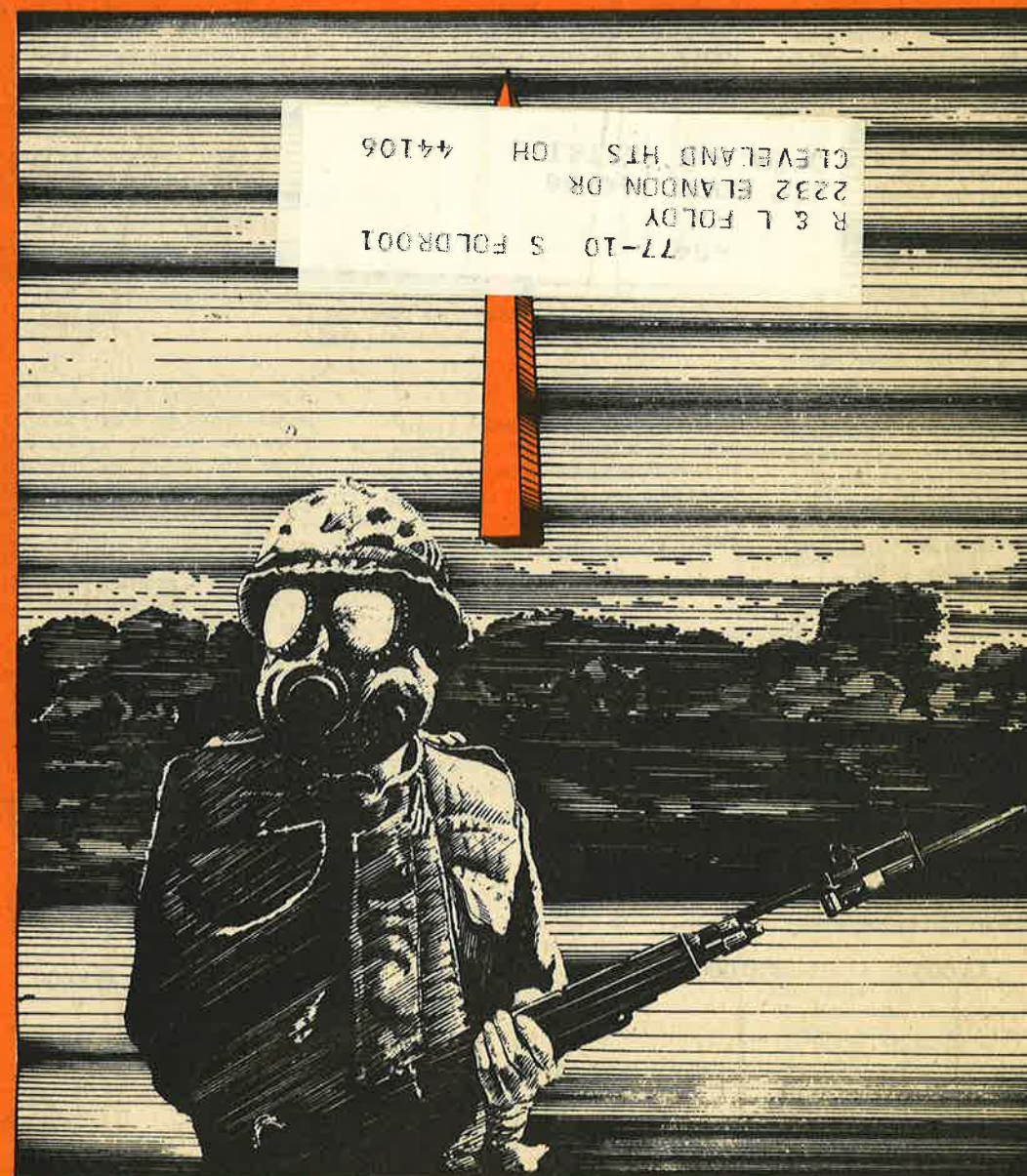


win

PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

IS THE US WAGING WEATHER WARFARE? NATO, South Africa and the USA Interview with a Portuguese Soldier Unionizing the Military





I thought your response to Leah Fritz unfair. You try to make her sound like a very unreasonable female. But her anger at having her name used in a current fundraiser should not have taken you by surprise. You cut several sentences from her letter before printing it. One of those sentences refers to a previous letter of hers which you didn't print and which contained many objections to the way you had been treating her recently. So it might have occurred to you that she'd mind having her name used now as in the past.

Your letter is not fair, either, to Karla Jay, who wanted to edit a special issue on Jane Alpert. She didn't refuse to submit to you material already written. You'd seen one of the pieces she wanted to use. None of the other pieces some of us planned had yet been written.

The question of the Jane Alpert issue is more crucial than perhaps you realize yet. You write that you felt WIN had defended Jane. Yes, you had printed two essays of mine in her defense and you had printed a letter of Kay Van Deurs' and a letter of Diana Davies'. But Kay and Diana and I—and Karla Jay and Leah Fritz and Andrea Dworkin and Jane Gapen and Carol Grosberg—which is to say almost all the feminists who have written for you—felt strongly that very much more remained to be said.

We felt, in the first place—we still feel—that the very life of a sister is at stake. Jane Alpert lives, quite literally, in fear of assassination. You didn't want to personalize a political issue, you say. But it is not we who have personalized a political issue. It is Jane's adversaries who have done that.

She believes that there are those who want her killed—as an example to other radical feminists. And we have come, painfully, to agree with her. Most of her adversaries, I am sure, would be content to have her good name destroyed—and radical feminism discredited with her. Others would like to see her literally dead. Does this sound melodramatic? The bulletin inserted in *Midnight Special*, trying to make her fellow prisoners believe they had an informer in their midst, is evidence enough.

You say that all of us who wanted to write for the special issue were coming from one position. If you mean the position that Jane's life should be defended, yes we were. And if you mean the position that the radical feminist movement must survive, yes we were. My hope of course had been that WIN would identify with this position (which still allows for a wide variety of views among us). But you couldn't quite hear us—when we were talking life and death. Here is one reason why some of us who have felt in the past happy enough to be referred to in your ads as members of the WIN "gang" begin to shy at that label.

But as I wrote to WIN recently, I am addicted to optimism. I can't yet believe that you won't begin to hear us. It is my deep conviction that at this point in history, a commitment to nonviolence—which WIN declares—requires a commitment to feminism; requires a recognition of the truth feminists have begun to speak—that the root of all violence is the violence men do women, harder to identify than any other violence because this violence has been eroticized. No, I can't yet believe that you won't begin to hear us.

—BARBARA DEMING
Monticello, NY

Regretfully, after many years, I must cancel my subscription. Your response to Leah Fritz's letter in the WIN of October 30th does not meet the issue of your token response to the women's movement.

—HELEN L. GRAY
Cambridge, Mass.

The annual subscription notice comes, and for the first time in years, I pause before automatically renewing. Dollars must be counted carefully, and I have begun to wonder about my support. I have always been attracted to WIN as a "workshop in nonviolence," but lately I wonder if the editors still see it that way. Take Karla

Jay's piece about being a victim, [WIN, 10/23/75] for example. I can read that sort of muddled reasoning in the *Daily News* or *New York Magazine* or in testimonials for the local karate school. It's a far cry from the eloquent article of over a year ago on a nonviolent response to prison rape.

Then there's Brad Lyttle's reply to Barbara Deming [WIN, 10/30/75]. I missed the Deming article, but it must have been a real tantrum, to push a nice man like Brad to subscribe to an "androgynous ideal." Good heavens, that's Peter Pan all over again. An "androgynous ideal" is the stuff of childhood dreams, when we are too busy discovering ourselves to admit that we are different from momma and daddy and sisters and brothers. Kicking the "androgynous ideal" is another way of saying "growing up." It's when we can finally admit that we are separate and different from our parents and others. If we never reach that point, how can we be tolerant of racial, cultural and age differences? How can we be the adults our children so badly need as models?

Oh well, I sigh, maybe I'm just getting to old for WIN, which does have a lovely and maddening quality of eternal youth. And then I turn from Brad Lyttle to Leah Fritz's letter and reply, [WIN, 10/30/75] and I write my check. There, really, is everything I admire you for. You give Leah Fritz her forum (where she, too, wants it both ways; "Dissociate me from WIN but send me letters at their address"), but in your comment you never once stoop to her level of anger. Yours is indeed a soft answer that turneth away wrath. The Workshop in Nonviolence lives, however fitfully, and I pledge my continued support.

—BARBARA WALKER
Ossining, NY

I am a longtime WIN reader and radical faggot whose developing feminist consciousness owes much to the writing of Leah Fritz, and others, in these pages. Thus I am very disturbed by the vindictive turn of some of her recent writings, to wit:

This summer she wrote a malediction against Chuck Fager [WIN, 6/12/75] for his opposition to abortion [8/22/75]. I happen to think Chuck is wrong, and I agree with her major premises: 1) that it is preposterous for me, a male, to tell women the rights and wrongs of abortion, and 2) that men had better take responsibility for preventing unwanted pregnancy. But I felt her abusiveness toward Chuck was unnecessary.

And I'm sorry, I found her letter of October 30 largely petty. I cannot judge WIN's internal hassles, though I do feel that

WIN could use a more thoroughgoing feminist perspective on all the subjects it covers. I don't feel that the male power games of politics are irrelevant, because they affect my life, usually to my detriment. The systematic murder and assassination conducted by the CIA, NSA, et al. since a generation ago in postwar Germany may well be a precursor of what they want to inflict on us if they ever decide to pull a coup.

As one who particularly appreciated Leah's letter [WIN, 8/14/75] puncturing Dan Berrigan's masculine pomposity, I was most anguished by her latest letter because she seemed in danger of succumbing to the very same "correct line" ideology that she accuses WIN of.

—JOHN KYPER
Roxbury, Mass.

It seems to me as a fairly constant reader, that WIN is giving a lot of coverage to feminism, sexism and gay matters. That's ok. The primary job of a pacifist and Gandhian publication is to oppose war and to be involved in fighting the injustices that lead to wars and violence. There are many such areas including sexism, nuclear arms and power, ecology, race relations, farmworkers, etc. A balance has to be established in covering these areas. They are all equally important.

Those who are hipped on one particular injustice, because of their background, should properly work in that field, and join organizations whose sole aim is correcting that particular injustice. If, in addition, they want nonviolent remedies (not every feminist believes in nonviolence), WIN is the proper forum for their ideas.

It's understandable that everyone would like their own particular "hurt" to be given a fuller play. Farmworkers fear loss of jobs, disarmament workers fear a world reduced to molten lava and stripped of life. An editorial committee can have its hands full making decisions on coverage. Temporary overemphasis on one topic, however, needn't cause concern. All endeavors work toward the same goal, peace, and its concomitant, justice.

—ED FEDER
Bronx, NY

As an avid reader of WIN Magazine I was beginning to think too much emphasis was being exerted for the feminist movement. There are so many areas in the world requiring enlightenment to your readers that you could not concentrate on just one movement to the exclusion of all others. As

often happens to people with one goal in mind, they forget about the other oppressions in our society that should be brought to the attention of your readers—many areas which are not covered in national magazines and newspapers which are corrupted by their advertisers. I found Leah Fritz's letter offensive and suggest she step out in to the sunlight, take a good hard look at our world and open her mind to all that is around us. We need more publications like WIN to keep us informed.

—ESTHER ROSENBLITH
Altamonte Springs, Fla.

Leah Fritz's points [WIN, 10/30/75] may be well taken or not, I really don't know, but I do know that we have no right fighting among ourselves when there are so many "enemies" to combat. The American Left has perennially devoured itself in needless internecine struggles like this one within the women's movement. Have we learned nothing at all in the last 150 years? Please can't we get it together with good friends like Leah Fritz and the wonderful folks at WIN!

—PETER HOLLORAN
Cambridge, Mass.

CORRECTION

Steve Barkan wrote to point out that in his article, "Taking the Law into Our Own Hands" [WIN, 11/16/75], in the second new paragraph on page 6, the line beginning "In all these matters the judge..." should read: "In all these matters the judge often feels constrained to allow the defendant a good deal of latitude in what he or she says, precisely because the *pro se* defendant is considered ignorant of traditional rules of evidence and courtroom procedure. As a result the *pro se* defendant's legal naivete can enable him or her to inject political and moral issues into the proceedings."

The material from the Milwaukee 12 trial came from Francine du Plessix Gray's article "The Ultra-Resistance" which appeared in *The New York Review of Books* and was reprinted in *Trials of the Resistance*.



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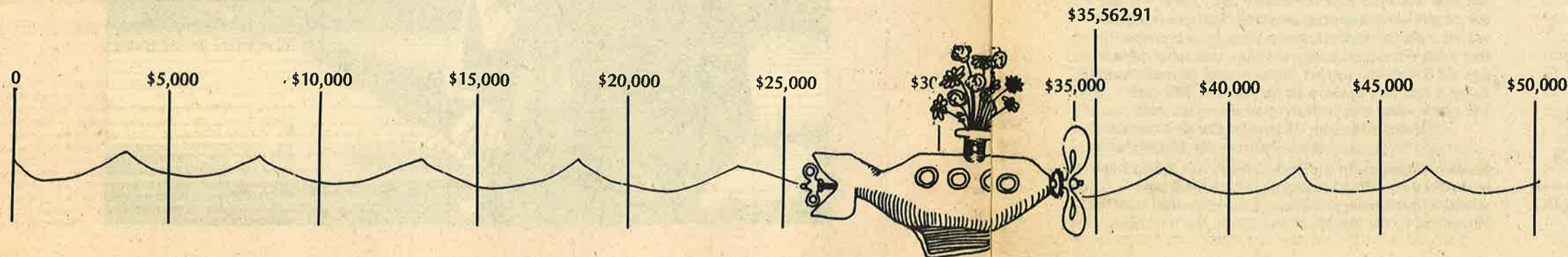
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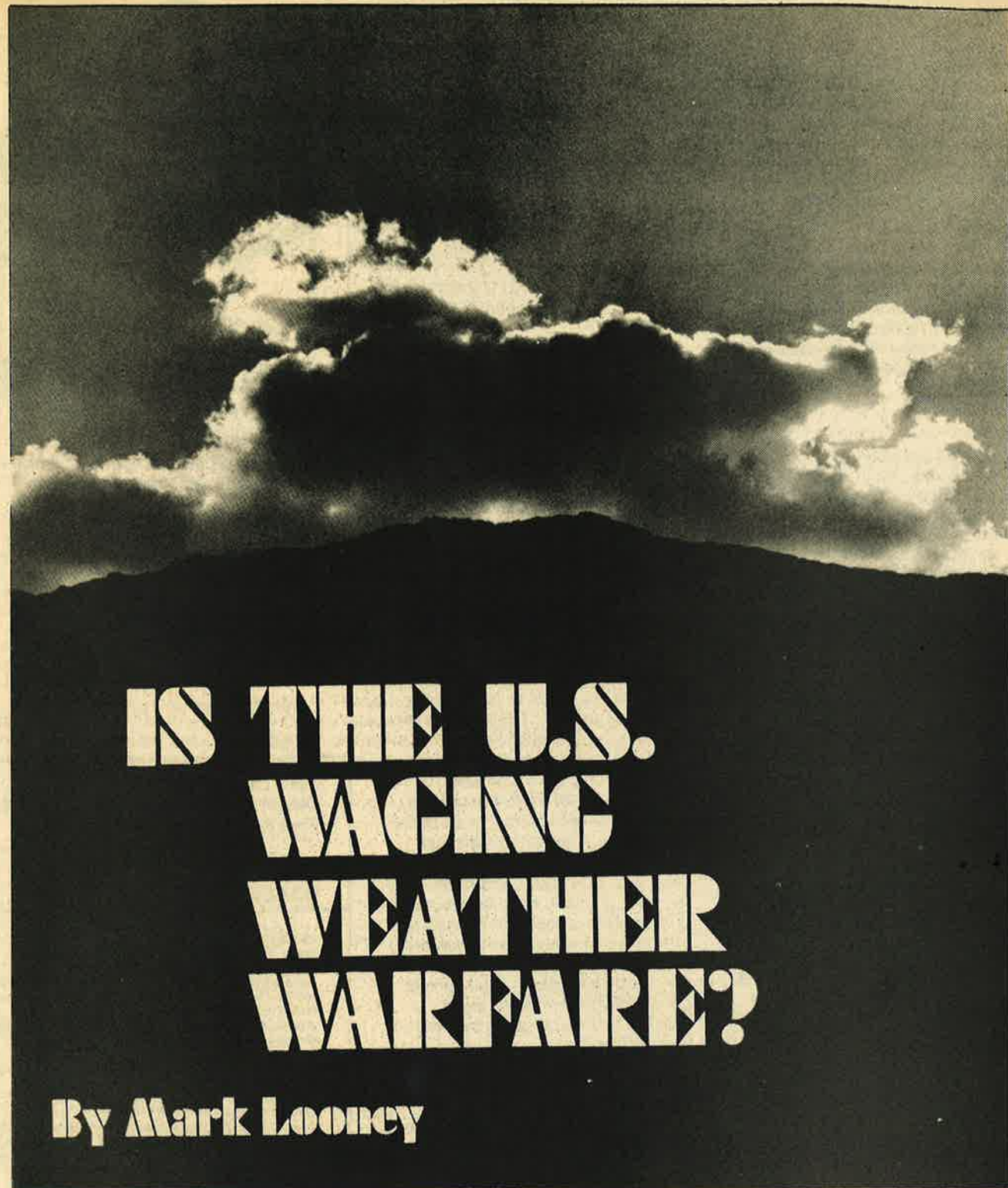
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IS THE U.S. WAGING WEATHER WARFARE?

By Mark Looney

As economic competition among many disadvantaged nations heightens, it may be to a country's advantage to insure a peaceful, natural environment for itself and a disturbed environment for its competitors. . . Such a secret war need never be declared or known by the affected populations. . . The years of drought and storm could be attributed to unkindly nature.

—Dr. Gordon J.F. MacDonald, former member of the President's Council on Environmental Quality
—hearings before the US Senate, Jan. 25, 1974

Mark Looney is a peace activist based in Washington, DC.

Let me say this before rain becomes a utility that they can plan and distribute for money. By "they" I mean the people who cannot understand that rain is a festival, who do not appreciate the gratuity, who think that what has no price has no value, that what cannot be sold is not real, so that the only way to make something actual is to place it on the market. The time will come when they will sell you even your rain.

—Thomas Merton, "Rain and the Rhinoceros"
from *Raids on the Unspeakable*

Modern weaponry in the 20th century has increasingly shocked us with its vast array of sophisticated scientific instruments of death. From the ruins of Hiroshima to the jungles of Indochina, we have seen

the devastating results of the misuse of science and the misappropriation of resources by the American government. Indochina served as a testing ground for these new weapons. It also served as the proving ground of US imperialism for control of the Third World. The war changed from American combat troops and counter-guerrilla warfare to automated battlefields; direct human contact by Americans was removed further and further as protests grew at home. In a world where nations are increasingly choosing socialism to redesign their societies, it is likely that the US government will implement a policy of *covert* warfare for the Third World. Allende's Chile was an example of such activity. A case can be made that the American government is currently waging a war with the rest of the world for control of mineral resources through increasing domination of the world's food supply. Food has become a weapon of our country—perhaps more powerful and subtle than all the ships, bombs and planes in the American military garrisons. We have only begun to realize the existence and ramifications of this food war. In this same conflict, another weapon that was used extensively in Vietnam appears—weather modification.

For the past 80 years the American government has been sinking money into a myriad of weather meddling experiments. Two early experimenters were C.W. Post of Post (Toasties) Cereal fame, who conducted private rainmaking tests with bombs in 1911-1912, and Charles Warren Hatfield, who roamed the land with his 26 foot fuming platform. In the 1930's many other countries began to get involved in the act, such as the Russians and the Germans. Big advances in weather tampering were made during World War II by Uncle Sam and General Electric who employed Irving Langmuir, Vincent Schaefer and Bernard Vonnegut (for all you weather mod trivia fans that's Kurt's brother) to develop chemicals such as dry ice for rainmaking. Directly after the war many drought experiments were executed by the Air Force over the Southwest which enraged Texas cattle farmers. As chemicals produced ran through cloud seeding, it was also discovered that overseeding led to extensive cold dissipation and droughts.

Corporations have developed whose sole activity is to change our weather. Dr. Irving Krick established the first one in 1950, Water Resources Development Corporation, which contracted with various governments, domestic and foreign, and with farmers. In the early 1950's, it was estimated that 10% of the US territory was having its weather modified. In 1957 Ike appointed a Committee on Weather Control that concluded that weather modification is wonderful and should be funded by the government. During the 50's numerous American military figures stressed the importance of developing weather modification as a weapon before the Russians did.

Weather modification, more specifically rain modification, was a complicated scientific weapon that the American military experimented with in North Vietnam, South Vietnam and Laos from 1967-1972. Due to the efforts of Senator Clairborne Pell and the Chicago Science for Vietnam Collective a wealth of information on military weather tampering in Indochina and elsewhere was collected during hearings held in the summer of 1972 and early 1974. Fall's chief motivations were to flush out information on what occurred in Indochina to enlighten world opinion and hopefully to enact international treaties banning weather and environmental warfare. After much lying

(Laird once told Fulbright that they never used weather modification in Indochina) and stalling, a secret (now unclassified) session was held between Pell, Sen. Case, and military brass on March 20, 1974, regarding Indochina. This hearing revealed the Pentagon soaked a total of \$21.3 million in flying 2,602 rainmaking sorties over Indochina between 1967-1972.

Lt. Col. Ed Soyster testified that in October 1966 the Pentagon ran a series of tests to determine if they could increase rainfall over parts of Indochina. Col. Soyster stated that the program was to determine if increased rainfall could further soften roads, cause landslides, wash out river crossings and in general augment poor traffic conditions. By November 9, 1966, the tests were completed and it was concluded that cloudseeding to induce additional rain over infiltration routes "could be used as a valuable tactical weapon." On March 20, 1967, the Pentagon began cloudseeding operations over North Vietnam using WC-130 weather reconnaissance and RF-4C photo reconnaissance aircraft. According to the hearings, rainfall was increased by over 30% in selected areas. Apparently the first time weather modification was actually used in Vietnam was over Hue in 1963 by the CIA.

It is important to examine the military weather modification apparatus and the interconnected "civilian" agencies that are involved. Although Air Force, Army and Navy units have all been actively researching and testing weather modification as a weapon, Indochina weather weaponry was coordinated by the Air Force—more specifically by Air Weather Service. This umbrella weather agency of the Air Force has been writing detailed exposes on the weather of other countries since the mid-1940's. Global Weather Control at Offet Field near Omaha, Nebraska and Scott Air Field in East St. Louis are two important bases for Air Weather Service, but the most important weather modification research was conducted by scientists at the Cambridge Research Laboratories at Hanscom Field outside of Boston. This base worked closely on the Indochina rainmaking operations.

Along with Hanscom Field, another key base is the Navy's China Lake Base, China Lake, California (near Los Angeles). Pierre St. Amand, the top military weather modification expert testified before Senator Pell's subcommittee in January of 1974 describing their work. Rain control is top on their agenda and they have the technology. Yet they have also been able to clear fog, reduce hail, influence cloud formation, snow and lightning. This base has dispersed fog in the Panama Canal Zone, produced rain in India (after drought), produced rain in Okinawa and the Philippines in 1969 and 1971 respectively. Afghanistan, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Iran, Kenya, Libya and Taiwan also petitioned this base to assist in weather modification. Over 60 countries have contracted for the services of private US weather modification corporations. Australia, Brazil, India, Israel, Japan, Mexico, Philippines, Soviet Union, France, Canada and Italy all have active weather modification programs of their own. Yet the United States seems to have the most developed technology. Our advanced computerization of weather information gives us a considerable edge in perfecting weather as a weapon.

Both the Air Force and Navy maintain their own weather satellite systems. Several very sophisticated satellites have been kept aloft for the last nine years. The Navy's Fleet Numerical Weather Control in Monterey, California and the Air Force's Global Weather Control serve as the command bases for these

Photo by
Cam Smit

operations. High over our heads the military weather satellites are providing both visible-light infrared imagery for day and night cloud surveillance in addition to making vertical temperature profiles. This data from the satellites is received at secret ground stations around the world and is converted to digital computer format at the two base stations. When this system was revealed three years ago, then Under-Secretary of the Air Force John McLucas revealed that "certain aspects of the data system remain classified."

NASA satellites have contributed a great deal to the military's understanding of weather. (NASA is an agency that is heavily dominated by the military despite an outward "civilian" appearances.) Many of the first satellites in the 1950's were weather satellites. A total of 22 TIROS and ITOS weather satellites were launched. Weather rockets are launched frequently by NASA at Wallops Island, Virginia. ILLIAC 4 weather modification computers are operated jointly by DOD and NASA at NASA's Ames Research Center at Moffet Field, California. The purpose of these computers, which were installed in 1973, is to study how human-made changes in the weather affect the global climate. Manned spaceflights such as Skylab also collected information on weather. At the NASA LBJ Space Center in Houston, Texas, displays and movies refer to the use of this information in relation to weather modification research.



Numerous unclassified documents indicate that the Army is also heavily involved in weather modification research at places like the Army Electronics Command Base at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, the Cold Regions Lab at Hanover, New Hampshire and various missile bases such as the Army Missile Command at Huntsville, Alabama and the US Signal Missile Support Agency at White Sands, New Mexico. The whole US government weather scene is dominated by the military. The "civilian" US Weather Service was created by the Army Signal Corps. Today the Weather Service and its parent organization the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) are overflowing with old and active Air Weather Service-Air Force people. Dr. George Crossman, present Director of the Bureau, worked computerizing the Air Force before he came to the Weather Bureau. Now the Weather Bureau is being totally computerized by Crossman.

Meteorological schools are also swamped by the military with scholarships, jobs (DOD is the largest employer of weatherpeople) contracts, consultant fees, etc.

Various civilian agencies are extensively involved in weather tampering research including the Dept. of Transportation, Interior, Commerce (NOAA), National



Science Foundation, AEC, Agriculture, etc. We can assume that the numerous experimental projects funded are of value to the military. Project Stormfury, a joint DOD and Commerce operation seeded four hurricanes to affect their course between 1961-1971. Numerous other projects with names like Climax, Whitetop, and others involved numerous civilian Federal agencies in rainmaking experiments prior to use in Vietnam.

Controlling rain has been at the top of the list for the military—not only increasing it, but stopping it. A great deal of work has been done on cloud dispersion which results in droughts. In the late 1940's, the Air Force discovered to the disgust and anger of Texas and Arizona cattle ranchers that drought could be created through overseeding. Weather modification expert Gordan MacDonald confirms this in his article "How to Wreck the Environment" from *Unless Peace Comes*:

Preliminary analysis suggests that there is no effect 200-300 miles down range but that continued seeding over a long stretch of dry land clearly could remove sufficient moisture to prevent rain 100 miles down wind. This extended effect leads to the possibility of covertly removing moisture from the atmosphere so that a nation dependent on water vapor crossing a competitor country could be subjected to years of drought. The operation could be concealed by the statistical irregularity of the atmosphere. A nation possessing superior technology in environmental manipulation could damage an adversary without revealing its intent.

In addition to rain tampering (the more publicized aspect of weather modification) numerous military experiments and research have been conducted with missiles to effect atmospheric temperature and ozone content. Much of this research seems to be centered at Hanscom Field. This work which began in the early 1960's, studied the effect of the release of various gases and other substances on the temperature of the upper atmosphere. Rocket exhaust materials can apparently change temperature and electron density—all of which affects rainfall. Ozone research by the military has also been developed in relation to temperature. It is generally admitted that a weakened ozone belt could create climate changes. A thinning of the ozone layer around the globe could mean a drop in temperature, wind shifts, which would affect rainfall, desert belts and sea levels.

Why would the United States government have such a strong interest in controlling the rain and temperature? Perhaps the answer was supplied by Pierre St. Amand, Director of the Nayv's China Lake Base, when he appeared before Senator Pell's Sub-Committee on January 25, 1974:

Strategic use would be use that tended to upset the economy of another country for a long period of time, or to cause extensive damage to the crops of that country. . . It might, to take a negative viewpoint, be advantageous to cause heavy rain during planting season to preclude sprouting and growth and then to cause severe and protracted drought during the growing season in a country dependent on certain crops for food and foreign exchange.

In August of 1974, the Office of Political Research of the CIA released an important report titled "Potential Implications of Trends in World Population, Food Production and Climate." The report describes how providing adequate food stocks for the world will become an increasing problem in the years ahead with a key role falling to the US.

. . . in the event of adverse changes in climate, the outcome can only be grave. . . The US now provides nearly three fourths of the world's net grain exports and its role is almost certain to grow over the next several decades. The world's increasing dependence on American surpluses portends an increase in US power and influence, especially vis-a-vis the food deficit poor countries. Indeed, in time of shortages the US will face difficult choices about how to allocate its surpluses between affluent purchasers and the hungry world. The implications for the world food situation and for US interests could be considerably greater if climatologists who believe a cooling trend is underway prove to be right. If the trend continues for several decades there would almost certainly be an absolute shortage of food. The high-latitude areas, including the USSR and North China, would experience shorter growing seasons and a drop in output. The monsoon-fed lands in Asia and Africa would also be adversely affected. US production would probably not be hurt much. As custodian of the bulk of the world's exportable grain, the US might regain the primacy in world affairs it held in the immediate past World War II era. . . . In the poor and powerless areas, population would have to drop to levels that could be supported. The population problem would have solved itself in the most unpleasant fashion.

In 1972 Radio Havana charged that the CIA had modified Cuba's rainfall to affect her sugar crop. The Thai government has modified weather against liberation troops in its northeast sector according to hearings held before the House last September. Rhodesia was accused by her neighbors of weather warfare in 1973. Dr. Jorge Vivo, director of the Geographic Research Center of the University of Mexico, charged that the United States artificially detoured Hurricane Fifi into Honduras last year to save Florida's tourist industry. This charge was denied by the US government.

Yet the record of the US government in weather modification is one of lies and deception. Along with Laird's lies to Fulbright about use in Vietnam, the US delegation to the Stockholm Environmental Conference in 1972 weakened a clause in a weather modi-

fication resolution to evaluate and disseminate all research information. Government witnesses at Congressional hearings have often given little information, except for St. Amand, unless they were pressured. The only government witness scheduled to appear at House hearings this summer was withdrawn. Two years ago the Senate passed a resolution calling for an international treaty to ban weather modification. The House has yet to act on this resolution, but its Subcommittee on International Relations has been frustrated in its attempts to shape a strong treaty with the Ford Administration. Letters sent by House Congressional members have enjoyed weak or no responses from Ford's aides.

As a result of the July 1974 Nixon-Brezhnev summit and weather modification communique, American and Russian negotiators bargained three times in the last year to prevent a draft treaty to the United Nations this August. Numerous arms control experts view this treaty as weak since it prohibits only catastrophic use of weather modification that has widespread, severe, long-lasting effects. Short-term tactical bans and bans on small areas were intentionally absent from the proposed treaty. Many feel that American deployment of rainmaking in Indochina would not be banned by the treaty. This draft treaty will be discussed in the UN General Assembly and probably will be acted upon when the Geneva Disarmament Conference reconvenes in February.

Weather modification is something that requires attention, investigation, protest and civil disobedience. The military bases and their personnel need to be studied. Congress should inquire into possible current use of weather modification in relation to food production. In this upcoming election year, Ford and other candidates ought to be confronted with weather modification as an issue. Above all, in a world where nations are increasingly discarding capitalism as an antique and dangerous system, we need to build a more united movement for democratic socialism in America.

To give food aid to countries just because people are starving is a pretty weak reason.

—Danny Ellerman, US National Security Council Staffperson, *Washington Post*, December 9, 1974

Starvation, hunger and food shortages will unleash and sharpen all the basic contradictions. The imperialists will respond with solutions like population control, war and greater monopoly power. But hunger is too stark and the conflict irreconcilable. The situation could well define the coming period.

—*Prairie Fire*, Weather Underground



Although the American losses in SE Asia appear to have caused a policy rethink in that area of the world, the changing pattern of events in Southern Africa since the coup in Portugal in April 1974, do not seem to have had a similar effect. Even before the changes in Portugal, US policy towards Southern Africa was based on support for the white minority regimes, and this drift seems to have strengthened over the last 12 months. Both the Organization of African Units (OAU) and the liberation movements were critical of the US decision to replace Donald Easum as Secretary of State for African affairs with Nathaniel Davis, who was ambassador to Chile at the time of Allende's overthrow.

There has also been increasing collusion between the US and South African military, supported by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. In April, Representative Les Aspin (D-Wis) revealed that under a contract with a company called US Nuclear Corporation of Oak Ridge, Tenn., the US has sent 97 lbs. of highly enriched uranium to South Africa over the last year, with a balance of 28 lbs. still due to be delivered under the terms of the same contract—enough to make nine atomic bombs. Rep. Aspin added that "South Africa has the fear to want to build a bomb and it has the technical skill to be able to build a bomb." South Africa has not signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

The tilt in US policy goes back to National Security Study Memorandum 39 (NSSM 39) drawn up in 1969, and approved by ex-President Nixon in February 1970. The content was revealed in an article in *Esquire* in October 1974 by Tad Szulc under the heading "Why are we in Johannesburg? An exclusive look at your government's bright new idea." The document showed a tilt towards the white minority regimes in the context of mounting dangers posed to them by black liberation movements, but due to the sensibilities of certain sections of American opinion, the new policy was carefully concealed. The National Security Council Interdepartmental Group for Africa had looked at five policy options and chosen Option 2, which then acquired the name "Tar Baby," after the Brer Rabbit story! The fundamental assumption of the memorandum was: "The whites are here to stay, and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the Communists. We can, by selective relaxation of our stance towards the white regimes, encourage some modification of their current racial and colonial policies and through more substantial economic assistance to the black states

Peter Jones is a member of the Namibia Transnational Collective and European Workgroup (IFOR).

help to draw the two groups together and exert some influence on both for peaceful change. Our tangible interests form a basis for our contacts in the region, and these can be maintained at an acceptable political cost." This was based on the guiding principles of American policy in the area: political stability and current containment of Communist influences in Africa's southern zone; continued use of air and naval facilities in South Africa and the Portuguese colonies in support of US naval presence in the Indian Ocean and other activities; easy access to South Africa's raw materials, notably uranium; and concern with orderly trading in her gold. To this extent the US already has a number of agreements with South Africa, and the CIA and the South African secret services cooperate closely with each other under an agreement similar to that accorded to NATO governments.

Further involvement with NATO arose from the recommendation of a sub-committee of the Military Committee of the North Atlantic Assembly headed by the right-wing British Conservative MP and ex-marine, Patrick Wall, to plan for the protection of the Cape route. US Navy Admiral Ralph Cousins, top commander of SACLANT (Supreme Allied Command Atlantic based at Norfolk, Virginia) until May 1975, was asked to implement the directive, and he ordered his staff to prepare plans on how the NATO forces could protect the sea lanes around the Cape of Good Hope in an emergency. In June 1974 the North Atlantic Council and the Heads of NATO governments approved the Ottawa Declaration on Atlantic Relations which included direct support for NATO intervention outside the Charter area in Article 10—the first time that NATO has officially approved of such a move! In December 1974 the *Johannesburg Star* correspondent, Tim Patten, reported from Brussels: "NATO Defense Ministers are maintaining an agreed cloak of secrecy but it has been made clear privately that the defense of the Cape sea route is 'well covered' in a contingency plan, and that South Africa would receive naval assistance if the oil route was threatened. This conclusion was given to me in the lobby halls of NATO headquarters while the Defense Ministers of the 15 NATO member countries met in restricted session of the Defense Planning Committee. The conclusion does not constitute a 'leak' from the highly secretive SACLANT study on the Indian Ocean and Cape route which has been under way for more than two years, but it is the first hint that the report and contingency plans have been given a nod of approval. Details of the contingency plan as well as SACLANT's obvious dealing with the South African Defense Forces through 'a member country' will certainly never be given. The assurance, from a well-placed NATO source has, however, unveiled that contact was made with South Africa during the study and that the conclusions have almost certainly been relayed to Mr. Vorster's Government. In a press conference the US Defense Secretary Mr. James Schlesinger refused to be drawn out on the subject. Asked

about the German concern (which had criticised Britain for its decision to scrap the Simonstown Agreement this June) as well as NATO and US attitudes towards the defense of the Cape sea-route, Mr. Schlesinger adopted the well-worn NATO line of non-involvement outside the NATO area. Despite Mr. Schlesinger's line, one diplomatic source hinted that the negotiations between the British and South African governments to end the Simonstown Agreement would be based on the assurance that the sea-route was covered in the NATO contingency plan."

What is quite evident is that the changes in Angola and Mozambique have not altered the US policy direction in any way, despite the completely false assumptions behind NSSM 39—"there is no hope for the blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence." Two important visits were made by South African officials to the USA in the first half of 1974. In January, Connie Mulder, South African Minister of the Interior and of Information, and tipped as Vorster's successor, made a hush-hush visit to the USA on a trip arranged by the South African Embassy in Washington. He conferred with then Vice-President Ford, and later with Vice Admiral Ray Peet in the International Security Affairs office which oversees sales of military equipment to foreign governments and acts as liaison between foreign buyers and US exporters of armaments. Later he met Ronald Reagan, the editorial staffs of *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times*, and in Washington he saw House Majority leader Tip O'Neil, and Rep. Thomas Morgan, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, parent body of the Subcommittee on Africa which is headed by South Africa critic Rep. Charles Diggs. (In January 1975 Rep. Diggs was refused a visa to visit South Africa after going to Mozambique and was confined to the transit section of the Jan Smuts International Airport in Johannesburg.)

In May 1974 it was reported that two Washington attorneys specializing in political lobbying, Donald DeKieffer and Thomas Shannon, of the firm of Collier, Shannon, Rill and Edwards, had been operating "as agents of the South African Department of Information in an attempt to change American policies on South Africa without knowledge of the South African Embassy in Washington."—nor as it turned out, of the US State Department either. They were paid by the Deputy Secretary of Information at the Department, Mr. L.E.S. de Villiers, at a salary of \$50 an hour. They lobbied key Congressmen, including Thomas E. Morgan; an arrangement which only came to light when DeKieffer protested to the State Department against its refusal of a visa for Admiral Hugo H. Biermann. Admiral Biermann is Commander-in-Chief of the South African Defense Forces and his original application for a visa was turned down by the State Department: the decision was overruled at a higher level—the matter went to Henry Kissinger's office. Admiral Biermann arrived in May on a tourist visa and called on Acting Secretary of the Navy, J. William Middendorf,

then went to a dinner hosted by Rep. Robert E. Baumann, and reportedly attended by 17 US admirals. Before leaving he met Admiral Thomas H. Moorer, retiring chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

In November, Senator Louis Wyman, a member of the US Committee on Appropriation and a member of the subcommittee on defense, invited Vice Admiral J. Johnson, Chief of the South African Navy, to visit the USA as a personal guest, but Pretoria said that Vice Admiral Johnson would not have time to come this year because of service commitments—they declined however to comment on whether he would visit the US at a later date. Early in 1975 six US Congressmen visited South Africa led by Bob Wilson of California, Senior Republican on the US Armed Services Committee. Wilson said that he wanted to bring an official American committee to explore the possibility of using Simonstown as an American naval base. He went on to say that he had been keen to discuss the possibility unofficially during the visit, but predicted that he would "have a problem selling the idea at home."

US interest in South Africa focuses on two considerations: its strategic value in relation to the Indian Ocean and the oil route from the Persian Gulf to North America, and its role as a supplier of valuable minerals (particularly from the contested international territory of Namibia, formerly South West Africa.) Pressure has been growing steadily this year for an American interest in the British naval base at Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, while interest in South Africa has also increased due to the energy crisis and growing demand for strategic minerals. A secret US study called the "Critical Imported Minerals Report" stressed that South Africa was the major supplier of gold, chrome and platinum—all of which are available in quantity elsewhere only in the USSR. It also expressed the fear that unrest in South Africa could disrupt the flow of mineral supplies to North America and Western Europe, thereby threatening Western security, and went on to assert that the sea lanes around the southern tip of Africa are the most crucial naval area in the world. Also at stake for several allied powers is the enormous uranium mine in Namibia, initiated by the London based Rio-Tinto Zinc Corporation, which has contracts to sell substantial amounts of uranium to Britain, France and Japan between 1976 and the 1980's. These considerations were paramount in the triple veto exercised twice in the last year in the Security Council by Britain, France and the USA, to save South Africa both from expulsion from the UN and sanctions proposed to force her from her illegal occupation of Namibia which she refused to leave following the end of the Security Council deadline on May 30th this year.

If American investment was re-directed away from South Africa, the US would not merely end its support of racism and hasten the fall of a white supremacist regime in Africa, but might contribute more significantly to the economic development of the rest of Africa, as well as reduce the dangers of a world conflict between the super-powers on the basis of a black:white axis, let alone a rich:poor one. At the moment Africa is fairly clear of Cold War politics compared to Asia or Europe, but if South Africa drags the US and NATO powers into the defense of her dream of an anti-communist Southern Africa political and economic market, then the dangers of a greater confrontation are immeasurably increased.

NATO, South Africa and the USA

BY Peter D. Jones

An Interview with an Armed Forces Assembly Member

BY Fred Strasser

This interview with a member of the Armed Forces Assembly took place in Lisbon on August 25, 1975. He was a deserter from the army prior to the April 25th revolution and lived in various countries of Europe where he was active in the anti-Fascist movement against the Portuguese government. He has participated in bank robberies and raids on the Portuguese consulates/embassies as a member of that movement. He returned to the army after the 25th of April coup and now holds a position equivalent to lieutenant in the US, in command of 150 men.

Could you introduce yourself?

I am an officer of the Portuguese Army from a force of the urban guerrilla trained men, I am one of the members of the MFA Assembly. I am an old deserter from the Portuguese army before the 25th of April, '74, and have lived in France and Belgium and Holland. Sometimes, during this exile, I came to Portugal to carry on political work with various organizations.

Can you explain what the Armed Forces Assembly does?

The various kinds of power in Portugal are not very rigid now. We have no consultative organ nor a constitutional assembly, a real constitutional assembly. We have some organs of power which are at the same time executive and consultative, and one of these organs is the Assembly of the MFA. After the 25th of April, a long evolution took place in these organs and in the definition of positions of each person who was in those organs, so the Armed Forces Assembly has lost its reactionary members. Now I can say that it is really an organ of the revolutionary left and is more or less like a national assembly in the armed forces. Because it is the armed forces that are the leading forces, the role of the assembly is really the role of the national assembly, civilian type of assembly.

How do the people who are on the Assembly get to be on the Assembly?

Fred Strasser has been in Lisbon since March.

It's a process of various kinds of elections and appointments. For example, the elected representatives of the various military regions are on the Assembly. There are also members directly named by Otello Carvalho, and by the President of the Republic, General Costa Gomes, and by the Revolutionary Council and by the headquarters of each branch of the Armed Forces (Army, Navy, and the Air Force).

Were you elected by your men?

Yes, I have been elected in my regiment and in the meeting of representatives of each unit of my regiment I was elected to represent my regiment in the MFA Assembly in Lisbon.

Do you think the Assembly is representative of the majority of the soldiers at this time?

No, I think the Assembly is a vanguard, a revolutionary vanguard at this time; they are really the representatives of about half of the units of the country—directly or indirectly. But I think that it's not so important that it include everyone because the elections are made in the meetings of the military units and the units controlled by the fascist commanders or officers are very unreal and dangerous if they were allowed to elect members to the MFA Assembly.

In the American press they tend to put all the actions of the MFA as actions of the Communist Party, how much influence does the Communist Party have in the Assembly? You used the words, "revolutionary left" earlier in the discussion, do you see the Communist Party being different from the revolutionary left?

It is certain that the Communist Party has representation in the Assembly of the MFA, but it is certain that the Assembly is not controlled by the Communist Party. There are a lot of rumors of the control of the organs of power by the Communist Party. We perhaps don't agree with the Communist Party, but when the

attacks are made against the Communist Party it is not only against the Party, it is against the left in Portugal as this is the easiest way to attack the left. Among the organs of power, the Assembly is the most independent organ of power, and the nearest to our idea of a non-partisan movement and the creation of popular power. I will try to explain what I mean by the words, "popular power" and "revolutionary left."

Popular power is the development of spontaneous kinds of organizations and of acting and the development of self-sufficiency in people. The local organs that have been created in Portugal and that now defend popular power are the commissions of neighborhoods, the revolutionary councils of workers, the rural revolutionary co-operatives, the factory councils, the autogestion councils in factories and villages, the self-defense groups that are now armed in villages—being created in border villages—to defend Portugal from the introduction of weapons from the Fascists in Spain and to stop the flight of capital into Spain which is very dangerous to the revolutionary economy.

When I say the revolutionary left I mean those people in many countries who have developed politics and now understand that the party is not important. The really important point of politics is to create popular power. The people who really do work in this line, who do practical work, I consider to be making popular power. There are some political organizations that could be termed in the revolutionary left, they are LUAR (League of Revolutionary Action and Unity) and the PRP (Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat). Prior to the 25th of April, they were based in Belgium and France and did guerilla activity in Portugal. After the 25th of April coup, they directly worked in the construction of the revolutionary councils, in the case of PRP, and in the case of LUAR in the construction of rural co-operatives.

There is a campaign in the capitalist press—and its other face, the social democratic press—to present the idea that we are close to a dictatorship. This is completely untrue. The people who have lived under a

fascist government for 48 years have experienced a liberation and an explosion of creativity and a discovery of things like liberty of press, speech and action—the discovery of personal power which belongs to each member of a revolutionary society. After all these discoveries, the creation of a dictatorship by these people is almost impossible.

The real danger of a dictatorship is the tendency of the capitalist press and governments to say that the reds are taking power in Portugal, that it is a military dictatorship, and then refuse to deal with Portugal. These governments are well known because of their stands, historically, on behalf of capitalism against revolutionary people. These are the social-democratic governments of central Europe lead by the United States, and every government that is interested in Africa and the former colonies of Portugal. These were the governments that wanted to help Portugal when Spinoza was president just after the April 25th revolution. He was a Nazi; he fought with the "Blue Legion" of the Nazi's in Stalingrad and Leningrad and the Spanish Civil War. He was part of the same college as Goering and Rommel and the other leaders of Nazism in Germany. These governments wanted to help us when Spinoza was in power because they saw the future of Africa in neo-colonial terms and the future of Portugal as neo-capitalist with some form of repressive social-democracy.

When these governments saw that Spinoza was rejected and that this was really a revolution—the complete transformation of each person's everyday life and not only a transformation of the owners of property or the government—they stopped helping us and began to fight against us. Some months ago they used Mario Soares, the leader of the Socialist-in-name-only Party, to fight us by attempting to make a coup two or three times. They continue their campaign now by attacking the Communist party and the revolutionary left.

I think it would be impossible for the US to make a move against Portugal like it did on the 13th of



Demonstration in Lisbon by the People's Democratic Union against the government on September 28. Photo by Rosette Corryell/LNS.

March this year, two days after Spinola's had failed. Then it stationed its warships off the coast of Portugal to put military pressure on us.

You said before that popular power is "non-partidarian." Can you tell us what that means?

Non-partidarian means that at the base it is not controlled by a party and the people have made ideological evaluations which permit them to do without a party. Because a party is something invented to make a specific kind of society or power. But if the different parties were really interested in the evolution of people, they would only lead the people till people could lead themselves. This is the meaning of non-partidarian. The people who are in those non-partidarian organs have discovered that they can lead themselves, that they have no need for leaders. And this means something else also—that killing revolutionary leaders in Portugal will not stop the revolution.

Can you give an example of one of the organs of popular power and how it functions?

Yes. For example the Neighborhood Commissions. In Portugal there are many people living in slums and shantytowns. There are also a lot of very old houses that have no water or plumbing and so on. So in each village or region of the city, Commissions were created to find the building that weren't lived in, buildings that could be remodelled to make cafeterias and child care centers for the working people. This is the kind of practical work of these Commissions. The kind of internal relations and work in the Commissions is variable from region to region, but normally there are very egalitarian roles. For example the decision to occupy a house is made by all the members, and normally with the presence of the neighbors. Only the little decisions are made by an executive group.

Other kinds of organs of popular power are the Rural Cooperatives. I've worked in some, and helped to begin others. An example of the practical organs of decision making were our Sunday meetings, which were held each week. We discussed what needed to be done in the coming week and job assignments. We would talk about buying new products, like a tractor, or establishing a new herd. We'd also analyze the political situation.

Within the Armed Forces there also exists the same movement of popular power, right?

Yes. We created in the Armed Forces a democratic organization to express the will and opinions of each unit. Obviously, the kind of organization in the Army is very different from civilian organizations. Because an Army, and principally a revolutionary army, is a machine that has to work with some homogeneity and some discipline. Not a military discipline, but a revolutionary discipline. So, we have created what we call democratic assemblies of units (ADU), which are the general assembly of soldiers of each unit to discuss their problems and the political situation, and to reach some decisions.

There are some kinds of decisions which are not made in the assemblies, like operational, technical or tactical ones. But indirectly the assembly is involved there also, because those officers and commanders and sergeants are there only because the assembly decides that they command the unit. It is not in the power of the assembly to elect the officers, but, it is in the power of the assembly to reject officers. And we have

also various cases of the election of the commander. For example, the commander of RAL-1, a base near Lisbon, was the second in command on the 11 March, and for his actions at that time, his men elected him first commander.

In collaboration and coordination with this assembly is the GDU, the diminution group of the unit. This is divided in two parts—interior and exterior diminution. The kind of work these groups do is to try to create a new style of living life in the Army, to create interest in things in each day's life in the Army, to create the possibility of real democratic power through information, by holding meetings, making explanations, making schools in the units to teach French and English, for example, and other things.

The work of the exterior diminution is to give the same possibilities to the civilian population to be informed and active, really active, in the revolutionary process. But the work is not only to talk. We build roads, electrify some villages, help the peasants working on the land, help the cooperatives with the machines we have, trucks and bulldozers.

Each ADU has an equal representation in the Assembly of the military region, elected representation. And each military region has a representation in the central military power.

The violence taking place in the north, which has been mainly directed at the Communist Party, has been front page news in the United States. I know your units have been involved in intervention in these riots. Can you talk some about what you see to be the situation in the north, and just what these riots mean?

The north of Portugal is a very specific region in its history, social conditions, way of thinking, in its culture, and in the kind of game played by Salazar and Caetano, both in religion and a sort of medieval respect for the master, which they preserved all those years. The people of the north are normally very badly informed, and very easy to control and lead. As I say, they are easy, but the revolutionaries in their work have tried not to lead people, but to inform people, tried to make some kind of development, they have tried to give new ways of thinking to the people of the north, and everyone knows that a process like this is not rapid.

But the forces of the right don't act like this. They really want to control people. So with the very well known tactics, which they learned with Salazar, they have begun to make a campaign against the revolution in the north, based on some facts of real failure of revolutionary power in the area. The campaign is very well organized and its very easy to see in those demonstrations—like in Braga where it was based on religion, Middle Ages type religion—a very well organized group of activists leading people in the attack on the headquarters of the CP. But those attacks are not against the Communist Party. They are against every left movement.

They have been attacking many organs of regional power and the offices of some parties. They say the revolution doesn't give you this or that, and if we take power we will give you these things. It's obvious that this type of propaganda is dangerous, but it is evident also that the Portuguese working class has gained more in a year than in the last half century, and so I believe that people will look, and see clearly who are in fact the enemies and who the friends.



A. J. Muste. Photo by Nell Haworth.

GETTING THE MUSTE INSTITUTE GOING

WENDY SCHWARTZ

The A. J. Muste Memorial Institute is a new tax-exempt foundation which hopefully will ease the way a bit for nonviolent activists and others who are committed to making peace in our world in a time of financial crisis and waning radicalism. The Institute will develop its own educational projects—a literature program, conferences, a speakers bureau, and the like—and will help fund the programs of other groups which are consonant with its own priorities.

The Institute has several priorities, all based on the concerns to which A. J. dedicated himself during his long and fruitful lifetime. Not one to see nonviolence in a vacuum, A. J. applied its discipline to a wide range of struggles for social justice—early twentieth century labor issues, civil rights, civil liberties, and, of course, peace. In fact, the roots of present-day American pacifism are firmly planted in his biography: his never-ceasing search for the best ways to end war and achieve justice led him both in and out of the pacifist tradition in his early years, making his ultimate commitment to nonviolence all the more significant. Those of us who have wavered similarly in our commitments can draw strength and comfort from A. J.'s personal quests. And the peace movement is certainly richer

Wendy Schwartz is an editor of WIN.

for understanding that the search for peace cannot be separated from the search for social justice.

Programs for the Institute are still in the planning stage. Although the groundwork for the Institute was begun over five years ago, the Internal Revenue Service granted it tax-exempt status only recently. Unfortunately many of the original proposals and ideas went undeveloped and are now outdated.

A major project of the Institute—one of primary importance—is to purchase the "Peace Pentagon" in New York City. It's the building which houses the War Resisters League and about half dozen other radical groups. Its conference room is the place where many movement plans are mapped, issues debated—a room where the kind of ideas A. J. liked are created. WRL currently holds the mortgage, but is in desperate need of the funds already invested in the building. Contributions to the Institute are tax-deductible, and when the Institute buys the building from WRL, WRL's investment can be released for more activist projects.

So far the Institute has helped send WRL's delegates to the War Resisters International Triennial Conference and to the Conference for Peace Activists and Peace Researchers, both held in Belgium last summer. It also helped finance a national tour by Devi Prasad, former Chairman of the WRI, who conveys the excitement and hope of the international pacifist struggle wherever he goes. And last, but surely of equal importance, the Institute generated several large contributions for WIN from donors who wanted their gifts to be tax-exempt.

This special function of the Institute—to provide a way for people to make tax-exempt contributions to nonviolent projects which aren't themselves tax-exempt—is increasingly important since the end of the Indochina War has dried up some previously major funding sources. There are, naturally, legal restrictions on the way the Institute can allocate its monies, but the type of programs that are needed now in this country—largely educational—are those which fit perfectly into the role the Institute is allowed to play in the movement for social change. If the Institute can absorb the cost of printed materials, conferences, and other informational tools, then organizations like WRL can focus their energies and resources on direct action.

Though the Indochina War period was a continuing nightmare, it did spoil us in one way: we became accustomed to having at least a minimal amount of money available for projects. People were generous, and their financial resources and the skills of organizers combined to create many successful antiwar projects. Now that the urgency for pacifist activity is less obvious, we shall have to work harder at raising money: simply continuing to develop programs without special attention to funding them will bankrupt the movement.

This is a particularly opportune time to introduce the A. J. Muste Memorial Institute to the public. It is a new organization about to develop new programs in a new political period using new funding means. Yet it reflects the pacifist tradition and the concerns of a man whose wisdom guided radicals through over half a century of activism.

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UNIONIZATION AND DEMOCRACY IN THE MILITARY

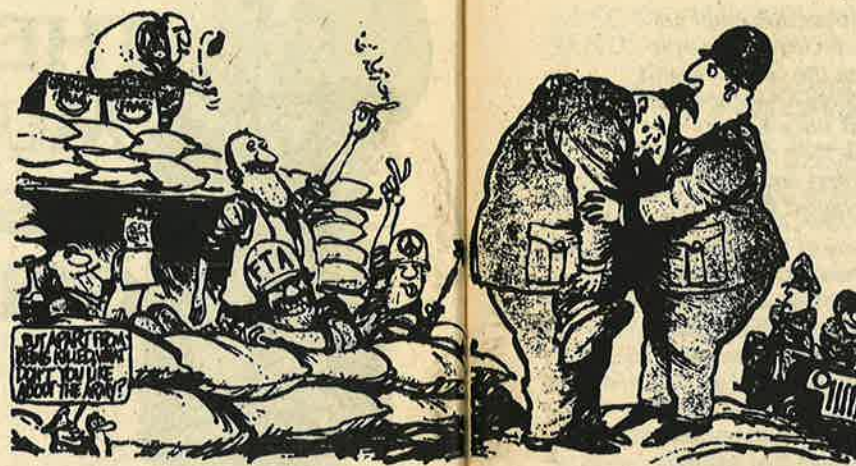
DAVID CORTRIGHT

In late June the American Federation of Government Employees, (AFGE) the nation's largest federal employee union, publicly stated its intention to organize among active duty servicemembers—in effect to unionize the armed forces. The announcement sent shockwaves through the military establishment and brought forth cries of "sheer horror" from top Pentagon commanders. With a total union membership of over 650,000, AFGE now represents over 390,000 civilian military employees and apparently feels that the time has come to seek additional members among active duty people. In testimony before the Defense Manpower Commission on August 18, AFGE President Clyde Webber spoke positively of "the mutual benefits of bringing military personnel into AFGE," and reported that a top level committee was continuing its investigations into possible GI membership. If the union decides to go ahead, as now seems likely, organizing of servicemembers would not begin until after August of 1976, when the union's convention could authorize such a drive.

The main issue for any AFGE campaign among servicemembers would be military pay, and the annual cost of living wage negotiations. AFGE already spends a great deal of time lobbying for increased pay adjustments and emphasizes that, since federal civilian and military pay are linked, active duty people stand to gain from these efforts. In 1974 and again this year, AFGE mobilized GIs to support their wage bargaining. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets were distributed this year and last urging servicepeople to pressure Congress for a full cost of living pay increase. GIs have reacted positively to these initiatives, according to President Webber, responding with a "heavy letter writing effort." Other issues of interest to the union include pensions and health care benefits. This latter concern may become a major focus of AFGE efforts if current cutbacks in military health benefits continue. In addition, Webber and others point out that in the process of representing several thousand National Guard and Reserve technicians AFGE has become involved in "a number of other gripe areas"—among them hair length disputes, and uniform requirements.

AFGE has so far made no mention of dealing with GI grievances on the job, nor of protecting GI interests in disciplinary disputes. Indeed the union seems to avoid possible conflicts with commanders, and in some cases adopts a cooperative, almost co-management posture. Webber claimed in his August 18 remarks that "the mood of management has mellowed" and that AFGE is now "helping management in the writing of their own regulations." This agreeable attitude is reflected in AFGE's talk of integrating all ranks into one union, and in particular in the Federation's approach to a possible union legal plan. AFGE, like many other American unions today, is considering the adoption of a pre-paid legal plan for its civilian and military members. According to General Counsel

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OK! OK! Your lousy morale has made the general cry and I hope you're proud of yourselves."

Cartoon from LNS.

Leo Pellerzi, "this is the type of thing which in the future would make the union attractive to military people." However, the approach now under consideration at AFGE would be a "joint contribution plan" under which job-related offenses would be excluded and Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ) matters would not be covered. Obviously such a legal plan would be totally unresponsive to pleas for greater GI rights and would do nothing to improve the soldier's legal standing within the military disciplinary system.

Similarly, on the question of military policy, AFGE steadfastly refuses to address the larger issues of the purpose and mission of the armed forces. Mr. Webber and other officials describe AFGE as an "economic" rather than "ideological" union, and they scrupulously avoid becoming involved in these questions. In attempting to dispel criticisms that a military union might undermine military effectiveness, Webber told the Defense Manpower Commission that "our primary objectives are limited to the more pragmatic" and that questions of peace and war "must be relegated to the aggregate of American public opinion."

Although the services have publicly expressed horror at the prospect of unionization and have railed against "any organization which competes with the chain of command," some elements within the Defense Department are likely to accept the AFGE drive. A staff person of the Defense Manpower Commission told me recently that the private reaction of military commanders is far less strident than the public hysteria being reported in the press. From his reading of command opinion at several local bases, this source felt that the response to AFGE could well be positive. To be sure, a storm of protest can be expected from hard-line conservatives, including a number of important Congressional military apologists. Senator John Tower (R-Tx) has already announced strong opposition to unionization, and other conservatives can be expected to follow. Indeed acceptance by the powerful armed services committees could be AFGE's biggest obstacle. Even here, however, the union may be able to gain agreement. Many of AFGE's members work at

Southern military bases, and with a sizeable membership in military-dominated districts the union has a considerable amount of leverage on armed services committee members.

The AFGE drive is certain to have important implications for the GI movement and the cause of enlisted rights. While AFGE may or may not present a progressive union package, the point of their effort is obvious: unionization of the armed services now seems inevitable. Those who are concerned over possible use of the armed forces and a more responsive and democratically controlled military must now begin to think positively and realistically about the issue of unionization. The idea of a GI union was proposed and attempted frequently during the late '60's, but the resources for such an undertaking were never available. Now the union issue has been taken over by AFGE, and anti-militarist forces may be eclipsed if they are not flexible enough to respond to the new situation.

Certainly the kind of union being offered by AFGE leaves a great deal to be desired, and in fact could hinder more radical organizing efforts. Shackled with a "do nothing" union concerned only with pay, GI activists might find attempts to raise more important questions extremely difficult, if not impossible. GI aspirations could be smothered in another impenetrable layer of bureaucracy. Union locals might be structured very restrictively and thus could stifle union democracy—along with any possible spontaneous upsurges. Moreover, the lack of a legal plan covering the UCMJ would leave the commander's disciplinary powers untouched, and would do nothing to relieve the plight of those subject to military "justice."

While an AFGE military union would lack radical direction, such a drive might nonetheless have important positive results. Perhaps the most crucial of these would be securing the legal right to organize within the military. To successfully unionize the ranks AFGE would have to fight for and achieve such freedoms as the right to distribute literature on base and the right to solicit members and engage in union activity on

base. In effect AFGE would establish on a wide scale the rights that individual GI projects have sought for years. Moreover, an AFGE drive might be forced to deal with military grievances other than pay and could trigger independent organizing efforts which might exceed the union's established bounds. Indeed the process of unionization, even if conservatively conceived, may spark renewed rank and file activism.

An AFGE unionization effort thus has both positive and negative aspects. It could impede more radical organizing work, or it could greatly improve the prospects for rank and file activism. The campaign could go either way, and a major determining factor in the outcome of union policy may well be the degree of independent pressure applied from the outside. It would seem at this point that anti-militarist forces have no choice but to work in conjunction with the AFGE drive, attempting to nudge the union into a more progressive stance. Certainly we have no power to prevent their unionization efforts, and any attempt to do so would only result in further isolation for those involved. Working within or alongside AFGE, on the other hand, might allow progressives to exert some influence on the direction of unionization and to inject the democratic structures and legal protections needed to insure rank and file participation. If the community of past and present GI organizers and counselors were to deal with this development positively, the coming unionization of the military could become a major step forward for the cause of a more democratic military.

The very building of a GI union, even if initially uninvolved in the military mission, could have profound consequences for armed forces policy. If, for example, the US were to become embroiled in another unpopular intervention—perhaps a joint NATO operation against a growing Iberian revolution, or an American "policing action" in Panama—rank and file pressures would inevitably build, quickly exceeding the limits imposed by AFGE and transforming union policies. The existence of an already functioning organizational network would greatly facilitate the mobilization of rank and file opposition and could improve the potential effectiveness of GI resistance. Operating from the inside, progressives could, as one GI activist has stated, "make possible the self-activity of rank and file soldiers that would go beyond the limits of an orderly and bureaucratic union drive."

To make sure that this can in fact happen and that enlisted strivings are heard, the greatest possible degree of democracy must be built into the union's structure. Union democracy must be a fundamental goal of any strategy of cooperation with AFGE. The issue is one which can have wide support within the ranks and which is vital to the future effectiveness of any unionization effort. Another fundamental goal of our union strategy should be to press for a job-related legal plan which covers military justice. If any legal program is to be established, we must insist that it go beyond civil cases and cover the UCMJ, discharges and other disciplinary matters. These are the areas where the soldier's struggle for rights is waged, and where any union legal plan should be focused. Such legal protection would improve the GI's chances of defending himself against the hierarchy and, like a democratic union structure, would open up the union and give greater play to rank and file interests. Rather than shun AFGE, therefore, we should approach their effort positively, offering to cooperate and bringing with us the twin demands of union democracy and a legal assistance plan which covers the UCMJ. If we can prevent bureaucratization and aid the GIs campaign for greater rights and a say in the determination of military policy, we will have served the cause of peace and a more democratic military.

The Sinai Disengagement

PAULA RAYMAN

Now that the United States Congress has approved of the Sinai Disengagement, Israeli and Egyptian officials are busy composing military-economic shopping lists and ex-CIA personnel are among those submitting technical monitoring applications. Meanwhile, the peoples of the Middle East continue to view talk of peace with skepticism and even resistance. For people on all sides of the borders, the determination of their fate has long been out of their hands, controlled by super-power game plans drawn up primarily in Washington. In a kibbutz located on the Israeli-Lebanese frontier, the Secretary asks, "Where else in the world does a woman know that where her husband will be next month will depend upon decisions made across the ocean?" A Palestinian woman, for 25 years in a refugee camp, wonders if anyone at all thinks about her family.

Although Israelis and Palestinians both view imposed peace strategies without optimism, their separate historical experiences have shaped quite different attitudes towards the present and future. Israeli perceptions reflect, on one level, the emotional memories of the Holocaust and, on another, the rude shock of the 1973 War and its aftermath. The fact that the Holocaust has always been a predominant theme in Israeli culture, evidenced in museum show, theater and film performances, national holiday celebrations and academic lectures, is central to understanding the distrust Israelis have towards outsiders. Their arrogant national pride, a conscious contrast to the passivity of the ghetto Jewish community, was dealt a severe blow in the last Mid-East War. For young Sabras who have rejected close identification with the Holocaust, the 73 War provided direct experience with the power of destruction and doubt.

During my stay on a border kibbutz, impressions of life and death emerged which contributed to seeing events in black and white rather than in their more subtle grey dimensions. Kibbutz members commented on the extreme painfulness of examining the contradictions of living in a warring region. To further share this point a few specific pictures of the social reality of the kibbutz may be useful:

—A father is walking to the children's sleeping house with his daughter in one arm, a gun slung across the

Paula Rayman is teaching courses on the kibbutz at Radcliffe this year.

other. He feels the future of his daughter depends upon his military preparedness.

—As breakfast is being served a group of slightly plump, middle-aged women march into the communal dining hall. There is nervous laughter, as everyone does not know how seriously they should take the transformation from seamstress, cook and child-care worker to armed defenders. The women seem embarrassed in the tragic-comedy scene.

—A grey-haired, Belgium born kibbutznik and I are standing outside the automated chicken house overlooking the valley stretching from the Golan Heights to the Mediterranean. After recalling his escape from the 1930's Germany, he says that since Kiryat Shmona his wife insists they lock their door at night. He fears for his sons in the army but feels they must fight to insure the past does not repeat itself.

The image of Palestinians is one of turbulent motion, of an eruption of determination. Perhaps this mood is best indicated by a remark of a Palestinian woman living in the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip, "History is on our side. Peace will only come with justice."

Palestinians in refugee camps of Gaza and the West Bank spoke of the desperation of continual poverty, ill health and terror of military police that caused them to use acts of violence against the violence they daily experienced. Violence remained unromanticized; they had lived with the consequences of institutionalized, state violence for years.

There is striking contrast between the middle-class economic life style of the Israeli kibbutz and the poverty of the refugee camps. In both the Jabilia and Beach camps, 40,000 people are living without place for quiet and privacy, in huts with no electricity or running water, crammed along open sand paths. Sometimes instead of a hut there is a tent atop rubble remains, marking where Israeli military police have blown up a home of a suspected political activist. It is difficult to comprehend how people go on living in such a dehumanizing environment. Palestinians' faith in future justice no doubt is a critical factor energizing their movement. Symbolically, in several camps, Palestinians have refused to plant even a single tree which would suggest resignation to life as refugees.

Persons concerned with Middle East affairs need to develop greater insight towards the reality and expressions of the people of the region. Expecting a Palestinian, whose life history has been entirely spent in a refugee camp to have special feelings about the Holocaust, demonstrates an insensitive ignorance. Simultaneously, one would more adequately question why so few Israelis have spoken out against their own society's racial prejudices and violations of civil liberties.

It is significant that the Israeli and Palestinian leaderships are increasingly trying to find out more about each other. Foreigners visiting the Arab States and Israel are often asked for detailed impressions of what "the other side" is thinking and doing. An Israeli professor, sympathetic to the political rights of the Palestinians, is frequently an informal informational conduit for his less progressive colleagues. Hopes for a genuine peace in the Middle East largely depend upon the extent the peoples of the region are able to shape their own future, without the oppression of external interests.

CHANGES

AFSC DEFIES GOVERNMENT; SENDS AID TO VIETNAM

The American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker relief group told the White House it has defied a federal ruling and sent an aid shipment of \$50,000 worth of yarn to North Vietnam for use in making sweaters for schoolchildren.

The AFSC said 16.5 tons of yarn had been delivered to Haiphong despite a ruling by the Treasury Department that such a move would violate the Trading With the Enemies Act.

The Quakers also said they would go ahead with the plan to ship fishnets and agricultural equipment including rototillers to South Vietnam, along with woodscrew making machines for a cooperative in Hanoi. Requests for approval of these shipments were also denied by the Federal Government.

The Treasury Department refused to grant the Committee export licenses for the shipment, saying they constituted economic rather than humanitarian aid.

"We don't need the government to tell us what is and is not humanitarian aid," said Wallace Collett, AFSC Board Chairman, and Lewis Schneider, the group's Executive Director. The two could face possible prison terms of up to 10 years and fines up to \$10,000 for allowing the unauthorized shipments.

The group presented signed "complicity statements" from 2,053 people who donated money for the unauthorized shipment. They made donations of between \$1 and \$1,000 for the unauthorized items. The shipment of yarn was the first major shipment to Vietnam by the AFSC since the war ended in April.

A delegation of religious leaders supporting the Quaker efforts was rebuffed in its bid to present its case directly to the White House. As 250 supporters lined the White House fence, the leaders were turned away at the gate.

The representatives included the AFSC, the National Council of Churches, Church World Service, the United Methodist Church, the United Presbyterian Church and the Mennonite Central Committee.

Dr. Charles Taylor of Church World Services said his group has just received approval of an application for a shipment to Vietnam that included rototillers, one of the items the government refused to license for AFSC.

He said it took ten months for approval of the application, and said the delay was "debilitating to our human efforts."

"The government is carrying on its attitude of hostility long past the end of the war," Schneider and Collett said. "We believe the administration must now turn to the task of ending the war psychology in the White House, of aiding people whose homeland America did so much to destroy."

—Various Sources

\$500-A-TABLE BENEFIT FOR JUNTA DRAWS HUNDREDS OF PICKETS

Inside New York's Hotel Roosevelt on the evening of November 1 were some 500 persons, many representing US corporations, at a \$500-a-table benefit dinner-dance for Chile's military dictatorship. Sponsor of the dinner-dance was the Chilean Aid Reconstruction Society, headed by Carlos Orchard, which has opened up an office on East 62nd Street.

Outside the hotel—in front of both its 45th Street and 46th Street entrances—were over 400 pickets from the Chile Solidarity Committee. Loud booing greeted each group of dinner guests as they arrived in limousines and taxicabs. The leaflets were headed: "Fascists Dance Over Dead Chilean Bodies."

—Jim Peck

ALI ENDORSES HAYDEN

The New York Times reports that Muhammad Ali has written his first political poem endorsing Tom Hayden's candidacy for the Democratic nomination for the California Senate seat. It goes as follows:

I predict that this man will strike like a bomb.
You may not know him now but his name is Tom.

He wants to help and serve the people's needs, and this is the only thing on which his soul feeds.
He wants to clean up California and help straighten its politics.
Because he recognizes that there are too many dirty tricks.

He said that there are too many experiencing life enjoyments
While one million experience unemployment.

What I have to say about Tom Hayden is not funny.

If I could vote he's the man for my money.

What I am saying some may think is a sin. But what I say means nothing because the best man will win.

There are also hints that Hayden may be preparing to support former Senator Fred Harris for the Presidency.

—MC

TV MOVIE BRINGS CRIES OF PROTEST

The recent rebroadcast of *Born Innocent*, NBC's Saturday Night Movie, has set off a wave of protests by groups ranging from Action for Children to the Rape Committees of NOW, local church and community groups and lesbian and gay organizations.

The film depicted the violent rape with a broomstick by a lesbian of a 14-year old girl in a reformatory. Initially aired by NBC just over a year ago, it provoked nationwide protests, but NBC's October 25 replay showed minimal editing.

Although rape by women is almost unknown, editing of *Born Innocent* for replay omitted only the explicit rape details, leaving in the broomstick episode. The film still depicted a lesbian as making the attack, and in addition, it was the only fictional portrayal of lesbians to appear on television this year.

Although air time was requested for October 24 to present contrasting viewpoints to *Born Innocent* under the fairness doctrine, NBC denied the request on the grounds that the film was "entertainment" and replayed the film without contrasting viewpoints and without a disclaimer.

Groups now filing Federal Communications Commission complaints to demand air time include the Rape Committee of New York, NOW, the

National Black Feminist Organization, New York Women Against Rape, the National Gay Task Force, the Gay Media Coalition of New York, Lesbian Feminist Liberation, Gay Activist's Alliance and Gay Men and Women's Alliance for Responsibility in Media.

In New York, Lesbian Feminist Liberation and the Gay Media Coalition protested in front of the Miller Brewing Company's (a sponsor of the program) Fifth Ave. branch, leafletting and carrying posters reading "Miller Brews Rape" and "Miller Poisons Minds." A sit-in by a delegation of the groups was flanked by Rockefeller Center security guards. In San Diego, the Gay Nurses Association sat in at the NBC affiliate there.

NBC has agreed to a meeting with lesbian and gay community members in New York to discuss the replay.

—LNS

AN IMAGINATIVE INDIVIDUAL PROTEST

As I approached the Student Union building of the University of Missouri to speak at a luncheon meeting on nonviolent direct action, I came upon a firsthand example of the same.

Standing out front was a lone Indian student with a wide strip of tape over his mouth and a placard saying: "Freedom Is My Birthright: Prime Minister Indira Gandhi—LET ME SPEAK!"

I congratulated him for both his courage, in daring to undertake such a protest as a foreign student in Columbus, Missouri, and for his ingenuity, in coming up with the idea of a taped-over mouth to symbolize the total censorship imposed in his country.

He told me that he makes this protest every noontime, from 12:15 to 12:45. Since he can't talk, with the tape over his mouth, he gets students interested in discussing India, to sign a sheet of paper and meet with him later. Though sometimes he is laughed at, he said, he hasn't been harassed or assaulted. His name is Dysalsing Sodhi and he is a graduate student at the School of Economics.

—Jim Peck

TEAR GAS-CANCER LINK

Tear gas may cause cancer in police officers, a study indicates.

A Washington, DC doctor told a medical symposium he's investigating a possible link between tear gas and skin cancer. Dr. Robert Dyer, who runs the city's police and firemen's

clinic reports that 12 DC policemen who developed skin cancer over the past five years all had been involved in using tear gas to put down riots and demonstrations in the capital in the years 1968-71.

Federal job-safety officials plan a rapid investigation of Dr. Dyer's findings, which he stresses are only preliminary. One chemical component of some tear-gas compounds, known as OCBM, is already covered by a job-safety standard, but it hasn't previously been suspected of causing cancer.

Some researchers wonder aloud whether frequently gassed protesters from the late 1960's might also be affected.

—News Desk

EVENTS

NYC—The Jewish Socialist Youth Bund will present Larry Magarik, trade-union activist and recent visitor to Portugal, speaking on "The Socialist Struggle in Portugal: an Eyewitness Account," Friday, Nov. 14 at 7 pm at the Atran House, 25 East 78th St.

BOSTON—Morton Sobell, convicted with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg of conspiracy to commit espionage and author of *On Doing Time*, speaks on "Could the Rosenberg/Sobell Case Take Place Today?" at the Community Church of Boston, Morse Auditorium, 602 Commonwealth Ave., Sunday, Nov. 16 at 11 am.

WEST COAST—David McReynolds of the WRL staff will be speaking on the West Coast from Nov. 13-Dec. 4. Write or phone the San Francisco or Los Angeles WRL offices for tour schedule.



"Now all the criminals/In their coats and ties/Are free to drink martini's/ And watch the sun rise." The times may be a changin', if Dylan continues

to write some coherently political lyrics like that, as he has on his recently released single about the frameup of fighter Hurricane Carter. It's his first really upfront political song since the perfectly phrased George Jackson. It will be part of his new album, due out at the beginning of the year.

Judging from reports of his mysterious gigging around New England, that album will also include the songs "Sarah," "Isis," and "To the Valley Below". . . . And if Dylan isn't political enough for you, check out Gil Scott Heron's new album on the Arista label, *From South Africa to South Carolina*. Gil Scott lays it right on the line, following up his previous

"The Revolution Will Not be Televised," "The H₂O Gate Blues," and "Pardon Our Analysis," with songs like "Johannesburg," and the powerful "A Toast to the People". . . . The People's Party has nominated its presidential slate to stand against the two capitalist parties in 1976.

Margaret Wright, a black/socialist feminist active in community struggles in Los Angeles is the presidential nominee, and Dr. Benjamin Spock is the vice-presidential nominee. To get on the ballot in many states requires a good amount of organization and legwork, considering that the election laws are written often with the purpose of keeping socialist parties off the ballot, so the party has issued a call to people interested in getting a socialist presidential slate on the ballot in their state to contact the *People's Party Ballot Project, One Thomas Circle, Room 203, Washington, DC 20005*. You might ask them for a free, three month trial subscription to their newspaper, *Grass Roots*. . . . A few months back, this column noted how Michael Harrington (D-Mass) was being shitted on by the powers that be in Congress for his work in exposing the CIA in that hypocritical body.

The wheels of bourgeois democracy are now grinding towards censure, perhaps even expulsion, of a representative who let his conscience get the better of him. *The Harrington Defense Committee* is trying to raise some money to help him make his case. If you'd like to find out more about it, or can afford to give some money, drop them a line at the *Post Office Building, Salem, Mass. 09170*. . . . That's about it for now. If you'd like to get the word out about something that's going on in your area, send it along to Bread and Roses too. That's what this here space is here for. Send it to B&R Too, 1724 20th Street NW, Washington, DC 20009.

—Brian Doherty

—Brian Doherty



ALTERNATIVE SANTAS

If you march to a different drummer, why not sing a different Christmas carol?

Americans spent \$9 billion on Christmas last year. And the Wall St. Journal says merchants expect bigger spending this year.

Spending some of these dollars, probably, will be *you*. If you want to divert a few dollars away from Moloch Bros. Inc., the following directory of noncommercial shop-by-mail catalogs is for you.

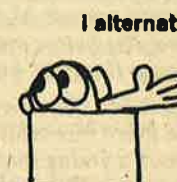
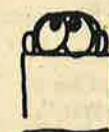
Clip the list and keep it. If you order a "free" publication, why not send postage money? And mention this article, if you please.

Noncommercial dollars do add up. Just one organization—the publishers of the *Alternate Christmas Catalogue*—estimates that the 19,000 purchasers of their catalog diverted some \$350,000 last year from consumer products to human welfare projects.

what christmases
do you
celebrate



the secular or
religious . . .



Alternate Christmas Catalogue
701 N. Eugene St., Greensboro, NC 27401, \$3.
Over 200 pages, includes giftmaking section, directory of craft groups, more.

Akwesasne Notes
Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, NY 13683. No set prices, send what you feel like.
America's largest Indian newspaper; catalog section lists handmade items, Indian tobacco, blankets and gifts handmade in South America, books, much more, including the Indian's own commemorative stamp ("We Remember Wounded Knee"), an alternative to Christmas seals.

Packard Manse Gift Service
583 Plain St., Stoughton, Mass. 02072. Just 25¢.
32 pages of beautiful bargains. Carvings, weavings, other handmade gifts that benefit third world craftspeople. The Manse itself is a center of nonviolence and social change work now in its 29th year.

Fellowship of Reconciliation
Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960. Free.

Brochure of great cards, other gifts. FOR, which started the forerunner of ACLU, originated alternative Christmas cards 31 years ago.

Family Pastimes
RR 4, Perth, Ontario, Canada. Catalog free.
Subversion at its finest. At last; somebody is selling non-competitive child and adult games! To "win" you have to cooperate. Send one to Football Ford.

Right-On Books
2744 N. Lincoln Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60614
Non-sexist books for kids, other fine finds. Send stamp for list.

War Resisters League
339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012.
A stamp gets you a list of books, including extraordinary Jim Peck autobiography of a lifelong activist, and a fine calendar.

Southern Conference Educational Fund
3210 Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211
Send stamp for brochure of books, calendar, cards with radical statements by Mark Twain and other disturbers.

El Taller Grafico
United Farm Workers, Box 62, Keene, Calif. 93531.
Attractive jewelry, absorbing books, including excellent *Sal Si Puedes*, other gifts. Free brochure. (send a stamp at least).

American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102.
From the Quakers: notepaper, cards, books, more. Send a stamp.

Congress of Racial Equality
200 W. 135th St., New York, NY 10030.
Handsome cards, wide assortment, reasonably priced.

Association of Handicapped Artists
1034 Rand Bldg., Buffalo, NY 14203.
Gift wrap paper, calendar, cards, other items by artists holding brushes in feet or mouths, astonishing workmanship.

—Tom W. Harris

Tom W. Harris is a staff member of the Rochester Patriot from which this review is reprinted.

RECORD

NEW WOOD

Si Kahn with the Southern Mountains Musicians' Cooperative (Available from JuneAppal Records, Box 743, Whitesburg, Ky. 41858; or Cut Cane Associates, PO Box 98, Mineral Bluff, Ga. 30559 / \$5.00.)

In the spring of '75 Dave Freeman of County Records, who edits a monthly newsletter reviewing Old Time and Bluegrass records, stated something to the effect "that for those who have to have a message with their music," they might like New Wood. He also said, that the instrumentation was well done. Having heard the name of community organizer, Si Kahn, through Kathy Kahn's *Hillbilly Women*, Dave Freeman's brief review made me want to hear the record.

I recently ordered it, and got it about one week ago. I would recommend it highly to WIN readers who like Country 'n Western music, and "old-timey" string band music with a fairly uncluttered accompaniment. The record is great!

Si plays lead guitar, and sings, with assistance from the Southern Mountains Musicians Cooperative. Other instruments heard are: banjo, dulcimer, mandolin, autoharp, fiddle, mouth harp, and string bass. All of the songs were written by Si.

I like the tunes and words to almost all of the songs. Si has a very gentle delivery in an unusual voice that might be described as throaty, somewhat rough, unpretty. He determinedly presents a feeling or position that deals directly with current issues and with a good deal of human warmth.

*You see me on the highway
And you nearly shift your load
You take another look good buddy
And you nearly leave the road
Ain't you never seen a truck drivin' woman
Ninety pounds of fire in a five foot frame
And you better move on over
'Cause I'm right behind you in the left hand lane*

There is a "Southern" feel to a number of the songs. One of the more powerful songs for me is "First Time At A War," about a young man of 16 years who goes off to fight. The first verse and chorus are:

*It snowed all night the day I left Kentucky
The Middle Fork was choked with ice and snow
Left sixteen years and all my friends behind me
Somehow I had to be the first to go
My Momma baked all night before I left her
At supper there was not too much to say
My Daddy put his arm around my shoulder
He said, "Son, I hope we'll see you home some day"*

*So don't you play no sad songs on the juke box
I've heard 'em all a hundred times before
And excuse me if I seem a little crazy
You see this is my first time at a war*

Two songs are in the tradition of protest songs related to coal mining; and perhaps reflect some of what Si Kahn has learned as a community organizer in the South. The heartaches and struggles of the miner's life are reflected in "Lawrence Jones." His manner of singing this unaccompanied (in the ballad style) adds power to the song.

*A miner's life is fragile
it can shatter just like ice
But those who bear the struggle
have always paid the price
There's blood upon the contract
like vinegar in wine
And there's one man dead on the Harlan County line.*

There are 14 other songs, most of them topical, but each one unique. If you like music that has a country bent to it and is not over produced, I recommend this album to you.

*No fancy gowns no high class towns to promise
I'm plain as rain and that's just not my style
And I've never been one to ask for favors
But I hope you plan to stay with me a while. . .*

—Nick Royal

Nick Royal is a regular reader from Santa Cruz, who is interested in all types of folk and traditional music.

BOOK

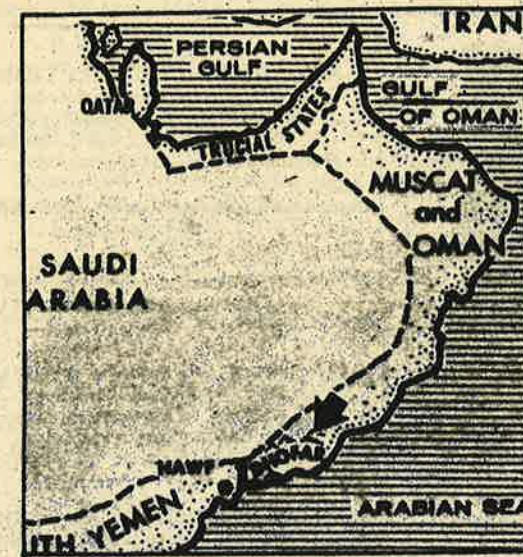
ARABIA WITHOUT SULTANS

Fred Halliday / Vintage paperback / 1975 / 539 pages / \$6.95 / also available in a cheaper Penguin edition

The Arab oil boycott demonstrated to the energy hungry American people in the most concrete manner possible, their dependence on the royalist regimes of the Arabian peninsula. "Wealthy, eccentric and reasonably stable" would probably be the image most people have of the countries bordering on the Persian/Arabian Gulf. But, as Fred Halliday reports, this is a dangerous over-simplification. And Halliday (whose knowledge of Arabia, including Arabic, is extensive) can say this from first hand-experience. He has made two visits to Dhofar (in 1970 and 1973) which is located in the tropical zone on the southern coast of the Arabian peninsula where Marxist-Leninist guerrillas are fighting a war of liberation against the British neocolonial regime in Oman. He is one of the few Westerners to have visited the liberated zone: "Wherever we went we were greeted with warmth and with intense questioning by the militants and population. We slept in the caves and wattle huts of the mountain people. . . Said Mahad described to us how the air force had bombarded the pastures and villages around Iryash. Another woman asked why the Labour Government, which called itself socialist, was killing the peasants of Dhofar."

In December, 1973, 10,000 Iranian troops were brought into Oman in a coordinated move by Washington, London and Tehran to push back the increasingly successful Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf (PFLOAG). This group is also active in some of the "oil rich kingdoms" on the peninsula including Bahrain where a general strike occurred in 1972.

PFLOAG's revolutionary ideology developed logically out of splits within Arab nationalism and has deep roots among the people. It includes a strong commitment to the liberation of women (Halliday includes discussions he had with women guerrillas). PFLOAG has a powerful rear base area in the People's Democratic Republic of South Yemen, the first socialist state on the Arabian peninsula. In September, 1972, a Bay of Pigs style attack was launched against



this besieged country supported by neighboring Saudi Arabia whose military apparatus is underwritten by the US.

Saudi Arabia is the largest oil producing country on the peninsula. Its current image is that of a stable Islamic kingdom. Feisal's assassination produced some alarm in Washington but confidence was quickly restored. The Saudi ruling class is very well entrenched. But it has not always been blessed with stability. The first Saudi Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources was Abdullah Ibn Hamud Tariqi who, in 1960, called for Saudi control of its own oil resources including transportation and marketing. This was during the brief reformist period under the erratic Prime Minister Saud who was involved in a revolving door power struggle with Feisal. In March, 1962 Feisal returned to power and the Harvard trained Sheikh Yamani became oil minister. But just imagine what would happen were a Tariqi to come to power today. At the moment this may be far-fetched but as recently as 1969 there were rumblings by left-wing nationalists in the army and air force resulting in a general crackdown which put 2,000 people into Feisel's dungeons. Small Marxist groups are also known to exist in Saudi Arabia.

The Shah of Iran has been designated as the main defender of the status-quo in the Gulf and Iran is being built-up as a major military power by the US. Oddly enough the aim of this policy was perceived by Senator Humphrey in 1960: "Do you know what the head of the Iranian army told one of our people? He said the army was in good shape, thanks to US aid—it was now capable of coping with the civilian population." (quoted in Halliday)

In June, 1963 there was a full-scale insurrection in Tehran in which thousands of Iranians were shot down in the streets. As a result of increased exploitation in the countryside the population of Tehran has been swelled by poor peasants who form a potentially explosive sub-proletariat (rising from 1.5 million in 1963 to 3.3 million in 1973). Sporadic guerrilla activity and strikes continue in Iran despite the severe repression of the secret police, the notorious torturers of the SAVAK. Halliday suggests that the current Shah would do well to recall the fate of Nadir Shah who invaded Oman and northern India in the early 18th century—he was driven from power by his own army.

The main battlefield on the Arabian peninsula for the contending forces of nationalism, socialism and imperialism was established on September 26, 1962 with the creation of the Yemen Arab Republic. Prior to the birth of the Republic, North Yemen had been a pre-capitalist enclave: there were

no North Yemeni doctors, no schools, no paved roads, no factories and no railways. Over 50% of the population had VD and 80% suffered from trachoma. Halliday describes it as ". . . a society overwhelmed with misery."

The Yemeni Civil War which resulted from tribal opposition to the Republic continued throughout the '60's. The Egyptians intervened directly on behalf of the Republic and the Saudis backed the royalists. During the royalist siege of the North Yemen capital of Sanaa (from Dec. '67 to Feb. '68), the Russians began a massive airlift directly from the USSR via Egypt to aid the Republic; and Chinese engineers were actively involved in repairing bridges on roads to the besieged city. The siege of Sanaa, a relatively unknown event in Western histories, ranks with the siege of Madrid in historical importance, and it is also a warning sign of a potential maelstrom for the super-powers.

By the end of the civil war in 1970 the nationalist content of the Republic was largely dissipated and survived in name only under the watchful eye of Saudi Arabia. But the terrible civil war had shattered North Yemen's backward system and the basis was created for a capitalist economy (an improvement, as Halliday, a Marxist, acknowledges).

Maps of the Arabian peninsula and the Gulf are now probably in prominence in the planning rooms of the Pentagon and the State Department, most likely tacked on over those of Indochina. By 1985, according to Halliday, the US will have to import 60% of its petroleum and 40% of this will come from Saudi Arabia which has 2/3 of all known reserves. Nothing the US can do during the rest of this century, either in terms of emergency energy measures or alternative energy sources, will make a sizeable dent in the need for Middle East oil. (With 6% of the world's population the US consumes 33% of the world's energy.)

This dependence on Arabian oil presents anti-imperialists with serious problems. The ruling class has a trump card here that it never had with Vietnam—a very material reason for armed intervention, should that ever become necessary. I think the only way to deal with this is through a movement which can demonstrate the profiteering and deception practiced inside the US by the multinational oil firms. In the absence of such a movement the great economic disparity between the consumers (including the working class) of the West and the peoples of Arabia almost guarantees a tragic confrontation. *Arabia Without Sultans* isn't about the "car owners of the advanced capitalist countries" (as Halliday puts it) but, remote as the possibility sometimes appears, these are the people who will have to find the bond of solidarity and who will have to adjust to a different life-style.

At present the US has nothing to fear from Saudi Arabia. The current regime is a loyal junior partner of imperialism. The famous Saudi oil boycott was far less extensive than claimed. As Halliday explains, the conflicts between the US and the Saudi's are of the traditional kind between capitalist partners involving jockeying for greater profits and control. Similar rivalries exist among the US, French, British, Japanese and Germans regarding wealth and power in the Gulf. The real potential contradiction in the area is not between the royalist regimes and the West but between imperialism and the workers and peasants.

The importance of Halliday's thoroughly researched book (which includes maps, charts and documents) is its focus on the oppressed peoples of the Arabian peninsula and the Gulf. It is, to put it simply, the inside story of the real victims of "advanced" capitalism's energy crisis.—Thomas Good

Thomas Good's articles on the Middle East have previously appeared in the Portland Scribe, an alternative weekly in Portland, Ore.



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