

# win

PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

WHY INDIANS ARE HOMELESS IN THEIR HOMELAND  
CAROL EHRLICH WRITES ON MEN'S LIBERATION  
DEFENSE SPENDING AND THE ECONOMY (PART III)  
plus A HILARIOUS TALE OF MADNESS IN THE MILITARY

75-10 R FOLDR001  
R & L FOLDY  
2232 ELANDON DR  
CLEVELAND HTS OH 44106



Blue Lake

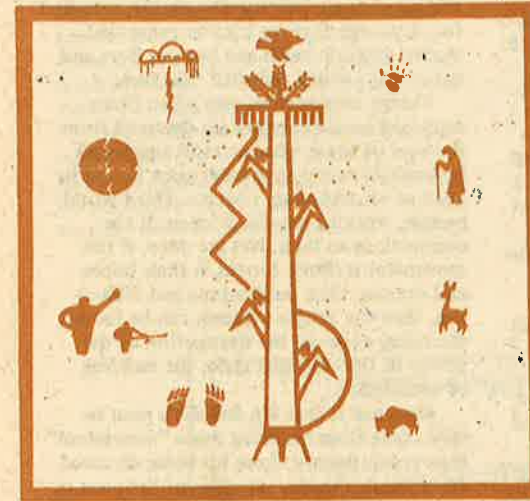
John De Puy



Kris Hetvedt



Kris Hetvedt



R.D. Shorty



Rini Timpton





I know Fern Newman's friends will be sorry to hear of her death 11/30/74. She was the victim of one man's jealousy and anger, and of a society's acceptance of violence and the American affection for fire arms. Her death has forced many of us to re-examine our lives and our goals.

Fern's daily life was working for peace in various spheres. She was to have been the first student to complete the peace studies program she put together at New College. She had been involved in trying to counter the militarism in high schools and in the campaign against the B-1 bomber.

Seemingly everyone who knew her was greatly affected by her. She was the most loving person I have ever known, surely an example of what people must be like "after the revolution" if we are to have effected real, lasting change in the society.

*When you can't go on any longer  
take the hand held by your brother  
every victory brings another  
Carry it on; carry it on.*

Donations may be made in Fern's memory to the American Friends Service Committee, 160 North 15 St., Philadelphia, PA 19102. —NICK FULLAGER Berkeley, Calif.

The 12/26/74 issue of WIN contained a letter from Judith Malina on an anarchist conference held in Cambridge. I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the report as a whole, but it did contain one error that is greatly disturbing. Judith wrote that the conference was hosted by Black Rose. This is totally false. Black Rose never agreed to host anything, though some members of the collective attended parts of the conference. We are not now, and never have been a part of any anarchist conferences or working committees or whatever as a collective body.

It is important that this be emphasized publicly, as apparently some members of the working committee persist in the falsehood that Black Rose is part of their coterie. A recent communication from one Merrill Moss lists two people in Cambridge as area contacts for the working committee under the name of Black Rose who have never been a part of Black Rose and who

are known to but a few of the collective members.

We wish the working committee every success, but at present many of us are dubious as to its worth and future. Thus, though members of the collective may wish to partake of the latest movement offering, most of us do not so desire, and, let me affirm once again, Black Rose is not in any way a part of this or any other working committee or federation. —JOHN HESS Mattapan, Mass.

I believe the world food crisis to be one of if not the major task of the nonviolent radical left. With our emphasis on what Finnerty [WIN, 10/17/74] calls creative simplicity we can present a nonviolent, non-threatening campaign against the forces of greed, ignorance, bad fortune, and wrong priorities that allow hunger and death to hold sway. Did I say campaign? Maybe war would be a more honest word to use. I personally desire this war to be waged by nonviolent but socialistic means. What I mean is this: the socialization of agriculture and fuels in the United States, coupled with constant and varied appeals to the hearts of people—to give up what they don't need. Perhaps even Satyagraha.

We need more articles from people like Adam Finnerty who obviously know what they are talking about. I am just starting out in radical nonviolence and would appreciate concrete facts, tips, etc. about how best to go about a struggle against world hunger. WIN!

—R.S. WILLIS  
Boulder, Colo.

I am an avid reader of People's Bulletin Board. Inferring that others are, I want to point out an ad under "Services" that may in fact be a disservice.

It is the ad reading: "Don't die without a will. Will forms plus attorney's instructions—\$2 refundable." There follow a name and address.

The validity of wills is controlled by separate laws in all 50 states. No single will form is valid in all states. In fact, the will form which the Maryland gentleman advertises may not even be valid in Maryland.

Unhappily, unless a will writer has legal training, about his only recourse is to obtain the services of a lawyer. —JOE FELMET Winston-Salem, NC

The one problem I have always had with supposed "nonviolent revolutionaries" is that they are often more "nonviolent" than "revolutionary"; that is; they are more concerned with their "moral purity" than with actually doing what has to be done to overturn the violent system which is capitalism. Lance Belville's review of *The Mother* and *The Great Air Robbery* in your 12/26/74 issue has given me another instance, another example:

The two plays were performed here in Washington, and though I did not see the latter one, the response to *The Mother* was incredible. Not only was it an inspiration and a lift to me for days but I heard of no one who had seen it—including some "non-

violent" types—who had not also been tremendously impressed.

I am certain that the response of those people in New York—with a few exceptions, obviously including Mr. Belville—and including even a reviewer for the *NY Times* who wrote a favorable review of it, was the same. Why then did Mr. Belville write as he did, and why did WIN print his review?

Obviously, I don't know. But I believe a clue is given in one of his paragraphs. He says: "The world in which Brecht sets his play is not our world and probably hasn't been since the Civil War. The issues in *Mother* and *Robbery* are at heart the same, but the fabric in which Brecht confronts these issues is so hopelessly simple that I could not identify with the solution he suggests."

It is a major defense of continued capitalist rule that the rulers always refer to the "complex" nature of events, always just happen to be the *only* ones who could "solve" the problems facing the country. That is not true. The only "complexity" they face is the complex task of holding back the aspirations of the world's people as they become aware of the simple reality that the reason for the bulk of their problems rests in one central fact: the ownership of the resources, the factories, the banks, the governments, indeed, the world, by a tiny minority of capitalists. If that problem were solved the key would be found to solve the remainder of the world's problems, assuming that a vision of a just, egalitarian and classless society was constantly struggled for, assuming that we tried to bring that reality down to earth and live our lives and act in ways which reflected that goal.

Things are complex only when those supposed revolutionaries are divorced from the lives of those who are most oppressed by capitalism and thus most open to and in need of revolutionary change—Third World people, working people, women. If the connections to their lives are deep, if the movement is firmly rooted in their hopes and dreams, their frustrations and difficulties, then the simple solution can be found: the rising of us all, the destruction of the power of the capitalist state, the building of socialism.

My guess is that Mr. Belville's poor review came from his being more "nonviolent" than revolutionary; from his being divorced from the day-to-day struggles of the poor as he struggled to become a more "nonviolent" person. That kind of "nonviolence" none of us can use. —TED GLICK Washington, DC

Dear Dwight Ernest,

I was inspired by your letter to the S.S.S. published in WIN, 12/12/74. You apparently have done serious thinking and studying on the system of conscription and all that such a repressive system represents and serves in this society. However I believe that there is still room for growth and development in your analysis.

The evils that you described (militarism, domestic and foreign economic exploitation, covert and overt military interven-

tion, the non-existence of equal justice) are all necessary for the perpetuation of US imperialism. Of equal necessity to the ruling class is the separation and division of the people of this country, the same people to whom you offer your services. It is to this point that I wish to speak.

In your statement you spoke of the 70,000 draft resisters, deserters, and objectors, all of whom are indeed suffering an injustice. But what of the hundreds of thousands of people in the same categories, about which the government has not even acknowledged (those underground)? Of equal importance (if not more), what of the estimated 570,000 veterans with less than honorable discharges? We cannot afford to separate the forms of resistance to the war that evolved over the years of anti-war struggle.

Over half of those bad discharges were issued to third world people—an extremely disproportionate number. Anyone with a bad discharge has been punished for the "crime" of resisting the oppression and racism of the military. Therefore, when we speak of amnesty and/or the lack of justice, we must include all types of resistance which certainly makes 70,000 people look small by comparison. To focus only on the people that the government recognizes, allows the government to perpetuate the lie that resistance to the war involves only a relatively small number of "white middle class" draft evaders. We only reinforce the racist and class bias of American society by distinguishing "political" and "moral" acts from "criminal acts." Let us not do the work of the government by separating ourselves from our comrades—your brothers number far more than 70,000.

This all may be academic since you might already be aware of these realities. However the essence of my criticism is that we must always communicate, educate, and organize around the importance of unity in

our common struggle. Every opportunity must be seized and utilized to advance this analysis. We cannot allow the government to structure the forms of our dissent. In an otherwise beautiful and meaningful statement, you have failed to do this.

Finally, I feel, and I am sure the other Brothers and Sisters in resistance feel that you need no pardon for reaching your decision in the time that it took you. We grow and get stronger every day and you are certainly not the last. I speak as one who has gone thru similar crises, as I did not reach my decision to resist the draft until after I had gone thru much personal struggle.

With or without God, the People United—Can Never Be Defeated.

—BOB MACFARLANE  
Poughkeepsie, NY

F. Tysen's complaint [Letters, 12/5/74], about WIN publishing so many articles about gays and what he calls "their whines and complaints" is proof positive that no matter how liberal one may purport to be, a screeching halt is called to liberal philosophy on the part of some when gay life styles are explored in WIN and other conscientious journals of radical opinion.

What F. Tysen should realize is that, basically, we are persons before we are male or female or gay, and each and every one of us has all sexual drives built into our psychic systems. It is social conditioning that prompts sexual preferences, and not simply genitalia. For genitalia alone do not dictate what practices of sexuality should predominate within given cultures, American and otherwise.

WIN is to be roundly thanked for helping gays and other oppressed groups get their collective shit together.

—J.J. KAUFMANN  
Honolulu, Hawaii



February 6, 1975 / Vol. XI, Number 4

4. Why Indians Are Homeless in Their Homeland / Pat Porter
8. The Reluctant Patriarchs / Carol Ehrlich
12. A Further Note on Inflation and the Military Budget / Edward S. Herman
14. Your Defense Dollars at Work
17. Changes
20. Reviews

Cover: Photo from Human Love in Action/LNS. Drawings from the 1972 calendar of the Taller Grafico de la Cooperativa Agrícola del Pueblo de Tierra Amarillo, in New Mexico.

#### STAFF

Maris Cakars • Susan Cakars • Chuck Fager  
Mary Mayo • Susan Pines • Fred Rosen  
Murray Rosenblith • Martha Thomases

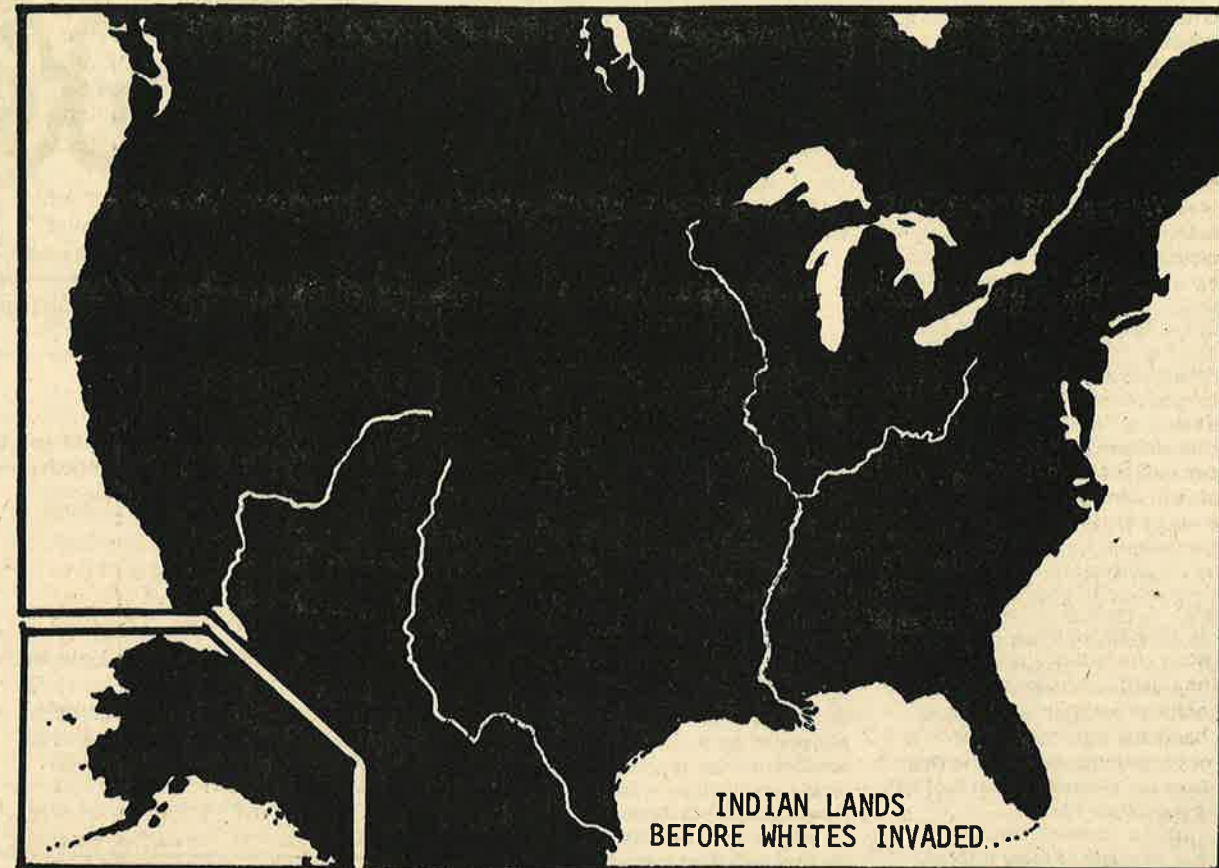
#### UNINDICTED CO-CONSPIRATORS

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

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

WIN is published weekly except for the first two weeks in January, 2nd week in May, last 4 weeks in August, and the last week in October by the WIN Publishing Empire with the support of the War Resisters League. Subscriptions are \$11.00 per year. Second class postage at New York, NY 10001. Individual writers are responsible for opinions expressed and accuracy of facts given. Sorry—manuscripts cannot be returned unless accompanied by a self-addressed stamped envelope. Printed in U.S.A.

# WHY INDIANS ARE HOMELESS IN THEIR HOMELAND



PAT PORTER

Nearly one million American Indians—the nation's poorest citizens—are accustomed to having most of their housing needs ignored by the government. For instance, although public housing legislation was passed in 1937, the government did not decide that tribes were eligible for public housing until 1961. And even now, public housing serves low and middle income families but unemployed and other very poor Indians cannot qualify.

Little progress has been made in improving Indian housing. In 1969, 50,000 new units were needed, but now, because of increased population and constant deterioration of homes, 46,556 are needed. This includes units required for people wanting to return to reservations and families currently living with other families and having no homes of their own. Repairs are needed for 24,000 homes.

According to the US Public Health Service, responsible for construction of most reservation sanitary and water facilities, 70% of the Indian people must still haul drinking water, often from distant places; 75% get water from potentially polluted sources. 77% have inadequate sanitary facilities, or none at all. On the vast Navajo Reservation, the size of West Virginia, only 22% of the homes have running water compared to 90% of the US homes in general.

It is no wonder there is such an enormous gap between the health of Indians and that of other Americans. Indians are plagued with infectious diseases such as bacillary dysentery, which in 1972 occurred 49.6 times more among Indians than the general population; the rate for infectious hepatitis was 10.7 times greater than the general population. The death rate for infants from one month through eleven months was double that of the comparable age group in the general population.

Innumerable examples of poor Indian housing can be cited. A 1970 *Look* magazine reported that the Cocopahs, a small tribe in southwestern Arizona, were living in mud, twig, and cardboard huts. This situation exists despite the fact that all who are officially enrolled on the tribal list have been eligible for federal assistance; as of 1971, however, only 85 of the proud people had done so. Now, through government efforts 500 are enrolled, but many others still are not. Today, 41% of the Cocopah families live in substandard dwellings or are living with other families and need homes of their own.

Although some San Carlos Apache families of Arizona have moved into new three-bedroom homes, there are still 300-400 families in small shacks with dirt floors and inadequate sanitary facilities, and little protection from bitter cold winters. 77% of the housing is substandard.

On the Sioux Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, where the Wounded Knee take-over occurred in 1973, 61% of the families live in substandard houses or need homes of their own.

There have been new houses built at Pine Ridge, yet a General Accounting Office report of 1971 said those homes "may have to be condemned as unsafe

*Pat Porter was a reporter for Wassaja, an Indian newspaper published in San Francisco, and is currently working with the Coalition of Eastern Native Americans.*

for continued occupancy because various design and construction deficiencies resulted in cracked or bowed basement walls."

It is evident that when housing has been provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), plans were laid in Washington with little or no Indian input or control over construction work, and the results have often been dismal. In fact, of the 232 new or renovated houses on 22 reservations surveyed by GAO in 1971, construction deficiencies were found in 187 (80%) and repair costs were running as high as \$3,500 for some houses.

Some tribes filed suit against government-approved construction companies because of the poor housing built. The Housing Authority of Laguna Pueblo in New Mexico filed suit in 1972 against the Building Contractors, Inc. for construction deficiencies in 159 new homes. HUD approved the finished housing and the company refused to correct the deficiencies. The Rosebud Sioux Housing Authority also considered a similar suit against the Daily Redwood Company, the contractor for the "Sioux 400" homes. HUD offered to contribute \$600,000 to fix up the homes although over \$3.5 million was needed, according to the South Dakota *Todd County Tribune* of May 4, 1972.

Government policy is to give preference to tribal members when hiring and to tribal construction companies when giving contracts but because of lack of financial resources, few Indians have been trained in construction skills and there are only seven tribal construction companies.

There is also evidence of misuse of funds appropriated for Indian housing. On the California Hoopa Reservation after floods in 1964 carried away Indian homes, Congress appropriated \$1.9 million for housing. Less than \$500,000 was actually spent on housing and land purchase. It is still unclear where the remainder was spent although William Finale, who was the BIA area director, made his records available for perusal; these records, however, could not account for \$1,417,000 according to the *New York Times* of Sept. 14, 1969. Indians at Hoopa filed suit challenging the Bureau's use of funds.

In the houses built at Hoopa, floors were unsteady, roofs leaked, bedrooms lacked doors, and the power line was 19 miles away with no connection to the homes which were wired with electric lights. The homes were to be heated with petroleum gas, which in 1964 cost \$80 a month, far too expensive for most families. Because firewood was readily available for fuel, some homes had chimney fixtures installed for wood burning stoves, but most did not and some of the poorest families broke out windows and vented stove pipes through them.

While some tribes have gotten short-changed, tribes with more political clout have managed to make profits from their housing projects. On the scenic well-timbered Mescalero Reservation in southern New Mexico, low-rent homes built 12 years ago were falling apart by 1972 because of faulty construction and over-crowded living conditions and were scheduled for demolition and replacement. According to a HEW official in the Native American Affairs office, "The government spent \$29,000 for each house constructed, but since the actual cost was only about \$20,000, the tribe made a profit of \$9,000."

Another problem is that the government has refused to allow tribes to decide for themselves how to meet their housing needs. Typical low-income govern-

ment housing standards have been modeled after those of middle-American suburban dwellings. They were supposed to be suitable to all minority groups regardless of where they lived and regardless of individual and group needs and desires, which vary widely.

For instance, many Navajos object to rectangular houses with flat roofs because they remind them of the old dwellings of their traditional enemies, the Hopis. Sometimes, when they have had this type of building, Navajos haven't used it for a home. According to a *TWA Ambassador* article of May 1970, writer David R. Richards observed "small modern dwellings and hogans side-by-side in the desert. The modern house, we were told, often is reserved for storing the families' belongings, but the hogan is where the family lives."

The hogan, considered substandard by some non-Indians, is nevertheless very solidly built and is cool in summer and warm in winter. It is heated by a stove in the center of the circular structure with relatively little fuel. And as one Navajo woman put it, "A hogan is comfortable. It is a woman's home, where she bears her children, looks after her husband, and minds her sheep. Why should I live in a house?"

Some low-income public housing has proven too costly to families because of high electricity and fuel bills. A 1970 National Council on Indian Opportunity report discussed this problem:

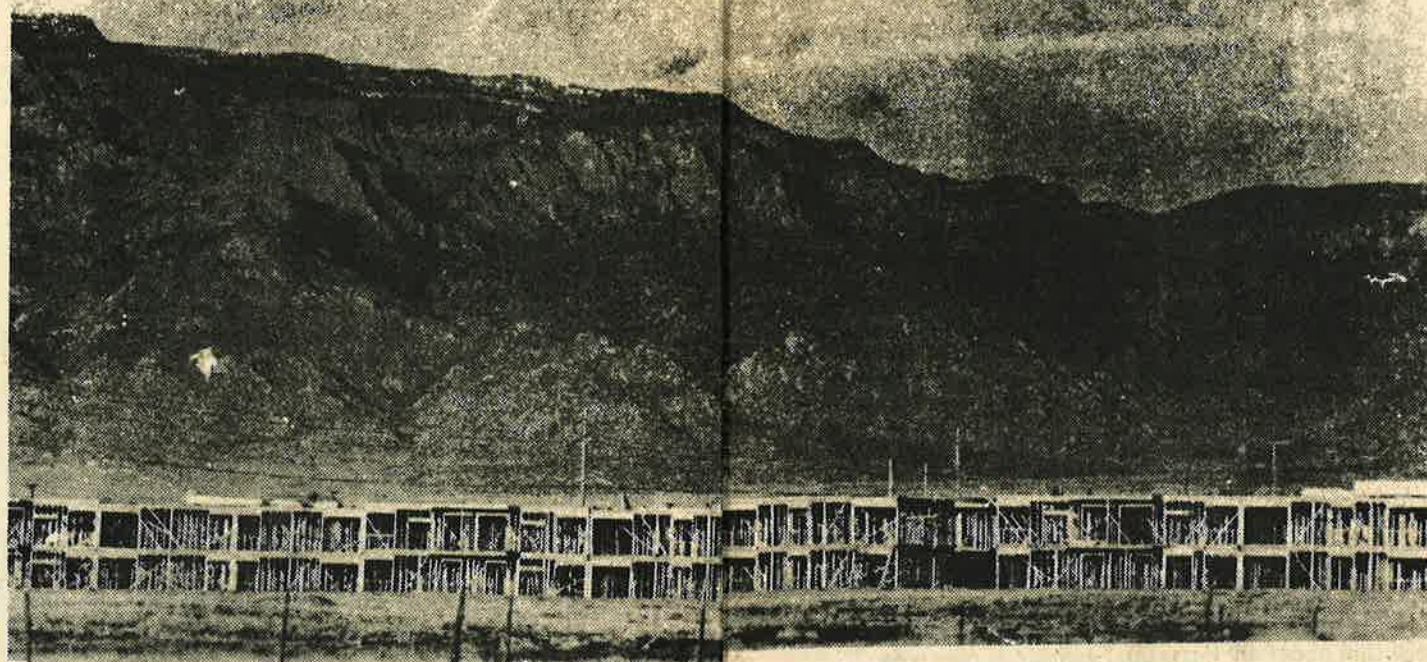
*There is a need at Pine Ridge for more types of housing than are now available through federal agencies. . . The guidelines call for water and sewer development, gas and oil burning furnaces, and specific square footage. Some people only want a good shell with a good floor, walls, windows, and doors that they can finish themselves to replace very inadequate housing. They want smaller houses that can be heated with wood burning stoves. Many cannot afford electricity and are perfectly satisfied with the old traditional means of lighting and heating. A choice could be available to meet the needs and wishes of all people. The design would conform with the likes of the people who will be using them.*

The policy of building cluster housing is often abhorrent to Indians. Russell Means, AIM leader, stated in his defense testimony in the Wounded Knee trial, "We will produce evidence that the US has been involved in a concerted effort to destroy Indian culture through cluster housing. . ." He called the policy not only non-Indian, but anti-Indian.

In 1954, despite the objections of many Mescalero Apaches, 500 people were relocated from their scattered dwellings to an area where BIA and tribal offices and health and school facilities were located. There have been complaints in recent years about continued government insistence on cluster housing at Fort Berthold and Fort Totten reservations in North Dakota and other places.

Scholars of Judson College writing on housing on the Iowa Mesquakie Reservation reported, "The government has built houses close together for economic reasons but the people on the settlement like being isolated from each other and from the tourists."

Recently, there has been some effort to accommodate to Indian desires. Tribal housing authorities on many reservations now go directly to contractors to plan tribal homes. The resulting homes are often more expensive than those designed in Washington, but are more acceptable to the people. Accommodating to Navajo desires, some Navajo homes now have the living room, kitchen, and stove in the center of the house, as in the traditional hogan. And as of 1971, more than 100 new hogans were built in some areas.



Neo-American style pueblo, typical of the new, big housing developments being built on Indian reservation lands. Photo from Akwesasne Notes / LNS.

However, according to Reaves Nahwoosky, HUD Indian programs coordinator, many houses still are not what tribes want because of the strict, sometimes unreasonable HUD housing standards, which die hard. It was only in 1973 that HUD allowed fireplaces built in Pueblo homes and only after the Indians were able to prove to HUD's satisfaction that cooking over fireplaces was part of traditional Pueblo culture.

Until last year, the use of vigas, wooden ceiling beams, a tradition of ancient origin in the Southwest, was prohibited; instead, steel bracing was used, which was not as suitable as vigas and was more expensive.

Urban Indians also have suffered from unmet housing needs. In 1972 Grace Thorpe, daughter of famous Indian athlete Jim Thorpe, testified before a House committee:

*It is criminal the things that are happening to them (urban Indians). They have no place to stay, no place to sleep. Many of them sleep in cars or 20 or 30 in one room.*

Because urban and rural non-reservation Indians were not eligible for HUD-BIA low-income housing programs until 1974, they have had to compete with other groups for assistance from the states. Consequently, they often received no aid at all. Many Indians did not apply for aid through local housing authorities because they preferred to deal with HUD or the BIA directly or because they were not informed about local procedures in obtaining housing assistance.

One group representing several hundred Chippewas from Sault Ste. Marie, a Michigan town of 15,136 plagued for over 10 years with chronic unemployment (25% in Jan. 1974), journeyed to Washington this year to apply for a 90% HUD grant of \$260,000 for a sanitary sewer and storm sewer project; Sault Ste. Marie was simply unable to finance the project without the grant.

The Chippewas compose 90% of the residents of the Shunk Road area of the town which has for years endured enormous health and safety hazards resulting from substandard sanitary facilities.

Although Indian housing has been shockingly inadequate for years, between 1965 and 1968 fewer than 3,000 units were built and in 1969 although the

stated need was 50,000 new Indian homes and 19,000 repaired ones, HUD Secretary George Romney promised only 30,000 units by the end of the fiscal year 1974.

However, thousands of the promised 30,000 units were never completed. The reason given by one HUD official was "problems of coordinating work between the agencies responsible for Indian housing." Mountains of bureaucratic red tape do interfere with government-tribal efforts to get housing on reservations. Although HUD is responsible for most home construction, the Indian Health Service provides sanitary and water facilities, and the BIA builds some access roads and provides grants for housing repairs and some new housing, all of which requires enormous cooperation. (There is no satisfactory way to resolve inter-agency or agency-tribal conflicts since no mediating office is available.)

However, the fact is that funds for 4,000 units were impounded by ex-President Nixon and, although they were finally released, these units and others were not completed. At the end of FY '74, of the 30,000 promised units, 11,458 were unbuilt—4,900 of these had not even been allocated.

At the Scottsdale National Indian Housing Conference in October, Indians asked HUD Secretary James Lynn what had happened to the unbuilt units, but he gave no satisfactory answer. When asked if the units could have been funded with FY '74 funds appropriated by Congress, his answer was they could have; he did not explain why they were not.

Indians were hopeful that the Administration would meet more of their housing needs than before when Congress passed a housing act this year which continued public housing and for the first time in housing legislative history set aside \$15 million in contract money for FY '75 and FY '76 for low and middle income Indian groups, including non-reservation and urban.

But although Congress intended that the set aside funds would construct some 15,000 units in addition to the 30,000 promised in 1969, it appears that Secretary Lynn plans to use this money to build the 11,458 units already committed and only 1,100 new units. This seems to be HUD's plan although Congress provided

for an increase of \$260 million for public housing in the 1974 housing act in order to help HUD meet such prior commitments.

In a December 13, 1974 strongly-worded letter to Secretary Lynn, ten US Senators, including Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, urged that the \$15 million be used for 15,000 new housing commitments, as the law intended.

(Secretary Lynn is scheduled to leave HUD shortly for a new position in the Office of Management and the budget, OMB.)

Unemployed and other very poor Indians are still ineligible for public housing but must rely on the BIA's small \$10 million grant program, mainly for repairs.

Prior to the passage of the 1974 housing act, the Administration actually tried to enact legislation which would have terminated new public housing for Indians (low-rent, mutual-help and the turnkey III home-ownership programs), and subsidized leased housing built by local groups or private contractors instead. This was done despite the fact that Secretary Lynn himself said leased housing would be unworkable for Indians. Many Indians do not favor renting but would rather buy their homes. Also, financing for housing construction is scarce, especially for tribes. Outside builders would often rather buy land than lease reservation acres.

Government agencies other than HUD and the BIA have no special housing programs for Indians and have been generally unresponsive to Indian housing needs. Indians with very low income are unable to use the programs of the Veterans Administration and Farmers Home Administration because most require financing from private institutions. Yet many Indians who would qualify have not applied because the agencies have failed to adequately circulate program information.

The Farmers Home Administration is just now completing a special brochure on its housing programs which will be sent to tribes. FHA provides loans for leased housing and individual housing for low and middle income families.

In the Veterans Administration, one official said, "We send out no information from our central office to Indians—local offices may, but I'm dubious. The attitude here is that we are here to serve a veteran when he wants to be, but we don't go out to the street looking for him." Consequently in 1974, although Indians composed .5% of the 28,900,000 veterans eligible for guaranteed loans, less than .1% actually participated in the program providing 300,000 guaranteed loans annually.

The VA also has a small direct loan program giving 2-3,000 loans a year; a loan program for mobile homes; and an acquired properties program in which any persons—even non-veterans—are eligible for 15,000 defaulted houses a year which the VA secures.

Last summer, 120 Navajo veterans, some of whom were World War II "code-talkers" who relayed messages in Navajo which the Japanese would not interpret, met with Senator Vance Hartke of the Senate Veterans Affairs Committee at the Arlington, Virginia Iwo Jima Monument to discuss their unmet housing needs. They said:

*We have no veterans' housing on our reservation, and when we try to apply for loan guarantees to the Veterans Administration we are shunted from agency to agency and told we are wards of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. But when the United States needed code talkers in the war, or infantrymen or marines, they didn't recruit the Bureau of Indian Affairs, they recruited us.*

# The Reluctant Patriarchs

CAROL EHRLICH

*Men and Masculinity*, Joseph H. Pleck and Jack Sawyer, eds., Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974, \$2.95.

*And so the Round People, proud, strong, and independent, attacked the Gods. And Zeus punished them by cutting them in two. Now each half-person could no longer roll about with its four arms and four legs, but must walk upright on its two legs and lift its single face in supplication to the Gods. And in its weakness each half began the search for its other half, so that the twain could be re-united in wholeness and strength.*

Ancient myths die hard, and the Round People described by Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium* have come rolling back in *Men and Masculinity*, a collection of articles written largely since 1971, largely by men involved in what its practitioners call "men's liberation." Although there are a variety of perspectives represented among the 31 authors, the basic theme is that men and women are equally incomplete, equally limited by an oppressive set of learned sex role behaviors. If only men could become gentle, expressive, interpersonally sensitive—if only women could become assertive, independent, strong—then our present society of crippled half-humans would have liberated themselves. And, by extension, they would have brought about the good society.

Most feminists, I think, believe that sexism will not be destroyed by the efforts of women alone. Although the majority of men undoubtedly will continue to resist any lessening of their power, there is a

*Carol Ehrlich teaches courses about sex roles and the women's movement at the Univ. of Maryland, Baltimore County, and is a writer-producer for the Great Atlantic Radio Conspiracy, a nationally distributed weekly program of political analyses and the radical arts.*

small (but hopefully increasing) number of men who are reluctant patriarchs—men who are searching for ways to reject the privileges automatically conferred upon them because they were born male.

These are men who genuinely care about ending sexual oppression so that women and men can one day live in a truly egalitarian manner. They must, of course, be sifted from the hip characters who drool over the presumed opportunity to lay "liberated women"; the opportunists who want to cash in on the literary action; the movement males who see political women as useful "tools" for whatever brand of male-dominated actions they are pushing at the moment; those men—cynical? frightened? perhaps an unstable mixture of both?—who learn to recite the ritual disclaimers so that the heat will be off them; and the academic empire-builders who see a good new rip-off in "men's studies." (The Pleck-Sawyer bibliography indicates that MIT has "an extensive archival 'men's studies' collection." In its own way, this seems like the height of insensitive academic sexism: Women's Studies developed because all of academia already was "men's studies.")

My impression is that the editors of *Men and Masculinity* and many (if not all) of the men anthologized in this short (184-page) volume do genuinely care. For that reason, they should be encouraged; and for that same reason, I feel a certain ambivalence about criticizing *Men and Masculinity*. Negative comments may be interpreted as an act of purism by an embittered feminist. After all, a good book—in fact, any number of good books—on the subject of sexism, written by and for concerned men, is badly needed. The Pleck-Sawyer anthology is a well-intentioned start in that direction, but it is unbalanced and without scope.

Not only do most of the male writers assume something that cannot be assumed (i.e., that men and women are somehow equally oppressed—but, more of that later), but the focus is almost exclusively on the personal aspects of the masculine role. Perhaps this is because both of the editors are psychologists; or perhaps it simply reflects what Barbara Katz, one of the three female writers included in the book, said about male liberationists—that they are "more introspective than political." Whatever the reason, few of those

represented here look beyond the circumference of an individual man's individual navel.

Another cause of the overemphasis on the personal may be the class and race characteristics of most of these writers. As the editors state frankly, this is a book by and for "males who are white, middle-class, heterosexual, and live in the United States." It is, by and large, about relatively privileged men who have become aware of the personal costs of the "good life" open to them in a capitalist society. It is about men who know that the good life requires conformity to the masculine role, and who—to extend the capitalist motif—aren't buying it. These are men who have learned that a man who is successfully socialized into the twin role demands of "getting ahead" and "staying cool" loses touch with other valuable aspects of himself, such as gentleness and caring for others.

Inevitably, the reader becomes witness to the inner journeys of men who describe the relationships of *individual* men with other men, with women, with children. We learn of the traumas suffered by males who are good at sports/not good at sports; males who have erections when they don't want them, or—far worse in our culture—can't have them when they want them. We learn that the latter problem is called "sexual dysfunction." We read about men who cannot decide whether to relate sexually to men or to women. There are males who can't talk to each other; can't cry; can't love. We read approvingly of men who become involved


does so from outside the perspective of self-absorbed male-liberation." There is a political lesson here: the personal is not self-evidently the political. People must make the connections between their individual problems and the inhumanity of our political and social institutions. As long as we live in a capitalist society, the stress on hierarchy and dominance will operate in some ways to the detriment of most men, and in many more ways to the detriment of most women. And then, once they have made that crucial connection, they must decide what they are going to do to change the political economy as well as to end the crippling effects of sexism in their everyday lives.

Yet, most of these writers seem barely aware of the power of institutional sexism, and relatively little space is given to its discussion. As a result, any politically aware reader has to struggle with contradictory reactions of sympathy for the personal pain expressed by these men, and anger at their apolitical self-indulgence. Here, for example, are some excerpts from the "Berkeley Men's Center Manifesto":

*We, as men, want to take back our full humanity. We no longer want to strain and compete to live up to an impossible oppressive masculine image—strong, silent, cool, handsome, unemotional, successful, master of women, leader of men, wealthy, brilliant, athletic, and "heavy." We no longer want to feel the need to perform sexually, socially, or in any way to live up to an imposed male role, from a traditional American society or a "counterculture."*

*I am an ink drawing of a woman. My artist has given me a mind and soul, and an awareness of my own absolute equality. I sometimes wonder though why we ink drawings always call the artist, HE?*

*Paluh  
74*



in child care, but the emphasis in three of the four articles is on the *man* rather than the children, on men getting in touch with their buried inner selves. We read of men in relation to work, but with the exception of a provocative article by ex-sociology professor Michael Silverstein, the articles stress the personal problems involved in tying one's masculine self-image to financial or corporate achievement. Of the three articles in the section on "men and work," only Silverstein's questions whether men should want to be part of the capitalist political economy at all. Interestingly, the male author who most successfully describes the "fit" between masculinity and our political economy (I.F. Stone, "Machismo in Washington") is one of only two who

*We want to love ourselves. . . We want to express our feelings completely. . . We want to enjoy masturbating without feeling guilty or that masturbation is a poor substitute for interpersonal sex. . .*

*We are oppressed by conditioning which makes us only half-human. This conditioning serves to create a mutual dependence of male (abstract, aggressive, strong, unemotional) and female (nurturing, passive, weak, unemotional) roles. We are oppressed by this dependence on women for support, nurturing, love, and warm feelings. We want to love, nurture, and support ourselves and other men, as well as women. . .*

*We believe that Human Liberation does not stem from individual or social needs alone, but that these*

needs are part of the same process. We feel that all liberation movements are equally important; there is no hierarchy of oppression. . .

How are men to find their lost halves (and where did women lose theirs)? Our society must become cooperative. Profit-making must end. How? They don't say.

The Manifesto makes clear something that is disturbingly present in many of the articles and editors' commentaries. It is a patronizing attitude toward women. There is an attempt—doubtless inadvertent, but nonetheless arrogant and ugly—to trivialize the women's movement (and, by extension, all other movements) by insisting that "all liberation movements are equally important; there is no hierarchy of oppression." Parallel to that, the very necessary search of aware men for another way of life is raised to the revolutionary status of a "liberation movement." Or, as co-editor Sawyer neatly puts it, "being a master has its burdens." Imagine the reaction if this solemn comment were translated into a situation of racial or economic dominance! Imagine white telling black, boss telling worker, slave-owner telling slave—"Being a master has its burdens."



—LNS

Here is a passage from Sawyer's essay "On Male Liberation," which was originally printed in *Liberation*. I have changed the words "women" and "men" to "worker and "capitalist." (The effects are also interesting if one substitutes "black" and "white.")

*In the increasing recognition of the right of [workers] to participate equally in the affairs of the world, then, there is both a danger and a promise. The danger is that [workers] might end up simply with an equal share of the action in the competitive, dehumanizing, exploitative system that [capitalists] have created. The promise is that [workers] and [capitalists] might work together to create a system that provides equality to all and dominates no one. The [worker's] movement has stressed that [workers] are looking for a better model of human behavior than has so far been created. [Workers] are trying to become human, and [capitalists] can do the same. Neither [capitalists] nor [workers] need be limited by work-role stereotypes that define 'appropriate' behavior. The present models for [capitalists] and [workers] fail to furnish adequate*



—LNS

*opportunities for human development. That one-half of the human race should be dominant and the other half submissive is incompatible with a notion of freedom. Freedom requires that there not be dominance and submission, but that all individuals be free to determine their own lives as equals.*

Who could quarrel with the last two lines? But however they look on paper, their goal cannot be achieved in practice by anyone who holds Sawyer's basic assumptions. In addition to the idea that men and women are somehow *equally* oppressed (at the same time that men dominate women!) Sawyer and most of the other males anthologized here seem to believe that personally restrictive role demands are the most important kind of sex-related oppression there is. Further, there is a strange assumption that individual sexism *causes* institutional sexism. Here is Sawyer again:

*The acceptance of sex-role stereotypes not only limits the individual but also has bad effects on society generally. . . The main effect now is to help sustain a system in which private "virtues" become public vices.*

If the personal causes the political, then it follows that all one needs to do is to identify these self-destructive behaviors and *choose* to give them up. Presto! No more sexism! Thus, even when Sawyer and his co-editor Pleck draw connections among capitalist institutions, hierarchical behavior, and the masculine role (for example, in their introduction to the section on "men and society") their only real suggestion for action is that men reject "getting ahead" and "staying cool." This is hardly an adequate response to the inhumanity of our political economy. Of course, if men get in touch with their emotions, learn to cry and to express gentleness, reject aggression and violence and phallic dominance, do housework and care for children, and stop measuring their self-worth by the size of their bank account, this will greatly enrich their lives and make things easier and far more pleasant for those who live with them. For this reason, self-change is worth the try.

As many feminists have pointed out—I think correctly—men are a privileged *caste*. An individual man may reject what he sees as undesirable elements of his role, but because he is male, he will still retain certain privileges of his caste, *even if he does not want them*. He will still be part of a group that by birthright has more power and is more valued than is the lower caste—women.

Another way of putting this is in terms of institutional versus personal sexism. A man may refuse to oppress the women he knows; he may share housework and child care; he may reject every unsavory element of machismo. Yet, if he makes more money than his female co-worker, or is hired in preference to an equally qualified woman, or is promoted because he has a family to support, or qualifies for a job because of an irrelevant height requirement, or is listened to in a discussion because he is a man, or sees that men are featured in the mass media, or can pick up a textbook in his high school or college class and know that all human achievement is ascribed to him, or can routinely walk past strangers without being whistled at or propositioned or fearing rape, or doesn't have to cope with the horrors of trying to stretch welfare payments so he and his children can survive another day, or need *never* worry about the ill effects of contraceptives on his body—he is still part of a privileged group.



For all these reasons, Sawyer is only partly correct when he writes: "The battle of women to be free need not be a battle against men as oppressors. The choice about whether men are the enemy is up to men themselves." He is right when he says men can choose which side to be on. But that choice must entail something more than modifying inappropriate personal behavior. Sawyer will make no friends among the women he wants to join by trying to lay equal responsibility for their own oppression on them. Nor will women take at face value a man who announces that he "joins his feminist sisters in a common struggle" when that same man relates how he dropped his first girlfriend when he decided she was "simple-minded and boring" (After two years!), and criticizes another for becoming "too dependent and weak" (Jeff Keith, "My Own Men's Liberation"). Our only rational, self-protective response is to find out whether or not he has ever discovered what women's struggle is all about. Until we can be sure, women cannot be blamed if we find it hard to take "men's liberation" entirely seriously.

Those men who are reluctant patriarchs have an obligation to become revolutionaries. Now, then, how does a white, middle-class heterosexual American male become a revolutionary? For these men, a revolutionary life style has often meant a rhetorical or gun-toting machismo—a radical-hip version of the "hairy chest syndrome" mentioned in Gloria Steinem's description of America's belligerent political and military elite ("The Myth of Masculine Mystique"). As political women know all too well, male-dominated Left organizations have tended to reproduce patterns of class and sexist dominance, and the editors and

writers represented here rightly reject such a model. But what they present as an appropriate alternative model is not enough.

It is not enough because men must work simultaneously to change their individual relationships with women (and with other men) and to change our political-economic system that thrives on the power of a few privileged men over the masses of Americans, both men and women. Changing our political economy will be immensely difficult, and it will not come about through a few men rejecting the demands of masculinity. So, Sawyer, Pleck, and their male friends, "give up power" over others. Then what? Outside their own immediate circles, where it will undoubtedly make a considerable difference, what differences can it make in the lives of everyone else? Will it end American manipulation of the economies of Third World countries? End our support of military dictatorships? Prevent another intervention such as the one against the socialist government of Chile? End the widening income disparities between white men and everyone else? Destroy institutional racism and sexism?

It will not change these and similar things, because—to make an obvious point—most persons in privileged positions do not want to give up their power over others—even assuming that they are fully aware of the extent of that power. And if they do not want to give it up, it must be taken from them. Not from a few of them, but from all of them; and not by individuals, but by people acting together.

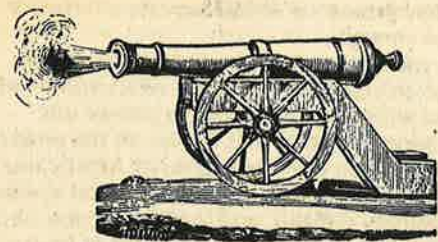
For this reason, when we look at what has to be done to create a genuinely non-hierarchical society, telling men that their major alternative is to join a consciousness-raising group is grotesque. Consciousness-raising is one important means to an end—the end of personal and social change—but it is *not* the end itself. To act as though it is, is a copout.

*Changes in men's lives are usually quiet ones, so far unheralded by the media, savored privately and many times passionately. These changes. . . have no large-scale economic or institutional forms: they are not generally recorded in national economic- or social-trend data. Increasingly, however, men are speaking of their inner journeys and wishes. (Robert A. Fein, "Men and Young Children")*

The Pleck-Sawyer reader has too many examples of hip academics and gentle dropouts who are striving for quiet personal change. One wishes them well. But Pleck and Sawyer, at least, should know that this social system can easily accommodate a few renegades, especially if these renegades confine their activism to Getting Their Heads Together, alone or in concert with like-minded men. And today, tomorrow, in the foreseeable future, nothing else has to change very much.



—LNS



## A Further Note on Inflation and the Military Budget

EDWARD S. HERMAN

Franklin Zahn's article "Inflation, Militarism, and Maybe Revolution" [12/26/74] adds little to a discussion of inflation. Our problems have deeper roots and more complications than in Zahn's over-simplified picture of military spending as the source of all evil, and his account is also vitiated by a common but serious error in analyzing the economics of inflation.

According to Zahn, military spending is inflationary because "there is no increased supply of goods to meet the demands of new purchasing power when more money is put into circulation." What this statement ignores is that if the government finances the military output by taxes there *won't be* any excess purchasing power—it will have been taken away by the government to pay for the military drain. An important reason why the Vietnam war outlays of 1965-1967 were inflationary was the Johnson administration's unwillingness to admit the rapidly expanding costs of the war and to tax accordingly—thus a deficit emerged, and purchasing power was created in excess of goods available in the market place. (This is a point I made in my article of 10/24/74 but Zahn seems to have missed the long section analyzing the importance of the Vietnam war in the 1965-1975 inflation.) In brief, if enough taxes are collected to finance military expenditures, the simple view of the inherently inflationary effects of military outlays does not hold up.

This is not to say that military expenditures may not be inflationary—they were *not* inflationary during the 1930's, when there was mass unemployment, but they usually are in periods of war and relatively full employment. Critiques of military spending will be more effective, however, if based on an analysis that

Edward S. Herman is a professor of Finance at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania.

recognizes the economic and political complexities of both inflation and military spending. For this purpose it may be useful to break down the potential contribution of military spending to inflation under five separate headings:

(1) **Political cover-up and deficit creation.** I have already mentioned this above. Military costs are frequently hidden from public view by the powerful interests of the military-industrial complex, for fear that the public would not "buy" their boondoggles or wars. An important way this is done is by spending without raising taxes accordingly, since taxation by inflation is less certain in impact and is not pinpointed to the casual expenditures. In the case of socially useful expenditures, the Nixons, Fords and Mills don't hesitate to raise taxes directly and openly, especially since the funds are usually raised by the highly regressive payroll tax. This political cover-up factor, leading to deficit financing in an already high employment context, has been important during the past decade.

(2) **The lagged output effect** This may seem identical with Zahn's point, but it isn't. Tax increases can reduce demand so that there is no excess "purchasing power" or income. This is a question of balance between immediately created money demand and supply. But clearly if the military absorbs resources for missile silos instead of public housing the flow of useful goods will be less than otherwise. A billion spent for education, health services, child care centers, or public housing will increase the stream of goods that satisfy public wants; a billion spent on the development of the B-1 bomber, or to add overkill to our already large fleet of nuclear-armed submarines, does not directly contribute any goods and services to public well-being. It may actually *reduce* public satisfaction by making people feel insecure—the public has to be frightened into believing that there are external threats that call for more weapons.

The reason that the B-1 is inflationary, therefore, is not that income (after taxes) exceeds the value of consumable output (unless a deficit is produced, as discussed in [1]), it is more complicated than that—it is that there has been a reduction in the social surplus left to satisfy the demands of ordinary citizens for improved conditions. In recent years governments have not had enough revenue via politically feasible tax collections to expand (or even maintain) social services to meet the needs of a growing population, so that they have had to borrow (i.e., run deficits)—so we are back to the first factor, but indirectly. And workers have not had a satisfactory growth of income given the direct tax drain to finance a part of the war, plus the indirect inflation tax; so we have had pressures for money wage increases in excess of productivity, with further inflationary consequences. In brief, the drain into military boondoggles has reduced the output available for constructive social expenditures and real wage increases, and thereby indirectly contributed to increased deficits and more rapidly increasing money wages, both accelerating price increases.

(3) **The technology drain** This is really a subdivision of the previous point (2), as it results in reduced increases in output with a time lag. The point is that military (and its subsidiary, space) technology have absorbed a large fraction of US scientific and engineering talent since 1940. There has been some spin-off into constructive, or at least saleable commercial output (airplanes, jet engines, nuclear reactors), but the benefits to the general public have been modest and of

dwindling importance. Meanwhile, we have foregone using this talent *directly* for improving technology in the manufacture of steel, extraction of minerals, building of houses, protecting the environment, etc. The rapid productivity advances and strong competitive position of West Germany and Japan are certainly connected with the fact that they have had almost full use of their technological resources for improvement of their non-military sectors. Our real output would be very much higher today if we had not suffered this huge technological drag, a factor stressed by Seymour Melman in his *Depleted Society* and other works on US militarism.

(4) **The corruption drain** By this I mean both the extravagance of the Pentagon in purchasing both excessively and at disadvantageous prices. The military is using *our* money, but its extravagance is more fundamentally attributable to a huge conflict of interest feedback system between politicians, Pentagon, and military contractors—they interchange personnel, they finance one another's needs (campaign contributions, location of bases and arms factories, money allocations to the contractors), and they work together to avoid public scrutiny, to propagandize, and to plan for enlarging their collective command over the national resources. Skyrocketing prices and cost overruns are built into this system of "bargaining" among this group of undicted co-conspirators.

(5) **Military spending as part of a war system** Finally, a system in which the military are as powerful as they are in the US and where they play an important role in protecting and enlarging the size of the American "open door" imperium, is going to be involved in a steady stream of wars. Counter-revolutionary intervention is easy and natural with huge military forces, and we may reasonably assume that this function is an important reason for their existence. An appropriate ideology and social atmosphere has been built up in parallel with arms accumulation, that makes their use not only "thinkable" but reasonable. Vietnam was not a "mistake," it was an inevitable consequence of the structure of economic and political power and interests that rules the US. Since wars are always inflationary we can say that huge military budgets mean inflation because they reflect a system biased toward making war—despite the Orwellian propaganda of our leaders since 1945 that more arms equals more peace.

It should hardly be necessary to point out that large military budgets and wars, including little wars, have a further great advantage to the business community that helps justify their expense; namely, they arouse the patriotic fervor of ordinary citizens, divide the masses into hostile and fragmented groups, and thus make them more "manageable." Nixon and Ford are the political consequence of the Vietnam war.

### The Political Economy of Inflation

It is often fruitful to look at inflation, not as a result of deficits, military expenditures, or a growth in the money supply, etc., but as a product of a set of political decisions or choices that define which and how much expenditures are to be undertaken and how they are to be financed. This will focus in on who gains and loses from both outlays and taxes, the political compromises made in the decision process, and the constraints that rule out or allow certain policy options. In such terms we can understand why controls could be used successfully in World War II, why (and how) they were used by Nixon and were acceptable to business in 1971-72, and why they are

ruled out by Ford and business under the more severe inflationary conditions of 1974-75.

World War II was believed to be a just war by most of the citizenry, and price and wage controls were therefore not only acceptable, they were tied in with an excess profits tax and high income surtax rates. Business liked price controls in 1971 because wage rates were increasing rapidly and the US competitive position in world markets was deteriorating. Devaluation plus controls altered this picture markedly. In 1974-1975 business, while suffering in many cases from the recession, at least does not suffer from the international disabilities of the pre-devaluation era. The inflation tax is being paid to the business community, even though in a recessionary context injurious to some sectors of business. Our inflation of 1946-1948 occurred during a period of demobilization and *reduction* of military expenditures, and reflected the choice and power of a business community eager to throw off restraints and capture the windfalls made possible by the pent-up demands and high liquidity built up during the war.

The inflation of 1965-1975 may be looked at as a product of a special set of political decisions and choices by Johnson-Nixon and the business establishment they represent. These may be summarized as follows: (1) Defeating the Vietnamese revolution was regarded as important for preserving America's imperial structure. (2) The public, or at least an uncomfortably large segment of the public, would not agree, and, as noted above, financing this effort by straightforward taxes was therefore not feasible. (3) Furthermore, to get Roy Wilkins and the liberal community to go along, it was deemed necessary to enlarge the flow of benefits to the potentially antiwar communities (blacks, labor, the elderly). (4) These benefits were and are financed largely by social security taxes, which allow the lower orders to pay out of their own pockets, without any substantial cost to the business community. (5) It was necessary to finance the war and empire, in part, surreptitiously, however, by borrowing and using the proceeds to buy weapons. And since demand was not depressed by corresponding tax revenues, prices rose and the resources for war were released by bidding them away from the non-war sector. Thus, instead of reducing peoples' incomes openly by taxing them, their incomes were reduced by outbuying them and diminishing their ability to consume via higher prices. The 1965-1969 inflation tax was to pay for an unpopular war, whereas that which we pay now is a residual effect of past wars, external events, and other factors—but it is politically acceptable because this inflation tax is paid to business, so that its effective control is not deemed imperative.

Inflation in the US seems to be in process of retardation by the forces of an economic contraction. But even the Ford administration is about to turn policy around toward anti-recessionary actions, so that deflationary policies are probably not going to be allowed to proceed far enough to bring inflation down to a 5% rate in 1975. Inflation control still would appear to require a new consensus centering in a wage-price-tax-expenditure compact, such as I outlined in WIN, 10/24/74. The continued power of the military-industrial complex, the total failure of tax reform during the last Congress, the disarray of the Democrats, the disappearance of the Left, the presidency in the hands of a Nixon-who-doesn't-steal, make the new consensus unlikely. The fact is that the US after Watergate is different in no essential respect from that which preceded it.

# YOUR DEFENSE DOLLARS AT WORK

*The following appeared exactly as we are publishing it here in the January issue of Armed Forces Journal. The Journal states that the message is real and it is publishing it now since "the principals have long since departed the posts concerned." WIN is publishing it to illustrate that no matter how screwed up we in the movement get, the opposition is in even worse shape.*

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE—WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS; Amembassy, THE HAGUE:  
COMCARIBSEAFRON; CINCLANTFLT; COMPAIBRON  
TRAINING OFFICER, CG 2d MARINE DIV; CAPT. NOW  
CTC 44.9; CNO WASHDC

FROM: Amconsul CURACAO

DATE: Nov. 17, 1970

SUBJECT: Report on Amphibious Exercise DORIA SALUTE II carried out jointly by the Royal Netherlands Navy and Marine Force, Netherlands Antilles and the United States Caribbean Amphibious Ready Group, Windward Islands, Netherlands Antilles, November 7-13, 1970

I ACCOMPANIED MINISTER PRESIDENT E. O. PETRONIA AND HIS DIRECTOR OF CABINET, MR. J. J. BEAUJON ON A VISIT TO THE WINDWARD ISLANDS FOR THE JOINT U.S.—DUTCH NAVAL EXERCISE DORIA SALUTE II.

THE EXERCISE WAS A COMPLETE AND TOTAL SUCCESS AS FAR AS THE JOINT LANDINGS WERE CONCERNED. THE U.S. AND DUTCH MILITARY FORCES ARE TO BE HIGHLY CONGRATULATED. THIS FINE PERFORMANCE WAS DUE TO THE EXCELLENT CONDUCT OF THE TROOPS WITH THE LOCAL PUBLIC, THEIR TRAINING AND RECOGNITION OF PUBLIC RELATIONS COMBINED WITH THE ATTITUDE OF THE FINE AMERICAN AND DUTCH YOUTH IN THE ARMED SERVICES.

LOCAL NEWS ITEMS FROM SINT EUSTATIUS AND SINT MAARTEN HAVE NOTED THE SUCCESS OF THE LANDINGS IN BOTH NEWS COVERAGE AND IN EDITORIALS.

THE EXERCISE WAS NOT WITHOUT INCIDENTS. THESE WERE LATER DESCRIBED BY MR. BEAUJON AS BEING "SIMPLY INCREDIBLE—A SEQUENCE OF ALMOST COMIC OPERA UNFORTUNATE HAPPENINGS". I MUST GIVE MY OPINION, PRIOR TO RELATING THE INCIDENTS, THAT I HAVE NEVER SEEN SO MUCH JUST PLAIN-BAD LUCK HAPPEN TO ANY PROGRAM INVOLVING VIPS.

THE MINISTER PRESIDENT, THE LT. GOVERNOR OF THE WINDWARD ISLANDS, MR. R.O. VAN DELDEN, MR. BEAUJON, AND I EMBARKED ON A HELICOPTER AT SINT MAARTEN AIRPORT AT ABOUT 5:30 P.M. ON NOVEMBER 7 FOR A FLIGHT TO THE U.S. NAVY SHIP LA SALLE WHICH WAS LYING ABOUT 60 MILES AWAY NEAR SINT EUSTATIUS. THE BAGGAGE WAS NOT ADEQUATELY SECURED BY THE ATTENDING CREWMAN AND APPARENTLY THE OUTSIDE DOOR AGAINST WHICH THE BAGGAGE WAS STACKED WAS ALSO NOT PROPERLY LOCKED. THE RESULT WAS THAT ABOUT TWO-THIRDS OF THE WAY TO THE SHIP, OVER THE SEA, THE DOOR OF THE HELICOPTER BLEW OPEN AND THE BRIEFCASE OF THE MINISTER PRESIDENT AND THE BAG OF THE LT. GOVERNOR FLEW OUT THE DOOR. THE BALANCE OF THE SUITCASES OF THE PARTY WERE GRABBED BY MR. BEAUJON WHO HELD THEM UNTIL LANDING ON THE LA SALLE.

THE BRIEFCASE OF MINISTER PRESIDENT PETRONIA CONTAINED A NUMBER OF VALUABLE PAPERS OF STATE WHICH HE HAD BROUGHT ALONG TO WORK ON IN HIS SPARE TIME. ALSO, AS MENTIONED BY MR.

Consul General: Harry M. Lofton/

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
CG: HML

For Dept Use Only  
 in  out

BEAUJON, ABOUT \$5,000 IN U.S. CASH AND NETHERLANDS ANTILLIAN GUILDERS. THE EXACT AMOUNT CAN BE ASCERTAINED. IN ADDITION THERE WERE TRAVELER'S CHECKS WHICH, OF COURSE, CAN BE RECOVERED. THE BAG OF LT. GOVERNOR VAN DELDEN, WHILE IT DID NOT CONTAIN ITEMS OF MONEY OR DOCUMENTS, DID CONTAIN HIS ENTIRE WARDROBE PLUS A NUMBER OF SMALL GIFTS WHICH HE HAD BROUGHT ALONG TO PRESENT TO THE U.S. NAVY AS A TOKEN OF FRIENDSHIP. ALTHOUGH A SEARCH WAS LATER MADE OF THE AREA BY LANDING CRAFT AND THE HELICOPTER, THE BAGS MUST HAVE IMMEDIATELY SUNK AT NIGHT IN VERY-DEEP SEA AS NOTHING WAS FOUND.

THE MINISTER PRESIDENT WAS OBVIOUSLY SHAKEN BY THE INCIDENT BUT HE RETAINED HIS COOL.

DURING THE DELICIOUS EVENING MEAL, THERE WAS A POWER FAILURE ON THE SHIP. THE LIGHTS OF THE VESSEL AND THE AIR CONDITIONING WENT OUT AND THE WARDROOM WAS STEAMING HOT FOR SOME 30 TO 40 MINUTES, WHICH TIME INCLUDED BOTH DINNER AND THE BRIEFING FOR THE NEXT DAY'S EXERCISE.

NEXT MORNING AT ABOUT 7:00 A.M. THE MINISTER PRESIDENT, MR. BEAUJON, LT. GOVERNOR VAN DELDEN, AND I WERE AGAIN EMBARKED ON THE HELICOPTER. THIS TIME WE WERE VERY CAREFULLY ATTENDED BY THE CREWMAN WHO NOW GAVE MUCH ATTENTION TO THE FASTENING OF SEAT BELTS, PLACING OF LIFE JACKETS, CRASH HELMETS AND CLOSING AND LOCKING OF DOORS.

WE HEADED FOR THE BEACH TO VIEW THE LANDINGS BUT AGAIN, DESPITE PRECAUTIONS, ADVERSITY STRUCK. THE HELICOPTER PILOT, FOR SOME REASON PROBABLY KNOWN ONLY TO HIMSELF, INSTEAD OF TAKING US TO A SCHOOL WHERE THE ISLAND ADMINISTRATOR AND A NUMBER OF LOCAL CITIZENS WERE WAITING AT A STOP CAREFULLY PREPARED FOR THE LANDING, PUT US DOWN IN A LITTLE-USED AIRPORT SOME MILES FROM THE SCHOOL HOUSE IN WET SAW GRASS ABOUT TWO FEET DEEP. I TRIED TO TELL THE PILOT, AS BEST I COULD OVER THE ROARING HELICOPTER BLADES, THAT THIS DESERTED PLACE WAS OBVIOUSLY NOT THE PROGRAMMED LANDING SITE. HE REPLIED IN EFFECT THAT THIS WAS THE ONLY PLACE HE KNEW TO LAND ON THE ISLAND. WE WERE INDEED IN A RATHER UNCOMFORTABLE SITUATION ESPECIALLY FOR THE MINISTER PRESIDENT. HE HAS A GAME LEG AND WALKS WITH A CANE AND A PRONOUNCED LIMP. IT WAS ALSO PRETTY DAMP IN THAT SAW GRASS AT 7:30 IN THE MORNING. AFTER 15 TO 20 MINUTES OF STANDING AROUND (THE HELICOPTER HAD DEPARTED), THE ISLAND ADMINISTRATOR ROARED UP IN A LOCAL TRUCK WHICH COULD MANEUVER IN THE BOONDOCKS WHERE WE WERE LOCATED. HE PROCEEDED TO DRIVE US OVER HILL AND DALE TO THE SCHOOL WHERE THE LOCAL POPULACE WAS WAITING AND WHERE THE COMMUNICATIONS AND PRESS TENTS OF THE U.S. MARINES WERE SET UP.

BY THIS TIME THE MINISTER PRESIDENT WAS SHAKING HIS HEAD IN DISMAY BUT STILL MANAGING TO RETAIN HIS CALM DEMEANOR. HE QUICKLY SHOOK HANDS WITH THE LOCAL DELEGATIONS AND MOVED IMMEDIATELY TO THE SINT EUSTATIUS ADMINISTRATOR'S HOUSE WHERE HE CALLED FOR A STIFF BELT OF SCOTCH WHICH HE OBVIOUSLY NEEDED TO WARM UP AND SOLDER HIS NERVES. HE LATER IN THE MORNING MADE A SHORT FORAY TO THE CLIFF OVERLOOKING THE BEACH AND THE LANDINGS, BUT SPENT MOST OF THE TIME AT THE ADMINISTRATOR'S HOUSE.

AT NOON THE PARTY WAS HOSTED TO A COPIOUS LUNCH IN THE FIELD KITCHEN BY USMC LT. COL. JOHN W. DUNCAN, COMMANDING OFFICER OF THE BATTALION LANDING TEAM. GUESTS INCLUDED LOCAL OFFICIALS AND U.S. AND DUTCH NAVY VIPS. MORE UNFORTUNATE INCIDENTS WERE YET TO COME. A U.S. NAVY OFFICER HAD GIVEN ME MOST CAREFUL ASSURANCES THAT OUR BAGGAGE (INCLUDING THE MINISTER PRESIDENT'S REMAINING WARDROBE BAG IN WHICH HE ALSO HAD FURTHER OFFICIAL PAPERS) WOULD BE DELIVERED FROM THE LA SALLE TO THE H.M.S. FRIESLAND ON WHICH WE WERE TO RETURN TO SINT MAARTEN AFTER THE EXERCISE. FOR SOME REASON WHICH WAS NEVER EXPLAINED, THE BAGGAGE WAS PLACED ABOARD A LANDING CRAFT WHICH WAS TO LAND MAJ. GEN. C.A. YOUNGDALE, DEPUTY COMMANDER, FMFLANT, MAJ. GEN. M.P. RYAN, COMMANDING GENERAL, SECOND MARINE DIVISION, THEIR STAFF AND COMMODORE A.S. DE VRIES OF THE DUTCH NAVY ON THE BEACH AT SINT EUSTATIUS. THIS LANDING CRAFT WITH THE ABOVE NAMED VIPS, AND THE ILL-FATED BAGGAGE WERE ALL UN-CEREMONIOUSLY DUMPED IN THE CARIBBEAN SEA WHEN THE COXSWAIN APPARENTLY UNDERESTIMATED ITS FURY. THE CRAFT HIT A ROCK OR WAS BROACHED ON LANDING SPILLING GENERALS, THE DUTCH ADMIRAL, AND THE BAGGAGE INTO THE FOAMING BRINE. FORTUNATELY, NO ONE WAS LOST OR HURT. ALL THIS BAGGAGE WAS EVENTUALLY RECOVERED BUT ONLY AFTER FLOATING IN SALT WATER FOR SOME TIME WITH THE RESULT THAT SUCH ITEMS AS CAMERAS, ELECTRIC RAZAORS, RADIOS, ETC. WERE RUINED AND ALL ITEMS AGAIN INCLUDING THE MINISTER PRESIDENT'S REMAINING DOCUMENTS AND WARDROBE WERE SOAKED.

BECAUSE OF THE HIGH SEAS IT WAS CONSIDERED INADVISABLE TO BOARD THE H.M.S. FRIESLAND FOR THE TRIP TO SINT MAARTEN AFTER COMPLETION OF THE EXERCISE. THE MINISTER PRESIDENT THEN SENT A MESSAGE FOR A CHARTERED PLANE TO COME FROM SINT MAARTEN FOR OUR PARTY. THE FINAL COUP OF

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE



THE DAY OCCURRED WHEN THE PILOT UPON LANDING IN THE COW PASTURE AIRPORT OF SINT EUSTATIUS COULD NOT LOCATE THE PARTY AND PROMPTLY TOOK OFF AND RETURNED TO SINT MAARTEN. THIS CAUSED FURTHER DELAY UNTIL WHICH TIME AS HE COULD BE SUMMONED TO RETURN FOR OUR GROUP. THE FLIGHT TO SINT MAARTEN WAS WITHOUT INCIDENT. THE MINISTER PRESIDENT, NOW BEING CALAMITY CONSCIOUS, VERY CAREFULLY CHECKED ALL DOORS, THE SEAT BELTS OF THE PARTY, AND ASSURED HIMSELF THAT THE REMAINING SOAKED BAGGAGE WAS SECURED. HE MANAGED THIS WITH A WEAK GRIN AND A WINK AT ME.

ALTHOUGH MR. PETRONIA AND I WERE SCHEDULED TO VISIT THE ISLAND OF SABA THE FOLLOWING DAY I WAS CALLED EARLY THE NEXT MORNING AND ADVISED THAT HE WAS UNDER DOCTOR'S CARE WITH AN INFECTED EAR AND OTHERWISE NOT FEELING WELL. WE THEREFORE WERE NOT ABLE TO COMPLETE THIS PART OF THE PROGRAM AS HE REMAINED INDISPOSED FOR TWO DAYS.

COMMENT: THE LOCAL PRESS CARRIED A STORY OF THE LOSS OF THE BAGGAGE. THIS STORY SLIGHTLY OVERDRAMATIZED THE INCIDENT AND LEFT THE IMPRESSION THE PARTY WAS IN DANGER OF FALLING FROM THE AIRCRAFT, WHICH IN FACT IT WAS NOT. THE LOCAL PRESS COULD HAVE MADE A LOT MORE OUT OF THE MISHAPS AND COULD HAVE CAST THE UNITED STATES NAVY IN A POOR LIGHT TO THE DETRIMENT OF U.S. INTERESTS. THE PRESS WAS REMARKABLY RESTRAINED. THIS RESTRAINT WAS DUE TO THE DOWNPLAY OF THE INCIDENTS BY THE MINISTER PRESIDENT, LT. GOVERNOR VAN DELDEN, AND MR. BEAUJON.

I HAVE RELATED CONSIDERABLE DETAIL IN THIS AIRGRAM. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE DETAILS BE SET FORTH IN THIS CLASSIFIED DOCUMENT FOR SEVERAL REASONS. DESPITE A SEQUENCE OF UNTOWARD INCIDENTS WHICH WOULD HAVE TRIED THE PATIENCE OF JOB AND IN WHICH MANY A LESSER MAN WOULD HAVE LOST HIS COMPOSURE, I BELIEVE IT A CONSIDERABLE MEASURE OF MR. PETRONIA THAT HE RETAINED A SENSE OF HUMOR THROUGHOUT AND CONTINUED HIS GOODWILL TO THE UNITED STATES. THE SAME ATTITUDE WAS EVIDENT WITH BOTH MR. BEAUJON AND LT. GOVERNOR VAN DELDEN. IT SHOULD ALSO BE NOTED THAT WHEN THE U.S. NAVY SHIPS VISITED CURACAO AND I GAVE A RECEPTION DANCE IN THEIR HONOR, MR. PETRONIA MADE IT A POINT, DESPITE HIS HEAVY WORK SCHEDULE, TO CHARTER A PLANE FROM ARUBA ON SATURDAY NIGHT TO ATTEND. HE APPEARED TO HEARTILY ENJOY HIMSELF AND REMAINED UNTIL ABOUT 2:30 A.M.

MINISTER PRESIDENT PETRONIA\* APPEARS TO BE SOLIDLY SEATED IN HIS POSITION IN THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES AND GIVES EVERY APPEARANCE OF BEING SO SITUATED FOR A LONG TIME TO COME. IT IS HIGHLY PROBABLE HE WILL ALSO BE THE GOVERNMENT'S MENTOR IN COMING MOVES FOR INDEPENDENCE OF THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES FROM HOLLAND.

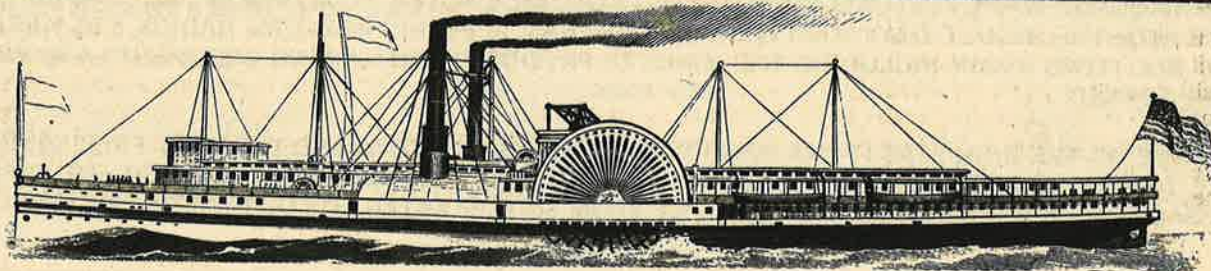
THE NETHERLANDS ANTILLES HAVE TWO OF THE LARGEST OIL REFINERIES IN THE WORLD. IN ADDITION, THEIR LOCATION AND FINE HARBORS ARE OF STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES. IT IS MOST IMPORTANT THAT WE RETAIN AND ENCOURAGE SUCH GENUINE FRIENDS AS MINISTER PRESIDENT PETRONIA, LT. GOVERNOR VAN DELDEN, AND MR. BEAUJON, ALL OF WHOM ARE MOST IMPORTANT TO THE POLITICAL SCENE.

ACTION REQUESTED: WHILE IT IS NOT KNOWN WHETHER IT IS POSSIBLE, IT IS HOPED THAT SOME OFFER OF RESTITUTION CAN BE MADE TO MINISTER PRESIDENT PETRONIA FROM U.S. NAVY FUNDS AND/OR OTHER U.S. GOVERNMENT FUNDS FOR HIS FINANCIAL LOSS AND ALSO TO LT. GOVERNOR VAN DELDEN FOR HIS SUITCASE AND WARDROBE. I HAVE NOT, OF COURSE, MENTIONED ANY POSSIBILITY OF RESTITUTION TO THESE GENTLEMEN AS IT WOULD BE EMBARRASSING IF SUCH REIMBURSEMENT IS NOT POSSIBLE. ADVICE CONCERNING THIS POSSIBILITY IS REQUESTED.

LOFTON

\*He left two months after this was written.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE



**COMMON CAUSE FOR ROCKEFELLER**

Common Cause is a liberal lobbying group in Washington set up in 1971. Its aim is supposedly "clean government" and combatting the influence of big money in politics.

As the slime of the Nixon Administration oozed to the top, "Common Cause" filled American newspapers with ads asking for money.

Through public donations from working people, Common Cause claims to work for the interests of working men and women. It has the support of sections of the trade union leadership.

As Nixon looked worse, Common Cause looked better. Many people sent in their bucks as a way of registering their disgust with Watergate.

As it turns out, one of those people was Nelson Rockefeller.

*Rockefeller sent in a measly \$45,000—not much compared to what he gave Kissinger, Ronan and Morhouse—but quite a lot compared to the fives and tens sent in by working people.*

Interestingly, when Rocky's nomination for Vice President was being investigated by Congress, Common Cause was nowhere around. They neither testified nor issued any public statement.

*While one of the world's richest men was being passed as VP, the organization supposedly dedicated to fight the influence of this man and his friends remained silent.*

Whose cause was that again?  
—Workers' Power

**\$12 MILLION AWARDED TO 1200 MAYDAY DEMONSTRATORS**

In the largest award ever made in a civil liberties suit, a six-person, interracial, federal jury January 16 ruled that 1200 persons busted at a rally on the Capitol steps May 5, 1971, must receive a total of \$12 million damages. They had been invited to the rally by

Representatives Ronald Dellums and Bella Abzug. Though Dellums, himself, was not arrested, he was awarded \$7500 for being deprived of his free speech rights under the First Amendment when the cops removed his audience by putting them under arrest.

"I was impressed that 75% of the award was for First Amendment rights," commented Warren Kaplan, the American Civil Liberties Union attorney who handled the case during six weeks of arguments before Judge William Bryant. "I think the verdict reflected the jury's appreciation of the personal rights involved in this matter."

The awards, averaging \$10,000 for each demonstrator, also include damages for the government's violation of the Fourth Amendment, which prohibits false arrest and the Eighth Amendment, which bars malicious prosecution.

A spokesman for the DC corporation counsel, said that the government will appeal the award. Actually, almost all the 13,500 arrests made during the three-day Mayday 1971 demo have been ruled illegal. It was revealed only recently that former Attorney General Mitchell together with spokesmen for the Pentagon and White House had met to plan the government's handling of the demonstration.

—Jim Peck

**LETTUCE ALONE**

A compromise decision to institute a "two-bowl" system of tossed salad selection at the University of Minnesota was announced Thursday by University president C. Peter Magrath.

The decision was an attempt to satisfy demands of groups preferring lettuce picked by members of the United Farm Workers or that picked by the Teamsters.

Under the new system, Magrath said lettuce picked by UFW members will be placed in bowls labeled "UFW" in University dining facilities. Lettuce

picked by the Teamsters will be labeled differently.

"Such a policy, it has been suggested, could serve as a fair resolution to this sensitive problem," Magrath said.

The school conducted a referendum last week among students and employees to determine the amount of support for boycotting head lettuce and grapes. A total of 19,295 favored a boycott, while 18,830 opposed it.

"There are too many inconsistencies in the results to read any clear mandate into them," said Magrath.

—WIN Lettuce Bureau

**ARMY SAYS SOLDIERS MUST REFUSE ILLEGAL ORDERS**

"The American Government and most other nations take the law of war very seriously," says US Army Training Film 21-4228. The new film was produced to explain in graphic terms a soldier's responsibilities in warfare, according to Army spokesmen.

"After World War II many members of the German and Japanese forces were brought to trial on charges of having committed war crimes," the film says. "The accused often claimed that he was 'just following orders.' But this was ruled no defense. Those who had committed acts they knew, or should have known, were wrong, were held responsible for their acts. Convicted, they were jailed and, in some cases, executed."

The same fate awaits American military men who violate international law, the audience is reminded. The best way to respond if ordered to do something unlawful is to ask questions, the film says. But if this doesn't work, the soldier must refuse the order.

The narrator admits that "it takes guts to stand up in this kind of situation." What is not said is that one reason it takes guts is that the Army itself has so far been the only judge of what constitutes an illegal order. If the Army decides the order was legal, then the GI is found guilty of unlawfully disobeying an order, and is subject to court martial and a maximum sentence

of five years hard labor and a Dishonorable Discharge.

The film was made as a result of the killing of civilians at the South Vietnamese hamlet of MyLai, according to Army Secretary Howard Callaway. "Our training takes into account what happened at MyLai and takes into account the seriousness of it," Callaway said.

As part of its new approach, the Army says it is stressing General Order 100, issued in 1863 by President Lincoln, that said: "Men who take up arms against one another in public war . . . do not cease to be moral beings responsible to one another and to God."

—NCUUA

### ACTRESS FIRED FROM ROLE IN "LENNY"

The process of raising Lenny Bruce from the level of cult hero to post-humous superstar has begun. All over the country his comedy records are selling, a film of one of his live performances has been released, and Dustin Hoffman (another cult hero) is playing him in a big-budget movie. There is also a play based on his life entitled "Lenny," which is currently being produced in Boston at the Charles Playhouse. While the play glorifies Bruce's martyrdom and the hatred of hypocrisy which caused it, it appears that what has rubbed off on "Lenny"'s producers is one of his least admirable qualities—his complete disdain of women.

Ann McCurry was part of the Charles Playhouse "Lenny" company when it opened on October 29, 1974, earned good reviews as Rusty, Bruce's wife, and was fired on November 5, because, as she stated, "an important member of the cast" (not officially identified by her for legal reasons, but named by Charles Cohen, owner of the theater, as Marty Brill, star of the show) demanded her dismissal. Ms. McCurry claims that she had been the object of the actor's sexual advances, which she had repeatedly rebuffed. Although she was given these actions as the reason for her firing, when Ms. McCurry informed the producers of her intention of fighting her dismissal, the story changed. Suddenly she was guilty of professional incompetence, causing trouble backstage, and harming the morale of the company. To refute these allegations are two signed statements, one from her agent who states that his client was being dismissed at the demand of another cast member, and another from every member of the cast—minus one—declaring that in every facet of work Ann McCurry's conduct had been excellent.

Supporting statements have been made by such diverse groups as the San Francisco Mime Troupe and 9 to 5, Boston's organization for women office workers; and a committee of support has formed calling for a boycott of the play.

Ann McCurry's situation is neither unusual nor unprecedented. What makes it important is her determination not to simply resign herself to an unfair dismissal, but to jeopardize her career by "making trouble," i.e. fighting for her rights as a woman and a worker.

For more information, the Ann McCurry Support Committee can be reached c/o the second wave, Box 344, Cambridge A, Cambridge, MA 02139. (617) 491-1071. —the second wave

### LARZAC IN TROUBLE

It was recently reported to the WRI office that the peasants of Larzac who have been nonviolently resisting the expansion of an Army training base onto their land in the south of France are experiencing severe problems. Peasants and residents of the Communauté de l'Arche had occupied a small group of houses near military property. In early January the farmers were attempting to drill a well for the residents of the occupied houses when a group of soldiers arrested them. They were taken away but we haven't received word on their whereabouts or if they remain in detention. The army has issued a public statement that it plans to expand and speed up its occupation of the land within this year. Letters and telegrams of protest should be sent to the Minister of Defense in Paris as soon as possible. Messages of support and solidarity should also be sent to peasants—Les Truels du Larzac 12100, Millau, France.

—WRI Newsletter

### NEW VET GROUP FORMED

In Atlanta, Georgia, over the weekend of January 17-19, 1975, a new organization, the National Forum on the Forgotten Victim of the Vietnam War—the Third World Veteran, is to be primarily a vehicle for meeting the needs of veterans of the War in Vietnam who are Black, Chicano, Native American, Puerto Rican, etc.

The National Forum established a three-point program. Top priority of the group is to make it possible for Vietnam veterans to receive ample benefits. Special emphasis will be given to the needs of those Third World veterans of the Vietnam Era with other-than-honorable discharges.

The second set of priorities are focused on the discharge review

process. This process, according to the National Forum, is too long, cumbersome, and expensive to be of value to most veterans. The group plans to do two things in relation to this situation. One will be education of Third World Vietnam Era veterans about the discharge review process. The other is to initiate action with the Department of Defense to create regional Discharge Review Boards. At the present, there is only one Discharge Review Board, located in Washington, DC.

The third set of priorities of the group is to work to establish the following three items: (1) a single type discharge for future veterans; (2) amnesty for all persons, military and civilians, punished during their involvement with the war in Vietnam, and (3) revision of the Uniform Code of Military Justice to make it meet constitutional standards.

Those who wish further information can write or call Adrian Powell at 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102, (215) LO3-9378. —MACNS

### FAST EDDY RECEIVES FUGITIVE FROM JUSTICE AWARD

At noon on Jan. 20 the Democratic mayoral candidates for the city of Chicago (excluding Daly) held a question and answer symposium at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle Campus. The three candidates present were: Richard Newhouse, a black liberal, William Singer, a white liberal, and Edward V. Hanrahan, a white racist, famous for the murder of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton. The Circle Independent Radical Group, a loose collection of diverse leftists, decided to confront Hanrahan with a bit of drama.

As students took their seats in the Auditorium and before the candidates took the stage, six members of CIRG (pronounced "surge") climbed the stage and announced the winner of this year's Fugitive from Justice award. It was none other than the atrocity party's candidate Fast Eddy V (for vicious) Hanrahan. Amid boos, applause, and cameras one of the group proceeded to give a short political rap while another went in search of the winner to hand over the pink ribboned scroll. Hanrahan turned his back on the award, and CIRG was swept off the stage, but the point had been made.

Hanrahan's speech was insipid, but the audience responded vigorously. When the candidate pleaded for people to vote "qualifications not complexion" a student familiar with Hanrahan's record jeered "in that case you had better pull out of the contest." A comment that brought down the house.

Later Willie Reed, the Socialist

Worker Party mayoral candidate, challenged the symposium for at first inviting her and later withdrawing the invitation. Singer invited her on stage to speak which she did. She spoke of the bankruptcy of the Democratic party while Newhouse mocked her from behind.

Quinn Brisben was announced as the Socialist Party's candidate the same day. He is running on a platform of disarming the police and abolishing rapid transit fares.

—Lee Webster

### LEGAL BOOK BURNING

The Supreme Court 1/13 let stand decision that books published in North Vietnam and other Communist countries can be seized and burned if they enter the United States without specific government permission.

The justices refused to hear an appeal challenging portions of The Trading With the Enemy Act, which prohibits trading with several nations without a license. US district court judge Barrington Parker of Washington upheld the law.

The challenge was brought by Susanne Orrin, who tried to re-enter the United States after a brief trip to Canada with three books published in North Vietnam.

The books were seized by customs agents at Niagara Falls and were later burned. Their total value was under one dollar.

The Trading With the Enemy Act requires anyone seeking to obtain goods from listed "enemy" nations to obtain a license. The license requires the goods be a gift so that US dollars do not flow into enemy nations. Obtaining the license sometimes takes several months.

Orrin said the law is basically intended for merchants. In any event, she told the high court, it is unconstitutional when it prevents individuals from bringing books or films into the country because it violates rights to free speech and press.

—News Desk

### CONFERENCE ON ECONOMIC CRISIS

With the usual perception of radicals, the War Resisters League set up a Task Force on the Domestic Crisis at its National Conference held the Labor Day weekend. And with unusual energy, the Task Force began its work by meeting the day after the National Conference, setting up the first informal consultations September 27, a broader meeting November 1, a major national meeting December 14 in Atlanta, Georgia, and now plans a larger two day national meeting in

Philadelphia on March 1-2.

Groups that have been involved or had representatives present at the meetings, include: Fellowship of Reconciliation, American Friends Service Committee, Women Strike for Peace, Womens International League for Peace and Freedom, Gray Panthers, Socialist Party, New American Movements, Movement for a New Society, Peoples Party, National Interim Committee for a Mass Party, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Clergy and Laity Concerned, American Indian Movement, Fight Back, and with observers present in the Atlanta meeting from the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party.

The three primary thrusts of the Coalition on the Economic Crisis are: Full Employment, Control of Inflation, Massive Cuts in the Military Budget. Beyond that, however, there has been general agreements that the questions of racism and sexism must be confronted and can only be fully confronted in the context of full employment. And there has been general though not unanimous agreement that something like democratic socialist forms need to be introduced into the economy.

The Coalition has hired staff and set up offices at 339 Lafayette St., NYC 10012. Write for full information on the coming Philadelphia conference.

—David McReynolds

### AMERICANS DEMONSTRATE IN SAIGON

Nine Americans demonstrated January 24, 1975 for six and one-half hours in front of the American Embassy in Saigon, South Vietnam. They called for an end to the US sponsored war in Vietnam. The group held a large banner, written in Vietnamese and English stating "Americans Want Peace in Vietnam / US End War Aid" and placards demanding "US Government: Implement the Paris Agreement," "Free All Political Prisoners," and (Ambassador) "Martin Stop the LIES." They also distributed over 1000 leaflets to Vietnamese passersby. The demonstration began at 11:30 am and continued until 6:00 pm. At that time, Immigration officials told the protestors that they could return the next day, if they agreed to return to their hotels. One-half hour after returning to their hotel, it was surrounded by police jeeps, armed guards swarmed through the lobby and the group was hustled off to Tan Son Nhut airport under armed guard. The demonstrators were told that they had violated Saigon law

and they were then deported to Bangkok, Thailand.

The Saigon police watched the demonstration from their jeeps across from the Embassy. After about two hours, the police blocked off traffic from the street and began negotiating with the demonstrators. It is believed that the police were under orders not to arrest the Americans for fear of creating an embarrassing scene in front of the large number of Western and Vietnamese press correspondents witnessing the event. At one point, a Saigon police official asked one of the demonstrators, "Why don't you go to the VC for peace?" He replied, "It is the American government that is supplying the funds for war. In fact, from every one of my paychecks is taken taxes that go into your own salary."

Saigon citizens who witnessed the demonstration were said to have been very receptive, with only a small number fearful to take the leaflets that were being passed out.

The demonstrators are: Louise Bruyn and Paul Shannon of Boston, Massachusetts, David Harris of Palo Alto, California, David Nesmith of Fremont, California, Al Hurwitz of Detroit, Michigan, Margie Kolchin of Baltimore, Maryland, Ann Cohen of Pasadena, California, and Jack Nicholl and Paul Ryder of Santa Monica, California.

—IPC

### SPIRO IS MAKING IT OK

In fact, the former Vice President who copped-out of an inevitable prison term by pleading guilty to income tax evasion, will wind up a multimillionaire.

So states his real estate partner, Walter Dilbeck, in an interview printed in *Parade* Magazine January 19.

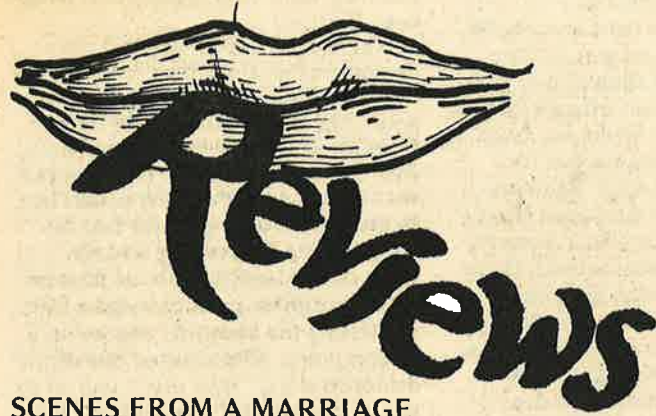
"During the Nixon Administration, Nixon handled the Israeli contacts in the Mideast, and Ted (Agnew's nickname) handled the Arab contacts. He made a lot of important friends among a lot of important people.

"The deal I made with Agnew called for me to pay him \$100,000 a year for four years, plus one-third of the profits of the first year, and half of the profits of the other three. After four years Ted Agnew is free to go on his own.

"What's more, he's going to end up a multimillionaire."

So—no reason for Nixon to despair: there might well be more than a Ford in his future!

—Jim Peck



## SCENES FROM A MARRIAGE

Directed by Ingmar Bergman

## A WOMAN UNDER THE INFLUENCE

Directed by John Cassavettes

After viewing *A Woman Under the Influence* and *Scenes From a Marriage*, for their perceptions about the changing state of marriage and our understanding of male-female relations and roles, the aptness of the titles proved striking.

*A Woman Under the Influence* used to refer to a person down on her luck who had taken to drink. In the liberated seventies, it means a woman down on her luck from her marital addiction.

And *Scenes From a Marriage* not only refers to the episodic quality of the script-line but to the fragmented character of a man and woman's relationship. A marriage is perhaps our society's most convincing and common dramaturgy; a life of brief vignettes, calling forth all our talents of role-playing, characterization, style, pretense and emotion.

A behavioral psychologist, using video cameras, has recorded the amount of time of interpersonal relating that occurs between husbands and wives in a typical week. His finding was that a couple spends 27½ minutes—yes, minutes—a week in conversation. The rest was spent mainly in silence or, more euphemistically in this instance, non-verbal communication.

Marriage consumes us all in its grip. Those married measure their status and happiness by it and most singles either find themselves defining their state negatively (not married) or waiting for Mr. or Mrs. Right to come along. Even in its death grip, we surrender lovingly.

Consumption. Normally a materialistic phrase. Yet it also holds a medical meaning in the annals of disease (dis/ease?). And it is the latter usage that both women in these films suffer from.

Gena Rowlands and Liv Ullman are both being swallowed by convention, false expectations and other people. Their selves, in the early stages of each film, are so weak as to be more the extension of an overgrown "them" which has invaded their marriage and is forcing them to feed it and obey its commands.

Both women also share an inability to stand up to the mother figures in these films. Ms. Ullman wants to cancel a family dinner to spend time with her husband but dreads calling her mother. When she finally says "no," her mother cajoles her into changing her mind.

Ms. Rowlands has an Italian mother-in-law who is so strong and still knows what is best for her son 30 years later when he takes another woman. She remains the hovering third party to the marriage. Her attention is showered totally on her son, however, and not shared.

She calls one morning to tell her son that she has a pain in her abdomen, causing Nick to panic and promise to come

see her right away. When Mabel Longetti's breakdown begins, mother is there with some reassuring words for her daughter-in-law: "My son says, 'She gives me nothing.' You're empty inside."

These women are displaced persons, suffering from a lack of identity. *Scenes* starts with Johan and Marianne being interviewed by a news reporter. Both are asked to describe themselves. Johan reels off his identity smoothly. He is a professor at the Psychotechnical Institute and has a grocery list of other distinctive attributes.

Marianne, by contrast, is nervous and at a loss. "I'm married to Johan and have two daughters" is her first response. "I think Johan is awfully nice" follows. She returns to her motherly role and Bergman makes us, the audience, uncomfortable with her fumbling. As the film develops, we discover who is the truly strong person and who is the fumbler.

The diagnosis of non-identity fits Mabel Longetti. Her husband, Nick, brings his crew of blue-collar construction workers home for a meal after an all-night shift. As the men enter and greet Mabel, Jim Turner says, "I work with Nick." She, at a temporary loss to explain her presence, finally places herself in his world by answering, "I'm Mabel, I live with Nick." Can there be men who, after seeing these two movies, will deny that women have been mistreated at a terrible human and social cost by universal convention?

*Scenes* and *A Woman* will be viewed as "women's" films, speaking more personally than any cinema to date about women's role and its crushing burden. Yet, for me, there is a hopeful sign for sexual understanding in both films; they were each made by men, two craftsmen of film who are also great plumbers of the human psyche.

Bergman and Cassavettes are vulnerable enough to accuse their sex of committing crimes of humanity upon other persons, however unwittingly or clumsily. By so doing, they proclaim that "man-hating" need only be an evolutionary phase of the women's movement rather than a fixed condition.

The label of "women's film" however is wrong because these movies also examine, by a Yin-Yang process, man's condition as both reflection and continuation of where these women leave off. Nick (Peter Falk) is a working class victim while Johan (Erland Josephson) is a white-collar captive of industrial society. They are both, unknowingly, divided selves. Falk is an updated Stanley Kowalski, inarticulate but inwardly seething, while Josephson recalls Torvald Helmer, the unfeeling husband from Ibsen's *A Doll's House*.

In Nick's Italian, worker world, the man is king, number one, with all the answers. He is not malicious or wicked but merely an unreflecting chauvinist. When Mabel tries dancing with a black man at the morning meal, Nick, betraying his racism and his need to control, yells, "That's enough, Mabel, you've had enough."

She persists and he quickly puts her back in second place, "Get your ass down!" When the men leave, Mabel turns to Nick and, reflecting her love and loss, asks him, "I didn't do anything wrong? You tell me what to be, Nicky. I can be anything."

As Mabel cracks under the strain, Nick still cannot see his error but instinctively knows that he has been wrong. "I'm sorry if I made a mistake and I did but I love you. Relax and come back to me," he says, gripping her in his arms. Call him a "pig" or a "shit" as one character actually does but he is also afraid and in love with this half-crazed woman. Can he totally help it if he is a thirtyish construction worker whose whole upbringing and social role have prepared him to be exactly what he is?

At the film's end, Nick's response to Mabel's, "Do you love me?" is totally in character. What else but "Let's go

clean up that crap?" Cassavettes' men don't gush love; they find it hard to bare their souls. Yet the search for love gnaws away inside them and propels them forward, like some unique energy source.

Johan's predicament is more familiar to the middle-class mors most of us share to some degree. He is outwardly assured but carefully hiding a point of maximum vulnerability that, one pierced, is all-shattering. The thorough coolness then melts into confusion and powerful doubts of identity emerge—a modern-day Humpty Dumpty.

His smugness and control will probably turn most women viewers off. A good friend told me her uneasy reaction to the film, "I wanted to leave the theatre because of that husband as much as he wanted to leave the marriage."

When the lover whom Johan takes writes a letter of womanly sharing to Marianne, she mentions that he lacks self-confidence though he appears capable. After losing Paula, he is so totally lost that he tries to seduce Marianne during their divorce settlement meeting.

Yet now the tables have turned! She, who in looking at an old school photo album, exclaimed, "I don't know who I am" and "I have never thought 'What do I want?' but always 'What does he want me to be?'" is now the one to draw up the divorce papers. It is Marianne who rejects his too-little-too late advances as a cruel invitation to later disappointment; a straw she would have lunged for only months before. She has come a long way by the time the film is half over.

One problem—really a dangling question—I have with both films is sorting out where Bergman and Cassavettes lay the blame for the terrible suffering these characters endure and live through. Is it with the institution of marriage itself, with mistaken ideas of love we have or, ultimately, with family upbringing and its unceasing domination?

Though Bergman, himself five-times united in holy wedlock, cases some strong barbs at the stultifying effects of marriage, his gaze appears directed elsewhere. Census Bureau figures would dispute that Americans are losing faith in marriage. They are losing faith in sticking out loveless relationships while affirming remarriage as a remedy. Just a little more of the dog that bit you.

All the characters, at some point, exhibit misguided impressions of what it should be like on the other side of "I do"—and but they eventually adjust and both Nick and Johan lose their hard defensiveness in the end. The culprit then is the family. R.D. Laing and Jules Henry would heartily agree. The family is a topic requiring at least another article. It is not an opinion I fully subscribe to (since personal responsibility must be acknowledged) but it is a thesis with clear merit.

In the last "Scene," Johan admits that he is more comfortable with himself and at ease because he has seen that his prior hard exterior and driving force were masks he adopted to satisfy his father's very highest expectations; a false identity chosen so that his parents might beam to their friends and relations, "This is our beloved son, in whom we are well pleased."

Such pleasure comes at such a high price: our selves and sometimes our whole lives. Luckily, in both films, we are shown four shaky but unbowed survivors. Look ye and learn likewise.

—Tom Mullaney

## OPEN SEASON

Directed by Peter Collinson

## THE CRAZY WORLD OF JULIUS VROODER

Directed by Arthur Hiller

By coincidence two films touching on our involvement in Vietnam opened within one week of each other. One deals

directly with the war, the other obliquely. While neither is a filmic masterpiece, both concentrate on the devastating effects of war on the human psyche.

*Open Season* documents a two-week hunting trip by a trio of loud-mouthed friends to the upper reaches of Michigan. Ken, Greg and Art talk vaguely about being in a war; their ages preclude any one except Vietnam. On the way they kidnap a philandering couple ostensibly to be unwilling slaves for the three, doing the cooking and washing in their rustic cabin. Only later does the trio's purpose become clear—the couple will be given a compass and a 30-minute head start, only to be hunted down the way one would track a deer. As Greg says, "Once you've hunted men, animals just don't make it."

*The Crazy World of Julius Vrooder* is the story of a Vietnam vet whose experiences over there have left a permanent psychic scar. He's a resident of a veterans' hospital for mental cripples whose friends include victims of both the First and Second World Wars (the continuity of war's futility). He had been trapped overnight in a bunker with a Vietnamese woman and her dead child. During a nocturnal mortar attack by his own side he was gravely wounded but the woman died. For this he was given a medal for "killing two VC."

During a conversation with a fellow patient Vrooder says, "You've got to forget what happened over there." The other man answers "How?" "How" indeed is the operative question. No matter how strong—or weak-willed the individual, war will exact its toll on his mind. Some, like Ken and Greg and Art, externalize it into mindless slaughter. Others, like Vrooder, internalize it with tragic results. Either way, the consequences to the survivors are the same.

Maybe we as pacifists (or whatever variations on that philosophy) can't comprehend how a person can pick up a gun in the first place and shoot at another living being, but we must try to help and understand those who have done this. We can't allow ourselves to reject them just because their views are diametrically opposite ours.

Some of us went to jail rather than be trained to kill; others of us copped out through deferments (medical, educational, etc.), while still others were forced to leave our native soil. Many of those who did go to Vietnam weren't aware of their options; they believed the ruling class's explanation of stopping Communism. Nevertheless, as human beings it is our duty to aid our fellow creatures. We may not agree with them but we must help the sick, physical and mental. We can't afford to be supercilious, with the attitude that "we knew this was going to happen" or "you got your self into your own mess, brother." We must respond to them, not as pacifist to soldier but as person to person, as one human being to another.

Both films were "dumped" into cities around the country—this means a strict one-week run, little publicity, etc. Yet both films deserved better. *Open Season* is definitely the weaker of the two. Tawdry and tacky-looking, it even attempts to make the penultimate connection between gun and penis. An opening flashback sequence which details the rape of a girl by the three which is covered up by (presumably) rich parents suggests the reason for their later behavior. *Julius Vrooder* is an unpretentious but competently made film. Both should be seen by WIN readers. Hopefully they'll turn up on a cheap doublebill.

—Richard Wagner



# PEOPLE'S BULLETIN BOARD

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

## EVENTS

ANARCHIST LECTURE SERIES: Bob Palmer, "Anarchism and Maoism," Feb. 7th, 8 pm, Freespace Alternate U, 339 Lafayette, NYC.

## PUBLICATIONS

"The Anarchist Basis of Pacifism" by R.V. Sampson. A twenty page appeal to the moral principles of anarchy and pacifism in contemporary society. \$1.00. The Ally Press, 1764 Gilpin St., Denver, 80218.

DISCOUNT BOOKS: HOMESTEADING/ALTERNATIVE LIVING, CHILDREN'S, POETRY. Free lists. All publishers. Special: "International Directory of Little Magazines" (\$4.95 list), \$4.20 postpaid. Spring Church Books, Spring Church, Pennsylvania 15686.

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.

ASIAN ANARCHISM, past/present/future, theory/practice, is focus of new libertarian English-language bi-monthly published in Japan. Six-issue sub \$3 for individuals. Free sample copy, write: Dept. WIN, Libero International, Box 1065, Kobe, Japan 650-91.

THE SOCIALIST TRIBUNE is for building a non-sectarian democratic socialist movement. Send for a free sample copy. 1012 No. 3rd St., Suite 317, Milwaukee, WI 53203.

PEACEWORK is a monthly New England Peace Movement Newsletter. Lively regional communications tool. For sample copy: 48 Inman St., Cambridge, MA 02139.

## PRODUCTS

WOMEN'S AND OTHER POLITICAL RECORDS. Willie Tyson, Meg Christian, Lavender Jane, Red Star Singers, others. SASE for list. We're an anti-profit, collectively-run store. BREAD AND ROSES COMMUNITY MUSIC CENTER, 1724 20th St., NW, Dupont Circle, Columbia (DC) 20009.

100 WATT NON-ELECTRIC LIGHT. Aladdin kerosene lamps, 20% off. Smokeless, odorless, noiseless. No pumping. Catalog 25¢. Country Light, Box 5142, Rome, Georgia 30161.

SPREAD THE MESSAGE—WEAR A BUTTON. "Practice Nonviolence" button 25 cents each. Nonviolent Studies Institute, 912 East 31st St., Kansas City, MO 64109. (816) 931-2093.

FORD-ROCKEFELLER An Historic Event, Yours is the Only Generation that can say, "DON'T BLAME ME I DIDN'T VOTE" BWOE Unlimited, Dept. W1, Box 693, NYC 10013.

## OPPORTUNITIES

ACUPUNCTURE TRAINING: Home Study Program now backed by optional US seminar series. Clinically orientated course, nonmedical terminology. Acupuncture supplies, books, charts, instruments, also available. INSTITUTE, Box 219-W, Toronto, Canada M6M 4Z2.

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

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

Teacher for alternative school, ages 4-11. Building on farm, salaries low. Living situation potentially available. Send resume, Deep Run School; RD 7; York, Pa. 17402.

## HELP!

Prisoners collecting stamps. Donations of stamps, books, albums, anything philatelic needed. Terry L. Flower, Box 2304, Station-B, Lincoln, Ne. 68502.



## A RARE OFFER FOR COLLECTORS OF RARE THINGS

An historic limited edition of just 100 copies of the fourth issue of the poetry magazine *Unmuzzled Ox* (Autumn, 1972) featured the work of Daniel Berrigan, Clarence Major, Barbara Guest, Andrienne Rich, Michael McClure, John Giorno, Rochelle Owens, Allen Ginsberg, Charles Bukowski, David Ignatow, Gerard Melanga, Michael Andre, Jerome Rothenberg and many other fine poets.

In addition to the high quality and diversity of the work contributed to this issue it is unique in that Daniel Berrigan and Allen Ginsberg have signed each individual copy, as has John Wesley, the cover artist.

A few copies are still available at a cost of only \$12 each with the proceeds all going to WIN Magazine.

Since supplies are very limited we suggest that if you are interested in obtaining a copy of this singular publication that you act very soon.

Make checks payable to, and order from:

WIN Magazine  
Box 547  
Rifton, NY 12471

FUTURE HUMAN SURVIVAL? The Reality Foundation needs your help! Would concerned investors, writers, scientists, and other individuals, seeking to work for mankind and future, human survival, please write M. Brockman, REALITY, 404 Vine St., Fayette, Missouri 65248 for information. Help with postage will be appreciated.

Send group process tools, exercises, suggestions for a FACILITATORS MANUAL by 3/1/75 to Gary Brunk & Mary Extrum, Center for Conflict Resolution, 420 N. Lake St., Madison, WI 53715.

Resources, references, ideas needed for discussion of alternatives to current law-enforcement practices, disarming police, citizen resolution of conflict without reference to police powers. Write R. Scott Kennedy, 892 Camino del Sur, Isla Vista, CA 93017.

Lonely prisoners desiring correspondents are: L. JOHN SHEEHAN, Box B-32060, IER-CB36, Florence, AZ 85232; PHIL ARRINGTON, 136-634, PO Box 69, London, OH 43140; and STAN UZIEL, 132-506, PO Box 57, Marion, OH 43302.

## SERVICES

Need a Detroit distributor for your book, magazine, comic etc? Try us: Progressive Energies, Box 122, St. Clair Shores, Mich. 48083.

DON'T DIE WITHOUT A WILL! Will forms plus attorney's instructions—\$2.00 (refundable). Tony Cottone, Dept. B10, 5210 Palco Place, College Park, Maryland 20740.

Free Tax Clinic, Tax Resisters Welcome—send large stamp self-addressed envelope to South City Tax Clinic, 652 So. East St., Holyoke, Mass. 01040. Donations of used US & foreign stamps, trading stamps, coupons & the like are accepted.

# COOK-BOOKS FOR VEGGIES!



Whether you're avoiding meat on principle, or just because you can't afford it anymore, these six cookbooks can help make a vegetarian diet as nourishing and enjoyable as it ought to be. Order with the coupon below.

Indicate number of copies

- |   |        |
|---|--------|
| _____ 1. VEGETARIAN COOKERY                                       |        |
| Janet Walker  | \$2.00 |
| _____ 2. VEGETARIAN COOKING MADE EASY AND DELECTABLE              |        |
| Veronica Veza   | \$2.00 |
| _____ 3. VEGETARIAN DELIGHTS                                      |        |
| K.R. Mehta  | \$2.00 |
| _____ 4. VEGETARIAN GOURMET COOKBOOK                              |        |
| Joyce McKimmel  | \$2.00 |
| _____ 5. NATURAL FOOD COOKBOOK                                    |        |
| Dr. H.C. Bend   | \$2.00 |
| _____ 6. HOME GARDEN COOKBOOK: Delicious Natural Food Recipes     |        |
| Ken Kraft   | \$3.00 |
| _____ 7. SPECIAL OFFER: All six cookbooks for \$11.00.            |        |
| POSTAGE AND HANDLING: 25¢ for one book; 10¢ each additional book. |        |

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL TO: Goodbox/Realbox 455  
10B Mt. Auburn Street  
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Allow three weeks for delivery

# Still Available!

(But this is probably your last chance. . .)

## THE LORDLY HUDSON collected poems of Paul Goodman

"Driver, what stream is it?" I asked, well knowing  
it was our lordly Hudson hardly flowing,  
"It is our lordly Hudson hardly flowing,"  
he said, "under the green-grown cliffs."

Be still, heart! no one needs your passionate  
suffrage to select this glory,  
this is our lordly Hudson hardly flowing  
under the green-grown cliffs.

"Driver! has this a peer in Europe or the East?"  
"No no!" he said. Home! home!

be quiet, heart! this is our lordly Hudson  
and has no peer in Europe or the East,

this is our lordly Hudson hardly flowing  
under the green-grown cliffs

and has no peer in Europe or the East.  
Be quiet, heart! home! home!

Goodman considered himself a poet first of all. And justly so; the best of his poems will remain in the public mind long after his polemical writings have disappeared. —The New York Times Book Review

The Lordly Hudson, long out-of-print, is the first collection of Goodman's poems, and contains the original text of the classic title poem. The new collection of his verse costs \$12.50; but while they last, this high-quality paperback is only \$1.25 postpaid. Order now before they're gone!

Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ For \_\_\_\_\_ copies  
of The Lordly Hudson at \$1.25 each.

Mail to: Good Box  
Real Box 455  
10 B Mt. Auburn St.  
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

# A Gift for You

if you subscribe now to  
"The liveliest magazine on 'the left'"\*



\*From the Village Voice

If you take this opportunity to subscribe to WIN for a full year (44 issues) we'll send you your choice of either of these important and haunting books by veterans of the Vietnam war. Published by 1st Casualty Press, both books examine the human dimension of what we did in Vietnam.

**FREE FIRE ZONE** is a collection of 24 remarkable short stories that explore, in the words of the editors, "direct violence and the subtler forms of cultural rape and pillage." Publishers price: \$2.95.

**WINNING HEARTS AND MINDS** is a moving collection of poems written "out of fire and under fire." Publishers price: \$1.95.

.....  
 \_\_\_ Enclosed is \$11 for a year's subscription. Please send me a copy of (check one):

- \_\_\_ FREE FIRE ZONE
- \_\_\_ WINNING HEARTS AND MINDS

\_\_\_ Skip the subscription, just send the book(s) for their regular price. Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for:

- \_\_\_ FREE FIRE ZONE (\$2.95)
- \_\_\_ WINNING HEARTS AND MINDS (\$1.95)
- \_\_\_ Skip the books. Enclosed is \$6 for a six month sub.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

WIN \* Box 547 \* Rifton \* NY 12471

ORDER NOW!!



## Peace Literature

**THE SOVEREIGN STATE OF ITT** by Anthony Sampson. As absorbing reading as a quality whodunit, is this complete biography of ITT. 335 pp. .... \$1.75

**WARRIORS OF PEACE—WRITINGS ON THE TECHNIQUES OF NONVIOLENCE** by Lanza del Vasto. An excellent summation of revolutionary nonviolence including accounts of nonviolent campaigns conducted by members of his Community of the Ark in France. 226 pp. .... \$2.45

**KIND AND UNUSUAL PUNISHMENT** by Jessica Mitford. Finally out in paperback, is this vivid expose of the American prison system. 340 pp. .... \$1.95

**SONGS OF PEACE FREEDOM & PROTEST**, collected by Tom Glazer. Since this was the biggest selling book at the WRL National Conference, possibly it will appeal to WIN readers. 340 pp., .... \$1.95

**ANARCHISM** by Daniel Guerin. An absorbing account of the history and theory of anarchism. 192 pp. .... \$2.45

**Special Issue of FELLOWSHIP on the Middle East.** Articles on many aspects of "The World's Most Vulnerable Powder Keg." ..... \$0.50

### AMNESTY

(Ford's phoney "amnesty" and our campaign to boycott it has spurred the drive for unconditional amnesty.)

**AMNESTY: WHY? FOR WHOM?** A complete, easy-reading pamphlet on the subject. 12 pp. .... \$0.20

**AMNESTY PACKET** Ten items of vital information on the subject. .... \$1

To: **WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE**  
 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012

I enclose \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for items checked.

I enclose \$ \_\_\_\_\_ contribution to the WRL.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_