

# win

POETRY AND REPORTS ON VIETNAM  
FOR THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF  
THE PARIS PEACE TREATY  
THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT'S TOP ONE HUNDRED

PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION





I hope Franklin Zahn is kidding when he states that "...the biggest loser in double digit inflation is a rich person with lots of cash on hand which is wasting in value like a cake of ice on a hot day." [WIN, 12/26/74].

The rich have access to the biggest interest-paying investments largely barred to the small investor—GMNA pass-throughs, tax-free authority bonds, specially negotiated high interest accounts of \$100,000 with lending institutions, etc. The rich are neither the biggest losers nor the biggest sufferers from inflation. They get the best investment advice available, and they literally write the tax laws. (Remember the special tax loophole sewn for Louis B. Mayer by the late Senators Taft and George. It enabled him to pay one-half capital gains rate on income that by any rational standard was ordinary income.)

It's the poor and middle-class Americans who should be most interested in cutting arms expenditures. The rich look after themselves as favored individuals, not as participants in democracy. —C.W. GRIFFIN  
Denville, NJ

#### AN OPEN LETTER TO DAN BERRIGAN:

When I had cancer and was scheduled to die, you were my greatest inspiration to go on living and I grew to love you. I continue to love you, despite the fact that what follows will necessarily sound bitter and scolding.

Dan, your style of theological resistance is nothing less than poison to the efficacy of the peace movement. You have successfully internalized the pain of the peoples of Indochina, you have come to respond to that pain by ritualizing it, reveling in it, or (as you might put it) "witnessing" it. With this sensitivity I have no quarrel, for there are surely enough of us who go about the business of strategizing nonviolent action with only negligible feeling for the people for whom we're working ("struggling," agh).

My scrap with you derives from the end product of your internalized suffering. In a word, it anesthetizes the conscience, or whatever faculty provokes us to direct action. A process seen by some as expiatory I see as purgative and cathartic. The faulty

equation goes something like this: The thought of human misery produces discomfort in me, it disturbs my conscience. By steeping myself in that misery, I reduce the discomfort issuing from my conscience and, consequently, thoughts of human misery. But that misery goes on and what you have effectually done is to short-circuit the conscience.

I tend to think that the human animal carries around very little excess psychic/spiritual baggage. Or, God had in mind some purpose when He equipped us with a conscience—a standard on most models since about Genesis. If by placating that conscience without affecting change in the situation that gives rise to its proddings, we have, I believe, neatly circumvented God's purpose.

Daniel, I think it could be fairly said that you do not "fiddle while Rome burns." You do, however, write poetry.

—MEL HOLLANDER  
Syracuse, NY

Just a line on how art is de-politicalized for the American public. In the episode in *Amarcord* about Fascism, the opposition is vaguely called "socialist" in the subtitles where the Italian sound-track is saying "anarchist." This is not the first time that dubbers have played a political and malignant role, so it might be well if the targets of the affronts started writing in their protests to producers and distributors.

—ERIC BENTLEY  
New York, NY

The issue of Dec. 19 on MONEY was quite original and very interesting. One important aspect of the "need" for money was not mentioned at all. That is the question of security in old age. I question whether parents should count on their children to support them after retirement. Many senior citizens have no offspring or no survivors. Social Security is, and for the foreseeable future will be, inadequate.

For 18 of the 44 years I have spent on the labor market I worked for less than I could have earned elsewhere; 2 years organizing for a Union, 3 years in Cooperatives, and 11 years in the Peace Movement. I took a 40% cut in salary when I went to work at CCCO and did not take some of the raises voted by the Board. I had the other option of taking the raise and giving it back as a donation. This would have increased the base on which my Social Security benefit is paid but the government would have gotten a larger bite in income tax.

I bought \$2000. life insurance when I first began to work in 1925. During the Big Depression I first borrowed against it and then cashed it in. The statistics of unemployment and average annual income and numbers on welfare cannot adequately conjure up the image of what it was like. I never had to apply for welfare but sometimes it was nip and tuck. Having always been a string saver and pack rat, the effect on me was devastating. I became a penny pincher; didn't enjoy buying, giving or eating out. Only in the last 5 years could I "break-down"

and take a vacation: first to Puerto Rico, then Phoenix, then Canada, and finally Florida in '73. Each was a marvelous experience marred only by guilt over the amount of money we were spending on ourselves while there was so much hunger and misery in the world and so many worthy causes to support.

I never made more than \$8000. in any year and that much only once. Yet, today, we own the house we live in and a '71 VW. We paid \$9400 for our home 3½ years ago; could sell it for more than twice as much. We get \$4600. a year from Social Security and I earn \$1500. working about one day a week. We have Blue Cross and Blue Shield and Medicare. But what happens in case of long and expensive illness?

I would like nothing better than to be part of a commune where I could contribute as long as I am able and could then look forward to receiving the loving care of the group for as long as I live. But outside of authoritarian religious communities, which I reject, where do you find the stability and permanence? So, regrettably and with feelings of guilt, we only give away \$200-\$300 a year. I am more generous with my time—especially since I retired.

I like to think that if I had children who were now fully grown and independent, I would tell them that I was leaving everything to such as WRL. The whole question of inheritance needs to be studied and discussed; from the standpoint of giving as well as receiving.

Five men and four women writers started this off. Fred Rosen did not say whether he was speaking for Nancy. Leah Fritz didn't say if she spoke for her husband. Jim Peck didn't indicate if Paula shared his view on money. Have I always been fair to Taddy, my wife? Definitely not.

It was her inheritance of \$1000. in 1946 that became the down payment on the Glen Gardner community and, in 1950, the beginning of an equity in real estate (and security) for ourselves.

—BENT ANDERSEN  
Lambertville, NJ

There is a follow-up to your publication of "In England Possession of This Leaflet Could Get You Two Years" which must not go unreported. Simultaneously with its appearance in WIN (December 12, 1974) Pat Arrowsmith, Britain's first pacifist to be convicted for distributing the leaflet to British soldiers, was released from the notorious Holloway Prison for Women in London.

The decision to order the release was made by a three-man court on an appeal filed by Pat against her conviction. She lost the latter, but won her freedom from prison (which at the time meant solitary confinement, shockingly unsanitary cell conditions, dungeon lighting and ventilation, and inadequate food), "not in the interest of justice but in the appearance of justice." The reasoning of the court was that Pat had reasonable ground for thinking her action in distributing the leaflet, "Some Information for British Soldiers," at Warminster in September 1973 was no more illegal than it was in August 1973 when she was handing it out in Colchester. At that time the Department of Public Prosecutions judged the

leaflet to be inoffensive and, therefore, failed to bring charges against Pat.

It was the "failure" of the DPP to prosecute Pat the first time which led the judges to order Pat's release on December 4, 1973. The court, according to an Amnesty International observer present at the hearing, went out of its way to record that Pat's act (leafleting) was still "malicious," "wicked" in its intent—"about as bad a case of its kind as it is possible to imagine."

One must conclude that the court wanted to make clear to one and all that its decision was not to be taken as a "precedent," having in mind, no doubt, the upcoming trials of 14 other British pacifists on charges of "possession" and "conspiracy" to distribute information to troops on actions they might take if opposed to going into Northern Ireland with the British Army of Occupation. If convicted, the penalties they face are even more serious than the 18 months given Pat Arrowsmith. Life imprisonment could be one.

WIN readers who were moved to protest the imprisonment of Pat Arrowsmith should not be chagrined because her release took place before their letters reached the authorities. Such letters are read and noted. In fact, they may yet substantially help the 14 pacifists to be tried on March 3, 1975, by creating a climate of international outrage at the British government's violation of the human rights of free speech and association. Such an expressed concern makes for justice; not just the "appearance of justice" and should continue.

—GERTRUDE ROSENBLUM  
Stamford, Ct.

Dear Mother Earth News:

As a subscriber and enthusiastic reader, I was shocked to learn from WIN Magazine that MOTHER is refusing to accept Positions and Situations listings from homosexuals. Your letter to RFD is quoted: "Many of our readers are not young, hip-open-minded folks but are little old ladies in tennis shoes."

I am one of those little old ladies—61 years old, a lesbian, a homophile activist, author of seven published gay novels, and concerned about repression in all forms. Your statement smacks of sexism and something that can only be called age-ism; it implies that only the young are open-

The drawings on the cover and page four are by the Vietnamese artist Vo Dinh. These drawings, along with several others, were created exclusively for the work of the School of Youth for Social Service in Cholon, Vietnam. The school is operated by the Unified Buddhist Church and its students attempt to respond to the needs of rural villages after repeated failures of government-sponsored aid programs. Students help villagers rebuild bombed houses, dig wells, and teach children to read and write. The school depends entirely on private donations and operates autonomously from the government of South Vietnam or official American sources. Contributions for assistance and support of the School of Youth for Social Services can be sent to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, New York 10960.

minded. In addition, it prompts me to point out two facts that should have been obvious to your editors from the beginning:

1) Most back-to-the-land, natural-foods people are quite advanced in their social thinking, and accept homosexuality as a viable alternative life style. Those who do not are intelligent enough to learn. Many of your readers are homosexuals.

2) Silence is an instrument of social repression, often harder to combat than open enmity. By excluding 10 to 20% of the adult population from participation in your valuable services you are helping to further a harmful policy of social discrimination.

I hope that you will change your attitude toward gays to one more in keeping with your generally enlightened outlook, and will admit all of your readers to full participation.

—VALERIE TAYLOR  
Chicago, Ill.

Recently Leo Tolstoy has been receiving some bad publicity in your pages.

A bastard to be sure, elite-minded, but one helluva guy anyway. Maybe if he and Sophie had had Women's Liberation in their day they might not have destroyed each other the way they did. Merely they reflected the social consciousness indigenous to their class and epoch. To judge them by modern standards does an injustice to both persons.

Get a copy of Tolstoy's *The Law of Love and the Law of Violence* and read it for Christmas. I think Leo and Sophie are among us today, Andrea and Leah. We are them. Hopefully we can work our problems out better than they did.

—STEPHEN T. WILLINGHAM  
Berryville, Va.

#### ERRATA

In the box appearing on page 29 of the 12/19/74 issue of WIN the number of the "World Peace Tax Fund." Bill was misquoted. The correct number is H.R. 7053. The Box should have read: "Lobby for Conscious Objection to Income Tax—the 'World Peace Tax Fund' Bill, H.R. 7053. Urge your representative and senators to join 14 present sponsors of H.R. 7053. Information on H.R. 7053 and 'How to Lobby by Mail' is available from WPTF Steering Committee, Box 1447, Ann Arbor, MI 43106."



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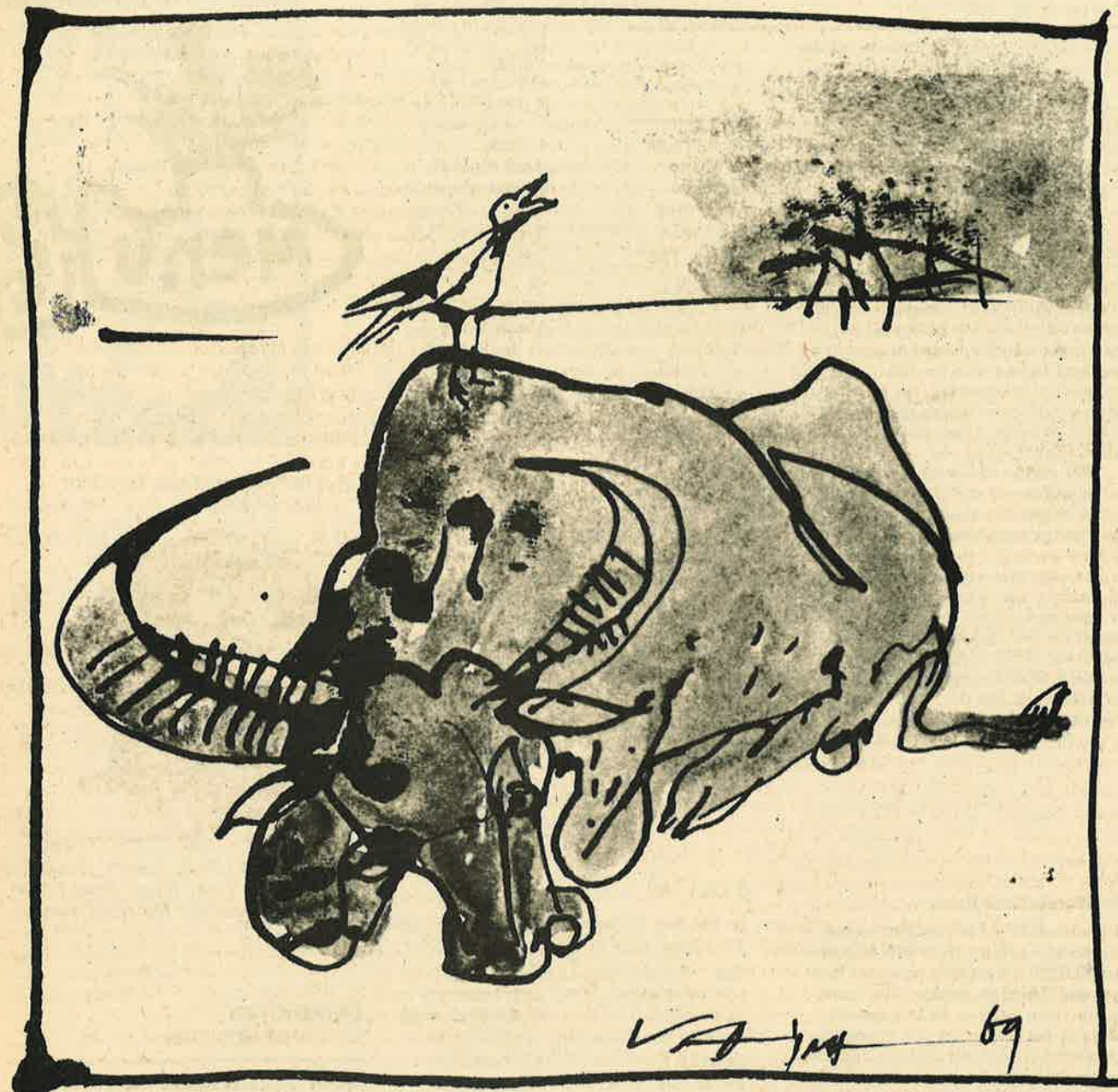
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## THE VIETNAM CRISIS GETS HOT

JACK COLHOUN

The crisis in Saigon is intense and becoming more intense. Simultaneous with the disintegration of the Nguyen Van Thieu regime is the political and economic disarray which haunts Washington itself, not to mention the serious malady which is festering in the world economy under American hegemony. The confluence of these problems, at a time when the basic legitimacy of the US Presidency is under scrutiny, leaves the US hard pressed to bail out its Saigon allies. As Gabriel Kolko wrote in *Le Monde Diplomatique*:

*The war in the Middle East, the hazards of the world economy, and the serious deterioration of 'detente' have imposed new priorities on United States foreign policy. Despite how much it may want to, Washington cannot sacrifice its fundamental interests in other points of the globe in order to try to reverse the balance of forces more and more unfavorable in South Vietnam, which in the relatively near future must result in a PRG victory in this conflict which has lasted for 30 years.*

Although the growth of the Third Force political opposition to Thieu has been gradual, by September it had become a serious threat to Saigon. Its roots can be traced to the primarily Buddhist opposition to Ngo Dinh Diem in the early 1960's and Nguyen Cao Ky when he assumed power in 1966. Also, after the 1967 elections some opposition remained in the Senate and Assembly. Opposition continued to a lesser degree in the late 1960's as student demonstrations picked up when Buddhist resistance declined. As late as 1971 a slate of ten dissidents led by Vu Van Mau were elected during the 1971 elections.

When the ceasefire negotiations became more serious, Thieu's police dragnets rounded up tens of thousands of his opponents. Continued US support for Saigon's increasingly repressive policies clearly slowed Third Force development, but the repression ultimately proved incapable of stemming the anti-Saigon tide.

Current Third Force strength, according to the *New York Times*, "has been building during the 21 months of disillusion, economic decline and war that have followed the signing of the Paris peace agreements."

However, the explanation of *Vietnam Report*, published by the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in Canada, is more precise:

*The anti-Thieu movement is the direct result of the war policy, corruption, dictatorship and repression of democratic liberties which are distinct features of the Saigon regime. These aspects... have created the present economic and social crisis in the regions under Saigon control. They are also the origins of the misery, grievance and suffering of the urban population... That is why Thieu has become the main target of the urban population's struggle...*

The Third Force is a loose coalition of Catholics, Buddhists, journalists, students, veteran's groups,

legislators, lawyers associations, and labor unions. Although it is a loose confederation with contradictory politics, Thieu's power is dependent almost exclusively on the army and police for support—not the people.

A central position in the opposition is held by the Catholic Anti-Corruption Movement led by Father Tran Huu Thanh. Thanh's group has arisen from the former stronghold of the Saigon Government—right-wing, anti-communist Catholics. Not surprisingly Thanh has focused his campaign on the corruption which pervades the Government. In the halcyon days of abundant US aid, "corruption was tolerable because the fat came off Uncle Sam not the average Vietnamese."

In Thanh's campaigning, as reported in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, little mention is made of implementing the Paris Agreements. "I'm an anti-Communist, but not the way Thieu is... I accept the idea of peaceful coexistence with the Communists, we can't kill them all. It's their country, too," says Thanh. Thanh's idea of "peaceful coexistence,"



however, sees the PRG as a distinct minority in any future Government while the PRG points to the Paris Agreement, Article 12, which stipulates a "National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord of three equal segments" which includes the Thieu Government, the PRG, and the Third Force.

The Catholic Anti-Corruption Movement has its divisions, though, and many priests are reluctant to criticize Thieu so directly. There are some left Catholics who could exercise some influence, but up to now they have remained in the background. The real nature of the Catholic movement is reformism: "We could overthrow President Thieu in a couple of weeks, but that wouldn't do the country much good. What we really want is reform," Thanh explains.

The Buddhist movement centers around the National Forces of Reconciliation led by Sen. Vu Van Mau. The group has political ties with the An Quang Pagoda which played a leading role in the opposition to Diem. Compared to the Catholic movement, the Buddhists are quite militant and campaign around the implementation of the Paris Agreement. Thich Tri Thu, an An Quang Pagoda leader says that because Thieu is an obstacle to peace, "the Buddhists cannot possibly accept the leader of the present Government. Nor can we accept any similar leader in the future."

Retired General Duong Van Minh, who led the overthrow of Diem in 1963, has taken a militant stand against Thieu characterizing his regime as "a violent-

Jack Colhoun is editor of Amex / Canada.

thirsty Government, having no longer any regard for anyone. . . " Big Minh went on to say Thieu's is "a regime that has completely lost the confidence of the people" and called for a new Government. Minh was also present at the An Quang Pagoda when Vu Van Mau announced the founding of the National Forces of Reconciliation.

Growing unemployment coupled with uncontrolled inflation has led to some action by workers and unions. Worker activity is significant because most trade unions are puppets of the Thieu Government. The CIA is known, as well, to have many contacts within the union movement. Most union activity has been in response to layoffs and inflation. Twelve unions representing 30,000 workers in Bien Hoa called "for a strict control of prices, prohibition of 'abusive' sacking of workers, participation of unions in decisions relating to economic and social policies, and action against corruption." Workers have also been active in the railroad, milk processing, and glass industries. Bus workers to the west of Saigon have waged a fight for their rights.

An important indication of Thieu's isolation is that in late October Tran Quoc Buu, President of South Vietnam's largest union, the Confederation of Vietnamese Trade Unions, "issued an appeal for the eradication of corruption, the implementation of the Paris truce agreements and the establishment of democratic liberties." Buu, in the past, has been a staunch Thieu supporter.

Dissatisfaction with the existing trade union movement has led to the creation of a new organization, the Committee for the Defense of Workers' Rights. The committee is headed by Father Phan Khắc Tu, the chaplain of the Young Christian Workers movement. Tu calls for the "re-establishment of democratic liberties, such as the freedom of assembly and the freedom of travel, as stipulated by Article II of the Paris accords."

For the last two years a group of left Catholics have waged a campaign to free Thieu's political prisoners. Recently, however, very influential right-wing Catholics have become involved. Up to now, these Catholics have been silent supporters of Thieu.

Mme. Ngo Ba Thanh, a political prisoner released during the summer of 1973 while the US Congress was considering aid cuts, has given her seemingly limitless energy to the Women's Movement for the Right to Life and the Peoples' Organization for the Implementation of the Paris Agreement. She also belongs to the Peoples' Front Against Famine and for National Salvation.

Since the Paris Agreements the press has been severely harassed by Thieu. The threat of closure, arrests of journalists, and confiscation of papers has limited press opposition until this fall. Ironically, it was the confiscation of three Saigon dailies in mid-September that set the stage for the first large-scale public anti-Thieu demonstration and also helped to galvanize further press opposition. The papers seized contained Indictment Number 1, a 6-count "indictment" of the Government by Father Thanh. The demonstration led to street bonfires while opposition deputies shouted anti-Thieu slogans on the streets.

The issue of freedom of the press has led to the formation of the Committee To Struggle for Freedom of the Press and Publication as well as another rally of about 100 Catholic priests, Buddhists and opposition



Madame Ngo Ba Thanh before her arrest and imprisonment. Photo by Don Luce/LNS.

politicians. In mid-November opposition newspapers shut down for two days in protest of a lower house of the National Assembly's support for a bill which only slightly reduces Thieu's power to confiscate newspapers. Although Thieu was forced to make minor modification in the law, his political base in the National Assembly has yet to abandon him.

Third Force opposition groups have many contradictions among them and the confluence of these diverse movements has produced the first serious political crisis for Saigon since the ceasefire. At first Thieu responded with kid gloves to the street demonstrations. He summoned the remnants of the Catholic community to his side by having priests appear on national TV to make pro-Thieu appeals and denounce Father Thanh's movement. Police repression was conspicuously absent.

Next he took to national TV to make a long awaited response to charges of corruption. In a two hour speech, which drew the comment that it resembled a Nixon Watergate pronouncement, Thieu denied the allegations and offered to resign if "the entire people and army no longer have confidence in me." Like his former Washington mentor, he failed to respond point-by-point to the charges levelled against him and made constant reference to his enemies—the Communists—who would gain from domestic unrest. When really in trouble, he brought

out of the closet the old stand-by—predictions of a DRV-PRG offensive. He also promised "within three months" to reduce the level of corruption in the army and Government.

Although much of the speech was conciliatory, but without substance, the opposition reacted quite negatively. Since the Third Force is anti-communist, it didn't appreciate being dubbed communist "lackey" as Thieu did several times in explaining why any opposition to him was dangerous. Furthermore, the talk had little effect on the street demonstrations. By mid-October, *The Washington Post* noted "for the first time in years, the common people of Saigon showed a real spark of interest in supporting this morning's anti-government protest."

The growth of support for the demonstrations did not go unnoticed by Thieu, who took a much harder position on demonstrations. His police and plainclothes detectives were let off their leashes and attacked news correspondents and demonstrators, the effect of which was not to put a damper on demonstrations but to make them more militant. In late October several hundred students occupied the National Assembly, smashed glass doors and hurled plant pots across the street. The police cordoned off the area with barbed wire and eventually the demonstration died down while 3,000 gathered in Hue to hear speakers from the Buddhist National Reconciliation Forces. During the same period Father Thanh went on a tour through towns in the Mekong Delta.

The first of the opposition to be arrested were 14 students who occupied the National Assembly. Another Thieu tactic is to have plainclothes police shadow opposition figures: "a Catholic priest was reportedly followed by three plainclothes men into a theatre where a Charlie Chaplin film was playing," *The New York Times* reported. The tempo quickly picked up as violent clashes began to break out between police and anti-Thieu demonstrators. A session of the lower house of the National assembly erupted "into tumult. . . as ashtrays were thrown and a pistol was fired into the air. . ." in mid-November. The uproar was the result of a debate over a Government bill which only partially lifts a ban on political parties other than the President's. Sen. Doan Van Luong charged that Thieu's police, a few days earlier, fired into a crowd of anti-Government demonstrators, killing one and wounding 12 others in the village of Cinhtam, about 70 miles northwest of Saigon. About 1,000 persons had gathered near the local Catholic church. Fighting broke out when secret police attempted to abscond with the microphones and broke two altars in front of the church. Then Government troops burned ten houses.

During this period Thieu was considering what concessions he would have to make in hopes of co-opting the opposition into coming off the streets. First, he secured the resignation of Information Minister Hoang Duc Nha, his cousin and one of his closest advisers, along with the resignations of three other cabinet ministers. As an effort to defuse the opposition, it failed. This move was followed by the announcement that by the end of 1974, 377 field-grade army officers would be fired for "corruption and dishonest activities." No generals were on the list, however. Just colonels and majors got the boot. When this gesture proved inadequate, Thieu came on with a carrot in one hand and a stick in the other. He announced the

transfer of three military corps commanders. But early the same day the police raided Saigon's National Press Club where more than fifty journalists had gathered to prepare for the day's demonstration. Shooting and fighting broke out during the raid. Among those beat and arrested was Ho Ngoc Nhuan, an opposition deputy.

The police raid prompted a group of 44 legislators to call on the US Congress to use its good offices to terminate the Saigon Government's "policy of brutalizing deputies, priests, reporters and of the savage repression of the people." Their statement also drew attention to the fact that Saigon authorities "have used US aid and assistance to repress the people" and therefore the "US Government should bear responsibility for that policy. . ." Simultaneously, Tran Van Ti, president of the Saigon Bar Association, issued a statement denouncing police repression.

Early November seemed to be a crossroads for the opposition movements. Big Minh responded to Government violence with a call for a new government. Father Thanh met with his staff to discuss strategy and came out of the meeting calling for Thieu's resignation for the first time. His superior, Archbishop Nguyen Van Binh, has made it known in private that he thinks Thanh has gone too far. The Buddhists are continuing their anti-Government pressure but are still reluctant to engage in mass protests and violence.

By late November, however, the opposition movement seems to have pulled back. *The New York Times* writes that "some politicians and foreign diplomats believe that Mr. Thieu has maneuvered shrewdly and skillfully in recent weeks to check the erosion of his political power. He has made some small concessions to the opposition and then he gave them some tough talk."

During the fall's heightened activities, the liberation forces have made their position clear. In early September Hanoi's prestigious *Nhan Dan* called for "the immediate installation of a government which would implement the accords of Paris and one which would bring about peace and national concord." The Parisian daily *Le Monde* noted that preceding the *Nhan Dan* demands, the editorial reviewed the action of the liberation forces in the south during August: ". . . This passage seemed to announce a hardening on the part of Hanoi and the PRG."

The military activity on the part of the liberation forces during the summer made it clear that they're in top shape. They have, in fact, recaptured most of the territory taken by Saigon in land grabbing actions immediately after the ceasefire was signed. The increased military initiative is not an announcement of a new PRG-DRV general offensive but rather a demonstration to Saigon of their military capabilities at the same time that US military aid cut backs have forced restrictions of Saigon air and artillery strikes and overall military capability.

By mid-September *Nhan Dan* published an even more significant editorial calling for the overthrow of Thieu in the near future. It stated, "the war will continue until there is a complete cessation of American aid." "The fall of President Thieu will be desired and prepared by the Americans, who are already trying to manipulate the opposition movements by remote control." The PRG, about the same time, issued a statement charging US involvement in the grooming of a successor to Thieu.

In Saigon the PRG on October 8 announced that it had broken off negotiations with the Thieu Government. The PRG also demanded the immediate overthrow of Thieu, the implementation of the Paris Agreement, and the end of US "interference" in Vietnam. This is an important move since the PRG has been quite successful diplomatically and politically by negotiating and showing willingness to implement the Agreements. It is thought this signals the PRG belief that Thieu's days are drawing to a quick close.

The liberation forces suspect that the US is implementing contingency plans for the replacement of Thieu with a new President, who would carry out the same policies but look more respectable, and therefore be able to buy crucial time by diverting the opposition movement. Another important factor is the aid-trimming US Congress. A Mr. Clean in Saigon, with some popular support, it is reasoned, would make it less difficult to guide aid programs through Congress.

Thieu himself in speeches has made reference to "Communist and colonialist" financial support of the opposition movement. "Colonialist is a euphemism for Americans. . . and Thieu is thought to be concerned that the United States, despite its public stance of support for him, might turn against him if it appeared that he could not control the country and if another viable leader surfaced."

There is no doubt that Washington has active contingency plans for replacing Thieu. It is no secret that a large number of experienced Vietnam experts have been commuting between Washington and Saigon in order to resolve the current political crisis. For example, Henry Cabot Lodge, the US Ambassador to South Vietnam during the period of the assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem, spent about a week in Saigon during September. The infamous Gen. Edward Lansdale, the legendary CIA saboteur and tactician, left for a two month mission to Saigon in mid-September.

Lodge's presence either indicates indirect pressure on Thieu to resign or the cultivation of old "dependable" Vietnamese associates. Lodge didn't meet with leaders of the Thieu regime or the Third Force. Instead he met with people associated with the old Diem Government. *Thoi Bao Ga*, a Vietnamese newspaper reported: "It is important to note that Lodge was a key figure in the coup against Diem and that he had close contact with the coup's leaders and other political and religious personalities. Also noteworthy is that Lansdale holds a personal grudge against Thieu for blocking his plan to put together a right-wing coalition in 1967; then Thieu forced Lansdale out of the country. Lansdale is "either getting his Vietnamese proteges to join a right-wing coalition that can replace Thieu, or he is trying to scare Thieu into resigning peacefully."

Another key American is a rising star on the Kissinger staff—Douglas Pike. In August and September, Pike met with several prominent Vietnamese while in Saigon. Since his return to Washington, he has met with several key US journalists and columnists, such as Joseph Alsop and Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, "presumably to brief them of possible changes of leadership in Saigon and what they would mean."

One of the most steadfast supporters of Thieu in the past has been the current US Ambassador, Graham Martin. Martin returned to Saigon on October 1 after spending two months in Washington participating in

top level strategy sessions and appearing before Congressional committees. Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Martin responded tersely to a question from Hubert Humphrey on "what would happen if Thieu were out of power, what kind of government would follow." "I myself do not anticipate that any change in individuals would cause any deviation from the thrust of the Government of South Vietnam." Martin left Saigon after a five day stay, presumably to fly back to Washington. CIA Director William Colby is also known to have paid a secret visit to Saigon.

How successful US maneuvers have been at this point is difficult to determine. It seems very likely that Father Thanh keeps in close touch with the Americans, and if he doesn't his superiors do and keep him in line. Thanh's background is classical pro-colaborationist Vietnamese. In 1954 after the Geneva Accords he presented the American puppet Diem with a plan for an anti-communist network along the Ho Chi Minh Trail. "The plan was rejected but Father Thanh was offered the job of forming Republican Youth cadres under the direction of Ngo Dinh Nhu, the President's brother and the power figure of the regime." More recently he has led anti-communist psychological warfare courses for Saigon colonels. Thanh has boasted, "Among my students, I can count six generals. It is because of this that Thieu is afraid of me." Thanh has the "tacit approval" of the Vatican.

The Vatican's history, it should be recalled, includes several dismal chapters of collaboration with the Nazis during their reign of terror. The Vatican has been charged with helping Nazi war criminals escape into the underground after Hitler's defeat. Furthermore, Henry Cabot Lodge is the current US representative to the Vatican. Some observers feel the Vatican would not have given Thanh "tacit" support and would not have written two secret reports, critical of Thieu and arguing that his continued regime is beneficial to the PRG, if the US had been actively opposed.

Perhaps the central Vietnamese figure in the palace plots is Tran Quoc Buu, President of the Confederation of Vietnamese Trade Unions. Buu's union "has long been known to be a CIA front; large sums of money have been funneled into it by the AFL-CIO and the German Konrad Adenauer Foundation." His relationship with George Meany, the head of the AFL-CIO, and the US Government goes back to the days of the Johnson Administration. Meany argued with the administration that Vietnamese trade unions such as Buu's were critical to American interests. "Probably because of his connections and power, a number of political figures in Washington were told by usually reliable sources in late August that Buu had been chosen to replace Thieu at the head of a new right-wing coalition." However, it is by no means certain that Buu will replace Thieu.

For reasons of the US Government's relations with Congress, which are central to obtaining greater aid allocations, a "peaceful" transition of power in Saigon is desired. This is especially necessary coming on the heels of the Watergate dirty tricks discussion of Kennedy Administration involvement in the Diem assassination. At present Thieu has given no intention of stepping down without putting up a fight. Already he has destroyed the careers of "the two men who were closest in line to succeed him constitutionally."

Another possible successor to Thieu is Dr. Phan Quang Dan, currently Deputy Prime Minister and

Minister of Social Welfare and Land Development and Hamlet Building. Over the last three years Dan has risen from obscurity to a position of high power. It is well known that his meteoric rise is due to the influence of "high United States officials in Saigon." According to Edward L. Block, a former official of the US Agency for International Development who advised Dan with respect to land development and hamlet building, Dan "would mean more of the same. . ."

The questions of how successful Thieu will be in holding on or, conversely, how successful the US will be in finding a replacement who will continue the same basic policies is difficult to answer at this point in the struggle. A more basic question—Is it possible for any Saigon Government to continue the same policies?—can be answered no. As long as the US suffers from economic and political instability, is preoccupied with other pressing issues of foreign policy, and is



Anti-Thieu demonstrators battling police in Saigon. Photo from LNS.

faced with the possible economic collapse of the United Kingdom, France, and Italy, its policy options in Vietnam are critically limited.

As long as the political, economic, and military problems which plague Saigon remain unsolved, as they will until peace comes to Vietnam, the country will remain a tinder box. This is especially the case since the political, military, and economic crises in neighboring Cambodia are also intensifying and will have an effect on South Vietnam. The contradictions in South Vietnam are coming to a climax, and will be resolved within the next two or three years at the latest.

Whether the Washington-Saigon axis will be able to hold the line in the short-term is not so clear. *The New York Times* reports one Vietnamese source as saying, "If he is smart, Thieu can stay on until the end of his term (in the fall of 1975). If he is unlucky, he may go fast." Another source predicts, "It is only a matter of time." *Le Monde* writes, "The erosion of powers held by General Thieu have already undergone an irreversible process. . . A Government member particularly well placed has already made it known that 'the question' will be resolved before the end of the year."

A major tactic of the Washington-Saigon axis is working through Father Thanh "to manipulate the popular struggle" as the PRG charged in late November. After the street fighting in late October, Thanh announced "his intention to switch for a while from marches to meetings." Thanh noted that this tactical

change was not merely coincidental with Thieu's difficulties in forming a new cabinet. According to Thanh, "We don't need to have demonstrations now." Soon afterwards the Government issued a communique "reminding citizens of the decree laws banning the possession or distribution of published documents 'detrimental to national security'. . . It was clearly aimed at the opposition movement's literature." The Interior Ministry followed this up with a warning "to citizens to avoid illegal meetings and demonstrations."

By mid-November Thanh issued a proposal for the formation of "a 12-member national leadership and advisory counsel that would guide the President on major policy." *Nhan Dan* replied that the proposal clearly "unmasked" Thanh's intentions to find a mechanism by which Thieu could stay in power. In Saigon the PRG repeated its October 8 demands, including the immediate overthrow of Thieu. The PRG also attacked Thanh for his "cunning tricks."

When considering the present political struggle in Saigon, it should always be kept in mind that political struggle, although the liberation force's current priority, is only one element of the strategy of revolutionary wars of liberation. The two other important aspects of strategy are fought on the economic and military fronts. Economically, the liberated zones are much more sound than the Thieu controlled areas in that they are able to provide the basic necessities of life, whereas hunger is widespread and even starvation has been reported in Saigon controlled areas. Militarily, the morale of the Saigon army is quite low and US military aid cuts have seriously restricted its operations, while the military capability of the liberation forces has never been greater.

As for the final demise of Thieu or any like-minded successor, we should look for a political victory rather than a military assault. In reviewing the defeat of the French colonialists in Indochina in 1954, the *Army Combat Forces Journal* drew parallels between the victory of the liberation forces in China and the Viet Minh's victory. "The deadly parallels between the tactics of the Red Chinese and the Viet Minh is nowhere more precise than in adherence to Mao's dictum to be cautious and patient in assaulting cities. Mukden fell to the Red Chinese in 1947 and Viet Minh forces walked victoriously into Hanoi in 1954." The reference to Mao Tse-tung's ten military principles is "As for strongly defended enemy fortified points and cities, wait until the conditions are ripe and then take them."



Devi Prasad, Photo by David McReynolds.

## A SHORT INTERVIEW WITH DEVI PRASAD

The following is an interview done by Craig Simpson with Devi Prasad in November following Devi's tour of South and Southeast Asia including India, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, and Bangladesh. He visited Saigon for a week in late August when the Unified Buddhist Church began its "Don't Kill Your Brother Campaign." Craig Simpson is a staff person for the War Resisters International in Belgium. Devi Prasad is WRI's Chairman.

What is the Political Environment in South Vietnam like presently?

I would like to make four observations and all relate to the tremendous mass opposition to the present government told by several people that any thinking person would oppose. Those who support President Thieu and his regime of course "benefit" from it.

1) There is a fantastic amount of corruption. For example, the huge military budget and the real number of servicemen in the South Vietnamese Army. I was told on record the South Vietnamese Army has 1,100,000 soldiers but in reality only 500,000. A battalion is supposed to have 136 soldiers but there are only 20. So there is a campaign against corruption.

2) The two committees on the question of prisoners are becoming more and more important in the network of opposition. There are over 200,000 political prisoners although the government refuses to admit having any. These committees have the names of tens of thousands of prisoners and publish some very good literature.

3) One section on the Unified Buddhist Church (UBC), particularly the An Quang Pagoda is organizing a national reconciliation campaign. Slogans used,

for example, read "Do Not Kill Your Fellow Vietnamese." Although to people in Europe and America it may sound innocent, it is an extremely meaningful slogan for Vietnamese. There were several banners on An Quang Pagoda and I had them in my notes and papers but they were seized by police while walking on the streets. This happened twice during my visit in Saigon.

4) The political and challenging phenomenon of the Third Force is gradually emerging and will eventually take shape on the basis of self-selection and self-elimination. Up till now it has neither crystalized nor become very powerful—particularly against the enormous power of the Thieu regime which they are opposing. It is neutral, political, popular, and does not speak of violent action. It consists of forces excluding those on the extreme right and extreme left. The Third Force has very active liaison with the PRG on one hand and on the other a fair degree of infiltration in the government represented by the extreme right.

What are the makeup and goals of the movements to help prisoners?

There are two committees in South Vietnam: a general or National Committee and a Buddhist Committee. The National Committee is demanding free, untried and acquitted defendants; that those imprisoned beyond their sentence, children, aged, invalids and pregnant mothers be released; that all unlawful arrests and unlawful incarceration be stopped; that the policy of ill treatment and torture of prisoners and using prisoners to rule other prisoners be stopped; that political prisoners be considered opponents of the present regime and not criminals against the government; that people just freed from prison be given assistance to lead normal lives. It is working toward these goals.

The Buddhist Prison Committee is working to prepare a list of prisoners, to provide moral and material assistance, and to campaign for their release.

One man spent seven of ten years imprisoned in and out of tiger cages. He was kept, say, for a month in the tiger cage and then transferred to a prison with a slightly larger space for a few days before being brought back to the tiger cage. He spent seven years in this manner. The old tiger cages were extremely inhumane but those new cages built with US money are monstrously inhumane. His ration was reduced from 700 grams to 500 grams. Now, after release, he lives in a village but has to come to Saigon every week. He has no work and is finding it extremely hard to feed his family. "I do not know how I can carry on like this," he told me, "and also look after my family."

What about Conscientious Objectors in South Vietnam?

I had heard that a large number of young men were either refusing or avoiding service by becoming monks and taking refuge in the pagoda. This seems to be still true in the rural areas but in Saigon, I was told it has become almost impossible for the pagodas to give their protection to draft resisters. There is a very constant watch kept by special police on every pagoda—so much so that anyone opposing Thieu's government or party is under surveillance by the special police. It is well known that if people are caught hiding in a pagoda not only they but their families or their relatives will be arrested and imprisoned.



### TO MEET OLD FRIENDS

We came in search of old friends.

The three of us, old activists, new comrades had lived with Vietnam most of our lives. In hours of outrage and protest, in nightmares of shame and horror In weeks of solidarity and concern

Vietnam has been our awakening  
Our Inspiration  
Filtered through a thousand photos,  
a million words  
an abundance of facts,  
and the stories of travellers,  
who've come before.

But WE had never breathed Vietnam before  
Or watched its wonder with our own eyes  
Travelled its highways to liberation  
This was, for us, all new

Up close:  
You must walk through a hundred rivers  
because the bridges are gaping holes.  
Up close:  
You can see the forests that once had timber  
and jangled steel in fields meant for growing food.  
Up close:  
Vietnam is something real.

As Real as the man in Vinh who fishes with one arm  
The scars of war are everywhere  
As Real as a peasant child who now has a chance at life  
The sparks of hope are everywhere.  
As Real as the moment of truth will be  
as Precious as independence of the free  
A Country, in three,  
will be one  
We can say that now with assurance.

A soldier told us that in Quang Tri,  
A student in Thanh Hoa  
That was the message of the man in Hanoi  
and on the lips of twelve proud  
women who spend their days sapping rubber from trees.

We met a people who speak with one voice  
in quiet tones, in a gentle way  
who speak with courage in  
the jungles of war or the mud of reconstruction  
A people who want their lives to be their own  
and will settle for nothing less.

How do we now take this message home?  
To lives of affluence or manipulated ignorance,  
To leaders of indifference and imperial calculation  
How do we tell our own  
about our weeks in Vietnam.

We will do it—  
Speak strongly about:  
the Crimes that can never be erased;  
of tortures in prisons,  
of untreated disease,  
of pathetic puppets  
and power hungry puppeteers.

We will tell our friends about Vietnam  
About its strength and fortitude  
The will to survive  
against the odds

We will do it with memories:  
of the militia girl,  
19 years old,  
guarding the bridge in the rain.  
Too shy to talk with us,  
Not too timid for the rifle on her back.

With memories of an old woman,  
her mouth red with the taste of beetle leaves,  
amazed at meeting Americans  
on a ferry near her home.

She looks at us,  
tells us simply about the bombing  
and asks about our children.  
We will bring home memories  
of the baskets in the market at Dong Ha  
on sale, cheap—  
crafts of peace from the products of war.  
May Robert McNamara turn over in his living grave!

We will talk of all these things,  
about the U.S. airbase whose runways  
now keep houses together  
providing the wall  
on which hangs  
a picture of Uncle Ho.

Vietnam was everything we thought it would be  
And more  
much more.

Enough to keep ourselves engaged  
in getting our country unengaged.

We came in search of old friends  
And found them.

Danny Schechter  
Carol Kurtz  
Steve Cagan  
Indochina Peace Campaign delegation,  
Hanoi 18 October 1974





CAROL RUBENSTEIN

INDOCHINA

POEMS

FADING MOUNTAIN WASHED AWAY BY TEARS

The weather affects the war:  
 Monsoon rains, thick fog and low-hanging clouds today grounded  
 hundreds of helicopters needed and even ground convoys to the  
 hundreds of needed  
 forward allied base at 12 miles east of dangerous battle plans  
 supply network in half inside toward sweeping up sizeable  
 ammunition caches by said he expected his troops to during  
 the next ten days to push across which crossed the border  
 were open. Owing to the fading mountain washed away by rain.  
 7800 lose jobs in wig slump crisis:  
 More than 7800 people Hong Kong's wig industry contracted sharply  
 during the last three months of war weather during the last  
 three months of war lose their heads and lose the fading mountain  
 washed away.

9 February 1971  
 Hong Kong

THE ALIVE BROWN EYES

Shrapnel pieces in the cloud  
 X-ray of the skull and a lake  
 where the hole is.

Flecks in the lecherous gape

(chickens and goats with  
 slit throats in a film of  
 "Secret Africa" and natives  
 in the dark surrounding.)

The face in skelton is  
 without nose but with sockets,

the frontal forehead is a  
 smooth ice fall and  
 behind it the world is veiled,  
 seeing thru the black  
 X-ray. A green

Negative Preserver gives  
 data of procedure and date,  
 Chronological Record of Exposures.  
 It is a Terminal Digit.

From the top the  
 bubbles and wires circle in  
 a garland—on the side the  
 flukes, the inserted extras,  
 goodies for the hungry  
 which feed on any action.

And the side view  
 of the clenched teeth bits,  
 all of them, packed in  
 the jaw, the kernels of corn  
 firm, and the sweep  
 of brow bones and  
 the buildup of cloud and  
 bone complicating into  
 base of skull, where  
 the head balloons.

The four X-rays fall back  
 into the Negative Preserver,  
 the head owner prefers  
 not to have the hole filled  
 altho he now holds his head,  
 just to lean his hand on it,  
 now leaning on his elbows,  
 talking with other travelers about  
 back on Bleeker Street, and  
 a year ago he was in a hole;

now his mouth hole is articulating  
 and his naturally somewhat  
 hoarse voice voice ceases while the  
 beat on the thumping skeletal  
 (listening to the calls and beats  
 on the music vibration,  
 affecting everyone who hears it)  
 continues, same as his watch,  
 seeming to be still and bright  
 on his wrist.

5 March 1971  
 Bangkok, Thailand



THE SILENCE OF THE LOADED TRUCK

Carrying ice in glistening sharp chunks,  
 large lightstricken coals,  
 within two tin rectangles,  
 cans that are buckets.  
 A cigarette hanging  
 compressed within the  
 middle of his lips.  
 In the ice cream parlor,  
 the cold fruit drinks,  
 the Laotian urban elite,  
 not so rich, young,  
 with their own expansion  
 on their minds. A truck load  
 of soldiery in war green,  
 camouflage helmets  
 dappling into treelight,  
 back then, in the morning,  
 it was still early, on the  
 street of afternoon dust  
 which water buffalos in coats  
 of mud cross in ghostly substance:  
 the little Lao conscripts,  
 the silence of the loaded truck.

2 April 1971  
 Vientiane, Laos



### MONKEY DANCE IN LAOS

The slim black monkey tied to the little tree at the side of the movie theatre and market of Dong Palane in Vientiane is dancing. He is also escaping the leafy switches the children thrust at him. He crouches in the tiny tree fork which ejects outward in bicycle spokes its straight branches. He hangs free form.

The children are playing with sticks at being swordpeople, part of the Chinese costumed swordplay of the movies they crowd to see.

If the helicopter had rayed down red lines from its gunship openings, everyone in the neighborhood would be swinging as if no broken familiar ground or marketplace concrete existed. For many the rope holding us would be shivered. We would lie dead, a bundle of lifeless monkey. Or in perpetual disconnection, never again properly to dance.

Some say there is more to life than coveting a gold bracelet or having it. If bananas hanging from long pink paper ribbons made less motion, they would fall into holes in the ground, make craters with heavy hands. The tiny spider on my knee or the beetle in rapid transit on my book—I blow them away. Who is to say that the eggs, coconuts, lemons, tomatoes, bags of beansprouts, mounds of tubers, cucumbers, are not food for thought?

The knife rests on the basin and the Lao woman continues slicing the bamboo shoots. The gleaming nose of a helicopter turns to the sideways buzz and hack of another helicopter. Its lateral sweep chops the bamboo shoots to shreds—they spray all over the land among the pits and dents the bombs have made.

But the land does not really belong to these people—they, they have no money. Or not enough to claim, to be worth while to cultivate their friendship with interest. Granny, her lips compressed around betel nut, the dark blood red of the betel charring her mouth, wears two gold bracelets; all her wealth is on her person.

A visitor shakes hands with the monkey. Another shakes his foot. His arms and legs wiggle and whirl around himself and his endless center—his godhead establishes a swoon of limbs, hooking and continuing in a circle—if he stops, we shall all be unable to see

the girl carrying the

blue lattice plastic bucket to the prepared food stall, basins under the flat screen to keep away insects, or the girl handing her her choice in a plastic bag nipped at the top with rubberband.

The children scream, the littlest ones stagger, playing on levels of tables, running loudly on the boards, crouching to jump, to return to earth. A naked boy crawls and lifts himself upright at a concrete step.

Along my spine the helicopter and airplane, the crackle of cinders rising and smoke of the woman who turns suddenly from cooking, stirring near a blackened back fence, the wild cluck of fowl rising and hopping with outshooting wings.

The paper money changes hands, the knife hacking and shredding the long cabbage, the pestle club pounding the coconut in the mortarbowl, the baby's body being patted where he straddles a hip. The hot season is coming—perhaps everyone would be better off dead. It can be arranged. But you have to know the right people.

Nobody likes to see a kid being beat up—she must have done something really bad, taken a piece of money, gone to a dangerous sharp corner. Everyone is embarrassed and still at Granny's wrath and the welt on the little one's back. Rich wrapped in banana leaf squares, scallions tied into bunches. Or maybe the old girl is crazy with worry,

except that no bombs are falling in this city—that is all happening elsewhere, in villages that are no more. The caked water buffalo rot on their sides, the well with a straw water basket hung on a tree next to it is full of mosquitoes, the orange robe of the monk drapes crookedly, the conical woven hat has no memory. Granny gives the child half a green popsicle, the other half to a smaller one. The popsicle cart jingles all the keys in the opening universe. The monkey plunges.

In the city of Vientiane the pale dust circulates to the brooms made of soft twigs brought down by the Meo hill people. Circulates to the motorcycle honing, buzzing on the autos, the downward car sit of the French Citroen, the jeeps with green dead men within, the large white cars of the Americans, the USAID cars, and Air America which the CIA outfit with all the spark plugs and attendant necessities, ponies in their backyards, Lao gardeners in their gardens. The pails balance on bamboo poles across the lightly humping shoulders of quickstepping forms of life. The Lao girl on the big white car

ordering a sugarcane drink from the side of the car is the chick of the American in sunglasses at the wheel. When they drive off, another large white car, more a truck, pulls up and two chicks pile on. In the darkened bar two little madeup Lao chicks laugh upwards at his remark. At the table he rubs his hand over her back as she bends, ass out, for a long time, serving him his drink. The sugar cane is being squeezed thru the wringer by turning a meshing wheel, and the juice collects beneath, runs out from the doubly meshed cane in spittle and thin foam.

Do you think this is happening only here, that it will end here? The monster is dropping a jellyfish that is cancerous and is eating the planet, the rut of the hag is hot, the classical devil prick of cold black, a hair on the head infecting a blister, is seeking a fresh sheath.





He has one arm but carries his baskets on a pole along the other shoulder.

Will it not return to the source, pedal beneath the bicycling Samlar driver which meets his foot? He pushes the bearer of this note: Do not strike him in rage at the message, think thoughts of coconut milk, ovedoves.

Those who ride in his cart seem royal, above ground, half hidden behind the five spokes that fan on either side of the carriage's canvas top. In privacy and creaking pleasure of a ride, a momentary small bill to escape the heat.

At the dark inner of an open store flies a white butterfly, broken piece of mirror and flashlight in daylight sent careening by children. The lights crashing headward in Bangkok where they have all the luck, the guiding signals at Udorn, enormous military installation on Thai territory immediately across the Mekong, the stringing dull whine of the low plane, who is to say what time it is? Is it time for the death of the people? Or one's own people? Is there a difference? Who is safe back home, now Un-American to be American, the great Rocky high crashed so soon, sweet freedom a pierced cloud, and who is in possession of what? Can one be arrested for carrying poison in hidden pockets to cast to the heavy air in pellets for one's country? Is there any longer a question or reasonable facsimile or matter of country to consider?

Someone else is riding the red bicycle left by another traveler when he left, a simple statement, happens to be true.

On both wrists are white knotted strings, they are tied on by people in a friendship ritual, it welcomes, makes auspicious any occasion. The frayed ends of the knotted strings lie in motionless froth except for an unaccountable trembling, the temple flower at her right ear is yellow and white and dies on her ear. It signifies an important event, such as friendship, and after three days one removes the white strings.

The banana leaves are dusty, one is parched for love, a refugee wonders how to make himself understood, that he wishes to continue to live. It is difficult to tell what they are saying on the radio, since first of all it is in a foreign language and then it is lies—lies that one is given to hear and wear in ornaments, tattoos tattooed in a map of the hidden heartland. By their lies shall ye know the truth, and the wet body continues to secrete its presence.

As in a Chinese movie, the idea of the monkey is to jump backwards, fly upwards, fly with swords swinging, flashing. The trick photography and the real acrobatics and fierce choreographic skill join when the airplane drops it slow thought, descending, your own emblem on the form flying over your own land, and hope out of the way of Puff the Magic Dragon, and turn the program off, because it never happened that one slowly died, it did not ever happen that way, dying, one of the myriad creatures.

4 April 1971.  
Vientiane, Laos

Note on the illustrations.

First, drawing from a Vietnamese children's coloring book, "The New Year's Rice Cakes," translated & published by Indochina Resource Center. Next, UPI photo, Saigon, 1965, shows Vietnamese mother in traditional mourning garb holding her son & weeping at her husband's funeral. Last, three shadow play figures from Thailand, printed in "Alphabets & Ornaments," Ernest Lehner (Dover, 1968).



## THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT'S HOT 100

LEON REED

In October 1974 the Department of Defense released its listing of the 100 top military contractors for Fiscal Year 1974 (FY74), the period between July 1, 1973, and June 30, 1974. This is the standard listing of who got what from the DOD, and shows present and future funding trends better than any other source.

Contract awards increased \$2.7 billion in FY74 to a total of \$34.4 billion. As usual the bulk of military contracts went to very few companies. The 100 largest contractors received over 70% of all contracts awarded. Even within the top 100 contractors though, contract awards were concentrated among a very few companies. The 25 largest contractors received over half of all contract awards, and the top ten received one-third.

The list of major contractors reflected the rising cost of petroleum products, decreasing ammunition production, increased production of nuclear submarine and other ships, and increases in production of certain aircraft systems. More than anything else, though, it documented the extent to which a few companies continually receive the lion's share of military contracts. 61 of this year's 100 top contractors have been listed among the top 100 every one of the past ten years.

For the first time in six years, and only the third time in the past 13, Lockheed was not the largest military contractor. It fell to second place with contract awards totalling a still-substantial \$1.46 billion. Although this represented over 4% of total defense contract awards, it was the lowest total received by this company since FY64. Lockheed's funding drop reflected its well-publicized aircraft production problems. Doubtless, if its C-5A transport aircraft and Cheyenne helicopter programs had been better managed, both would still be in production, and the company's contract totals would be higher. Most of its contract awards were for production of Poseidon and Trident submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and for production of the S-3 Navy aircraft.

One other aerospace contractor suffered for its production problems. Grumman's Navy F-14 jet fighter has suffered the same production problems as did the C-5A: cost overruns, performance degradation, test-flight crashes, and production delays. While the unit cost has gone up, production schedules have been stretched out, and Grumman fell from 5th to 12th place among contractors.

One company with no funding problems was General Dynamics, which replaced Lockheed as the top contractor by virtue of one of the largest single

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year contract award jumps in history. Its contracts nearly tripled in one year, from \$707 million to \$1.9 billion. Most of this increase was for accelerated production of nuclear submarines. General Dynamics is the largest producer of nuclear submarines and has an absolute monopoly on production of the Polaris/Poseidon/Trident missile-firing subs. The Trident system received large-scale funding for the first time last year, and if the program is continued, which seems likely in light of the recent arms control agreements, General Dynamics should continue to receive high levels of awards for many years. The company also received contracts for Navy missiles, F-111 aircraft, and for a prototype in the Lightweight Fighter competition.

Other major percentage increases were posted by United Aircraft (jet engines, helicopters), Litton Industries (ships, electronic equipment), Chrysler (tanks), FMC (Military vehicles), Fairchild Industries (A-10 attack aircraft), Bath Industries (ships), Chamberlain Manufacturing Co. (ammunition), and most oil companies: Exxon, Standard Oil of California, Texaco, Mobil, Gulf, Amerada Hess, Atlantic Richfield, Shell, Sun, and Cities Service.

The consumer electronics industry was well-represented as usual. Making the list were: Philco Ford, GE, Motorola, GTE (Sylvania), Magnovox, RCA, Teledyne (AR speakers and Packard Bell TVs), Singer (KLH), National Presto Ind. (Presto appliances), Westinghouse, Texas Instruments, and Hewlett Packard. Other major consumer oriented companies among the 100 top contractors were: the top 4 auto companies, most oil companies, Textron (Schaeffer pens and Eaton paper), Uniroyal (Royal sporting equipment and Keds), General Tire and Rubber (Pennsylvania sporting equipment), Goodyear, Gulf and Western Ind. (Paramount movies), Avco (Embassy movies), and General Foods.

The Department of Defense has said that it expects weapon system costs to continue to increase. A number of major systems are now in development or early stages of production including the B-1 bomber (Rockwell International, Boeing and GE), the A-10 close support aircraft (Fairchild), new military vehicles (FMC, American Motors, Ford, Chrysler, GM, Caterpillar and International Harvester), the Lightweight Fighter (General Dynamics or Northrop), Trident (General Dynamics and Lockheed), other ships and submarines (Tenneco, Litton, Bath, General Dynamics), and the whole family of Remotely Piloted Vehicles (Northrop, Teledyne, Lockheed, Lear Siegler, Motorola). If produced, these systems will all require vast increases in funding, and future lists of major contractors will show ever-higher levels of contract awards.

**CONTACT:** For the complete list of top 100 Military Contractors for the Fiscal Year 1974 write the Council on Economic Priorities, 84 Fifth Ave., NY, NY 10011. Membership of \$15 per year includes 6 newsletters summarizing the council's research in social responsibility.



### "NIXON DOWN—THIEU TO GO"

More than 125 people staged a night-time march on the White House within 24 hours of the government announcement that the USS Enterprise, a naval attack carrier, was steaming toward Vietnamese waters.

The demonstrators demanded that the US government honor the nearly two year old peace accords as well as acts of Congress which forbid American military activity in, above or about the waters of Vietnam.

The hastily assembled demonstration was organized as a response to the government actions following the fall of Phuoc Binh, a key South Vietnamese provincial capital, to forces of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG). The capital, whose political worth may have caused a weakening of the political position of South Vietnamese President Thieu, was seen by some observers as a symbol of the rapidly disintegrating military and political position of American interests in Vietnam.

The movement of naval weaponry toward the coast of Vietnam, coupled with the announcement of a meeting of the National Security Council, prompted organizers of the Indochina Peace Campaign to call for an immediate protest to register the resistance to such a move by the anti-war movement.

Carrying signs saying "Americans can't afford Enterprise in Vietnam" and "Honor the Peace Accords—No More CIA Wars," the picketers kept spirits going by chanting "Nixon Down, Thieu to go" and "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, the NLF is gonna win."

The marchers dispersed after an hour of peaceful picketing following announcements by IPC organizers who urged participation in the Assembly to Save the Peace Agreement, slated for Washington January 25-27. Over one thousand people are expected in the nation's capital that weekend to discuss methods of assuring implementation of the 1973 Paris Peace Accords.

—Brian Doherty

### DETROIT MEN PROTEST PLAYBOY CLUB OPENING; "WE'RE NOT PLAYBOYS, WE'RE MEN"

In an effort to challenge "one of the major sexist institutions in our society," a group of men protested the opening of a new Playboy Club in Detroit on December 9.

Carrying placards that read "We're not Playboys, We're Men" and "Playboy: Fantasy Sex for Profit," and describing the club as a "playground for the rich," demonstrators were organized by Project Redirection-Detroit, a discussion/action group in operation for a full year. They view the Playboy Club as "another cog in Hugh Hefner's empire founded on a degrading image of women and men."

"We acted out of our own self-interest," explained one organizer, Bob Mast, in a report by the *Fifth Estate*, a Detroit alternative paper. "We don't like Hefner's definition of manhood, and it's important for people to know that some men want to define themselves differently. There are a growing number of men who don't see their purpose in life as being to fuck over women and treat them as commodities like expensive cars or clothes."

Besides," he added, "our sisters have been carrying the load long enough. It's time some men began speaking out on issues related to sexism."

—LNS

### SUPREME COURT JUSTICE RULES FBI MAY INFILTRATE CONVENTION WITH RESTRICTIONS

Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, in a last-minute December 27 ruling, upheld the FBI's right to conduct surveillance on the Young Socialist Alliance convention held in St. Louis from December 28 to January 2.

Marshall, however, struck down the government's contention that the YSA's fears of being surveilled was "a self-

induced chill." Marshall said the YSA's allegations "evoke an unsavory picture of deceit and sabotage (on the part of the FBI)." In upholding the ruling, Marshall indicated he was reluctant to overturn the Appeals Court in an "eleventh hour decision." However, he forbade the FBI from disrupting the convention or from turning intelligence gathered at the convention, to the Civil Service or "non-governmental agencies such as schools or employers."

Marshall also emphasized his decision should have no bearing on the ultimate outcome of the broader lawsuit filed by the YSA and the affiliated Socialist Workers Party against the FBI and the CIA. That suit, which has been in a pre-trial state for over a year, seeks a permanent injunction against the CIA and FBI from infiltrating or disrupting the activities of the two groups.

—LNS

### CAN'T AFFORD TO BURY HEART DONOR

You've probably read about the South African who had a second heart transplanted alongside his own by Dr. Christian Barnard. But you're not likely to have read about what happened to the donor of that heart.

Her name was Jennifer Schrikker. She was ten years old and categorized by the South African government as "colored." Jennifer was killed by a speeding car on November 24. Dr. Barnard then took her undamaged heart and put it in the body of a white South African engineer.

Her father, Frederick Schrikker, hasn't been able to raise the \$145 for her funeral. But Dr. Barnard, who has joined the international jet set since his first transplant of a black man's heart, has further enhanced his reputation (and fortune) with this operation.

Jennifer's heart was good enough to keep a white man alive. But the racist South African regime doesn't consider any nonwhites good enough to be paid a wage adequate to live on. Or to die on, either.

—CPF

### WHISTLING IN THE DARK

High prices getting you down? Don't be blue, 'cause President Ford's WIN ("Whip Inflation Now") program marches on. Literally.

On special request from the White House, composer Meredith Willson, best known for the 1958 musical comedy, "The Music Man," and its hit song "76 Trombones," has written a theme song for all us inflation fighters and energy savers. It's a rousing march, opening with crashing cymbals and it goes like this:

*Win! Win! Win! We'll win together!  
Win together, that's the true/American way,  
today/Who needs inflation?/Not this nation/Who's going to pass it by?/ You are, and so am I/Win together/ Lose? Never!/If you can win/So can I.*

A White House aide explained, "The idea is to rally the people as they were rallied for a national purpose in World War II."

After consultation with his Council of Economic Advisors, Ford reportedly turned down theme song suggestions like "Living in the Material World," "Gimme Shelter," "Ain't Too Proud to Beg," "The Night Chicago Died," "(I can't get no) Satisfaction," and even Meredith Willson's own "You got Trouble."

—Nebraska Dispatch

### KISSINGER'S SABRE-RATTLING RAISES FUROR

Henry Kissinger's statement that the US might resort to war over the Middle East oil situation, under certain circumstances, has drawn criticism and caused anxiety in countries throughout the world.

The Pentagon, though it recently issued a contrary statement, remained mum.

In Congress, Representative Henry Reuss called the Kissinger statement "immoral" and Representative John Brademas said: "It serves no useful purpose for the President of the US (Ford acquiesced to the Kissinger statement), for the Secretary of State or—may I say so—for a member of Congress to be speculating about war."

—Jim Peck

### REPRIEVE FOR BIG OIL

It now appears to a number of Washington observers that Wilbur Mills' plight might not all be due to his escapades with Fanne Fox. In fact, some blame Mills' legislation to kill the oil depletion allowance.

Mills had felt that the measure stood a reasonable chance of passage in this last session of Congress. He also

had said the real roadblock to passage was House Speaker Carl Albert, an Oklahoman with home-state ties to oil.

Alber refused to expedite the bill and the House Rules Committee—a group which Albert has great influence with—was sitting on it.

Albert played a key role in the ouster of Mills after the Fanne Fox uproar, and according to some House Ways and Means Committee members, was responsible for the nine to four vote to kill the tax bill.

—Iconoclast

### BACK IN THE USSR

*The New York Times* reports that the use of drugs, including marijuana, is on the upswing among young people in the Soviet Union.

Although Soviet officials deny drug use is a problem there, the government recently enacted tough new drug laws designed to punish drug users.

Last week—in a sharp departure from normal practice—the official newspaper of the Young Communist League reported in detail the recent bust of a young Soviet citizen for peddling packets of hashish.

According to the *Times*, official newspapers rarely, if ever, talk about drug cases—and the fact that a hashish story was played prominently indicates that the article was a warning to other potential drug sellers.

The *Times* adds that Soviet youths are able to obtain marijuana which is cultivated in Soviet Central Asia. The newspaper says pot is also shipped to major cities throughout the USSR from the Caucasus and from the port of Odessa on the Black Sea.

—Fifth Estate

### US LAW GIVES JOBS TO EVERYBODY

Ever hear of the Full Employment Act? That's one we won't hear about from the Ford Administration. It was created by Congress in 1946 and makes the government responsible for creating and maintaining "conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment, opportunities, including self-employment for those able, willing and seeking work."

Believe it or not, the law is still on the books.

—LNS

### NO NUKES IS GOOD NEWS

Ninety-four nuclear power plants have been canceled or delayed in recent months, and the total continues to mount almost daily. This is almost half of the 191 reactors which have

been ordered or were under construction; a substantially smaller number of coal-burning plants have also been canceled. Only eight nuclear plants have been formally canceled, including some already under construction, but many of the delayed plants have been deferred for five years or "indefinitely" and may be effective cancellations. Hardest hit is Offshore Power Systems, the venture of Westinghouse and Tenneco, which was to have ended nuclear environmental problems by building the plants on artificial islands. All but one customer for the floating islands has canceled, and the remaining customer has delayed its order for five years. High costs, declining demand for power, and the difficulty of raising capital are given as reasons for the cancellations.

—Environment

### ADB LOAN ENHANCES SAIGON'S STATURE

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) has approved a loan of \$20,400,000 to the Thieu government according to Saigon's Vietnam Press. The loan is to finance three undisclosed projects and will be repaid in 40 years at an interest rate of 1% per year, with a ten year grace period before the first payments.

The amount granted is even higher than the figure mentioned by the ADB delegation during its tour of Saigon in October. The delegation was apparently preparing for the October 17 World Bank-sponsored meeting in Paris called to discuss US proposals for multilateral aid to Saigon in lieu of US Congressional aid cut-backs. The ADB loan—which may signal a rumored \$50 million World Bank loan to Saigon—could serve as a stamp of approval for larger loans to Saigon from Western governments and financial institutions.

—Focal Point

### FAST-FOOTED FUGITIVE

Police in the midwest are on the lookout for an evasive, and seemingly, ubiquitous, "outlaw" described as about four feet tall and weighing in at 125 pounds. He was last seen bouncing north from Indianapolis and has left behind a trail of dumbfounded cops and frightened citizens.

The creature has been identified as a homeless, energetic kangaroo, who has persistently slipped through the arms of the law in Illinois and Indiana.

Two policemen in Chicago claim they maneuvered him up against a wall, but failed to capture him. It seems the kangaroo kicked one patrolman in the shins and slugged his partner in the face. The police waved their pistols

and held out handcuffs, but the rough-and-tumble marsupial so disarmed them it was able to bound over a fence and escape into the distance.

No circus, zoo, or private animal collector has reported a missing kangaroo, so the origins as well as the destiny of the animal remain a mystery. —Environmental Action

### NOISY BABIES IN THE CHURCHES

Babies crying in church are "unfair competition" for preachers, according

to Rev. Frank E. Forthkamp. Writing in *US Catholic* the Ohio priest says that "bawling babies are the greatest obstacle to the people of God hearing the world of God since the barbarians invaded Christendom."

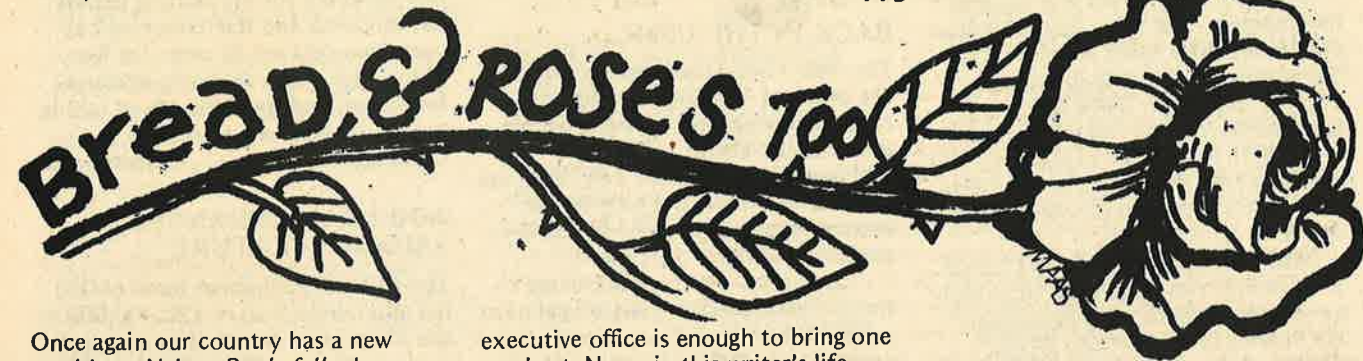
The Rev. asked for an ecclesiastical directive banning babies. He concluded his article "Give me liturgy or give me death." The report received by *FPS* did not mention whether the Rev. proposed any non-sexist solutions to the problem, such as having day care provided free of charge at the church.

—FPS

### AMNESTY NEWS

Philip Alford, one of the first 18 Vietnam war resisters conditionally pardoned by Pres. Ford, turned back his pardon to Sen. Charles Goodell, chairman of Ford's Clemency Board, saying, "a single crumb of charity is not enough to manipulate thousands and thousands of men's consciences."

—Women's Strike for Peace



Once again our country has a new president. *Nelson Rockefeller* has, as Congresswoman *Bella Abzug* has pointed out, become our acting president. At a time when even the capitalists are beginning to talk about the collapse of the capitalist system, we are stark witness to the assumption of power by the richest person ever to occupy executive office in the 200 year history of the United States. Those of us on the left are going to have to look a little closer at the smug theory that, as times get tougher economically, the power and influence of the left will rise. While this may sometimes be the case, a study of history shows that the left has often made the mistake of miscalculating the corresponding rise in fascist sentiment. As capital disintegrates and dollars become worthless, *Rocky* and his friends, despite his "liberal" pretensions, have everything to gain from a fascist mood in the country. Ensclosed in the trappings of office of a bourgeois democracy, there is every indication that he will promote fascism to protect his holdings and those of his class if the avenues provided by the liberal democratic state for that protection continue to close as they have been closing in recent months. And he doesn't need *Jerry Ford* to do it. This year, look for *Jerry* to mysteriously break his neck skiing or to resign due to his wife's health. It could all be very neat. Fascism is a neat form of government. Very few loose ends . . . It's hard to change the pace from talking about *Rockefeller* fascism to something else, but just thinking about the whole idea of *Rockefeller* in

executive office is enough to bring one up short. Never in this writer's life, not when they killed the Kennedys, not on witnessing the sheer force of state/police power during *Mayday*, and not even when things started breaking on *Watergate* and the *CIA*, have I been as scared politically as when I saw *Rockefeller* being sworn in by Chief Justice *Ham Burger* before an applauding Congress. All I could think of was "What in the hell am I going to do if it really does come down. . . Whether or not you think the last fair deal's gone down, as *Robert Johnson* would say, there are any number of things you should be doing, like reading up on what makes the economy do what it does. One of the most readable and factually solid economics journals is the *Monthly Review*, an independent socialist magazine. Last month's lead article was on "Stagflation," with an analysis of what happens to an advanced capitalist economy when recession and inflation battle for the honors. It's available for eighty-five cents from *Monthly Review*, 62 West Fourth Street, New York, NY 10001. . . . *RT: A Journal of Radical Therapy* (formerly known as *Rough Times*) has devoted its most recent issue to "the personal/political/spiritual changes which are taking place in women everywhere." If you'd like a copy of the journal whose collective believes "Therapy is change, not adjustment," send a dollar along to *RT*, PO Box 89, West Somerville, MA 02144. . . . People interested in older women's liberation will find *Prime Time*, a feminist monthly "for the liberation of women in the prime of

life," to be a publication worth reading cover to cover. A recent issue contains an article by *Maggie Kuhn*, national convenor of the *Grey Panthers*. It's available for 35 cents from *Prime Time*, 264 Piermont Ave., Piermont, New York, 10968. . . . Goings on in the Cleveland part of Ohio are well documented in a muckraking bi-weekly called *Point of View*. It prints things that the *Plain Dealer* leaves out! It's available from *Roldo Bartimole*, 2150 Rexwood Road, Cleveland, Ohio 44118. . . . If you're out *Kansas City* Way, you might be interested in the *KC People's Yellow Pages*, which is just off the press. You can get it for a dollar by writing to the *KC People's Yellow pages* group at 3950 Rainbow Blvd., Kansas City, Kansas 66103. People out that way say they had a very successful counter conference during the gathering of Democratic delegates in *Kansas City*. There are some new records out that should have you rockin and thinkin at the same time! *Holly Nears*, *A Live Album* is even better than her first one and is available from *Redwood Records*, 565 Doolin Canyon, Ukiah, CA 95482. *Country Joe McDonald's* new one, titled simply *Country Joe*, is an admirable followup to his excellent *Paris Sessions* on *Vanguard*. It should be available from most record stores. . . If you'd like to see something included in *Bread and Roses* too, drop a line to 1724 20th Street NW, Dupont Circle, Columbia (Dee-Cee) 20009.

—Brian Doherty



### ERIC BENTLEY IN CONCERT

Perhaps only an *Eric Bentley* concert could induce me to hitch down to New York City on the Saturday night of a full moon. For years Bentley has been known for his commentaries on drama and for his translations of *Bertold Brecht*. But I first became acquainted with him just last summer, when *WIN* (June 6, 1974) published *Expletive Deleted*, a "drama of the White House transcripts" which attempts to capture the ambience of the *Nixonian* mentality.

Two months ago I received a review copy of his recent album, *The Queen of 42nd Street* (Folkways FG 8581). Bentley sings 19 songs by the poet *Jacques Prévert* and composer *Joseph Kosma*, some still in the French and others translated. Two of the songs were adapted from Paris to New York, with *Kosma's* approval. The title cut was written for the whore-heroine of the film *Children of Paradise*, then dropped. Bentley has rewritten it, altering both the locale and the gender:

*I dig the guy that digs me, so how'am I to blame  
If the guy that digs me is not every night the same?  
Well, that's the way I am, I'm made this way you see  
And what more do you want? What do you want from me?*  
© 1970 by E.B. (ASCAP)

There are also songs on more conventional subjects: childhood ("After School," "Kids Who Love Each Other"), love ("Chanson," "The Dead Leaves"), and social themes ("The War is Over," "The Richest City in the World").

The album was an instant hit at our house, and we played it again and again and again. When I learned that *Eric Bentley* would appear in concert on December 28th at the Theatre for the New City, I knew I had to go. It was well worth the trip.

Bentley sang before an enthusiastic audience of 150, accompanying himself on the piano. The huskiness of his voice was counterpoint to his gentleness and humor. The one and a half hour program included three sets of songs: those by *Brecht* and *Hanns Eisler*, by *Prévert* and *Kosma* ("Queen" included), and those he wrote with *David Burg*.

*Brecht's* music comes naturally to Bentley, who sings a couple of songs that resulted in difficulties for *Brecht*: "Solidarity Song"—"Peoples of this earth, rise up now/for this earth is now your due"—was a subject of his famous 1947 interrogation by the House Un-American Activities Committee. During World War I he wrote "The Ballad of the Dead Soldier," a grisly song about the generals' digging up a dead soldier and reviving him for use once again as cannon fodder, which was later used against him by *Hitler*.

The pathos of "Song of a German Mother" tells more simply the futility of conquest:

*My son, I gave you the jackboots  
And the brown shirt came from me,*

*But had I known what I now know—  
I'd have hanged myself. . .  
I saw you wear your brown shirt  
and did not complain or entreat  
For I did not know what I now know:  
It was your winding sheet.*

In contrast, Bentley offers two positive suggestions of patriotism, "Vietnam Love Song" and "I Dig America, Only Which America Is It That I Dig?"

These latter two songs were written for his 1970 play, "The Red, White and Black," published in *Liberation* (XV, No. 3). Several other songs from the play dealt with sexual themes, including "The Male Bitch," a slamming parody of machismo. And a satire on homophobic residents of the West Village:

*We used to meet  
On Christopher Street  
Life was so gay  
I mean straight  
Nothing queer  
All was straight  
Down here  
On Christopher Street*

*Eric Bentley* has recorded several other albums on Folkways besides the "Queen." Most of these are of *Brecht's* work and music. I hope Bentley will soon make an album featuring more of his own songs. It was the best concert I've heard in a long time.

—John Kyper

*Eric Bentley shall repeat it Sat. Feb. 1st at 10 pm; same address—Theatre for the new city, 113 Jane St.*

### THE FISCAL CRISIS OF THE STATE

*James O'Connor* / St. Martin's Press / 276 pages, \$3.95

US capitalism is in the midst of its worst crisis since the depression decade of the 1930's. Although cyclical instability and periodic recessions are nothing new for private enterprise, the current economic downturn is historically unique. The rise of "stagflation" (inflation plus stagnation) signifies that the nature of capitalism has undergone a qualitative change. Whereas the thirties presented a crisis of monopoly capitalism per se, we are confronted today with the demise of state-supported monopoly capitalism.

According to *James O'Connor*, the proverbial contradictions of capitalism have reemerged on a higher level as a "fiscal crisis of the state." Lucidly composed and entirely free of sectarian jargon, *O'Connor's* text is the most insightful investigation of the infirmities of public finance yet formulated by the American school of Marxist economics.

The analysis is based on two major premises. The first of these holds that the capitalist state must fulfill two fundamental and often inconsistent functions—accumulation and legitimization. That is, the state must create and maintain conditions favorable for the private accumulation of capital and simultaneously develop and sustain conditions of social harmony. This means that while the state must involve itself in the accumulation process, it must conceal and mystify the political character of its economic policies in order to preserve popular loyalty and support.

The second premise is that the fiscal crisis can only be understood in Marxist terms. On this basis, *O'Connor* divides government expenditures into two categories corresponding to the dual function of the state. The first of these, "social capital," consists of expenditures required to guarantee big business an adequate rate of profit. In Marxist language, social capital works to increase "surplus value" (the source

of profit produced by wage labor). It does this in two ways—through projects and services which increase the productivity of labor (e.g., state-funded industrial development parks) and by means of programs that contain wages within acceptable limits by lowering the reproductive costs of labor (e.g., social security and unemployment insurance). Through measures such as these the state has socialized many of the costs of production which formerly accrued to private capital.

The second category of government expenditures, "social expenses," deals with projects and services that operate to fulfill the state's legitimization function. The prime example is the welfare system, which is designed to preserve social peace among the underprivileged.

After examining these concepts in depth and exploring the political determinants behind the allocation of state finances, two conclusions of central importance to an understanding of the economic malaise of the seventies are drawn. Conclusion number one is that the steady expansion of government spending and the growth of monopoly capital are mutually reinforcing. State expenditures on social capital facilitates expansion in the monopoly sector, which in turn increases the need of monopoly capital for ever greater government outlays of social capital. And because the growth of monopoly enterprises is accompanied by unemployment, government spending on social expenses must also continually mount. These factors make for larger and larger federal budgets.

Conclusion number two is that the state's role in supporting the monopoly economy is a contradictory process which tends toward political and economic crises. The contradiction consists of the fact that while the state has socialized a substantial share of the costs of production, the social surplus (i.e., profits) continues to be privately appropriated by the capitalist class. This results in the fiscal crisis of the state, which O'Connor defines as a "structural gap" between state expenditures and state revenues. As its commitments outrace the means of financing them, government resorts to deficit spending. The end product is inflation, which ultimately undermines both the legitimacy of government and the ability of private capital to expand.

As O'Connor asserts, there is only one (temporary) way out of these contradictions for capitalism. Corporate planners have whipped up the idea of a "social-industrial complex" analogous to the present military-industrial establishment. The complex would consist of a massive program of social service projects, ranging from revamping public school systems and police forces to constructing mass transit networks, financed by the state and undertaken by monopoly capital for an assured profit. In this way big business would expand into fields which have traditionally been the exclusive preserve of government.

Although the social-industrial complex would not remove the contradiction between socialized production and private appropriation of profits, it would mitigate its effects. Apart from underwriting profits for business, the complex would create many new jobs for the impoverished residents of America's urban ghettos. The consequent increase in employment opportunities for the welfare class would concurrently widen the tax base (and thus enlarge state revenues) and diminish the need for future welfare spending. In one stroke, the fiscal crisis would be ameliorated and the legitimization and accumulation functions of the state accomplished.

Politically, the social-industrial complex would require an even tighter organic fusion of monopoly capital and the state than presently exists. Although it is a long way from realization, if the complex ever materializes, its unmistakable watchwords will be centralized administration and control from above.

—Bill Blum

## CYBERNETICS OF THE SACRED

Paul Ryan / Anchor Press / Doubleday / 129 pages w. bibliography, \$2.50

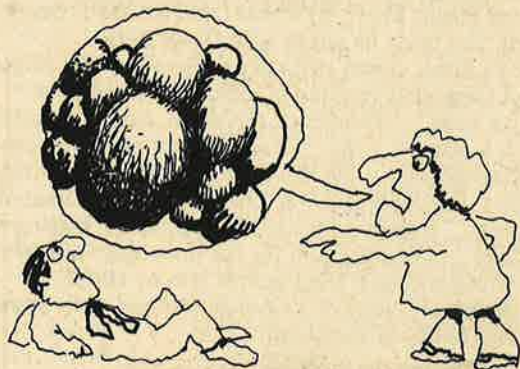
To meet Paul Ryan, to know him casually, you would never guess that behind his genial Irish exterior lies a talent for writing some of the most abstruse, recondite and just plain hard to understand prose found anywhere in the English language. I read slowly. I watch too much TV. Perhaps those two facts are somehow related. Perhaps all too many of us suffer from atrophying perception brought on at least in part by our overabundant media environment. But can we all have lost the ability to distinguish between ideas of substance and polysyllabic gibberish? To read *Cybernetics of the Sacred* is to constantly be confronted by the question, "Whaa?"

It is, however, neither fair nor wise to write off this book as nothing more than hard to read. There is a great deal of substance to Paul Ryan's work. It is the job of extracting it from his writing that is so difficult. I must admit that I began *Cybernetics of the Sacred* without knowing exactly what the word "cybernetics" meant (not to mention being rather shaky about "sacred."). I finished the book definitely unsure of the meaning. So I looked it up, only to find it sandwiched between "cyanotype" which is a blueprint and "cyclamen" which is a plant. It didn't seem illogical then to find "cybernetics" defined as "the theoretical study of the control processes in electronic, mechanical and biological systems." A blueprint of a flower. Thank you, *The American Heritage Dictionary*.

It seems that Paul Ryan is working on something very real. But he is going at it from a very inaccessible plateau. By disregarding all the reprinted articles at the beginning of this book (they outline the painful and incomplete evolution of many of us who tried to hustle a living from video/cable tv from the late 1960's on) what emerges is a recurrent strain of optimism about our own ability to cope with our problems. It is Paul Ryan searching for a way to humanize video/tv—searching for a way to gently insinuate a technology of devastating potential into our lives at the most basic levels of our emotional, intellectual and physical behavior. And perhaps most important, he is searching for a way to do it so that all of us can fully comprehend what is happening to us. . . while it is going on.

These essays are flawed by a literary elitism that unnecessarily obscures so many of the ideas Paul Ryan is trying to communicate. Perhaps these essays are too contrived. Perhaps we need only look for practical solutions to immediate problems instead of searching for new ways to mold human perceptions about our environment. If so then Paul Ryan is just another obscure intellectual with a toy. If not, he just may be a prophet.

—Parry Teasdale



DRAWING BY PAUL PALNIK

## PUBLICATIONS

"Survive the Coming Crash" uncensored 80,000 word guide \$4.95. List 104 Fry's, 879-W Park, Perris, CA 92370.

OZARK ACCESS CATALOG: Beat the Depression. Homestead survival in the Ozarks. Organic alternatives to metropolitan chaos. \$5 from OAC, Box 506T, Eureka Springs, Ark. 72732.

ENERGY: A TIME TO CHOOSE. . . One of the most comprehensive publications available on energy resources for the future. \$1.25. Community Ecology Center, 15 West Anapamu, Santa Barbara, CA 93101.

SOLAR HEATING. Save on fuel bills. Heat your house. Profusely illustrated 50 page book details theories, actual construction plans, systems, useful sources. Send \$3.00 to Solar Systems, Box 110, Danbury, NH 03230.

RUSSIAN LITERATURE. Criticism, translations. Solzhenitsyn, Mandelstam, Akhmatova, Nabokov, Zoshchenko, Pushkin, Dostoevsky, Platonov, others. Free catalog, forty new titles, Ardis, 2901 Heatherway, Ann Arbor, Michigan. "SOVIET CRITICISM of American Literature." Eighteen Marxist essays interpreting American writers from Faulkner to Mailer, translated from Soviet periodicals. 242 pages, \$3.50.

CLARENCE DARROW—two incomparable booklets: "Why I am An Agnostic"; Darrow's Rationalism. Both for \$1.00 postpaid. Independent Publications, Box 162, Park Station, Paterson, NJ 07513.

32-page comprehensive report on Recycling Program in city of Oberlin, Ohio including paper, metal and glass. \$2.00. Order from: Recycling Report, Von Hill, 1361 Francisco Road, Columbus, Ohio 43220.

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.

Tired of "Old Religion" Economics? John King, author, nationally known non-dogmatic economist, writes Economic Dew Line letter; established uncanny economic forecasting record. \$2 sample to: Economic Dew Line, PO Box 879, Huntington Beach, CA 92648.

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YOU can still acquire public land free! Government Land Digest, Box 2217, Norman, OK 73069.

## PRODUCTS

"Remember the Dignity" feminist calendar for the year 1975 which will designate significant and important dates in feminist history. Send \$3.99 to Eileen White, 134 So. Main St., Cohasset, Mass. 02025.

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

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## OPPORTUNITIES

SKILLED ORGANIZER/Caretaker position open. Summer months Research Camp. Information and resumes to: Inst. for Non-violence Research, Carmel, CA 93921.

MEET RUSSIANS FACE-TO-FACE. 3 Week nonpolitical, nonprofit exchange to USSR. All ages, occupations. Jan-Aug. Citizen Exchange Corps, 101 Park Avenue, NY 10017 (212) 889-7960.

IMMERSION IN SPANISH: CUAUHNA-HUAC, a teachers' collective, offers intensive programs in Spanish as a second language. Student-teacher ratio ranges from 3:1 to 4:1 in a variety of programs. Special scholarship program for persons of Latin American descent. Complete information: APDO, C-26, Cuernavaca, Mexico.

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Author researching US domestic intelligence operations 1968-74, seeks contact with former agents—AI, ONI, AFI, comintpro, various red squads, etc. Only former agents, please. Also seeking detailed biographical data regarding Robert C. Mardian, former head of Internal Security Division, Justice Dept. Please write Ed Sanders, c/o WIN, Box 547, Rifton, NY 12471. Confidentiality assured.

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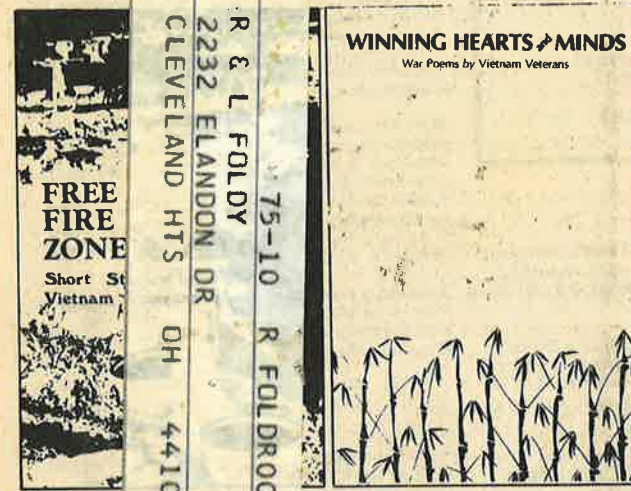
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