

win

PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

A SEARCHING LOOK AT INDIA TODAY
CHINA AND IDEOLOGY
REMEMBERING THE SIEGE OF THE PENTAGON

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Barbara Deming's thought [WIN, 10/10/74] that our sexuality is for full communion with one another and our universe and Andrea Dworkin's idea that transformation of the male sexual model begins where there is a congruence of feeling and erotic interest; in tenderness, in self-respect and absolute mutual respect, confirmed my own recent thoughts. I suggest that life's goal is this urge for oneness and when we flow with it we have our moments of ecstasy. These two articles were great. Possibly their essence will be the basis for the real revolution.

—THELMA BECHERER
E. Quogue, NY

Reading the letters you published by Barbara Deming and Brad Lytle [10/10/74] on gay love, brought to mind a movie I've seen many times: *Whales, Dolphins & Men*, a BBC Production (a very good 55 min. film). Ken Norris, a scientist at U. Calif. San Diego, speaks of the sexual behavior etc. of Spinner Dolphins—the information clearly supports Barbara Deming's views.

Are dolphins acting naturally or are they more intelligent than us or both?

—MAL JONES
W. Tisbury, MA

The honest exchange between Barbara Deming and Brad Lytle was both inspiring and enlightening.

Sexual liberationists may be interested in the following observations of African giraffes by Jean-Pierre Hallet (*Animal Kitab*, Random House, 1967). But for the species, the last paragraph could describe the action in a homo sapiens bar. Perhaps women should be denouncing their oppressors as male-chauvinist-giraffes:

Twiga, the world's tallest animal, has two clearly defined sexes but usually chooses to ignore that fact, behaving with all the "gay" abandon of the ancient Greeks or the modern Greenwich Villagers.

I received only recently a sentimental valentine that showed two enchanting, soft-eyed, long eye-lashed giraffes "necking" together as giraffes sometimes do. The sender

... would have been shocked senseless had she known that there is no such tenderlooking courtship between bull and cow giraffes: rubbing, winding or swinging necks, and jousting with sideways blows of head and neck, constitutes the amorous foreplay practiced by two bulls before one of them mounts the other. Sometimes groups of three to six bulls "neck" together, then mount each other indiscriminately.

It isn't lack of female company that prompts such strange performances. The herd cows are usually present in the background, watching with the somewhat bored air of housewives keeping each other company while "the boys" play a somewhat different game than poker. The cows however, never indulge in homosexual behavior, confining themselves to platonic friendships and "sitting" with each other's babies.

When a bull giraffe makes advances to a cow... he merely lays his head on her flank and licks or bites her tail. She urinates and he tastes the urine, apparently to determine if she is really in heat. The lead bull of the herd... permits subordinate bulls to go this far but tries to prevent actual matings. He defends his harem, which he has customarily neglected, with a tougher version of the "necking" tactic, dealing out heavy blows with his short, knob-like, skin-covered horns.

—JACK LEISS
Baltimore, MD

Watching groups of young girls repairing a highway between Hanoi and Haiphong last October and told that they work half day, attend school half day and study at night, I asked our hostesses whether they would appreciate foreign volunteer groups. They paused discreetly and replied: "Send us one bulldozer."

The proposal for an alternative plan to Ford's amnesty conditions as put forward by Larry Lack [WIN Letters, 10/3/74] requires a speedy, sharp and loud *no!!!*

Motives are not in question. But any ideas which detract, becloud and delay the total recovery from their war wounds must not be foisted upon the peoples of Indochina.

Disabusing ourselves of the notion that we have anything to offer in our own persons is the first necessity. The people of Indochina are quite capable of coping with their own problems, given the clear skies, bomb removals and material aid to do so—all guaranteed by the Paris Peace Agreement. Scrupulous commitment to the terms of that Agreement and forwarding maximum quantities of medical supplies and funds should easily absorb all the energies of concerned persons.

The second necessity is to recognize the nature of the beast. No government, as presently constituted in the so-called democracies, and particularly in the USA—is about to divert any of its monies to repair what its on-going joint efforts are still trying to ultimately destroy. American pilots are still, this very day, flying F-5E bombing mission over liberated areas of South Vietnam.

Why help the CIA by providing still another agency for them to operate through?

That is the essence of any suggestion to send any foreigners to Indochina today. The campaign must be to stop further infiltration—to demand that all foreigners presently in Indochina be withdrawn immediately. (There is a case for the Quaker medical teams which could be considered.)

Anyone who wants to help—get out and collect funds and supplies, as well as signatures to stop aid to the Thieu regime. The people of Indochina will carry on from there.

—CLAIRE CULHANE
N. Burnaby, BC

Ever wonder why the United States lost so many B-52's over Vietnam in the winter of 1972?

As an employee of Raytheon Corp. in Goleta I have heard many rumours that seem to make sense.

In addition to the electronic surveillance equipment manufactured at the Goleta facility, a lot of work is done on something called a "scrambler." Basically what this device does is interfere with the "homing signals" that surface-to-air missiles use in tracking down intruding aircraft, deflecting them away from the plane.

According to the Raytheon Rumor Mill the US Air Force didn't have enough scramblers for all their B-52's in 1972. But Nixon and his fellow warmongers were anxious to make a Christmas "show-of-force" that year. They sent all the planes into the air anyway. Those without scramblers were sitting ducks. As a consequence, the Vietnamese shot down a huge number of the fleet and doubled their population of POW's. Despite the efforts of Raytheon security head Doug Cameron to control such rumors, the foregoing one is very widespread there.

—Name withheld by request

What I object to in WIN is its periodic "confusion" as most recently expressed in David Morris's article "School Text Struggle." [10/24/74]

Why is it when a group uses activist devices associated with progressive movements of the 1960's—picketing, rallies, boycotts, mass mobilization, etc.—no matter what their "cause," some WIN contributor will think they're doing something good. Let them come out with a line like "We've got our community to defend," and fuzzy advocates of "community-control" will melt in their drawers.

Stop this incredible nonsense!

Since Morris mentions South Boston as another example of a situation towards which a '60's leftover progressive would have mixed reactions, let me assure you one needn't bother oneself by making a rather simple situation complex.

"A community to defend." South Boston is a violent, xenophobic, racist remnant of the worst of Irish working-class thinking. Proportionally Southie High School has a very high expenditure per student, yet 50% who begin there are drop-outs and only a handful go to college. Most of the allocations disappear in graft or are spent on sports equipment. This "community," now so vocal, encourages religious superstition and social conformity to traditional

authorities. This "community" breeds anti-intellectualism. This "community" opposes every progressive measure of individual freedom—right to read; right to exhibit films; right to terminate unwanted pregnancies; gay rights. The sons of this "community" pummeled the first draft card burners who took this action at the Army Base there in the mid-60's. This "community" spreads terror and gangsterism throughout the rest of the city; most publicly & recently by beating a black man in a mob scene in front of the nation's eyes.

The citizens of this "community" complain that their "traditions" are being taken away from them. *Yes! That's exactly the point!* We must bring these people, kicking, screaming and full of abuse, into the 20th century, even if against their will and "judgement."

I'd bet that the Kanawha County "text-book controversy" contains these same elements, and "the community" which Morris has some sentimental leaning towards couldn't garner much progressive support if one revealed its real values. Never make the central fallacy of *is—should be*. If we demand change of ourselves, let us also demand it of these folks—after all, they've got so far to go!

—JOHN MITZEL
Dorchester, MA

In the 10/3/74 WIN, I feel Dan Berrigan missed the mark. I was wondering if it were the case that the culture in which Hawatma and Arafat were nurtured, had a somewhat different ethos toward truth and making statements to other persons than the attitude of Fr. Berrigan, that arose in a unique Western cultural milieu.

I guess that the basis on which I would "judge," if I must, someone who is waging war, would be significantly altered because he or she lied to my face. That is, I would have a perception that they, the liars, are liars in fact, and not simply rumored to be liars. And I cannot trust them for the time being.

But culturally, if they were acting in harmony with the norms of the conceivably narrow little society to which they belong, while they are lying to me, I don't think I would condemn them. I don't think that I can hold out my good faith as a cross cultural standard. And I don't think that Fr. Berrigan can either, as much as he might like to or be forced to be such a bearer of a universality.

The only universality I begin with is that the integrity of a man is personal & Godly and not subject to my judgment. He creates the world in his own mind and consciousness, the gift of God.

I hope my universality doesn't get in anybody's way. And I don't trust liars.

—RICK STERLING
Bryn Mawr, PA

The reasons for amnesty, and the definition of the word, have nothing to do with ignoring lessons to be learned about Vietnam; and granting an amnesty would in no way weaken the anti-war struggle, especially as regards Indochina.

Jerry Elmer writes [WIN 10/17/74] as though the only people to receive an am-

nesty are those principled souls who acted for reasons of conscience. Like so many others, he has been taken in by the typical discussion of amnesty, which reflects the focus of the US government, and therefore tends to think in terms of exiles and war resisters. What does he suggest be said to the 500,000 people with bad discharges from the military, and the tens of thousands of civilians with arrest records as a result of anti-war activities, who are in constant danger of economic discrimination (many cannot get work at all), and are often in dire emotional and physical shape as a result of the military. Do we only tend war victims when the war is over? Especially when the war has gone on a decade and shows no sign of ceasing?

We have one of the largest amnesty groups in the country, here in Miami. As people join our local group, out of their personal concern for someone in need of amnesty, they open to the need to work for peace in Indochina and an end to repression at home.

To struggle for a universal, unconditional amnesty is to work for the articulation of anti-war beliefs and the unification into groups of individuals who have always been the victims of war mechanisms, never in a position to fight back.

It is almost incredible to have to contend with a Melvin Laird quote from someone who seems to be peace minded, as I'm sure Jerry Elmer is. For all of us, there is a constant effort to make our society recognize our anti-war positions as being legitimate and compelling. To allow the Administration to continue the farce of making criminals out of people whose philosophy, morality or political beliefs differ from the Pentagon's is to abandon the struggle at the peak, and go back to fighting on the lower slopes. Yes, it is urgent to stop what is now happening in Vietnam; but that whole contest will be in vain if the Pentagon can do it all over again the next year. Therefore, in the middle of the war, we must also press for the legitimization of those who oppose it, the return of these persons to full citizenship, and ultimately for their incorporation into the top levels of the decision-making process of the nation. It isn't hard to do these things at the same time—to be opposed to repression and violence *both* abroad and at home. The effort for peace must include both, to succeed. Floridians interested in the peace movement are urged to contact us: American Friends Service Committee, 3005 Bird Avenue, Miami, FL 33133. We'll be happy to add to our mailing list. (I should add that we're in our eleventh year in Miami, starting this month.)

—WARREN HOSKINS
Administrative Secretary

NOTE:

In my review of Ira Sandper's *A Little Kinder*, published last week, I pointed out that *Gandhi* was twice misspelled on the dust jacket. Today another copy of the book arrived from the publisher. It has a handsome new dust jacket, with *Gandhi* spelled correctly.

—MARK MORRIS
4 November 1974



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INDIA

RIPE FOR REVOLUTION

DAVID MORRIS

Thus was the Wheel of the Law set in motion, and that man lives in vain who in a sinful life of pleasures helps not in its revolutions. Section Three, verse sixteen of the *Bhagavad-Gita* (translated by Juan Masciro).

Even before the sun rises, the village begins to stir. By the time the sun is visible, most of the villagers are returning from the fields where they have been washing and relieving themselves.

By the time the early morning cool has evaporated, the coolies are on the way to the fields, the craftspeople are beginning another day of weaving or carving or shaping metal. The priests are in the temple and the women gather at the wall.

In the city, the buses are already crowded with office workers. The streets are full of bicycles and rickshaws, many of them carrying small children to school. The factories are already working. Servants hurry to the bazaar to buy the day's food.

This is the routine that I grew up with, a routine that seemed so rooted in India's feudal past that it scarcely changed for the 14 years I lived there. Even two years ago, it seemed that little had changed. There were still beggars and cows on the streets, more crowded now than in the sixties. There were more

David Morris divides his time between West Virginia and India and writes about both for WIN.

strikes, more hammer and sickles painted on the walls, more corruption, but it seemed much the same as before.

When I went back this past August and September, there was a qualitative change. Inflation was running at the rate of 30 to 40% and higher; no one trusts the government figures, but the prices of food and consumer goods were going up almost daily. There is a national lack of fertilizer and a shortage of water in almost every state. Drought and floods. Especially in the villages, famine conditions were visible, although the government refused to acknowledge the mass starvation and malnutrition. Thousands of unemployed college graduates show up whenever a job, however lowly, is advertised.

Corruption is more common than ever before. A parallel economy of corruption (called "black money") has sprung into dominance, leading to conversations like this: "Did you buy it on the black?" "Of course. Where else could I find it?" Hoarding and drought have caused the price of rice (in southern India) to rise to the point that it is now a luxury. The economics are simple: coolie labor (casual manual untrained labor) is being paid about four rupees a day. Rice is selling for seven and eight rupees a measure, where available. One measure of rice will give a family of two adults and two children one meal. A coolie with a small nuclear family could barely survive, with the added expenses of rent and clothing—and there are very few small nuclear families. Often both the man and woman work, and the woman is usually paid a rupee a day less.

Bombay is at the point where Calcutta was five years ago. The skyscrapers and the apartments of the



Six-year-old Indira sits with Gandhiji during a 21-day fast he has undertaken as a penance for communal disturbances all over India. Photo courtesy Government of India Information Bureau.

upper classes are surrounded by "slums," homes constructed out of whatever waste material can be found. As starvation grows in the countryside, there is mass migration into the city, in the hopes of jobs that don't exist. People work in non-union subcontractor sweatshops for two rupees a day, from sunrise to sundown. The only way these workers survive is by having the whole family work. Compared to these people, the unionized factory workers are a labor aristocracy, earning as much as two to three hundred rupees a month (fifty dollars); even then, it's barely enough to survive.

India is a poor country, with a labor-intensive economy that depends on this kind of cheap labor. When the coolies and factory workers can't survive, the economy is in danger of collapse. If the poor peasants in the village, the coolies in the city and the factory workers go on strike, it will be like 1905 and 1917 in Russia. The government will have to call out the army in order to stay in power and the façade of democracy will be smashed. India this winter is a powder keg.

What happened? How did India, land of Gandhi and gurus, of Nehru and nabobs, of cows and Carnatic music, come to the edge of revolution? Two years ago, Indira Gandhi was leading a drive to "abolish poverty," aided by her Russian advisors. The victory over Pakistan and the "liberation" of Bangladesh had aroused national pride. India's planned economy, with its large public sector that includes steel mills, the railroads, the airlines, the banks; almost all heavy industry including automobiles; the commanding heights of which Lenin talked, seemed on its way to maximum production and efficiency. The new Indian

middle class was beginning to talk about second homes and vacationing abroad.

Beneath the superficial modernity, the western fashions and skyscrapers of Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and New Delhi, lies an old society. In Marxist terms, India is semi-feudal, semi-colonial and under-capitalized, with an annual budget of five-and-a-half billion dollars for six hundred million people. Beneath the surface of this "modern democratic nation" is a society that still has not had the social revolution that changed Russia and China from feudal, medieval societies into modern nations.

Feudalism means the caste system; it means the village landlord still controls the countryside, buttressed by tradition and the village priests. It means coolies, beggars, outcastes, serfs—a society of privilege for the few and misery for the many. It means a "high culture"—ancient, beautiful, pure—for the elite, and illiteracy for the masses.

Foreigners love the charm of feudalism, the quaintness of a colonial past, the mystery of the villages seen from the roadside, between airports and monuments. Perhaps part of the fascination is an ancestral memory of when the West was also gripped by feudalism. India is not that different now from England or France or Germany 400 and 500 years ago. The *Canterbury Tales* is still an excellent guide to Indian culture.

The villagers I grew up with—outcastes, Harijans—have no love for feudalism. To them it has very concrete meanings: they could not use the village well; they were condemned to be laborers, coolies, all their lives; they would marry other outcastes and have outcaste children and would always be in debt to the landlord and moneylenders; they would always be illiterate.



The subcontinent of India—there has never been an Indian nation—has a tradition of adjustment to the invaders who periodically appeared and conquered. The first were the Aryans, who gave India the caste system (based on varna, Sanskrit for color) and the patriarchal religion-philosophy later to be called Hinduism. The Aryans (proto-Germanic warriors) then settled down to enjoy their conquest of the native Dravidians, only to be invaded a thousand years later by Moslem warriors—Turks and Afghans. The Moghul Empire, after building its monuments and suppressing Hindu culture, was ended by the British, who first came to India in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. By the 1700's, they had divided and conquered India.

During all this, the Indian joint family, the bedrock of the society, moved to adjust itself to the new rulers—when not actually in revolt. During the long British hegemony, the elite learned English, sent their children to Oxford and absorbed Fabian socialism. By the dawn of the 1900's, India had a nationalist movement, a grabbag of regional leaders and an ideology that stressed the need to modernize and update "Mother India." Since the subcontinent had 14 languages and innumerable dialects, this discussion of Indian independence had to be carried out in English.

It was out of this context that Gandhiji and Nehru came. Both were of upperclass Brahmin families. Both went to London for their higher education; both became lawyers. After South Africa, Gandhiji's thinking became more "village"-oriented; he worked with Tamil laborers as well as with Gujarati businessmen. Nehru, however, became a "Bloomsbury Socialist,"

a genteel upper-class socialism that was opposed to both capitalism and revolution. These two strains, plus regional power politics, came to dominate the Indian National Congress. At the same time, the Communist Party of India was established. Very nationalistic and part of the Comintern (like the American Communist Party) it gave a radical opponent to the national-bourgeois Indian National Congress (somewhat like the Koumingtang and the Chinese Communist Party situation in China).

The struggle with the British was usually nonviolent, although the British were not slow to jail and sometimes shoot nationalists. The Indian National Congress never actually was a mass revolutionary party; its leadership was the new elite and it was strong where the local elites were well organized. Gandhi was the "populist" in the crowd who managed to reach out and touch the imagination of the masses. He was also almost as much a thorn in the side of the Indian National Congress as he was an enemy of the British, because of his attacks on caste, which was (and is) central to Indian society. He was also opposed to industrialization and Westernization, but these were regarded as personal quirks by the Western educated leaders of the Congress, especially Nehru.

World War II finished off the British Empire, and by 1947, India was an independent country. This independence was achieved without an accompanying social revolution, as in neighboring China. For most people, especially the villagers, it meant that the red-dish-white overlords had been replaced by light-brown rulers—taxes had to be paid, the landlords and money-

lenders were still in power, and for the landless, there were still only the options of their parents: malnutrition or starvation.

This history is, I believe, the reason why India faces revolution. Unlike the Chinese nation, the Indian revolution has been delayed. The substitution of one bourgeoisie for another, one elite for another, has meant the retention of the old decayed social structure. No amount of planning or foreign aid can obscure the fact that life in India today is hell for hundreds of millions of Indians.

The whole basis and urge of the national movement came from a desire for economic betterment, to throw off the burdens that crushed the masses and to end the exploitation of the Indian people. If these burdens continue and actually are added to, it does not require a powerful mind to realize that the fight must not only continue but grow more intense. Leaders and individuals may come or go; they may get tired and slacken off; they may compromise and betray, but the exploited and suffering masses must carry on the struggle, for their drill-sergent is hunger." Jawaharlal Nehru, *Whither India*, 1933-1934.

There are so many aspects of Indian society, so many regional and local variations of the highly complex society on the Indian subcontinent that any report would of necessity be sketchy and incomplete. What I would like to do in the rest of this article is outline the major national political forces. National politics in India is still, in essence, elite politics, limited to the 2% of the population that speaks English. Only occasionally does the conflict spill over and penetrate the tradition that insulates the villager or the routine that governs the life of the factory worker and coolies. Yet, ultimately, it will be those excluded from national politics who will make the final decisions.

The central issue is revolution. All the Indian political parties accept the possibility of revolution within the next decade. The right-wing parties seek to escape

revolution by going back in time and creating a "Hindu nation"; since this would mean a return and extension of feudalism, they are not necessarily pro-capitalist. The Congress Party is "left of center," trying to promote a state-capitalist economy like that of Russia. As with all the other parties, it has its own right and left wings. The Communist Party of India (which is pro-Russian and is referred to in the Indian press as "the CPI(R)") is in electoral alliance with the Congress Party's left wing, hoping to attain socialism without revolution. The Communist Party (Marxist) is a Maoist-oriented parliamentary party torn between participating in parliamentary politics and open revolution. The Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), also known as Naxalites, are openly revolutionary Maoists, underground and in armed opposition to the parliamentary democracy that is now functioning in New Delhi.

There is also the once-dormant Gandhian movement, which was slow to move against the government, but which has gained strength and attention during the last year.

In the center of this is the present ruler of India, Indira Gandhi, a woman who deserves the nickname given her by her opponents: "Empress of India." She is the last heir of the Nehru-Gandhi tradition, the last ruler of sufficient personal power and prestige to hold India together in its present form. Raised by Nehru, an only child, she is one of the rare people that can honestly say: "After me, the deluge." When she is removed from power or dies, India will enter the period of active revolution in conflict with open reaction.

Indira Gandhi is the head of the Congress Party and the Congress Party is in control of the Central Government. She is India's Kerensky, India's Franklin Delano Roosevelt, India's Chiang Kai-shek (although personally honest). Under the form of government inherited from the British rulers, national control is maintained through the Central Government, a combination of Parliament, the national bureaucracy and the national army. Indira controls and supervises each

Above, Nehru and Gandhiji at the historic session of the All India Congress Committee in August, 1942, when the "Quit India" resolution was adopted. Below, master politician Indira Gandhi receives flowers on her birthday. Photos courtesy Government of India Information Service.



branch. Through state branches of the Congress Party (and through President's Rule, the usurpation of state authority by the Central Government) she is in power in every state but one.

She is a remarkable politician who holds power by virtue of her political cunning and opportunism. Like FDR and John Lewis, she has mastered the technique of moving left and right, often at the same time, keeping the opposition off balance. Last year she nationalized the banks; this year, she is repressing the Naxalites. She signs the Indo-Soviet Friendship treaty and is often considered a tool of the Russians—yet when it is to her advantage, she invites Kissinger to visit Delhi. Her cabinet reflects this schizophrenia: it is a mixture of Communists and political hacks, a group of ministers whose distinguishing characteristic is loyalty.

This rise to power should have come as no surprise. When she was a little girl, Nehru wrote her from prison, advising her of her duties and responsibilities. Yet during Nehru's reign, she was almost unknown and her rise to power after Nehru's death came as a surprise to the regional power brokers who were then the leaders of the Congress Party. Her rise to the Prime Ministership in 1966 was based on the support of a loose coalition of regional forces that didn't allow her much room to maneuver and she was restrained in the use of her power. In 1969, she engineered a showdown with the old power brokers and managed to remove many of them from power. Since many of these ministers were corrupt, it was a highly popular move. In 1971, the destruction of the Old Congress and talk of a new, progressive populist approach brought the Indira Congress an overwhelming mandate—helped by a firm stand on the Bangladesh issue. The "war for the liberation of Bangladesh" was, at the time, a highly popular war and the victory over Pakistan helped national morale.

Looking back now, the current period of troubles can be traced back to Bangladesh, in much the same way that the current wave of American crisis can be traced back to the Vietnam war: the war didn't cause all the problems, but the strain revealed the underlying structural faults. In the immediate euphoria of victory, Indira felt strong enough to talk of food self-sufficiency and a "war on poverty."

The Bangladesh war strengthened the Armed Forces at the expense of other sectors, it encouraged corruption and provided the fuel for inflation and it seems to have consolidated Indira's desire to become sole ruler of India.

When I was there in 1972, almost every intellectual I talked to felt that the Chinese were engaging in "Great Han Chauvinism" to be critical of India's role in Bangladesh. This time, while still not understanding the Chinese support for Pakistan's repression in East Bengal, quite a few intellectuals and college students were willing to talk about "Indira's aggression" and the "expansionism of the Indian Empire," in highly critical terms. Hindsight is always clearer; looking back, the results were far different than appeared on the surface. The conquest of Bangladesh also served as an excuse for the active repression of the CP(M), the CP (M-L) and the "Red Bengal" movement. Nobody knows how many Bengali revolutionaries were killed, or how many are still in prison, but before the Bangladesh war, Bengal was a CP(M) and CP(M-L) stronghold and today it is not.

Adding fuel to this criticism are other events: the tolerance of openly corrupt Ministers and officials who are personally loyal to Indira, the annexation of Sikkim, the use of armed police and army troops to fire on strikers, the continued repression of any group that refuses to operate within the confines of the parliamentary system, the complete failure of the Fifth Plan, the transfer and early retirement of potentially disloyal army officers, and a censorship of the press, made especially clear last week by the forced resignation of B.G. Verghese, the editor of the *Times of India*. There are also several "Watergates": the two most damaging of which are the Maruti scandal and the license scandal. In the Maruti (People's Car) scandal, Indira's younger son Sanjay managed to obtain governmental permission to manufacture a new small car. Since India produces its own cars and doesn't allow imports, this license was very valuable; recently it was sold to the Tata's, India's Rockefellers. Indira has not yet allowed an investigation. In the license scandal, another set of highly valuable licenses were granted after 22 Members of Parliament signed a petition. It turned out that 21 of the signatures were forged. Opposition members in the Parliament demanded an investigation. Indira refused to allow one. When the public outcry reached the point that some members of the Congress Party demanded an investigation, they were removed from the Congress Party on grounds of "indiscipline."

These events, along with the brutal suppression of the railroad strike, the constant power shortages, and the chronic inefficiency of the Indian bureaucracy, would be tragicomic if there were no droughts and no floods, no shortages, no famine, plenty of fertilizer and jobs. But during the multiple crises of 1973 and 1974, it encourages talk of revolution as the only answer.

What are the revolutionary alternatives? There seem to be two groups that are capable of arousing the peasants, the left Gandhians and the Naxalites, and one group with revolutionary workers' support, the CP(M). There is one group capable of squashing the revolutionary forces and ruling India on its own: the Army, perhaps with the support of the Congress Party or one of the right-wing Hindu nationalist groups. If none of these work out, then India will cease to be a country and return to being a subcontinent.

Though not very numerous, the industrial proletariat represents China's new productive forces, is the most progressive class in modern China and has become the leading force in the revolutionary movement. . . the first reason why the industrial workers hold this position is their concentration. . . the second reason is their low economic status. . . the coolies in the cities are also a force meriting attention. They are mostly dockers and rickshawmen. . . sewage carters and street cleaners. Possessing nothing but their hands, they are similar in economic status to the industrial workers but are less concentrated and play a less important role in production. . . By rural proletariat we mean farm laborers hired by the year, month or day. Having neither land, farm implements or funds, they can live only by selling their labor power. They are the most hard-pressed people in the villages and their position in the peasant movement is as important as that of the poor peasants. Apart from all these, there is the

large lumpen-proletariat, made up of peasants who have lost their land and handicraftsmen who cannot get work. . ." Mao, *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society*, Vol. 1 of the *Collected Works*.

(For a better understanding of Indian society, read this essay in its entirety, as well as *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement of Huftan*.)

In the middle of January, 1974, the state of Gujarat erupted in a series of riots and strikes that resembled a miniature revolution. The Army was called in to help the police maintain order, especially in Ahmedabad, the state capital. Gujarat, the ninth largest state with the fourth highest per capita income, located north of Bombay, helped show that the people were fed up with the worsening economic situation and the corruption of its state government. Congress Party officials and parliamentarians were assaulted and their cars burned. Thirty-seven were killed in the first two weeks, as were two policemen, according to official figures.

A series of natural calamities, followed by government bungling and agitation by the opposition, helped fan the sparks. A month after the rebellion broke out, the state government fell and Gujarat came under President's Rule. The carrot-and-stick finally restored order, but not before some new developments. One of these was the emergence of a temporary alliance between teachers, government workers, small shopkeepers, factory workers, coolies and students. The other was the involvement of J.P. Narayan, one of the few Old Gandhians who has retained any moral strength.

While political activity against the Indian government is a new role for the Indian Gandhian movement, a "left sarvodaya" wing has been evolving, as Gandhian activists find that the problems of India are intertwined with the policies of the Central Government. There is some sympathy among these "left sarvodayas" for the Naxalites, who are attempting to confront similar problems of peasant exploitation. And the left sarvodayas face the same problems in penetrating the villages and building a base that the Naxalites do.

One of the first signs of this sympathy came in 1972, with the "Patnaik Case." Nagabhushan Patnaik, a 36 year old CP(M-L) Central Committee member from Orissa was sentenced to death for assassinating a landlord. He refused to defend himself or in any way co-operate with the "bourgeois" court. Among those who did plead for his life were many of the sarvodayas of Orissa, including a former chief minister. J.P. Narayan was one of several who wrote to the President of India asking that the sentence be commuted to life imprisonment. (No political prisoners have officially been executed since Nathuram Godse assassinated Gandhi, although according to rumours I heard this time, many are being killed in prison or quietly shot without any public notice.)

During 1973, another agitation was started in Dhulia, in north-east Maharashtra. This area, not too far from Bombay, has all the earmarks of India's lopsided economic development: capitalist farming, sugar factories and rich farmer co-ops co-existing with primitive outcaste cultivation by 40% of Dhulia's mil-

Temple on Srirangapatna, island city in the Kaveri River. Photo courtesy Government of India Tourist Information Office.



lion-and-a-half people. This agriculture was controlled by landlords and moneylenders. When the poor and landless peasants couldn't stand the oppression any longer, they began to kill landlords. At this point, left sarvodayas entered the scene and set up a Toiler's Union, an alliance of local Gandhians, the Landless Agricultural Laborers and Poor Peasants Union, the outcaste organizations and the *Manos* Foundation. Together they began to struggle against the landlords and the moneylenders, a fragile but tangible union of forces. While still not victorious, it was an experience that helped radicalize and educate many of the sarvodayas involved.

About the same time that J.P. Narayan threw his moral weight behind the uprising in Gujarat, workers across the subcontinent in the state of Bihar went out on strike and again were followed by a broad section of the population, especially in the capital and the small towns. Bihar, the second largest state in India, is also one of the poorest, although it is rich in mineral resources and has a large steel production complex. Close to West Bengal, the majority of the population is low-and outcaste people, ruled by a small coalition of Brahmins, Rajputs, West Bengalis and Punjabis.

The politics of caste and class, combined with disastrous weather and the usual governmental incompetence, has kept Bihar among the lowest of the Indian states in education, income, jobs and social mobility. By February 15, the agitation in Bihar had reached such a level that *LINK* (the CPI (R) newsweekly) was led to editorialize: "The doctors, the teachers, the jute workers, the textile workers, the Harijans and many sectors of the citizenry are reacting in almost a mood of despair to what they feel is economic collapse and social chaos. . . . We seem to be in a desperate anti-climax to 1971. . . . Such a condition cannot subsist for long, even in India which has as great a reputation as pre-revolutionary China for passive acceptance of social disorder."

Soon after this, J.P. Narayan came to Bihar for a three day meeting with leaders of the uprising. By the middle of March, the formation of youth cadres to follow Gandhian principles of nonviolent struggle against the state government was announced after a large "Youth for Democracy" convention in Patna, the state capital.

Using the slogan "Repeat Gujarat in Bihar," the program called for all students to drop out of college and join in supporting and organizing with the opposition groups. J.P. answered charges that he and the sarvodayas were working for the opposition political parties by announcing that the aim of the Bihar movement was to institute "partyless democracy," open to the Jana Sangh and the RSS (Hindu nation militant parties) and to Naxalites.

J.P. is no stranger to Indian political activity. Unlike most of the Indian students that were sent to England, J.P. got his college degree in the US in the '20's—where he also became a member of the American Communist Party. He returned to India as a Communist and became General Secretary of the Congress Socialist Party, the Marxist "wing" of the Indian National Congress. In 1939, he broke away from the Communist Party and joined Gandhi as a disciple. Always a maverick, he later broke with the Nehru-dominated Congress Party and became the leader of the Socialist Party. Later, in the '50's, he went back to Gandhian activity and participated in the Bhodan movement, which attempted to encourage landlords

to share their land with the peasants. In the late '60's, he was involved in the surrender of the Madhra Pradesh dacoits (bandits), who surrendered their arms and renounced violence.

As the sarvodayas continued to try and overthrow the state government in Bihar, J.P. became more specific as to what he meant by "partyless democracy": it was not the replacement of one state government by another, but the formation of what might be described as "people's soviets," a parallel, alternative governmental structure that would return democracy to the grassroots. This was announced at a convention where a new organization, Citizens for Democracy (Jana Tantra Samaj), was announced. Representatives of the Radical Humanists, the Servants of the Society for God, the Jana Sangh, the RSS and the Gandhian Peace Foundation were all present, as well as other well-known Old Gandhians. During the discussions, tributes to China were frequent—and Russia was constantly attacked. To no one's surprise, the Congress Party and the Communist Party of India (R) denounced J.P. as "a tool of the Rightists."

This coalition of the Jana Sangh, the RSS, right and left wing Gandhians, independent leftists and Naxalites made progress throughout the summer in educational and mass strike activities. The Congress Party state government tottered, but did not fall. Then in August, the period of drought was followed by another of Bihar's floods, and the agitation was temporarily called off while the sarvodayas worked to help the homeless and prevent epidemic. As of this writing, the agitation has been renewed but the Bihar government and the sarvodaya-led movement are deadlocked.

The Jana Tantra Samaj is a departure from the otherwise well-known script of revolution in semi-feudal societies. Can India manage to avoid the bloodshed that led to and followed the seizure of state power in Russia? Or the decades of civil war in China?

Nandi bull at Chamundi Hill in Mysore. Photo courtesy Government of India Tourist Office.



Is a nonviolent revolution possible? Can Mao and Gandhi join hands? Will the landlords and the moneylenders and the merchants, all those who are now benefiting from the inequities of Indian society, be convinced that they should give up their privileges for the greater good of all? China went through revolution to develop a social organization that placed the workers and peasants, the coolies and the landless, in power. Can nonviolent revolution operate on such a scale that it could achieve for India what revolution and Communism has for China?

These are the questions that the "left Gandhians" have to answer. If they do not succeed, then there is no alternative but violent revolution for Indians unable to bear the suffering that is all around.

A bloodless transition is what we would like and we should strive for it, but what will happen depends on the strength of the masses. Mao, The Question of the Future of the Revolution Vol. I, p. 290.

The three major problems of the Marxist revolutionary left are factionalism, the urban and elite nature of the parties, and overt oppression by the Indian state.

The factionalism is more than simply personalities, although pettiness, jealousy and ambition have caused their share of splits. It is a serious quarrel over the direction that revolution must take in India. The CPI (R) is following a classical Marxist program, trying to influence the capitalist bourgeois state and have it evolve into a socialist state. Heavily influenced by Moscow, it believes in "peaceful co-existence" and alliance with "left and democratic forces," in building up the public sector and focusing its energy on the trade unions. The split of the original Communist Party of India into pro-Russian and pro-Chinese parties parallels the breaking off of relations between Russia and China, and the polemics are also imported. The CP(M) not only has a more militant vision than the CPI(R) but, because of its Maoist orientation, it sees the importance of an alliance between workers and peasants. For a while, the CP(M) prospered, especially in West Bengal and Kerala. However, there was internal dissension over the CP(M) participating in the parliamentary government, and also questions as to the level of commitment to organizing peasants. In 1967, the villagers in a Bengali village named Naxalbari killed several landlords and seized the land. Some members of the CP(M) saw this peasant uprising as the beginning of rural revolution, on the Chinese model. The CP(M) leadership, however, saw the Naxalbari struggle as "adventurist" and "ultra-leftist." Led by Charu Mazumdar, those who supported the Naxalbari activities and "peasant revolution now" left the CP(M) and set up the CP(M-L), nicknamed Naxalites after the village of Naxalbari.

The quarrel between the CP(M) and the CP(M-L) grew especially bitter after the CP(M) won the state government in West Bengal. CP(M) officials did not hesitate to use the state police against the CP(M-L) and many Naxalites were killed or imprisoned; furthermore, the split isolated the CP(M-L) from the potential worker-peasant alliance, possible if the organizing of peasant revolution could have had the backing of the CP(M) trade unions.

Despite this, the Naxalites had several successes, including a mass movement in the "liberated zone" of Srikakulam area of Andhra Pradesh. The CP(M-L) was also recognized by Peking as the only revolutionary

grouping, although this endorsement was later withdrawn. There were internal problems: the Naxalites seemed unable to broaden their base; some support was alienated by the violence, and they used slogans like "China's Chairman is Our Chairman" (a slogan later attacked by Peking as "anti-nationalistic").

Further, the average Naxalite cadre was young, university educated and from an urban (and often upperclass) background. Communicating with and organizing villagers is much more of a problem than sympathizing with their plight, as the Russian Narodniks found out.

During the '69-'71 period, the strength of the CP (M) declined as a Congress Party-CPI (R) coalition displaced the CP(M) state government in Kerala. The CP(M-L) seemed to have captured the imagination of many young students and independent leftists, and its reputation grew. For the Indian upperclass, terrorism seemed to be the wave of the future, the beginning of the end of "Mother India" as a "democratic socialist" country.

The "Liberation of Bangladesh" came at an excellent time for the Congress Party and Indira Gandhi. Besides wiping out several Naxalite guerilla camps and curbing the "Red Bengal" movement among radicalized East Bengalis, it served as a chance to put into effect the Defence of India Rules. Along with the MISA regulations, these internal security acts allow anyone to be arrested at any time simply at the desire of the authorities, and these detainees can be held for as long as the government wishes. These rules are still in effect, three years after the Bangladesh war, and account for a lot of the fear I saw and felt. At first, only "left" (non-parliamentary) members of the CP(M) and all Naxalites were arrested, but now anyone who openly sympathizes with violent revolution or in some manner upsets the authorities can be arrested and held. It is impossible to tell how many people have been arrested or are being held or have been shot.

With this pressure, the CP(M-L) went underground, although most of the leadership was arrested. Charu Mazumdar died in prison "of a heart attack." The internal divisions within the CP(M-L) surfaced under the strain, and a new faction emerged under the leadership of Satyanarayan Singh and Ashim Chatterji, who objected to Mazumdar's "undemocratic" and "dictatorial" control of the CP(M-L). Another part of the quarrel was over the use of violence in eliminating "class enemies" and the mechanical usage of the Chinese experience. There are rumours of further developments, including a re-unification of the CP (M-L) under the leadership of Satyanarayan Singh, but it is difficult to know exactly what's going on, with all the censorship.

Meanwhile, during this same period, the CP(M) was defeated in the West Bengal elections, by the same coalition that defeated them in Kerala. The few remaining CP(M) Members of Parliament angrily claimed that there was widespread fraud. To prove this would be difficult, given the current situation, but it wouldn't surprise many people.

To a certain extent the repression has had the desired effect: the revolutionary violent left has been cut off from its mass base, and sectarianism has grown. It's difficult to know what the future of the CP(M) and the CP(M-L) will be. The CP(M) still has a base in the trade unions. The urban intellectual-revolutionary

(Continued on page 17)



To China with Love

SARI KNOPP & DOUGLAS BIKLEN

All of Chinese life relates to ideology, whether in medicine, schooling, production levels, the role of women, or the nature of the struggle against elitism. In medicine, we were told of the ideological principles that lay behind the anti-disease campaigns. Major epidemics that plagued Chinese populations for years, such as shistosomiasis and venereal disease, have been wiped out or brought under control. Once the technical ability to eradicate disease exists, if it is not eliminated, the reasons that underlie this failure are not medical but social. Further, we were told by doctors in the Chengchow hospital, where we viewed three operations with acupuncture as the only anesthesia, that the "relationship between doctors and patients is one of comradeship." The doctors treat patients for the revolution. The patients come to the hospital to be cured so as to better serve the revolution. No great contradictions exist between doctors and patients. The basis of the relationship is ideological.

In education, ideology also plays a major role. Students are admitted to universities partly on the basis of their ideological soundness, which the

Sari Knopp teaches sociology at Cazenovia College. Her husband Doug Biklen is director of the Center on Human Policy at Syracuse University. They visited China for three weeks last June with 20 other university-related people. The tour was organized by the Guardian, the New York-based Marxist weekly. Here are excerpts from their report on what they saw plus a few of the photographs they took and some paper cuttings they brought back.

Chinese feel relates to their ability to serve the people. At a middle school in Sian, we asked how teachers handled discipline problems. We were told that though discipline problems were few, cases did sometimes arise. Teachers and fellow students helped to raise the political consciousness of the problem student by encouraging the student in the study of Marxism, Leninism, and the thought of Chairman Mao. Learning problems were treated similarly, by joining theory and practice.

At a primary school in Peking, we were told of a student who was careless in math. But when he was afforded the chance to put together prescriptions in a pharmaceutical plant, he learned how important it is to be careful in mathematical calculations. At Sun Yat Sen medical college in Canton, students remarked that education had changed since the cultural revolution. Students now actively criticize methods and content of their schooling. Faculty no longer use surprise attacks (tests) to check their students, but rather, they view teaching as a cooperative experience with the mutual goal of better serving the people.

The purpose of education, then, is not to promote individual genius, but to enable students to put learning to use. "There is no knowledge without practice," our hosts explained.

Production levels are also related to ideological development. The number of tractors produced by the East is Red Tractor Factory had increased markedly since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In both farming communes we visited, the number of kilos of rice, pears, and other produce had also risen since that period of ideological ferment, which began eight years ago and still continues.

Although women are guaranteed complete political and economic equality in China, there are fewer women than men in leadership positions. The Chinese see this as a result of the influence of the thought of Confucius, who placed women on a level lower than ani-



mals. One major goal of the present campaign to criticize Confucius is to strengthen the role of women.

Another major issue for the Chinese has been their attempt to fight against the rise of elitism. The purpose of almost all activities in China is to serve the people. Elitism is viewed as inconsistent with this goal. All people must have opportunities to engage in the on-going revolution. Rather than following the example of other nations, the Chinese have chosen not to emphasize technical expertise by a few. Their policy is for all the people to develop together.

This has made a dramatic change in the amount of control people feel over their own lives. In spite of what is often heard about centralism in China—and the Chinese themselves say that they practice democratic centralism—decision making is decentralized down to factories, communes and neighborhoods where workers make up large percentages of the leading committees.

Decentralization has made possible a high level of ideological awareness by the Chinese people. We were most impressed by the political consciousness exhibited by nearly everyone we met. The Chinese people seem almost universally able to analyze the key issues that affect their lives.

Education toward this heightened consciousness has been one of the main endeavors of the Chinese leadership. At each factory and commune we observed study groups discussing important national issues such as bureaucratic elitism and more local concerns such as neighborhood health campaigns and welfare funds for disabled persons.

At all schools, primary through university, the students engage in productive labor. At Sian Middle School we observed students making noodle machines. We also saw students working on a farm at the Canton School for the Deaf and at a pharmaceutical plant at Peking University. In addition, May 7th Cadre schools have been established so that those whom the

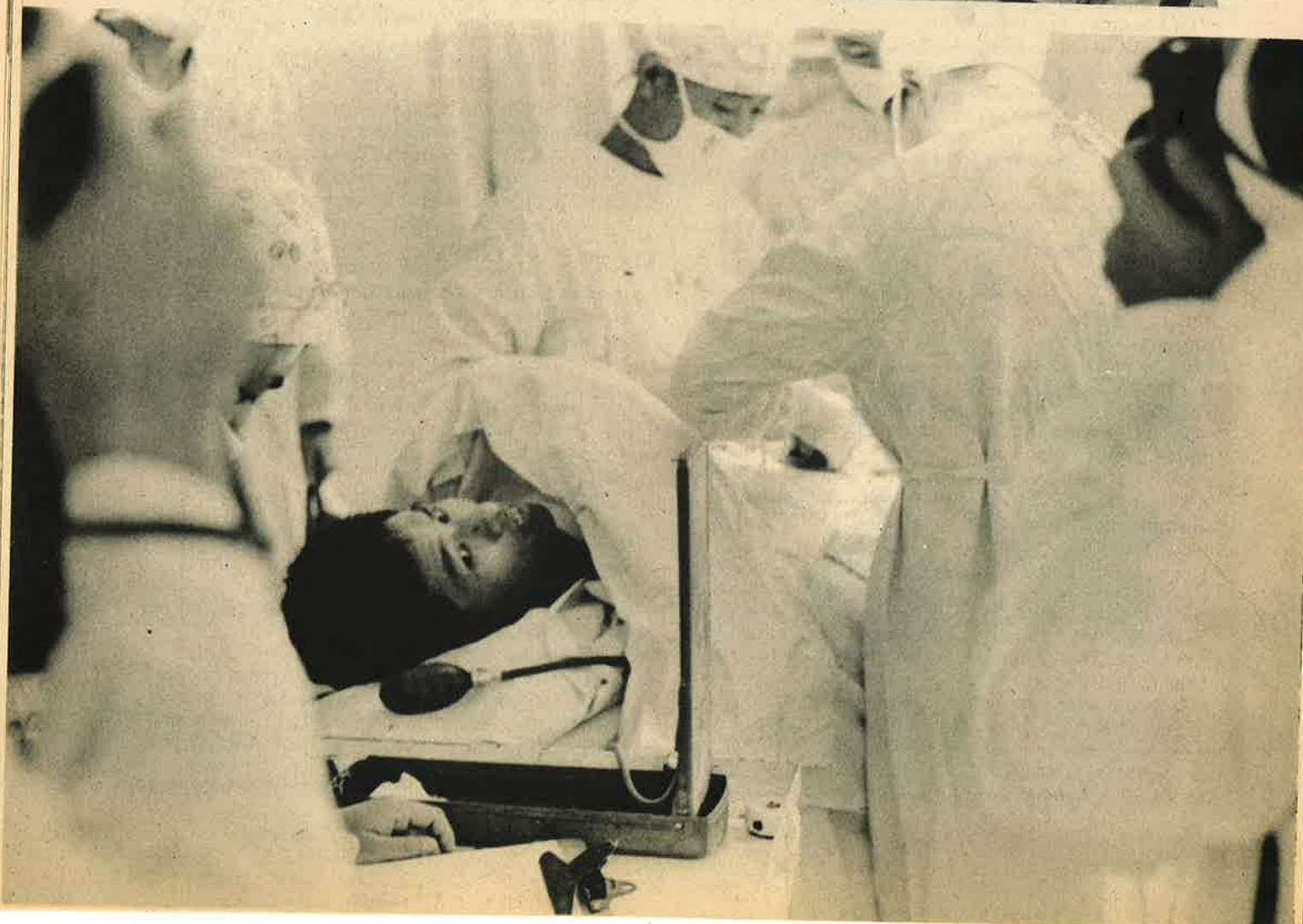


Chinese call "mental workers"—doctors, teachers, office workers—can know the honor of productive labor. Cadres of these workers live at schools in the countryside for six months in order to engage in manual labor and study groups. Administrators in factories usually spend one day a week working in production as part of their work schedule.

One of our last memories of China lingers with us. As we sat in the train waiting to leave for the border, we saw a woman drive a truck loaded with our baggage up to the train. The Director of the China Travel Service for the whole Canton (Kwangchou) region then loaded our bags onto the train. He did not mention this when he said goodbye to us, but one of the guides told us that he makes a practice of doing this to stay in touch with manual labor.

Three weeks is a short time to see a country as varied as China. We had more questions than there was time to answer. But we came home with an overwhelming enthusiasm for what we had witnessed and experienced in China. We felt renewed for our work at home.

To the right, a man recognized as a labor hero by the revolutionary government during the pre-liberation years in Yenan. Below, a factory worker glances at the Americans taking his photograph. The man is completely conscious, with acupuncture his only anesthetic, during an operation in which doctors removed 4/5 of his stomach.



REMEMBERING THE SEIGE OF THE PENTAGON

STEVE SUFFET

Seven years ago today the Pentagon took place. More precisely, the seige of the Pentagon. Norman Mailer wrote about it in *The Armies of the Night*. Jerry Rubin wrote about it in *Do It!* Marty Jezer and Art Waskow wrote about it in *Liberation* magazine.

October 21, 1967 was the last time I climbed a rope. Soldiers and gas masks had blocked the easy access roads to the main plaza parking lot. The only way in was up, so I climbed. The last time before that I climbed a rope was April 1963 when I did it to pass gym. Mr. Allen was watching, and along with my stunts on trampoline and parallel bars I copped a 65 in phys. ed.

Paul Friedman was there, at the top of the Pentagon rope. A Communist Party hack at 19, a year younger than me, he was wearing his rimless glasses and Stalinoid moustache. Paul went to the same high school as I did, where we called him Porky, and had the same gym teacher, but a year later. In high school you had to climb your own rope. No friendly commie to help you out, no tear gas to urge you on.

Today I taught a lesson on the landholding and class system in colonial Latin America. Nothing new: the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. Twelve year olds. They ate it up, but they knew it all already. A few wealthy white men on top. Some Creoles under them, then millions of Indians, Mestizos, and Africans on the bottom. Big deal. Nothing's changed. Peggy, the brightest student, sucks her thumb and calls herself a nigger. Once I asked her what the funniest thing was that ever happened to her and she said looking in the mirror and seeing that big ugly girl with thick lips looking back at her. Early next month I'll give a test on the colonization of the New World and I'll get back some good answers on the inequities of Spanish imperialism in the 16th through 19th centuries. Peggy will probably get an 80 or 85—that's what she usually gets—but she won't be any happier. She does considerably better in social studies than I ever did in gym, but where does it leave her? Where does it leave me? At least Mr. Allen taught me to climb a rope. That paid off. How have I armed her for the battles she must face?

Maybe my cynicism is unfounded, but I think not. Seven years ago I was fighting inhumanity, not

Steve Suffet is currently working on a novel that he describes as a "fictionalized" history of the movement.

teaching about it. Perhaps if my schoolroom lessons had a context around them, a struggle, a Movement, then I could find some meaning in them. However, to quote Pete Seeger, "Where have all the flowers gone?" Where have they gone, those legions who laid seige, without cannon or tank, to the mightiest bastion of militarism ever constructed. Seven years have passed—the Movement is civilly dead.

Remember the day Jackson MacLow made up the term *flower power*? That was in 1966, at a WIN meeting to be sure. I was first busted around then. Sitting in at the Armed Forces Day celebration on Fifth Avenue. May 21, 1966. I was a big shit on campus that week. "Steve, we saw you on television. Gee, you looked good. What did you get?" Disorderly conduct. Thirty day suspended sentence. Next time, the judge said, I would get some time, and he was right. Second bust: five days, Brooklyn House of Detention. Seven busts, four convictions, and what does it mean? Every time I go for a job I have the same old story to explain, the same old crap to prove how moral I am even though I have a rap sheet the proverbial length of my arm. Meanwhile the CIA admits its role in Chile, and nobody gets upset. A mob decides to make Boston look like Little Rock, and who gives shit? Flower power died some time ago and the *New York Times* didn't even run an obituary. "Power comes out of a barrel of petroleum." Nelson and David and John and Lawrence Rockefeller, while watching the 5 am line-

While passing the time in jail after the seige of the Pentagon, Norman Mailer drew this and gave it to Peter Kiger. First publication.



up outside an Exxon station, circa winter 1973-74. "Power comes out of a barrel of rum." Anonymous South Boston philosopher, opening day of school, 1974.

I learned a lot at the Pentagon: (1) It's okay not to be arrested. (2) Wooden fold-up rent-a-chair chairs make a hell of a good keep-warm fire when they burn. (3) What it means to be your own person. I'm not talking about myself, but about my one-time girlfriend, Peggy Ann from Cliffside Park, New Jersey.

I first met Peggy Ann in Washington Square Park during the summer of 1965. She was 16 then and Irish, I was 18 and played guitar. We soon became lovers, each other's first although I lied to her and told her she was my third. Male vanity, I guess. Anyway, in the fall of '67 she went away to school, MIT, and for only the second time in two years we were apart from each other for more than a week. We promised to meet each other at the Reflecting Pool near the Lincoln Memorial, which we did, soon after sunrise on the day of the rally and march. The two of us held hands as the column, perhaps a quarter million strong, slowly advanced on its objective across the Potomac. Then we reached the downed fence. Beyond that was forbidden territory. Off limits. Civil disobedience to enter upon. Trespass in the 360th degree. "You better stay back, Peggy, and if I'm not dead or in jail I'll meet you back at the apartment to night." The apartment was in some luxury high-rise, a place on the thick carpet made available by some well-heeled Washingtonian through the good offices of the Mobilization Committee's housing committee. I copied down the address, kissed her and we parted. Then the fun began.

"We're not against the troops; we're against the war!" "We're not against the troops, we're against the war!" "We're not against the troops, we're against the war!" How many times could I say it? A million

Flower power at the siege of the Pentagon.



no doubt. "Join us!" Over and over again till it happened, not once but three times. I saw the first soldier defect myself. He just sort of dropped his rifle and leaned forward. Swallowed up by the crowd. Covered by a blanket. In a moment he was gone. Did he ever return, oh did he ever return? I don't know. His fate is still unlearned. I wish I had a draft card left, then I could burn mine too. (Alas, mine was mailed to Ramsey Clark—That's right folks, Ramsey Clark, Attorney General to President Lame Brains Jackass—on October 16.) I'm not absolutely sure, but I believe Comrade Porky burned his that night.

By midnight the chairs were all used up, and my jacket alone wasn't keeping me warm enough. Schmuck that I am, I never expected to still be around by midnight. I figured by then I'd surely be in some nice cozy slammeroo. But here I was, shivering, chattering my teeth, and walking around and around to keep the blood circulating. Visions of warm Peggy Ann just made me feel all the more chilly where I was. Besides which, the main action had died down. Now it was only an occasional US Marshal who would reach through the line of soldiers and drag away some unfortunate demonstrator to the swinging rhythm of a hickory baton. Fuck it. I left.

Alas, when I reached the appointed address Peggy Ann was nowhere to be found. Four hours later she came in, bedraggled schmutzy, but smiling like I had never seen her smile before. Where had she been? Where do you think? Back at the Pentagon. She had stayed longer than I had. Both of us were alive, and neither of us was in jail. We caught the 6 am bus back to New York, made love, and ate breakfast. Then I went with her to LaGuardia Field where she got on board the Eastern Airline shuttle to Boston. Two months later we broke up. Although I've spoken to her several times since, neither of us ever again mentioned the Pentagon to the other.

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(Continued from page 11)

continues to be attracted to the Chinese model and it is likely that "Maoism" will continue to be a force in Indian politics. The main area of work that is necessary is the development of rural cadres, peasant revolutionaries who can ally with the urban workers. So far the urban and intellectual, essentially middle-class background of the CP(M) and CP(M-L) cadres has been a barrier that few have managed to cross, despite their desire to unite with revolutionary peasants. Another part of the failure is the impatience of the cadres and the unwillingness to be led by peasants. A third is the slow development of "regional-struggle," localized within one language area, one district, one taluk (the administrative equivalent of a county). Each Indian state has its own language and its own cultural tradition. To the extent that India is not a nation, there cannot be a national struggle. All this would have to be done against the background of constant and active repression. The logical development would be an alliance, a "United Front" of the CP(M)'s leftwing, a reunified CP(M-L) and revolutionary worker, peasant, coolie and student organizations. Right now, there does not appear to be any such United Front visible, except when the entire citizenry of a state rises in revolt, as in Gujarat and Bihar.

It is at this point that the "left sarvodaya" experience is important. Will the experience in Bihar (and planned activities in Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and other states) help develop nonviolent leadership that can form or join a United Front? The problems of penetrating the villages and building worker support are the same for both violent and nonviolent revolutionaries. What do the peasants, the coolies, the factory workers, want? What are their feelings about violent and nonviolent revolution? How can a peasant revolt in one taluk be co-ordinated with a peasant revolt in another taluk; a strike in one town co-ordinated with a strike in another town or city? Can "Gujarat be repeated in Bihar?" Or Bihar in Kerala, or West Bengal in Tamil Nadu? Fourteen languages, innumerable dialects, 20 or more centuries of feudalism... while China may be the model, there are some decidedly Indian complications.

Meanwhile, there is the Indian Army. Some 450,000 soldiers, with 2,000 tanks, consuming over 50% of the annual budget. A small navy, a medium size air force, with over 400 jet fighters, including the MiG-21, which is now manufactured in India. Before the war with China in 1962, the Indian Army was a joke, a British-style army with all the color and inefficiency of a colonial "native" army. The defeat at the hands of the Chinese prompted total rebuilding. The "liberation" of Bangladesh showed the new strength; the defeat of Pakistan makes the Indian Army the major force in South Asia. War with China is not ruled out, although it would seem foolish for the Indian Army to invade China. It certainly would not do so on its own—but if the Russians attacked, it might.

Internally, most of the repression is through armed police, although the army has been called in when necessary. The Army is also combatting the Naga and Mizo (northern tribes) liberation forces, maintains sufficient troops in Kashmir to quell any nationalistic activities, and was the stick that helped "persuade" the Chogyal of Sikkim not to fight the annexation of Sikkim. Were there to be a largescale uprising in India, there is no question that Indira would use the Army.



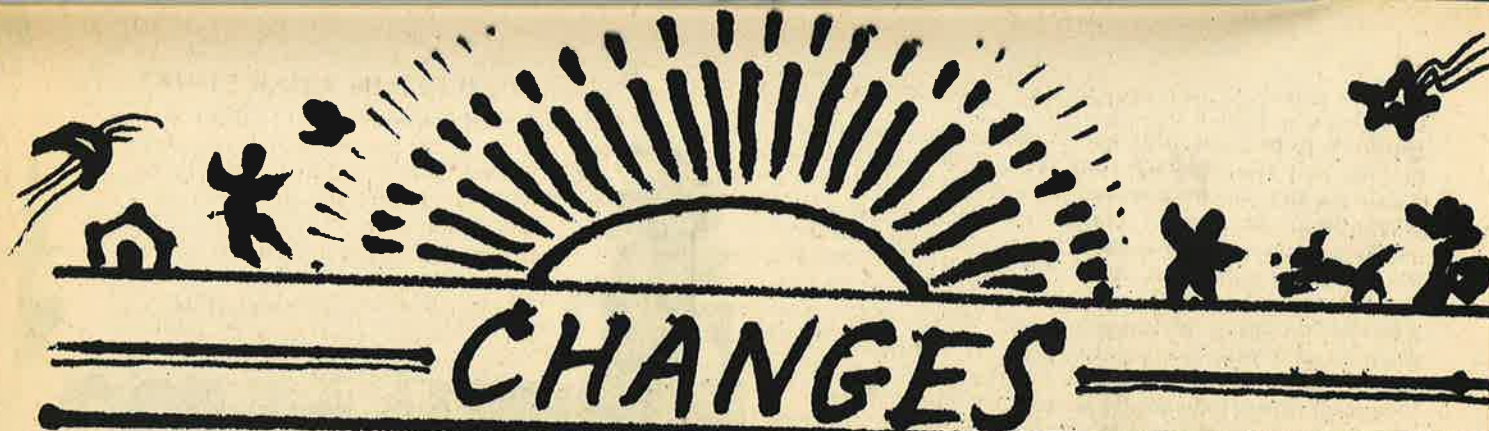
Madras street scene: a Western veneer hides the poverty and agony of India. Photo courtesy Government of India Tourist Office.

When I went back this August, I wondered if there was any possibility that the Army might overthrow Indira and re-enact the drama of Chile. From all I could learn, including a conversation with the children of an Indian general, it is unlikely although not impossible. The Indian Army is peculiar in that it retains its colonial composition: regiments are filled with soldiers from one locality, caste or religious group, with officers from another. This makes it difficult for officers to inspire loyalty among their troops, given the communal suspicions of India. Furthermore, the officers are frequently rotated. There is no one general that seems to have sufficient popularity or vision to head a revolt, although it's impossible to know what the majors and colonels are up to (as in Portugal).

Once Indira is removed or leaves office, if the Balkanization tendencies of India develop to the point that one or several of the states threaten to leave the Union, the Army might take over. Until that time, it seems willing to sit on the sidelines and watch out for itself. If and when the Army takes over, there is a possibility of increased resistance, probably guerilla warfare. More frighteningly, if the Indian union were to split up into its regional or state components, the Indian subcontinent could become a battleground for superpower manipulations.

While all these forces are in contention, there is one underlying reality: the peasants and the industrial workers can never be satisfied until they achieve equality and justice. This is the reality that keeps the Indian political situation on the fire and boiling hot. For all the sophistication of the English-speaking elite and all the intricacy of Indian politics, the answer to India's future lies in the villages and in the factories of the city. And the options are rapidly narrowing to two: revolution or starvation.

Ω



THEY PACKED THE GARDEN!

Though it had been rumored for some time that all tickets (at \$3 apiece) had been sold for the October 27 rally for Puerto Rican Independence ("A Bicentennial Without Colonies."), even some of its supporters were skeptical as to whether Madison Square Garden, with its 20,000 seating capacity, would be full. Though there were some empty seats when the rally opened promptly at noon, by 1 pm, hardly an empty seat could be spotted around the vast arena. Apparently, few were scared away by the previous day's bombings for which FALN, a Puerto Rican guerilla group, claimed credit.

It was announced from the platform that people had come from 25 cities across the US. In addition to Puerto Ricans there were large numbers of Dominicans, whose country is under a dictatorial government supported by the US. What characterized the program of speakers is that every exploited ethnic group was represented. The main speaker was Juan Mari Bras, secretary-general of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Among prominent peace movement people on the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee, which organized the rally, were Phil Berrigan, Noam Chomsky, Dave Dellinger and Arthur Kinoy. —Jim Peck

MEANWHILE BACK IN THE COLONY

Several hundred students attended rallies on October 15, celebrating the anniversary of the *Huelga de octubre*, the student strike which paralyzed five campuses of the University of Puerto Rico in 1973. The strike grew out of protests against the unresponsive school bureaucracy, and demanded a wider base of participation in University policy.

The outdoor rally on the Rio Piedras campus featured speakers and Spanish political music, with calls to resist a reorganization of the University proposed by a hard-line administration. A picket line called for the following morning succeeded in forcing

the University to cancel a recruiting examination for the National Security Agency, which uses Puerto Rican agents for US intelligence operations throughout Latin America.

The picket line and rally were both organized by FUPI, the *independentista* student federation, and the latter event featured a speaker from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Meanwhile, the other major leftist party, the PIP, (Puerto Rican Independence Party) is regaining some of its strength after a sharp political split last year. PIP is planning a major public assembly in Roberto Clemente Stadium on November 24.

In the San Juan area, signs of political activity are very visible, in the form of posters, stencilled slogans, and especially, the multicolored, eye-catching *murales*, the paintings that bedeck the walls of the city with patriotic phrases and announcements. The police have even been obliged to slack off somewhat on their previous policy of arresting wall painters, as the public messages bloom everywhere.

One manner in which rightist reaction does emerge, though, is in the form of bombings, probably the work of anti-Castro Cuban emigres. Two theatres on opposite ends of the island, in Mayaguez and Rio Piedras, were shaken by early morning bomb blasts on October 8, the second day of their festival of revolutionary Cuban films. The festival, sponsored by FUPI and PSP, moved to a campus theatre and continued undeterred. —John Ascenzi

PRESIDENT FORD OFFERED FREE RECORD

Gerald Ford now has some music to listen to as he ponders the disintegration of American Capitalism.

The Bread and Roses Music Collective, a three member group which operates the "anti-profit, anti-capitalist" Bread and Roses Community Music Center in Washington, voted this week to send Ford a free gift certificate for the New Lost City Ramblers *Songs of the Depression*, a collection of songs

from the economic crisis of the thirties.

In a letter to Ford, the collective noted that the gift was in keeping with their policy of "all music (and power) to the people." They said that they thought that "if you heard what people were singing about during the last big crisis in American capitalism, you'd have some idea what we're going to be singing about" during the next depression.

The collective noted that listening to the music "beats whistling in the dark."

To receive his gift, Ford is required to show up in person at the store. Members of the collective said that they considered delivering the record in person to the president, but decided that it would not be safe due to the fact that the White House and its surrounding grounds is known to be a high crime area. —Bread and Roses Collective

MINE WORKERS CHARGE DUKE POWER CO. WITH ELECTION FRAUD

A rigged election for union representation at Duke Power Company's High-splint mine near Harlan, Kentucky is being challenged by the United Mine Workers of America. The UMWA "lost" to the Southern Labor Union—a sweetheart (company) union—in a vote of 90 to 76.

"If there were only miners voting, we would have won," said Bernie Aronson, assistant to the president of the UMWA. He explained that 25 Duke Power "security guards" voted in the election, that there were offers of company money to those who would give their vote to the Southern Labor Union, and that company people actively campaigned (on company time) for the Southern Labor Union.

The 25 security guards who voted were actually used by Duke Power to intimidate and threaten strikers who were fighting to get UMWA recognition.

The decision to hold union elections at Highsplint was agreed to on August

29 when strikers at the nearby Brookside mine won their 13-month battle against Duke Power, gaining recognition for the UMWA. At that time, Duke Power agreed to hold speedy elections at Highsplint, and to reinstate the miners who had walked out there in support of the Brookside strike.

In the wake of the recent UMWA victory at Brookside, Aronson says of Duke Power, "They're not about to fall over dead."

Neither is the UMWA, though. They have already filed a formal complaint objecting to the 25 votes cast by the security guards. —LNS

SMOKE FOR PEACE

The United States will ship about \$25 million worth of tobacco to poor countries in this fiscal year under the "Food for Peace" program. The Administration maintains that tobacco exports provide "morale-building" benefits, and also are a form of "security assistance," since recipient governments can spend the profits from tobacco sales on "common defense purposes." Almost half of this year's tobacco shipments are scheduled to go to S. Vietnam. —LNS

PRISON NOTES



Several developments indicate that President Ford's so-called clemency program will not mean the end to criminal prosecutions of draft resisters. On October 5 a federal judge in Boston sentenced Rene Henry Mondejar, a Jehovah's Witness who refused alternative service, to two years in prison, then suspended the sentence and fined Mondejar \$500. Despite the suspension of sentence, his felony conviction will still stand.

William Meis, another resister who went into exile in Canada seven years ago, returned to the US early in October, turned himself over to the US Attorney in Springfield, Illinois, was then arrested and released on bond, which restricts him to Illinois. Meis said that Ford's program "denies everything we did and stood for," and plans to face jail in order to challenge that program.

Meanwhile, the ACLU has offered free legal service to all draft exiles and has undertaken a challenge of the constitutional inequities and defects in various parts of the clemency program. Among the shortcomings the ACLU hopes to attack are the assumption that all exiles are guilty of breaking the law, the lack of provision for legal service and personal appearance at the time alternative service is decided, and the failure to provide some relief for those who are now citizens of another country and who may wish to return to the US to visit.

On September 4 an all-white jury found the four black Leavenworth Brothers "guilty" of a variety of charges of assault and inciting to riot. This very important trial has not received the attention it deserves as part of the federal government's program to punish severely all prisoners who rebel against the inhuman conditions under which they are forced to live. The trial lasted eight weeks and the jury took five days to agree on the verdict. Odell Bennett was sentenced to

13 KILLED IN BIHAR STRIKE

Armed police were sent to Bihar State, India, at the beginning of a three-day general strike called by Gandhians led by Jayaprakash Narayan to demand dissolution of the state assembly and to protest against government corruption.

Four people were shot and at least 60 injured on the final day of the strike, October 7, bringing the total killed during the three days to 13. On the same day, 30,000 people marched in New Delhi to agitate against corruption, rising prices, unemployment and mis-government. —Peace News

ment that results in involuntary servitude. The suit is the first one that challenges the basic concept behind medical experimental programs using prisoners.

The right of a prisoner to challenge transfer to another institution was upheld in a decision by the US Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. The appeals decision reversed an earlier district court ruling which dismissed a complaint seeking damages for a prisoner who had been transferred without a hearing. Chief Judge Irving Kaufman upheld the right of prison officials to transfer inmates but made a distinction between administrative and punitive transfers. "When harsh treatment is meted out to reprimand, deter or reform an individual," he wrote, "elementary fairness demands that the one punished be given a satisfactory opportunity to establish that he is not deserving of such handling." If this decision is implemented it should act to restrain prison officials in the use of arbitrary transfer which opens the way to abuse of power in virtually every prison in the country.

One of the reasons put forth for not confirming Nelson Rockefeller as Vice President was his part in the officially sanctioned murder of 39 individuals at Attica prison in September, 1971. During the hearings on his confirmation Rockefeller admitted that he should not have permitted the use of force by the state police. It was Tom Wicker, in his *New York Times* column, who best summarized the tragedy:

"The irrefutable truth is that for six solid minutes, that bloody morning, New York State Police poured indiscriminate buckshot and rifle fire into a milling mass of gas-blinded inmates. The result was that one of every ten persons in the prison yard and a quarter of the hostages were hit. Thirty-nine died, and no hindsight or prevarication will bring them back."

—Larry Gara



COMMUNES, LAW AND COMMON SENSE

Lee Goldstein / New Community Projects Paperback
126 pages, \$2.95

Building codes and zoning ordinances are the skeleton upon which the numerous, creaking bodies of local housing laws are fitted. The laws, best observed as products of a judiciary more comfortable in the protection of property than liberty, provide the essential tools of development in every city, town, and county in the republic, more often producing the truly significant decisions affecting our style of living in the board rooms of industry and finance. These ordinances allow hidebound bureaucracies to perform curious acts of construction like the World Trade Center and business interests, in their wisdom, to redesign the face of the countryside, replacing community landmarks of several generations with those monotonous corporate signatures carved everywhere onto Main Street, the shopping center and the fast food joint. You deserve a break today.

But not all forms of self-expression are so well received. The same laws that smile so lovingly on the manic architecture of pizza kings and hamburger barons, tend to assume a decidedly hostile profile when the issues acquire a more human face. If you share living quarters with people unrelated by blood, the forces of law can beat hectically at your door.

Lee Goldstein, a member of the New Community Projects collective in Boston, has written a useful, self-defense manual for communards made weary by the intrusion of both bloodless jurisprudence and openly hostile police into the day to day affairs of communal living. The manual examines various forms of official harassment, from the confused legal Wonderland surrounding the area of law known as search and seizure, to the very specific set of precepts commonly referred to as the anti-grouper laws, a zoning ordinance most chillingly articulated by Justice William O. Douglas in the Supreme Court *Belle Terre* decision last March. The ruling allows a local government the policing power to restrict residence within the boundaries of their village or town to either those related by blood, marriage, or adoption, or to no more than two unrelated persons living and cooking as a single "housekeeping unit." Goldstein suggests strategies for each occasion, advising against unnecessary contumely when being questioned by the police, and for an active, communal participation in local affairs, such as lobbying for a bill that will define family as a single non-profit home-making unit, a statute which could be passed by town or state legislatures.

The major battleground upon which communards must now fight for survival, is in the words and phrases of the zoning laws. Goldstein develops a persuasive argument countering the *Belle Terre* decision. Justice Douglas, an unlikely bearer of such confining notions, posits without supporting data, that "youth values" and homes of "unrelated

persons" contribute more to the traffic density and noise problems than traditional families. He concludes his opinion by stating that the ordinance does not deny the group's right of equal protection, privacy, and association. Goldstein thus unravels the entire fabric of the good Justice's argument. Douglas has maintained that this decision permits families to entertain whomever they like, for any kind of hospitable purpose. Goldstein quotes a passage from Douglas' concurring opinion in the *Moreno vs. Dept. of Agriculture* case of last year: "Freedom of association encompasses the right to invite a stranger into one's home not only for the purpose of entertainment, but to join the household as well."

There are enough ambiguities within the language of the law to stimulate other challenges to this landmark decision. Since the final ruling only invoked the landlord directly, the residents having moved during the long litigation process, a group currently in residence may enjoy a more secure position to assert the rights of association and privacy. The single most effective way to combat any assault on the legalities of unconventional life-style is through the time honored traditions of organization and research. This lesson manifests itself year after year; isolated individuals living experimentally are vulnerable to peculiar tax laws, dusty sex statutes and suspicious, alien neighbors. The painful task of building a more humane environment must function behind the shield of an organized movement to sustain unity and support or be as ruthlessly shattered as many of our previous attempts to write our own history have been. Constructing a network of enduring communities has become a more important project now than at any time before.

—Richard Schrader

SUPERSPILL: AN ACCOUNT OF THE 1978 GROUNDING AT BIRD ROCKS

Mary Kay Becker and Patricia Coburn
Madrona Press / \$3.95

At 11:51 on the night of July 1, 1978, the 120,000-ton supertanker *Grand Canyon* went aground on Bird Rocks in the narrow Rosario Strait in Puget Sound. It was the occasion for the largest oil spill in US history—eight million gallons of Alaskan crude—and, from Seattle to Victoria, BC, the gooey oil killed sea life and birds and totally wrecked the Sound for fishing, recreation, tourism and aquaculture.

(For comparison, the 1969 Santa Barbara oil leak involved perhaps up to two million gallons of oil, and this was in open ocean. Puget Sound is a fairly enclosed body of water, with little tidal flushing action.)

The fact that the Puget Sound spill described in this fiction account hasn't yet happened doesn't rob the book of any of its considerable impact. On the contrary, it adds to the scary feeling while reading it that this book is little more than prophecy.

Item: In 1969 and 1970, there were at least 338 collisions and 366 groundings of tankers throughout the world—almost one grounding or collision each day.

Item: Scientific studies done in 1970 concluded that Puget Sound could expect anywhere from three to six tanker accidents from collisions or groundings over the following ten years, depending on the rate of traffic growth as the Alaskan crude began coming down to the new refineries located in upper Puget Sound.

What we all should have learned by now, the authors point out, is that no matter how "fail-safe" a system is cracked up to be, no matter how much oil companies sincerely want to avoid disastrous accidents, human and ma-

terial fallibility—following Murphy's Law ("Whatever can go wrong, will")—guarantee that the inevitable major oil spill will occur.

The question raised by the authors—two young journalists formerly with *Northwest Passage*, the ecologically oriented Washington State paper—is: given the inevitability of such a superspill, are there alternatives to shipping oil from Alaska through the treacherous waters and islands of Puget Sound? The affirmative answers to that question are detailed in *Superspill*.

There are also profound questions raised about America's current "hydrocarbon high," and eminently practical alternatives are discussed with respect to cheap and non-polluting power sources such as sun, wind, tides, garbage and fecal wastes.

In 1970, a United Nations meeting in Rome designated Puget Sound a special study area because of its relatively clean conditions compared to other bodies of water (even with "minor" oil spills that had occurred there). In 1972, the US Congress passed a law permitting the Administration to declare certain bodies of water Marine Sanctuaries because of their recreational, conservation, ecological or aesthetic values.

Given the kind of gooey vision forecast by statistical certainty, the thrust of the book is for a movement that would lead to such a designation for beautiful Puget Sound. Item: The commercial and sports fishing industries are worth more than \$100 million annually. Item: One in three Washington residents does some sports fishing, and there are 200,000 pleasure boats in the Puget Sound area. Item: Puget Sound will have a \$100 million aquaculture industry in the next ten years, raising fish, oysters, clams, etc. for a protein-hungry world.

Becker and Coburn tell their frightening tale in newsreel fashion, almost as if one is on the scene as the Titanic is sinking or as the Poseidon turns over. It is an effective writing technique, conveying both the excitement and enervation of the oil disaster while at the same time subtly squeezing in an enormous amount of vital factual data. (With all the disaster-mania currently absorbing Hollywood—airport accidents, highrise fires, hurricanes, earthquakes, etc.—one would think that a supertanker oil spill would be a natural. But, oddly enough, Hollywood is not about to take on the oil industry.)

Finally, while the book concentrates on Puget Sound, its application should be obvious any place where a clean body of water is threatened by the intrusion of "Progress" in the form of potentially disastrous energy sources.

Superspill is available at select Movement and ecology-oriented bookstores or can be obtained by writing the publisher at 113 Madrona Place East, Seattle, Wash. 98112.

—Bernard Weiner

FICTIVE CAPITAL AND FICTIVE PROFIT

Horace H. Robbins / Philosophical Library, 1974 417 pp., \$10.00

It is unlikely that Horace Robbins' *Fictive Capital and Fictive Profit* will ever occupy anything more than an obscure corner in the annals of political economy. Conceptually, stylistically and politically, the text is awkwardly constructed and often inconsistent. It is, for example, never clear whether Robbins is working self-consciously within the labor theory of value or subscribing to an admixture of the latter and the Marginalist school or simply striking out on his own. It is clear, however, that Robbins does not con-

sider himself a radical. The author is a US Administrative Law Judge and apparently views *Fictive Capital* as a "value-free" analysis of advanced capitalism in the best tradition of legal positivism.

The first third of *Fictive Capital* is accordingly devoted to a structural analysis of the "laissez-faire" economy (termed by Robbins the "independent capitalist economy"). In this section, Robbins presents a fairly comprehensive discussion of the fundamental elements of commodity production (wages, prices, profit, cyclical growth etc.). After defining his terms and exploring their interrelations, the author then charts the dynamic tendencies of capitalism toward accumulation, overproduction and a declining rate of profit. What emerges from the discussion is the picture of an economy that by 1929 had outgrown its historic limits. The great depression that ensued was not just another periodic crisis of overproduction. Henceforth, the "independent capitalist economy" would be unable to generate the quantity of capital required for the steady expansion of business activity that is essential to production for profit.

What follows, in Robbins' analysis of monopoly capitalism, proves to be the most instructive section of the book. In the past decade, radical economists have written widely on the nature of state sponsorship and regulation of economic growth. Rarely, however, have they been concerned with describing the specific fiscal techniques employed by the state to support the monopoly economy. Their failure to deal in detail with these anti-cyclical devices constitutes an important gap in economic theory, and it is to Robbins' credit that he attempts to close that space.

As Robbins explains, American capitalism functions today by means of a "fictitious" expansion of capital. This expansion is made possible by the federal government through its permanent and ever-enlarging debt, the constant inflation of a new paper money form and the creation of an immense and steadily increasing tax. Through these measures the government is able to purchase large quantities of products (primarily military hardware), from capital-goods industries. The demand for these goods created by the government works to arrest the cyclical tendencies operative in the private sector before they reach socially critical proportions.

The military goods purchased by the government are produced "as if" they were ordinary capital goods. However, unlike other capital goods, these products have a "non-capital" consumption—that is, they are consumed by government rather than used by private industry to produce new goods. The military hardware bought by the state is never sent into general circulation, although the inflated money used by the state to purchase the goods enters and remains in the market. A portion of this money is capitalized and converted into a "fictitious" profit (i.e., a profit created directly by government spending rather than by the internal dynamics of the private sector itself). Robbins argues that the reinvestment of this profit is the real driving force behind economic expansion today.

The final third of *Fictive Capital* is concerned with the state forms and prevailing ideology common to both the "laissez-faire" and monopoly capitalist economies. Although Robbins correctly focuses on the mounting powers of the Presidency and the economic function of anti-communist ideology (as a prop of the military-industrial complex), this segment fails to provide any original insights into the nature of the modern corporate state. Nor does Robbins undertake any discussion of the possibilities for revolutionizing contemporary capitalist society. In view of current economic developments, this amounts to a serious omission.

—Bill Blum

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2,4-D and 2,4,5-T were NOT sprayed on Wisconsin national forests this summer. In the wake of strong citizen opposition, a temporary court injunction was obtained. Next summer the US Forest Service—US Dept. of Agriculture hopes to pick up where they were stopped, and spray some 2½ square miles of Wisconsin woods with these Vietnam defoliants. Such action by USDA foresters is not unique in any way: since 1965 some 10,000 acres of upper Michigan forests have been aerially sprayed with one or more of these hormonal chemicals. We wish to share information on decentralized and ecological forest care. We hope to establish a communications network and are requesting news from you on local situations regarding the issue. Write: CHEQUAMEGON CITIZENS, RR1, Box 59, Marengo, WI 54855.

LIBERTARIAN BOOK CLUB Fall Lectures, Thursday evenings, 7:30 PM, Workman's Circle Center, 369 8th Ave. (SW corner 29 St.), admission free. November 14: Irving Levitas, "Anarchism in New England"; December 12: Dan Georgakas and Leonard Rubenstein, "Art and Anarchy."

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National Council for Universal & Unconditional Amnesty (NCUUA) 2nd National Conference is 11/16 & 17 in Louisville, KY. For more information contact NCUUA, 339 Lafayette St., NYC 10012. 212/228/1500.

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

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1975 PEACE CALENDAR



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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.

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