequent explosions scare the sheep and cause abortions. At night tanks have been driven across peasants' wheat and potato fields, ruining the crops. When the peasants protested, the army said they must file a complaint within 48 hours to get compensation. The farmers find it difficult to check their fields that regularly.

On June 8, 1974, the peasants gathered the missiles, bullets and bomb fragments found in the Larzac in the central square in Millau. A few days later, on June 11, the army shot a 800 kg missile over the canyon Tarn where many of the peasants are living and camping.

On June 20 an Administration Tribunal in Toulouse announced that the expansion of the base was in the public interest and it should be done within the next year. A second *fete* similar to the one the year before was called by the peasants, to be coordinated by non-violent groups throughout France. Would they receive any support? Had the French public given up hope and turned their back on the peasants in boredom?

Those were big questions in my mind when I arrived this August to help with the War Resisters International workcamp in conjunction with the *fete* and the building of the *Bergerie*. I was a bit skeptical about demonstrations—I was used to those in which only 15 or 20 people would show up in Albuquerque. The weather was bad—rainy, cloudy and cold—and I was regretting not bringing warmer clothes. But two days later the clouds left the Larzac and the temperature rose to the 90's and 100's. The sun scorched like any New Mexico August day.

Work began with hauling wood for tables, digging holes for the WC's, etc. A desert plateau gradually became a temporary city. First ten tents appeared of blue and yellow nylon cloth, then 100 of a variety of colors, then up to thousands everywhere—in canyons, on fallow fields, on top of mountains, on army property. Cars, dogs, cats, children, poor and middle class workers, peasants, young, old and middle-aged. 100 people grew to 10,000. 10,000 grew to 50,000. One French daily, *La Depeche*, reported 100,000.

Friday, as people poured in, political discussions were held on the struggles of peasants, workers, immigrants; on building communication and relationships with Third World struggles; on how to fight against the army and bourgeois "justice." Movies were continuous; music came from guitars or record players; people were hawking political papers. One large green tent had a huge red flag with the group's name and numerous small flags blowing in the strong wind.

People pushed and shoved to get the literature and pictures of Marx, Mao, Lenin and Stalin; people behind the tables argued with passers-by. *The International*, sung by what sounded like the Air Force Academy choir, blared out on loudspeakers. There were over 200 groups: the political Left in France, groups for prisoner support, nuclear disarmament, Chile and Palestine, IRA, African liberation and many more.

People wandered in and out eating bread and drinking wine. One man without a stitch of clothing walked unnoticed through the crowds, women were without tops; nobody seemed to mind.

On Saturday the sun was hot and baked the Southern French countryside. More people came; the cars packed the two-lane highway. Political speeches and solidarity messages were delivered.

The Socialist candidate for President, M. Francois Mitterand, attempted to speak, but was protested by Algerian students who remembered Mitterand's sup-

port for sending troops into Algeria. The nonviolent planning committee saw the danger of the split in the left groups if he spoke, and linked arms, forming a line of 50 people to block him from the stage, and also to form a protective link around him so he would not be hurt. The peasants followed with a tractor to try and get him into it for his protection. Although it was only a minor incident, the conservative press made it front page news, ignoring all peaceful events that occurred.

Saturday afternoon everyone joined the farmers in a symbolic harvest in solidarity with the starving people of the Sahel in Africa. A young woman leader of the 103 Larzac farmers gave a rousing speech about their solidarity with farmers throughout the world and their struggle against the military.

At night there was music, Irish folkdancing and more speakers. Thousands of people stretched out in sleeping bags and blankets to listen to the music and speeches all night.

Sunday the largest crowd marched, led by the tractors and the peasants families, two kilometers over the Larzac to a huge field. People joined hands, sang and chanted, waved flags and banners. As we reached the hilltop, I looked back and saw the crowds stretched far behind us. Below, the farmers began to plow the fields—an illegal act of civil disobedience—to plant new life; an army helicopter and two planes hovered overhead; and a peasant sang a simple but powerful song of the struggle of his fellow workers, written in Old French, called "Life to Larzac." Thousands joined in, perhaps the most moving political demonstration I had ever participated in. The song could be heard throughout the canyons and the valley and at the Army Camp 1000 meters away.

Have these actions had any effect? It's very difficult to say. It looks as if the Army will continue and may move to expand this winter, when resistance is always difficult. But the Army is losing much of its support from many parts of French society and the actions of the peasants have inspired a wide range of support. To the young French the Larzac peasants have exposed the military's real purposes and inspires them to examine their future, and resist the military. Larzac has given a motivation, a hope; and a technique of struggle for workers, peasants and farmers across France. Non-violence has inspired them to lose their traditional fears, to become more politically aware, and to fight against oppression.

What about the peasants of Larzac themselves—once apolitical, separated, poor, in a dying culture, losing their sons and daughters to technology and urbanization? They have united, are now committed to a long term fight against the military, are reviving their schools and language, are working cooperatively, and perhaps most important—their children are staying to work the land, to build a future for their children on the Larzac.

But national and international support is crucial, and it is hoped that groups can express their solidarity by publicizing the issue and by pressuring the French government through letters and demonstrations, and more. And then: *Gardardem Lo Larzac! The Larzac Will Live!*

*Craig Simpson, formerly with WRL-Southwest, is now working with the War Resisters International in Brussels, which probably makes him a real "heavy."*



# EXILES REJECT BOGUS AMNESTY

JACK COLHOUN

Over the weekend of September 21-22 an International Conference of Exiled American War Resisters was held in Toronto Canada. Although originally planned, when the groundwork was laid last spring, as a small delegate conference, President Ford's September 16 "Amnesty" announcement transformed it into an event which attracted over two hundred exiles from Ontario and Quebec.

Delegates were present from exile organizations in Sweden, France, England, and cities across Canada. Nine in all, they voted unanimously to boycott Ford's punitive earned re-entry program. Provisions were made for those who wanted to challenge the program openly by refusing to take any oath of allegiance to the US or to pledge to do alternative service. They should coordinate their plans with the National Council for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty (NCUUA). It was resolved that those who challenge the program will do so "in the context of a campaign for universal, unconditional amnesty and a campaign to end US aggression in Indochina.

Exile organizations will work to make our rejection of Ford's program of punishment clear and to inform others of the boycott through boycott counseling, the media, demonstrations, public meetings, and speaking tours.

The basic strategy adopted by the Conference was that the refusal of war resisters to participate in the earned re-entry program will make it ineffective as a means of settling the amnesty question and will highlight continuing US intervention in Indochina. Simultaneous with the war resister boycott, active mobilization will be effected within the US around the issues of the war and amnesty.

The Conference also tackled the so-called deserter loophole. The Ford earned re-entry program as unveiled so far by the Administration makes it appear that deserters can get off easier than draft resisters. The deserter is required to take an oath of allegiance to the US and to pledge to complete a period of alternative service, the length of which will be determined by the military. Spokespersons for the Justice and Defense Departments, however, have stated that there is no corresponding civilian law that could compel a deserter actually to perform the pledged alternative service. If this is the case, a deserter could get an Undesireable Discharge from the military and then refuse to report for alternative service, thus gaining freedom from the military and from the earned re-entry program. Military counsellors are unsure as to whether the so-called deserter loophole exists or whether it is a trap by which the Pentagon can bring further charges against individuals for obtaining a discharge by fraudulent means.

Participants at the Conference agreed that the purpose of the loophole, if it exists, is to divide war resisters and to defuse the amnesty movement. It was also noted that even if a deserter completes the requisite alternative service and earns the special "Clemency Discharge," all that would be accomplished is the shifting of the individual from one category of persons in need of amnesty to another: from that of deserter to that of a veteran with a punitive discharge. The Conference concluded that the Clemency Discharge would, in fact, be just as punitive as, if not more punitive than, the Undesireable Discharge that might be possible via the loophole. A Clemency Discharge marks one for life as an Indochina war deserter. The recipient of an Undesireable Discharge or a Clemency Discharge is ineligible for veteran's benefits. He also faces a very bleak future with respect to getting decent jobs or steady employment, because employers discriminate strongly against veterans with less-than-honorable discharges.

The issue of continuing US involvement in Indochina pervaded the two-day meeting. The Conference opened with the following resolution passed by acclamation:

"Be it resolved that we, as Americans and former Americans, in resistance to the ongoing Indochina War, demand an immediate end to American aid to the dictatorial regimes of Thieu, Lon Nol, and the reactionary forces in Laos. We also demand a strict implementation of the Paris Agreements.

"Be it further resolved that we wholeheartedly reject the concept of punitive repatriation. For those draft resisters and deserters in exile and underground in the US for the more than half a million Vietnam-era veterans with punitive less-than-honorable discharges, and for those with criminal records or subject to prosecution because of their active opposition to the war, we continue to demand universal, unconditional amnesty."

In order to make clear the anti-imperialist nature of the amnesty struggle messages were invited from representatives of the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in Canada, the Toronto Chilean Association, and the Toronto Committee for the Liberation of the Portuguese African Colonies. The Conference passed overwhelmingly a resolution expressing solidarity with these struggles for liberation.

Support for Vietnam-era veterans was shown by the passage of a resolution demanding a single-type discharge for all veterans, as well as decent Veteran Administration benefits for those with good discharges and full benefits for those with less-than-honorable discharges.

(CONTINUED NEXT PAGE)

*Jack Colhoun is editor of Amex/Canada, a journal published by Americans exiled in Canada.*



## GRAY PANTHERS CHARGE AMA WITH PUTTING MONEY BEFORE HEALTH

The Gray Panthers—a national organization of activist old people—staged a protest at the American Medical Association's national convention in Chicago recently. Led by Maggie Kuhn, founder of the Gray Panthers, the group charged that doctors are putting money ahead of humane care for the aged. They presented a guerilla theatre production outside the meeting hotel in which an actor symbolizing the AMA—money overflowing from his pockets—collapsed on the sidewalk.

The medics rushed to his side, searched for his heart to no avail, until in desperation they performed open heart surgery. Instead of a heart they discovered a wad of dollar bills.

"To no small extent, because of the misuse of AMA powers, the United States is the last industrialized nation to have no semblance or beginning of an organized public health care system," charged the Gray Panthers in a letter presented to AMA president Dr. Roth by Maggie Kuhn on the podium of the AMA House of Delegates.

The inadequacy of health care in the US is intensified for older persons because of their greater need for medical care. In addition, the inflationary costs of health care are even more difficult for elderly people to cope with because most are on a fixed income.

Although Medicare is supposed to take care of these costs, in fact it is hardly sufficient—doctors fees usually greatly exceed Medicare reimbursement allowances; and preventive check-ups, hearing aids, eyeglasses, dental care, and many home care services are not covered at all. Equally important, the Panthers stress that Medicare leaves elderly people completely powerless before doctors since there is a total absence of quality controls. Also lacking are provision making doctors accountable to their patients.

"To leave it up to the providers and insurance companies to decide what

health services should be available has resulted in the crazy system, even under Medicare, in which hospitalization is financed but preventive visits to the doctor are not. . .

"Old people, the poor, and other vulnerable segments of the population become pawns in a power struggle, not people to be served." —LNS

## SAM LOVEJOY FREED

Samuel Lovejoy, accused of destroying a weather tower as a protest against a proposed nuclear plant (See WIN, 6/26/74) was acquitted by a judge Wednesday.

Judge Kent B. Smith of the Franklin County Superior Court ordered Mr. Lovejoy, 28 years old, cleared of a charge of malicious destruction. The charge stemmed from the collapse of a 500-foot weather tower on land in Montague, MA, selected for an atomic plant by Northeast Utilities.

The acquittal was granted on an apparent error in the indictment of Mr. Lovejoy, who admitted having caused the tower to collapse. The charge alleged he destroyed personal property, but defense testimony indicated that the tower was classified by the Town of Montague as real property. —WIN Tower Bureau

## JOHN SNEAKS IN

A month ago I was deported from Canada while hitchhiking to Toronto. At the Customs station on the Ontario side of the Niagra Falls Whirlpool Bridge, I had made the fatal "mistake" of declaring thirty copies of the Gay Community News that I was bringing into the country (see WIN, 9/19/74). I was deported under Paragraph 5(e) of the Immigration Act, which prohibits the immigration of homosexuals into Canada, and told I could never, ever enter the country again. I was threatened with arrest if I did.

Last weekend I returned. This time I flew, "disguised" by a jacket and tie and a haircut. I had no trouble getting

in. I spent three days in Toronto as an illegal alien, sponsored by the city's Gay Alliance Toward Equality (GATE). The purpose of my visit was to dramatize the absurdity and injustice of those sections of the Immigration Act which discriminate against homosexuals.

For several years GATE and other Canadian gay groups have lobbied for a change in the law. In 1966 a White Paper on Immigration had proposed the dropping of all references to homosexuality. These changes were never enacted, even though the Omnibus Act in 1969 legalized adult homosexual behavior.

In December another report recommending changes in the Immigration Act is due. Gays of Ottawa has repeatedly requested to meet with Robert Andras, the Minister of Manpower and Immigration, to obtain an official commitment to the repeal of Paragraphs 5(e) and (f). So far it has received only the evasive reply that of course these sections are never enforced.

But of course these sections are occasionally enforced. Like the sex laws

(CONTINUED FROM PRECEDING PAGE)

On Monday, September 23, the steering committee for NCUUA convened at the conference site to meet with exiles living in the Toronto area. A joint news conference was held, in which NCUUA expressed total support for the earned re-entry boycott called for by the exiles and called upon those war resisters underground and in US jails to join the boycott.

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in most American states, they are violated all of the time. Their very unenforceability guarantees that what little enforcement is made will be arbitrary and capricious.

Victims are understandably reluctant to come forward with the evidence of discrimination. GATE knew of several such incidents. Now it had caught the government with its pants down; it had a victim who was willing to talk. GATE distributed a press release and the two major Toronto dailies picked up the story. The *Star* quoted an Immigration Department official that my deportation was the first he had ever seen on the grounds of homosexuality.

GATE then asked me if I would come to Toronto and surface. I would be confronting the Canadian government with an embarrassing choice: arrest or deport me and call even more attention to a stupid law, or ignore my illegal visit. After considering the risks, I decided to go.

My visit was just one incident in GATE's continuing campaign to get the Canadian government to change its discriminatory immigration laws. Their chances of success are much greater than in our own attempts here in the United States, whose reactionary immigration laws still exclude individuals not only for their homosexuality—but also with the surreal categorization of "suspected homosexual."

The same week that I was deported, American border guards in Washington state invaded Canadian territory to kidnap an American war resister exiled in Canada. The weekend that I visited Canada, the people from Amex-Canada were also holding a conference in Toronto, to respond to Gerald Ford's latest miscarriage of justice, "earned re-entry." My own opposition to the Vietnam war did not cause me to leave the United States. Now, ironically, my legal status appears to be the mirror image to that of the resisters in Canada, waiting for a sluggish government bureaucracy to catch up with reality.

—John Kyper

#### AND MORE NEWS FROM CANADA

Jackie Thomas, a gutsy drag queen in Waterloo, Ontario, recently entered a "Thigh High" contest for the shortest hemline, an event sponsored by the Engineering Society at the Univ. of Waterloo. After winning second prize, Thomas was disqualified by the embarrassed engineers after her true sex was revealed. Her prize was demoted to an "honorable mention."

—Gay Liberator

#### PICKET STEELWORKERS CONVENTION OVER NO-STRIKE DEAL

Some 200 pickets marched outside Atlantic City's Convention Hall, where the United Steelworkers was holding its convention, to protest an agreement with US Steel Corp, which prohibits any strike, even after its expiration. The demo took place Sept. 23 under sponsorship of the Committee to Smash the No-Strike Deal.

The unprecedented agreement is called the Experimental Negotiating Agreement. "Experimental," explains a Committee leaflet headed *Defend the Right to Strike*: "because if it works in steel, they'll try to push it on other workers." The practical effect of the agreement is that employees of US Steel can't strike until 1980.

The United Steelworkers, since its formation back in the 1930's, always has had a very conservative, Establishment-minded top leadership.

—Jim Peck

#### BOYCOTT VAN HEUSEN

A nationwide boycott against the Phillips Van Heusen Shirt Company was recently launched by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA). The boycott falls on the heels of the recently successful ACWA boycott against the Farah pants company, and coincides with a current organizing drive of Van Heusen workers in Puerto Rico and the southern United States. As with the Farah campaign, most of the workers involved are Third World, and perhaps 75-80% of them are women.

Union officials say boycott activities are taking place in sixty different cities and the campaign is just beginning to get off the ground. Many of Van Heusen's 100 retail stores are being picketed as well as several major department stores which carry Van Heusen shirts.

Van Heusen, the world's second largest shirt manufacturer, has been singled out by the ACWA as the industry's "most anti-union employer" and a firm believer in runaway shops.

Union officials explain that 30 years ago Van Heusen employed 3,100 union workers in six plants in New York and Pennsylvania. Today the company has closed down most of its northern plants but has opened fifteen others in non-union areas of the South.

"Van Heusen has gone to great lengths to keep the union out of the South," explains boycott organizer Bill Patterson. Currently, only 900 of Van Heusen's 4,300 workers in the US

have a union contract—the rest work at or near the federal minimum wage.

Recently, Van Heusen has been moving the bulk of its production to Hong Kong, then Taiwan, and now South Korea, where it produces over 50% of its shirts. The average garment worker in Taiwan receives 21¢ an hour and unionizing in both South Korea and Taiwan is illegal. In Taiwan, under martial law, it is illegal for more than seven people to congregate.

And within the United States, the company has told its employees in the South that it will move from there too if the workers "go union." The ACWA points out that this constitutes coercing the workers and has filed charges of unfair labor practices with the National Labor Relations Board. —LNS

#### MADISON TENANT UNION SETS PRECEDENT IN ORGANIZING FEDERAL HOUSING PROJECT

In a major breakthrough in tenant organizing, the Packers and Northport Tenants' Organization, a local of the Madison Tenants Union (MTU), held a successful rent strike this past spring in which it won both of its demands: a binding grievance procedure, and union recognition.

It was the first time that a tenant union in a Federal Housing Administration project has been recognized as the legal negotiator with the landlord over grievances. The MTU was also recognized as the "exclusive bargaining agent for all tenants in the project over rules, rents, leases, and conditions of tenancy." Also being worked out is an agreement that will make union membership a condition for signing a lease in the Packers and Northport project.

The 280-unit, low-moderate income project is only one victory among several for the tenants working with the MTU, which has been organizing since 1969. Five of the seven locals formed recently by the MTU have conducted successful organizing efforts since October, 1973, and collective bargaining agreements between landlords and the MTU now cover 1300 people.

The Madison Tenants Union sees the victory as a model for "other tenants who are looking more and more toward direct action to improve the housing crisis tenants all over are facing. We hope to build a membership that is large and strong enough to bring rents down to a level that tenants can afford. A strong tenant's movement is needed to fight and overcome the absolute power of the real estate industry over the housing supply and the prices we pay for it."

Tenant and community organizers who want to know more about the MTU and its recent strike should write to: Helene Berman or Jeff Kannel, Madison Tenants Union, 953 Jenifer St., Madison, Wisconsin 53703. —LNS

#### HUEY OUT OF SIGHT AFTER BUST

Deluged by a massive police campaign to discredit him, Huey Newton, a co-founder of the Black Panther Party, has gone underground.

Newton, 32, was last seen when he was released on \$42,000 bail after his arrest on separate incidents in which he was supposed to have (1) attacked a police officer in Oakland; (2) shot a teenage girl, and (3) pistol whipped his tailor.

Newton, who was convicted of a 1968 slaying of an Oakland policeman in a gunfight and served two years in prison before the conviction was overturned, apparently had had a belly-full of courts and the establishment according to well-placed sources.

The newest charges against Newton are simply examples of police "harassment" of the Panthers, according to his attorney, Charles Garry, who has specu-

lated that Newton may have left the country.

Despite his disappearance, the Oakland police and courts have continued to put the pressure on the Panthers. Newton's bail was revoked when he didn't show up in court on Aug. 23, and the party headquarters in Oakland, pledged as bail bond collateral, has been placed in financial jeopardy.

Meanwhile, a Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton, has been established to press for a complete investigation of the escalating campaign of harassment.

A Black Panther statement, also released Aug. 23, said the Oakland PD campaign against the organization and co-founder Newton "began to mount in intensity following the powerful electoral race conducted by the Black Panther Party in 1973, and the Party's expanding community service "Survival Programs," housed in its new Community Learning Center."

The statement continued, "The pattern of false charges and arrests have continued as the Black Panther Party has built a growing base of support in preparation for new (1975) city elections."

Two years have passed since the US Supreme Court ruled that the death penalty as usually applied is "cruel and unusual punishment," yet 157 prisoners are currently under the death sentence and awaiting execution. The last person executed in the United States was Luis Monge who died in Colorado's gas chamber in 1967 for the murder of his wife and three of his children. Florida, where 30 persons await legalized murder, is the first state to reinstate the death penalty since the historic Supreme Court decision.

Canadian prisoners working in prison factories will be paid the legal minimum wage of \$2.20 an hour, according to a report in *NCCJL Reports*. When the policy goes into effect a third of Canada's prison population will earn the minimum wage. The change is part of an overall program to improve prison working conditions.

If you are one of the 14,500 persons arrested during the 1971 Mayday demonstrations your arrest record must be destroyed, to conform with a ruling by US District Judge Howard F. Corcoran, who also ruled that all bail money collected at that time should be returned.

A recent federal study involving 50 federal judges in three states dramatically revealed how important it is that one who is accused of a crime come be-

fore the right judge. The disparity in sentences for the same offense was extreme. In a hypothetical case where a union official committed loansharking and tax evasion, one judge suggested 20 years and a \$65,000 fine, another only three years in prison. One judge would give a one-year sentence to a heroin seller and another would hand down ten years. Tom Wicker's column discussing the study was appropriately entitled, "Roulette in the Courtroom."

In another study a prisoner in McNeil Island carefully documents the double standard for white collar crimes and other offenses. The study shows that while white collar thieves average a little more than two years in prison no matter what amount they steal, bank robbers who got away with several thousand dollars average 11-year sentences. Prominent white collar criminals average about a year in prison for every \$10 million they steal. Edward Browder prepared the study and sent it to Jack Anderson who, after checking the data, published a summary of it in his column.

Another story published by Jack Anderson reveals severe repression in Cuba, including after-midnight arrests, terrorizing, interrogation and torture. After checking the accuracy of the charges as best he could, Anderson offered to personally inspect the prisons in Cuba just as he had earlier proposed when revealing extreme brutality in Brazil's prisons.

Three hundred scholars from all over the world, including Noam Chomsky and Howard Zinn, have signed a protest condemning India's treatment of political prisoners. The signers of the protest said they "deeply deplore that tens of thousands of political suspects have been kept rotting in Indian jails for several years without proper trials, and subjected there to the most inhuman conditions as well as to physical torture."

Soviet historian Valentin Moroz was reported near death on the 67th day of his hunger strike in prison. Moroz served four years for "anti-Soviet propaganda" and then, after a year of freedom, was returned to prison.

Sources close to the Panthers said that a fund-raising campaign is expected to meet the bail bond collateral, thus protecting the organization's property.

Newton, meanwhile, is not expected to re-emerge overground until the heat at the Oakland police station simmers down. —SF Phoenix

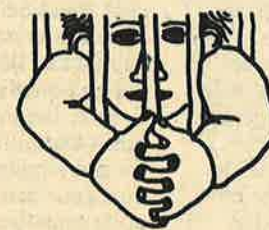
#### NO I.D., NO ROLLING PAPERS

Since laws against marijuana possession don't seem to do much good towards curbing marijuana use, a Michigan community has decided to regulate the buying of cigarette rolling paper.

The City Council of Madison Heights, Michigan approved a motion this week that requires purchasers of cigarette rolling papers to show identification, and also requires merchants to record the names of everyone buying such papers.

The measure was introduced by Councilman Loren King, who says that the law is designed to discourage marijuana smokers, since they are among the primary buyers of rolling papers. Failure to register as a buyer of the papers is punishable by a \$100 fine and 30-days in jail. —Straight Creek

#### PRISON NOTES



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—Larry Gara



### CONSCRIPTION, PROTEST AND SOCIAL CONFLICT: THE LIFE AND DEATH OF A DRAFT RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

Michael Useem, John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1973  
Pp. xiv + 329, \$12.50

For a period of several years, the precise dates varying with locale, a movement of resistance to the draft was a major component of the anti-war movement. The rise and swift decline of this movement is the subject of this valuable study by a young Harvard sociologist.

To provide background, the author briefly describes the cultural milieu of the student movement on the campuses, as well as the Selective Service System and the effects it had on different categories of draft-age males. Drawing on approximately 100 interviews with Boston-area resisters, field observation of the two Boston-based draft resistance groups, and a wealth of documents, Useem describes the diverse political backgrounds of those who became involved with the movement, their reasons for participation, and the effects of involvement on political perspectives, friendship patterns, and career plans. The interviews accurately capture both the rewards and anxieties of collective risk-taking in a noble cause.

Considerable attention is given to the strategic dilemmas of a movement that sought to attract adherents by inviting them to place themselves in jeopardy of substantial prison sentences. Activists will be particularly interested in Useem's analysis of the organizational failures of the Resistance—its inability to maintain its organizational integrity as a single-issue organization opposed to the draft at a time when opposition to the war and the draft was climbing—and its equal inability to evolve into a multi-issue radical organization. It bears keeping in mind, however, that despite these organizational failures, in other respects the Resistance was quite successful. True, it had neither ended the war nor the draft. Still, by the time most Resistance organizations collapsed, induction refusals were endemic, and support for draft resistance so widespread that support organizations were not as badly needed as they had been two years previously.

It is unfortunate that Useem chose to interview only men who performed some act of non-cooperation with the draft, as it would have been of considerable interest to examine the experiences of the male cooperators who were active in anti-draft work, and the experiences of the women

who were involved. In one passage, Useem points out that some women occupied leadership positions in the Resistance, but elsewhere, curiously, describes their status as marginal, and develops his analysis as if they did not exist. I never got to know the draft resistance scene in Boston well, but it would be inconceivable to write about the groups I did come to know without saying a good deal about women's participation and experiences. Useem is not alone in this oversight; despite a few pages on the impact of women's liberation on draft resistance groups, Michael Ferber and Staughton Lynd pay little attention to women in *The Resistance*; indeed, the only woman mentioned in the index to their history is Dorothy Day! Fortunately Barrie Thorne's paper on women in the draft resistance movement helps to remedy this omission.

As resistance groups differed, readers who were familiar with draft resistance organizations outside Boston may question an occasional point of emphasis. On the whole, though, the analysis seems sound, and constitutes simultaneously a useful addition to the literature on social movement, and an important resource for war resisters. One hopes it will be made available in paperback, at a more accessible price.

—David F. Greenberg

### THE TROJAN HORSE: A RADICAL LOOK AT FOREIGN AID

Steve Weissman and members of the Pacific Studies Center and the North American Congress on Latin America  
San Francisco: Ramparts Press, 1974  
250 pp., \$7.95 cloth, \$2.95 paper.

"US imperialism" is more than just an empty epithet. For our brothers and sisters around the world, for everyone except those belonging to the isolated elites, those pockets of vested interest in the existing order, imperialism is an everyday fact of life to be contended with in bread-and-butter, life-and-death terms. The Vietnam War, coups in Chile and Greece, the intervention in the Dominican Republic, the tanks and police training for Pak Jung Hi—all these and more are not simple, isolated incidents where US policy had somehow gone astray, where well-intentioned people were not quite sensitive enough, or where "aid" had been too little or too late. But for many of us, and unfortunately this includes all too many radicals, that "foreign aid" is really aid is a myth that dies hard. A collection of critical studies, most of which originally appeared in the Pacific Studies Center's *Pacific Research and Empire Telegram* and NACLA's *Latin America Report*, *The Trojan Horse* does an excellent job of debunking the myriad myths that confer legitimacy on the whole cynical arrangement that goes under the absurd malapropism, "aid."

There are twelve studies in all, each of them giving comprehensive treatment of a different agency or program of US "development aid." One piece each on: the Overseas Development Council, the World Bank (the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—sic!), the International Monetary Fund, the Alliance for Progress, the Ford Foundation's prep-schooling of the anti-Sukarno pre-coup (1965) elite in Indonesia, the "private charity outfits (such as the International Rescue Committee, CARE and Catholic Relief Services), postwar planning for Vietnam, Herbert Hoover's post World War I European anti-communist crusade, the Green Revolution, military aid, and "Police Aid for Tyrants." Each of them makes a comprehensive whole, yet the editorial fit is so masterful that the progression from one to the next is very natural; there is surprisingly little

repetition or overlap. Taken together, these studies constitute an overwhelming indictment of the real motives and actual practices of not only those who have been found guilty in many another context (US-AID, the Ford Foundation, Hubert Humphrey, LBJ, McNamara, George Maxwell Taylor, Walt Rostow, George McGovern, the USIS, et al), but organizations not normally seen as so closely tied to narrow US interests, the "multilateral" agencies—the World Bank and the IMF (both of them essentially American creations.)

In "Building the World Bank" we read that as early as 1941 American planners were already hard at work preparing for the post-War order when, it was foreseen, the US would suddenly find itself saddled with a run-away wartime production machine coupled with a peacetime market. Or, as Secretary of State Cordell Hull put it to Congress in 1943: "...when the fighting stops...almost every metal-making plant in the United States, and many other factories and mines and farms, will be faced with the termination of war orders, and will be looking urgently for markets for their peacetime products. Foreign markets will be very important to us then and will continue to be essential as far as anyone can see ahead." Other objectives were no less important, among them the export of investment capital, and free access to raw materials the world over. It was on the basis of such considerations that the first plans were laid for the IMF and World Bank in the White Plan of 1941, which ultimately led to the July 1944 gathering of 44 national delegations at Bretton Woods. At first Washington failed to win the support of Wall Street, but soon enough important concessions were made to American private capital, to the end that by 1945 private bankers had been won over. The World Bank was officially established in June 1946.

The priorities of the Bank and the IMF are stability and deflation; before loans can be taken out by the undeveloped country, certain domestic conditions must be met. If the necessary measures (specified by the IMF and World Bank) are taken, these will inevitably generate further unemployment, poverty and inequality of income levels.

The resulting rapid deterioration of social conditions naturally arouses the discontent of the unemployed and impoverished workers and farmers (an ever-increasing sector of the population), thereby feeding the call to revolution. In having accepted the conditions for aid, the regime in power by this time is firmly allied with international capital, and this fact is not lost on the people (hence the term "running dogs of imperialism"). If the regime is to stay in power, it is only the use of force that will make it possible, and again the regime must turn to its foreign friends for police support. "Police Aid for Tyrants," the last study in the book, tells how the US is only too happy to service this need, largely via US-AID's Office of Public Safety (OPS). Police officers from around the world are trained at the OPS's Office of Public Safety in such things as riot control, intelligence, communications techniques, torture—er, rather "interrogation"—techniques, and other such "humane methods of civil control." Advisors are also sent, as is specialized police equipment (tear gas, MACE, cattle-prods, gas masks, shotguns, dum-dum bullets, walkie-talkies, jeeps, computers, and such sundry toys). "Total aid provided by the OPS between 1961 and 1971 amounted to \$282.8 million, of which some two-thirds was allocated to Southeast Asia, primarily South Vietnam and Thailand." The Tiger Cages at Con Son are but one example of the humanitarian lengths to which US-AID is willing to go. Other examples abound, and I wish there were the space here to give them even the simplest treatment. (Read the book!) In the name of America is all this bad stuff coming down! —Lynn Miles

### ECONOMICS AND THE GOSPEL

Richard K. Taylor  
Philadelphia: United Church Press  
1973, paperback, 125 pp., \$2.25

It's common enough for radicals—especially Marxists—to write off religious institutions as dispensers of spiritual opium to the people for the sake of social control. The radical tradition that WIN is a part of, however, has noted the other, prophetic side of religion, in people like the Rev. A.J. Muste.

Now there are stirrings on the religious landscape on the question of economics. The Shakertown Pledge, a new movement which includes theologically conservative Christians, calls for simple life styles and distributive justice. And Dick Taylor's book *Economics and the Gospel* is sponsored by the Presbyterians and the United Church of Christ as part of their Shalom series.

Dick Taylor is an organizer who has been on the national staff of SCLC and is active now with the Movement for a New Society. He has led canoe blockades of weapon-bearing ships bound for Pakistan and for Indochina, and is currently aiding a coalition of citizens groups fighting the Philadelphia Electric Company.

He is also a socialist, a writer, a founder of the Philadelphia Life Center, a father of two children, and a deeply committed Christian. His book reflects all of this; his writing manages to share his own experience with changing life style and nonviolent action along with his theological studies and work in economics.

The book is packed with statistics from straight sources, which makes it a valuable resource for all of us. Its style is cool rather than flamboyant and rhetorical. It moves beyond analysis of what is wrong with the US economy to what could be right with it. That emphasis on alternatives on a macro level is refreshing and encouraging.

Each main chapter includes not only a definition of the problem and proposed solutions, but also some actions which can be taken. And the Biblical material is very helpful to those of us who are out of touch with the claims of justice in the Judeo-Christian tradition.

The book is not complete. There is little on sexism and racism, on how women and minorities make this economy go. There is no reference to a coherent strategic framework that gives the many action suggestions a cumulative impact. Like so many books, this one can leave us intimidated by such a grim analysis and yet no strategy that promises a substantial way forward. Fortunately, Dick is working on another book which does develop his action ideas and experiences into a full-fledged strategy.

Altogether, this "adult primer on Shalom" is a solid challenge for mainstream Christians and a handy sourcebook for activists.

—George Lakey

### ROLL YOUR OWN

Jodi Pallidini and Beverly Dubin, \$3.95

Roll Your Own isn't a book about grass, except the kind that the tires of converted trucks and busses roll on. The book features lots of pictures of the nomadic, gypsy culture that centers around these low-cost (comparatively) homes on wheels and gets into the nuts-and-bolts of converting a beat-up school bus or old post office wagon into a mobile home. There's stuff on stoves, bedding, water, refrigeration, etc. An especially important book for those contemplating a semi-permanent here-today-gone-tomorrow lifestyle. It also serves as a photo-documentary of a growing subculture much like that of the European gypsies. Varoom!

—Tom McNamara

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

Innovative conference/retreat center offering program interesting to WIN readers. Write for brochure: Doug Wilson, Kings Highway, Rowe, Mass. 01367.

A free Mutual Aid Employment Agency has been formed. Its function is to get both establishment and alternative jobs for people who need them—including Movement and oppressed people. The hours are 2:30 to 8:30 pm at Freespace Alternate U, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012 (phone: 228-0322). All services of the agency are without charge. If you have a job opening, please let us know; if you are in the New York area and want to help staff the agency, give us a ring or come down.

Carl Zietlow of the FOR will lead two week-end nonviolent trainers workshops. Southern California October 18, 19 & 20 in Santa Barbara. Northern California October 25, 26 & 27 in San Francisco. Contact Thomas Merton Unity Center, 892 Camino Del Sur, Isla Vista, CA 93017 or WRL/West.

Darkroom needed—near Rifton, NY—to help make silkscreen for WIN T-shirts. It wouldn't take long. No special equipment needed. Call Mark at 914-339-4585.

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INDIANA SOCIALIST NEWS, Official monthly journal of the Socialist Party in Indiana as authorized by the Mary Donovan Haggood Local, \$3 donation/year. 3505 Watson Rd., Indianapolis, Ind. 46204.

PRISONERS SEEKING CORRESPONDENTS: John (Smokey) Marano, 7LD-5, Bklyn House of Det., 275 Atlantic Ave., Bklyn, NY 11201 Robert Darhower, 137-554, Box 57, Marlon, OH 43302 Jack Engeloff, 138-326, Box 57, Marlon, OH 43302 Paul Webster, 138-558, PO Box 69, London, OH 43140. Please write: these people are very lonely and any contact with the outside world helps.

I really love giraffes and am interested in forming an organization of fellow admirers. Don Altschiller, 118 Trowbridge Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.

### Attention WIN Writers

For a late November issue we're preparing a list of recent books by writers associated with WIN. We don't want to leave anybody out. If you've had a book published within the last year or so, please send complete information—title, publisher, price—to Mark Morris at WIN.

*"A great woman."*

That is how Denise Levertov describes Barbara Deming, whose new book, **We Cannot Live Without Our Lives**, is just published. Poems, letters, feminist essays, eulogies by, says Kay Boyle, a writer "of vigor and courage."

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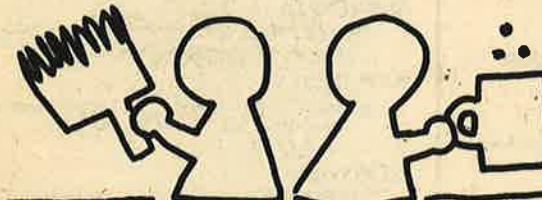
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