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UNDER THE CLOAK, BEHIND THE DAGGER: THE CIA IN CHILE  
DEMONSTRATORS CHASE McNAMARA & FREI FROM BOSTON  
LEAH FRITZ WRITES AGAIN!

PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION  
**wom**  
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In WIN [10/17/74] it was fortunate to see a good article on the world food crisis by Adam Finnerty. I would like to add some additional ideas on what is causing famine worldwide. Several trends seem to be inter-related and should be considered.

1) The capitalist economic system of the US consumes 40% of the world's mineral resources and in order for capitalism to survive it needs to consume more and more through unchecked growth.

2) Estimates indicate that many of the world's mineral resources will be exhausted in the next 30-100 years if consumption continues to grow at the present rate, especially US consumption.

3) Many third world countries are increasingly demanding democratic control over their resources and are no longer allowing American corporations to continue hoarding the world's resources.

4) For many years, before Ford's UN speech, American capitalism has used food as a weapon—most of Latin America grows US cash crops and imports essential food from America; Indochina was changed from a rice exporter to rice importer through US defoliants; Allende's government in Chile was denied American wheat that was later given after the coup, etc.

5) Adam mentioned bad weather as a major problem for world crops in the last two-three years—according to FAO Director Boerma the world faces a serious shortage of wheat and rice due to droughts which have occurred recently in over 36 countries.

6) Earl Butz said recently at a Town Meeting sponsored by Mobil Oil here in Columbia that the world now depends on the US for rice and wheat; Hubert Humphrey at the same meeting said all of the world except the US and Canada has been experiencing bad weather; both of them refused to answer questions on possible American use of weather modification.

7) In the last 25 years the American government/military has shown an unusual interest in weather modification warfare, especially agencies such as the State Dept., Weather Bureau, Agriculture Dept., NASA (which has put up a lot of weather satellites), National Security Council and the AEC; military interests seem to center mainly

with the Army, Air Force and Navy at Scott Field, East St. Louis; Air Force Research Lab, Hansom Field, Cambridge, Mass; US Army Ballistic Missile Base, Huntsville, Alabama; US Army Natick Labs, Natick, Mass; Army Ordnance Missile Support Agency, White Sands, New Mexico; China Lake Naval Base, China Lake, Calif. and Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Dayton, Ohio. RAND Corporation and Geophysics Corp. in Boston seem to have done a lot of research (Geophysics especially on the use of rocket exhausts to control climate).

For the past year and a half I have been researching these questions and would appreciate any information (spying) from anyone who lives near these bases. We need to raise these questions with other countries before the UN conference in Rome in November. We need a nonviolent revolution in the US before its economic system destroys the world. How about some democratic economic resistance (rent, tax, work, etc.) and a parallel government? Perhaps the Weatherpeople were right in *Prairie Fire*. "Starvation, hunger and food shortages will unleash and sharpen all the basic contradictions. The imperialists will respond with solutions like population control, war and greater monopoly power. But hunger is too stark and the conflict irreconcilable. This contradiction could well define the coming period."

—MARK LOONEY  
2237 40th Pl. NW No. 3  
Washington, DC 20007

Thank you for printing my piece, *Renouncing Sexual "Equality"*, [10/17/74], however, there is an interesting, important error.

You printed: *I am saying that men will have to renounce their phallogocentric personalities, and the privileges and powers given to them at birth as a consequence of their biology, that they will have to exercise everything in them that they now value as distinctively "male."*

I think you intended: *I am saying that men will have to renounce their phallogocentric personalities, and the privileges and powers given to them at birth as a consequence of their biology, that they will have to exorcise everything in them that they now value as distinctively "male."*

I wrote: *I am saying that men will have to renounce their phallogocentric personalities, and the privileges and powers given to them at birth as a consequence of their biology, that they will have to excise everyting in them that they now value as distinctively "male."*

"Exercise" is of course male, active, non-sensical in the context of the sentence, but most sensical in the context of male identity; "exorcise" has a spiritual Catholic connotation which I did not, and would not, choose but which you apparently chose for me; "excise" means to *expurge, to cut out or off, as a tumor* which was and is precisely what I meant, which is why I chose the word.

This mistake is too meaningful, given the power and pervasiveness of male fears of castration as feminists have begun to understand them, to be accidental.

I call it to your attention, and I want you to call it to the attention of your readers.

Also, the name of my book is *Woman Hating* —ANDREA DWORKIN  
New York, NY

*We certainly apologize for our very embarrassing errors. However we don't know why, simply because we have men on staff, that our errors are not assumed to be accidental. No one here intended or even thought of exorcise (at present there are no Catholics on staff). A woman made the original typographical error, and two women missed it in proofreading. Typos which are correctly spelled words on their own are the hardest to catch since proofing tends to concentrate on spelling rather than meaning. Of course we should have caught such an obvious contradictory error and we apologize that we did not.* —WIN

Renouncing Sexual "Equality" hit the nail where it lives.

I've got another concern. The horrors of breast cancer have been very forcibly impressed on me of late, along with thousands of other women. But the real thrust of my concern is this: doctors are careless. They do not care to serve the people, at least not many, if my experience is any criterion.

Recently I was screened for high-blood pressure and I was found to have it. I went to two different doctors for treatment. Both failed to do a breast exam! Both listened for heart malfunction. Imagine getting that close (hearts are between breasts) and then neglecting such an important examination. It's criminal malpractice—not in a legal sense, but moral.

Women in general are fearful of self-examination, afraid of what they'll find. A lump can mean disaster. Not an irrational fear but definitely cowardice if succumbed to. It is after all a life and death matter, or may well be.

Sisters do not trust your doctors, do it yourselves or *make him*. The life you save may be your own. —MARTHA BENDER  
Poway, CA

In response to Allen Young's article, "A Trauma about Trailers" [WIN, 10/16/74], let me say that I disagree with his aesthetics as well as his politics. In my opinion trailers are far uglier when they are crammed together in trailer parks than when they are scattered about (especially in rural areas). The claustrophobic crowding of the units seems to be a far greater crime than the units themselves. Secondly, as a gay person whose people are all considered legally single, and many of whom are socially single, a trailer seems like the right-sized unit for one adult. Houses, although lovelier and often more lasting, are simply too large, and apartments are often too small or simply unwanted because they most often lack garden space.

On the political side, let me point out that since trailer parks are a relatively new concept, there are very few laws to protect their occupants. Since the occupant of a trailer park owns his/her trailer but not the ground beneath it, he or she is merely a tenant—but without even the rights most tenants have come to expect or demand. The owners of the trailer parks (who are

usually one individual or a corporation) can raise the rents as often as they please (rent control, even where there are such laws, does not apply to trailers), and it's a more difficult and expensive task to vacate to cheaper territory when one has to take one's house along. In addition, the tenants are often at the emotional mercy of the owners, who can evict anyone they don't like—including hippies or gay people.

These are just some of the things Allen should take into account before condemning innocent people to trailer camp prisons. —KARLA JAY  
New York, NY

Some friendly criticism of Mackler's "Football Watching as an Addiction" [WIN, 10/17/74]:

Though Mackler does note at the outset that it is mostly men who watch sports, his analysis of the sources of sports-watching is in terms of what "we" and what "Americans" do (e.g. "we desperately need this activity..."; "the American push for attainment..."). First, we should all be more sensitive to talking about *male* experience as if it were human experience, as this article does. Second, by not analyzing sports-watching as a uniquely male experience, as a response to the problems and contradictions inherent in the contemporary American male role, I think the article misses the most important point.

—JOE PLECK  
Ann Arbor, MI

Throughout our lives we accumulate karma. Everything has consequences, and we receive back the vibrations we send out.

Richard Nixon's fall is a classic modern example of character determining fate. For the past year, I have been involved in a karma cleaning therapeutic operation called Fischer-Hoffman Psychic Therapy in which I experienced out my karma toward and received a loving divorce from my parents.

I am writing this statement to clear up more karma. During the election year of 1972, I was involved in a misguided attempt to remain a national political leader of YIP during the conventions in Miami Beach. In that crazy activity I was in a group which became involved in a factional fight with another faction of YIP called the Zippies.

I went to Miami hoping to create an atmosphere to help McGovern. We set up an office, and then I moved out to work as a journalist. The office continued, doing community work with old people, but no street demonstrations. In the end, the majority of the money from the book *Vote* which I helped write went to the authors and not to YIP.

The Zippies came to Miami, in their own words, "to make trouble—trouble for McGovern, trouble for Nixon, trouble for all politicians, left or right!" I used my relationship with the media to help project the idea that the Zippies were either "police agents" or "police provocateurs," although I did not believe this at the time, or now. Tom Forcade, Dana Beal, Pat Small, and others.

Unfortunately, at the end of the summer, various people including these three

individuals were busted. I now see that such left-McCarthyist tactics—labelling activists as "CIA agents" or "police provocateurs" because of political or personal disagreements—is destructive. I do not intend to ever get involved again in such negative, divisive political factional fights, which turns people you disagree with into "enemies," even extending in Miami to the Zippie women being banned from the women's center in our office.

In addition, I apologize for publicly pressuring A.J. Weberman, "Dylanologist, garbologist, and assassinationologist," into publicly apologizing to Bob Dylan, in our mutual hopes that Dylan would then appear at pro-movement concerts. I regret this because it was public strong-arm tactics, which were unfair.

On the Dick Cavett Show recently, Cavett said, "There are no more yippies," and I did not object. Actually YIP thrives in communities and chapters across America. Yippies and Zippies are active in the guerrilla theater and anarchist tradition that I had a role in evolving. I support their activities, though I am no longer a yippie (except in spirit), nor am I now involved in any way in political leadership. YIP can be contacted at Box 392, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

I ask the media to stop referring to me as a "yippie" leader. My current activity is, like most people I know, finding out who I am. And finding out the relationship of who I am to the socio-political system we live in. And that makes life exciting enough.

—JERRY RUBIN  
New York, NY

A co-author of *Vote* responds:

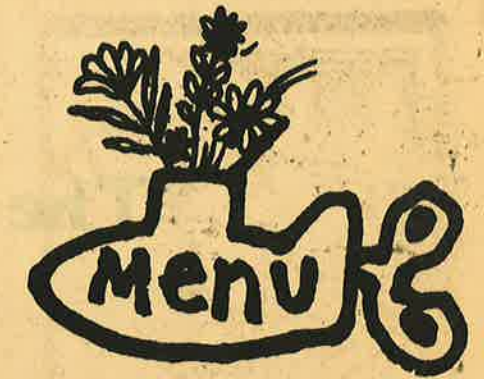
*The world of left-bohemia is filled with individuals whose souls cry out in anguish over deeds of auld lang syne. And it is commendable that Mr. Rubin should seek to ungnarl some of his karmaic knots.*

*There are, however, some factual problems in some parts of Mr. Rubin's statement. One of them is in regard to the division of monies received for the book *Vote*, which was published in the fall of 1972.*

*According to what I always understood, until Mr. Rubin's statement, was that the monies for *Vote* were split 50-50 between YIP and the authors. It is so stated at the beginning of *Vote*. Therefore, of a total advance of 33,000 dollars, YIP received approximately 16,000 dollars, after deductions for agent's fees. I received a total of 5225 dollars as my share, and, up till now, always assumed that Mr. Rubin received the same.*

*It was, however, my observation that Mr. Rubin was ever and continually zealous to get as much money as possible for himself out of the *Vote* project. So it is possible, though I'm sure unlikely, that Mr. Rubin might have secured some extra portion of the proceeds which I never heard about, or from the proceeds of the YIP art portfolio which I never heard about. In that unlikely possibility he certainly would have made arrangements to send Abbie's share of it to Abbie or to Abbie's family. Accordingly, unless the above occurred, the split remains 50-50.*

—ED SANDERS  
Woodstock, NY



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## The CIA in Chile

# UNDER THE CLOAK & BEHIND THE DAGGER

For many years previous to the election of Salvador Allende, Chile had been the focus of much attention from the United States. It had always received abundant inflows of cash and arms; it was the showcase of "democracy" for the Alliance for Progress, the testing ground for the Peace Corps in Latin America, and a focal point for the liberal economic programs of the United Nations. This history, combined with the current alignment of forces within Latin America in general, led the United States to the decision that its main objective in dealing with Chile was of a political nature.

The optimal scenario, as seen by the US ruling class, would be to engineer the situation in such a way that the overthrow of the Allende government appeared to be the product of its internal inability (and, most importantly, the inability of socialism) to satisfy the people. Chile was to become the example for the rest of Latin America that socialism does not work—that it is not a viable alternative to capitalism. In other words, Chile was to be used to defeat the example of Cuba. The importance of achieving this political goal would mean that, at least in the short run, certain economic and military interests would have to be set aside.

Once this political decision was taken, it was then necessary to implement that strategy. If the overthrow of Allende were to appear as an internal failure, the methods used by the United States to promote this failure would have to be covert. The role of the United States would have to be invisible. The situation in Chile was particularly suited to this kind of activity. The class war which was being waged between 1970-1973 was not primarily characterized by armed struggle, but rather was an ideological war supported by tactical offensives in the economic and psychological arena.

The formulation of the tactics to be used within this overall strategy was the work of the "Forty Com-

mittee," a subcommittee of the National Security Council. Headed by Henry Kissinger, the Forty Committee approves all major clandestine operations abroad. It is here that the basic tenets of the plan were decided upon. These included: 1) creation of economic chaos aimed at alienating the petit bourgeoisie and the labor aristocracy while disrupting the normal functioning of society; 2) use of paramilitary actions to create an atmosphere of chaos; 3) support for a well-oiled propaganda apparatus which would be used to confuse the population ideologically and to disseminate misinformation; 4) strengthening of right-wing sectors through covert funding, advice and resources supplied by the United States; and 5) debilitating and dividing the Left by exacerbating internal divisions and weaknesses created by reformist politics. These activities would create the necessary conditions for the three main prongs needed to carry out the overthrow of the *Unidad Popular (UP)* government: the creation of a mass-based opposition, the ideological and practical preparation of the military to ensure their successful intervention at the correct moment, the weakening of the Left by fostering internal divisions.

### THE CIA

The CIA structure is headed by the Resident whose cover is generally that of an executive with a multinational company—a natural and universally usable cover for US intelligence agents given the nature of imperialism. Beneath the Resident are a team of case officers who are also US citizens and full-time employees of the Agency. In Chile, the Resident receives orders directly from the chief of the Latin America Area Division of the Director of Operations in Washington. Each operation or type of operation which is ordered by the CIA is designated a "project" and then assigned to one of the case officers.

The job of the Resident and the case officers consists of building up in-country networks over the years so that when they are needed they can be activated simply and quickly. Recruits are gathered from a variety of places. Many are spotted in exchange programs conducted by the State Department, AID, USIA, AIFLD, private organizations, universities, foundations or CIA-sponsored training courses for

foreign officers at the International Police Academy. CIA recruiters pay particular attention to military personnel and students, both of whom are extremely upwardly mobile in Latin American Society and could provide a high-level government contact in the future. The foreign nationals recruited by the CIA form the base of the resident structure and the key to successful intelligence operations in the country. From 1960 to 1973 tens of thousands of Chileans participated in these exchange programs.

Between 1970 and 1973 the resident structure in Chile carried out a wide range of "projects": one case officer was in charge of overseeing the US plan of economic sabotage, another made sure that CIA-planted stories got into the Chilean press, another oversaw the network of "proprietaries" and conduits set up by the Agency to funnel arms and money to the right-wing, and yet another had to make sure that all political parties were being infiltrated on the highest level possible. In fact, most of the CIA's covert operations in Chile during the UP government were within one of these four areas: the economic offen-

sive, paramilitary operations, funding and media operations.

### THE ECONOMIC OFFENSIVE

Essential to setting the stage for a coup d'etat was the creation of a mass base of opposition to the UP government and the fomenting of a situation of chaos which would justify military intervention. The economic offensive was designed to achieve these goals. At least three elements made up this offensive: the "invisible blockade," the manipulation of the world copper market and the priming of the black market within Chile.

The United States, because of the degree of its control over the Chilean economy in the past and its dominance of international financial organizations, was able to play a critical role in the manipulation of the Chilean economy between 1970-1973. The strategy involved both covert and overt actions, and CIA specialists were crucial to the carrying out and coordination of the two levels.

The plan began to take shape even before Allende became President. On September 29, 1970, William V. Broe, the CIA's head of Clandestine Services for Latin America, called Edward Gerrity of ITT to arrange a meeting. Previous to this, ITT had attempted to get CIA cooperation for a series of schemes without—according to testimony at the Senate hearings on ITT—much success. Now the CIA was approaching ITT. The Forty Committee had probably given the go-ahead in its September meeting.

Broe's suggestions to Gerrity at that meeting were the essence of what became the "invisible blockade": 1) banks delaying or not renewing credits; 2) companies delaying in sending payments and making deliveries; 3) pressure put on savings and loan associations to close down their operations in Chile; 4) withdrawal of technical help; and 5) approaching other corporations with an interest in Chile to suggest that they follow the same course of action. Despite the fact that Broe and the CIA deny that the plan was ever put into action, this is exactly what happened during the next year. The capacity for the United States to implement such a plan rested upon the dependent capitalist structure of Chile vis-a-vis the United States and the strength of US capital internationally.



*This article is excerpted from a longer report by NACLA, the North American Committee on Latin America. The complete report is available for \$1 from NACLA, Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York, NY 10025. You can subscribe to NACLA's Latin American and Empire Report for \$10 a year.*



The combined results of this strategy squeezed the economy from both the production and consumption end. Although production in many areas increased during the years of the UP government, its full growth was impeded in many sectors of the economy because of a lack of spare parts and capital, withheld by the invisible blockade. This caused serious consequences in terms of many consumer items and services—particularly transportation, as most Chilean buses were Fords—it helped foment the hostile reaction of sectors of the petit bourgeoisie toward the government. This is easily seen in the strikes of the truck and taxi owners who protested a lack of spare parts and tires. These strikes, in turn, were used by the Right as the basis for creating a mass opposition to the UP government.

The plan to squeeze production and consumption was to be complemented by an attack on Chile's main source of foreign exchange, the sale of copper. The CIA had long been known to manipulate commodity markets for the political benefit of the US ruling class. It tried every possible trick in the sugar market in order to weaken the Cuban Revolution. With copper accounting for 80 percent of Chile's exports, the CIA could not resist.

In March 1971 the *Banque Populaire Suisse* received a deposit from the Zurich-based Internordia Finance Corporation. The company said that the cash deposit represented its "exclusive world monopoly" on the sale of a huge quantity of electrolytic copper to be produced in Chile over the next ten years. However, this quantity represented far more copper than, in reality, Chile could produce.

When it was notified by the bank, the Chilean government said it knew nothing of the transaction. What was it all about? The effect of the deal was to imply that Chile had a far greater supply of copper than it admitted to, a far greater supply than it actually had. Given the fact that the world copper market is extremely sensitive to supply and demand, news of the existence of a new source of copper would have sent copper prices plummeting. And each drop of one cent in the price of copper over a year costs Chile approximately \$10 million in lost revenues.

Within a few days, the police in Santiago had arrested a North American, Howard C. Edwards, a Swiss citizen and two Argentines for their role in this plot. Edwards, arrested in his room in the Hotel Carrera—a Sheraton hotel which seems to have been a favorite haunt of CIA operatives—was found with papers pertaining to the copper deal as well as identification confirming him as an Intelligence Officer of the US government.

When this covert attempt to destroy Chile's copper market failed, the United States was forced to resort to more overt methods. In October 1972 the economic offensive was coordinated with mass mobilizations by opposition forces and a political offensive by opposition congressional leaders. As the streets of Santiago filled with striking truck drivers, shop keepers, bank workers and members of the merchant marine, the Congress met to begin impeachment proceedings against four of Allende's cabinet members. At the same time, in Paris, Kennecott introduced litigation to block the sale of Chilean copper abroad, arguing that the copper was still owned by the company.

The offensive was mounting. The effects of the economic offensive were beginning to have increasing political ramifications.

The third aspect of the economic offensive—the stimulation of the black market—was a more complex matter. The CIA has always dealt on the currency black market and has agents around the world whose sole purpose is to trade dollars for local currency where exchange rates are particularly good. This allows the Agency to buy more for the money it is allotted in its annual budget and to launder the funds so they cannot be traced back to CIA headquarters in Langley, Va. In Chile, the black market was used not only to support covert activities, but also to drain money out of the economy.

#### PARAMILITARY OPERATIONS

After the election of Allende in September 1970, sectors within the CIA in coordination with ITT felt that Allende's assumption of the presidency still could be prevented. William Merriam wrote John McCone (ITT executive and former head of the CIA) in October 1970 and referred to his last meeting with people from the Agency. "Approaches continue to be made to select members of the Armed Forces," he wrote, "in an attempt to have them lead some sort of uprising—no success to date." One of the obstacles to this "success" was Army Commander in Chief, General Rene Schneider. While he was not pro-Marxist, Schneider refused to permit any military intervention in the democratic process in order to prevent Allende's confirmation as President.

At about the same time that Merriam was writing to McCone, the main office of ITT received communication from one of its "PR men" in Chile. It said that the military would only intervene if the country's stability were sufficiently threatened and that "the threat must be provided one way or another through provocation."

ITT's "PR man" was, in reality, a CIA agent—Robert Berrellez. Berrellez had worked for many years as an Associated Press reporter. He spent a good part of the years between 1959 and 1961 in Havana, Cuba. Following the Bay of Pigs invasion, Berrellez was expelled from the island and soon left his job at AP to join ITT's public relations department. With this new cover he arrived in Santiago in 1970 along with Hal Hendrix, also of ITT, to "report" on the situation for the company.

Berrellez must have seen in General Schneider what seemed to be the perfect opportunity for a "provocation."

It is the morning of October 22, 1970. General Schneider's car is on its usual route to his office. Suddenly, he is surrounded by four other cars and, within moments, shot and fatally wounded. As the ambulance rushes him to the Military Hospital, the men involved in his assassination begin to scatter.

Juan Luis Bulnes, later proved to be among those responsible for Schneider's death, headed immediately for the airport. There he picked up his ticket for Buenos Aires which earlier had been reserved for him in the name of Robert Berrellez. Berrellez, himself, would soon fly on to Buenos Aires, before Bulnes departed for his final destination—the United States.

As Schneider still lay in the hospital in a coma, Robert Viaux, a retired right-wing army general who was later proven to be the ring leader of the assassi-



This October 1972 economic offensive included this mass mobilization of middle and upper class women. Pinochet recently announced that the Junta was planning to build a national monument to the "Chilean Woman."

sination plot, rushed to his house to burn any incriminating documents. Viaux had been in steady contact over a period of time with the United States and, in particular, Berrellez and Hendrix. In fact, when Viaux met with the two, he "was given verbal assurance that he would receive material help and support from the United States." But, despite the precautions which he took, Viaux was later arrested for his participation in the crime.

"Operation Alfa," as the plan to kidnap Schneider was called, was a plot by the Right to create a situation of terror in Chile and then blame it on the Left. The reactionaries had hoped that this might prove to be the provocation necessary to encourage the military to step in and prevent the confirmation of Allende as President by Congress. Instead, the plan was uncovered and quickly revealed by the Left. Allende demanded a change in the head of Investigations (the Police Department), Luis Jaspard De Fonseca, who was believed to have ties with the CIA. Shortly thereafter arrest warrants were issued for Viaux, Bulnes and others involved in the plot including the two sons of Guillermo Carey, a vice president of Anaconda Copper Company.

As the Right was quickly to learn, mass support for the UP government was too strong to allow it to be overthrown by an individual terrorist action. Paramilitary actions would have to be increasingly well-planned and executed. And they would have to be coordinated with the opposition's mass agitations. With the failure of the Schneider assassination *Patria y Libertad* was formed to carry out this plan.

Over the years, the CIA has put together a number of armies—the famous Meo Tribesmen in Laos, the Bolivian Rangers who assassinated Che, a special army team in Peru in the mid-sixties which was formed to fight the Peruvian guerrilla movement, and many more. Since 1962 over 600 Special Forces training teams, on loan to the CIA, have been sent to Latin America. The Special Operations Division (SOD) of the CIA oversees these activities.

The material needed by the SOD is obtained from the CIA's Office of Logistics which operates vast warehouses of weapons for just such purposes. A good part of the CIA's material comes from the US Army; the rest—a significant portion—comes from private arms companies, in particular, the International Armament Corporation in Alexandria, Virginia. But before the recruiting, training and supplying can begin, an internal army must be created.

*Patria y Libertad* was that army in Chile. The formation of *Patria y Libertad* was officially announced in March 1971 by Pablo Rodriguez, then acting as lawyer for Roberto Viaux. Its philosophy was based on national syndicalism, preaching the creation of a corporatist state under the control of an authoritarian government. It was, in other words, fascist. The Political Directorate of the group included the country's most powerful industrial and landed interest: Benjamin Matte, president of the National Society of Agriculture (SNA), Orlando Saenz, president of the National Society of Manufacturers (SOFOFA) and former economic advisor to the Junta, Horge Fortaine, president of the Confederation of Production and



Commerce, and a number of retired military leaders like Viaux and General Canales.

*Patria y Libertad* worked both publicly and clandestinely. The public side concentrated primarily on propaganda which was disseminated to a wide audience through a chain of radio stations headed by Radio Agricultura. These stations were used both to spread misinformation further contributing to the creation of chaos within the country and also to send out coded paramilitary messages.

The clandestine front involved paramilitary training, intelligence, infiltration and coordination with the *gremio* movement to organize strikes, sabotage and terrorist acts. This side of the organization was run similarly to early Nazi groups in Germany. To become a member the individual underwent an elaborate system of intelligence checks, indoctrination classes, training in arms and communications, and for the more proven cadre, classes on explosives and intelligence gathering. The military apparatus of *Patria y Libertad* was divided into cells—training squadrons, death squads, and shock troops. Ex-military officials, many graduates of the International Police Academy or the Army School of the Americas, gave the classes. In the fall of 1973, out of 201 students in the Army School of the Americas, 53 were Chilean. Now they are receiving courses in counterinsurgency rather than terrorist tactics.

With the success of the UP in the April 1971 municipal elections, *Patria y Libertad* went into action, and the US apparatus to support it was moved into place. One of the first changes was the replacement of US Ambassador Korry by Nathaniel Davis, an expert in the use of paramilitary forces.

An important element in US intelligence activities in foreign countries is always advice. Because of their vast experience in counterinsurgency and overthrowing governments, CIA men bring an important expertise to each new experience. They also bring the vast knowledge of the particular country, gathered over the years by their information gathering apparatus. US intelligence and paramilitary experts aided the Chilean right-wing in every way possible.

The CIA's in-country team in the US Embassy in Santiago maintained direct contact with *Patria y Libertad*. Ambassador Davis had frequent meetings with both Orlando Saenz and Pablo Rodriguez. Joseph Vassile, using the well-known CIA cover of the US Office of Public Safety Advisor—the same cover used by Dan Mitrione in Uruguay—was finally expelled from Chile for his relations with *Patria y Libertad*. With his knowledge of paramilitary affairs and specific access to knowledge about the kinds of paramilitary equipment available from the United States, Vassile was of great aid to the group.

In addition to contacts on an official level with the United States and with the Chilean community here, *Patria y Libertad* also began to set up an apparatus of support throughout Latin-America—in the strongholds of US imperialism. Brazil and Bolivia were particularly important, both countries having military dictatorships, installed after US-supported coup d'etats. Right-wing Brazilian groups, with close connections to the United States, offered \$8 million to *Patria y Libertad* and a force of some 500 men. Arms were also shipped in under cover of business transactions between the Brazilian and Chilean bourgeoisies. One important example of this was the numerous

shipments of arms which entered Chile in boxes of *Si Cafe*, a company owned by Pedro Ibanez.

Contacts for arms and money were also made with the right-wing in Argentina. The numerous CIA operatives working in Argentina were instrumental in shoring up this apparatus as well. Most importantly, the US Army base in Mendoza, Argentina (on the border with Chile) was used by the CIA as a cover for paramilitary operations. At the time of the coup in Chile, there were 22 US Air Force planes at the air base there, an inordinate amount.

Getting money and arms to paramilitary groups is something which the United States cannot do directly in the same manner in which they support fascist governments. When the Right is not in power, covert means must be created to support it. One of the ways this is done is through the use of "proprietarys"—front companies which act as funnels and covers for the Central Intelligence Agency. These fronts can be export/import companies, travel agencies, or small research companies, to name a few. One of the CIA's best known proprietarys, was Southern Air Transport (SAT). In Victor Marchetti's words, SAT is, "the Agency's air arm for potential Latin American interventions." With Headquarters in Miami, SAT received its funds through a conduit called Actus Technology. Southern Air Transport was active in the Congo in 1961, in the Bay of Pigs, in Venezuela and in Bolivia. In 1971, SAT, began flying into Chile. When asked what they were unloading, SAT crew members answered "meat," not a well-known Chilean import from the United States at that time. Flights continued regularly until the time of the coup.

*Patria y Libertad* leader Roberto Thleme is led into court in August '72 following a two month manhunt. Thleme coordinated the importation of arms by way of the US Army Base in Mendoza, on the Chile/Argentina border.



Another means of getting arms into the country covertly is to use a US Army cover, and then simply redistribute the arms once they have entered. When not using this method, the CIA can also use private companies which are either CIA covers or which will be glad to work with the Agency for a price. The same is true of small teams of gun runners.

All of this equipment requires training and some sort of expertise. By the spring of 1973, terrorist activities had been escalated to a new high and included bombings, sabotage of electrical plants, highways, water systems, and attacks on the Left. As the terrorist acts became more serious and were used not only as propaganda—to create an atmosphere of chaos—but also to inflict real damage on the economy, a higher degree of skill was needed to carry them out. Michael Townley had that skill. Recruited when he was in the Peace Corps in Chile, Townley returned as an advisor for the CIA to work with *Patria y Libertad*. In early 1973, he and five members of a terror squad from the organization attacked the Electrical Service Center in Concepcion. They were trying to cut off UP government TV broadcasts to Concepcion by destroying one electrical component of a complex system. It was a highly technical job requiring both skill and good equipment. But the project failed. TV broadcasts to the city were only disrupted for a short time. Furthermore, the terror squad had hastily bound and gagged the night watchman at the center and he suffocated to death, creating tremendous public indignation against the attackers. Townley was picked up with the other five men but eventually fled to the United States.

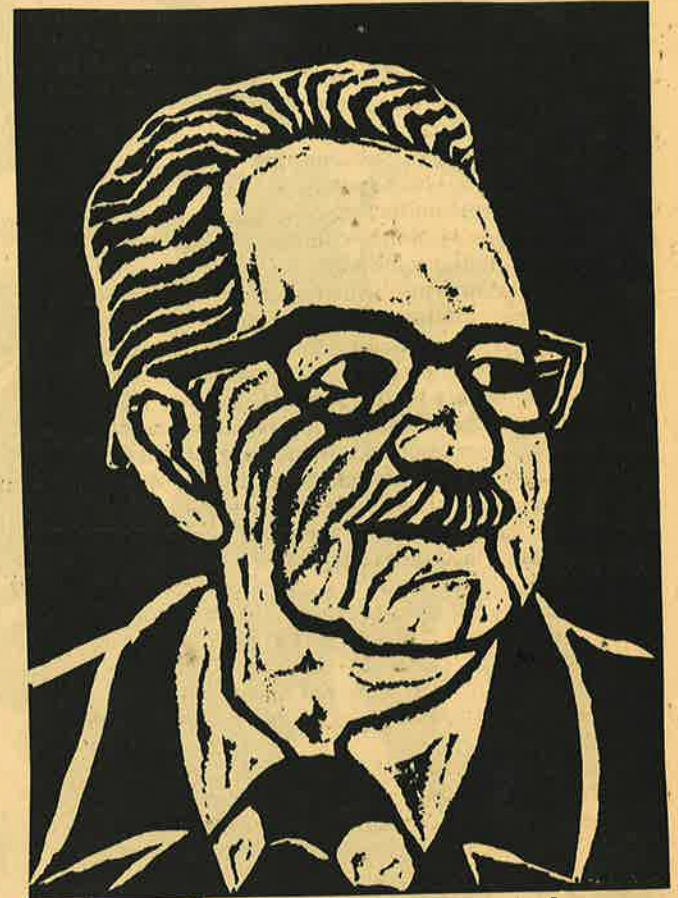
Members of the US military also lent their expertise to the counter-revolution. In late May 1973 three staff members of the US Embassy met with officers of the Chilean Navy and Army on board Chilean naval vessels docked in the port of Arica. From that point on there was at least one US Naval Intelligence Officer on every major Chilean Navy ship. Finally, it was during this same period that a US Marine team from Panama visited Chile.

#### FUNDING

An essential requirement of these paramilitary activities—as well as the other varieties of subversion carried out by the Chilean right-wing—was funding. People working underground had to be supported. Those arms not donated by the United States and Brazil had to be purchased and radio stations had to be funded, all of which was expensive.

With the testimony of CIA director William Colby before the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Intelligence, we now know that the Forty Committee approved the expenditure of at the very least \$8 million for covert activities of the CIA between 1970 and 1973 in an effort to "destabilize" the UP government. Colby stated that the Forty Committee authorized the expenditure of \$1 million for "further political destabilization" in August 1973, just a month before the coup.

Seymour Hersh of the *New York Times* quoted "well informed sources" as saying that much of a chapter on Chile in Victor Marchetti's book *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* is a part of the material pre-censored by the courts. The CIA had requested the court order on the grounds of national security. "As initially written," the sources said, "the book's chapter on Chile began with the following quote



Woodcut of Salvador Allende. Rodemor/LNS.

from Henry Kissinger, who was then serving as adviser on national security to President Richard Nixon.

"I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go Communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people."

The strength which the right-wing was able to maintain in Chile through the years of the UP Government facilitated its ability to use all sorts of conduits and engage almost openly in seditious activity. The class alliance forged many years before with the US imperialists gave it the strength necessary to regain power, at least in the short-run.

#### THE MEDIA

Propaganda, disseminated through what is called a media apparatus, is an important front in the ideological struggle. Ideological clarity helps to unite people and prepare them for the mass and armed struggle. Propaganda is used to shape people's consciousness and incite them to action. The ruling class understands this very well. Ideological warfare is one of the battle fronts with imperialism.

Revolutions cannot succeed without the defeat and destruction of the reactionary forces. The Right was never defeated in Chile. They continued to wage an intensive ideological battle, with the aid of US imperialism, throughout the years of the UP government. This struggle took place on both a covert and an overt level. To the extent that the Left did not achieve ideological clarity and unity, the Right was able to make gains. To the extent that the Right maintained a solid economic base within the society and received





Striking truck owners gather around a "common pot" during one of their strikes which crippled the Chilean economy. The truckers' strike in August '73 is said to have cost nearly \$7 million. 35 thousand truckers were paid \$3-\$5 a day for 45 days.

the support of the United States they were able to continue these activities.

Just as the United States constructed the Organization of American States (OAS) in an attempt to politically control Latin America, and supports ORIT and AIFLD in order to spread bankrupt US labor ideology, so it has constructed an apparatus to attempt to control culture and ideology. The United States Information Agency (USIA), founded in 1953 at the height of the Cold War, is one of these overt mechanisms. One-quarter of USIA's world-wide budget was spent in Chile in 1961. USIA disseminated films to TV stations, tapes to radio stations, editorials to newspapers and magazines and a host of miscellaneous reactionary propaganda. Much of this propaganda was used during Frei's campaign in 1964. During the 1970-73 period, USIA continued to distribute its material to the right-wing media, in particular Channel 13-TV (The Catholic University's station)

and *El Mercurio*, the right wing daily newspaper.

The Inter-American Press Association (IAPA) is another tentacle of US imperialism in Latin America. IAPA's vice president, until 1972, was Agustín Edwards. He was replaced by René Silva Espejo, president of *El Mercurio*. The Board of Directors of IAPA—which was long ago denounced as a CIA front—is heavily dominated by the major media interests in the United States including representatives of both the Hearst and Knight chain of papers, and TV and radio stations. IAPA held its annual convention in Santiago in 1972 and used that forum to mount attacks on the UP government and give the right-wing credibility. In a fitting move, IAPA gave its annual award that year to Jorge Fontaine, an editor of *El Mercurio*.

US advertising agencies also played an important role, particularly the agency which was crucial during the coup in Brazil in 1964. Marplan, the Latin American division of McCann Erickson, orchestrated a cam-

paigned against nationalization which included both printed matter and films which were shown in mothers' centers and the *juntas de vecinos* (neighborhood centers). The objectives of the plan are stated most concisely in Marplan's own description: "It is necessary to destroy the image of the State as patron; it is necessary to stimulate the sense of property among workers, a feeling which already has been shown among the peasants. . ."

In addition, there are several forms of covert activities which relate to the media: "disinformation," black propaganda, coded communications and incitement to counter-revolutionary activity. All were used in Chile.

1. **Black propaganda** is the dissemination of false information meant to influence people's opinions and move them to action. Overseen by the Covert Action Staff of Clandestine Services and using the skills of sociologists, psychologists, historians and media specialists, these CIA experts have long practiced this art. The CIA has been caught disseminating false Tupamaro documents, redesigning OSPAL posters to make it look like leftist parties are fighting among themselves, and forging numerous varieties of documents. In Chile, black propaganda took many forms. One use was in the creation of shortages. Right-wing radio stations would broadcast alarms saying that the supply of one item or another was running out. People would dash from their houses and buy up large quantities of the item so as to have a supply. In reality this would create the shortage.

2. **"Disinformation"** is the subtle distortion of reality. The right-wing press practices this daily. For example, in 1973 reactionary papers furiously attacked the UP for proposing a restructuring of the education system known as the *Escuela Nacional Unificada* (ENU). As the reporting grew stronger, reactionary secondary school children held a demonstration on the steps of the National Library of Santiago and proceeded to run through the streets of Santiago, breaking store windows, setting fires, and overturning cars. All of this to protest the government's educational plan. In reality, however, the plan had been withdrawn weeks before, but this was not reported in the papers.

*El Mercurio*, the newspaper of the Edwards which was managed by René Silva Espejo—one of the founders of the Chilean Nazi Party—was a key part of the campaign of disinformation. As such, it was aided by CIA agents placed on the paper's staff. Alvaro Puga, one such agent, was in charge of the propaganda campaigns of the paper. He was also a conduit for the placing of stories written by the CIA experts back in

the States. Puga eventually achieved such success at his job that he became a member of the reactionary Central Operative Command which directed the coup d'état.

3. **Incitement to action.** The CIA usually reaches its propagandistic heights with the founding of a so-called *Radio Liberación* similar to the one which was so totally unsuccessful during the Bay of Pigs invasion. Once again, Michael Townley, Peace-Corpsman-turned-CIA-paramilitary-expert, was the protagonist of this activity in Chile. The first attempt at founding an anti-government *Radio Liberación* occurred during the October 1972 strike by the *gremios*. Townley, with the aid of Manuel Fuentes, began broadcasting—with the use of highly sophisticated equipment—a plan for the overthrow of the government. While the plan was not successful at the time, Townley gained some experience which he would put to use later.

4. **Coded messages** were consistently broadcast over right-wing radio stations throughout the years of the UP government. In the early days messages were quite simple. For example, right-wing radios contacted networks of reactionary women over the air to advise them where they could obtain scarce goods so that they could supply themselves and help create further shortages. As the time passed and the level of class struggle increased, messages took on more of a tactical and paramilitary nature. Roberto Thieme's illegal re-entry into Chile was broadcast in a code as well as Pinochet's incorporation into the counter-revolution.

#### CONCLUSION

US imperialism is on the defensive. It cannot defend all of its empire militarily; it must use other means. In South America, in particular, the form of warfare is covert. We have lived through military coups in Guatemala, Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay and now Chile. But the war continues.

Like any other battle, covert warfare embodies a strategy and tactics; to defeat it we must begin to understand both better. This study was done to try and delineate some of the strategies and tactics of US imperialism: we study history to understand the present so that we can shape the future.

The Vietnamese describe US imperialism as a wounded tiger which is being defeated but is, nevertheless, all the more ferocious in its dying stage. This ferociousness is being unleashed in Latin America and around the world daily. But the people are gaining strength and will defeat it. *La Resistencia Va!*

viva la  
democraCIA



Vadillo/Siempre/LNS.



Police rough up  
Steve Klerish,  
one of the seven  
demonstrators arrested.  
Photo Alan Bergstein.

## McNamara, Frei Blocked from BU Conference

MICHAEL T. KLARE

Boston University, like most US colleges, has had few major demonstrations since the Vietnam war "ended," and most campus officials assumed that the radical student movement was dead. Acting on this premise, BU's Center for Latin American Development Studies (CLADS) shed its "low-profile" guise and invited former Chilean president Eduardo Frei and World Bank president Robert S. McNamara to Boston October 16-18 for a three-day conference on Economic Development in Latin America that was to have included representatives of Chile's ruling military junta.

Frei and McNamara never made it to the BU campus. Anti-junta demonstrators staged three days of militant protests that astonished campus politicians and completely overwhelmed the CLADS conference. The BU administration—caught totally off guard by the fervor of the demonstrations—sent McNamara and Frei home and called in Boston's notorious Tactical Patrol Force (TPF) to relieve harried campus policemen. Before the TPF was pulled out, scores of students had been beaten, seven were arrested and CLADS had become totally isolated from the campus community.

In order to understand how BU became the site of such unexpected events, it is necessary to know a little bit about CLADS and its director, Professor Paul Rosenstein-Rodan. Touted as the world's leading authority on developmental economics, Rosenstein-Rodan is a former Alliance for Progress official and a consultant to the World Bank, the Organization of American States, and other international organizations.

*Michael T. Klare is a staff member of the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) and a graduate student at Boston University.*



In the past year he has made five trips to Chile to advise the junta on economic matters, and in January he urged the Center for Inter-American Progress (CIAP) to endorse a \$800 million US loan/investment package to keep the military regime afloat.

Rosenstein-Rodan has written several widely-quoted articles blaming Allende's economic ineptitude for the collapse of the *Unidad Popular* government, and researchers at the North American Congress on Latin America regard him as a central figure in the "junta lobby" which is trying to solicit loans and credits for the Pinochet regime.

Backed by lucrative grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, the World Bank and the OAS, Rosenstein-Rodan has built CLADS into a major center for research on economic development in Latin America. Although CLADS insists that their work is entirely "neutral" and apolitical in nature, critics at BU charge that the center is promoting a "model" of development that implicitly endorses the repressive labor policies of the hemisphere's military dictatorships. Indeed, the guest list for the BU conference included Roberto Campos, the architect of the Brazilian junta's economic policies, and Raul Saez, a civilian economist now working for the junta in Chile (as it turned out, Saez was too preoccupied with Chile's economic crisis to attend the meeting).

While BU activists have long known of Rosenstein-Rodan's extracurricular activities, they had difficulty mobilizing opposition to CLADS' seemingly innocuous day-to-day operations. The October conference changed all that: suddenly it became clear to many people that BU was involved in an elaborate and complex strategy to legitimize the Pinochet regime and to help assemble the hundreds of millions of dollars in loans and credits needed to keep the junta in power.

In early October, several campus groups—including the Chile Action Group and the Revolutionary Student Brigade—met and agreed to mount a united struggle against the CLADS conference. Other Boston area groups were asked to join the demonstrations.

The demonstrators seized the initiative at the very beginning of the conference and held it for the next three days. At the first session on October 16th, Rosenstein-Rodan had hardly finished his opening remarks when protestors interrupted with denunciations and chants.

When the next session began that afternoon, several BU policemen were on hand to keep out uninvited guests. This didn't stop the protestors, however, who broke through the guard and occupied the conference auditorium. Rosenstein-Rodan, who throughout appeared unusually wary of meeting opponents on a face-to-face basis, then suspended the conference.

It was at this point, according to newspaper reports, that Rosenstein-Rodan traveled downtown to the Carleton-Ritz Hotel to tell McNamara and Frei that BU had lost control of the situation and that they would have to skip the conference. Both left town the next day after an evening banquet at the Carleton-Ritz.

When the conference resumed the next day, minus its principal speakers, a heavy police guard in riot outfits blocked the auditorium. Only students with special passes were allowed to enter, and BU Vice President Daniel J. Finn was on hand to monitor the situation. After a noon rally, the protestors marched to the auditorium and formed a picket line. When the afternoon session was scheduled to begin, a hundred demonstrators surrounded the police guarding the entrance and linked arms, announcing that "no one gets in unless we all get in!" After enduring 15 minutes of shouting and chanting, the BU guards broke ranks and attacked the protestors. One student was dragged into the auditorium and clubbed unconscious—reportedly with the assistance of Vice President Finn. When students began reforming their lines, Finn called in the TPF.

According to witnesses, the TPF "went berserk" upon reaching the campus, charging into demonstrators and spectators alike. (Many observers speculated that the TPF was only too happy to club students, after having been stationed in predominantly Irish South Boston—where they had been obliged to protect black school children from rock-throwing gangs of white youths during Boston's school integration struggle.) By bringing such a brutal force on campus, the BU administration acknowledged the collapse of its moral authority and helped mobilize student opinion against CLADS.

At a mass meeting the next day, October 18th, hundreds of students pledged to press the campaign against CLADS and to support a new roster of demands including the dropping of charges against the seven protestors arrested on the 17th, and the dismissal of Vice President Finn. CLADS, meanwhile, held its final session in secrecy and cancelled a press conference when several hundred students converged on the CLADS office.

While it is too early to estimate the strength of the new movement, it is quite clear that the anti-junta demonstrations not only succeeded in discrediting the CLADS operation but also helped forge a new spirit of militancy on campus. More important, perhaps, the protests helped create a new consciousness about the US role in Chile and Latin America that goes beyond the obvious horrors of Vietnam to focus on such subtle mechanisms as aid, loans, investments and other covert forms of intervention.

### MOOT

It is not true that things remain  
though, in the ultimate  
it is true  
( a useless knowing, but  
that it bears us up).

It is not true that things remain  
though in the

It is not true that things remain  
though, in the ultimate  
it is true  
( a useless knowing, but  
that it bear us up).

The fact is  
different grasses fill each space,  
exchange.

the birds this year  
are not the same as last,  
had we but sense  
of their generation, could we but mark  
their separate faces  
as our own  
returns here, yet grows older.

The fact is that the grasses seem  
to blow the same,  
each bird  
turns round familiarly

lest that we look too close  
It is some way our selves remain.  
what we left is gone.

—Toby Olson

### AESTHETICS 30 (AUGUST/1973)

Given the concerns of these months  
so common  
of the way men compromise  
themselves and their friends,  
strange  
that all is not vanity.

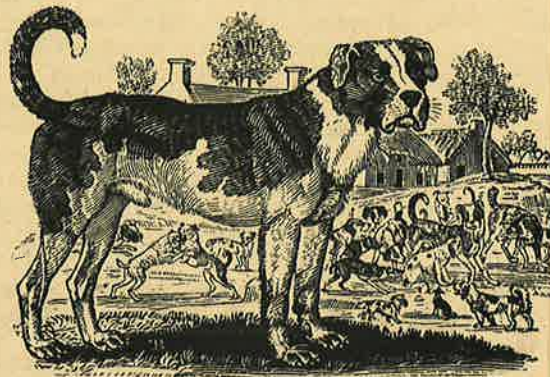
Their wives  
are excluded from the act,

so sad  
that we cannot imagine  
that they touch each other, even  
that they tilt toward each other  
in public places

—Toby Olson



# DAISY,



# COLBY, SOPHIE & LEO

AN OPEN LETTER TO ANDREA DWORKIN, ET. AL.

LEAH FRITZ

I have a female dog, and some years ago she decided to mate with a cocker spaniel. Actually, we picked out the cocker spaniel for her, because the vet said she should mate with someone slightly smaller, to be sure her puppies would be easy to deliver.

So Colby, the cocker spaniel arrived one day with the woman he lives with, and he and Daisy looked each other over. They sniffed at each other a lot. Very soon, Colby was rarin' to go, but Daisy wasn't ready yet. So as he started to mount her, she sat down. Colby had to try again.

He licked her face, he licked her ears, he licked her bottom. He tried again. Daisy sat down again. Colby continued his gentle persuasion, and Daisy responded with licks and sniffs of her own, but she let Colby know quite firmly that she wasn't ready to mate. This mutual courtship process went on for the best part of an hour in our living room. Then, suddenly, Daisy made up her mind. She turned to Colby with a look which seemed to say "follow me," and led him into our bedroom. There, on our bed, she invited him to enter her.

In the way of female and male dogs, they hooked into each other and remained so for about half an hour. During this time, a number of people dropped in to visit us, and as they arrived, Colby and Daisy, linked like Siamese twins, ran to the door to greet them. Eventually, with a squeak and some more licks, they separated from each other.

Colby came by several times that week, and each time he and Daisy become enjoined more quickly.

Two month later Daisy delivered seven puppies, and that was the end of her heterosexual sex life. Now she lives with one of her daughters and the people in our family. When she comes in heat, she mounts her daughter or one of us, and goes through a rhythmic fucking ritual. Sometimes she has a false pregnancy, complete with wet nipples and imaginary puppies which she guards faithfully in a closet.

Colby has moved away, and perhaps he has been invited to mate with other dogs, perhaps not. But one thing I do know: *in spite of his male persistence, he has not become an imperialist cocker spaniel.*

There is a whole world of animals, of which the human is only one species. They are, generally, divided into two sexes, and among mammals, the mating process is usually similar. Yet the only imperialist mammal is the human male.

So I don't think imperialism is connected with the hardness of a man's penis nor the act of fucking, whatever the position of the consenting partners during the act, and whether or not the man is performing it with a woman or another man.

Some women prefer making love to women. Some women prefer making love to men. Women who enjoy sex with men appreciate an erected penis, at least part of the time. They also appreciate having attention paid to their whole bodies, and many men enjoy such attention, too. A free woman will not fuck until she wants to, and occasionally this can be *before* the man is ready. So then *she* will court *him*.

Some women like to make love to both men and women—sometimes at the same time, sometimes alternately, sometimes at different times in their lives. Sometimes depending on which sex is most readily available. It's nice to have choices.

The origin of some men's imperialistic tendencies *may* be biological, but, if so, there is no reason to connect these tendencies with the erection, which al-

so occurs in most male animals, including the most innocuous. There could be an acquisitive instinct built into some men's brains, but here we are treading on dangerous ground, because so far there is no evidence of any difference between the construction of men's and women's brains. Unless such evidence appears, it would seem to me an act of sanity on the part of feminists to view the patriarchy as an historical maladjustment on the social level. And to concentrate our energies on correcting that maladjustment.

The case of Sophie Tolstoy is certainly sad. For one thing, there are indications that the Count preferred the company of men and may have been a closet homosexual. Sophie had been trained to organize her whole life around a man because that, essentially, is the role assigned to women by the patriarchy. Dworkin is right in saying that the ills which afflicted Sophie Tolstoy have not yet been cured. That's why we have a women's movement.

A number of the suggestions Dworkin postulated contemptuously at the end of her article might, indeed, have helped Sophie Tolstoy over many wretched moments. Masturbation is one; finding another lover (had that been possible), whether male or female, is a second. Leaving Leo, in the manner of Ibsen's Nora, is a third. But none of these personal alternatives would overthrow the patriarchy or change the lot of women in general.

It's interesting to me, from another angle, that Dworkin chose the case of Sophie Tolstoy as her example. The Tolstoys were aristocrats, and therefore they had the leisure to frustrate each other to a maniacal degree. Leo, if I remember the story correctly, was obsessed with guilt about possessions and wanted to relieve both himself and Sophie of as many as possible. Sophie, having nothing *but* possessions in her life, was attached to them. She was similarly attached to Leo as a possession.

There are many subtleties and contradictions in any personal story, but in general Sophie and Leo were reacting, sometimes in complete conformity with, sometimes perversely and therefore ineffectually against, the rules of the game set down by the patriarchy. They saw their lives as an isolated phenomenon. Sophie, working with other women of all classes, might have been able to build a matriarchal revolution in Russia free of the insane power-plays and purges which have since consistently marred the accomplishments of patriarchal socialist regimes there and elsewhere. Sophie, isolated as she was, had no such opportunity. We do.

I agree, and so do most radical feminists, that equality with men—as they are—would not bring about a just society. We need to develop matriarchal values harmonious with nature as we, as women, elucidate that relationship. We need to dissolve the concept of relationships, personal as well as societal, based on power. We must avoid confusing sexual potency, in women or men, with the imperialistic notion of power. If men see the gun and the missile as an extension of their phalluses, they are obviously suffering from a delusion. The fact that it is widespread is no argument against the essential derangement of minds which cannot separate the symbolism of fantasy from their own real genital equipment.

We must not, ourselves, be hypnotized into accepting such a derangement as a rational statement, or to be drawn into diversionary battles stemming from it. As our own understanding of "what might be" evolves into "what will be" on a societal level, the sexual behavior of human beings will no doubt change—and probably in ways it would be wasteful to attempt to predict now. Now is the time to organize the 53% of the human race which will reorganize the world.



## ISLA VISTA LEAFLETING

As part of the International Week of Concern, Sept. 29 to Oct. 6, persons from the Thomas Merton Unity Center in Isla Vista, Calif., rode buses of the Santa Barbara Metropolitan Transit District repaying people for their bus fares with money recycled from war tax dollars.

More than \$75 of withheld taxes (income taxes, phone tax) was converted into quarters which were then taped to a leaflet which declared:

*We give you this money for bus fare instead of supporting the US defense budget. We have chosen not to pay that portion of our taxes that is used for war-making activities. By giving this money to you instead we hope to actively demonstrate that tax money can be spent to improve the quality of life.*

The leaflet went on to explain the alternative tax fund (called Isla Vista Life Resources) and to outline the continuum of options (letters of protest, phone tax refusal, income tax resistance, etc.) open to those wishing not to pay war taxes. It also included graphs of how defense dollars could be better spent: "One B-1 bomber or 15 50-bed hospitals; the cost over-run of a C-5A transport or 6.25 billion passenger miles of mass transit in a typical American city."

The response of the public to the leafletting action was tremendous. Whether aboard the buses (captive audiences!) or at the bus stops, people were very interested in hearing more about war tax resistance, and

Scott Kennedy leaflets a woman about to board a bus. Photo Eric Hutchins.



nearly everyone agreed that our tax dollars could be better spent.

The leafletting action was also an excellent training experience for members of the War Tax Resistance Praxis group, an off-shoot of the Merton Center. We found it more sound than many of our actions—the leafletting was *literally* recycling war taxes to life-giving purposes, thereby minimizing the symbolic leaps of faith which people needed to make in order to understand our point. It was also a collective action arrived at by our community in discussion, and constituted a unique contribution of our group. The participants in the leafletting spent an evening role-playing possible responses to our action, so people entered the experience with greater enthusiasm and confidence.

Faith Whitmore, one of the people involved in the leafletting reports on her experience:

"We started by approaching a bus stop where about 30-40 people were waiting for their buses. The first woman I approached was really enthusiastic and excited and kept repeating, 'how far out!' She also informed me that the next day was Gandhi's birthday! She refused the quarter because she had a bus pass but wanted as many leaflets as I could give her without quarters so she could distribute them to friends. It was an encouraging beginning.

"It was a challenge for me to approach strangers as I am basically a shy person, or so I consider myself. But it was a challenge I was eager and excited to meet. I felt a surge of energy as I was handing out the leaflets and articulating my very personal beliefs about war and our taxes. I shared my belief with others that we must all take personal responsibility and that only through our personal lives will change occur. We must give voice, not only by our vote but also by our actions!

"It was a really strengthening experience as I found myself becoming increasingly passionate and clear in stating my beliefs and reasons for handing out the leaflet.

"People were awed and surprised. They were curious and warm. The people I spoke with were open and sincerely interested and concerned. Their responses were affirming and many wanted to learn more. I am convinced that it is through ignorance that the atrocities are allowed to continue. When people learn alternatives, we will be far ahead of where we are now."

Merton Center folk also staffed a tiger cage at the University of California at Santa Barbara and helped host a Vietnamese dinner to benefit the Quang Nai Rehabilitation Hospital. We scheduled the Veteran's Memorial Building to show "Indochina: Still America's War" as part of the weeklong series of events. A broad citizens coalition of conscience of more than a dozen groups helped with the International Week of Concern's offering of speakers, films, workshops, displays, and vigils. The public response was generally very supportive of efforts towards continued opposition to the continuing war.

### CONTACT

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### ELECTIONS FOR '76 CANCELED IN URUGUAY

In a recent message to the people of Uruguay, President Bordaberry announced that he has canceled all elections to be held in 1976 based on the likelihood of what he terms a "Marxist victory threat at the polls, like that of Chile."

This brief message is very significant however, for several reasons. First, it proves the present strength of the Tupamaro philosophy ending right-wing press reports that the MLN is finished. It also points to the fact that Uruguay will continue to be without a Parliament; Bordaberry had earlier dissolved Parliament due to its majority opposition to Bordaberry's support for the recent military junta in Uruguay. The message also makes clear the fact that the President has no intention of losing his political office in a free election. His term expires in 1976.

—Major Carlos Wilson

### NEW ANTI-GAY LAWS IN PUERTO RICO

A new criminal code prohibiting relations between gay women will go into effect in Puerto Rico on January 22, 1975. The present code, which is 72 years old, already prohibits relations between gay men.

The new laws will also outlaw the operation of places where gays congregate. Police superintendent Astol Calero has announced that police plan to enforce the new anti-gay laws.

"The police must see to it that the laws of the country are upheld," said Calero in an interview done in October by *Pa'Fuera* (Come Out), the newspaper of the Gay Pride Community in San Juan.

Under existing laws, two gay men—both "consenting"—who engage in sexual acts can face up to ten years in prison. If two gay men simply agree to enter into a sexual relationship they can be accused of conspiracy and sentenced to six months in jail and/or a \$500 fine.

According to *Pa'Fuera*, however, the code is rarely enforced. When Calero was asked how he planned to enforce the even more extensive new laws, he indicated that there would be crackdowns on places where gays congregate.

"The police have their methods of investigating these cases," he said, adding "when the time comes, we will apply them (the anti-gay laws)."

A *Pa'Fuera* editorial explains that since present codes do not prohibit the existence of gay bars, for instance, the "police have resorted to harassment over liquor licenses, serving minors etc., with gun toting police agents arriving en masse to make inspections.

"The obvious intention, is scaring off clients, the majority of which are still very much in the closet. But under the new code police will need no excuse."

—LNS

### RESERVES RESERVED

According to the *Washington Post*, the Pentagon is preparing to ask Congress for authority to call up 50,000 reservists and national guard troops for three months without a declaration of national emergency or congressional approval. The Defense Department wants to be able to use such reserves quickly in such situations as last fall's airlift of military supplies to Israel during the Arab-Israeli war. The proposal is also linked to the Pentagon's plans to move more planes to reserve squadrons and to help fill the ranks of regular battalions with reservists. These moves are described as part of the effort to give reserve units "real missions" that will improve their readiness and give active duty forces more confidence when dealing with reserves in wartime. The quotas for all branches of the service have been dropping since the end of the draft, and clearly the military is worried about its ability to respond quickly and effectively in foreign or domestic struggles of working people.

—GI News

### RE-OPENING VIET WAR THREATENED

The US Defense Department is warning that American air and naval troops might be sent to fight in Vietnam if the North Vietnamese launch a major offensive against the South. The fact that the use of US forces in Vietnam combat is under consideration was revealed by Deputy Defense Secretary William Clements. Clements issued his statement shortly after returning from a so-called "fact finding mission" to South Vietnam.

Clements also said that the Ford Administration will ask Congress to substantially increase the amount of military aide to the Thieu government early next year. The US currently maintains 27,000 military troops at various US air bases in Thailand.

—Santa Barbara News

### BALL AND CHAIN

A group of nine demonstrators, including the Rev. Daniel Berrigan, their wrists entwined in a chain, were arrested on the steps of St. Patrick's Cathedral last month when they refused a police order to leave.

The nine were part of a demonstration by a group from the Catholic Peace Fellowship that picketed across the street from the cathedral for over three hours in support of complete amnesty for draft evaders and deserters.

According to police of the Midtown North Station, the five men and four women, left the group of some 40 pickets and crossed the street shortly before 11 am. On the cathedral steps, police said, the nine became loud and boisterous and were charged with aggravated disorderly conduct.

—NY Bureau

### IT'S TOUGH TO WIN A CONVICTION AFTER AGNEW AND NIXON

This was the general lament of US prosecutors in interviews following a four day conference with Justice Department officials in New Orleans.



"US attorneys from across the country said that defense attorneys are raising the Nixon and Agnew cases more and more often as they urge juries to acquit their clients and petition judges for light sentences," said an October 19 AP dispatch reporting the conference.

"Some prosecutors suspect that juries on occasion have refused to convict a defendant because of the handling of the Nixon and Agnew cases.

"Before the Watergate scandal, Guy (Ralph Guy, Jr., federal prosecutor in Detroit) said defense attorneys never attacked the credibility of FBI agents testifying as prosecution witnesses because they felt it was impossible to convince a jury that an FBI agent could lie. But defense attorneys now are testing the tactic more and more often," he said.

Robert Curran, federal prosecutor from Philadelphia, commented: "There's no question the government has suffered."

In Utah, reported C. Nelson Day, a Salt Lake City prosecutor, defense attorneys "many times refer to public figures or well-known political figures."

And a southern state prosecutor who asked not to be named, said: "We get it regularly in a steady dose."

The AP dispatch concludes: "Another US attorney recalled that a western-state judge recently handed out a light sentence to a tax evader with the remark: 'Guess you aren't any worse than Agnew.'" —Jim Peck

### FDA RULE WOULD MAKE MOST VITAMINS PRESCRIPTION DRUGS

Eighty per cent of the vitamins now commercially available will be reclassified as "drugs" and become obtainable only through a prescription, starting January 1, 1975. This new Food and Drug Administration (FDA) regulation has been temporarily delayed until that date so that Congress can hear debate on changing the law.

Many leading nutritional experts, including Dr. Linus Pauling, who is known for his research on vitamin C, feel that the FDA prohibitions are a severe setback for nutritional science.

For example, under the FDA regulation vitamin C with a potency of more than 45 milligrams (150% of the recommended daily allowance) cannot be sold without a prescription. Anything above that is classified as a drug, even though four ounces of orange juice supplies fifty milligrams.

According to many nutritionists, a large variety of food in the supermarkets, most of the ready-made breads,

cereals, soups, dinners, lunch meats, etc. are less than "wholesome and nutritious." Processed foods contain chemical fertilizers, chemical additives, and preservatives, and often have been cooked in ways that destroy much of their nutritional value.

National Food Supply, a 1966 US Department of Agriculture (USDA) publication, stated that 44% of the average caloric intake by Americans was fat which is almost devoid of any vitamin or mineral content. Fifty per cent or more of this consumption is in the form of white flour and white sugar, which is highly deficient in nutrients due to the refining process. Less than 10% of the average calories consumed are vegetables, meat, fish, eggs, or dairy products, which should supply close to 100% of our daily essential nutrients.

In 1968, the USDA announced that only 50% of American families had a "good" diet, 30% rated fair and 20% rated poor. This showed a decline in the nutritional value of American dietary habits compared to a 1955 survey made by the department. —LNS

### SHORTAGE OF FROGS PREDICTED

Science fiction buffs can relax. There's no danger of frogs taking over the world, at least in the next few years.

In fact, government officials and businessmen who buy and sell frogs for laboratory dissection say the number of croakers in the United States is decreasing so fast that they may soon become an endangered species.

"We don't know exactly why the number of frogs is declining, but we know it's happening all over the country. If it continues within the next few years the frog could be an endangered species," said Ruth Hine, chairman of the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources Committee on Endangered Species.

Another state conservation official, Al Schwenn, said the increasing use of pesticides by farmers and "over-harvesting" by people who sell frogs are the main threats to the amphibian.

—WIN Frog Bureau

### THE CASE OF JOANNE LITTLE

On August 27, Clarence Alligood, a guard in the Beaufort County jail in Washington, North Carolina, was found dead in a cell. Alligood had been killed with an ice pick normally kept in his desk drawer. His body was naked from the waist down, except for his socks, and his shoes were lying in the corridor outside his cell.

The occupant of the cell, a 20-year old black woman named Joanne Little, had fled. Eight days later she turned herself in to state authorities in Raleigh, North Carolina. At that time her report on Alligood's death became available to news reporters.

Joanne Little had been kept in the Beaufort County jail for three months, pending an appeal on a conviction for breaking and entering. She was the only woman held in jail, where all the guards are white males. She stated that Alligood's death was a matter of self-defense; he had made sexual advances at her once before, and on the night of the 27th he had tried to rape her.

According to Joanne Little, Alligood entered her cell about 3 am, having taken his shoes off outside the cell; and threatened her with an ice pick. While Alligood was undressing, she got hold of the ice pick, struck him with it several times, and then fled the jail. What is known of the physical evidence found at the scene of Alligood's death appears to confirm this account.

Since she turned herself in, the case of Joanne Little has begun to attract considerable attention and concern around North Carolina, and especially in the black community and the feminist movement. What has happened to Joanne Little is seen as involving important questions about racism in the courts and jails, the treatment of women in prisons, and the right of women to defend themselves against rape. Over 150 supporters turned out to a hearing held in Raleigh on October 1 to set bond in the murder charge against her.

The state's treatment of Joanne Little has been harsh so far. With other prisoners awaiting trial, she is being held in the solitary confinement section of the Women's Prison in Raleigh. She is not allowed to speak out loud to the prisoner in the next cell, and the only visitors she has been allowed are her mother and her lawyer. The bond in the death of Alligood was set at \$100,000. During the hearing on the bond, she was kept tightly shackled in the courtroom.

The mail she has received from friendly people around the state has been a major factor in keeping Joanne Little going. Persons who wish to can write to her at 1034 Bragg Street, Raleigh, North Carolina, 27610.

Despite the support she is receiving, lawyers for Joanne Little feel they have a difficult job ahead. The first problem is ensuring a fair trial. Racial attitudes among the white population in eastern North Carolina, where Beau-

fort County is located, would probably make it impossible to get a fair trial there. The lawyers are trying to get the case moved to the Piedmont (central) section of North Carolina. Their first motion to have the case transferred was denied, because the state law would only allow a transfer to an adjacent county in eastern North Carolina. The lawyers are planning an appeal testing the constitutionality of this North Carolina law.

Although her present lawyers are serving without fee, expenses for an adequate legal defense will still be high. Joanne Little's lawyers have estimated the costs at \$20,000 for her trial, with more being needed if an appeal becomes necessary. Supporters have organized the Joanne Little Legal De-

fense Fund, Inc., PO Box 1003, Durham, North Carolina, 27702, to which tax-exempt contributions may be made.

—Bob McMahon

### BUTZ SCRAPS PLANS FOR AGRICULTURE DEPT. TOURING SONG-AND-PRAYER TENT SHOW

Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz has scrapped his proposal to send a song-and-prayer tent show across the country, in an effort to convince Americans that prices aren't all that bad.

The tent show, originally dreamed up by Steven Lane, the Agriculture Department's new public relations

chief, was to tour the nation with song, prayer, music and sketches of early pioneer life, illustrating that food in the US is the best bargain in the world. In addition, said a memo to Butz, the circus would instill in the public "a greater confidence in the department," which would "strengthen the department's credibility."

But initial response was just the opposite. The department "has lost touch with reality," protested Representative Spark Matsunaga of Hawaii, noting that "they'll be a laughing stock."

And after claiming that the media had "characteristically" blown the idea out of proportion, Butz decided September 26 that the show would not go on. —LNS



Some of the people on Capital Hill must have been smokin' some of that LSD a few weeks ago. For a few brief, shining hours, aid to Greece, Turkey and Chile was cut off by the Senate. But alas, the brief trip upon that magic swirling ship ended as evening's empire returned into sand and vanished from their hand. By the next day, the Senate had reversed itself, although even after a Senate-House conference, the end of aid to Turkey provision was kept in. As a result of that action, the whole bill was vetoed by Our Ford, whose bedroom window is made out of bricks, and who has been known to hand you a nickel, then hand you a dime, then ask you with a grin if your havin' a good time. People at the *Coalition to Stop Funding the War* say that "it does get a little confusing" at times like that. A lot of what was happening was showboating by a few liberals who knew that the provisions would never stick. The *Coalition* people know pretty much what's going on, though, and they're gearing up for a November attempt to get the Congress to cut all military aid to Indochina. Before you read any further on this page, sit down and write your Congressman about your feelings on American military aid; it would make

their job a whole lot easier. If you'd like to keep up with the *Coalition's* activities, drop them a line and ask to be put on the legislative newsletter mailing list. They're at 110 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, DC. . . . Since the subject of Dylan has come up in the preceding descriptions of Congressional actions, it is only fair to note that he has decided that it's time for his boot-heels to be a wanderin'. That's right, they guy who sang all those love songs on his last album, *Planet Waves*, is getting a divorce. Go back and listen to that album again, if you have the chance and try to figure out just who was he singing to if it wasn't his wife, as everybody said it was at the time. Fooled us again, Bob. . . . The story of Vice-President designate *Rockefeller's* crimes against the people is available in comic book form through the *North American Congress on Latin America*. The life and times of one of America's best known imperialists is chock full of useful information in every panel. If the straight media would use just a tenth of the information found in this book, rather than concentrating on whether or not Rockefeller passed money onto some two bit train commissioner, the general public would have a far more accurate picture of a

criminal that makes Nixon seem like a second rate service station stickup person. If you'd like a copy, send a dollar along to NACLA, Box 226, Berkeley, CA 94701—ask them about their bulk order rates if you'd like to use the piece as a fundraiser. . . . *Women's Soul Publishing* is working on getting together a revised "My Sisters' Song: Discography of Woman-Made Music." Their last list was excellent, and they promise that the next one will be even better. They note that they "are interested in records that are feminist in content as well as any records that feature women singing their own music or performing their own music or other women's music." They are interested in non-sexist children's music, and "all women's music, feminist or not." If you have any suggestions or would like to find out more about what they're up to, they can be reached at PO Box 5476, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211. . . . Lots of good stuff has come in the mail for this column and most of it has made it in, at one time or another. If you have something that you'd like to see included, send it along to *Bread and Roses, too*, 1724 20th NW, Dupont Circle, Columbia 20009.

—Brian Doherty





### A LITTLE KINDER

Ira Sandperl / Science & Behavior Books, Palo Alto, 1974 / 163 pp., \$5.95

In 1961, when I was first becoming involved with nonviolence, I was lucky enough to take part in a weekly seminar at Ira Sandperl's home in Menlo Park. The Institute for the Study of Nonviolence grew out of these seminars. No doubt my recollection of them is rose tinted because they were so important to my intellectual and spiritual growth, but as I write this out, it seems to me I'm not exaggerating at all.

A dozen or so of us sat around on cushions on the floor of Ira's California living room. Books were everywhere, completely covering two walls, neatly piled on the mantel-piece, the coffee table, every available surface. There were even stacks of books on the floor.

We read a chapter a week in a book about Gandhi. I don't remember the name but I think it was published in India. While this was an apt starting point for our discussions, it did little to limit the range of things we talked about. In fact, unlike most teachers, who like things to flow together and who proceed from point to point, Ira welcomed the most off-the-wall-questions. We all did, for they gave an opportunity to do his most amazing intellectual arabesques.

Ira frequently stood leaning against the mantel. When one of these questions came, his eyes would light up. He'd wave his index finger in the air and cackle with delight. Then he would lurch across the room, barely avoiding stepping on some of us. He knew the exact location of each book in the room. Not only that; once he had the book in his hand, he could open it to the passage he wished to read as tho he knew just where in the book each paragraph was located. Triumphant he would read the passage that spoke to the question. We were all dazzled.

Ever since I've known Ira, he's been working on a book. Not always the same book, but a book all the same. He writes slowly. He's the sort of writer who labors for a week over a three-line inscription for a birthday present, so even if we've had to wait all these years it's wonderful at last to have a book.

A Little Kinder captures Ira well. It glows with his love of learning and his love of teaching. It sparkles with his wit. It is written with great precision. The sentences are dense and make slow reading.

The book consists of a series of letters written in 1971 to an 18-year-old woman who had been a lover of Ira's and was then a student at an Ivy League college. In the first letter he writes, "To be asked to take your education in hand, to be your mentor, to supplement, supplant or subvert what goes on or does not go on at your college delights me beyond measure."

In the letters that follow he does just this for his friend's education and for ours. He writes about what has moved him most deeply. About writers and thinkers of the past he tells us sometimes basic and beautiful things, sometimes gossip or anecdotes. He writes about the war in Vietnam and about nonviolence. He writes about things that are happening to him and responds to things his friend writes. She is working on a paper about Martin Luther King, so Ira tells her reverently and in great detail of his few brief contacts with King. She is having an affair with a junkie and Ira gives her what helpful advice he can (not much).

Here is my favorite passage from the book.

*First of all, there is but one love.*

*Different kinds of love—agape, philia, eros, profane love and sacred love—all that is philosophical, philological, pious nonsense. For a moment I am back with Gertrude Stein: Love is love is love is love. And, at her side you will find, curious even for that celebrated collector of celebrities, the 17th century prince-bishop of Geneva, St. Francis de Sales (see his Introduction to the Devout Life).*

*"There are many beside you," de Sales said, "who want me to tell them of methods and secret ways. . .but the only way of obtaining love is by loving. You learn to speak by speaking, to study by studying, to run by running, to work by working, and just so you learn to love. . .by loving. All those who think to learn in any other way deceive themselves. If you want to love, go on loving more and more. Begin as a mere apprentice and the very power of love will lead you on to become a master in the art. Those who make the most progress will continually press on, never believing themselves to have reached the end."*

*"Yes, that is all very well," I can hear you saying, "but what is the love you learn by loving?"*

*It is a gift. A gift of our lives.*

*For example—and this is neither myth, nor metaphysics, nor poetry—old Gandhi's life could not be taken. He literally gave it away every day, every moment. His life was perpetually up for grabs. He gave it to his assassin. He gave it to everyone he approached. No one could snatch it from him for he had already placed it in their hands. Whereas most of us fearfully cling to our lives in the illusion that we are loving.*

*Nevertheless, if we can significantly diminish our fears, we can make a slight gift of ourselves; that unique gift that only we can give. For no matter how long the world spins or the sun shines we will never reappear on the face of the earth. So we must be ourselves to give ourselves.*

*And love is giving ourselves effortlessly, without asking or desiring anything in return. And shared love is a miracle of the communion of uniqueness.*

At first I thought the title of the book was weak but now I think it reflects Ira's message well. Truly it would be a miracle if we could be a little kinder, a little less fearful, a little more loving. Ira speaks about the necessity for the political organization of nonviolence but I'm afraid that's not where his heart is. His special insight, his special delight involves nonviolence in a more intimate sphere. To learn more about love and nonviolence on this essential level, this book is warmly recommended.

Despite the reference to Gandhi above, the thing that surprised me most was the lack of emphasis on Gandhi. Ira's fond of saying—and indeed says in the book, "Gandhi,

the rat! He ruined my life." Well, maybe. But Ira appears to be getting over it. In his book list, Gandhi doesn't even make first team ("master magicians" such as Blake, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Proust, Kafka, Marx and Engels) but is relegated to the list of "apprentice magicians," along with Chekhov, Brecht, Borges, Plato, and Freud.

The book is handsome and austere. It has a black cover and end papers. The dust jacket features pencil drawings of three of Ira's favorites: King, Gandhi and Aldous Huxley. The "Introduction" by Joan Baez is an extract from her autobiography, *Daybreak*.

A plethora of typographical errors mars this book. I've sent a list of 27 typos I spotted along to the publisher in the hope that they might be corrected in a future edition. On the dust jacket, *Gandhi* is twice spelled *Ghandi*. This misspelling is found frequently (and, alas has even cropped up in the pages of WIN). I wonder why. Do you suppose it's because if you sigh as you say "Gandhi" it comes out "Ghandi?"

—Mark Morris

### AN AMERICAN VERDICT

Michael J. Arlen / Doubleday and Co., 1973 / 196 pp.

For many white radicals—in New York City, at least—Fred Hampton was no more than a name on a day-glo poster held by a Youth Against War and Fascism. We knew vaguely that he was a Black Panther and was murdered by the police in Chicago, but the real meaning of his life and death was obscured when the signs that invoked his name were used as a trashing tool after demonstrations.

*An American Verdict* is the real story behind the massacre of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark that December, 1969, morning. It is written by Michael J. Arlen, an established journalist—a man who not only is a colorful and careful writer, but who has a strong grasp on the sense of irony that is a thread through American street politics.

The trial that resulted from the murders was different from the other political trials that have commanded our attention in recent years: this time it was the government which was the defendant, the Cook County State's Attorney and thirteen policemen were being forced to prove that they had not "conspired to obstruct justice" when they burst into the Panthers' apartment at dawn and opened fire on nine sleeping Blacks. They had a search warrant to look for illegal firearms, and when no one answered their demands to open the door, they forced their way in, and fired close to a hundred rounds of ammunition, most from machine guns, into the apartment.

That the Grand Jury would even return indictments against members of the Cook County Justice Department is perhaps an indication that some semblance of justice is still maintained in even a Boss-controlled city like Chicago. But the fact that the judge found for the defendants is evidence that the facade and substance of justice as two different things.

Arlen, though clearly taking the Panthers' position in this trial, confronts head-on the difficulties in accepting their general platform. "It is hard to remember the way that much of the white society regarded the Black Panthers when they first appeared in the 1960's—those fearsome, frightening, arms-bearing black men, with their paratroop berets, and swagger, and revolutionary rhetoric. . .the first antiwar protests had not come that long before—our kids, our nice kids, lying down in front of troop trains. . .And now: black men with guns." He opposes the style of the Panthers while agreeing with their principles, and becomes, then, much like "us kids" who are also apprehensive about giving full support to revolutionaries whose tactics are so different from our own.

It is to Arlen's credit that he doesn't proselytize, doesn't say, "See, if you didn't use guns, the police wouldn't shoot you up." He leaves such moralizing to other radicals, for our silence during the trial is assurance to him that his thoughts will be conveyed, and will be conveyed by those who have a greater right to offer censure:

Because I love to read trial stories more than any other thing—is that some fascist residue in my soul?—I was disappointed that the book was so short and that the legal proceedings were glossed over. However, Arlen makes up for the lack of trial minutia by providing readers with a comprehensive background on the politics and sociology of Chicago, from 1969, when the massacre occurred, to 1972, when the trial was held. His description of political events and their stars read like poetry. Arlen has a wonderful eye for the contradictions and absurdities of political protocol, and the complexities of ethnic and boss politics in Chicago become easy to understand when it is his words which explain them.

It is too bad, however, that simply a realization of the injustice and corruption that is rampant in Chicago under Mayor Daley isn't enough to banish them.

—Wendy Schwartz

### HUSTLING

Gail Sheehy / Dell Paperback / \$1.50

*Pity the poor working girl!* You will after you read Gail Sheehy's inside look at the fly-by-night (and sleep-by-day) lives of New York City's ladies of pleasure. The material originally ran as a series, over the past couple of years in *New York* magazine. *Hustling* probably would read like science-fiction to a little old lady, but her convention-going husband might find it a little too realistic. It is visitors like him who support the lucrative "industry" which reporter Sheehy found even has tentacles that reached the former president's family circle. Seems there's a good possibility that "Peepalive, Roman Massage Parlor, Rector Books and Bob's Bargain Books," which she says are "undoubtedly the most degenerate pornographic assemblage in the City of New York" are owned by Eddie Finch Cox's uncle. And, if you remember your American history, E. Finch Cox was ex-prexy Nixon's son-in-law for the Love of God!

*Hustling* is a fascinating look at the prostitution business with a fascinating cast of characters including Redpants, a young black hooker (Gail Sheehy says she's a composite, but she has the writing skill to make her and her other characters seem real enough to care about). There's Redpant's pimp, Sugarman, the archtypical black boss. There's fat, sweaty Jimmy Della Bella—Jimmy The Beautiful—sitting in the window of his seedy prostitution hotel on Eighth Avenue warning the hookers when a squad car rounds the corner. He's even got a mirror on the windowsill to spot the prowling cars blocks away.

*Hustling* is the sad and pathetic story of a big business. "Using the most current figures available, there are an estimated 200,000 to 250,000 prostitutes in the United States today. Taking the lower estimate, at only six contacts a day, and at the bottom price of \$20 per 'trick' the millions of clients of prostitution contribute to the support of the underworld the incredible sum of between seven and nine billion dollars annually," she says. A first-class New York hooker is good for \$70,000 a year in her prime, according to *Hustling*. Of this, she's lucky to keep 5% after she turns over the proceeds to her pimp. And, as the story goes, she ends up beaten, broke, alcoholic, and/or hooked by the time she's thirty. That's the real tragedy of *Hustling*. —Tom McNamara



# People's Bulletin Board

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

**WHY CAPITALISM CAN'T WORK.** Read Edward Bellamy's "Parable of the Water Tank." Ichthus Communication Center, 1583 E. Colorado, Pasadena, CA 91106. 1-5, 75¢ ea.; 6-49, 60¢ ea.; 50 up, 45¢ ea. Advance payment, plus 25¢ handling.

**VEGETARIAN TIMES**, non-violent eating. Sample copy free when you send 20¢ in coin or postage, but why not subscribe now, just \$3/9 issues. Vegetarian Times, PO Box A3104, Chicago, IL 60690.

**HOMESTEAD SURVIVAL IN THE OZARKS:** Organic alternatives in mid-America. Land acquisition, homesteading, gardening, food storage and much more. Three-volume set \$5 from Ozark Access Center, Box 506W, Eureka Springs, Arkansas 72632.

**NON-COMPETITIVE GAMES** for children and adults. Play together not against each other. Free catalog; Family Pastimes, Bolsevaln, Manitoba, Canada ROKEO.

**AMNESTY CHRISTMAS CARDS**, original design. 12 for \$5.00 donation. Amnesty bracelets with resisters name, \$4.50 donation. Safe Return, 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 1003-C, New York, NY 10010.

**JOB OPENINGS:** Two salaried openings for energetic, creative, Movement-style people to do Indochina organizing out of national office. Starting in November. Send resumes to: Coalition to Stop Funding the War, 110 Maryland Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002.

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

Film program on Culture and Assimilation in America, "Rise and Fall of the East European Jew," "Good Night, Socrates," "The Indian Speaks," "Mr. Kumen On," Sunday Nov. 3, 3 pm, Atran House, 25 E. 78th St., NYC, spons. Jewish Youth Bund.

For a list of November events, write **WOMEN'S CENTER CALENDAR**, Bklyn College, 2416 James Hall, Bklyn, NY 11210 or call 212-780-5777.

Write for free listing of **ANARCHIST LECTURE SERIES** held every Fri. at 8 pm at 339 Lafayette St., NYC 10012 or call 212-228-0322.

**ANARCHY MEANS LIBERTY AND HARMONY.** Send for free Anarchist literature available from **SEDITION**, 10169 Sherman Rd., Munson Twp, OH 44024.

Libertarian Socialist literature: Paris: May '68, workers' self-management, Hungary '56, Redefining Revolution. Write for current Newsletter and literature list. Phila. Solidarity, PO Box 13011, Phila, PA. 19101.

**NORTHEAST OHIO WAR RESISTERS' LEAGUE LOCAL GROUP NOW IN FORMATION.** Organizational meeting/good time Saturday, Nov. 16, noon, Call Dwight Ernest, 30106 Lorain Rd., North Olmsted, Oh 44070, 216-777-3694.

Caretaker(s) wanted for 3 room house, isolated 15 acre mountain farm. Approx. Thanksgiving-Easter. Possibilities for longer term arrangements. Write: Jafar, PO Box 125, Odd, W. Va. 25902.

I need to borrow old photographs, good graphics immediately for visual movement history book: from the early 1900's to the present. Write: Bob Cooney, Institute for the Study of Nonviolence, Box 1001, Palo Alto, California 94302.

The Community Church of Boston meets Sunday mornings at 10:30 AM at Boston University's Morse Auditorium at 602 Commonwealth Ave. All invited. Programs: Hugh Wilson, Nov. 10; Scott Nearing, Nov. 17; Nicola Gelger, Nov. 24.

Project Redirection—Detroit, a men's consciousness raising collective, sends a bi-monthly newsletter upon receipt of a contribution. 280 E. Boston, Detroit, MI 48202.

School got you down?



Then bring it down!

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## WHERE AM I GOING?



## 1975 PEACE CALENDAR

Raising children to be free is the hardest way to raise children. But this hard way could make for not only more creative and happier children—as though this wouldn't be enough—but also for a more peaceful world for us all.

This year's Calendar, "Where Am I Going?" offers some thoughts on the rearing of free children. It suggests that if we allow children to develop as free from our pre-judgments as possible, they might just be able to create a new and better world.

Because we believe that the responsibility for children rests with everyone, not just with parents, the ideas and quotations we compiled are from educators, philosophers, parents, just plain adults—who-remember-what-it-was-like-to-be-a-child, and from children who demonstrate they have many of the same yearnings as adults.

We've included serious guidelines to follow in rearing children, and suggestions for what not to do. There are prose and poetry excerpts, songs and prayers. The artwork, a blend of drawings by children and photographs of children, both illustrates the theme and is an integral part of the Calendar. The quotations and graphics together are a vital plea for a more human world.

The 1975 Peace Calendar is edited by Lynne Shatzkin Coffin and Wendy Schwartz, and has an introduction by Benjamin Spock, M.D. It has

- \* a page for every week in the year
- \* a facing page with texts and illustrations on the qualities of a more free life for children.
- \* a listing of peace organizations and periodicals, American and foreign
- \* blank pages for notes and advance appointments in 1976
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