

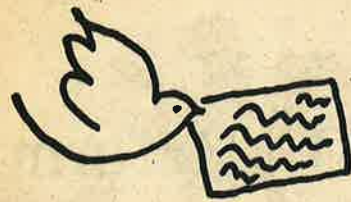
win

PEACE & FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

PORTUGAL: Reform or Revolution?
ANDREA DWORKIN: Redefining Nonviolence; Bicycling Through the Bicentennial



Revolutionary Portuguese soldiers on base, 1st Engineering Regiment (operational headquarters for the April 25th revolt).



Henry Bass is wrong about the reasons for the nonappearance of Rudi Supek & Ernest Mandel at the recent People for Self-Management Conference. Supek was visaed out of Yugoslavia but chose to attend a conflicting (I think UNESCO) conference in Paris. Mandel was visaed into the US by the State Dept., but he cancelled at the last minute because his wife was ill.

—NORMAN RUSH
New City, NY

The article on "Wages for Housework" by Jackie Greenleaf [WIN, 7/3/75] really did provide a "revolutionary socialist feminist perspective" on an important problem. Readers might be interested in knowing that research has been done which provides useful information to supplement such a political analysis.

Over the past few years, the New York State College of Human Ecology, Cornell University (Ithaca, NY 14853) has produced a number of publications relating to the economic implications of housework based on this research. A list of these references is available from the Department of Consumer Economics and Public Policy. Perhaps the most interesting item in regard to Ms. Greenleaf's essay is "The Dollar Value of Household Work" by Kathryn E. Walker and William H. Gauger (Information Bulletin No. 60, available for 25¢). This publication provides specific monetary figures, depending upon such variables as family size, age of youngest child, etc. for the economic worth of the activities of female houseworkers ("wives") both who do and do not hold outside jobs.

Another worthwhile study which was commissioned in conjunction with the recently concluded UN World Conference of the International Women's Year is entitled "The Situation of Women in the Light of Contemporary Time-Budget Research" (document no. E/CONF. 66/BP/6) by Alexander Szalai, Professor of Sociology at the Karl Marx University of Economic Science, Budapest.

I am currently involved in a case before the NY State Workmen's Compensation Board, representing a female worker who

was injured in the course of employment, and we are raising the issue that the amount of compensation to be paid should include the value of housework which can no longer be performed as well as lost wages.

—PHIL BEREANO
Ithaca, NY

Bradford Lyttle in his article "What are the Lessons of Pacifism" [WIN, 6/19/75] is too much of an apologist for NLF violence, even though at times very half heartedly. I found myself saddened by the use of violence by all sides in the Vietnam war. The "success" of that violence was quite immaterial to me.

In using any means to fight evil and attempting to justify it, we of course ignore the "man" in which the evil is found, while often times engaging in the same practices we say we hate or want to eradicate. It is much more difficult to see a practice eliminated when we engage in it and reinforce it while trying to eliminate it. Most importantly, however, Mr. Lyttle ignores the redemptive possibilities for man or woman. We must remember that God desires not the death of the sinner, but that he turn away from his evil ways and do good.

In conclusion I will make one confession, concerning my feelings regarding SE Asian violence. Although as mentioned previously, I was saddened by it, I felt also a particular sense of responsibility for that engaged in under the auspices of the US Government. As a US citizen I am under a legal and constitutional obligation to see that my government's action in the world is moral and lawful. In SE Asia for many years I obviously failed in that duty, as the violence continued to be carried out in my name.

—JAY B. LANDAY
Atlanta, Ga.

In his June 26th column, Brian Doherty attempts to show that there was an economic angle to the Vietnam war after all. He asserts that the capitalists lost markets when the US withdrew, citing figures from *Billboard* and *Rolling Stone* that supposedly show that the record industry will lose \$300 million worth of business a year because "the Americans have left Vietnam, presumably with their stereotypes."

What *Billboard* and *Rolling Stone* apparently don't understand is that the stereotypes will continue to consume records now that they are back in Kansas and Delaware, just as Ambassador Bunker's dog will continue to eat Alpo.

Economic interpretations of the Viet-

nam war simply don't hold water. Vietnam is insignificant as a source of raw materials. The market it provided us for American goods has come home. Besides, the Communists have shown every willingness to trade with us. Ho Chi Minh, after all, smoked Salems until the day he died.

Imperialism has a variety of causes—economic, political, military, psychological, religious, and cultural. Satisfying Henry Kissinger's ego was far more important to the continuation of the Vietnam war than economics. In general, the American capitalists were opposed to the war, as anyone who read the *Wall Street Journal* realized.

The world is far more complicated and interesting than Lenin realized.

—HENRY BASS
Boston, Mass.

I have received your renewal notice. Allow my subscription to expire. Your magazine has depressed me the past several months for several reasons:

The expression of support of violence in some of your articles, and many of your letters to the editor, is contrary to the non-violent movement. (On a related issue, alleged bank robbers are innocent until proven guilty, even if the alleged robbery involves murder, but one should not applaud the alleged action just because the accused supports your social or political cause.)

The use of barn-yard language may be a good test of our belief in free speech, but I doubt if it helps recruit more people to the anti-war cause. Indeed, a few of the articles use the same four letter word so often that one wonders if this word is the only item of interest for the writer.

Disagreements among your writers and readers are expressed with a remarkable lack of tolerance for the other's position. If one feels the other person is beyond salvation, one should probably refrain from any comment at all except for a positive exposition of one's own position.

I guess sexual problems are a major problem for upper middle class dissenters and frustrated activists. I wonder whether the use of your magazine as the doctor's couch is really successful treatment. For my own cure, I much prefer to concentrate on the healthy, a la Maslow, not on the sick.

May you someday recover the spirit of the peace that is beyond all understanding.

—DONALD S. GROLL
Shoreham, Vt.

The latest issue on "Lesbian culture" has distressed and disappointed me.

My reason for supporting you all these

years has been your positions on war and peace and the political problems affecting them.

Whatever the problems of lesbian culture, they are *not* problems of war and peace.

I think you have somehow gotten way off track and used to do some solid rethinking about *where* you are and *what* you are.

—BERNARD KASSOY
Butternut Hill Studios, NY

We believe all movements relating to liberation of people of any sort are directly related to "war and peace and political problems affecting them."

—WIN
The letter by Stephen T. Willingham in the May 29th issue of WIN makes implicitly the important point that there are times when force and violence must be used to achieve legitimate goals. In countries with democratic liberties, it is usually best to use argument and persuasion to achieve political ends; however, when these avenues of resistance are closed off, such as under authoritarian and colonial governments, the use of violence may be necessary.

An example of this occurred in the Warsaw ghetto in Poland during the Second World War. Having been herded into a closed sector of the city and subject to virtual starvation, the people heeded traditional Jewish leaders who attempted to bargain with the Nazis while they were taking people to the extermination camps. Only too late was it realized that appeasing the Nazis was a fruitless venture, and the armed resistance that was finally formed was unable to overcome the massive German fire-power.

We can apply this event to the Vietnamese situation. It is difficult to believe that the French were about to give up their colony without a struggle, and had not the Vietnamese nationalists chosen the path of armed resistance, the country would probably still belong to France. It took the battle of Dien Bien Phu, which cost tens of thousands of French and Vietnamese lives, to convince the colonialists to leave. It took twenty more years of war to convince the US neo-colonialists that attempts to subjugate the Vietnamese people were hopeless. All of this would not have happened had the Vietnamese merely begged and petitioned the French for liberty.

War must never be glorified, and its horrors should be constantly brought before the public eye. It must be realized that war is not the worst evil that can befall mankind and that goals exist that justify its use.

—WILLIAM J. VOLONTE
Charlottesville, Va.

pickers

some think they have their wars to wage, driving them from city to country to city, but the landscape turns out not to be so important after all, just seasonal. they create some of it while listening to the latest news, emerge from their apple baskets ready to pick, ready weighing in dreams by the ¼ lb. and their kids, a thousand arms hung out the window, are quick to understand everything, hoes under arms

mushroom out of the back seat nervously, and full of quick eyes, stare at the beanfields, hear of xochqual, invent pictures. . .

they follow it down the side roads at thirty, lunging toward romeo, michigan on two bad tires, full of the night in their faces.

—Peter Brett



FOODFLOW

with

city nested in fans, farms

rows of rows

backs hoe rows hoe wide

the flow of onions, rice

where we bow

shapes. . . yield. . . sickle paddy

lattice round townships reap foods

fan to homes, for

city

with

—Michael Corr



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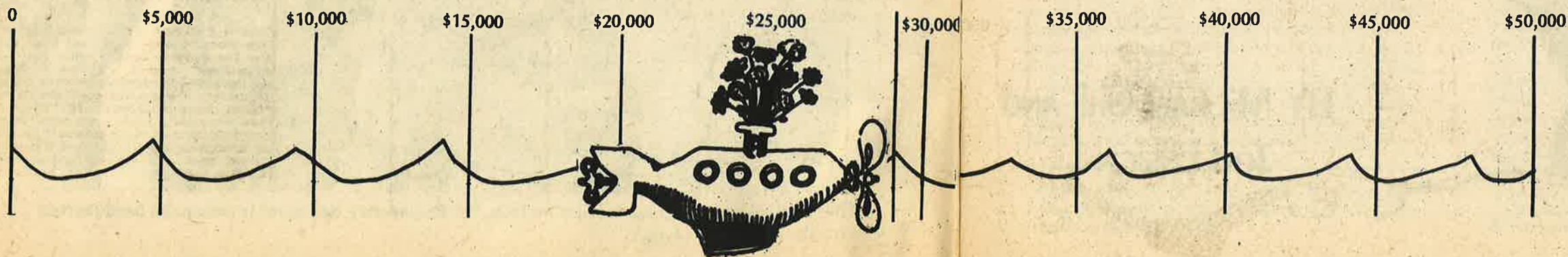
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PORTUGAL: REFORM OR REVOLUTION?

BY MICHAEL UHL AND
TOD ENSIGN

Collage by LNS Womens Graphics Collective.

After decades of isolation, Portugal has suddenly become a subject of interest to informed Americans. The poor quality of reporting in this country's media has made it difficult to get accurate information about the complex series of events there. We travelled to Lisbon not knowing quite what to expect. We had no illusions about the desire of the wire services or the *New York Times* to report fairly on the revolution taking place in Portugal. However, we weren't quite prepared for the degree to which these news outlets have distorted developments there. Some years ago, George Lichtheim, writing in *Commentary*, compared the reporting of America's so-called "national" newspapers with that of *Le Monde* and the *London Times*. He concluded that the day-to-day foreign reporting in the American papers was shockingly poor. We would guess that their coverage of Portugal represents a new low, even by their impoverished standards.

To redress this imbalance, we spent most of our time interviewing activists and others whose activities have been virtually ignored in the regular press. However, we also spoke widely with "ordinary" folks, workers, soldiers, and the like. What we saw was a country in the midst of a social revolution.

The failure of the right-wing coup on March 11, 1975, ushered Portugal's revolution into a new stage. Its defeat was the culmination of months of turmoil set off by the resignation of General Spínola and his followers last September. Spínola's removal evidenced the ascendancy of the militant socialist wing of the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA). As news of the March coup attempt spread, thousands of workers spontaneously occupied their factories to defend them against sabotage by the *putschists*. Thousands more poured into Lisbon's main plazas where they cheered the mobilized soldiers.

Since then, many big capitalists along with their military allies have fled into exile. Should they return, they'll be tried for high economic crimes. A clandestine force, the Portuguese Liberation Army (ELP) has been formed in Franco's Spain, reportedly with South African and Brazilian "volunteers" joining the exiled Portuguese. The notorious Colonel Schramm, who led mercenaries in the Congo in 1961, is rumored to be one of the ELP commanders.

With the coup crushed, the April 25th elections for the new Constituent Assembly went ahead as scheduled. During this period of intense campaigning, Portugal's "enlightened" capitalists joined the ranks of the Socialist (PS), Christian Democrat (CDS), and Popular Democratic (PPD) parties. As one young Portuguese Army officer commented, "The Socialist Party is for clever capitalists and uncles workers." This officer, who participated in the April 25th revolt, is a member of MES (Left Socialist Movement), which the MFA officially describes as "made up of Marxist Christians and other dissidents of the (old) democratic opposition." The MES "encourage(s) mass anti-capitalist struggles and the (immediate) transformation of existing institutions," and therefore its disparagement of the PS's socialist credentials is certainly predictable.

Several political groupings that are not "far left," however, have questioned whether the Socialist Party is sincerely concerned with ending capitalism. For example, a recent editorial in the *25th of April*, the

organ of the MFA, indirectly questions the Socialists' "commitment to socialist goals."

The electoral success of these social-democratic and capitalist parties has been well publicized. The fact that they received 60% of the votes is due to several factors. The largest vote-getter, the Socialists, benefitted from appearing to share the goals—both vaguely advocate socialism—of the MFA. In the rural areas, where 65% of the population lives, the Catholic Church's unremitting anti-Communist litany help swell their totals. Village priests warned that the Reds would eat their babies, rape the women, and steal the *campesinos'* land. In the cities, a half-century of Salazar's anti-communist propaganda fed fears about the Communist Party (PCP). The small vote totals received by the PCP, the UPD, MES, and other left-socialist parties, doesn't accurately reflect their influence among the military and key sectors of the working class.

The Communist Party controls the *Intersindical*, Portugal's giant trade-union federation, many municipal administrations, and has a large following among landless peasants in the Alentejo region in the South. While the PCP did make an intensive effort to win votes, the other left parties emphasized political education and grass-roots organization over campaigning. They criticized the elections as a "ploy designed to divert newly-released energies and to slow the rapid growth in class consciousness."

Since the elections, Socialist leader Mario Soares has played to the Ford-Kissinger strategy of isolating Portugal by repeating their distortions of the *Republica* newspaper case. Ford and other NATO leaders have seized upon the closing of the newspaper as "proof" of the MFA's undemocratic character and the pitfalls of flirting with "communism." Major newspapers in the West have endlessly chimed variations on the same theme. They claim that the newspaper was seized by its Communist workers after their efforts to control the paper's editorial policy were rebuffed. Lisbon's cafes are buzzing with a different version of "O Caso Republica." It goes like this: The printers wanted to create a workers' commission similar to that existing at all other Lisbon newspapers. They also wanted the paper to reflect *all* points of view. Further, 80% of the *Republica's* workers are members of the Socialist—not Communist—Party. The Socialist editor Raul Rego rejected their demands and the paper was closed by the military. On June 16, when the MFA offered to open the *Republica*, Mr. Rego presented a new list of conditions, including the right to fire militant union leaders. For the moment, the MFA has rejected this.

If the closing of *Republica* by the MFA were simply an attempt to silence an independent newspaper, as James Reston and others in the western press allege, then democratic socialists should be deeply concerned over what appears to be an abridgment of free speech. However, the actual situation is more complex. *Republica* is not an official organ of the PS. It is a privately owned newspaper, whose editor, Rego, closely follows the Socialist line. Rego seems to be essentially a maverick, who did courageously criticize the Salazar/Caetano dictatorships and was jailed on several occasions. Yet it's from the "prerogatives" of private ownership, not freedom of expression, that Rego apparently claims the right to totally control the editorial policy of a mass-circulation daily. The workers disagree.

We heard similar criticism directed at the PCP-controlled newspapers in this regard. Workers'

Michael Uhl and Tod Ensign visited Portugal in June. They both work for the Safe Return Amnesty Committee in New York City.

Soldiers in the MFA marching at the funeral of a soldier killed in the attempted coup in March. Photo from Lotta Continua/LNS.



commissions have been set up to run these papers—*O Seculo*, *O Diario de Noticias* and *O Diario de Lisboa*—but so far they continue to pursue a narrow editorial policy of reporting mainly the PCP perspective.

Beyond wanting a newspaper in which a broader range of views is expressed. (True freedom of expression—Why not give Rego a column?), the move to establish a workers commission at *Republica* is harmonious with the new wave of self-activity epidemic today within the entire Portuguese working class. The spontaneous formation of workers' commissions reflects the deep desire of the Portuguese to re-organize production for use and not for profit. Naturally, each left party has its own analysis of the historical conditions in Portugal today, and therefore, its unique beliefs on the degree to which true workers' self-determination can be achieved in the immediate future.

Soares has also begun to exploit another point of conflict within Portugal—the Azores. He has pleased the Americans by offering a "blind eye" toward the continued use of Azores bases by US military supply planes. There is strong suspicion in Portugal that the US is somehow involved in the newly-emerged separatist movement in the Azores. In reporting on a separatist rally on June 6, *Newsweek* referred, for the first time, to *Portuguese Azores*. Settled by Portuguese 500 years ago, the Azores is no more a colony than is Long Island a colony of the US.

As a condition for conducting the Constituent Assembly elections, the MFA obtained a pledge from each political party that none would use the election results as a means of altering the representational balance between the parties during the transitional period. But, once the ballots were counted, the Socialists began complaining about "imbalances in power" despite their covenant. In late May, as a further escalation, Soares' party presented a three-point ultimatum to the MFA. They demanded that the *Intersindical* be dissolved, followed by local union elections, that *Republica* be reopened immediately, and that new municipal elections be held. In response, the MFA has acknowledged "certain distortions" and has promised to study the requests.

The Constituent Assembly is intended by the MFA to draft a constitution, outline basic rights, and generally plan for a transition to civilian rule over the next three to five years. Any proposals, however, must be consistent with an independent, socialist Portugal, and subject to the approval of the MFA. Thus, the outline of the contest for power has begun to emerge. On one hand, the social democrats and reformers are pressuring for greater authority for parliamentary forms like the Constituent Assembly which they dominate, while urging a go-slow policy towards nationalization of domestic capital and foreign investment. Opposed to this are the radical members of the MFA's Council of the Revolution and Military Assembly (Portugal's de facto legislature) who, with left socialists, are organizing hundreds of popularly controlled institutions in the factories, barracks, and rural *fazendas*. As hundreds of factories and farms have been seized by their workers, workers' councils have sprung into being. Dinamization Brigades composed of soldiers who conduct political education have been linking up with these ad hoc councils, housing commissions, and local governmental councils to form Popular Assemblies.

An understanding of the ultimate bankruptcy and failure of Portugal's African policy is essential to understanding the domestic revolution now taking place. The deepening debacle there had a profound impact on the military. Desertion rates climbed astronomically from 1967 onward, with nearly 100,000 soldiers refusing further service. Resistance in the combat zones also grew. In Guinea-Bissau, for example, many pilots refused to fly missions against the guerrillas. At the command level, the futility of seeking a military solution slowly gained acceptance. This fermentation led to the clandestine formation of the Captains' Movement. On March 6, 1974, just weeks before the ouster of Caetano's regime, it published its Declaration of Principles. The Declaration's main points were (1) that the African wars are unwinnable, yet the Caetano government was committed to a military solution, (2) the existing "fascist" government must be replaced with a democratic one, and (3) all "fascist" institutions must be immediately dismantled.

On the night of April 24th young officers across Portugal listened for the signal they had long awaited.

When they heard the outlawed popular song, "Grandola Villa Morena" (Grandola, sun-baked town), they moved quickly into action against the Caetano regime. Popular reaction to their seizure of power was truly overwhelming—40 years of tyranny ended as thousands of people poured into the streets, singing joyfully and passing red carnations among the soldiers. Having weathered the Spínola period of transition and his abortive grab for power on March 11th, the MFA emerged with increased authority over all sectors of the government and military. The MFA's slogan, "Putting Portugal on the Road to Socialism," became the military's priority. Sentiment has grown steadily within the Military Assembly for employing revolutionary solutions to Portugal's pressing problems.

In response to the attempts of the PS, PPD (Spínola's allies), and CDS (only avowed capitalist party) to court the foreign press and intriguers, the MFA has revised its course by cementing its ties to the new social and productive structures being created daily by the grassroots movements and by bypassing the parties' machinery. It should be noted that we found the rank and file of all parties to be considerably to the left of their respective leaders and platforms.

The deep respect and trust which most Portuguese appear to have for the MFA, has made its job that much less difficult. The Armed Forces-People Alliance (MFA/POVO) posters one sees everywhere are not shallow rhetoric, but reflect a true social relationship. This reality was illustrated by the lack of popular response to the inaugural session of the Constituent Assembly on June 2. Only a handful of people gathered outside the solidly classical Sao Bento Palace to cheer the opening salvo of the moderate reformers. As Americans, we were initially suspicious of the unqualified support enjoyed by the military. For us, the military has frequently been the most brutal instrument for enforcing US foreign policy and, to a lesser extent, a means of suppressing dissent within our country. In Portugal, however, it was the military that ended the draconian dictatorship and brought forth the promise of democracy and freedom. They were the ones who defended the revolutionary process against a band of Spínolistas on March 11th. Our hotel's concierge confided that the MFA is "the guardian of the revolution." The fact that the military is integrally involved in most aspects of the revolution—unlike the armed forces say, in Allende's Chile—must cause the CIA and the National Security Council's 40 Committee great consternation.

The MFA is not a political party. In fact, it reflects the contradictions and diversity existing in the Portuguese working class. No one political tendency or party appears to dominate the 240-member Military Assembly. Most leftists we interviewed saw this as positive. For the present, they are content to work in unison, sharing a fundamental belief that Portugal can create a truly democratic workers' state in the foreseeable future. One young economist described for us the unified program of the diverse tendencies within the Military Assembly. "There is unity of practice," he said, "forged around three basic objectives: (1) democratize the military, thus preventing abuses of authority and plotting by commanders; (2) establish soldiers' councils at the barracks-level and encourage links between these councils and the municipal and workers councils that exist nearby, and (3) create Popular Assemblies composed of elective representatives from these councils so that

planning and production decisions reflect local needs and priorities."

During our interviews, it became clear that the Military Assembly's steering committee, the Supreme Council of the Revolution, is balancing two contradictory policies. On one hand, they tolerate the creation of workers' organizations to challenge the traditional prerogatives of the owners. On the other, they proclaim respect for private ownership and opposition to nationalization of property. However, they've already approved the expropriation of the banks, insurance companies, and private mass transit within Lisbon. Possibly the MFA tolerates the tide of spontaneous worker/soldier/tenant activity because it cannot stop it without risking civil war. More likely, however, the MFA is anxious to avoid antagonizing its NATO allies and trading partners and hopes that a moderate public posture toward social change in Portugal will buy time against debilitating economic sanctions or worse, direct military intervention.

At a June 12th press conference in Lisbon, we asked Minister of Information, Correia Jesuinho to estimate the total number of factories and farms that had been occupied by workers and were now administered by workers' commissions. What, we asked, was the MFA's position on workers' management, soldiers' and residents' councils, and the like? Mr. Jesuinho minimized the extent of such seizures and explained that they *only* occurred where the owners had abandoned their property. He assured the assembled press corps that the MFA opposed any occupation not preceded by abandonment. In our opinion, his deception typifies the strategy of the MFA on this explosive issue! public condemnation and silent approval. The reporters for the various Western dailies and wire services seemed uninterested in this dia-



Businessmen study wall posters on Lisbon's Rossio Square. Photo by Michael Uhl.

logue—being more concerned with filing yet another story on the *Republica* case. If reporters had bothered to go into the factories, barracks, and housing projects around Lisbon, they would have seen through Jesuinho's facile deception and uncovered what appears to be the course of the Portuguese revolution and the de facto policy of the MFA.

The dominant principle underlying this entire process is that through workers' control decisions can

be made at the level at which people live and work which will contribute to the well-being of all society. Further, by creating a national network of local institutions, national economic and social policy can be responsive to the vast majority.

We visited the 1st Engineer Regiment's base near Lisbon on June 4th. It is from this base that the MFA directed the seizure of power on April 24th. Across the street from the headquarters building, the soldiers have fashioned a library and discussion hall from a former armory. Posters with attractive modern graphics adorn the walls. Literature from the entire political spectrum of the left is stacked on the tables. We were guided around the post by Sgt. Jorge Coragem who informed us that most of the organizing among soldiers is being done by members of MES (left socialists). "That's the old officers' club," he said as we approached a three story Victorian mansion. "Now all ranks can go there, to use the bar and other facilities." We stopped for a beer and found the lounge filled with young soldiers enjoying an afternoon break. By American military standards, every soldier there would have been guilty of several rule infractions. The only thing uniform about their appearance was that they combined long hair and platform shoes with well-tailored jungle fatigues. It seems to us that the wearing of camouflage fatigues has for them the significance that beards had for Cuba's revolutionary army.

We talked about the events of the past 15 months with five soldiers selected at random. One had participated in the April 24 revolt. He stated that as the call to arms went out that night, they were told of the revolt in progress. "Not one man hesitated to support the rebelling officers," according to Cpl. da Silva. Political education began immediately after the revolt and reforms were rapidly introduced into the military. Salaries were raised substantially, though pay is still low, most privileges of rank were abolished, and the soldiers were encouraged to organize their own councils to assist the democratization of the military. Utilizing political educational techniques developed in China, Vietnam, and Chile, dinamization brigades have been organized to establish contacts between soldiers and workers and residents in the surrounding areas. Since many of the soldiers had joined clandestine radical groups before the revolution, they were equipped with organizing experience and political theory which has allowed them to join with workers and farmers in the *luta* for social change.

A process of radicalization has also been occurring in the industrial zones of Lisbon and Oporto. Though the MFA publicly denies it, we were told by well-informed activists, journalists, and union officials that thousands of factories, large and small, have been occupied, with their owners moving into exile or the Caxias jail. An array of worker institutions, commissions and assemblies have replaced the bosses and now administer the factories. These administrative councils are typically composed of both skilled and unskilled workers, along with middle-level supervisors who, in the words of a workers' council deputy, "decided not to jump ship."

There is no doubt that the factory occupations have the blessing of the MFA. The membership of the administrative councils has been subject to the approval of the Ministry of Industries. Further, workers' deputies are in constant contact with the MFA to

coordinate its new national campaign, Batalha da Producao (Battle for Production).

One plant we visited, Eurofil Plastic Works, employs 1,600 workers, about evenly divided between men and women. Eurofil had been the property of the Borges Group, one of the largest syndicates in Portugal, which also owned the huge Banco Borges. Jose Banha, a workers' deputy at Eurofil, claimed that all 88 plants of the Borges group have been seized and are now operated by their workers. This number doesn't include 25 or so "ghost" companies used by Borges to conceal profits and to expatriate capital illegally.

After holding discussions with the MFA, the Eurofil workers seized the plant on February 4th. When the managers arrived for work, they were refused entry. Miguel Quina, owner of Borges and one of Portugal's most prominent capitalists, fled to Italy with his entourage to avoid prosecution for "economic crimes."

Worker Commission members we interviewed at Eurofil described their struggles in the past six months to cut costs, maintain productivity, and to seek new markets to reduce dependence on Western Europe. Since 80-85% of the plastic items they make are produced for export, they were particularly concerned about a de facto boycott already underway by West German and British businesses. They told of arbitrary cancellations of many long-standing orders in recent weeks.

The coming months may well be decisive for Portugal's future as a non-aligned socialist country. Civil strife may be intensifying, especially in the rural Duoro area in the North, where priests are aligned with "fascist" landowners against the new order. On June 15, an armed band looted a military barracks in the area, escaping with many automatic weapons. If the major trading countries escalate their boycott of Portuguese goods while freezing their exports to the country, the economic picture could darken rapidly. Portugal's over all exports declined in 1974, with a continued decline registered for the first quarter of 1975. Moreover, Portugal is highly dependent upon the US and Common Market countries—they account for 75% of all her exports. In addition, sales to the African colonies have declined by a third in the past year. As the Ministry of Economics delicately phrased it, "We expect a slowdown in demand from principal clients abroad." Another major source of foreign exchange, payments from Portuguese residing abroad, has also plunged. In part, this is a reflection of the recession in Europe, where a million Portuguese emigrants have worked in recent years. It also reflects the strong disapproval of tens of thousands of Portuguese who now live permanently in other countries, particularly the US and Canada. These communities have been influenced by incessant right-wing propaganda, despite visits by MFA spokespeople.

With the exile of Spinoza and his circle, the lines have been drawn. The question may be: can the MFA and left parties mobilize the people rapidly enough to successfully defend what they term their "national independence" in the months ahead?

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Photo from LNS.

Redefining Nonviolence

BY Andrea Dworkin

... and finally I twist my heart round again, so that the bad is on the outside and the good is on the inside and keep on trying to find a way of becoming what I would so like to be, and I could be, if... there weren't any other people living in the world.

Anne Frank, August 1, 1944,
the last words in her diary written
three days before her arrest.

(1)

Feminism, according to the Random House Dictionary, is defined as "the doctrine advocating social and political rights of women equal to those of men." This is one tenet of feminism, and I urge you not to sneer at it, not to deride it as "reformist," not to dismiss it with what might pass for militance.

Some of you fought with all yr heart and soul for civil rights for blacks. You understood that to sit at a dirty lunchcounter and eat a rotten hamburger had no revolutionary validity at all—and yet you also understood the indignity, the demeaning indignity, of not being able to do so. And so you, and others like you, laid yr lives on the line so that blacks would not

This call was issued in a panel on "Defending Values Without Violence" at Boston College, April 5, 1975 during the Conference on Alternatives to the Military-Corporate System sponsored by CALC, AFSC and Boston College. Andrea Dworkin is the author of Woman Hating (Dutton, 1974) Copyright © 1975 by Andrea Dworkin.



be forced to suffer systematic daily indignities of exclusion from institutions which, in fact, you did not endorse. In all the years of the civil rights movement, I never heard a white male radical say to a black man— "Why do you want to eat there? It's so much nicer eating grits at home." It was understood that racism was a festering pathology, and that that pathology had to be challenged wherever its dread symptoms appeared: to check the growth of the pathology itself; to diminish its debilitating effects on its victims; to try to save black lives, one by one if necessary, from the ravages of a racist system which condemned those lives to a bitter misery.

And yet, when it comes to yr own lives, you do not make the same claim. Sexism, which is properly defined as the systematic cultural, political social, sexual, psychological, and economic servitude of women to men and to patriarchal institutions, is a festering pathology too. It festers in every house, on every street, in every law court, in every job situation, on every television show, in every movie. It festers in virtually every transaction between a man and a woman. It festers in every encounter between a woman and the institutions of this male-dominated society. Sexism festers when we are raped, or when we are married. It festers when we are denied absolute control over our own bodies—whenever the State or any man decides in our stead the uses to which our bodies will be put. Sexism festers when we are taught to submit to men, sexually and/or intellectually. It festers when we are taught and forced to serve men in their kitchens, in their beds, as domestics, as shit workers in their multifarious causes, as devoted disciples of their work, whatever that work may be.

It festers when we are taught and forced to nourish and nurture them as wives, mothers, lovers, or daughters. Sexism festers when we are forced to study male culture but are allowed no recognition of or pride in our own. It festers when we are taught to venerate and respect male voices, so that we have no voices of our own. Sexism festers when, from infancy on, we are forced to restrain every impulse toward adventure, every ambition toward achievement or greatness, every bold or original act or idea. Sexism festers day and night, day after day, night after night. Sexism is the fundament of every manifestation of exploitation. Every form of totalitarian control is modeled on male-over-female domination.

I have never heard a white male radical ridicule or denigrate a black man for demanding that the Civil Rights Act be passed, or for recognizing the racist values behind any refusal to vote for that act. Yet, many left-wing women have said to me, "I can't quite figure out the politics of the Equal Rights Amendment." Further discussion always reveals that these women have been denigrated by left-wing men for being distressed that the Equal Rights Amendment might not pass this year or in the near future. "The politics of the Equal Rights Amendment" aren't really so obscure—a refusal to pass ERA is a refusal to recognize women as being sound enough in mind and body to exercise the rights of citizenship; a refusal to pass it condemns women to live's as chattel before the law; a refusal to pass it is an affirmation of the view that women are inferior to men by virtue of biology, as a condition of birth. Among political people, it is shameful to be a racist or an antisemite. No shame attaches to a resolute disregard for the civil rights of women.

In my view, any man who recognizes yr right to dignity and to freedom will recognize that the dread symptoms of sexism must be challenged wherever they appear: to check the growth of the pathology itself; to diminish its debilitating effects on its victims; to try to save womens lives, one by one if necessary, from the ravages of a sexist system which condemns those lives to a bitter misery. Any man who is yr comrade will know in his gut the indignity, the demeaning indignity, of systematic exclusion from the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Any man who is yr true comrade will be committed to laying his body, his life, on the line so that you will be subjected to that indignity no longer. I ask you to look to yr male comrades on the Left, and to determine whether they have made that commitment to you. If they have not, then they do not take yr lives seriously, and as long as you work for and with them, you do not take yr lives seriously either.

(2)

Feminism is an exploration, one that has just begun. Women have been taught that, for us, the earth is flat, and that if we venture out, we will fall off the edge. Some of us have ventured out nevertheless, and so far we have not fallen off. It is my faith, my feminist faith, that we will not.

Our exploration has three parts. First, we must discover our past. The road back is obscure, hard to find. We look for signs that tell us: women have lived here. And then we try to see what life was like for those women. It is a bitter exploration. We find that for centuries, all through recorded time, women have

been violated, exploited, demeaned, systematically and unconscionably. We find that millions upon millions of women have died as the victims of organized gynocide. We find atrocity after atrocity, executed on such a vast scale that other atrocities pale by comparison. We find that gynocide takes many forms—slaughter, crippling, mutilation, slavery, rape. It is not easy for us to bear what we see.

Second, we must examine the present: how is society presently organized; how do women live now; how does it work—this global system of oppression based on gender that takes so many invisible lives; what are the sources of male dominance; how does male dominance perpetuate itself in organized violence and totalitarian institutions? This too is a bitter

exploration. We see that all over the world, our people, women, are in chains. These chains are psychological, social, sexual, legal, economic. These chains are heavy. These chains are locked by a systematic violence perpetrated against us by the gender class men. It is not easy for us to bear what we see. It is not easy for us to shed these chains, to find the resources to withdraw our consent from oppression. It is not easy for us to determine what forms our resistance must take.

Third, we must imagine a future in which we would be free. Only the imagining of this future can energize us so that we do not remain victims of our past and our present. Only the imagining of this future can give us the strength to repudiate our slave behavior—to identify it whenever we manifest it, and

to root it out of our lives. This exploration is not bitter, but it is insanely difficult—because each time a woman does renounce slave behavior, she meets the full force and cruelty of her oppressor head on.

Politically committed women often ask the question, "How can we as women support the struggles of other people?" This question as a basis for political analysis and action replicates the very form of our oppression—it keeps us a gender class of helpmates. If we are not women—if we were male workers, or male blacks, or male anythings—it would be enough for us to delineate the facts of our own oppression; that alone would give our struggle credibility in radical male eyes.

But we are women, and the first fact of our oppression is that we are invisible to our oppressors. The second fact of our oppression is that we have been trained—for centuries and from infancy on—to see through their eyes, and so we are invisible to ourselves. The third fact of our oppression is that our oppressors are not only male heads of state, male capitalists, male militarists—but also our fathers, sons, husbands, brothers, and lovers. No other people is so entirely captured, so entirely conquered, so destitute of any memory of freedom, so dreadfully robbed of identity and culture, so absolutely slandered as a group, so demeaned and humiliated as a function of daily life. And yet, we go on, blind, and we ask over and over again, "What can we do for them?" It is time to ask, "What must they do now for us?" That question, I think, must be the first question in any political dialogue with men.

(3)

Women, for all these patriarchal centuries, have been adamant in the defense of lives other than our own. We died in childbirth so that others might live. We sustained the lives of children, husbands, fathers, and brothers in war, in famine, in every sort of devastation. We have done this in the bitterness of global servitude. Whatever can be known under patriarchy about commitment to life, we know it. Whatever it takes to make that commitment under patriarchy, we have it.

It is time now to repudiate patriarchy by valuing our own lives as fully, as seriously, as resolutely, as we have valued other lives. It is time now to commit ourselves to the nurturance and protection of each other.

We must establish values that originate in sisterhood. We must establish values that repudiate phallic supremacy, that repudiate phallic aggression, that repudiate all relationships and institutions based on male dominance and female submission.

It will not be easy for us to establish values that originate in sisterhood. For centuries, we have had male values slammed down our throats and slammed up our cunts. We are the victims of a violence so pervasive, so constant, so relentless and unending, that we cannot point to it and say, "There it begins and there it ends." All of the values that we might defend

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Drawing by P. Fenty/Off Our Backs/LNS.



The Ben Franklin
Brigade



CONTACT:
Philadelphia Bicycle Coalition
3410 Baring Street
Philadelphia, Penna. 19104

POTATO PRINTS BY MARK MORRIS

The Philadelphia Bicycle Coalition announces the formation of the Ben Franklin Brigade, a network of citizen groups dedicated to the common sense principles of the American Revolution and to the endeavor of rediscovering these principles by way of simple, concrete, everyday alternatives. The Brigade, a citywide coalition of citizens federated with similar coalitions in Washington, Baltimore, Wilmington, New York, Providence and Montreal, submits the following declaration for the Bicentennial:

1) We believe that the bicycle is the most efficient, inexpensive and healthful form of transportation; in terms of a higher standard of living, we hold the bicycle to be self-evident. Therefore, to create a more perfect environment and to initiate a "park & pedal" system of transportation, we urge that automobiles in these cities be equipped with bicycles and bicycle carriers no later than March 31, 1976. Be it known, then, that just as sailboats carry dinghies, so cars shall carry bicycles, the better to pool with, moor with.

2) We urge that buses and subways in these cities as well as trains interconnecting these cities accommodate people's feeder modes" (bicycles, wheelchairs) so as to provide a more optimum transportation, attracting ridership to these systems while serving thousands if not millions of tourists in a convivial way.

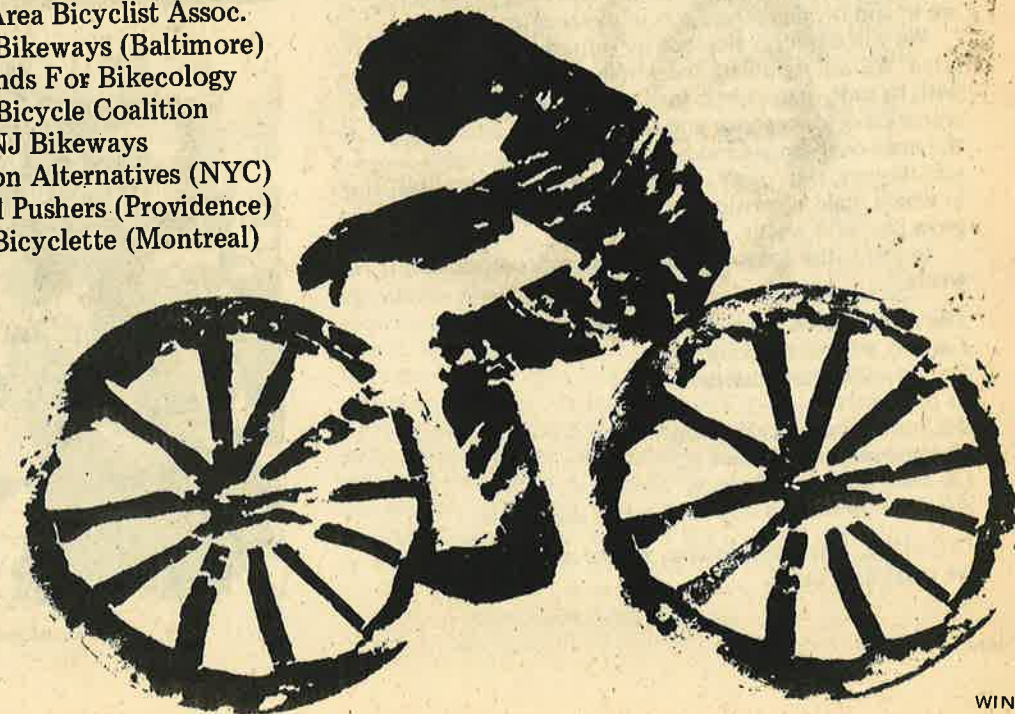
3) We urge that building and zoning codes in these cities be amended so as to provide adequate and convenient parking facilities for people's bicycles. Bicycle legislation shall be introduced and passed to insure the installation of secure, theft-proof bike parking devices at all public buildings, transit stations and historic sites.

4) We urge that bridges, too, be "amended" so as to allow for pedestrian and bicycle traffic, and where appropriate—Wilmington and Richmond—the horse and buggy.

5) In keeping with the spirit of the bicycle, the Brigade takes as its motto: each one teach one, and endeavors to persuade those now dependent upon automobiles to become independent upon bicycles; be it known, then, that a bicycle is the common sense vehicle, conservative on energy, liberal on the environment, a manifestation of Ben Franklin economics par excellence!

The following groups subscribe to this declaration:

- Washington Area Bicyclist Assoc.
- Citizens For Bikeways (Baltimore)
- Delaware Friends For Bikecology
- Philadelphia Bicycle Coalition
- Citizens for NJ Bikeways
- Transportation Alternatives (NYC)
- Yankee Pedal Pushers (Providence)
- Le Monde a Bicyclette (Montreal)



as a consequence of our allegiances to men and their ideas are saturated with the fact or memory of that violence. We know more about violence than any other people on the face of this earth. We have absorbed such quantities of it—as women, and as Jews, blacks, Vietnamese, Native Americans, etc.—that our bodies and souls are seared through with the effects of it.

In my view, any commitment to nonviolence which is real, which is authentic, must begin in the recognition of the forms and degrees of violence perpetrated against women by the gender class men. Any analysis of violence, or any commitment to act against it, that does not begin there is hollow, meaningless—a sham which will have, as its direct consequence, the perpetuation of our servitude. In my view, any male apostle of so-called nonviolence who is not committed, body and soul, to ending the violence against us is not trustworthy. He is not a comrade, not a brother, not a friend. He is someone to whom our lives are invisible.

As women, nonviolence must begin for us in the refusal to be violated, in the refusal to be victimized. We must find alternatives to submission, because our submission—to rape, to assault, to domestic servitude, to abuse and victimization of every sort—perpetuates violence.

The refusal to be a victim does not originate in any act of resistance as male-derived as killing. The refusal to which I speak is the revolutionary refusal to be a victim, any time, any place, for friend or foe. This refusal requires the conscientious unlearning of all of the forms of masochistic submission which are taught to us as the very content of womanhood. Male aggression feeds on female masochism, as vultures feed on carrion. Our nonviolent project is to find the social, sexual, political, and cultural forms which repudiate our programmed submissive behaviors, so that male aggression can find no dead flesh on which to feast.

To establish values that originate in sisterhood, we must not accept, even for a moment, male notions of what nonviolence is. Those notions have never condemned the systematic violence against us. The men who hold those notions have never renounced the male behaviors, privileges, values, and conceits which are in and of themselves acts of violence against us.

We will diminish violence by refusing to be violated. We will repudiate the whole patriarchal system, with its sado-masochistic institutions, with its social scenarios of dominance and submission all based on the male-over-female model, when we refuse conscientiously, rigorously, and absolutely to be the soil in which male aggression, pride and arrogance can grow like wild weeds.

In 1911, the Japanese feminist poet Yosano Akiko wrote:

*The mountain-moving day is coming.
I say so, yet others doubt.*

*Only a while the mountain sleeps.
In the past*

All mountains moved in fire.

Yet you may not believe it.

Oh man, this alone believe,

All sleeping women now will awake and move.

Oh, sisters, this alone believe, we are now awake and we must now move.



Photo from Vietnam News Agency/LNS.



Photo by Blair Pittman/LNS.



Photo by LNS Womens Graphics Collective.

TRUTH AT THE CENTER

SAM TYSON

Nonviolence (poor expression that) is based on truth—Satyagraha—Gandhi's truth force, soul force. For a long time the movement press has complained about less than objective reporting by the regular media. Our own press, however, shows the very same human impulse to play the record we want to hear, that portion of the truth which backs up our bias.

By and large we tend to be careful not to criticize within certain subject areas: Cuba, United Farm Workers, Allende's Chile. Truth is the first to suffer from the reality of the political process. "In war truth is the first casualty"—Aeschylus, Greek dramatist. Truth has so many facets we should be meticulous in its search. Certain aspects should not be blacked out deliberately or by omission.

So much written about the UFW has been as eulogistic as any high school paper. Our side right or wrong—the UFW can do no wrong! This unending praise of the farm workers' union brings several questions to mind. Is the UFW leadership firmly committed to the nonviolent process, or is there a strong segment within the union which has no belief in this form of struggle? What do we hear of their internal power struggles? What does the decline in membership from 40,000 to 10,000 mean for the union and its supporters? In the field and on the street: vituperation, intentional hostility, throwing things, cutting down trees/vines, arson, plea bargaining by those caught with pipe bombs, playing "chicken" with deputy sheriffs as a form of harassment, blocking busses of non-union workers—are these the kinds of actions we want to support? Is there an integral relationship between this kind of low-level personal and property violence and the fire bombing of Safeway stores "for our brothers, the farm workers" (promptly disavowed by the UFW)? Do we need to know that some churches have withdrawn their close support? And why? Are these questions as pertinent to our understanding of the UFW as our knowledge of the recent purge and dismemberment of Teamster Local 1973 (farmworkers)? These questions should affect our relationship with the UFW.

Searching for truth leads people to travel as far as Hanoi, the Mideast, the Soviet Union, Cuba. Does travelling a long distance make us better able to dis-

Sam Tyson is a long-time peace activist who lives in Waterford, California. He is active with the Modesto Peace/Life Center.

cern the truth? We tend to accept at face value statements which come during personal exchanges. Indeed, we are unabashedly open to truth and certainly run the risk of appearing politically naive. Hanoi says the prisoners are not being tortured when in fact they are. Arafat speaks with poetic imagery about Arab desires for peace; later the news shouts out the killing of children as one of these avenues to peace. Must we cease talking with "leaders" because they are two-faced, tell us what we want to hear, use "truth" as a political weapon?

Is it elitism within the "movement" to seek truth at high and low levels so all can be freed by the truth? The peace community by its origins is privileged; a blue work shirt does not change this. The path to truth is an infinitely long journey which may well include side trips (surface activity), like the impeachment of a president—not at all very important. The president created over the years the conditions for his own downfall; he planted those seeds which became impeachment. The truth may set us free but no political process is likely to be able to do so. Truth is self-learned, transmittable only by the living through it. Low-level, not grandiose. Truth is like a tree from a seed which can expand into a forest, a community: Belief must be integrated with action.

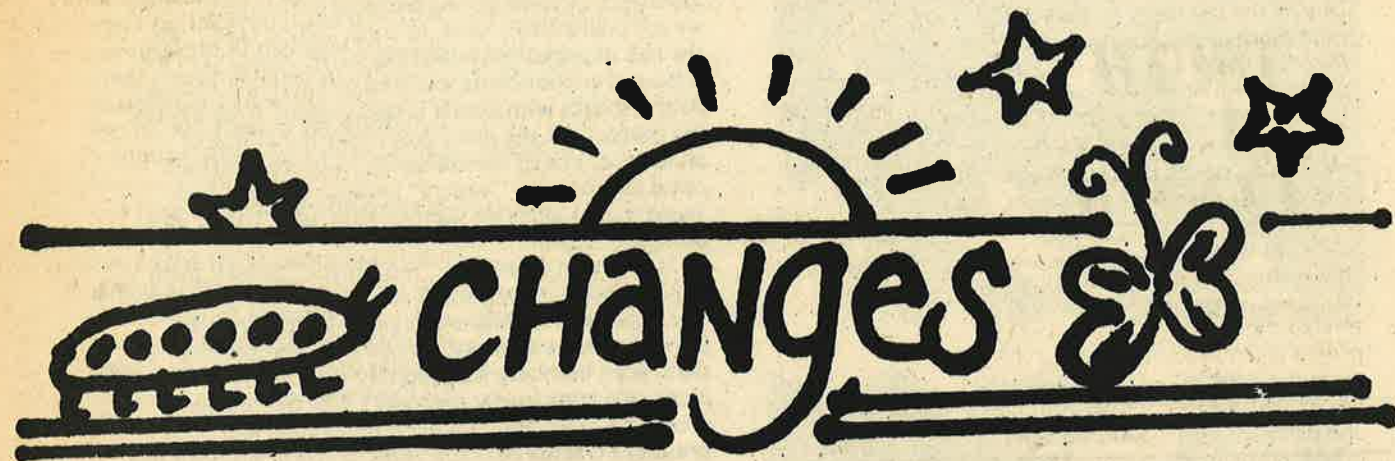
As important for many California voters as the office seekers last November was a constitutional amendment about New Melones dam. This initiative measure was pushed by the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth—organizations with impeccable liberal reputations. It seemed like a natural with one of our best bogeymen as the opponent: US Army Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation. Conservationists wished to block construction of a high dam to preserve an excellent white-water (shallow, swift) piece of the Stanislaus River. A smaller dam for needed flood control work was suggested.

What seemed like a reasonable conservation move turned into a classic example of urban areas treating rural areas in a colonial fashion—an attempt to export a cosmopolitan view from city to country. The white-water area to be preserved is for a small group of users, while clean water for agriculture, clean hydro-produced energy, and downstream development were to be foregone. People to be served by the dam voted 4-1 for its construction while liberal urban areas voted to stop the dam.

Truth became lost in the foam of the white-water of distortion, lies, part truths. New Melones dam, as proposed, was one of the few times the federal bureaucracies had accommodated to citizen pressure: federal agencies agreed to downstream recreational development. This would offset the upstream loss of white-water areas for rafting and kayaking. It did not bother the Sierra Club that rafting is a money-making monopoly nor that local conservation people worked to get changes in the original dam plan. The Sierra Club has a "gag" rule which frees it from opposition of local units once the national body makes a decision—this is conservation democracy in action. Campaign material listed the Audubon Society as a supporter of the initiative, though the Audubon Society cannot take political sides!

Where does all this leave the searcher for the spirit of truth? Patience and endurance are prime requisites

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"VIETNAMESE VILLAGE" PLANNED FOR FLORIDA TOURIST SITE

Reverend Carl McIntire, the conservative fundamentalist preacher, is planning a new tourist attraction for his complex in Cape Canaveral. McIntire has brought some 40 Vietnamese refugees to the site to live in a re-created "Vietnamese village," just "like one our boys went into during the war," he says.

Besides being a tourist attraction, McIntire says the "villagers" will make procelain elephants, vases and other items "that Americans love so well." That Reverend also has plans for another refugee hamlet. . . for Cambodians. —LNS

US MULTINATIONALS USE PRISON LABOR

Several US corporations are using prisoners in Colombia as cheap labor, according to a special investigative report in the June 20 *Wall Street Journal*. The prisoners are paid as little as 45¢ a day for eight hours work. In all cases mentioned by the paper, the US multinationals paid the prisoners less than the Colombian minimum wage of \$1.33 a day, and one US official told the *Journal* the prisoner work program "could be labeled as exploitation of slave labor for a profit." The corporations involved include B.F. Goodrich, Colgate-Palmolive, and the Container Corporation of America. Some of the prison labor projects started a decade ago.

Colombian prison authorities say that about 6,000 prisoners are currently working for US multinationals and Colombian corporations. About 75% of the prisoners have never been convicted, the *Journal* said, and some have awaited trial for as long as ten years. Seventy large Colombian and US companies are supporting a plan to

put the entire prison population to work for private corporations. According to the *Journal*, the proposal has been made by a group called "Action in Colombia," which is financed by Bank of America, Dow Chemical, and IBM, among others.

Union leaders in Colombia told the *Journal* they were unaware of the prison work program, but strongly opposed it. Jorge Carillo, head of Colombia's largest labor federation, told the paper: "This would endanger the jobs of factory workers, augment unemployment, and could even be a way to break or stop a union."

"I wish I could say that we were led into this by higher motives, but I really can't," Raymond Miezels, vice president of Carton de Colombia, a Container Corporation subsidiary, told the *Journal*. "We've just needed a little extra help in the production lines lately, so. . ." Carton de Colombia pays prisoners about 45¢ a day to assemble egg cartons, about 5% of the wages of the company's non-prisoner workers. —Internews

DIVORCE REQUEST REFUSED

A Tulsa, Oklahoma doctor still in training recently requested a divorce from his wife, stating as one of his reasons that his wife's lack of a college education would prevent him from rising in the medical profession.

His wife had worked to put him through medical school instead of going to college herself. The judge hearing the case refused the divorce request saying that the man was "afflicted with what is commonly known as 'chuck the wife' syndrome." The judge pointed out that a divorce would come at a "most opportune time" for the doctor since he is still being paid relatively little and any assessment of his earnings at this time would not give his wife adequate compensation for her work. —LNS

PHILADELPHIA ELDERLY PROTEST FOR NEW SOCIAL SERVICE RULES

Five hundred elderly people staged a Philadelphia "tea party" June 13 to protest new federal regulations that will make it more difficult for the elderly to receive government sponsored services.

Carrying homemade placards and waving small American flags, the protesters dumped bags of copies of the new rules into the Schuylkill River.

The new regulations will require detailed financial disclosures from all elderly people who wish to take advantage of such social services as senior citizen centers, counseling, and homemaker services. Passed by Congress at the end of 1974, the provisions are scheduled to go into effect in October.

"It means that when we go into a senior center, even just to say hello, we'd have to sign our lives away, in plain words," said one elderly woman in the Action Alliance for Senior Citizens, the group organizing the protest.

Under the new regulations—dubbed the "means test"—applicants must answer four pages of questions about their financial state, including their income and whether any member of the applicant's family has ever received federal assistance. Verification of all information is required.

"The means test is a clear invasion of privacy," charged Frank Bradley, head of the Action Alliance. "It asks us to rat on our relatives. It digs into our personal finances. It assumes that we are chislers. . . We fear that it is an entering wedge to destroy the program (of senior social services) entirely."

Even the Adult Services Division of the City's Department of Public Welfare, which will be responsible for enforcing the new federal rules, supported the protesters. —LNS

PADDLE AGAINST THE NUKES

During the last week in June a 239 mile canoe trip was executed on the Missouri river to protest the proposed construction of a nuclear power plant in Missouri.

Eight canoeists participated in the expedition which began in Kansas City and ended at the site of the proposed nuke.

Stops were made at the six river town along the route. Being canoe voyagers on the mighty Missouri attracted the attention of the townspeople and allowed us to discuss with them the issue of nuclear power. Leaflets explaining the dangers of nukes and petitions asking our government official to advocate safe energy sources were circulated.

Most of the people contacted were not aware of the dangers of nuclear power. Even fewer people were aware that a nuke is being proposed for Missouri.

At the site of the proposed nuke, 400 post card messages were released to the atmosphere via Helium filled balloons. The purpose of the balloon release was to simulate a release of radiation from the nuclear plant. The recipient of the balloon carried message was informed that if a serious plant malfunction had occurred he would now be contaminated by radiation.

We were presently waiting for postcards to be returned thus supplying us with information on how the wind currents would spread the radiation from an accident. —Paul E. Schaefer

"AFTER 25 YEARS—THE PARALLEL"

Yes, Korea. June 25 marked 25 years since the start of the Korean war and today, with 42,000 US troops in Korea, a repeat performance is looming. This is the theme of Yale Professor Gaddis Smith in his *Sunday Times Magazine* article with the above head. He quotes Defense Secretary Schlesinger's recent warning that if North Korea starts "trouble," the US "will go for the heart of the opponent's power. . . and take more vigorous action than. . . during much of the Vietnam war."

On June 25 in New York the Freedom Leadership Foundation founded by the Korean evangelist and ultrarightist Rev. Sun Myung Moon, sponsored "a special commemorative program at the New York Hilton where prominent guest speakers will discuss. . . why America bears the crucial responsibility to protect and

preserve freedom there." (The quote is from a red-white-and-blue flyer distributed by the Foundation outside the hotel.)

In front of the Hilton, some 250 pickets marched in protest and distributed leaflets headed "Stop US War Plans in Korea!" It should have been a coalition demo and with many more pickets. But it was sponsored by only Youth Against War & Fascism and Workers World Party—who, really, deserve credit for initiating a demo which was opportune. —Jim Peck

LESBIAN PRIDE WEEK HELD

Instead of celebrating Gay Pride Week in New York with gay men, most Lesbians here sponsored a separate Lesbian Pride Week (June 21-27) with events exclusively for and by Lesbians. Included were a Lesbian anthropology night, a Lesbian Herstory Night, and a Lesbian Video Tape Night. On Friday hundreds of Lesbians attended a music festival at which Casse Culver, Alix Dobkin and Barbara Cobb, Kay Gardner, and Jade and Sarsaparilla performed. On Saturday, a Lesbian rally was held in Central Park's Sheepmeadow. The women played softball and had a picnic, and then listened to several speakers including Andrea Dworkin, Eleanor Cooper, Lynne D. Shapiro, Julia P. Stanley, Betty Powell, and myself. The week ended with a well-attended and lively dance at Columbia University.

This was the first year that Lesbians ran many separate events and that most Lesbians refused to march with men in the annual Christopher Street Parade (which marks the anniversary of the Stonewall riots). The reasons that the women separated included harassment and shoving of Lesbians by gay men and transvestites in last year's parade, and the booing by men of Lesbian speakers at last year's rally. Most women stated that they felt more comfortable at the separate events, and all signs point to future Lesbian Pride Weeks. —Karla Jay

OREGON OUTLAW AEROSOL SPRAY

Oregon has become the first state to outlaw the sale of aerosol spray cans which use fluorocarbons—most hair sprays, deodorants and insecticides—because of mounting scientific evidence that aerosol use is damaging the earth's ozone layer and may already be increasing skin cancer.

A week after the Oregon Legislature approved the ban—subsequently signed by the governor—the federal Environmental Protection Agency an-

nounced it is concerned about serious aerosol damage to the ozone's ability to screen out ultraviolet rays from the sun, and may ban fluorocarbons soon. Scientific research indicates that it takes 20 to 30 years for effects of fluorocarbons to reach the stratosphere, with irreversible results.

A few days after the federal agency's announcement, Sen. Bob Packwood introduced Congressional legislation modeled after the new Oregon law, which takes effect in March, 1977. "Americans, in their zest for convenient push button products, are spraying away a protective shield that has existed for millions of years," Packwood said.

Available figures show that about half of the world's fluorocarbon use takes place in this country.

Packwood's bill, co-sponsored by Oregon's other senator Mark Hatfield, would require the EPA to enforce the nationwide ban. It also directs the EPA to develop regulations preventing leakage of fluorocarbons (Dupont calls theirs Freon) from refrigerators, air conditioners and other theoretically self-contained systems, and to study possibilities for controlling other sources of atmospheric fluorocarbon pollution.

Corporate producers of aerosol sprays were apparently caught flat-footed by the Oregon bill, and by the time they began to react the measure was nearing final approval. Industry spokespeople later indicated they would begin to withdraw the sprays from Oregon shelves immediately. Corporate interests, of course, can be expected to wage an extensive campaign against federal interference in aerosol sales which amount to about \$3 billion annually.

—Normon Solomon

A FOUNDER OF WRI DIES

On July 5 at Conway Hall, in London, peacepeople gathered for a memorial service for Harold Bing, a lifelong educator and a founder of War Resisters International. He died June 6 at the age of 77 at his home in East Lake.

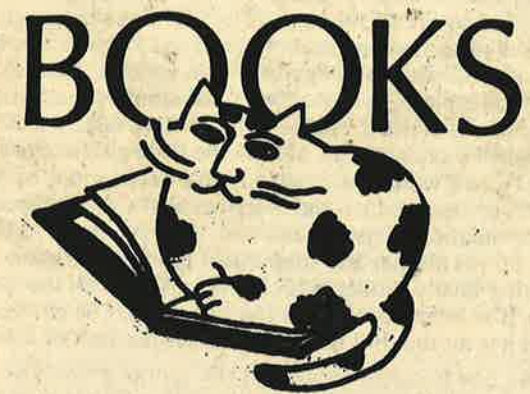
"He has been one of the most important pacifists in the history of WRI," says the July issue of *WRI Newsletter*. "A lifelong pacifist, Harold spent 2½ years in prison as a CO in World War I. He was active in the *No More War* movement, 1920-1938 and founder of its youth section. Active in the Peace Pledge Union since its foundation, he became one of its sponsors. He has been on the WRI Council since 1925 and was chairperson from 1950 to 1966, honorary treasurer since 1972. He never missed a Council, Executive or Triennial meeting except in the last year due to his illness." —Jim Peck



Now that we're no longer wallowing in Watergate, we can sit back and let the campaign reform laws, written in large part by the Rockefeller funded *Common Cause*, take effect. You might remember something about matching federal funds for candidates who met certain specifications, theoretically enabling those with little money to take on the moneybags. It all sounded so democratic, but, as usual, the system works to preserve itself. So far, the only people for the Democrats who have "qualified" to receive tax dollars for their campaigns are two neo-fascists—Scoop Jackson and George Wallace—and, get this, Lloyd Bentsen. If you ask ten people on the street what they think of when they hear Bentsen, nine of them would probably say "Hedges," which should say something about his base of support. The tenth person might be able to pinpoint Bentsen as the millionaire senator from Texas who drinks a quart of oil for breakfast each morning just to remember where his money—and allegiance—is. The fact that he has qualified for *more* money for his right wing campaign, even though he has no popular support is clearly unfair. But then, nobody said it was going to be fair, since it was a law drafted by the two capitalist parties with advice from Rocky's Cause. . . . The events in Portugal are certainly worth watching for anyone interested in a non-violent road to socialism. Due care has to be taken to be aware of the machinations of the Stalinists in that newly rejuvenated and, despite some problems, happy land, but we should be just as careful to watch the machinations of those who call themselves "socialists" to blend in with the political topography but whom by their alliances often play into the hands of the forces of

reaction, led, of course, by the CIA. The press coverage of the Portuguese situation is enough to send a chill down one's spine, reminiscent of what we were reading just before "order" was restored in Chile. The American media appears to be setting up a black and white picture of the moderates (socialists and capitalists) fighting for democracy against the capitalists. The reason might be to prepare the American public for a crushing of everyone to the left of the Socialist Party, including the Communist Party, but also including every revolutionary in the country. If you don't think that the press has been trying to set something up along this line, take a look at what you've been reading, and think about it. First of all, the much celebrated *Republica* is not, as has been reported, the official organ of the Socialist Party, it is a newspaper sympathetic to social democracy. And for those of you who believe that socialism means worker control, take a look at how the media is portraying the mean, rough necked printers at *Republica*. They are pictured somehow as agents of an international communist conspiracy, waiting for a phone call from Moscow to determine whether or not to set the type. If you believe in worker control, you would accept the fact that printers *should* have some input into the decision making of their workplace, including editorial policy. The white collar editorial staff of *Republica* disagreed with the printers, who included communists and people to the left of the communists within their ranks, and locked them out. It is not simply an issue of "freedom of the press," but of worker control as well. The American press refuses to report this, preferring instead to use red-baiting as a basis for

copy and bourgeois moralizing for editorial slant. . . . The National Lawyers Guild has started a radical law school designed to benefit people rather than property. It has very reasonable tuition, and is open especially to applications from women and third world people. If you'd like to find out about a place to study law that doesn't resemble a factory, write The People's College of Law, 2228 West Seventh Street, Los Angeles, CA 90057. . . . An ACLU *Practise Manual on Military Discharge Upgrading* is available from the literature dept. of the ACLU at 22 East 40th Street, NYC, NY 10016. . . . "Watch your step. You may become part of the conspiracy." That's the advice from the folks of the Great Atlantic Radio Conspiracy. They produce tapes for use on the radio on a variety of subjects either not dealt with, or not dealt adequately, by the established media. Their tapes have titles like "Alternative Life Funds," "Books for the People," and "In China, Women Hold up Half the Sky." If you'd like their full catalog, send a request to GARC, 2743 Maryland Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218. . . . The War Tax Resistance national office has moved to California, and will be organizing for a national meeting August 23 for Parkville, Missouri. For more information, write them at their new address—629 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, CA 90014. . . . People interested in acquiring "knowledge, skills, confidence and sensitivity necessary to work as a social change agent" should contact the Training Organizing Collective of the Movement for a New Society, 4713 Windsor St., Philadelphia, PA 19143. They're organizing a program for the fall. . . . That's all for now. Bread and Roses to y'all. —Brian Doherty



JUSTICE IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Howard Zinn / New York / William Morrow, 1974 / 367 pp. \$10.00

Justice is a property of a social system which tells us something about the fairness and humanity of particular social arrangements. The concept of justice is often limited to the prevailing body of legal and social rules but to take such a narrow perspective denies the possibility of human growth and social change. Any movement which defines itself as progressive or change-oriented must try to define justice in terms of its own vision. This task of redefining the meaning of justice is made difficult because prevailing definitions would lead us to accept the status quo. But, the mythology of official justice created by the state, the grand words, the sacred symbols of law and government must be demystified and reevaluated objectively to determine the fit of practice to every proposed set of ideals.

Howard Zinn has offered us an unmasking of American justice in his book *Justice in Everyday Life*. This fascinating work is the result of the collective effort of Zinn, a well-known historian, and students at Boston University. The group set out to empirically verify the quality of justice in their city of Boston. They discovered that the justice of everyday life bore no resemblance to the constitutional guarantees of principles of fairness that were supposed to be available to all citizens of Boston. Hence, these same principles which were enshrined in their texts were little more than obvious lies.

The work of Zinn and his students covers a wide range of issues pertaining to the question of justice. Police illegality is examined as well as the assembly-line justice of municipal court. We learn again of the horrors of prison life and the injustices of the workplace as they are documented in this text. There are detailed descriptions of a variety of situations in which people find themselves at the mercy of insensitive and often brutal service organizations, both public and private. The justice which Zinn and his students sought in their city of Boston was simply non-existent. In most cases, even movements towards reforming institutions were futile; only two selections refer to instances in which organized effort brings about some accountability from institutions designed to serve people.

If there is a prescription that emerges from this work, it is the repeated plea that people gain control of the institutions that most directly affect their lives. And although we have heard this plea before, repetition does not diminish the importance of the message. One can put down *Justice in Everyday Life* feeling powerless and incapable of action. But inaction is not the prescribed solution to the personal troubles described in this book or those problems faced everyday by the readers. Zinn challenges us to try to gain control of the institutions of our community. He tells us that if the effort is not made then we shall never know if people acting collectively can develop a society in which justice is not an empty piece of patriotic gibberish.

The book may be faulted because Zinn and his associates are brilliantly descriptive but weak on interpretations. For example, each section has a summary but these tend to be too short and never really develop a cogent analysis. The writers owe us a share in the interpretations which must have surfaced in their classroom discussions. Indeed, the book would have been substantially improved if the reader were given more direction through the various narratives. Still, the effort by Zinn and his students results in a valuable ethnography of many of our institutions that are supposed to render justice. And, in so doing, *Justice in Everyday Life* may assist those who are trying to overcome structures of injustice and create a society in which human liberation is the first principle of justice. —Barry Krisberg

THE LAST WORDS OF DUTCH SCHULTZ

William S. Burroughs / Illustrated / 115 pp. / New York / The Viking Press / \$8.95

Dutch Schultz, born Arthur Flegenheimer, moves almost naturalistically toward his death—gunned down in the Palace Chop House in Newark, New Jersey, on the night of October 23, 1935—from the first page of William S. Burroughs' new "Fiction in the Form of a Film Script," *The Last Words of Dutch Schultz*. In the little more than twenty-four hours that Dutch had to live, while he lay in a hospital bed, he spoke about 2,000 words, which were recorded by a police stenographer, and which Burroughs uses as a point of departure for this "script." In the first scene we see "a skull-faced porter" with the number 23 on his cap, and that number is an objective correlative to the night that Dutch's "number" will come up; the film, in a sense, represents Dutch's consciousness/delirium and we relive his life thru his eyes as he lies there in the hospital, dying.

As Dutch's life is revealed in the 236 scenes that make up the script, we are never allowed to forget the presence of the police stenographer, who is "thin, grey, spectral, behind steel-rimmed glasses. . . expressionless, pencil poised over his clipboard." The police stenographer—"looking remarkably like Big Bill Burroughs"—provides a counterpart, an objective reality, to Dutch's hallucinating one, and we see Burroughs both as author and as player. Later on, the technician who is helping to tap a phone is described as "the same actor who plays the police stenographer" and the picture of the stenographer given us on page 71 is that of Burroughs, while the numerous other photos appearing throughout the book are those of the "real" participants.

We are told, on the inside dust jacket of the book, that the "fiction" is cast "quite appropriately" in the form of a film script, but we are not told why the events are portrayed any more appropriately this way than they would be in a novel. But the way in which the scenes fade and dissolve, not to mention them tumbling into (or against) each other, given Burroughs' very skillful handling of both the audio and visual elements of film making—the sounds of the hospital occur as a motif, and the scenes can change within

seconds from Dutch being shot at the Chop House to his birth to an atomic explosion to a couple making love—*force* the viewer to respond emotionally (his subconscious reacts for him in that images are often presented so quickly—or simultaneously—that their effect on him is subliminal) whereas he would be able to react intellectually to something that he could read slowly, even reread, and deal with on his own terms, rather than being overwhelmed.

There is no doubt that Burroughs, with this "script", has written his most advanced "cut up" to date. (In the cut up, the printed word or the taped sound is literally cut up and then rearranged at random, letting one's subconscious move the pieces, as one would shuffle and deal Tarot cards, so that they can appear in new visual and sound patterns.) One cuts himself free of established connections and patterns, destroying what Burroughs has called the Control machine.

Allen Ginsberg, in an interview by John Tytell that appeared in *Partisan Review* in the fall of 1974, said Burroughs came into the Democratic Convention Hall at Chicago in 1968, carrying "his tape recorder with all sorts of riot sounds from Tangiers like shutters slamming and (he) started spraying all these sounds out on the balcony of the convention, and within an hour the place was in an uproar." While some might see this as an irresponsible action, Ginsberg goes on to say that Burroughs wants to discover "where the original imposition of brainwash comes from" so that he may combat it and "liberate consciousness from the conditions imposed on it by the Control Forces," whether those forces are the CIA, the economic control monopolists or the antisex forces.

Should *The Last Words of Dutch Schultz* find its way to the screen (what a film it would be) the consciousness of everyone viewing it will not only be "liberated" but blown apart. This "script" has the impact of a .45.

—Arthur Winfield Knight

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND FEMINISM: FREUD, REICH, LAING, AND WOMEN

Juliet Mitchell / Pentheon, 1974 / 435 pages

In the early 1960's Wisconsin historian William Appleman Williams (a founder of the New Left) wrote a book about Marx entitled *The Great Evasion*. It concerned the failure of the American academic community to come to terms with Marxism. The Women's liberation movement and the New Left are also guilty of a great evasion, according to British feminist Juliet Mitchell. They have failed to recognize the validity of the 'science' of psychoanalysis as taught by Sigmund Freud. Whatever one's first reaction this idea may be, there is no longer any doubt that Freud must become a central point of departure for debating the ideologies of women's liberation and the revolutionary movement. It is no exaggeration to say that Juliet Mitchell's tome has already had that great of an impact within the movement (see in particular the essay by Eli Zaretsky in *Socialist Revolution* no. 21/22).

Mitchell's defense of the "science" of psychoanalysis is uncompromising. The term "science" defines the theoretical scope of her work: she is not concerned with Freud's biography since a scientific theory should be verifiable independent of the subject who formulates it; nor does she consider herself bound by the distorted ideological uses to which this "science" has been put. She acknowledges the accuracy of feminist protests against the patriarchal judgments in Freud's works. But she also points out that feminists such as Shulamith Firestone and Kat Millet substitute actual social reality for Freud's mental representation of it and hence have completely misunderstood Freud's intentions.

But the ideological vapors surrounding Freud are so thick that Mitchell is forced to deal with them again and again in her basic exposition of his thought. She reiterates: it is essential to realize that Freud was not speaking literally in his terminology (penis envy, the Oedipus complex, castration). The structures of the mental unconscious rather than the conscious perception of the processes of the mind are the key to Freud's theory. "The Oedipus complex is the repressed ideas that appertain to the family drama of any primary constellation of figures within which the child must find its place. It is not the *actual* family situation or the conscious desire it evokes." (Mitchell p. 63).

Mitchell's explanations of how the little girl is transformed into a woman parallels Freud's descriptions of the Oedipus complex which she describes as the most important formulation of psychoanalysis. Very briefly: The boy's desire for his mother and subsequent fear of castration by the father finally results in his identification with the father (the internalization of the superego). The girl first desires her mother but later experiences her lack of a penis as a loss. She becomes aware that she cannot possess her mother and thus transfers her desire to her father who she hopes will give her a male child, the mental equivalent of a penis. Later the desire for a penis is transferred from the father to the husband. In the pre-Oedipal phase the girl and the boy are similarly assertive. But with the shift of desire for the father in the Oedipal stage the girl's sexuality undergoes a complex transference from her clitoris to her vagina. "There is nothing chemical or biological in this transition—at least not that Freud knew or cared about—the question is one of a psychological shift to the 'destiny' of wifehood and maternity." (Mitchell, p. 108).

The Oedipus complex is the essential process by which the originally bisexual boy and girl enter culture as man and woman. In the Mitchell-Freud thesis the Oedipus complex originates in the symbolic murder of the primal father by his sons who are jealous of his prerogatives over all women and who, after his murder, internalize the guilt they feel over his death. This guilt lies behind the development of morality and the superego. Civilization can thus be defined as respect for the law of the dead primal father.

At this point in the development of her Freudian "science" Mitchell brings in the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss and adopts his kinship theory that the legally controlled exchange of women by men is the basic cultural factor which distinguishes human society from the world of the primates. In primitive societies marriage and the ban on incest established the primitive kinship structures which formed the basis of communication and exchange. The exchange of women by men *between* families and not the family itself is the basis of human society. These primitive kinship structures persist in our own unconscious today in the form of the authoritative role of the father and in the Oedipus complex.

This leads Mitchell directly to one of the most controversial aspects of her argument: the Oedipus complex is expressed through the nuclear family but it originates in kinship structures that are outside it. She locates patriarchy not in the reality of the family situation or in the power of men but in the universal myth of the primal father and the exchange of women.

What logically follows from Mitchell's view of the Freudian unconscious as the "domain of the reproduction of culture or ideology" is an autonomous women's movement which will struggle to create new post-capitalist structures in the unconscious: a new "Oedipus complex," a new method of entering culture, will ultimately have to be brought into existence if the rule of patriarchy is to be destroyed. Mitchell is not, by the way, talking about creating a matrilineage which she views as just another variation

on the theme of the law-of-the-father.

Juliet Mitchell is thinking within the context of a theoretical system that will be unfamiliar to many of her American readers. Mitchell seeks to ground her feminism in science. "Science" in social theory today is the sacrosanct term of European structuralism represented by such divergent thinkers and tendencies as Lévi-Strauss, Louis Althusser, Michel Foucault, Roland Barthes, the *Annales* historical school, the English *New Left Review* (Mitchell is an editor) and Juliet Mitchell's own mentor, Jacques Lacan, founder of 'Ecole Freudienne de Paris.

Juliet Mitchell has thrown down the gauntlet to her American sisters and the movement as a whole challenging us to rise to new theoretical heights. "Long before a situation is analyzed, people wish for its overthrow; such is utopianism or millenarianism and it requires a creative or mystical turn of mind. Often its perceptions are perceptive, its descriptions accurate: Reich, Laing and Firestone offer us near perfect models of this; Freud, I would contend, starts the analysis." (Mitchell, p. 361).

It is not going to be sufficient to simply dismiss Mitchell's Psychoanalysis and Feminism with the usual American anti-intellectualisms ("it's too abstract" or "it lacks common sense"). Rather we would do well to emulate Mitchell's attempt to transcend the mystifications of the present even if we ultimately do so in opposition to the very "science" she promulgates.

—Thomas Good

REVIEW: RECORD

THE DEADLY NIGHTSHADE

Produced by Felix Cavaliere / Phantom Records BPL1-0955

*Did you ever think that you lived in a cage?
Well, they're calling you a "chick"
And the name just seems to stick
And you still don't think you're living in a cage?*

The Deadly Nightshade is the first rock group signed to a major label (Phantom Records is distributed through RCA) to have a clause in their contract prohibiting sexual exploitation in the band's promotion. Naturally, it's an all-woman group. It's been funny to watch the ads, see the advertising department try to live up to its side of the agreement and still use its tried and true methods. Mostly, the ads are just the jacket photo, with a little necessary information like who made it and who plays on it. There was a full-page ad in a recent *Ms*.

So when, on one of my bi-weekly trips to the friendly neighborhood record store, I saw the record, with the picture on the jacket of three normally-dressed smiling women, I remembered all of the above and bought the record on faith. Since it is a friendly store, the guy working there let me listen to it on the store's system. After about three songs, he shook his head and said, "It's too bad. They're gonna get compared to Fanny."

Well, that's ridiculous. No one in this band wears a yellow, pink, blue, and green Afro wig. Fanny is more into heavy metal these days, and the Nightshade is more into country. The Nightshade is also more consciously political. The only real similarity is in the vocals, which for both groups are sweet harmonies. And oh, yes, both bands are all-women. The guy in the store is probably right.

And he's right that it's too bad, because if comparison are forced on me, I'd have to say that technically, Fanny is a better band. Which they should be, since they have the experience and confidence that comes with five albums. But no one feels compelled to compare the New York Dolls to

Loggins and Messina, even though both of those groups are male.

The Deadly Nightshade is a good album for beginning feminists. It's not the most militant set of lyrics in the world, yet there is nothing that a militant feminist would disagree with, or find inconsistent with her own philosophy. Well, there's the song about "We got music and it's all we need" that a welfare mother might find a little hard to swallow, but it probably is true for the musicians who play it. There are songs for situations that different women can understand; a now-successful woman hiring unemployed boss, explaining that he has to meet those same tough requirements she did ("Would you just roll up your pants?"), a bride deciding on her wedding day that marriage isn't what she wants after all, a choice between losing a card game or a boyfriend ("You know I love him madly but I need the money badly"), a wife putting herself first for a change, to her husband's distress, and, my own favorite, a woman who gets a nose-job to win the man she loves. There are also songs about Jesus and Nashville and onions. Something for everyone.

Musically, the band is quite diverse. Their music has elements of rock, country, soul, bluegrass, and pop. The production, however, is not the best. The vocals are mixed so far forward that it is often difficult to hear the instruments. Since this record has a cast of thousands, including stars like Leslie West and Felix Cavaliere and Eric Weissberg, it is unfortunate that they cannot be heard more clearly. That is, however, a very picayune complaint to make about an album that is otherwise so friendly, strong, and supportive.

*Is there someone out there trying to shoot you down?
And they tell you they're not trying to shoot you down?
Well, they're telling you a lie:
Chicks have wings, but they don't fly,
And you don't have to stay down on the ground!*

—Martha Thomases

All lyrics quoted are by the Deadly Nightshade, © 1975 Phantom Music, a Division of Phantom Records Inc./Nucky Light Music Co., Inc. (ASCAP).

Truth at the Center CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

for continued involvement. Truth comes in many forms, from many sources. Each of us puts it together the best we can in our own unique blend. Truth suffers from self-serving. Knowing the negatives of the UFW can coldly turn us off, or, equally, can help us decide how to exercise individual responsibility in the light of these facts. Is the very mobile nature of the farm worker a part of the problem? What have I done to lessen the pressure of this group under siege? Forgetting the theatrics of the guerrilla syndrome, how do we feel towards the ebullient and indomitable spirit often seen at farmworker gatherings? The organization of farm workers has had a long, tough history. Poorly educated, poorly paid, unprotected workers endured hostility and violence. Justice and equality demand the continued and increased involvement by those who believe in a sense of community. When there is a lack at the edge of nonviolence, our responsibility calls us to try to fill the gap quietly, not with a holier than thou attitude. We might just learn something, too.

Justice and equality, as practiced, are not necessarily nonviolent or loving. Our lifetime work is to bring justice/equality closer to the nonviolent ideal so truth can shine more brightly in its wholeness.

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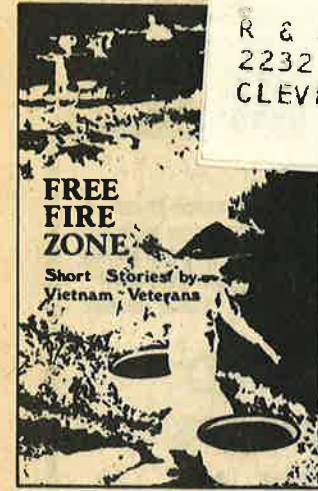
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