

# win

PEACE & FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

## HIROSHIMA NAGASAKI THIRTY YEARS

DEMONSTRATIONS IN  
★ WASHINGTON, DC  
★ DALLAS, TEXAS  
★ SANTA MONICA, CA  
★ WEST CHESTER, PA  
★ GREENFIELD, MA

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I don't want to let any more time pass without expressing my thanks for the way you have been covering the controversy about me.

You have been consistently fair-minded, intelligent and principled in your discussion of the issues involved. I especially appreciated your statement on p. 3 of the July 24 issue: "In the future, we hope to get away from personalities and to examine in depth the complex issues involved. . ." I think you have done a superb job of staying away from "personalities" in spite of the insistence of certain people on slandering and libelling me, while I'm helpless to respond. I am deeply thankful to you for this mark of respect.

Only at one point did I feel resentment against your policies. I recently received a fund-raising flyer for the National Lawyers' Guild, the address label of which matched the one on my free subscription to WIN. As you may know, the National Lawyers' Guild has circulated death-threats against me through their prisoners' newsletter, "Midnight Special." I think it would be of real assistance to prisoners if you denied them access to your subscriber list in the future.

Again, let me thank you for the rare and honorable fashion in which you've dealt with me on your pages.

—JANE ALPERT  
Muncy, Pa.

I don't know much about the work of our sister Rosemary Reuther. I know a good deal about the valuable work and thought of our brother Dan Berrigan. To me, his comments about Reuther in the *Time* interview in WIN [7/24/75] bordered closely on character assassination. Dan's anger over the attacks he has endured in recent months for his loving, challenging stand on the Middle East is understandable (and I am in harmony with his views). But to cite by name three critics, to call Reuther "obsessed" for putting forth what one must presume is a serious theological conclusion, to refer to her by the diminutive expression "the learned lady," is so Norman Mailer-ish it drove me right to the typewriter. Then in the next paragraph to scorn "such judgments" as the products of—in so many words—"second-rate minds," is a

sad example of academic infighting. This seems particularly stark when one remembers that the interviewer is taking this down (for whose edification?) for *Time*. Not only in this a divisive message to present to the corporate ear, but it will suggest to some an attitude of denigration of the current scholarship of women into theology (which, remarked a female divinity school student at a recent peace conference, "is the only really creative work being done in the church today.").

I suspect that most of us slip occasionally into making disparaging remarks about others in our private conversations. I know I do. But the appearance of such remarks here is detrimental to the cause of reconciliation, making it more difficult for some of us to really hear his other words of peace-making and caring. I hope Dan will share with WIN readers a clarification of his views in this area.

—PAT FARREN  
Waltham, Mass.

Two bones to pick:

I was distressed by WIN's coverage of Shoshana's talk [WIN, 7/24/75] at Woodstock. Inasmuch as all three reports were written from the same (anti-left) viewpoint (and thus hostile to Shoshana's position that feminism and the left are indivisible) the coverage amounted to overkill. Further, as the WIN editors know, the two "open letters"—by Diana Davies and Kay van Deurs—were written cooperatively. At best, they belonged on the letters page. My interest in this issue is not wholly objective, of course. Shoshana and I are comrades and friends. But I've also long been active on the WIN editorial board and am aware of the pressures that are often brought to bear on political content. I object to but do not oppose the publication of articles I do not agree with. But in this case WIN should have gone with Jane Gapen's article alone and not given the impression that the entire audience was of one opinion when, from what I heard, there was much positive support.

Secondly, I have strong disagreements with Hendrik Hertzberg's letter [WIN, 7/31/75] on the Uhl-Ensign article on Portugal [WIN, 7/17/75]; an article that did much to straighten out the obvious distortions in the capitalist press (particularly the *NY Times*). (I use the word "obvious" because even without the kind of alternative viewpoint presented by Uhl and Ensign it was evident that what was being reported in the *Times* was from the limited American establishment perspective, hostile to revolu-

tion of any kind. I, too, read the Fallaci interview with Cunhal and the article on the Armed Forces Movement by John Paton Davies. I found both of them bristling with hostility to both Cunhal and the revolutionary movement in Portugal. I think that the Communist leader is dangerously wrong in approving the Soviet intervention of Czechoslovakia, but I found his answers to Fallaci's questions refreshingly clear-headed and blunt; hardly the kind of answers one expects from a Stalinist hack, which is what the American press would like to make him out to be.

Moreover, I am impressed with the program of both the Army and the Portuguese CP which seem closer to China and Cuba than to the bureaucratic state socialism of the USSR. I'm glad that Hertzberg has faith in "free elections" and representative democracy. I only wish that elections might bring about some small measure of democracy in the USA. Certainly, there is nothing sacred about the American political tradition and there is absolutely no reason why we should evaluate the revolutionary processes that other countries choose on the basis of their adherence to our methods.

Even more crucial than the absence of representative democracy is the absence of women in the revolutionary leadership. Given the history of Portuguese culture, women must be particularly oppressed. Can the all-male hierarchy be sensitive to this fact? A revolution that does not deal with sexism as it deals with class is not a revolution at all.

I am no friend of the Soviet system, but other communist countries seem to have learned from its mistakes and are striving to create a decent society. (Which is more than can be said about the US government). Given the history of Portuguese totalitarianism, the influence of the right wing church and the institutionalized anti-leftism of the dictatorship, the effort to transform Portuguese society will not be an easy one. Given the level of political consciousness (and the rate of illiteracy) elections at this point are foolhardy. Americans especially should know that elections do not necessarily lead to democratic rule. There are other political processes that at least ought to be tried.

Hertzberg's defense of the Socialist Party is also surprising, inasmuch as the social democrats in industrialized western nations have often collaborated with capitalism and are not more radical than the liberal wing of our own Democratic Party. Still, Cunhal's insistence that if Portugal does not go all the way down the revolutionary path, there will be a return to

fascism (he foresees no middle ground) was disheartening. The danger that Portugal will become a replica of the Soviet Union or of a postwar Eastern Europe police state is of course present. But the Portuguese people, the Armed Forces Movement and—even the Communist Party are embarked on a brave experiment. There are many powerful people—including the US government and the American press—who would rejoice to see that movement destroyed. We should be critical, yes; but also we should give that revolutionary process all of our support and work at home to prevent what happened in Chile from occurring in Portugal.

—MARTY JEZER  
Guilford, Vt.

One aspect of your July 10, 1975 issue provides a source of serious disappointment, and surprisingly so. It seems internally inconsistent, altogether a contradiction in terms, for a magazine committed to "peace and freedom through nonviolent action" to glorify Susan Saxe. Quite apart from the violent crimes of which she is accused and of which she may or may not be guilty, her statement is, among other things, an exhortation to violence. She writes, after all, that "armed struggle against the American state was (and remains) a valid and necessary escalation of the politics of the '60's." (Bracketed addition and emphasis is mine.)

Personally, I am deeply opposed to the foreign and domestic policies of this government, and to its economic system which feeds the fat while skinning and exploiting the rest of us. As one who strives toward pacifism, however, I likewise reject and abhor what Ms. Saxe stands for. Her statement is that of a violence-monger. Fit though it may be for glorification in a *Weatherman* publication, perhaps, it is miscast in a pacifist periodical.

Your own preface includes a rejection of Saxe's violence perspective. Why then proceed to focus sympathetic attention on her, let alone glorify her? Since violence is not incidental but integral to Saxe's position, she and her principles are at loggerheads with WIN's philosophy and *raison d'etre*. I would have hoped that if WIN had decided to be attentive to the Saxe affair at all it would have been with disdain rather than applause. Let us not be so desperate for heroes that we stoop to adopt inauthentic ones. This is one Defense Fund I shall pass up.

—ALBERT S. AXELRAD  
Brookline, Mass.

While I agree with much of Jackie Greenleaf's "Wages for Housework" [WIN, 7/3/75], there are many questions left unanswered. One very important question is whether such a significant reform can be accomplished under capitalism? The main concern for a capitalist is profit and expansion. And while housework is a necessary social service it is not readily translated into dollars and cents in our present society.

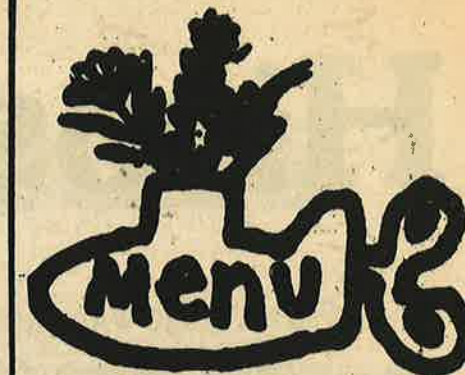
Greenleaf says wages will be paid by the federal government. It would be nice to think the wages would come by cutting down on defense spending but that seems unlikely. The money would come through increased taxation, yet another squeeze on working people. Sort of robbing Peter to pay Paul.

There seems also a contradiction in wanting the federal government to pay wages for housework and not wanting them to collectivize housework or organize day care centers. Does Greenleaf really believe that once having received wages for housework, those paid will not be subject to the same capitalist discipline of the workplace as any other workers? Does she really believe that the government will pay wages and not try to control the whole environment? I'm sure the finished product they would demand is something any socialist or feminist would abhor. One can easily see housework managed by supervisors using the techniques of time and motion study, speed up, and social control. In fact it could be a prime opportunity for "big brother" to penetrate our personal lives as never before.

Also I do not accept what seems to be Greenleaf's "pain" theory which states anything from reading a book to making love is working for the owning class because it relieves tension and makes us more able to tolerate things as they are. I think history has shown that the most downtrodden, subjected and people without hope are not the most likely to rebel. I think it is in the interest of any socialist-feminist to work for more freedom and control over our own lives even under capitalism. Not to increase the acceptance of things as they are, but to demand more and more.

So what is the solution? One would be to separate the socially necessary housework from that which is based on "images" people consume from the likes of *Good Housekeeping* etc. Other aspects of housework can be collectivized (hopefully under neighborhood or participant control). Day-care, laundry, cooking are not only amenable to collectivization, but to remuneration. The more these trends continue the

Letters CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



August 7, 1975 / Vol. XI, No. 28

4. Hiroshima/Nagasaki/30 Years
6. China Diary IV: Shanghai City  
*Bob Nichols*
12. Community Gardening Report  
*Blackbird*
14. Toward An Alternative Health Care System | *Claire Douglas & Jim Scott*
16. To Further Progress of S-1 | *Bill Blum*
17. The Danger of RU | *Ron Bunch*
18. Changes
20. Reviews
22. Poem | *Manny Igrejas*

Cover: Based on a drawing by Gary Palmatier from the *Catholic Agitator*.

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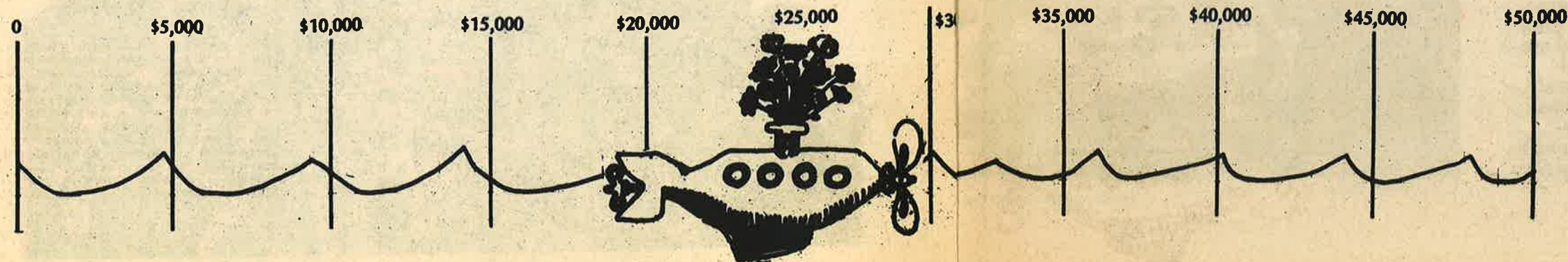
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# Hiroshima/Nagasaki/30 Years

## FIRST ATOMIC WAR PROTESTS

*Now is the time for the people of America to cry out that the first atomic bombs in history shall be the last! That war be waged no more! Anything less is moral and physical suicide.*

*—Bent Andresen, from his statement of August, 1945*

Two World War II resisters, Bill Roberts and Bent Andresen, acting independently and without knowledge of the other's action, made what is probably the first witness against atomic warfare. Bill Roberts was in the federal prison at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, completing a three year sentence for refusing to register for the draft when he got news of the bombing of Hiroshima. Thoroughly shaken, he immediately announced to those around him that he was starting a one week fast to protest this new atrocity. His fast in all likelihood was the first protest against the Hiroshima bombing.

Several thousand miles away Bent Andresen was also moved by the event. He had long pondered whether to accept alternative service or to break entirely with conscription. Even when he registered he did so with an uneasy conscience. He reported for alternative civilian service, served in several CPS camps and a guinea pig medical project at Cornell University, and then was assigned to a newly opened camp at Minersville, California where he was on August 6, 1945. The use of atomic bombs to destroy two Japanese cities ended Andresen's uncertainty and led him to conclude: "Now I can do what I should have done long ago." He mimeographed a statement in leaflet form, walked out of camp and hitch-hiked to his wife in New York City, handing out about two thousand leaflets along the way. He was later arrested and sentenced to two years, but was released after only seven months because of his refusal to accept food or water while in prison.

While it is always questionable to designate particular actions as "first," the witness of these two resisters, following so closely the initial use of nuclear power in war, can hardly be challenged. Their acts anticipated an international movement which eventually involved millions and still continues—a movement to end the threat to the human race of destruction through nuclear war.

*—Larry Gara*

## VIGIL AT HIROSHIMA

Ichiro Moritaki, the white-haired man to the left of the sign in the photo below, is a retired professor of ethics at Hiroshima University. He is also a *hibakusha*, a survivor of the nuclear blast, suffering severe injuries including loss of the use of one eye. For 20 years he has been carrying on sitting protests, sometimes including fasting, in response to any nuclear testing. This photo was taken last May, after an American underground nuclear explosion. In the background is the Cenotaph, a monument in Hiroshima containing the names of the atomic bomb dead. Sitting next to Moritaki is the American author, Robert Jay Lifton, who has written:

*I take Moritaki's sitting to be a dignified but profound reminder of the threat posed by our weaponry to our life as a human group, a reminder whose significance and potential power derives precisely from the place he sits, the experience he represents.*

*It is sometimes said of Hiroshima survivors, and of the Japanese in general, that they suffer from a "nuclear allergy." The term correctly conveys the idea of sensitivity, but implies that this sensitivity is something of an overreaction if not a disease. Professor Moritaki gently informs us, however, that it is the rest of us, in our nuclear*



Photo courtesy of Jim Peci

*insensitivity, who are reacting inappropriately, and carrying the nuclear disease.*

*Part of the disease is a peculiar madness lurking beneath the logic of international negotiations concerning who may make, test, and perhaps use how many nuclear bombs. If we are to place those negotiations on a plane of reason and life, we had better take another look at the human dimension we are ignoring—indeed at the fragility of our own existence, as expressed by Professor Moritaki sitting before the Cenotaph.*



## THE IMPORTANCE OF RESISTING NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS

In the age of the nuclear arms race is there any option to resisting? Since World War II the United States has spent \$1.5 trillion of our tax money on warmaking or about \$3,200 per year for every taxpayer. What say have we had in this use of our resources which are so badly needed here and abroad to feed, clothe and house millions of human beings we call our sisters and brothers? The nuclear race is accelerating the misuse of these resources. We possess enough nuclear power to destroy the world several times over yet we are adding to our stockpile of death more than three nuclear warheads every day. Added to this is the Pentagon's announced need to build whole new weapons systems to carry and deploy these warheads, systems such as the B-1 Bomber and the Trident Submarine. At present the Pentagon has on the board or in production 140 weapons systems costing \$150 billion. When do we the people say: Enough! No more resources for death!

*—Ned Murphy, S.J.*

## A SAMPLING OF HIROSHIMA NAGASAKI DEMONSTRATIONS

A 35 mile Walk for Peace from Santa Monica to Long Beach, sponsored by Women Strike for Peace, War Resisters League, American Friends Service Committee, Catholic Worker, Peoples Action Union-South Bay, Military Services Counseling Center, Free Venice Resistance, Fellowship of Reconciliation, National Association of Social Workers and St. Justin Martyr Social Action Group. The walk will begin Saturday morning, August 9th (Nagasaki Day) in front of the IRS office in Santa Monica. Vigils will be held at the B-1 bomber factory at El Segundo and at other places. For information call (213)626-5463 or (213)264-8144.

A Vigil for Nuclear Disarmament will be held at the JFK Memorial in Dallas on Friday, August 8th and Saturday, August 9th. There will be a bike ride to Carswell AFB on Saturday. Sponsored by Ft. Worth-Dallas Peace Community, 1014 S. Windemere, Dallas, Texas 75208.

An on-going vigil on the steps of the Capitol building in Washington started July 21st. Replicas of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima (Little Boy) and Nagasaki (Fat Boy) are on display. Hours: 9:00 to 5:00, Tuesdays thru Saturdays. For information call (301)669-6265 or contact Jonah House, 1933 Park Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland 21217.

Outdoor Teach In/Rally, Wednesday, August 6th, 8:00 pm, Delaware County Courthouse, Front Street & South Avenue, Media, Pennsylvania, featuring films, speakers, folk singing. All Night Candlelight Vigil, Saturday, August 9th, 8:00 pm, Chester County Courthouse, High and Market streets, West Chester, Pennsylvania, featuring a reading of John Hershey's book, *Hiroshima*. Sponsored by Brandywine Alternative Fund. For information call (215) 565-0247.

A Hiroshima-Nagasaki Day Fast & Vigil will be held in the town square in Greenfield, Massachusetts, sponsored by the Alternative Energy Coalition (AEC), Box 66, Turners Falls, Massachusetts 01376.



# Shanghai City



A barefoot doctor goes out on call. Photo from China Reconstructs

By Bob Nichols

## BRIEFING SESSION AT HO LA AGRICULTURAL BRIGADE

Like other hamlets Ho La has a hall where tea is served during ceremonial briefings of visitors. It is a dignified and sunny building with exhibits of native products and a landscape painting, and the four standard photographic portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin adorning one wall balanced by the single portrait of Mao on the other. On ordinary days the ordinary business of the commune is transacted here.

The room has the flavor of a county-level, small government office. Farming affairs. The head man is Lin Tan, 35 years old, slight, with a mustache, sleeve-less tee shirt, hard-muscled and trim, facts at his fingertips—like an Agricultural Extension Agent.

Seated at the table with Liu are the 24-year-old Ting, head of the womens' group, and the nine other members of the Revolutionary Committee. They are elected for three year periods; and perform farm work like ordinary villagers—with compensation for hours spent in administrative duties. The committee is responsible for the 18 work teams and for the 1017 households that make up the hamlets of Ho La.

The watchword of Chinese agriculture is "politics in command." So with the unreeling of statistics and explanations of how things work, is a peppering of socialist slogans: "the high line of collective economics has raised consciousness in the fostering of farming, forestry and the breeding of silkworms"; "the decisive factor in revolution is human beings not things." But with Brigade leader Tan this is at a minimum.

The big thing is growth rates. In rice, they started with 45 kilograms per mu at liberation; then 107 kilograms during the mutual aid or cooperative phase; an increase to 160 during the Great Leap Forward in '58; finally to 232 kilograms per mu last year. A doubling of pig production. Mulberry production increased five times, etc. The line of triumphs ending with the usual disclaimer: "But compared to other advanced fraternal production brigades we are left behind."

What does all this mean for the farmer? The production team (of 100 or so members) is the basic accounting unit. After production and management costs have been deducted from the team's annual income, a small part (5-7%) is paid to the state as tax. A sum is set aside for reserves (to buy added farm machinery and for basic construction) and welfare. The rest is distributed among the members.

Of course the state sets the framework through over-all planning. Targets are set, with the state buying and selling agricultural surpluses. In effect the farmer is subsidized. Recently the state has been selling grain (to the cities) somewhat below

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*This is the final installment of the diary Bob Nichols, landscape architect and nonviolent activist, kept during his visit to China in May 1974.*

the price it pays. Prices have been stable in China for the past two decades, and have in fact generally declined.

As a rough figure, in a well-off brigade like Ho La, for every three tons of grain it delivers to the state it will keep four. But how is the quantity determined? This quote (a description of a similar production team) is enlightening: "First its management committee and representatives of the poor and lower-middle peasants studied the matter. Guided by the principle of three-way attention to the interests of the state, the collective and the individual, they drafted a plan. Then all team members discussed it and offered opinions. Last year some were for selling more grain to the state. Every family already has a surplus in its bins, they pointed out. Others suggested a bigger increase for the team's public accumulation fund and buying more farm machinery. Still others said that it was important to improve the commune members' standard of living fast and that a larger portion of cash and grain should be distributed among them. The management committee listened carefully to all reasonable opinions and revised the plan accordingly."

Another topic of sprightly debate among the work teams must be the assigning of work points. Remember, China does not proclaim itself a communist but a "socialist and transitional state" in which each is rewarded according to his performance. After thorough discussion among the team (which must be tough) the members all assign each other work points based on the amount and type of job, quality of labor, and the member's attitude towards collective production. The ratings are posted at intervals. Each section has its chosen book-keeper.

Some such procedures as these—plus the realities of recent history—are behind what we see on our visits and the facts gathered at the interviews. For instance in the eight-family group that we had visited at Ta Bie we had been told that, as part of a team, the average member family had a cash income of 930 yuan. Of this 60% would be savings and most families had 2000 yuan (\$1000) in the bank. Before the revolution 80% of the peasants had been hired hands. One out of four families had starved to death.

## SHANGHAI

May 27th. Evening. We left the countryside around Wu Shi, for Shanghai. There are no highways in China, transport is by rail and canal. For some reason our scheduled train ride had been cancelled and we found ourselves on an improvised trip by bus, with guides, brandy and songs, bouncing along a narrow cobbled road. On either side the "land of rice and fish" lay in darkness. Invisible ships moved somewhere nearby on the Yangtze river beyond the marsh grass. But in countless hamlets a streetlamp was on and we saw the workteam on the threshing floor among piles of wheat.



Shanghai: We arrived after midnight at a downtown hotel. No Big City night feeling approaching thruways, trailer trucks and glare. But China will probably have all that soon, now that she has the gas.

The next morning as we rode through the streets we saw office workers doing their setting up exercizes on the sidewalk. Our hotel was on a riverfront park. A before-breakfast stroll along the "bund" would reveal this center-city place full of exercising citizens. The variety and informality astounding. A bunch of middle-aged women executed a set of steps with wooden swords, led by a leaping man. Citizens in twos and threes grappled along paths between flowerbeds. A solitary man did Tai-chi slowly and gently. Nervy young athletes flashing through a karate routine, the crowd watching before going into their offices. It was all over every morning by nine.

Our first Shanghai visit was to a housing project. This is in Tiensan neighborhood. Busy intersection, department store in the street level, apartments above.

These were like many US medium-scale city projects built in the '50's: six story walk-up, multi-colored washing on the balconies, shady trees. Where it differed was in the up-keep. In China it is done quite simply by the old people who live there. They are organized under the Revolutionary Committee. As we were told by one of them during our briefing: "We elders are retired physically but not ideologically."

The Tiensan Revolutionary Committee (the housing management) also administers a theater, swimming pool, handkerchief and embroidery factory, the department store and a public canteen. About a thousand of these retired workers live in the project (which included 1200 households and 5300 people).

After supper I took a walk on the Shanghai waterfront. Freighters and junks riding out on the water. Crowds. "Foreigner watching" seems part of the scene. A laughing crowd gathered around two drunken sailors—off a Cuban ship I think, one of them a black. Hand-holding couples on dates are a feature here of the wicked Big City, even couples necking in the shadows. A gay tried to pick me up.

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May 29th. Shanghai outskirts. Like going from South Boston to Quincy. Like going out of Chicago. Warehouses and ugly factories. Raining. The rice planters stoop under plastic raincoats or umbrellas.

High tension lines overhead. Our bus has turned into Wu Chin Thermo-electric Plant. Now the power company—one of several in Shanghai—produces 250,000 kilowatts of electricity and 250 tons of steam with its six turbines and seven boilers, and employs 1300 men. At the time of Liberation the power plant was in existence but was small; a single turbine run on coal. By 1959, at the time of the Great Leap Forward, there were two, both second hand. Shortly thereafter another turbine was installed. This was a Swedish 1928 model. It had been in Berlin and had been taken by the Russians to Siberia as war booty.

In 1959-62 there had been "three years of natural calamities." Turbine no. 4 was being built but "the Russians tore up the plans." It was completed in 1962. Others followed, the last in '68 producing 125,000 kilowatts. It was made exclusively by the Shanghai municipality.

No. 6 is very fancy steam-turbine generating unit with gleaming controls. A cathedral light falls from the windows on tiny operators on steel deck as on the bridge of a ship. Overhead is an enormous portrait of No. 6 being started up, with Chairman Mao.

Such industrial growth, concentrated within a few years, appears miraculous. Really it is not when one looks at the facts straight. We had been



Shanghai market. Photo from China Features/LNS.

told early in our visit that it had been the "Shanghai workers" who had spread the industrial revolution throughout China. In 1949 Shanghai had been a Western city of six to eight million with urban factory workers, and, no doubt, its class of shop foremen and technical men. These "veteran workers" were China's greatest resource. Whenever a new enterprise had to be set up anywhere in the country they went there—the Johnny Appleseeds of native industry.

A second factor is the Shanghai Science and Technical Exchange. Originally this had been an engineers' club with all the restrictions of its Western prototypes. Now most of its 1400 members are industrial workers and it has 22 spare-time teams out in the field. The Exchange backs scientific experimentation on a mass scale. The teams sit down with a plant's production planners and engineers to iron out some critical problem—say, in numerically-controlled line cutters making precision dies. Then it organizes meetings in the

factory to spread the experience. The internal water-cooled rotors of the No. 6 Generator were a result of information-sharing through the Science and Technical Exchange.

How stirring it must be, in the queer accidents of history, to be such a person: a plain factory stiff, with one's eyes open, exploited in the old world; a culture-bearer in the new! However the class aspect is another matter. The university graduate who was an engineer and privileged professional under the old regime must be a somewhat contradictory character.

The power plant is headed by a 13 member revolutionary committee. The last elections were in 1968. There are two departments: "a department of ideology composed of old and young cadres"; and a department of production composed of old and young engineers. In developing all the parts of the new steam generator, there was also an outside-the-plant committee who looked for leads everywhere. "There was mass collaboration between factories in the Kwangsu, Anwei, Shanghai network. 200,000 workers took part."

\* \* \* \* \*

I had never seen a steel mill in the United States, but in the afternoon we saw one in China. Chimneys belching fumes and sprawling sheds reflected in the rain puddles. Wicker hats serve here as "hard hats." They look the same. Our party was outfitted in special blue smocks and eyeglasses to protect us against sparks and we were treated to the spectacle of a 16 minute oxygen blow in the No. 3 converter. An open hearth blast furnace is always a fiery sight; but I've read that this process has been superceded by the more compact and advanced electric furnace developed in Germany. This Chinese mill is probably backward; but as I understand it US plants haven't made the change-over either because of the heavy investment in machinery.

15,000 workers in this steel mill, 3,000 of them women. Spread of wages is 42 yuan to 126, though some engineers and the revolutionary committee get more. An interesting fact about this plant is that they currently have 85 workers in college. The stint is three years at the mill and two years college. Some go to the state universities and the rest to a polytechnical school run by the steel mills.

Well, how do the politics of the thing work here? China's policy for developing industry is "Take steel as the key link." In economic planning and allocation of funds priority is given to iron and steel. Production norms are set and the plant should meet these, plus make a profit for the state. There have been abuses in this system. For instance in the Talien steel mill: though this plant has signed a contract with a client factory (that makes propeller blades) in another province for flat bars, the steel plant had insisted in providing them with round bars "because this was easier and more profitable." During the Cultural Revolution an assembly had been called and the revisionist line of "profits in command" rejected. After that the factory got its flat bars. However, now a delegate from the propeller plant arrives and wants to sign a contract for flat bars with a wedge-shaped section. The steel management cadre balks at this, be-

cause they don't have the tools. But then everyone goes down to the shop and talks it over with the workmen who explain that it is not so difficult.

I give this example not because it is important in itself, but because it gives some idea of how the process of modernization of the steel plant may proceed in China. Modernization is often insisted on by the workers (because they see it in terms of the tricks of the trade and a challenge). But even socialist management may resist it because they see it in terms of capital outlays, profit schedules, etc.

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May 30th. As our Shanghai guides were informal, our group was permitted to sometimes split up to follow leads that seemed interesting. Twice some of us visited Chang Chai tsai neighborhood. The second time we had a long, packed and enthusiastic meeting with the Residents Committee.

They were four men and 19 women. Six were retired people (including one who functioned as the lane marriage counsellor and smoothed over fights). Eleven were "family members": workers and housewives. Five represented various "undertakings": factory production groups, the nursery, service center and clinic. One was a worker from a nearby large factory. Six of them were party members. All were elected by the residents.

The neighborhood, functioning under the district, is the lowest level of city government in China. The residents' committee of the land is not a unit of government; it is a self-governing peoples' organization that does the day to day work. As they expressed it: "We manage our affairs and hold meetings and consultations. We are also the bridge between the masses and the Neighborhood Committee."

In these smaller groups the American interviewers can get across some of their own personal feelings and experience. This was one of the few occasions when we spoke to the Chinese, for instance about New York City. Some of us described the decay in the slums and the difficulties in trying to get community groups or block associations organized. I doubt if many of them could believe the stories we told.

What are the reasons for China's greater success in community organizing? Historically, one has to remember that the cities had been the scene of violent cataclysm and recovery. In Shanghai in the 1940's the foreign concessions had been guarded behind barbed wire; a citizen caught inside was subject to special law. Then the Red Army came into a city district like Chi An, and "aided by the party, carried out fierce struggles" against special agents, landlords, local thugs, etc. Just as in country villages, there were accusation meetings and peoples' courts to mete out punishment. Brothels, gambling houses and opium dens were closed.

A friend of mine in Shanghai in 1952 describes how the drug problem was handled. "After two years there were no drugs in Shanghai. The big pushers got out or were arrested. The addicts were sent to rehabilitation camps in the country for six months, where they were given all kinds of work and worked hard. When they returned to Shanghai, if they were still addicts, they were sent back again." It must have been state power plus neighborhood power in this.



Another and very practical reason for the greater success of neighborhood organizing in Chinese cities is that the neighborhoods are not utterly powerless financially. They have an income base and generate their own revenues from the street factories.

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May 31st. Shanghai was the city most in ferment during the Cultural Revolution. The mayor and two secretaries of the Party Central Committee were ousted for pursuing the reactionary Liu Shao shi line. City Hall was occupied. Rival factions were formed; at one point the municipal government became the "Shanghai Commune." The Red Guards flocked in from Peking and were first quarantined and isolated; then made contact with the factories, notably the steel and dock workers. It was in the city of Shanghai where fervid student beginnings of the Cultural Revolution deepened into becoming a working man's uprising. There were real clashes between factions in which people were killed. Mao's famous Big Character poster had first appeared in Shanghai: "Bombard the Headquarters" Ta-tzu-paos and wall posters accused hostile officials. In 1967—during what is called the "January Revolution" and the transfer of power—the party cadres were actually replaced. Finally a whole segment of the initial rebels were in their turn chastised as "ultra-leftists" who "waved the red flag to bring down the red flag," and a new balance was struck with the formation of the Three-in-one Committees.

This is past history in China and all one sees now is a decorous calm.

The mood of those most turbulent times can best be captured through a student's eyes. The following account is by a Canton student who was later accused of being an "ultra left," defected to Hong Kong and became a Trotskyite. "Our rebellion was not only confined to our school. . . Two hundred of us carried out the action (against the Canton Party HQ) representing all local schools. We got hold of the Party files and published what was contained in them in wall posters. . . Then we went into the factories, joined the production line and ate and lived with the workers. . . We linked up with the rebellious workers and called ourselves the Red Flag Faction. There was no centralized leadership. We used to burn publicly the official publications of the Party bureaucrats to show our disgust. . . [After the seizure of power] the bureaucrats were smashed and I was responsible for the administration of some schools.

"On 8 February 1967 we invaded the military area and held demonstrations there. We captured some army propaganda cars and used them to appeal to the soldiers to join us. The military bureaucrats were furious. No armed soldiers joined us, but clerks and other army workers joined."

In September he returned to his school and found that the old headmaster was back. For the next three years, before he defected, he was sent to work on a farm. There the disaffected comrades formed what was called the Proletarian Union. "But our groups were discovered and many of our comrades began to be arrested."

One of Mao's most famous aphorisms is: "Study. Struggle. Transformation." In China today the dzi

jou, the Ultra-Left faction is considered to have only been able to take seriously the first two. Such is the official position.

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We visited the No. 5 Work Zone of Shanghai Harbor. The activity of the harbor is quite amazing—for one used to empty New York. Yang Suo Kui Cha (No. 5 Unit) handles 3½ million tons volume, has 3230 workers, 1000 of them unloading the big ships.

At the head office leading members of our hosts were introduced. They were Wu, chairman of the standing committee and Chang, a standing committee member; a representative of the Youth League, a women's representative; the head of a production team; a young worker, introduced as the author of a Big Character Poster; a woman truck driver. Most everyone in the room was young. As in the women's meeting in Tientsin, there was an enthusiasm that went out to us. The Chinese in the room, felt the pressure to communicate with us directly—with or without the help of the translator.

A rumor had been going around among the Americans that here at last we were to have specific answers to our "What is the Confucius—Lin Piao Controversy" question. Indeed Wu began with this topic, with a smile. He had silver fittings on his teeth. He looked about 40 and had glasses and wiry hair.

Here is his run-down as close to the original words as I can remember it: before the Cultural Revolution the leaders who managed production had neglected politics and ideological work. All they thought about was loading and unloading and increasing the tonnage. They forgot to grasp the most important point: that the worker was really in charge. Since that time the anti-party clique had been ferretted out; there was the custom of criticizing the leaders. And the workers "when tremendously enraged" spoke up. This year alone there had been 7200 mass and medium sized rallies and meetings, 7350 articles of criticism relating to "the reality of our work on the docks." And there have been 600 big character posters against the "three mountains of oppression" (Confucian ideas) and against Lin Piao's idea that the "leader knows best." Now the slogan on the docks is "Put Politics in Command."

Fang Tien-jen, the poster author, was introduced. He was young and intense; his glasses gave him a studious air. He began by stating that as a result of the Cultural Revolution they had transformed the "unreasonable rules and regulations set by the cadres" and there was a new look. But still the class struggle continued in the form of a struggle between two lines. For instance the same leaders who had been reprimanded before for establishing material incentives, now pushed this idea in a disguised form. An example: a shift would load bulk cargo first with the cranes and leave the lighter cargo—which had to be loaded by hand—to the next shift. Thus the mistakes of a few leaders had to be checked or the whole social enterprise would go astray.

It was at this time that Fang Tien-jen put up his big character poster. Its Title: *BE MASTERS OF THE DOCKS NOT SLAVES TO THE TONNAGE*. There was a text of two pages, all of it broadcast over Wharf No. Five's loud speaker system.

Once the poster was up the dock's Party committee had called a meeting to discuss these questions and then put up a poster themselves accepting the workers' criticism. Shortly thereafter two newspapers published the To-tzu-pao on the front page including the national *People's Daily*.

At the dock there were team criticism meetings. The leaders were called before them. One brigade leader admitted he hadn't consulted the veteran workers much and thought of himself as being responsible for everything. Work style was discussed. What were the real incentives: was it true that working people were only interested in rice, oil, salt and fuel? People, Fang said, sat up all night writing posters.

Other critical posters appeared which agitated the cadres a good deal. However it was not meant personally against the cadres as individuals, only against the Confucius-Lin Pao line. The result of all this is that now you can see workers and staff members laboring together on the dock. There is increased enthusiasm.

Then there followed a question and answer period in which we pursued some of this.

Question: The "Four Big Weapons of the Masses" were mentioned in criticizing authorities. What are they?

Answer: Speak up boldly. Air views freely. Put up big character posters. Hold great debates.

Q: How many administrators on the dock?

A: 200. Now they are directly involved in production. Leading cadres work a minimum of two and a half months on the dock.

Q (Addressed to Fang): When you put up your big character poster—attacking your own boss—weren't you afraid of being fired?

A: "Ours is a socialist country. I'm not working for the chairman: the question of firing doesn't arise. Chairman Wu is my superior as well as my class brother. If I have shortcomings he can tell me, and I can tell him. Since he is my class brother, how can he fire me?" (Big smiles between everybody at this.)

Q: What happened to the administrators called before meetings?

A: The workers were against one group leader particularly for economism. We talked to him a lot. Now he's changed and we call him the "political leader." No leader on Dock No. 5 was fired. They were criticized and helped; then they came round.

Q: Did production fall during the campaign?

A: Mao says: "Weed out the grass. Bad things can be turned to good account." There were never any work stoppages. Now production is up 20%.

The Americans were enthusiastic. At the end we expressed our thanks at such concrete answers, finally after three weeks in China. Wu grinned and said: "Yes. Hearing a hundred times is not as good as seeing once." We felt we really had seen the docks, and through them Shanghai.

#### THE PEASANT MUSEUM

June 1st. Hangchow. The name Peasant Museum is confusing. It is Mao's 1923-7 school for peasant cadres, under the auspices of the Kuomintang. The building is a 14th century Confucian temple: stony courtyard, pillars of granite with marvellous capitals and rafters of bright reds and blues; soaring roofs of hoary green tile. Across the top a decorative frieze: ceramic fish and dragon, not-so-column human figures desporting taoist-style and decorative fruits and leaves.

This school was set up at an odd time: during Dr. Sun Yat sen's "popular front" against the warlords and imperialists, when the Koumintang (with Chang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communist Party were allies. At the time Mao was head of the "Department of Peasant Affairs." The institute trained revolutionary cadres from 20 provinces: early morning exercises in the chilly courtyard, investigations of home-county farming practices, sleeping under a blanket in the double bunks. . . In the last year there were 327 students age 18-28.

In a year most of them were dead, victims of the April 15th 1927 Chiang Kai-shek coup and the Hangchow Massacre of 1000 Communist Party members.

\* \* \* \* \*

Our last day and acacia is in bloom. An evening walk through the streets. Ice cream. People are out on the sidewalk; someone is sleeping on a cot and others are playing cards. A radio from an apartment. Dark huge trees. No cars.

But the "night soil" brigade is out. A lady is pushing the neat white-painted metal cart with the tank of manure. Next morning it will be in some suburban commune. And is this sight "old" or "new?" Ancient or modern? Is it China a 100 years ago or some US city 50 years in the future?



"Cotton Harvest" by Li Feng-lan. Painting from China Features/LNS.





# Community Gardening Report



How we can commonly feed ourselves as agribiz molds out is a headline act all over the country—community gardens are raising some truly green energy in cities from Detroit, Michigan to Burlington, Vermont, and in the process, getting people back in touch with the earth.

A few months ago, at a community gardening conference held in San Francisco, I met an old gentleman named Mr. Knox who talked a lot, and interestingly. One of the things he said was that he planned to marry the lady of his choice in the community garden they worked in together at the edge of San Francisco's Chinatown. This garden, one of twenty supported by the city on public, private, and corporate land and vacant lots, is a little emerald of green beans and chinese cabbage. From its refreshing coolness, you can see the gray roar of the downtown financial district; in its lush, mature shade, old Chinese women carry buckets of water balanced across their shoulders in ancient style (and I'm referring to both the water-bearers and the nurtured plants they raise there). Mr. Knox made a good choice of a wedding site. Another thing he said was that he made a pond in the garden with water from Hayes Creek. Now, how many people in a big city have *you* heard talk so familiarly about the natural waterways that live under the asphalt? Mr. Knox was also busy recycling old tv cabinets for use as seed flats, a lot more entertaining program than what comes out of them when so-called plugged in. I really enjoyed his energy, and the energy of the dozen or so other elders that made their spirited selves heard at the conference. Because of the lively mix of healthy, vivid old and young people, that meeting seemed to me the most hearty and hopeful one I've been to, ever. It was tribal, respectful of each other's experience, full of information, and really listening, enjoying each other. One old man even said so: "I hear a lot of talk about productivity, but what about some talk about *pleasure*?"

*Blackbird writes frequently for WIN. Her article on Tibetan Buddhism in the West was in the July 3 issue.*

Another participant in that conference, Annabel Lund, a very shiny, pretty lady from Chico, California, was distinct and refreshing, too. On a first year's budget of \$50, she and her colleagues put together 100 community gardens in Chico, which is a poor county with a perennially high unemployment rate. Annabel is young, casual, and cheerfully patient—she is a great testimonial to the fact that you don't have to have a degree in "environmental management" to make common-sense action happen effectively and gracefully. The Chico group puts out a newsletter called *Home-grown*. You can contact them at 546 W. 2nd Street, Chico 95926 if you want to know more about how they are doing their gardening program.

Growing food locally seems more and more to be a tremendously positive tool for change. All over the country, communities are beginning to re-leafiate—from the rusty carcass of Detroit, through Palo Alto, California; Bloomington, Indiana; and fire states of Massachusetts and Tennessee; Nashville, Tennessee, and Burlington, Vermont. Rodale Press, whose *Organic Gardening* was an early voice in what has become a movement, offers a no-fail course in community gardening via the organic method. It includes a filmstrip, printed kit, soil testers, and seeds. (Contact Rodale Press, Emmaus, Pa. 18049 for more information.)

There is also a group called Gardens for All, Inc., described as a "non-profit, national clearing house." These folks seem to me to have a bit of Shineola about their act. Their spokesmen are an ex-restauranteur and a guy who spent the last ten years in the carapace of *Readers' Digest*. These Gardens for All folks are traveling around the country with the cooperation of the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, showing the middle of America how to lease a bit of community land and keep outsiders out, too. Their Honorary Board of Directors include seed company and garden tools company chiefs, and last on the list Robert Rodale, organic gardening expert. But by all this commercial/governmental (sometimes well-intentioned) imbroglia, you can tell what epic proportions the com-

munity gardening movement has assumed. And even with all of its attendant Mickey Mouse routines, that is basically a good thing—now all we have to convince folks of is not to be uptight about who's gonna steal your tomato, like who was it said you can't steal from the garden, it offers itself to you.

In Berkeley, where I have been living, strangely enough, there was very little support for community gardening until recently. It is ironic that the trend took so long to catch-back to Berkeley. Now, the once-frustrated green energy of People's Park has burst into great blossom all over the country, but in Berkeley itself, community gardening is getting a late planting. The University runs a big, beautiful garden, and there are a couple of measly just-hanging-on plots in People's Park and People's Park Annex, also known as The Hearst Strip. (The Hearst Strip is not a popular name among environmentalists here. One of them, Martin McCann, heads the Refoliation Corridor). Group after group has been set up after project in Berkeley. The only thing that has happened so far is that the city council voted on July 3rd to clear off four city-owned vacant lots for community gardens.

The most persistent energy toward city-wide food farming has been Scott B. Smith, a dynamic community organizer who helped create 27 community gardens in Berkeley in 1969-70 under the poverty program, and who was fired in 1970 because he put a rat on the mayor's desk during a tenants' union discussion. Scott B. and his Organic Farmers of Berkeley group were insistent enough to get the lethargic Berkeley council to cede this tiny bonus—clearing off four vacant lots. Now, Scott B. is talking about going into debt in order to buy a roto-tiller. He says once he gets hold of one, he will just plow through, and if you talk with him for even a few minutes, you can believe that he will. He and I tried late this winter to get \$1000 for a rototiller and some seeds and smaller tools, and were turned down by Friends of the Earth Foundation, the Vanguard Foundation, and probably

the Agape Foundation, which didn't respond at all. The turndown by Vanguard was especially bitter to us, because this group of heirs and heiresses in their early and mid twenties pride themselves on funding *vanguard* projects which seem all too often to be the self-same safe efforts funded by larger foundations—instead of being natural history journals they are lesbian quarterlies, and that's not too much of a difference from where we were standing, which was/is that \$1000 is very little to put out to galvanize an entire city. Maybe among you there is a reader with \$1000 to put down on an intense experiment in rapid social change. If there is, get in touch with Scott B. Smith, 1820 Derby Street, Berkeley, and get him to tell you just how and what he wants to do with urban gardening.

Aside from Scott B., who is a folklorist filled with funny and amazing information about local and mythic history, while on the gardens bandwagon I met another earnest anti-institutional, pro-nature character in the person of Dick Patton, a very fit man in his mid-fifties who lives largely on leaves, berries and flowers he picks while walking around Berkeley. Dick dropped out of the engineering profession after dropping into Vietnam as a business consultant to the military. "All life wants to live, it's as simple as that," he likes to say. "Everything that supports life is good. What destroys it is bad." Armed with this philosophy and a strong desire to communicate it, he has performed a few pieces of quiet street theater that seem wonderful to me. Once, for instance, he went down to City Hall and began planting cabbage seedlings. Someone predictably came out and began to grill him about what in hell he was doing. "I'm planting food, what does it look like," Dick told the bureaucrat. "We all are going to be doing it soon. Why don't you take out all these ornamental bushes and put some food in here to get folks gardening? You could be raising cabbages instead of scribbling things on paper all day long."

That sort of slightly maverick charisma is something that I see as a common trait in all four people I mentioned in this piece—old Mr. Knox, Annabel Lund, Scott B. Smith, and Dick Patton. Something about paying attention to the nature of things, speaking up, getting folks together. Getting positive things accomplished with a combination of honest criticism and good-spirited cooperation. Moving in the '70's, thinking of growing what we need to live.

## PS RECEIVED A WEEK LATER

All green has busted loose here *finally*. Actually it's not so spectacular as all that, but to those of us hoping for some action on community gardening, it is. The city council approved \$8,000 to be spent or set aside for clearing lots owned by the city. So far, four have been cleared. Now, Parks and Recreation Department is opening land up to community use, and telling everyone its available. Based on response, which they say is low so far—partly their methods of communication, I suspect—they will fence and provide water for as many of the four sites as seems necessary and will dig up more if folks clamor for more.

So this is a ps on the matter and a happy BEGINNING.

Creaturely,



Blackbird



# TOWARD AN ALTERNATIVE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

by CLAIRES DOUGLAS  
AND JIM SCOTT



Drawing from LNS.

Many health care professionals in radical circles believe it impossible to create a humane health care system in a capitalist society. Yet all too often their programs become hospital organizing or organizing "the worker." They view discussion of medical alternatives as naive and utopian or as symptoms of hippie-style drop-out: selfish, individualistic, not serious.

However much we respect some of this analysis, we can't believe we are the only radicals in health care interested in alternatives. How can one envision how things should be unless models are tried? Along with such groups as Movement for a New Society, we believe that we must live the revolution now; that we have to act and create as if we were in a just world; that there are many better ways of meeting our own and others' needs right now; and that it is our business to find or invent them. Thus when universal change finally arrives, part of the work will already be done. Food buying clubs, cooperatives, alternative businesses, block organizations, city-country alliances, communes—all are being created within the belly of the monster and are more and more living independently of that monster. Some no doubt are escapist, are private solutions, are impractical and ephemeral. Others keep their politics clearly visible, analyze what is wrong and then create viable alternatives; alternatives that are not an escape, but are positive experiments linked to and part of the movement and ever cognizant of the over-all problems of a patriarchal world (whether capitalist or bureaucratic centralized socialist).

Here we want to start a dialogue on a plan to create a model of what good health care delivery could be. We want to explore with others these ideas, spend a year looking for others to work with, as a group make these ideas more specific and concrete, find a suitable place and then DO IT. This article is our first public step.

We are two people, one male and one female, both feminist, nonviolent socialist-anarchists, both politically active from the mid-60's onward, both aware of the huge threats multi-nationalism/capitalism/imperialism, (patriarchy in sum) pose to the very existence of the world. We both believe that there is a better, more humane, caring way of doing almost everything, and that humans, if their basic needs are met (including psychological-spiritual-loving ones), are powerful, sensible and joyous creatures who *can* live carefully on this earth. Between us we have training and experience as educators (free university, public school and health), counselors, social worker, doctor (family medicine), political activists, organic gardeners, as worker/coordinator with a network of alternative businesses, and have worked with a women's health collective.

## OUR MODEL

We want to create an alternative, non-hierarchical, non-sexist collective of people involved in providing good quality health care in a rural area. By health care we mean a comprehensive coordinated system stressing prevention, continuity, and participation; we do not mean a crisis-oriented system.

We envision a rural area because (1) we would be far enough away from large centralized medical complexes so that we would not have to waste energy fighting them (we've found that providing good health care is very threatening to the organized health empire); (2) in rural areas (as in city ghettos) adequate health care is usually unavailable; (3) we function better away from cities.

We are not planning a free clinic nor a volunteer effort with high turnover and low resources. Nor do we see ourselves as having something to bestow on the

needy poor. We want instead to discover the medical needs of a total community and see how they can be met.

Our emphasis would be on education and prevention and on real community involvement and participation. We are thinking, above all else, of ways in which people can be given back power and knowledge over their own bodies, and of ways medical care can be demystified and deprofessionalized (for example, problem oriented patient records should be open to patients, discussed with them, owned by them and us; records of health and illness in the area should be compiled by people of the area.)

As Alinsky organized people on the block level and China invented barefoot doctors for communes and a health worker for each factory or group of homes, we see our clinic involved in a system that uses and trains the people of the area as resources for themselves. Health care would be an interchange amongst equals where we would learn from people as well as they from us and where consumers (patients) would be seen as an integral part of the health care team.

The clinic itself would be people centered and not crisis oriented. That is, the patients' concerns, needs and desires would be of first importance—not those of doctors or nurses or hospitals or bureaucratic red tape. It would be staffed by a team of people who spend time on interpersonal and support processes (such as mutual criticism and validation) as well as on delivering care. Arrangements would be based on creating new forms of relationship amongst ourselves as a collective and new ways of relating to each other and our community. Decisions would be reached through consensus. Emphasis would be on flexibility and sharing, on rotation of many duties and responsibilities, though primary responsibility for specific areas would be clearly defined. There is a sticky question of roles and special competence here and a danger of falling into old patterns. Our effort would be to get away from the old roles and ways of relating in and to these roles. We would be doing the things we were trained to do or good at more than other things, but would not be limited to those functions, nor gain special privilege nor authority because of our training.

As part of a saner way of living, time and enough people would be very important. Time for a nurse to build a relationship with a patient and learn some therapeutics, for a doctor to scrub the floor or learn about nutrition. Time to listen to people and time to work out problems and build strength within our collective. Time to go to people's homes and do outreach work. Time, also, for ourselves as people other than just for our roles as health providers, and time to act on the larger questions of good health: food, housing, working conditions, the economy, the environment, the very structure of our government itself and global problems.

We see our energies primarily focussed on the clinic, but not devoured by that clinic. We want to build a long term, economically viable, successful alternative. We are both well acquainted with the varieties of burn-out common in the '60's. In the process we have learned to be more patient and caring of ourselves, while still holding on to the enormity of the long range struggle. We've found that the more our own lives are in balance, the more strength and energy we have for action.

## ECONOMICS

To give people this time, we are thinking of having two people for every one conventional spot. We are also thinking of a group of people who are engaged in simplifying their lives and therefore expect no more than a just income. Part of the problem of medical

care in this country is that the providers have been in a far different economic bracket than most of the consumers, and have often been oppressors rather than knowledgeable co-workers. We would be small, decentralized, and share our income. Our effort would be to simplify and to minimize. Our standard of living would not be in terms of money or possessions, but in the quality of our life.

We also want to be high quality health deliverers, so would put more energy and money than is traditionally into such things as writing and printing our own patient education material, community outreach and classes, and whatever a good preventive system would need. We do not see ourselves accepting grants from capitalists foundations nor from the government. Our income would come from our community (and possibly, initially, from interested supporters). We see the clinic run as some sort of a cooperative. It would be open at first to both fee for service care and for pre-paid outpatient (non-hospital) services that could be paid by the week, month or year, but would eventually be limited to coop members. We would, of course, accept medicare and medicaid payments, but would also be open to payment in kind or to exchange of labor or to being part of a network of cooperatives.

## OVERVIEW AND RATIONALE

Good health care is not hard to provide from a technical point of view the vast majority of the time. What is often missing in our present system is an individual concern for the patient as a person with specific feelings and ideas of how s/he wants to act in a particular situation, and a lack of continuity. Good health care is incompatible with the way it is usually delivered today. The present way financially exploits illness, is governed by the profit motive, and oppresses the consumer. It is crisis oriented rather than preventive: dealing solely with disease instead of including the socio-economic and social problems affecting health. Its chief providers are mistrained to be authoritarian and paternalistic; they are taught in expensive, technologically oriented, hierarchical hospitals about diseases and pathology, but not about people or prevention.

What people need in primary health care can be met by a system such as the one we are trying to form. They need, to quote Barbara Towles' Health Pac pamphlet, *Primer on Primary Care*: "knowledge about good health practices to help prevent disease, regular comprehensive medical checkups, to detect early signs of disease, and a medical team responsible for the patient. . . ." and including the patient in a system that is unified and oriented toward patient needs and jointly controlled by the community and its health workers.

We have chosen to join with others in building a model health care system not as a goal in itself, but because we have the skills for it and because we know of little viable, long term, alternative work that has been done in health care. Creating a workable alternative which meets people's needs and empowers them to take charge of their own lives is a political act. Fighting patriarchy, oppression, sexism, racism, imperialism and the warped value systems they create is possible in everyone's daily life. We are seizing that part of the monster we think we are most able to change. We want to start the process of change (our part of the nonviolent revolution) with a lifetime's work that has a particular focus suitable for our skills. We want to create a model health care system that others can learn from, both positively and negatively, and can build from.

We are not interested in just fighting disease. We see disease as related to the whole social structure and

Continued on Page 19.



# The Further Progress of S-1

BILL BLUM

Since the publication of my article on Senate Bill Number One, (S-1), in the 4/10/75 issue of WIN, a number of developments have arisen which affect both the content of the bill and its chances of being passed by Congress this fall. These developments include the amendments that have been proposed to the body of the bill, the increased coverage S-1 has received from the establishment media during the past few months, and the growth of political opposition to the Act.

Politically, the bill may well be the most reactionary legislation ever proposed in the US Senate. Its 753 pages include police-state provisions which mandate execution for certain offenses, revive the anti-communist Smith Act, and reaffirm and strengthen the Federal Anti-Riot and Wiretap Acts of 1968. The bill also imposes harsh penalties on government officials who leak classified information to the press and places severe restrictions on virtually every kind of public protest action. [See the original article for details.]

But in spite of its repressive character, S-1 has received bipartisan support from liberals as well as conservatives. Its principle sponsors include conservatives James Eastland of Mississippi, Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, John McClellan of Arkansas and Roman Hruska of Nebraska; and liberals Birch Bayh of Indiana and Mike Mansfield of Montana. McClellan and Hruska head the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures, which is responsible for drafting the actual text of the Act.

Since April 10th, another stage has been reached in the life of Senate Bill Number One. To begin with, the establishment press has finally begun to notice S-1. With the exception of the *Wall Street Journal*, however, the media have focused their attack exclusively on those measures affecting freedom of the press. Briefly, S-1 jeopardizes the press through the penalties it prescribes for public disclosure of classified information. The Act provides anywhere from three years imprisonment and a \$100,000 fine to the death penalty for federal employees who "communicate classified information to an unauthorized recipient," even if the information was not "lawfully subject to classification at the time." Any publisher or reporter who obtains and communicates such data would be similarly guilty.

Thus the press has brought the bill to the attention of political organizations throughout the nation. These groups, such as the California Democratic Council, have in turn begun to berate Senate liberals for their tacit approval of the Act. And the liberals have responded to this political pressure. According to two of their foremost representatives, Senators Cranston of California and Bayh of Indiana, the bill must be modified, but not altogether scrapped. As a result, Senate liberals have prompted S-1's sponsors in the Judiciary Committee to accept various amendments to the bill.

Although a complete discussion of all the amendments is beyond the scope of this article, an analysis of just one of the most important alterations should be sufficient to convey the dangerous and completely

inadequate character of the amendment strategy.

Both the original and revised versions of S-1 reestablish the Smith Act, which the Supreme Court rendered inoperative in 1957. In the original draft, the Smith Act provisions call for 15 years in jail and a \$100,000 fine for membership in an organization which allegedly advocates the incitement of others to engage in conduct which "at some future time would facilitate" the destruction of the government "as speedily as circumstances will permit," and where intent for such incitement can be shown. The problem with this section, apart from its repressive nature, is that the language is unconstitutionally vague and overbroad. In the amended bill, the phrases "at some future time" and "as speedily as circumstances will permit" are stricken, and the phrase "imminent lawless conduct" is added before the words "which would facilitate the destruction of the government." This change not only makes the provision less vague, but it is in keeping with the pre-1957 cases in which the Supreme Court upheld the Smith Act. Needless to say, the amendment does nothing to liberalize the reactionary content of the section.

Even if a few of the repressive features of S-1 could be eliminated through amendments, the amendment process is incapable of altering the basic thrust of the bill.

As the Criminal Justice Reform Act edges slowly towards enactment, organizations across the country have stepped up their opposition to the bill. The national offices of such groups as the ACLU, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, the National Coordinating Committee for Justice under Law, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Network, the Jesuit Conference of Social Ministers, the Menonite Central Committee Peace Section, and the National Lawyers Guild have all taken vocal opposition against S-1. And, of course, the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation has been in the forefront of the struggle to defeat S-1.

On the other side of the barricade, however, S-1 has been gathering strength of its own. In addition to its influential backers on the Judiciary Committee, the bill has been endorsed by President Ford in his June 19, 1975 crime message.

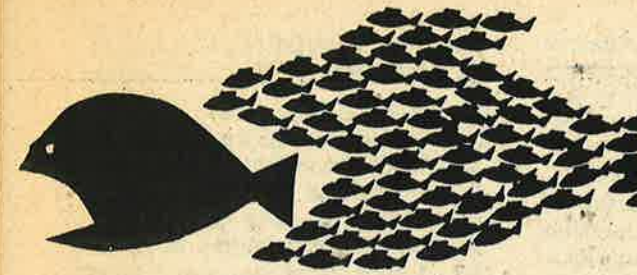
The Senate Judiciary Committee began reviewing S-1 in early July, and a full Senate debate and vote is anticipated in the fall. Prior to that time, the political left can play a vital role in alerting the American public to the dangers inherent in the Act. For Senate Bill Number One is not only a grave threat to civil liberties; it is a vicious reaction to the radicalism of the Sixties and the early Seventies, and a prospective safeguard against the revolutionary potential implicit in the nation's current economic and political crisis.

## CONTACT:

For further information and speakers on S-1, interested parties should write to the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation at 1250 Wilshire Boulevard, Suite 501, Los Angeles, California 90017. Since NCARL is a subsistence organization, it would help if all inquiries would include nominal financial contributions of one dollar to cover the costs of mailing and handling.



Drawings by Hoehanna/LNS.



## The Danger of RU

RON BUNCH

Debates between the Revolutionary Union (RU) and other movement organizations have become more pronounced. Until late May the criticisms of RU practice were just vague accusations of elitism and opportunism. Sometimes a parallel was drawn between RU and the National Caucus of Labor Committee (NCLC). (NCLC was initially disruptive in meetings, coalitions and organizations because of their insistence on a particular analysis. Now, it is well known for having numerous agents, and recently received a loan from Chase Manhattan Bank for \$48,000 on \$16,000 security.)

Now, however, there are specific examples of the real danger that progressive people and organizations face if they work with RU.

On May 23rd, 24th, and 26th People's Translation Service (PTS), Rest of the News (ROTN) and the Indochina Solidarity Committee (ISC) had their equipment stolen from them by RU members and supporters.

In the cases of PTS and ISC, the stories are very complex but it is significant that all three thefts occurred on the same weekend and all followed a similar internal struggle: at least one member of the group strongly pushed the RU line, later influencing one or more members of the group; RU cadre and supporters conducted what they called "political line struggle" in which other members are bombarded with reasons why the RU line is absolutely correct. After endless meetings, papers and counter papers, attempted purges, resignations and heated arguments RU had to "destroy the organization to save it." In each case the claim is made that the masses will continue to be served by RU, only better, and that the people whom RU forced out did not see the importance of the work—especially in light of "the present crisis of the imperialist state." Shades of NCLC, an organization which had a habit of predicting the revolution in the next five years. RU claims that this is the final crisis of capitalism and we must act immediately.

As a participant in the ROTN struggle, I can expand on that one.

ROTN was already two groups operating out of the same studio/offices in Ithaca, NY. One group, made up of eight people, comprised the National Collective (NC). They produced one tape per week that was sold to about 25 radio stations. This tape subscription service made up about one third of the group's income.

Ron Bunch was involved in various anti-war projects, most in Norfolk, Va. He now works with Glad Day Press in Ithaca.

In addition, as full time workers, NC did most of the day to day office work.

The other group was generally known as Local ROTN. They produced from two to four tapes per week that were aired on a local radio station. Although the group was organized well enough to produce the tapes, it did not look upon itself as a separate tape collective. Most people had very little time to spend on the organization and concentrated on the tapes—almost without exception, local people had full time jobs and worked on tapes evenings and weekends.

There was already friction between the groups. NC felt their work was more important and that Local simply got in their way much of the time. Even though ROTN was originally a local project, the formation of a "National Collective" brought to the front many problems that were, till that time, overlooked. NC claimed all major decisions for ROTN (NC as well as Local). And whenever Local initiated anything on their own, they were strongly opposed and often had to make a change in order to pacify the NC.

In late January, most people closely associated with ROTN were called to a special meeting. NC called the meeting and we were only told that it would be an important meeting and that people would be interested.

At this meeting we were told that half of NC had resigned, and that NC was moving to NYC. One remaining member of NC now declared himself an RU member. The main reason cited for the resignations was that NC was becoming a mouthpiece for the RU line. Although only one person admitted to being in RU, three other NC members were in agreement with RU.

The most significant news for Local was that NC would be moving to NYC. There were clear implications of equipment battles. NC profusely reassured Local that "we will all talk about the present situation, keeping it on a political basis (as opposed to personal) and after we have discussed and analyzed all aspects of the problem, we will do what is best for the movement." We said we had no reason to believe that anyone but RU would be allowed to decide what is best for the movement, but we were again assured that we would all participate in the decision making. All the pretty words changed nothing.

In mid-May NC agreed to a final meeting in which a decision would be made on the disposition of the equipment. A week before that meeting, NC/RU stole everything in the middle of the night.

Other RU antics include stealing from the Chicano Workers Center in El Paso. There, two RU cadre offered financial and technical assistance in the joint production of a film about the Farah strike, but when the film was completed RU refused to give or even sell a copy of it to the Center.

VVAW/WSO national office has been taken over by RU, as well as numerous chapters around the country.

Several chapters of the Union of Radical Political Economics (URPE) are having similar problems with RU, and at least one national officer is an RU member.

RU took over a large food warehouse that serves several co-ops in the Minneapolis area. A food co-op does not seem like a typical target for RU, but co-op activity consumes much of the political energy in that area.

Several chapters of the US-China Peoples Friendship Association have had to struggle with RU members inside the organization.

In general, RU has been able to convince people that all this boils down to "political differences." But "political differences," "political line struggle" and "serving the masses" do not involve midnight thefts!



**STOP THE B-1 BOMBER**

The Stop the B-1 Bomber: National Peace Conversion Campaign is holding its third annual organizing conference in Green Mountain Falls, Colorado, August 6-10. After conducting a grass roots education and action campaign for the past two years, the American Friends Service Committee and Clergy and Laity Concerned are planning the last year of the effort to stop the B-1 challenge and the power of the military-industrial complex. Organizers from across the country will spend four days discussing and determining the strategy to defeat the most expensive weapons system in the history of the country while organizing to reorder the economic and political priorities of our country. All persons are welcomed to participate. The conference begins Wednesday evening, August 6 and ends Sunday afternoon, August 10. The meeting will take place at the Rockcleft lodge in Green Mountain Falls, Colorado and the conference fee is \$35.00 for full room and board. Persons interested can contact AFSC, 1501 Cherry Street, Phila, Pa., 19102 (215) 241-7000 or CALC, 235 East 49th Street, New York, NY 10017 (212) 371-7188, or you can show up at the meeting. Rockcleft is 15 miles from Colorado Springs and easy to find.

—Terry Provance

**FIRST DEMOS AGAINST FIRST STRIKE POLICY**

The weather July 17 was rain with sporadic downpours, as it had been in New York for two weeks. But the rain didn't deter New York's first demo against the government's first strike nuclear policy. Actually, it was the second demo in the country on this issue, the first having been July 8 in front of the White House.

The New York demo, organized by Women Strike for Peace, drew some 40 persons including a few WRLers. We picketed and leafleted in front of the passport office on Fifth Avenue. Our leaflets had on the bottom a tear-off coupon to be filled out and addressed to Ford: "Nuclear war is unthinkable and a threat to the human race. There can be no limited nuclear war—only world disaster." —Jim Peck

**BRUCE BAECHLER—POST-WAR DRAFT RESISTER—ENTERS PRISON**

Quaker pacifist Bruce Baechler entered the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Federal Youth Center in Morgantown, West Virginia on July 20 to begin serving a 26 month prison sentence for refusing to register for the draft.

Baechler is believed to be the first "post-war" draft resister to be imprisoned for his resistance.

On the eve of entering prison, Baechler said, "Tomorrow I enter Federal Prison. I was convicted of refusing to register with Selective Service, an agency many people think doesn't exist. But it's still there all right, and its purpose is the same as always: to provide involuntary manpower to the Armed Forces when they can't get enough on their own. The draft made the Vietnam war possible—and resistance to it helped end the war. The draft system still exists, with its pool of I-A 19 year old men, ready to make the next war possible—unless we work to abolish it, and until then refuse to cooperate with it."

Baechler turned 18 on March 29, 1973, one day after the effective date of the Vietnam Peace Accords and three months after the end of involuntary inductions under the draft. He informed the local draft board in Orange County, NC (where he lived) and the local US Attorney that he would not register.

Baechler was arrested on January 23, 1974 while in sanctuary (specially called meeting for worship) at the Friends (Quakers) Meeting in Washington, DC. His father sat beside him in worship, while his mother worshipped in a simultaneous meeting at Hartford (Conn.) Friends Meeting, where Baechler and his parents are members. He was tried April 22-24, 1974 in Federal District Court in Wilkesboro, NC and convicted by a jury after long deliberation. The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the conviction. The Supreme Court, Justice Douglas dissenting, refused to hear the case in May, 1975.

—Bruce Baechler Support Committee

**BIG BUSINESS TAKEOVER IN NATIONAL PARKS**

A recent federal study says that big business has moved into the national parks, and the interest of the public is not being adequately protected.

"For better or worse, big business is taking over concessions from smaller operators and using different methods," says a study by a task force of the US Department of the Interior.

The report was based on investigations at Yosemite National Park in California, and Grand Canyon National Park in Arizona. It said that conglomerates sometimes dismiss protests from local park officials about their activities and appeal directly to Washington where they have greater influence over political figures.

—LNS

**AN INDEPENDENT IN EVERY POT**

The Drug Abuse Council in Washington, DC, reports that a poll of 2638 Americans nationwide has found that 15% of all Democrats say they smoke dope. This compares to just 10% of Republicans who admitted to using pot. Among the major political groups, "independents" were found to be the most likely users of grass: 24% of the independents—or nearly one in four—said they smoke pot. —Fifth Estate

**PRISON NOTES**

On the evening of April 26, Atmore-Holman Brother Frank X. (Moore) died in an isolation cell in Escambia County, Alabama Jail where he had been sent over his and other prisoners' objections. The officials say he had hanged himself. Supporters of the Brothers say he was the third leader of the Inmates for Action (IFA) to be murdered. Family members point out that Frank X. was emotionally stable and deeply religious. He was in good spirits the day before he died, and bruises on his body indicate a struggle before he was hanged. He had already served out his prison term and had a good chance of acquittal on new charges. The death of Frank X. under these circumstances gives credence to the IFA contention that prison guards have a "death list" of activists. Letters of concern and protest should go to L.B. Sullivan, Commissioner of the Alabama Board of Corrections, 101 South Union St., Montgomery, Alabama, and to Governor George Wallace, State Capitol, Montgomery, Alabama.

The New York legislature has recently voted to remove most of the state's legal prohibitions against the employment of ex-convicts, though the measure was much weaker than those who supported the move had hoped it might be. While it should open up some job opportunities, local licensing laws barring ex-convicts still stand, police and fire departments are excepted, and employers still have the right to refuse jobs to ex-convicts. Whether this will be a first step towards justice, or a sop to the civil libertarians will depend partly on continued public support and pressure for a really meaningful law.

The Prisoners Union Committee is a Canadian organization working on "short term projects to meet the immediate needs of the prisoners. . . simultaneous with measures to best

increase the power of the collective efforts of prisoners and their supporters." Individuals and groups concerned about prisons in Canada should contact the Prisoners Union Committee at 304-207 West Hastings, BC.

Those payments totaling \$12 million for 1200 of the thousands arrested in Washington during the 1971 May Day demonstrations have been upheld by US District Judge William B. Bryant. In responding to a request from the federal government, the District of Columbia and the chief of the US Capitol Police Force for either a new trial or reduction of the judgment, the judge said that freedom of speech is a fundamental right and the jury had decided that the city and federal governments must pay for violating that right. According to the *Washington Post*, Judge Bryant noted a lack of precedent for such awards and asked: "What yardstick do I use? I can't look at the going rate for First Amendment rights. This is a precious commodity. . . a fragile commodity." Both the verdict and the amount of damages can still be appealed in the US Court of Appeals in Washington.

Project Harwell, a prisoner self-help organization founded at Eastern Correctional Facility in Napanoch, New York, proposed using prisoners and volunteers from the community and

business in locating employment opportunities for ex-convicts and providing job training. After gaining reluctant approval from the prison's superintendent, the project was later denied formal sanction to begin operation. This reversal of policy was supported by officials at the prison and in the Department of Correctional Services. The inmate organizers of Project Harwell are now suing in Federal Court for the right to make available the wide range of volunteer programs sponsored by the project. The frustrations involved in this endeavor illustrate in almost classic manner how difficult it is for prisoners to change things by working within the system, and should explain why they often turn to other methods.

The June 26 issue of *Attica News* includes an excellent summary of the frame-up against Shango Bahati Kakawana (Bernard Stroble) which was the basis for his murder trial. According to the *New York Times* the state considered the case against Shango their strongest, but the jury refused to buy it, acquitting him after deliberating only six hours. James Ross, the only witness called by the state to prove the murder charge, was not credible. The foreman of the jury said the "hesitancy, vagueness and stumbling testimony" of Mr. Ross convinced the jury of Shango's inno-

cence. The *Times* reported that the verdict, along with earlier judicial rulings in the case, may well signal the collapse of the four cases pending against other Attica prisoner leaders. Amnesty for all of those prisoners whose indictments or convictions grew out of the rebellion cannot undo the suffering and anxiety caused by the trials, but it is essential and the only recourse left which carries with it a shred of justice.

The National Moratorium on Prison Construction has identified about 365 cases of new federal, state, county or city penal facilities under serious discussion or actual construction. The price tag for about half of these (185) will be about \$1.5 billion, making the total around \$3 billion, with many other planned jails and prisons not yet identified nor included in their listing. Their introductory letter states: "Thus we feel it urgent that there be an immediate moratorium on all new penal and juvenile facility construction. Such a moratorium attempts to provide time and a technique for forcing an unprecedented analysis and critique of our criminal justice flow and confinement process." Those who would like to support this very important project should write: National Moratorium on Prison Construction, 2215 M Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037. —Larry Gara

HEALTH CARE continued from page 15.

environment. Ivan Illich, in his book *Medical Nemeses: The Expropriation of Health*, writes of this view:

*A world of optimal and widespread health is obviously a world of minimal and only occasional medical mediation. Healthy people are those who live in healthy homes on a healthy diet; in an environment equally fit for birth, growth, work, healing and dying; sustained by a culture which enhances the conscious acceptance of limits to population, ageing, incomplete recovery, and constantly imminent death. Healthy people need no autocratic interference to mate, give birth, share the human condition and die.*

**QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS**

Some of the problems we see in creating such a system are: What is the right size? How many educators, outreach people, doctors, nurses, etc. do we need? What niches and how many niches should be filled? Do we provide complete care: dentist, midwife, nurse-practitioner, pharmacist, etc.? (We think the first prerequisite is commitment and vision, but we also need skills.) Do we meet everyone's needs, including those who just want crisis oriented care? How can we avoid being swamped by people's needs and their backlog of unattended health problems? How do we involve the community and become part of that community? What happens to our patients/friends/community outside our particular health system? (ie, when they need to use the centralized medical complex for expensive medical technological intervention?) How do we become and stay economically viable? How do we re-create and change and grow—keeping up our vision and avoiding sinking into easier (more efficient?) old roles, old ways, old patterns? What have we overlooked?

Are there systems, places, people who are already doing something like this and whom we could join and learn from?

**PLANS AND CONCLUSIONS**

Starting in October we will be travelling around the country to see some places where some parts of this idea are being tried. We need to know of other places or of people who are thinking along the same lines we are. If you know of such a place or person or if you are interested in our embryonic ideas please write to us or tell us how to get together with you, or continue the dialogue in these pages. We cannot create our alternatives by ourselves or work with followers. This is one reason this article is not more specific; we need a group to evolve so that we can take the next step together.

Claire Douglas & Jim Scott  
RFD 2, Box 65  
Windsor, VT 05089





# BOOKS



## INSIDE THE COMPANY: CIA DIARY

Philip Agee / Penguin Books / 1975 / Hardmonthsworth, Middlesex / England / Paperback \$2.95

Writing about the Central Intelligence Agency, nicknamed "The Company" by professionals of the spy business, has become a profitable and thriving branch of contemporary American non-fiction literature. The authors, usually disgruntled former CIA officers, claim idealism as their primary motive and yet money seems to be their main target. Philip Agee is one of the few practitioners of this art, whose decision to help unmask the world's largest costliest, if not necessarily most efficient intelligence service, was dictated by idealism as well as moral and social responsibility.

Probably, his social consciousness has triggered his decision to write the CIA Diary, so far the most thorough contribution to the shadowy "science" of CIA-logy, an offspring of such Cold War pseudo-sciences as Kremlinology and Sinology. Appalled by the inequal distribution of wealth in Ecuador, Uruguay and Mexico, where he served as a case officer, under State Department cover, Agee switched fronts ideologically and then physically by resigning in 1968 after a twelve-year career in the Agency's Clandestine Service.

And yet the CIA has left an imprint on his pattern of thinking and method of writing. Like some ex-Jesuits, who have joined the New Left, but cannot escape the dialectics and modus-operandi of the Society of Jesus, in a new environment Philip Agee, while attacking the Company writes professional intelligence prose, interlaced with trivial and trite details. For example, what is the importance to a reader in 1975 of knowing the day-by-day voting record of the Quito parliament?

However, this assiduous thoroughness comparable to the works of a Medieval monastic chronicler, has its distinct historical value—to the average reader it must be boring. . . During a research and writing period of four years, the author has also compiled a list of various CIA agents, affiliated organizations and a key to cryptonyms. Of great interest is the organizational scheme of the Central Intelligence Agency.

Somewhat poetical, with quasi-idiotic overtones, are the Agency's secret code names. LI stands for everything in Mexico. LIEM-BRACE—identifies activities against the Soviet Embassy in Mexico City. LIFIRE stands for the CIA travel control in that country. AVBUZZ—code name for psychological warfare in Uruguay. The CIA scribes formulated the concoction AVENGFUL to cover up wire-tapping operations against the USSR Mission in Quito.

Wire tapping and other methods of sophisticated electronic surveillance were frequently used against foe and friend alike. Such actions were usually carried out with the help of paid agents from the local police. In Uruguay, American operatives even financed and ran all national police telephone monitoring operations, largely for the Agency's benefit. The principal targets of such activities in Latin America were the Cuban, Soviet, Czech, East German, Polish and Chinese diplomatic and trade mission, listed in the order of their priority.

CIA technicians certainly deserve a big hand for their ingenuity and skills. It is only regrettable that their talents were not put to better use! Agee reports that in order to break the diplomatic code of the United Arab Republic in Uruguay, American spies installed super-sensitive microphones to record the changing noise levels and vibrations of the Egyptian cryptographic machine, at work. This enabled the CIA and the National Security Agency to break Egypt's code. For how long? The overburdened US taxpayer, in addition to routine Agency expenses, had to shell out \$35,000 to purchase the apartment under the UAR mission!

Also, Agee mentions another noteworthy detail regarding the Agency's operations referring to the Near East. Intelligence actions against Israel—let us not forget that there is no such a thing as friend for the CIA goons—were not conducted by the Near Eastern Division, but by a special section integrated into the Office of Counterintelligence. The reason for this unusual move was to screen the NED from Jewish CIA staffers who might collaborate with Israeli intelligence or be simply attached to the Jewish State sentimentally.

With a brutal disregard for diplomatic usage and the sovereignty of the host nations, Agency men set up travel control operations in Ecuador, Uruguay and Mexico. (It is a fair guess that this is being done in Europe and elsewhere.) The movement of all persons leaving and entering the countries in question was under constant observation. In some instances the US government provided photocopy machines to copy passports, including those of foreign diplomats. The latter action was not carried out through border police forces, but through the foreign ministries of the Latin American states, in which Agee worked for the CIA.

In Mexico, the surveillance of potentially disloyal Americans took the grotesque form of photographing the license plates of all cars with US markings, parked outside the Cuban, Soviet and some Satellite nations in Mexico City. With the help of state motor vehicle bureaus, the CIA Office of Security identified the car owners. Apparently, the state bureaucrats, who so loudly proclaim their independence from Washington, had no qualms in cooperating with Big Brother?

The CIA did not forget sports and sex. Agee's last assignment was to serve as an "Olympic Attache," under State cover, during the Mexico Games in 1968. No comment on this score!

Sex, as life and death, had its niche in Agency operations. The taxpaying American, through CIA agents, purchased cars for the mistress of the Mexican Ex-President Diaz Ordaz. . . Also for his top political rival's girl friend to balance the scale. . .

In closing, a remark about the international comradery of the intelligence services. While the French intelligence was locked in a struggle with their American colleagues, which is continuing to this day, agents of the services of France were helping to shadow Philip Agee in Paris. Of course, so did the trusted CIA allies, the British, in London. Last but not least, when the KGB officer Borisov in Uruguay began to carry on an affair and his loving wife became the lover of his superior, the CIA kept its mouth shut in discretion and perhaps the old boy spirit of all spies.

Let us hope that the architects of these indignities and crimes, documented by Philip Agee, will soon join the Watergate Gang in the mills of American justice. —007

The author of this review is a former CIA agent who prefers to remain anonymous.



## THE LESBIAN IN LITERATURE: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gene Damon, Jan Watson & Robin Jordan (available from The Ladder, PO Box 5025, Washington Station, Reno, Nevada, 89503) / \$10.00: All orders must be accompanied by payment in full / Second Edition

For no reason I have ever been able to figure out, bibliographies have always had a low reputation among non-scholars. Those of us who do research (including closet academics like myself who swear that PhD stands only for "pretty heavy dyke") and who have had to compile bibliographies ourselves—either modest ones to accompany papers or more extensive bibliographies for ourselves and/or others—have come, sometimes grudgingly, to appreciate the backbreaking task of such work. The nonscholar or non-academic, on the other hand, tends to dismiss bibliographies as mere "book lists" perhaps because that is the only kind he/she has encountered (and please remember that I'm talking about general tendencies, not an academic/nonacademic dichotomies).

Some of the scorn heaped on the poor bibliographer came to light recently in the Lucinda Cisler vs. Robin Morgan suit. If the readers have followed this at all, they will recall that Cisler sued Morgan's *Sisterhood is Powerful* on the grounds that Morgan had stolen her bibliography. While I don't want to spend time in this review on the ramifications of this long and divisive battle, I would like to point out that some in the anti-Cisler camp claimed that even were the charges true, Morgan had *only* stolen a bibliography (read: it's not like she stole something important). That type of declaration on-

ly proved that some in the women's movement are also guilty of holding unfounded traditional ideals of what kind of work is more valuable than another.

Despite this contempt of bibliographies, I myself have found them invaluable as a source of research and sometimes as a guide to books I might want to read. And because my prime interest lies in Lesbian research, I have found the second edition of *The Lesbian in Literature* by Gene Damon, Jan Watson, and Robin Jordan to be a priceless tool. And one can only praise the three bibliographers for the enormous amount of work it must have taken to put together a bibliography which runs 96 pages of relatively small type in length!

Aside from sheer gratitude and astonishment at the magnitude of this work, I realize that the only ground that one can judge this bibliography on is its accuracy, for unlike the traditional "books" we reviewers comment upon daily which have plots or at least reams of information we can explore or deplore, a bibliography has neither of these traditional forms. Thus, in short, we must not only learn to respect bibliographies, we must learn to judge them on their own peculiar merits. Thus, to put it succinctly, in accuracy this bibliography excels. And that's the crucial point, because if a bibliography gives incorrect information, it is useless, and the acquisition of the right data often involves more than going through card catalogs or previous bibliographies, since such are usually filled with incorrect dates, places of publication, prices, etc., and one therefore has to track down the actual book. And for me to come to the conclusion that this is indeed an excellent work, I also had to track down the actual texts. I looked at as many items as possible (I have quite an extensive Lesbian library right in my house), and every item I checked out was completely correct! In addition, every book in English I could think of, including those from feminist presses, were listed. Of course, there were a few typos and bloopers, such as a cross-reference to "See also *Secret, Meryle*" (page 18), when no such book is listed later on.

But more than being simply a listing of books, the authors also include a rating system, which indicates whether a book has major, minor or latent Lesbian characters and/or action. Each listing also carries a star (three-star tops) rating system. Of course, it is here that the authors tread on subjective ground, and I had some disagreement with their ratings. And it's not only some disagreement that my own anthology (*Out of the Closets: Voices of Gay Liberation*) received a paltry one-star rating in both the major and minor Lesbian categories (although I don't remember any "minor" Lesbians), and I hereby publicly confess a slight growl. On the other hand, the novels of Louise King, for example, get three stars, and I consider her two novels (*The Day We Were Mostly Butterflies* and *The Velocipede's Handicap*) mildly amusing but mindless and stereotyped (an effeminate interior decorator, a cigar-smoking "butch" and a brainless "femme" are the focus of both novels) trash. And I wonder why the marvelous letters of Alice B. Toklas (*Staying on Alone*) received only one star when the letters contain some pure gems.

But one should never expect someone else's taste to coincide exactly with one's own (and I should point out that despite my quibbles I do generally agree with the authors' ratings), and one should take anyone's recommendations (including those of my reviews!) with one's own tastes in mind. But whatever your taste, if you are interested in Lesbian literature—either on a professional basis or as a lover of good Lesbian books—this bibliography is *the* absolutely essential guide to whatever there is.

And in conclusion, I can only state: "Bibliographers of the world arise, for we need you!" —Karla Jay



more the structure of family living would change. Extended families and communal set ups seem a natural progression. To expect housework wages without changing the family seems impossible.

I don't know if such perspectives as Greenleaf's can be accomplished under capitalism. If they can we must be sure the benefits outweigh the increasing social control demanded by state capitalism. And even if such perspectives cannot be achieved under capitalism it will show once again that capitalism has failed to deal effectively with those things most important to our lives.

—GLENN MEREDITH  
Bloomington, Ind.

It's been good reading the many things that WIN has published lately about abortion, good to see some people actually thinking about the issue, rather than just having reflexes. The real issue, of course, and the one least talked about, is that, despite everyone's great concern for the "unwanted" child, every child born into this society is unwanted, by everybody except (if s/he is very lucky) one or two people. Bearing and raising children is not only a private enterprise; as a society we regard it as a private self-indulgence. Like drinking, classical music, or grassroots politics, it is considered a harmless self-indulgence if the person doing it has the money to support his/her habit; if not, it is considered an anti-social act or a sin. In no instance is it considered a service to the society. In no instance is the society willing to reward it as a service.

As long as this is the case, no one living in that society has the right to condemn any women who opt out of that always-unrewarded, often-penalized service by any means necessary. And all of us should honor and do what we can to help those very gutsy women who are willing to undertake such service. Just as all of us should be working toward the real solution to the "population problem," the "family problem," the "unwanted child problem"—a society in which each new person, each potential worker, is a valued addition, a solution, rather than a "problem."

—MARIAN HENRIQUEZ NEUDELL  
Chicago, Ill.

Nick DiSpaldo is right that jailhouse lawyers are a vital link between prisoners and the outside world, although I think he is too optimistic about how much change even a favorable court decision can bring. [WIN, 7/10/75]. Unfortunately, jailhouse lawyers' lack of legal training and research facilities often leads them to make strategic mistakes and ignore important negative precedents. (This is not to suggest that lawyers are much better—most know next to nothing about prison law and could care less.)

Nick's list of "important pro-prisoner decisions" should be taken together with these: The Supreme Court last year expanded

*Johnson v. Avery* to allow law students and legal workers, as well as jailhouse lawyers, to help prisoners gain access to the courts. But in the same decision, *Procunier v. Martinez*, 416 US 396 (1974), the Court authorized the interception and reading of all incoming and outgoing mail—supposedly to check for escape plans or "contraband" and not for censorship. In a second case, the Court said that properly-marked attorney-client mail could also be opened—but not read—so long as the opening took place in the presence of the inmate to whom the letter was addressed. This case, *Wolff v. McDonnell*, 418 US 539 (1974), was the same one in which the court guaranteed limited due process rights to prisoners faced with disciplinary proceedings. Two other Supreme Court cases that prisoners should know about are *Cruz v. Beto*, 405 US 319 (1972), a good case concerning religious freedom, and the ominous *Lee v. Washington*, 390 US 333 (1967), which said that even so fundamental a right as freedom from racial segregation could be abridged in the interest of "prison security and discipline."

An excellent bibliography on prisoners' rights through 1973 is available for \$2 from the Prison Law Reporter. Exercise of prisoners' right to an adequate law library, protected by *Younger v. Gilmore*, 404 US 15 (1971), might help improve the quality and success rate of prison legal work. But even the most effective lawsuit will do next to nothing to end the cruel injustice of our prison system. Whip Incarceration Now!

Before anyone's hopes are raised too high by the theories of Sam Hoffman, remember that the so-called Constitutional right to a jury of one's peers, as many movement activists have learned, is nothing but a persistent myth. The courts have consistently declared that a legal jury is one picked from a "fair cross-section of the community." The jury itself does not even have to be a "fair cross-section," just the master list from which it is ultimately picked. And, Sam's brainstorm leaving-the-scene-of-an-accident case was lost in the Supreme Court four years ago, *California v. Byers*, 402 US 424 (1971).

—PETER GOLDBERGER  
Philadelphia, Pa.

I must respond to the letter concerning the May 3 or 4 actions at Kent State. [WIN, 6/12/75].

I don't understand what difference whatsoever if it was RSB, VVAW/WSO, or RU that played any role in the rally. Speaking from the position of being a former member of Chicago VVAW and VVAW/WSO, this organization has been enlisted as a RU front, the so called veterans group.

I understand the left needs no more infighting but we must be forthright and honest. Groups which practice organization splitting tactics from positions of deceit must be known for what they are.

—RON GHISOLF  
Chicago, Ill.

I enjoyed Blackbird's fine article on Tibetan Buddhism. I wanted to make it clear that Buddhism, as taught by Chogyam Trungpa, Rinpoche, is not at all mysterious or extra-

ordinary. It is very simple, very basic, very earthy. Simply the acquisition of a "basic sanity that transcends time and space"—as relevant and alive in the canyons of Manhattan as in the mountains of Tibet. According to the Kargyupa tradition from which Trungpa Rinpoche comes, it is only thru' the sitting practice of meditation that one begins to acquire an understanding of Buddhism and experiential knowledge of a new way of seeing the world.

Rinpoche is developing a teaching responsive to American karma. Buddhism will grow in America not by having Americans act like Tibetans, but by the development of an American Buddhism, firmly based on Tibetan traditions, but transforming them as the Tibetan masters transformed Indian Buddhism over one thousand years ago. The spiritual materialism that Rinpoche refers to in the title of his book, *Cutting Thru Spiritual Materialism*, is the tendency Americans have of getting tripped out and fascinated by exotic and mysterious Eastern teachings, without seeing the simple basis of those teachings.

While Trungpa Rinpoche may be a traveler, he too has put down firm roots in his four years in this country. There are rural practice communities in Vermont and California, retreat centers in Colorado, a large well established community in Boulder where he lives, the Naropa Institute serving a thousand students in the summer in Boulder, and study centers in 20 or 30 cities. Those wishing more information should read Rinpoche's several books and/or write Vajradhatu, 1111 Pearl St., Boulder, Colorado 80302.

—KEN KRICH  
Oakland, Calif.

### An Inquiry Into the Death of Casey Jones

a toolbox stuffed with poetry  
a crowbar twirled like a baton  
a softshoe on the third rail  
a railroad run by milk and  
white bread fed junior exec hitlers  
with degrees from Lionel toying  
with whips of inhibition above  
once proud men who howl and  
whine like starving dogs for scraps  
of common courtesy  
here are the backs that broke  
under the strain of thousands of office  
swivel chairs  
here the cracked limbs and ruptured balls  
that rushed from chore to chore while  
clean fingernails typed out a monthly report  
here are the lunchbags swallowed whole  
while Mr. Clean ordered another stinger  
here are the rough hands that help  
carry a load unasked while up in  
IBM heaven clean shaven Mr. America's  
trip over each other's carefully placed loafers  
here are the men who crawl home  
and for subsistence sake  
keep body and soul apart  
while in a mirrored tower  
a young Rockefeller lifts his ass to fart

—Manny Igrejas

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### EVENTS

NEAFSC: One-week conference: "A Non-violent Society—Its Beginnings and Its Possibilities," 8/25-9/1 at Camp Indianbrook, Plymouth Union, Vermont. Write NOVA, AFSC, 48 Inman Street, Cambridge, MA 02139. (617-864-3150).

The North American Vegetarian Society of 501 Old Harding Highway, Malaga, NJ 08328 will host the August 16-28 World Vegetarian Congress of the International Vegetarian Union at the Orono Campus of the University of Maine. Rates vary, write to NAVS for info.

Singer and critic Eric Bentley will perform at the Clark Art Institute in Williamstown on AUGUST 10 as part of the Williamstown Theatre Festival's Sunday Special Events series. Tickets are \$3.00 For reservations and information, call the Festival Box Office at (413) 458-8146.

### OPPORTUNITIES

CORPORATE POWER AND US IMPERIALISM—A MASTERS DEGREE PROGRAM AT GODDARD-CAMBRIDGE GRADUATE PROGRAM IN SOCIAL CHANGE: A PROGRAM OF GODDARD COLLEGE. This Masters Degree program will be a thorough analysis of the American Corporate economy,

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investigating connections between that corporate economy and war, foreign relations, sexism, personal alienation, etc. Contact Goddard-Cambridge, 5 Upland Rd., Cambridge, Mass. 617-436-7168.

Collectively run day care center in Southern NH seeks new staff person with actual or serious potential interest in child care. Call 603-868-5412 between July 28 and August 6 from 8:30-12—or send resume to Little People's Center, Box 542, Durham, NH. We will be interviewing Aug. 6, 7, & 8.

Job opening for Alternative School Community Resources Coordinator. Funding, public relations, administrative responsibilities. Contact Craig Newby, The Alternative School, 3950 Rainbow, Kansas City, Kansas 66103 (913-236-6719).

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SOURCE, a radical research collective, needs full-time staff interested in political change, hard, meaningful work, subsistence lifestyle. We especially need women now. Write Box 21066, Wash., DC 20009, (202) 387-1145.

JOB: WASHINGTON DC—Staff person is needed for the Washington Peace Center to help plan and coordinate program and involve volunteers. Opportunity for creative development of peace education program. Paid position—full time. Please contact: Victor Kaufman, 11402 Cam Court, Kensington, Maryland, 20795 (301) 942-0584 (evenings).

### HELP!

ANTI-WAR ANTHOLOGY. Wanted poems, songs, conscientious objector statements. Please send to Mark Kramrisch, 55 Camberwell Church Street, London SE5.

NYC SIMPLE LIVING—nonviolent, egalitarian, social change community seeks additional activists. Cluster, c/o Kendrick, 144-34 Village Road, Jamaica, NY 11435.

### MISC.

Please write to these lonely prisoners:

PAUL WEBSTER, No. 138-558, PO Box 69, London, Ohio 43140.

ORLANDO TORRES, Box B60, CTF North, Soledad, CA 93460.

DON L. NEWLAND, No. 141-222, PO Box 69, London, Ohio 43140.

RAYMOND JOHN WHITE, No. 35488, Box 1000, Steilacoom, Wash. 98388.

### MOVING THIS FALL?

Now is the time to tell us, because the next time we enter changes in the mailing list will be early in September. If you do not want to miss WIN this fall, please give us your new address in time. Love, Mary.

Old Address Label (from your most recent issue):

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Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

WIN PO Box 547 Rifton, NY 12471





Some years ago Nat Hentoff had the foresight to announce that WIN was "the liveliest publication ever to come tumbling out of the peace movement."

Since then the *Whole Earth Catalog* described WIN as "together" and the *Library Journal* characterized our prose as "crackling with life-loving gaiety and hope."

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This "engaging" (*Boston Phoenix*), "influential" (*Poughkeepsie Journal*), "always provocative" (*Boston Globe*), magazine is so "highly recom-

mended" (*Akwesasne Notes*) because "WIN's special issues have often signalled the beginning of new trends in radical and liberal thinking" (*Boston Real Paper*).

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ATLANTA WORKSHOP IN NON-VIOLENCE, Box 7477, Atlanta, GA 30309.

WRL PLAINS STATES, 3950 Rainbow Blvd., Kansas City, KS 66103.

WRL SOUTH CENTRAL, PO Box 7161, Austin, TX 78712.

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MARK LOONEY, 2237 40th Pl. NW, No. 3, Washington, DC 20007.

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HAWAII WRL/CATHOLIC ACTION, 1918 University Ave., Honolulu, Hawaii 96822.

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CHICAGO WRL, 5729 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, IL 60637

OAK PARK WRL, 806 Carpenter, Oak Park, IL 60304.

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IOWA CITY WRL, Center for Peace & Justice, Box 1043, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.

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