

SAM LOVEJOY'S VICTORY: NUCLEAR POWER STALLED  
NICOLA GEIGER TALKS ABOUT REPRESSION IN KOREA  
PAUL MAYER ON PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

**win**  
✿

30 75-09 R FOLDS002  
SETH FOLDY  
PO BOX 9947  
STANFORD UNIVERSITY  
STANFORD CA 94305





My comment is on the Oct. 17 issue. Andrea Dworkin's article was good, however, Ms. Dworkin associates sexism, racism, war and general nastiness with the male sexual model. Superficially she is right. What humans need in order to grow is security. It is essential to all life. Whenever human self-consciousness was born, it was a highly traumatic event, it made us aware of death, instinctually divided and insecure. Myths point this out, most strongly the tree of knowledge in the Garden of Eden. Primates are organized around various patterns of dominance and submission; man is a primate. Consciousness is arising, and since that is traumatic, homo-sapiens demand security safety against this new awareness. Freud brilliantly documents the intricacies of the internal protections against too much awareness. In other words repression is not some external evil, but a fact generated by the workings of the human condition. The four books of the Castaneda series demonstrate the extreme dangers and possibilities in human consciousness. Don Juan once says that normal people protect themselves from "spirits" by their daily routines, which build up a protective haze.

Why primates and many other species developed dominant-submissive relations is unknown to me, but is probably tied up with the evolution of separate sexes for

species reproduction. Nonetheless, it existed and proved ideal for putting human awareness in a great self-defining circle. The dominant are concerning themselves with remaining so, and the submissive attempt to hook their fortunes to some rising star or are forcibly hooked. Both groups define and are concerned only with each other, a repetition-compulsion. It is beautiful and intricate, but hopelessly inadequate for our present needs. As persons and as a culture we must come to terms with the cosmos, death and life, rather than attempt to mask it. That's all that patriarchy is—a mask; it becomes political when one outgrows it and that happens at differing rates and not to all people. Ms. Dworkin is like the philosophers of the 18th century: only get rid of ignorance and utopia will come into being under rational man. Now it is get-rid-of patriarchy and the human condition is transformed to goodness.

The issues are much more complex than this capsule summary. A brief introduction to these issues is found in eight books, the four books of the Castaneda series, *The Outsider* by Colin Wilson, *Towards a Psychology of Being* by Abraham Maslow and *Life Against Death* by Norman O. Brown.

—ALAN BLAIR  
New York, NY



December 5, 1974 / Vol. X, No. 41

- 4. Nuke Developers on the Defensive  
*Harvey Wasserman*
- 10. The Road to Seoul: An Interview  
with Nicola Geiger / *Jan Barry*
- 12. Voices of the Middle East  
*Paul Mayer*
- 20. Changes

Cover: Sam Lovejoy. Photo by Mark Diamond.



#### MOONPOEM

The moon tonight tells me  
I will always be lonely  
because you cannot be with me every moment  
of every day, every night.  
The waiting is torture.  
I try to fill my time with things that need doing  
but I cannot keep from expecting/hoping/dreaming  
you will float in thru the window.

The moon tonight tells me  
I will always be joyfut  
because you will hug me so tight I can't breathe  
& give me a kiss.  
You will smile at me.  
You fill my time brim-full.  
I can't remember my name. Thinking of you  
I begin to slip out thru the window  
to fly with you to the moon.

—Mark Morris

#### STAFF

Maris Cakars • Susan Cakars  
Chuck Fager • Mary Mayo  
Mark Morris • Susan Pines  
Fred Rosen • Martha Thomases

#### UNINDICTED CO-CONSPIRATORS

Jan Barry • Lance Belville • Jerry Coffin  
Lynne Coffin • Ann Davidson • Diana Davies  
Ruth Dear • Ralph DiGla • Brian Doherty  
Seth Foldy • Jim Forest • Leah Fritz • Larry Gara  
Nell Haworth • Ed Hedemann • Grace Hedemann  
Karl Jay • Marty Jezer • Becky Johnson  
Nancy Johnson • Paul Johnson • Allison Karpel  
Craig Karpel • John Kyper • Elliot Linzer  
Jackson Mac Low • David McReynolds  
David Morris • Jim Peck • Tad Richards  
Igal Roodenko • Nancy Rosen • Ed Sanders  
Wendy Schwartz • Art Waskow • Allan Young  
Beverly Woodward

Box 547 / Rifton / New York 12471  
Telephone: 914-339-4585

WIN is published weekly except for the first two weeks in January, 2nd week in May, last 4 weeks in August, and the last week in October by the WIN Publishing Empire with the support of the War Resisters League. Subscriptions are \$7.00 per year. Second class postage at New York, NY 10001. Individual writers are responsible for opinions expressed and accuracy of facts given. Sorry—manuscripts cannot be returned unless accompanied by a self-addressed stamped envelope. Printed in U.S.A.



# NUKE DEVELOPERS ON

## HARVEY WASSERMAN

For the crusade against nuclear power, the case of Montague, Massachusetts has been a confrontation *par excellence*.

Northeast Utilities Company, which supplies much of New England's electricity, threw down the gauntlet last December 28, when it announced plans for a \$1.52-billion twin nuke to be built in Montague and to generate 2300 megawatts. The project is the biggest of its kind proposed anywhere.

NU chose its site carefully. Montague is 90 miles west of Boston and 180 miles north of New York City. It sits on the Connecticut River and possibly on an underground lake, which would provide ample cooling water. In urban terms the immediate area is sparsely populated. The actual site of the plant, the Montague Plains, is a sandy stretch of scrub pine, impossible to farm and marginally inhabited.

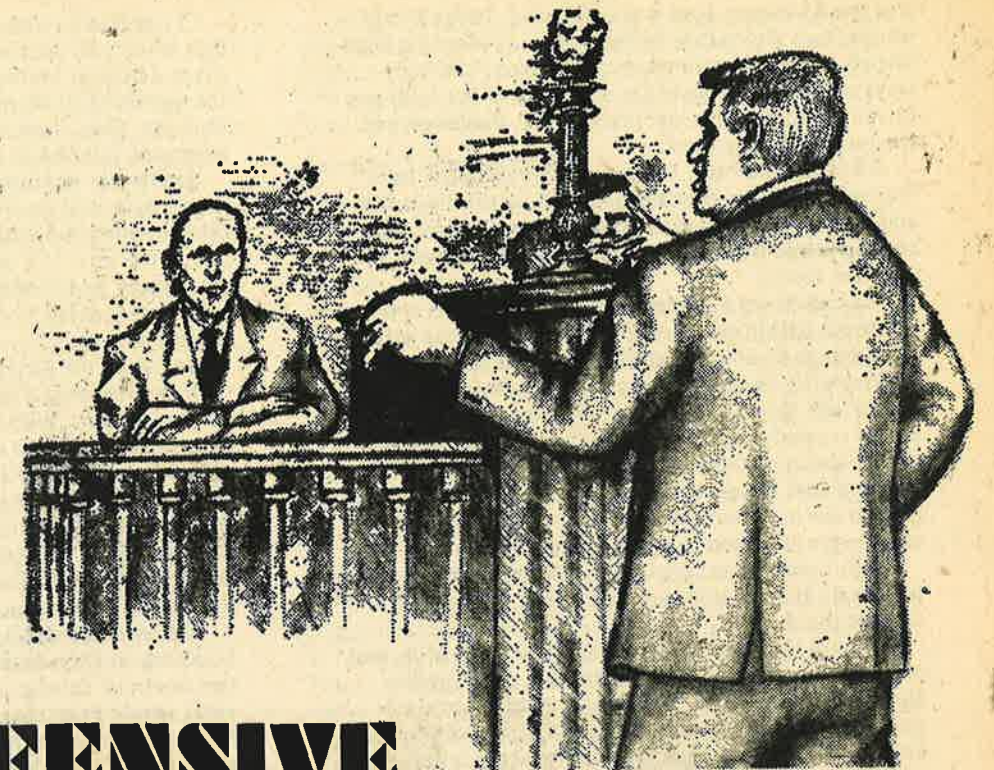
But most important for NU, the townspeople seemed ripe for a plant. High taxes and high unemployment looked like a guarantee that the local populace would welcome the project with open arms.

Most did. But there was a vocal, determined opposition, much of it from the five or six communes in the Montague Center precinct.

The nuclear opponents began passing literature and playing pranks in the late-sixties tradition, even

*Harvey Wasserman is a member of NOPE. He is the author of The History of the United States. (Harper Colophon Books, 1972).*

# THE DEFENSIVE



Sam Lovejoy is cross-examined by Asst. Atty. John F. Murphy as Judge Kent Smith listens. Drawing by Chico Garvin.

forming an organization called Nuclear Objectors for a Pure Environment (NOPE).

Then, on Washington's Birthday, Samuel H. Lovejoy toppled NU's 500-foot weather tower, which had been monitoring the wind at the proposed plant site (see WIN, 6/27/74). Lovejoy turned himself in with a statement protesting the dangers of nuclear power, and the anti-nuke movement had escalated a giant step.

The tower-toppling got national publicity, but its most important effect was on the immediate area, where "nuke" suddenly became a household word. By early spring an area-wide organization called the Alternate Energy Coalition (AEC) began a successful campaign to put a dual referendum on the state Senate district ballot, a district roughly corresponding to the Radiation Hazard Zone (RHZ) of the proposed plant.

The first proposition asked that the state Senator be directed to oppose the Montague plant. The second asked that he be directed to "sponsor and support a resolution aimed at closing and dismantling" two active nuclear plants at Rowe, Mass., and Vernon, Vermont.

By the end of the summer more than 3800 signatures had been gathered and the two questions were on the ballot.

## The Trial of the Tower Toppler

In early September all eyes turned to the Franklin County Superior Court in Greenfield. Lovejoy wanted his trial to be a public forum on nuclear power, and it proved to be just that, from the opening "Hear-ye!" to the closing "Not Guilty!"

At two pre-trial hearings, Judge Kent Smith refused to believe Lovejoy intended to defend himself. Confronted with a five-year felony charge, Lovejoy told the Judge he considered the toppling of the tower—and the trial—a political event, and that his defending himself was inseparable from the politics of the act.

Smith, known as the most liberal judge on the Massachusetts circuit, conceded Lovejoy's right to act without counsel but practically pleaded with him not to do it. Lovejoy held fast but agreed to use a lawyer when it came time to take the stand himself. Under Mass. law, Lovejoy would have had to ask himself questions and then answer them.

In pre-trial motions Lovejoy asked for subpoena powers for any and all NU, state or prosecution files on himself, other nuclear objectors, and on the health and safety of nuclear power plants.

Smith denied the requests, but did grant Lovejoy's "motion to view," which meant that as soon as the jury was chosen it would be bused (at Lovejoy's expense) to the site of the tower.

The actual trial began September 17, which was both Constitution Day and the first day of Rosh Hashannah. The visitors' gallery filled with about 125 freaks dressing up (more or less—Judge Smith's dress regulations were lax) for the first time in years. Those of Jewish ancestry could only wonder at the similarity between the court sessions and Synagogue of the pre-barmitzvah era.

Filling the visitors' gallery was easier than filling the jury box. Nearly a quarter of the pool proved to have strong connections to the power company, being either employees, relatives of employees or stockholders. Others had already formed an opinion. By the end of the first day only 12 jurors had been chosen



and the 45-person pool was exhausted. Judge Smith wanted two alternates, so the following morning High Sheriff Chester Martin was ordered into "the high-ways and byways" to collar more jurors. By 1:00 pm Lovejoy had used his last preemptory challenge, and the jury was completed.

After lunch Smith, Lovejoy and prosecutor John Murphy piled into Smith's huge Buick, the 14 jurors and the court attendants took seats on a public bus, and, followed by a caravan of spectators, all went to view the tower.

NU had flown in a replacement from Texas and erected it within two weeks after Lovejoy toppled the original, so all was pretty much as it had been February 22—with some notable exceptions.

For one thing, NU had installed eight-foot storm fences topped with two-way barbed wire to protect the turnbuckle stations. Signs warned would-be topplers that the ground was equipped with an underground alarm system, while the turnbuckles themselves were sheathed in quarter-inch steel.

Both Lovejoy and prosecutor Murphy took pains to explain that all this paranoia was not present at the time of the deed.

The sun shone brightly, the sky was deep blue, and everybody seemed to enjoy being out on an idyllic New England fall day. The only note of discord entered when Lovejoy attempted to describe the fragile ecology of the Montague Plains. The prosecution objected and was sustained.

#### With Malice Toward None

Back in court, Prosecutor Murphy presented an excruciatingly dull case. With testimony from three NU officials and three Montague police officers, Murphy established beyond a doubt that the tower had been toppled, that it was worth \$42,500, and that Lovejoy did it. The boredom was shattered only by a dramatic reading of Lovejoy's statement by Officer Donald Cade, who was on duty when Lovejoy turned himself in.

Lovejoy, however, had some fireworks ready. The charge was "willful and malicious destruction of personal property," and the core of his defense was that the act was anything but malicious, that in fact it was motivated by none but the highest motives—the defense of the community.

To prove his case, Lovejoy summoned Dr. John Gofman, a world-renowned physicist, a discoverer of Uranium 233, and a bitter foe of nuclear power plants.

Lovejoy asked him to tell the jury his name, address and occupation, which he did. Lovejoy then asked Gofman to define "nuclide," whereupon Murphy stood up to object and Smith ordered the jury out of the room.

Smith asked Lovejoy to demonstrate the relevance of Gofman's testimony. Lovejoy responded that maliciousness had not been proved by the Commonwealth, and that he intended to show his motives. Gofman was the ablest person he could find to explain the dangers of nuclear power.

Smith responded that only testimony relating to Lovejoy's actual state of mind at the time of the deed would be admissible. Had he talked to Gofman before February 22?

No, your Honor, but I read his book (*Poisoned Power*)," Lovejoy responded.

"But did you talk with him?"

"Your Honor, I believe as sure as I'm standing here that when you read someone's book, you talk to them. I believe I talked to George Washington, and the signers of the Constitution and Henry David Thoreau. *Don't you talk to Oliver Wendell Holmes when you read his books?*"

Smith was impressed, but not swayed. He called a short recess and returned with a unique and somewhat bizarre ruling. Gofman could testify to the record, but not to the jury. If Lovejoy were found guilty, the case would go to the State Supreme Judicial Court before sentencing to determine the validity of the testimony.

So, while the jury played pinochle in a back room, Gofman delivered a scathing indictment of the nuclear power industry. With Lovejoy questioning he told the court he had worked on the Manhattan project and with Glenn Seaborg, a founder of the Atomic Energy Commission. That organization's lax standards on low-level radiation, he said were a "license to commit murder." As many as 32,000 additional cases of cancer, leukemia and birth defects would result if nuclear development continued under such standards.

A plant melt-down, he continued, could destroy hundreds of thousands of lives and do billions of dollars worth of damage. A land-area the size of Pennsylvania would be made uninhabitable for centuries. Nuclear proponents had issued statements saying the chances of a melt-down were minuscule, Gofman said, but that begged the question: "I find when we're talking about a mass of 100 tons of material at 5000 degrees Fahrenheit with water around there, with hydrogen being generated, burning explosively, melting through concrete into soil, when somebody tells me that 'we're sure it isn't going to go far away' I look at them as a chemist and I say I've heard various forms of insanity, but hardly this form."

"I don't really know whether the chance is 1 in 10, or 1 in 100, or 1 in 10,000 I just ask myself in view of the fact that we have so much easier ways to generate energy needs, why do it this way?"

The brunt of Gofman's attack centered on plutonium, in which he did much pioneer research. Gofman told the court that, in the Atomic Energy Commission's phrase, plutonium is "the most fiendishly toxic substance ever known." Three tablespoons, he said, could cause 9 billion human cancers.

But each nuclear plant creates thousands of pounds of waste plutonium, and there's no way to store it. "The proliferation of nuclear power carries with it the obligation to guard the radioactive garbage. . .not only for our generation but for the next thousand or several thousand."

Gofman said plutonium has a half-life of 24,000 years and must be guarded "99.9999% perfectly in peace and war, with human error and human malice, guerilla activities, psychotics, malfunction of equipment. . .Do you believe there's anything you'd like to guarantee will be done 99.9999% perfectly for 100,000 years?"

Gofman capped his testimony with a conspiracy charge. "Some awfully big interests invested in uranium and the future of atomic power," he said, "and unfortunately their view is 'we've got to recover our investment, no matter what the cost to the public.'"

The scholarly, bearded Gofman cut a striking figure on the stand, and his testimony was devastating. A reporter for the *Greenfield Recorder* later wrote

a column saying that Gofman's testimony had convinced him to rethink his stand on nuclear power.

Lovejoy followed Gofman with radical historian Howard Zinn, an expert on civil disobedience and an honored veteran of anti-war and anti-draft cases, including the Camden 28. He gave his credentials to the jury. Lovejoy then asked him if he thought the tower-toppling statement was malicious. "No," blurted Zinn ingenuously. Prosecutor Murphy leapt to his feet and the jury began gathering their wraps.

Smith then let Zinn testify as Gofman had, without the jury. Under questioning from Lovejoy, Zinn told the court that the tower toppling was in the best tradition of Gandhi, Thoreau and the abolitionists, including (of course) Elijah P. Lovejoy, Sam's distant cousin who was hung by a pro-slave mob in southern Illinois.

Judge Smith interrupted to ask if true civil disobedience didn't demand strict nonviolence and acceptance of lawful punishment.

Zinn replied that destruction of property was not violent when life was at stake. "Violence," he said, "has to do with human beings, not property."

Zinn pointed out that Lovejoy had turned himself in, while many civil disobedients disappear rather than stand trial.

Smith, who looked and acted more like Spencer Tracy every day, seemed much taken by Zinn, and constantly interrupted him with questions. A good third of what Howard said was in the form of conversation with the Judge. At one point Smith asked leave for a private conversation with the witness, and leaned over to talk quietly. Zinn said later the Judge had asked to meet him for dinner sometime.

The new tower at Montague Plains. Photo Mark Diamond.



When Zinn finished, Lovejoy called a few character witnesses, as well as one Bruce Olmstead, an "environmental engineer" who testified that NU had sold him the wrecked tower for \$250, and that he had made it into three windmills.

#### Lovejoy Takes The Stand

Finally Lovejoy took the stand himself. The jury of nine women and five men, finally free from their back-room confinement, were all ears. Attorney Tom Lesser did the questioning.

Lovejoy began by talking about growing up as an army brat, then, after his father was killed, living on a farm near Springfield. There, he said, an old Yankee farmer taught him to respect the balance of nature.

In high school he studied math and physics but dropped out of Amherst College to work at the Springfield Armory where, among other things, he helped design sighting equipment for grenade launchers used in Vietnam.

Returning to Amherst he graduated in political science, then moved to the Montague commune.

His mind was blown about the nukes on a quick trip to Seattle to retrieve his girlfriend. There he read in local papers of a massive leak of radioactive wastes from a storage tank at Hanford, in eastern Washington state. More than 100,000 gallons had escaped from holding tanks into the ground. The incident had been hidden by the AEC and Atlantic-Richfield until some investigative reporters found out about it.

When the story was printed the AEC had a comeback. A computer printout, they said, showed that the liquid wouldn't reach the Columbia River (thus destroying it) until the year AD 2700. Until then they said, everything would be groovy.

That, said Lovejoy, was it. For six months he read everything he could get his hands on about the nukes, finally settling on Gofman and Tamplin's *Poisoned Power* as the basic Bible. The more he read, Lovejoy told the jury, the more he was convinced nuclear power plants were "the most horrendous development our community has ever faced."

And the more he looked into legal recourse, the more the AEC seemed like "a kangaroo court. . .a panel that acts as promoter and regulator, judge, jury and thief all rolled into one."

Returning to Montague he saw the tower for the first time, and knew it would have to go down. He wasn't sure he'd be the one to do it, he said, but the tower definitely had to go.

Lovejoy talked for six hours about his life and conversion to sabotage, without objection from the prosecution. The last hour was an intensely emotional narration of his final decision to topple the tower, how he acted not out of malice "but because I had fallen in love with a little four-year-old girl named Sequoyah. I asked myself, who am I to do this thing, to take on the role of judge. But then I thought about this little girl who couldn't defend herself, and I knew I had to act."

After the trial a number of jurors said they were deeply moved by Lovejoy's testimony. A poll indicated a hung jury, probably 8-4 or 9-3 in Lovejoy's favor. Much would have depended on Judge Smith's directions, which probably would have been favorable on the malice question.

But it never got that far. There was another aspect to the indictment, and it read ". . .destruction of per-





Pickles put up by members of the commune Sam Lovejoy is part of. Photo Mark Diamond.

sonal property." Under Massachusetts law, destroying personal property is a five-year felony; destroying real property is a six-month misdemeanor.

Smith expressed doubt all along that the tower could pass as personal property. It was worth \$42,500, nobody doubted that. But when Lovejoy produced two Montague tax officials who testified the tower had been assessed as real property, and when Murphy called an NU official who affirmed under cross-examination that the tax had been paid as real property, everybody knew it was all over.

So after lunch on Yom Kippur eve, Smith convened court, again without the jury, and announced his decision. He was going to void the charge because he "could not in good conscience ask a jury to deliberate on an indictment with a hole in it."

Lovejoy practically begged him not to do it. He had meant the trial to test the issue of nuclear power, and he wanted his guilt or innocence to be determined on that issue, by the jury and "the people of Franklin County."

Smith replied with a lecture on the law. "Justice is justice is justice," he concluded.

Then he called in the jury, ordered them to stand and render a verdict of "Not Guilty," and then dismissed the court. The crowd was as stunned as the jurors were relieved.

#### A Corporate Melt-down?

The Lovejoy trial had an immense impact on the surrounding community. It was vastly followed through-

out the Connecticut River Valley. Everyone had an opinion. There's no doubting the impact would have been far greater had Lovejoy been acquitted by the jury instead of the Judge, but even so the trial hammered into the mind of the Connecticut Valley the twin issues of civil disobedience and nuclear power.

And new developments were not long in coming. Three days before Lovejoy's acquittal the Atomic Energy Commission ordered 21 of America's 50 active nuclear plants shut for an emergency safety check. A reactor in Illinois had sprung a leak in a cooling pipe, and a check of a similar reactor showed a similar crack. The other 19 reactors of that type—all made by GE—were ordered to close within 60 days. It was the largest multiple shut-down in the history of atomic power.

That same day, Carl Hovevar, a leading computer analyst at an Idaho company doing testing on reactor safety, quit his position in protest. The true dangers of nuclear power were being covered up, he said, and he wanted to be free to tell the truth. He has since joined the Union of Concerned Scientists in Cambridge, Mass., a group of dissident physicists lobbying for better nuclear safety and a halt to construction of new plants.

One day after Lovejoy's acquittal, Northeast Utilities announced that the Montague project would be postponed for at least one year. The reason: money.

NU is generally considered one of America's most prosperous utilities, but lately it has been making rumblings of insolvency. Its stock has fallen drastical-

ly, its capital reserves have dwindled, and it has been lobbying hard in Connecticut and Massachusetts for substantial rate hikes.

In light of inflation (among other things) company officials were apparently beginning to have doubts about a capital investment of \$1.5-billion, only a third of which they seemed to have on hand. In August NU President Lelan Sillan had admitted "the company must raise \$1 billion to build the Montague plant, and when \$1 billion is needed, and when interest rates are as high as they are, we have to look seriously at the situation."

For nuclear opponents the delay looks like a big step down the road to cancellation. Given the rate of inflation, even one year's delay should put the plant cost up to \$2 billion. Within the past year at least 30 projected nuclear plants have been called off or cancelled because of the money squeeze, and there seems no reason why Montague should be an exception.

Furthermore, an extra year to organize opposition is a great gift. Despite all its problems, NU has taken great pains to make clear that the project has not been cancelled and that political opposition will make "no difference" in its plans. NU Vice-President for PR Charles Bragg told the *Greenfield Recorder* at the very outset that local opposition "wouldn't affect us. We would have to go ahead with it even if there was a protest movement mounted by the citizens of the area."

Through all the political debate on the plants, NU has taken a somewhat diffident stance, occasionally "correcting" opposition "errors," but generally maintaining the posture of an interested but distant God-father.

Sometimes, however, the veneer cracks. When challenged by Alternate Energy Coalition organizer Fran Koster to justify advertising expenses, the company responded with notable bitterness.

And fairly soon the company will be forced to deal openly with the growing opposition. The two referendum questions came to a vote Nov. 5, and the results gave a giant shot in the arm to the anti-nuke movement.

The first question, concerning the Montague plant, was defeated, but by a slim 52.5-47.5% margin. Nearly 23,000 of roughly 48,000 voters in the Franklin-Hampshire-Hampden County district registered clear opposition to the project, despite the fact that a substantial percentage live more than 20 miles from the site and had very little exposure to the issue. No candidate running for any public office in the District had openly supported the referendum.

Small wonder the press and polls expressed shock at the size of the vote. A pro-nuke columnist for the *Recorder* conceded on page 1 that support for the plant was apparently "melting away."

The best indicator was Montague itself. Last spring a town referendum showed the town favoring the plant by nearly 3:1. This time the ratio was substantially less than 2:1. The 770 anti-nuke votes in the spring had swollen to 1091, an increase of 40%, and for the first time the no-nukes carried a majority in the Montague Center precinct, which includes the site of the plant.

The dismantling proposition also failed to get a majority, but also gave a boost to the movement. Both candidates for state Senator and most of the press termed the question "not serious" and portrayed

it as an irresponsible joke at public expense. Nobody expected it to carry more than 20% of the vote, 25% at the very outside.

But 15,313 people—33%—actually voted to cart away two active nukes worth approximately \$1 billion. Wendell, on Montague's northeast border, became the first town in American history to vote for dismantling—by a crushing 98-68.

#### No Nukes is Good Nukes

So far the western Mass. anti-nuke movement has met with almost nothing but high votes. There is still lots of running room, as large parts of the district have not yet been reached. Organizers claimed a direct correlation between the anti-nuke vote and areas canvassed, and overall it seems that the basic problem is reaching people and informing them of what is going on. Convincing them has been easy.

With notable exceptions—the most crucial of which are the unions tied to the construction industry. The unions argue that nuclear power is not dangerous, and that the plants in Montague and elsewhere are essential to keeping their trades alive. Based in Northampton, the trade workers provided the only organized opposition that did any canvassing and leafletting against the referenda.

Thus far the anti-nuke movement has not been able to counter the union contention that major construction like the plant is necessary for jobs in the immediate future. There are an abundance of futuristic programs for the development of natural energy on a national scale, but nothing concrete to provide wages next year.

This is hardly a problem unique to the nuclear power issue. We faced it on Vietnam and face it now all across the ecology frontier. It doesn't seem the solution will be easy.

Nor is it likely NU and the other power companies will roll over and play dead to their financial problems. Whatever the new Congress may be like, the Ford Administration remains deeply committed to nuclear power, and it seems highly likely that some sort of effort will be made in the near future to provide subsidies of mammoth proportions to the nuclear industry. Forewarned is forearmed.

In the meantime, the western Mass. AEC (now the only AEC—Dixy Lee Ray's was recently abolished to make way for a more "responsible" regulatory agency) has plans to build a network of town-based organizations. Hopefully there will be referenda throughout the district at regular town elections this coming spring.

Given the current trend, it seems almost a foregone conclusion that a substantial majority of the surrounding area will be publicly opposed to the Montague plant by the time construction is scheduled to start, now sometime in 1976.

If NU gets the money and persists in their plans, the first chapter in the struggle for the Montague Plains will be a lot wilder than the first.

## Contact

Sam Lovejoy Defense Fund; Janice Frey, chairwoman, Box 269, Montague, Mass. 01351.

NOPE; Box 30, Montague, Mass. 01351.

Alternate Energy Conference (AEC); Box 269, Montague, Mass. 01351.



# The Road to Seoul

## AN INTERVIEW WITH NICOLA GEIGER

JAN BARRY

*If the 1950's were the decade of silence and the 1960's the decade of struggle, surely this threshold of the 1970's is the edge of promise. . . You could change the signatures and transpose the messages of the monks in the Saigon jail[s], the Panthers in the jails of the country they call Amerika, the exiles from Russia, the fighters for freedom in Greece, the Weathermen, Bernadette Devlin, the Irish flame, speaks for all; "Dare to struggle, dare to win!"*

—Harrison Salisbury, *The Eloquence of Protest*

Meeting Nicola Geiger the first time—instant zen friends. Her way is like water. My recurring, incurable Yankee way of ice and fire melted, sea-washed. Though exhausted from a harried speaking schedule, her energy filled and refilled the room, indeed swirled with cigarette smoke into the outer reaches of her hosts' Greenwich Village apartment.

Our common intense interest was—is—Kim Chi Ha, south Korea's young life-imprisoned poet. Thru the American irony that distinguishes New World karma, she had just returned from speaking in New Paltz, a double hayfork throw from the WIN farm; while I had persisted blindly setting up this interview from Brooklyn (a hundred miles downstream).

"Nicola Geiger plays a unique role in the community of people seeking peace and justice in Japan and Korea. . . perhaps the chief unofficial link between the south Korean 'opposition' movement and sympathetic groups and individuals both in Japan and the US," an anonymous friend wrote, in a xeroxed letter given me later in the evening by Chuck Esser of Philadelphia New Life Center.

"She is widely known and respected for the boldness and fearlessness of her efforts. . . and for the depth of her psychological and spiritual understanding which imparts to her political activity a rare quality of warmth and humanness. Without degrees or titles, she commands recognition by the unmistakable authenticity and integrity of her person. . . She is known above all for her great heart. Most of those who meet her find their own powers of sympathy enlarged. Few fail to be renewed in hope and courage."

Nicola is indeed a large-hearted friend, a Quaker. She is 54. Born in Weimar republic Germany. Brought up in the Hitler Youth, but also by a father who ranted about those who ranted about "Die Gelbe Gefahr," The Yellow Peril. He taught her Buddhism. She had golden visions of American democracy; "but when I came here to live in 1951, I discovered of course it is only a republic." The past seven years she's lived in Japan, most that time as director of Friends World College East Asia Center in Hiroshima and Kyoto.

She is now on an indefinite speaking (and slide-showing) tour of the US to bring us one clear and very simple message: a horrible injustice is coming to climax in Seoul, south Korea, that a generation of American taxpayers have paid for—if not bought.

Nicola: "Do you know in 1945 the US military retained Japanese police and army units intact for occupation of Korea? The same ones who had used Korean slave labor and hundreds of thousands of draftees in the war with America. Park [Chung Hee] was a Lt. in the Japanese imperial army. . . Yes. And in the 1950-51 fighting the US recruited many of those Japanese soldiers again as guides."

With amazed outrage, she tells the history of Japanese colonialism (back to 1874), American complicity, then of "American satellites" launched behind the facade of "democratic" dictatorships installed in the south by Syngman Rhee and Park Chung Hee. Rhee was overthrown by a student revolt in April 1960. In 1961 Park came in on a military coup. Under US pressure in 1963, he allowed himself to be "elected" president. In 1971 his opponent (Kim Dae Jong) got 46% of the vote despite blatant rigging, on a platform of reunification with the north. A year later Park declared martial law, closed the universities, and began the process of changing the constitution that by spring 1973 left him total power. To prove it, he had Kim Dae Jong kidnapped from his Tokyo hotel room.

Nicola: "Park is a great admirer, a student of Hitler. He is very cleverly locking up all the opposition and religious leadership. . . Bishop Tji, 15 years hard labor; Rev. Park (a protestant minister with the labor mission), the same; Chang Chun Ha, a former congressman and editor who began a drive to collect a million signatures in petition to change the constitution back at the end of 1973—that brought on the January 8 decree this year [making it a crime, punishable by up to 15 years in prison, to call for restoration of the old constitution]."

Nicola Geiger.



I ask about Kim Chi Ha, noting that his lawyer also was imprisoned. (The lawyer, Yale-trained Kang Shin Ok, compared the secret trials to those held by Nazi Germany. He got ten years. Kim and a number of students were judged guilty under the famous April 3 decree that forbade all forms of dissent on pain of death penalties.)

Nicola: "Yes, and that other fellow, the former president for a little time [1960-61] . . . Yun Po Sun! Madness. Charging him. . . Ja, and he said, an old man, 'I'd do it again.' House arrest. You know what Kim Chi Ha said, when they sentenced him to death: it's there in the little brochure. . ."

**Excerpts from Kim Chi Ha's statement before military tribunal which sentenced him to death:**

"The only way to save our people is to bring down the dictatorship of the present government. The students are our only hope. . . I may have violated the National Security Law (prohibiting Communist subversion). . . Demonstrations are only part of the student movement. The discussion and projection of one's ideas are also part. . . Standing up despite one's chains is a form of resistance. . . I wrote the poem 'Five Bandits'. . . The corrupt government officials whom I criticized in 'Five Bandits' are being punished. This result should rightly be attributed to my literary work. . ." (Statement cut off by the presiding judge)

Nicola: "He is dying, you know. . . they are cutting off his TB medicine in prison. Before, they cut out one lung. They are trying to kill him this way. . . Kim Chi Ha is a very dear friend. That's why I'm here, speaking all around the place: to save him, if I can. It is only international pressure that has saved him from execution so far. 30,000 signatures we collected on the statement that got his death sentence commuted to life. . . Now we need an American committee. To get Kim and the others out of prison. To get Congress to cut off funds for Park. . ."

I suggest cooperation and coordination with other "American satellite" freedom committees—Philippines, Indochina, Chile, Palestine—here with essentially the same aims. We compare notes, people to contact, organizing tactics among the four of us in the room.

Nicola has brochures for a collection of Kim Chi Ha's poetry, *Cry of the People* and other poems, about to be published this month—which she helped edit and set up in Japan and wrote the introduction to before coming to the States in September. It has all the poems that have gotten Kim into such thick trouble over the years: "Five Bandits," "Groundless Rumors," "The Road to Seoul," available for the first time to Americans.

Nicola: "Yes, you two would be great friends. . . ja, may I read from your poem ['The Power of the Press,' WIN, 8/1/74] about Kim when I speak? When I saw him last year in Korea we talked about many of these things now you and I have been talking about. . . He is a revolutionary. The *Cry of the People* is the cry of the Korean people. . ."

Until the books arrive (from Autumn Press, set up by an American in Japan), she has only the statement of the international committee to support Kim Chi Ha—on the book brochure—to distribute. She would like Americans to sign it; and those who can to contact her to help form an active American committee



Kim Chi Ha.

of support. Funds are quickly needed. Nicola herself is being supported only by what she can raise on her speaking tour and a small subsidy from the Korean resistance movement in Japan. To cut expenses, she is traveling by bus.

The urgency of what Nicola Geiger has to say is icily summed up by one incident she relates: At the University of Hawaii, where she spoke on the way east to New York, none of the sizeable community of Korean students and professors showed up (for fear of action by the Korean CIA); but rather phoned her one by one late at night to thank her for speaking out on a horror they have been silenced on.

Before she left Japan, Americans—including five court-martialed marines at Iwakuni and other GIs—Japanese and Koreans had already united in rallies and demonstrations and petition drives: the Japanese Left united on a single issue for the first time in years.

**Nicola's speaking schedule to date:** Dec. 1-2, St. Louis; 3-5 Denver; 6-8, Seattle (contact AFSC); 9-12, Portland, Eugene (AFSC); 12-16, San Francisco, Santa Cruz (AFSC); Jan. 1-5, Arizona, N.M.; 9-26, N.C., S.C., Georgia, Virginia (contact High Point, N.C. AFSC).

**A short bibliography:**

Bong-Yuon Choy, *Korea: A History* (Tuttle, 1971)  
Kim & Kim, *Korea and the Politics of Imperialism 1876-1910* (UC Press: Berkeley)  
I.F. Stone, *Hidden History of the Korean War* (Monthly Rev.)  
Kim Byong-Sik, *Modern Korea* (Int. Pub., 1970)  
Gabriel Kolko, *Roots of American Foreign Policy*, (1969)

**For additional information contact:**

Nicola Geiger  
c/o Chuck Esser  
254 S. Farragut St.  
Philadelphia, Pa. 19139  
(215) GR6-0445



# VOICES OF THE MIDDLE EAST

PAUL MAYER

When Dan Berrigan and I first decided to undertake a trip to the Middle East, we had no idea how prophetic the words of *Le Monde* correspondent Eric Rouleau would prove to be. When he heard of our plans Rouleau, an Egyptian Jew and a highly respected expert on Mideastern affairs, commented simply, "What in the name of God do you want to go to that awful part of the world for?"

In fact, it is still hard to believe that an area so rich in history and so indescribably beautiful and fascinating should also be the arena of a conflict that is as bloody as it is apparently insoluble. During our travels through Israel, Lebanon, Syria and Egypt we met with intellectuals, opinion makers, Palestinian leaders and refugees. In general we tended to seek out points of view that were not readily available back home. It was these voices and their hopes that gave shape to our journey.

It was an eerie feeling during a stopover in Paris, in transit to Israel, to be walking along one of those typically charming narrow Parisian streets and to find ourselves suddenly standing in front of an old house with a plaque whose inscription read: "In memory of Theodore Herzl who wrote *The Jewish State* here in 1890." Mixed emotions welled up within me, for I had been brought up in a Zionist home. My father, who along with Martin Buber, belonged to the "Blau Weiss" group in Frankfurt, had instilled in us a longing for a Jewish homeland, especially for one that would be a refuge for the victims of the Nazi holocaust. And now that passionate dream of Theodore Herzl had in some strange and perverse way become the locus of a nightmare for the peoples of the Middle East—Jews and Arabs alike.

Upon arriving in Tel Aviv, one is immediately struck by the tense atmosphere, the tight security, and the abundance of young men carrying automatic weapons. Lod airport had been the scene of a terrorist attack not too long before, and a number of Puerto Rican pilgrims had been killed. This was the land of milk and honey of my childhood dreams. All the same, I was excited at the prospect of being in a country in which a Jew could really be in a place of

*Father Paul Mayer teaches at NY Theological Seminary and has long been active in the nonviolent peace movement in the Catholic Left. He visited the Middle East with Dan Berrigan in May 1974. This article appeared in a different form in New World Outlook, a Methodist publication.*

his own, free to hold up his head and decide his or her own destiny. In the course of our trip I came to appreciate how similar the Palestinian dreams for a homeland were.

A young man on the airport bus to Tel Aviv sounded the somber note which we were to hear again and again as a result of the Yom Kippur war and recent terrorist attacks. He hoped for a less rigid government. "Golda is a stone, unfeeling and often unthinking." Moderation is what was needed. It was a strange experience to discover that it was far easier to raise controversial questions here in Israel than back home in the States.

My cousins Noemi and Elieser, both physicians, with whom we spent our first night near Tel Aviv, spoke of the terrible tragedy of the October war. Practically no one was left untouched, either directly or by virtue of friendship or acquaintance. The 3,000 young Israelis who died would have been the equivalent of 200,000 deaths in a similar war involving the United States, and all in a matter of 23 days. Now they had some hopes in the Egyptians, feared the Syrians and seemed perplexed over a solution to the refugee question.

But the shock of the war went even deeper than this feeling of depression, almost to the point of a national identity crisis. According to Simha Flappen, the soft-spoken, thoughtful editor of *New Outlook*, an Israeli peace publication: "Paradoxically the Arabs are moving from an overdose of imagination and romanticism to a more sober and realistic appraisal. Israel after the shock of the victory of the Six-Day war in 1967 lost all sense of realism. It is very difficult to climb down from the illusion that we have become an empire in this region and can dictate our own terms to the Arabs. After the Yom Kippur war the masses of people moved from the euphoria of the Six Day war to a terrible depression, even speaking of the beginning of the end of the Jewish state, which is also an exaggeration."

The big question for Simha Flappen and other peace advocates, who are in the minority in Israel as they are everywhere in the world, is whether a new leadership in Israel will eventually have the courage to recognize that "we are now in a new era and that we now have to give up all the old concepts of living by the sword." Ben Gurion is still symbolic of the old militaristic approach, and, according to Flappen, "Ben Gurion is dead but Ben Gurionism is alive and well."

Just a year ago, on the anniversary of Israeli independence, Shimon Peres, the new Minister of Defense, had an article in the *Jerusalem Post* in which he spoke of his vision for Israel in the year 2000. The boundaries included the present occupied territories, but



Two  
Palestinians,  
1971.  
UNWRA/  
LNS.

Peres added parenthetically, "maybe somewhat smaller if the Arabs agree to peace." The vision included Israel as a major power with an advanced nuclear technology but made no provision for a true peace. Even in the year 2000 wars would continue and Israel would rule over four million Arabs.

The letter home of a young American now living in an Israeli kibbutz reflected a different vision: "In my application for conscientious objector status I argued that David, being a man of the sword, couldn't build the temple of the Lord: that that task had to be left for Solomon. Similarly I hope that the historical tasks of my generation and Ben Gurion's can be delineated. That our job (and our historic ability) is to bring about a peace that was made possible but still unachievable by the giants of the previous generation."

It was Flappen's conclusion that a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza "can only be a transition from guerilla activity to the building of a nation. Before the Palestinians have some state responsibility they will never unite, they will never exercise control, they will always fight each other and so forth."

Our meeting with Yitzhak Ben Aharon, a respected Labor member of the Knesset (Israel's parliament) and the former Secretary-General of Histadrut (the national trade union), helped to focus these impressions. He reminded me of a friendly bear and in his blunt way he insisted that without the October war and its ramifications "the Israeli government and a large sector of the population would not have come to the conclusion that there is a nation which is called Palestinian Arabs, and that there is an issue





To the left, Palestinian refugees on the West Bank of the Jordan, 1948. Below, Palestinian children on the West Bank, 1967. Both photos UNRWA/LNS.

which is called self-determination for Palestinian Arabs." Recent policy statements of the new administration may belie this optimism, but some change in Israeli consciousness concerning the Palestinians is slowly taking place, although it is retarded again by each act of terrorism.

This was also the feeling of Arie Eliav, another Labor Knesset M.P. and a vocal member of the dovish minority, who describes himself as "coming from the middle of the establishment." (Israeli "doves" are by no means pacifists but support a "reasonable" approach to defense and security.) "Every terrorist attack such as at Ma'alot not only murders the children, but also murders our hopes, the hopes of the doves." But he also pointed out that "if we make peace with Egypt—as I hope we will—and haven't tackled the Palestinian Arab problem, we haven't made peace and haven't healed the wounds." For Eliav both Jews and Palestinians have a right to the whole of Palestine and "the only solution is two viable states," with the Palestinian one composed of Gaza, the West bank, and eventually Jordan, in some form, since 80% of the population of Jordan is Palestinian.

Amos Kenan is a gifted poet and satirical writer whose political column, strangely enough, appears in one of Israel's more conservative tabloids. He told us of the importance of General Peled's (a leading general in the Six Day war) position that land does not give security but only a state of peace can do that. "Before Gen. Peled entered the picture the Palestinians belonged only to the poets and intellectuals. We were a tiny minority until the Yom Kippur war. But if someone with a background in security and strategy and an understanding of existential problems joins our group we move from being a lunatic fringe to being a political power."

But in spite of these more hopeful voices the situation of Palestinians in Israel and especially in the occupied territories continues to be a bleak one at best. Towards the end of our trip we met with a Palestinian journalist in Nablus the day after the Ma'alot tragedy who was typical of others we spoke to. (Al-

most all the Arabs we interviewed in Israel and in the occupied areas either refused to be taped or wished to remain anonymous). He was obviously deeply distressed: "This will not lead to peace. I did not sleep for many hours last night. I was very anxious about the souls of the innocent—believe me—more than Dayan himself (on whose deceit he blamed the killings, a charge since substantiated in part by the findings of an Israeli commission of inquiry). I also mourned our three sons who died. I was under tension always. This is a tragedy for us. This will not lead to peace, not at all."

We told him of our recent meeting with the Palestinian leader Nayef Hawatmeh in Beirut, whose group had claimed responsibility for Ma'alot. Both his moderate position on a Palestinian state alongside (and not instead of) Israel and his rejection of terrorism during our discussion with him made us all the more heartsick and disappointed now. Our journalist friend was also perplexed. He said that many of these acts reflect the petit bourgeois mentality of certain sectors of the Fedayeen (guerrilla) movement and are not supported by the other elements. "But we Palestinians have no choice but to support each other. I can understand their motives. We have suffered much and are a minority. Even the Arabs hate us, not only the Israelis. We are isolated."

He told us of the violation of Palestinian civil liberties by the military government, especially in the occupied territories. The main instrument of these policies is the Defense (Emergency) Regulations of 1945, which the British originally used against Jewish underground groups. These laws are utilized almost exclusively against Arabs (most Jews don't even know of their existence) and provide for extensive censorship, travel restrictions, deportation, destruction of property, constant police supervision, deprivation of livelihood and possessions, and detention up to one year without charges or trial.

Just 40 days ago, he said, five or six young men had been arrested without charges and both relatives and a well-known Israeli civil liberties lawyer Felicia Langer,

who had just told us of this case herself, had been prevented from seeing them. Hamad Abas Abdeha, a Nablus engineer, had also been arrested recently. The local mayor had just announced to a group of several hundred women in the city hall (including the engineer's wife) that he had been informed by the authorities that Abdeha's health was deteriorating and a doctor had been called in. Torture was suspected. The journalist offered to take us to his family.

Finally he spoke of the practice of demolishing houses and told us of a recent experience: "I was coming from Jerusalem and the soldiers stopped my car because they were dynamiting a house. Perhaps the son was a fedayeen or only a suspect. I cried, believe me, when I saw the family of 14 people. My tears went out to the old people and the children. Three generations and now they were living under the skies without mercy. Where is the world public opinion? It doesn't hear about us. When three people are killed the Pope, prime ministers and presidents send cables. But when Israeli planes bomb and kill hundreds of innocent people in the camps in Lebanon we don't hear a protest. I don't know, the conscience of the world is dead when it comes to our side. I don't know how it can be solved." As we drove out of town we passed the ruins of the house he had described.

With each step of our journey it became increasingly clear to us just how central the enigma of the Palestinians is to peace in this violence-ridden part of the globe. Nor was this theme missing as we arrived in Lebanon. The students of the American University of Beirut (AUB) were engaged in a strike over the issue of academic rights and had taken over some campus buildings. The Lebanese military had smashed its way on to the campus with the help of tanks and many students had been arrested. The crack of rifle fire could be heard throughout the city as activists tried to demonstrate on behalf of their jailed fellow stu-



dents and in support of related causes including the status of the Palestinians, who make up a large sector of the student body.

The US Embassy was surrounded by 40 armed militiamen and four tanks to protect C. McMurtrie Godley, whose arrival as new ambassador to Lebanon had sparked major protest demonstrations earlier in the year. Godley is well known for his CIA connected role in supervising the secret war in Laos, including the bombing of the Plain of Jars, during his stint there as ambassador from 1969 to 1973. Earlier, in 1964, as ambassador to the Congo he was involved in putting down a pro-Lumumba revolt during the Congolese independence struggle. So unsavory is his record, particularly in Indochina, that Congress in a rare move blocked his nomination as Assistant Secretary of State in 1973. His present key position is hardly reassuring to those who are skeptical of US intentions in the Middle East.

The relationship between the Lebanese and Palestinians is not always a happy one, despite the myth of pan-Arabism, which is so uncritically accepted in the West. To begin with, the rather conservative Maronite Catholic and Greek Orthodox Christian communities are mortally afraid that the delicate political balance between Moslems and Christians could be tipped by the influx of Palestinian refugees. In May of 1973 there was an organized campaign by the Lebanese government to stamp out the Palestinian resistance movement which has its various headquarters in Beirut. In one refugee camp near Beirut we were shown the spot where 20 people had died from a Lebanese air attack and many more had perished from sniper fire.

Despite these attacks by the Lebanese Army, the Palestinians won the right to exercise authority over communal life in their own camps. This autonomy is what seemed to distinguish—and markedly so—camp life in the occupied territories of the West Bank from that in the camps in Lebanon. In the former the almost total control of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), always under the Israeli military government, adds to the humiliation of living off the inadequate, dole, the cramped quarters, the limited employment possibilities, and the lack of national identity. Even in one camp near Ramla where the material situation seemed a bit more adequate, the clusters of men sitting along the road projected a feeling of powerlessness and frustration.

The drive from Beirut through the Lebanese mountains is gorgeous and one sees the snowy slopes of Mt. Herman in the distance. It was difficult to believe that artillery duels were taking place on the other side. Our destination was Baalbeck, famous for its magnificent, almost perfectly preserved Roman temple dedicated to Bacchus. A local monument of another kind, relatively unknown and less interesting in its Palestinian refugee camp. Here since 1948, 4000 people—it was originally intended for 3000—have been quartered in an old French military garrison dating back to the 19th century.

Our guide and friend is Bigran Majdalaney, a tall, elegant and sophisticated Syrian who is also the attorney of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), introduced us to the camp leadership as peace activists from America. The camp council is made up of a man (the male dominance both among Israelis and Arabs is overwhelming) representing each of the Palestinian liberation groups. At first there was con-



siderable reserve, if not suspicion. They have had experiences of enemy agents posing as journalists and of others who have given degrading portrayals of camp life. The atmosphere gradually warmed up as we inquired about the material conditions.

There is snow here for six months of the year, from November to April, and the only heat is provided by primitive kerosene stoves. Employment in seasonal farm work and construction is only available for two or three months out of the year. In the Bahar plain where Baalbeck is located there are 10,000 Palestinians for whom the total UNRWA allocation for medical care is \$90 every three months. Each person receives 2 lbs. of flour, 1-1/3 lbs. of sugar and a little olive oil per month. Soap was recently eliminated for purposes of economy. Any Palestinian earning more than \$80 per month is ineligible as is his whole family. Recently all new born babies have been excluded from these benefits and all those working or studying abroad are also ineligible.

The entire population of 4000 is compressed into the original perimeter of the garrison, approximately 10,000 square meters. One person can barely fit through the narrow corridor of a typical residential barrack, which has a door every few yards leading into the living quarters. A room a little larger than an average American bedroom houses over a dozen people. Most families have been here since 1948 when they fled or were forced from their native villages in Palestine, now Israel. In addition to the other hardships there is no room in which to move and no space for the children to play except in the dusty streets. Yet the living quarters are remarkably clean and the morale of the people is extraordinary.

It is hard to give credence to an almost unanimous desire and determination to return home one day, but one hears it constantly. When I asked one old man whether he would not welcome assimilation into Lebanese society he laughed and said: "The Jewish people did not forget their homeland in 2000 years and you expect us to forget ours in 25?"

A blond-haired young man named Ali who spoke fluent English took us through some of the living quarters. He works in a nearby Oriental shop and likes his job because he welcomes the opportunity to talk about his people to foreigners. He explained, "There is nothing for people to do here but to have more children. Yet there is no privacy." He proudly pointed to a small adjacent tract of land on which the people in the camp are planning to build a kindergarten. Since neither the government nor local landowners would donate even such a small piece of property, they have had to save and beg in order to be able to buy it.

As we prepared to leave, Gibran almost physically had to move us towards our car. Dan had as usual made a big hit with the children and our new friends were more than anxious to have us share a meal with them. Gibran later told us that he declined so firmly because we would have eaten up their next month's rations at one sitting.

It is out of the suffering and frustration of these camps that the Palestinian liberation movement was born. Both the passion for justice too long delayed and the apparent madness of suicidal terrorism are rooted in the experience of a voiceless and powerless refugee community. Dr. George Habash, the leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), with whom we met in Beirut, comes out of

the bitterness of this experience. As a teenager he along with his family fled from Lydda during the 1948 war. It was this memory which influenced his choice of the Lod airport (the site of the now non-existent Arab city of Lydda) for the terrible massacre in 1972. After working as a medical doctor among the refugees in Jordan, he finally chose political work over his medical profession and founded the radical Marxist PFLP.

Habash is a strikingly attractive, intelligent and surprisingly soft spoken man with prematurely greying hair. We saw him, as we did all the Palestinian leaders, under the protection of complex security precautions, including weapons which were more or less tactfully disguised. He explained the radical position of his groups, namely: they are opposed to Geneva, will consider any Palestinian participant a traitor, and will not accept a Palestinian "mini state" as a substitute for the pan-Arabic revolution which must include the reoccupation of all of Palestine as "a democratic non-sectarian state for Jews, Moslems and Christians," the traditional formula of the PLO. Habash argues persuasively that a reduced Palestinian state (e.g. the West Bank and the Gaza strip) would accommodate about 40-50% of the refugees at the most, would not be agriculturally or otherwise economically viable and would serve as a "Bantustan" or cheap labor pool for Israel.

We challenged him on the question of terrorism as we did almost all the Palestinians we met with. Terrorism, Dan pointed out, is questionable not only because one cannot achieve justice by the slaughter of the innocent, but it is also counterproductive as a tactic. Unlike the Vietnamese whom, during our contacts with them in Paris and Hanoi, we found to place a high priority on appealing to world opinion, the guerilla use of terrorism allows the news media to present the Palestinians to the world as faceless, savage killers who can then be dismissed or exterminated. It is this phenomenon that allows men like Shimon Peres, the Israeli Defense Minister, to declare, as he did at a recent press conference, that there are three kinds of Palestinians, those in Israel, those in the occupied territories, and the rest belonging to terrorist groups, thereby dismissing the hundreds of thousands in the refugee camps.

Habash insisted that without the hijacking of air planes—initiated by his group—no one would ever have heard of the Palestinians and that we would not be sitting there with him now. He does admit that there have been mistakes in the past which he regrets and which have caused his group to reevaluate their tactics. As we shook hands in parting Dr. Habash said that he was open to criticism from his friends, which struck us as a hopeful sign. Less hopeful is his group's recent withdrawal from the PLO, which he accuses of betraying the Palestinian revolution because of Arafat's readiness to negotiate at Geneva over a "mini-state." Perhaps a major failure of those sympathetic to the plight of the Palestinians has been a silence in criticizing their leadership and terrorism in particular.

We had barely arrived in fascinating Damascus, visited a few people and attempted in vain to learn more about the shameful situation of the Jewish community there, when we received word that a meeting had been arranged in Beirut with Yasir Arafat, the head of Al Fatah and chief spokesman of the PLO.

After a sunrise departure from Damascus and several intermediate rendezvous points in Beirut for

security purposes we finally met Arafat. He is a short stocky man with a friendly manner and dark eyes which seem to alternate between shrewdness and friendly humor. He was evidently exhausted, having just returned from the front in South Lebanon where he reported the continuous shelling of villages in what he described as an unsuccessful attempt to destroy the commando headquarters.

In comparison with Habash's position, Arafat's general approach was characterized by moderation and pragmatism. He spoke with openness about the possibility of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza Strip and of participation in the Geneva Peace Conference. This was in fact the point of view which has since prevailed by an overwhelming majority at the June PLO congress held in Cairo on the condition that they were to be invited to Geneva to discuss the question of national rights. The latter point is essential to the Palestinian position, since presently their only official designation is in UN resolution No. 242 as "refugees," a description totally unacceptable to them. They insist that their ultimate goal is a homeland and a national identity, not merely the amelioration of the refugee situation.

In the light of this June statement of the new Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin rejecting "the establishment of a separate, additional Arab state west of the Jordan" is more than unfortunate. He also objected to the invitation of any "representatives of sabotage and terrorist organization" (i.e. the PLO) to

Geneva and stated that Israel will only negotiate with King Hussein of Jordan as the representative of the Palestinians. Thus Rabin in one fell swoop has closed off all avenues to the resistance movement, has recognized Hussein who killed more Palestinians than Israelis ever have, and so has invited the continued madness of terrorist actions.

Needless to say, the Israeli position has been further complicated by the unanimous decision of the Arab powers including Jordan at Rabat to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. In addition a silent but intense struggle has been going on within the Israeli government between the hawks and a moderate minority striving—for the most part unsuccessfully—for a more conciliatory policy towards the Palestinians.

It is also not without significance that Nayef Hawatmeh in claiming responsibility for Ma'alot said it sprang from the fear of his Democratic Front that "the future of the Palestinians was being bartered away by Henry Kissinger." Nor is this fear unfounded in the light of recent disclosures by Tad Szulc in *Foreign Policy* magazine based on recent government documents that Dr. Kissinger willfully misled all parties involved in the Paris peace talks. One can also assume that the Palestinians have reason to wonder how much of their future has been bargained away in secret deals Kissinger has made with the Arab leaders.

While one would have welcomed some explicit sign on the Palestinian side of a willingness to recog-

This 1970 photo shows PLO leader George Habash talking at the Intercontinental Hotel to hostages captured by the guerillas in June. PLO/LNS.







This 1969 photo shows Palestinian guerrillas training. Nick Medvecky/Fifth Estate/LNS.

nize Israel's existence, perhaps this is too much to expect at this moment from a people who have for so long lived in the hell of diaspora and despair. In the Arab world of holy wars and machismo not even the Egyptians, all their camaraderie with Henry Kissinger notwithstanding, have yet made such a statement. One must continue to emphasize the importance of such explicit recognition as a means to genuine peace.

On the other hand, private conversations with important Palestinian officials often indicate much greater flexibility concerning some kind of future peaceful coexistence between Israel and a new Palestinian state. One would like to detect a faint glimmer of hope in the fact that each side suspects and perhaps even knows that behind the other side's official rigid policy certain more moderate points of view do exist. The refusal of American public opinion and of the news media in particular to recognize this important distinction and public rhetoric and private concrete maximal and minimal negotiating demands (particularly on the part of the Palestinians) has contributed more heat than light to the debate on the Middle East.

More tragic and inexcusable is the terrorist attack on the Israeli coastal settlement of Nahariya for which in an unprecedented manner Al Fatah has claimed responsibility in retaliation for the Israeli bombing raids on Lebanon. Not only is the murder of children always reprehensible, but one must deplore the fact of the more moderate sector of the Palestinian leadership resorting to extremism at a time when it will only serve to hide the human face of the Palestinian tragedy before the world. However, it would also be a mistake to assume that the PLO has now renounced the more hopeful attitudes to come out of Cairo and which we heard directly from Arafat and others.

All this is not to minimize the gravity of Israel's retaliatory attacks against the Lebanese refugee camps in an effort to punish the guerilla movement. The indiscriminate nature of such air raids can only be appreciated after one has seen the severe overcrowding in these camps.

Paul Martin of the London *Times* reports the effect of bombing on the Nabatiyah camp from which its 5000 inhabitants had been evacuated on May 18 when we were already back in Israel: "Half the camp had been completely destroyed by direct hits on houses in no way connected with the Palestinian guerrillas. . . Eight children between the ages of eight and 12 were killed when bombs showered down on the camp's school. . . The death toll so far is 25 civilians killed and nearly 60 wounded." John K. Cooley of the *Christian Science Monitor* (6/24) describing another area writes: "The attacking planes dropped incendiary bombs and what appeared to be a new type of anti-personnel bomb, with curved pieces of sharp metal wired to the bomb casings to scatter on explosion."

The almost blinding intensity of this vicious circle of violence and bloodletting makes it easy to overlook aspects of the Palestinian struggle which involved the use of nonviolent means. For example, last year the population of several camps in Southern Lebanon prevented the UNRWA personnel from entering the camps as a protest against the humiliating and inadequate programs of that agency. Not a word of this ever appeared in the US press.

The case of the two Christian Palestinian villages of Beram and Ikrit has generated considerable controversy within Israel but is relatively unknown here. Both of these villages have been friendly to Jews since 1930 and welcomed the Israeli troops in October

1948 with the traditional bread and salt. At that time the villagers were asked to evacuate the village for two weeks and now, over 25 years later, they are still in exile. One priest whom we met can still remember his old father saying to him as a child: "Son, we are being driven out of our home and we must leave. I don't understand why. When you get older I want you to try to find out why. But above all—don't learn to hate."

In 1951 the villagers finally sued the government and won their case before the High Court of Justice. The army used devious legal maneuvers to circumvent the court order and finally one village was demolished by ground troops and the other destroyed by incendiary bombs. Now a kibbutz has been built on the village land and the former inhabitants are hired as day laborers to farm their own land.

In 1972 the villagers began a classical campaign of nonviolent direct action. They organized a sit-in in the home of their bishop Joseph Raya and won him over to their cause. Later thousands occupied their church and many were beaten and arrested. On that day they were joined by many Jewish Israelis. Since then there have been petitions, marches, rallies, hunger strikes and sit-ins. But in spite of growing mass support in the non-Arab community, the government refuses to yield for fear of setting a precedent. Nevertheless, the Palestinian villagers and their Jewish supporters are determined to continue their fight for justice.

It was this same spirit that we found in the refugee's determination to humanize their camp life. In the Tal-El-Zaiter camp near Beirut, our guide, a heavyset young engineer, had worked in a factory in Germany with other Palestinians but had decided to return "home" and was now working with the Planning Committee of the PLO. He told us of the Committee's efforts to develop educational programs for the young inspired by the ideas of Ivan Illich, Paulo Freire and the experience of the Chinese revolution, and added: "We want to create a social revolution which will change the behavior of our young people. Only a collective consciousness can stand up against the pressures and the consumerism of the Lebanese society. We must prepare our youth to live together with Jews, Christians, and Moslems in an authentic non-exploitative society which is really democratic."

In spite of the alienating effect of camp life and the lack of a sense of national identity in an often hostile environment the Palestinians have managed to become the most developed among all the Arab peoples. As one drives along the West Bank it is not uncommon to see children reading a book while sitting under a tree or walking along the road, very much like the Little Vietnamese boy I recall studying while sitting on his water buffalo in North Vietnam. Their passion for education, not dissimilar to that of the Jews during their diaspora, has given them a high number of university graduates and professionals, a factor which would prove a major asset if a Palestinian state were ever created.

The question of whether two great people with a long history of suffering and with a common dream of a homeland can ever forget the past and transcend the oceans of blood and bitterness which separate them is a recurring one. Israel Shahak, a professor of biochemistry at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, is a large, passionate man who embodies the conflict. He is the chairman of the Israeli League for Human and

Civil Rights and a Polish Jew who is a survivor of the Warsaw ghetto and the Bergen Belsen concentration camp. For him the meaning of the holocaust is simple: "It means putting the interests of humanity above everything—especially above the private interests of nations, churches or sects." Shahak is a controversial figure and is often outspoken in his criticism of government policy.

At the same time he was bitterly critical of the obstacles which the Palestinians have set up to unofficial meetings with peace minded Israelis: "Perhaps this is even more terrible than Ma'alot—unforgivable and stupid. What an irony that for many Palestinians the first Israelis they will ever meet will be people like Moshe Dayan and Golda Meir at Geneva."

This was the same urgent plea of Ran Cohen, the handsome young Iraqi Jew who is the secretary of his kibbutz, a decorated Lieut. Colonel in the tank corps and, surprisingly, a peace activist. He held both my hands in his as we left him and begged: "Do anything you can to bring Palestinians and Israelis together for some kind of dialogue."

It was all the more painful to hear that not too long ago Abu Ayad—Arafat's right hand-man—had asked for a meeting with his Israeli counterpart. He was turned down because—according to poet Amos Kenan—"They were afraid that there was something to talk about. Once Palestinians talked to us Leftists it would weaken the government in refusing these invitations."

It reminded me of Labor M.P. Eliav's words: "It takes courage to be a realist; a man of peace in the Palestinian organizations as it takes courage to be a dove in Israel. . . You have to start somewhere, you have to start to talk. I'm talking and I don't hear an echo yet."

Will these aspirations for dialogue and peace be fulfilled as long as there are so many other interested parties involved in the Middle East? The Arab countries who have so often mounted their wars on the backs of the Palestinian refugees. The superpowers who as recently as last October took advantage of that bloody conflict to test their most sophisticated new weapons. (Nor is the use of tactical nuclear weapons beyond the realm of possibility in some future war.) According to a recent Pentagon release \$7 billion out of the \$8.5 billion US arms sales during the '73-'74 period went to the Middle East and the Persian Gulf area.

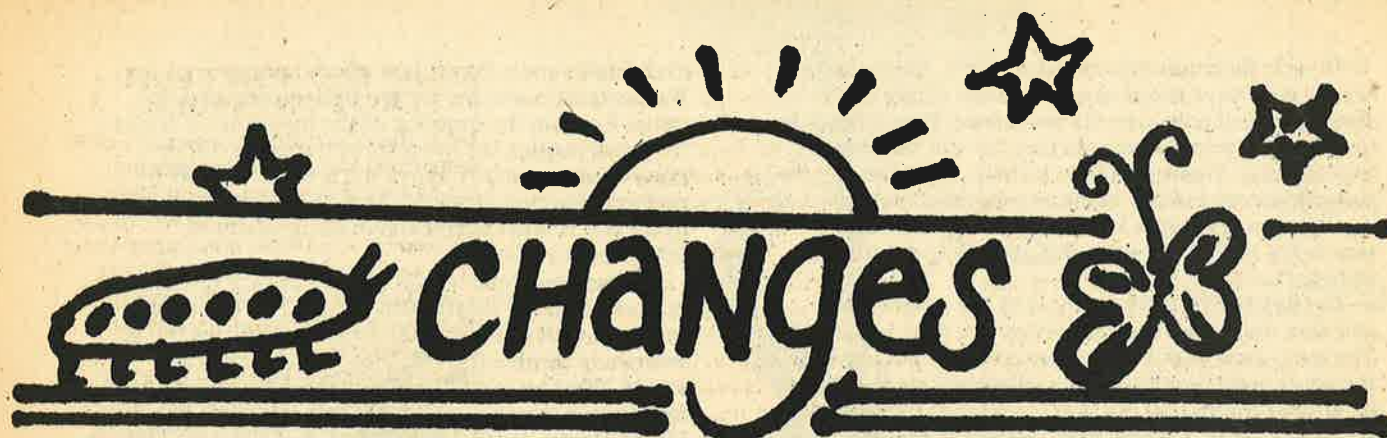
All of these obstacles notwithstanding, there are signs of hope. The greater flexibility of the Arab countries, the more open Palestinian position, and a relative state of "detente" between the US and the Soviet Union could make Geneva a step towards justice for the Palestinians and security for Israel.

Much depends on the extent to which both Palestinians and Israelis are willing to accept a solution which neither side will find completely satisfactory or just. However, observers on all sides agree that the present unique opportunity for negotiations is quickly eroding and that the possibility of a new major war becomes more real with each passing day.

This guarded optimism was reflected in the words of Amos Kenan to us: "Perhaps this new mood will last four or five years. Time is running out. The essence of it all is simply that in order to talk about the future we have to change the present. Otherwise there is no sense in talking about the future because there will be no future."







## CANADA MAY LEGALIZE MARIJUANA

Canada's liberal government is preparing to introduce legislation which would decriminalize marijuana possession throughout Canada.

The *Journal of Addiction Research*, published in Toronto, reports that a bill removing all criminal penalties for simple pot possession has already been drafted by Canada's Justice Minister, Otto Lang.

According to Lang, the decriminalization bill is modeled after the recommendations of Canada's Ledain Commission. The Ledain Commission, a government-appointed study group, recommended three years ago that simple pot offenses be treated only with civil fines—with no jail sentences or criminal sanctions attached.

The new bill as drafted by the Justice Ministry—while treating simple possession as a minor offense—would continue to impose criminal penalties against marijuana suppliers and traffickers.

US legal experts have predicted that if Canada decriminalizes pot possession, the United States will probably follow a similar course shortly thereafter.

—Ann Arbor Sun

## THIRD PARTIES SCORE GAINS

California's *Peace and Freedom Party*, formed in 1967 to oppose the Democratic Party's war policies in Vietnam, ran a slate of candidates for statewide office this year.

The strongest showing was by Marilyn Seals, a feminist-socialist who ran for Lieutenant Governor and got 152,000 votes, over 2.5% of the total votes cast.

Labor organizer, Gayle Justice, PFP's US Senate candidate, got 95,000 votes.

In Vermont, the *Liberty Union Party* got five to seven percent of the vote for its eight state-wide candidates, a strong showing which forced several races into the state legislature (where less than majority outcomes are decided).

In Hawaii, a *People's Party* candidate for US Senate received 17% of the vote as the sole opposition to incumbent Democrat Inouye.

And Julius Hobson, a *DC Statehood Party* candidate for City Council at-large, was elected to office. Hobson was the *People's Party* vice-presidential candidate in 1972.

The *People's Party*, with which all of these state parties are affiliated (as is Michigan's Human Rights Party) is a national organization with chapters in over half the states. Should the Democrats nominate someone like George Wallace for President in 1976, the *People's Party* may be the only viable alternative for large numbers of progressive voters around the country.

The Michigan Human Rights Party candidate for governor, Zolton Ferency ended up with slightly more than 26,000 votes in Michigan, about 1.1% of the total votes cast. As yet, the totals for other HRP statewide candidates are unknown, as Secretary of State Richard Austin has not quite gotten around to counting them.

—Ann Arbor Sun

## SIX PEACE ACTIVISTS OCCUPY SHRINE TOWER

Six members of the Baltimore-Washington Community for Non-Violent Action have begun an occupation of the bell tower at the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington. Their ascent coincides with the opening of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in Washington. The six will fast on water and will release banners, addressed to "every man and woman who would be called a follower of Christ." They will attempt to remain during the full course of the five-day conference.

The six are Debbie Mealia Budd, 20, Jim Budd, 21, and Chris Moore, 23, all of the Jonah House Non-Violent Resistance Community, and Margie Kolchin, 20 all of Baltimore, Mary Ellen Hombs, 23 and Mitch Snyder, 31, both of the Washington

Community for Non-Violent Action.

They feel that "there is suffering in the world, suffering that cannot be felt or understood by those who accept the luxuries borne of injustice. . . The voices of the hungry cry out, but they cannot be heard amidst the splendor of the Statler-Hilton Hotel."

The six feel that the continuing US involvement in Southeast Asia and the imminent starvation of millions of the world's people have not been dealt with morally or responsibly by the Church. The location chosen for the conference—the Statler-Hilton Hotel—is particularly inappropriate in the face of world poverty and at a time when millions are hungry.

The demonstration coincides with the trial of three other members of the Baltimore-Washington Community for Non-Violent Action, for the destruction of Food for Peace files in the Vietnam Overseas Procurement Office on July 10. The trial is scheduled for Nov. 22, the final day of the Bishop's Conference.

For more information, contact Claire Marie at (202) 667-6407.

—News Desk

## 10-YEAR-LONG AEC COVER-UP ON SAFETY PERILS

The some 50 million people who live in the vicinities of the 50 nuclear reactors now operating in the US, will be interested in David Burnham's November 9 article based on "an examination by the *New York Times* of hundreds of memos and letters written by Atomic Energy Commission and industry officials since 1964."

They may even feel indignant that "one key study, which the commission kept from the public for more than seven years, found that a major reactor accident—should one occur—could have effects equivalent to 'a good-sized weapon,' killing up to 45,000 persons, and that 'the possible size of such a disaster might be equal to that of the state of Pennsylvania.'"

Their indignation may be increased as they read on: "In addition, the documents show that the commission ignored recommendations from its own scientists [my italics] for further research on key safety questions. And they show that on at least two important matters, the commission consulted with the industry it was supposed to be regulating before deciding *not* [italics mine] to publish a study critical of its safety procedures." (This type of situation was a factor in the Congressional decision to split the AEC into two agencies: the Energy Research & Development Administration and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.)

Burnham's story drew a cop-out statement a week later from Dixy Lee Ray, the outgoing AEC chairperson, which then was discredited by Daniel Ford of the Union of Concerned Scientists. Ford pointed out that two AEC reports cited by Dixy Lee Ray were made public only after threatened lawsuits under the Freedom of Information Act.

—Jim Peck

## HIGH RATE OF SUBS

Newspapers and magazines frequently offer special incentive prizes to new subscribers in order to boost their sales. Now, an Ann Arbor, Michigan weekly paper—the *Ann Arbor Sun*—says it will give a whole pound of Columbian marijuana to the lucky winner in its latest subscription drive.

According to the paper, Michigan legislator Perry Bullard will personally conduct the drawing that selects the winner.

—Straight Creek

## FAMINES THREATEN NATIVE AMERICAN RESERVATIONS THIS WINTER

Native American Indians who live on reservations face large-scale starvation this winter unless immediate relief steps are taken, says the Joint Strategy and Action Committee (JSAC), a national organization of churches, in warnings it has issued.

JSAC reports that flooding, drought, and early frost this spring and summer, which have reduced crop yield in the Midwest, have been devastating to reservation residents who depend heavily on the land for their survival. Their economic ties to the land involve 1) working for others during harvest time, 2) leasing land out to non-Indian ranchers and farmers, and 3) growing most of their food in small truck gardens.

All three areas of income have been affected. Reduced crop yields has meant that there is little harvesting

work available; weather conditions caused the loss of grazing livestock—so there is no income from leasing; and the drought and frost destroyed many home gardens which Native Americans have traditionally relied on to get through the winter.

Inflation will make things even worse. Staples like rice and beans, which poor people have depended on, have risen 160-180% over the last year. Oil and propane, the fuel used in most government built reservation housing, has also gone up drastically. There is fear that most reservation residents will not be able to afford heating fuel this winter.

In the past, government surplus commodities have enabled groups to weather a temporary crisis, as with the famine on some Southwestern reservations several winters ago. However surplus commodities have been depleted, reports JSAC, and even the Bureau of Indian Affairs' emergency allotments are all gone until the next appropriation in July of 1975.

Thirty-five reservations in the states of North and South Dakota, Montana, New Mexico, Arizona, Nebraska, Utah and Idaho, JSAC reports are particularly hard hit by the droughts.

Groups and individuals are urged to put pressure on government officials to demand relief be sent before the expected emergencies arise.

—LNS

## NEWS FROM TAX COURT

On October 29th, four area tax resisters presented argument to Judge Theodore Tannanwald, Jr. As in the past, IRS had filed motions for judgment on the pleadings (i.e., without a trial) against Ruth Fales, Mary Austin, John Ginevin and Ted and Anne Tapper. At the outset, the judge indicated his belief that he was bound by prior decisions of the Tax Court to rule in favor of IRS. After each argument, the judge reiterated this view; but the impact of the arguments could be seen by the fact that each time he was less certain that he was "bound." The last of the four to be heard was the Tappers. In this case, unlike the other three, IRS was seeking a 5% penalty in addition to the Tax. This totally outraged the judge, who asked why IRS wasn't satisfied with "one drop of blood" and why they needed a second from the Tappers. When the IRS attorney stated he would not drop the claim for the penalty, the judge indicated he would definitely rule against IRS as to the penalty, and might rule against them as to the tax, as well.

—Philadelphia WTR

## SARAH BAD HEART BULL RELEASED ON PAROLE

Sarah Bad Heart Bull, convicted Custer defendant, was released on parole November 15 from the South Dakota women's prison in Yankton where she has been held with no bond since June 21. The day before, a South Dakota court had found her guilty on charges of arson stemming from an American Indian Movement-led protest in Custer, South Dakota on February 6, 1973.

Two hundred Indian people had gone to Custer to protest the murder, by a white Custer businessman, of Sarah Bad Heart Bull's son, Wesley. The businessman—who was charged with only second degree manslaughter—was subsequently acquitted by an all-white jury.

South Dakota prosecutors, characterizing Sarah as "dangerous" to society, asked that she be denied bail pending the appeal of her 1-to-25 year sentence.

After the sentencing Judge Joseph Bottum denied Bad Heart Bull the time to arrange for the care of her six children with her family.

Successive appeals to federal district court and the South Dakota Supreme Court failed to get bond set for her. However, early in November her sentence was set at one year, and the state board recommended that she be paroled. She was released to the custody of the parole board, which strongly recommended that she live in Sioux Falls. A parole officer took her directly from the prison to Rapid City to get her children and move to Sioux Falls under his supervision. She was permitted no contact with her lawyers.

—LNS

## SOLAR-HEATED SCHOOL

Reston, Virginia, will be the site of the first totally solar-heated school in the nation. The \$2.7 million school will also be partially buried and covered with trees to insulate the building.

School officials say the design will save "thousands of dollars" per year in heating costs. The building will also use the heat created from conventional air conditioners to heat water for the school. However, the air conditioning units will be used only when outside temperature is too high to enable circulating air fans to cool the structure.

Designers of the building say the school will cost only 8.9 cents each year per square foot to heat in contrast to 49 cents per square foot for an above-ground structure.

—Environmental Action



# PEOPLE'S BULLETIN BOARD

FREE IF NO EXCHANGE  
OF \$\$ INVOLVED AND  
ONLY 20 WORDS.  
OTHERWISE \$1 EVERY  
10 WORDS

PITTSBURGH PEOPLE'S HISTORY  
CALENDAR—1971—A pictorial wall calen-  
dar of Pittsburgh's working people's strug-  
gles. Spiral bound—11 x 17—Send \$3.25 to:  
Pittsburgh NAM, POB 8224 T, Pittsburgh,  
Pa. 15217.

THE POWDER MAGAZINE, A Radical  
Sources Guide. Political economy; media;  
ecology; sexual politics, the family and al-  
ternatives; education and community;  
racial and ethnic politics; revolutionary  
theory and strategy. SUBSCRIPTIONS (for  
12 issues, 6 weekly): A\$5.00 for individuals  
and A\$10.00 for libraries and other institu-  
tions. Airmail, \$20.00 and \$25.00 for institu-  
tions. From The Light, Powder and Con-  
struction Works, Box 1806Q, GPO, Mel-  
bourne, Australia.

NON-COMPETITIVE GAMES for children  
and adults. Play together, not against each  
other. Free catalog; Family Pastimes,  
Boissevain, Manitoba, Canada R0K0E0.

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

WHO'S WATCHING YOU? Find out by  
reading "Counter-Spy: The Quarterly  
Journal of the Fifth Estate," PO Box 647,  
Ben Franklin Station, Washington, DC  
20044. Subscription \$6/year to individuals;  
\$10/year to libraries and non-governmental  
institutions; and \$75/year to government  
agencies. Suitable holiday gift cards are  
available upon request.

WINE LABELS. 102 assorted (6 styles).  
Reg. \$2. On sale \$1 postpaid. Mulberry  
Hill, 1109 W. Vine, Mts. Vernon, Oh 43050.

Printing/living collective in Smittown, Long  
Island is looking for a new member. If in-  
experienced, we're willing to teach printing  
skills. Need person who enjoys living com-  
munally and is willing to make a commit-  
ment, work hard and get along on subsistence  
money. Call (516) 979-7392 or write The  
Print Shop, 333 Terry Road, Smittown, NY  
11787.

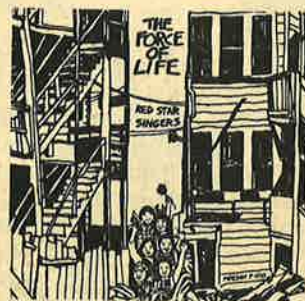
IMPEACH MR. & MRS. AMERICA. 2/\$1.00.  
Potpourri \$10.00. Century Apex, Box 2138,  
Youngstown, Ohio 44504.

New Midwest research Institute seeks un-  
selfish, socially conscious, non-careerist MA-  
PhD Movement economists, political sci-  
entists, etc., who can get grants on war-peace  
reconversion, etc. Read Gross & Osterman,  
"The New Professionals" pp 33-77. Midwest  
Institute, 1206 N. 6th St., Columbus, OH  
43201.

**A** **ANARCHISM**  
The largest and most complete selec-  
tion of anarchist books available any-  
where. Includes individualist, communist, syn-  
dicalist, mutualist and Christian anarchism. Open  
daily noon-7 p.m., or write for a free catalog.  
Laissez Faire Books, Dept. W1, 208A Mercer St.,  
New York, N.Y. 10012. Tel: (212) 674-8154.

# paredon

Paredon Records is a movement-  
oriented company; all its earnings  
are put back into more resistance  
recordings. The records below can  
be shipped in time for Christmas.



**P 1023 The Red Star Singers: The Force of Life.** "A record so politically  
powerful and so musically effective that one can only lament that it didn't appear  
three or four years ago when the Movement was even more in need of some hard-  
driving songs to help keep the scene together. This album exudes the kind of excite-  
ment generated by the Weavers in the '50's, and perhaps even by Dylan's more  
political songs of the '60's"—Bernard Weiner in WIN. Songs Incl. Belly of the Mon-  
ster, Still Ain't Satisfied, Can't Be Free Till Everybody Else Is, etc. With complete  
song lyrics and notes. 1-12" LP. .... \$5.

**P 1019 Chile: The Siege of Santa Maria De Iquique, a People's Cantata**  
sung by Quilapayun. Recorded in Chile before the coup of September 1973 by  
the most popular singing group of the Popular Unity movement. Words and music  
by Luis Advis based on an actual event in Chile's history. Sung in Spanish. Complete  
text and English translation in accompanying booklet. 1-12" LP. .... \$5.

**P 1021 Greece: Mikis Theodorakis—New Songs by the composer of the**  
music of "Z" "State of Siege" "Serpico" etc. Created 1968-69 in Vrachati  
and Zatonai while Theodorakis was under house arrest by the military junta. Per-  
formed with piano and vocals by the composer for the first time on record. Includes  
three complete song cycles Arkadia II and Arkadia III (based on poems by Manos  
Eleftheriou) and In The East (text and music by Theodorakis inspired by the uprising  
of the students in Greece in 1973), plus the "songrivers" Our Sister Athina (text by  
George Photinos). Produced in cooperation with the New Greek Left—Xasteria. Ac-  
companying booklet includes complete Greek text transliteration and English trans-  
lation plus biography of Theodorakis. 2-12" LPs. .... \$10.

**P 1014 I Hate the Capitalist System.** Songs of the American working class and  
the struggle against oppression sung by Barbara Dane. Songs of miners, auto workers,  
migrant workers, anti-war GIs, student protesters, etc. including Ludlow Massacre,  
I Hate the Capitalist System, Lonesome Jailhouse Blues, Speed-Up Song, Working  
Class Woman, others. With complete song texts and documentary notes. 1-12" LP  
..... \$5.

**P 1008 Vietnam: Songs of Liberation.** 13 traditional and contemporary songs  
from both North and South, recorded in Vietnam by members of various artistic  
ensembles of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and the Provisional  
Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. Ballads, marching hymns, lullabies,  
folk songs, anthems. Accompanying notes include complete English song texts.  
1-12" LP. .... \$5.

**P 1003 FTA! Songs of the GI Resistance sung by Barbara Dane with ac-**  
tive-duty GIs. Recorded at GI coffee houses and movement centers at Fort Hood,  
Texas, Fort Benning, Georgia, and Fort Bragg, North Carolina. Incl. songs composed  
by the GIs themselves. 1-12" LP. .... \$5.

Please add 45¢ per disc for postage and handling. Send Orders to:

Good Boox & Such, Realbox 455P  
10B Mt. Auburn St.  
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ for the records indicated below by number:

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

# Important Paperbacks from Dell



**Behind  
the Trail  
of Broken  
Treaties**  
An Indian  
Declaration of  
Independence

Vine Deloria, Jr.

Here is a passionate look at U.S. gov-  
ernment/American Indian relations and  
a bold new proposal for the future by  
the leading Indian spokesman of today.  
Delta \$2.95

**Hunter  
and Hunted**  
Human History  
of the  
Holocaust

Edited by Gerd Korman

A heartbreaking collection of personal  
accounts by survivors of the Holocaust.  
"Illuminates important events so that  
they are seen sharply, as if for the first  
time."—The National Jewish Monthly.  
Delta \$2.95

**The  
Briar Patch**

Murray Kempton

A brilliant dissection of police under-  
cover operations in that landmark trial  
—The People of The State of New York  
vs. Lumumba Shakur, et al. Winner of  
the National Book Award. Delta \$2.95

**Pilgrims  
of the Stars**

Dilip Kumar Roy and Indira Devi

This first book for Westerners on the  
highest experiences of yoga contains  
the combined autobiographies of a re-  
markable pair of artists and recounts  
their spiritual evolution. Delta \$3.25

**The  
Eleventh  
Wing**

Khayy Al-Dhiygh

This new commentary on the I Ching  
does not replace the classical Ten  
Wings, but supplements and extends  
them, correlating the philosophical and  
psychological wisdom of the I Ching  
with modern scientific explanations.  
Delta \$3.25

**Resistance  
and  
Contemplation**

James W. Douglass

A demonstration of how resistance and  
contemplation are complementary as-  
pects of the nonviolent way to political  
and spiritual freedom. "For the cynic  
and believer alike."—Library Journal.  
Delta \$2.45

**Philosophy  
and  
Revolution**  
From Hegel to  
Sartre, and from  
Marx to Mao

Raya Dunayevskaya

The former secretary to Leon Trotsky  
offers a philosophy of liberation, a  
theory of revolution that is grounded  
in practice and by which, in turn, prac-  
tice can be guided. "Of great theoret-  
ical and political importance."—Erich  
Fromm. A Delta Original \$2.95

**Church  
of the Earth**  
The Ecology  
of a Creative  
Community

Robert S. de Ropp

This chronicle of life in the author's  
commune in northern California re-  
flects de Ropp's religious and philo-  
sophic thought and expands his theme  
of the continuing search for a higher  
state of being. Delta \$2.95

**Marxism  
and Human  
Liberation**  
Essays on History,  
Culture  
and Revolution

Georg Lukács

Edited, with an introduction, by E. San  
Juan, Jr. Here, for the first time in  
paperback, is an outstanding collection  
of essays on art, culture and politics  
by this foremost Marxist critic.  
A Delta Original \$3.25

Coming in February—

**Hegel,  
Kierkegaard,  
Marx**

Robert Heiss

A compelling study, translated from  
German, of the three fathers of modern  
revolutionary thought. A Delta Original  
\$3.25 (tentative price)

Coming in March—

**Enormous  
Changes  
at the Last  
Minute**

Grace Paley

Great short stories by a great Ameri-  
can writer. "She is that rare kind of  
writer, a natural, with a voice like no  
one else's: funny, sad, lean, modest,  
energetic, acute. Like the great mod-  
ern Russian writers, she demonstrates  
a possible unity of the art of conscious-  
ness and the naturalness of con-  
science."—Susan Sontag.  
Laurel \$1.25



Dell Publishing Co., Inc. 1 Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza • New York, N.Y. 10017





# win

## The Peaceful Gift

This year we are making a very special offer that not only can simplify your gift giving problems, but also spreads the news of the movement for peace and liberation.

After the first subscription that you give each additional one costs you only \$6—one dollar less than the regular yearly subscription rate. And a renewal of your own subscription can be included under this plan.

In addition, we will send each recipient of a gift subscription a hardcover copy of Barbara Deming's remarkable collection of short stories, *Wash Us and Comb Us* which has a retail price of \$8.95.

Finally, if you give five subscriptions or more we will be pleased to send you a copy of Barbara's book for free.

Of course each person receiving a gift sub will be sent a special card announcing your gift.

We think that this is an excellent way to remember friends or family—44 times a year!

Flash! January 1 the year's subscription price of WIN is going up to \$11!

Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_ (First subscription is \$7, each additional sub only \$6).

Please send a gift card signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

My name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_