

December 4, 1975 / 30¢

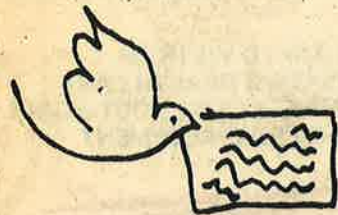
win

PEACE & FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

WITNESSING FOR AID TO VIETNAM
MORE ON ALTERNATIVE HEALTH CARE
JUSTICE DEPARTMENT STRIKES OUT AGAIN
FORMULA FOR UNDERDEVELOPMENT



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This letter is prompted by Leah Fritz's editorial and Barbara Deming's article in WIN's October 30th issue.

Feminist thought has been valuable to me especially through its exposition of social roles; i.e., men can be sensitive, women aren't necessarily passive, etc. Through an increased understanding of these conditionings and dialogue it is my hope that a certain amount of cross-pollination of the best will happen (is happening) and that through this we will become more whole, loving human beings.

I, for one, am not going to sit around feeling guilty about being male, white, "middle class," American, having 2 years of college, or being heterosexual to boot. If people want to talk creatively about injustices or prejudices I might foster by being any of these things then I would like to hear them and to talk. But none of them are inherently evil in my opinion and it is a waste to attack them. These things can't be easily changed anyway. I want to learn so I can better live with my life. I don't want to feel bad. Let's focus our energy in constructive directions.

—MIKE BIRD
Minneapolis, Minn.

Sorry but I don't believe Ms. Alpert's friends are really concerned with saving her life. First, I don't believe it's in any danger. The reaction of prisoners to the warning in *Midnight Special* would be to shun Jane but do her no harm. Sometimes snitches are killed in prison, but it is because they snitched in prison and not because of what they did on the streets, prison is filled with too many small time criminals who made deals for lighter sentences, so in this way Jane isn't that unusual. Also, if Jane's friends are really worried about her spiritual survival why do they continue to write inflammatory letters which can only serve to intensify the anger many of us feel for Jane, not because she is a feminist critic of the left, but because rightly or wrongly we think she has informed on her sisters and brothers. Jane's friends would serve her better if they

lovingly try to explain this anger to her and related to it in a self-critical way.

—STEW ALBERT
Hurley, NY

I was glad to see Leah Fritz's letter [WIN, 10/30/75]. I've always felt that WIN was basically a male supremacist oriented magazine. I'm glad its finally out in the open. Leah has been a clarifying force more than once for this rag—we all owe her a debt of gratitude.

—NANCY EVECHILD
Minneapolis, Minn.

Just read Barbara Deming's letter in Nov. 20 WIN and agree with her completely—that a commitment to nonviolence requires commitment to feminism. From working with Women's Advocates in St. Paul I have experienced first hand the deep violence of men against women, and that violence increases when women find an alternative to the terrible abuses they and their children have received from them.

Women's Advocates just "fell into" the problem of battered women through running a telephone information and referral service for women. It is something that cannot be "studied"—at least not up to now—since there was no place to gather statistics. Del Martin is having a book published in December and Betsy Warrior has a pamphlet, "Wife Beating," from her larger booklet, *Houseworkers Handbook*. (Lately national magazines such as *Newsweek*, and TV stations have been deluging Women's Advocates with requests for interviews because it is one of the few places in the country where battered women can seek refuge, support and help.)

In St. Paul there are up to 100 complaints a week filed in the city attorney's office, and around 40 cases a week are treated at the city-county hospital. Yet no one knows exactly how many women are being treated because hospitals are not required to record or report suspected cases of battered women as they are now required to do for cases of child abuse. Nurses in pediatric departments have told us they have seen women bring in physically abused children, and full of bruises and open wounds themselves but no one pays attention to them if the women do not ask for treatment.

Women's Advocates obtained a house last October, and from the day it opened it has been constantly filled to overflowing, women and children arriving in the middle

of the night, the floors covered with people in sleeping bags. . .

The big problem now is getting funds to pay the mortgage on the house. It is the first place in the country that we know of that has received private funding for running the house and a grant on the down payment on the mortgage, but banks and foundations are not into mortgages for refuges for women.

—BERNICE SISSON
Women's Advocates
584 Grand Ave.
St. Paul, MN 55102

I have a suggestion for a new bumper sticker which perhaps somebody could produce, "The B-1 Is A Bomb." If enough of us put it on our cars it might be of some help.

—WILLIAM A. FRAENKEL
Lexington, Mass.

Supporters of Kim Chi Ha (see WIN, 10/16/75), have appealed for those concerned by his case and the fate of democracy in Korea to send him Christmas greetings. They should be addressed to him at Westgate Prison, Seoul, Korea and should be mailed between December 10 and 15.

For all your readers who want to know how to use the Women's History Library, we are not dead, and we are appearing in local libraries as fast as you can pressure them to order our collections on microfilm.

The microfilms we have published are: *Women's Health/Mental Health* (13 reels @ \$32/reel), *Women & The Law* (40 reels @ \$32/reel), and *Herstory-women's serials* from 1956 through June 1974 (90 reels @ \$28/reel). Please write to us for petitions to take to your libraries to encourage them to make these microfilms available to everyone (enclose a self-addressed stamped envelope and a donation).

Finally, our very latest publication—the International Women's Year 1975 Supplement to our *Female Artists Past and Present* ('74 ed.)—is now available for \$3.00, and the '74 ed. for \$6.00.—LAURA X
Women's History Research Center, Inc.
2325 Oak Street
Berkeley, Calif. 94708

The recent "Unionization and the Military" article [WIN, 11/20/75] was timely and important. Local ACLU military rights experience in helping active duty enlisted with their problems has shown a growing lack of legitimate help by supervisory and officer personnel for those in trouble.

Further, many of the petty harassments and unfair personnel practices or unusual working conditions that are difficult to process under the UCMJ (Uniform Code of Military Justice) might better be handled through a grievance procedure which has impartial arbitration as a final step, and which permits the grievant to be represented in his complaint by a union or professional organization of his choice.

The American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) deserves credit for proposing the first step towards giving non-supervisory active duty enlisted personnel an organized voice in negotiating terms and conditions of employment, and also the chance to resolve grievances through a complaint procedure.

—JOHN L. SCRIPP III
CDR-USN Ret
Norfolk, Va.

Enjoyed WIN this year & passed some of the women-issues on to friends.

What is the WIN position on the rapprochement between the Am. Republicans & China?

Unless you are Leninists & plan to do away with property don't you *ipsa facto* support the nuclear family? What do you have to say about the needs of children for primal ties in the age of dissolution of family? Are alimony & child support a female sexist ripoff? Hope to find the answers in future WINs.

—MICHAEL CORR
Kyoto, Japan

When the campaign to raise \$50,000 was launched in April we stated that we needed to raise that amount *this year* so that we could begin 1975 with a clean slate. If we fail to accomplish that goal we will be carrying this year's fund raising problems over into next year's problems, a situation that would make life even harder than it already is.

For that reason we urge you, if you have not already made a donation, to please *do it now!* For that reason we urge you, if you have already donated, to please consider making an additional contribution *now!*

Time passes too quickly. The temptation to put something off for just another day—with the result that we never get to it—is so great. But the printer and the telephone company will not be put off. And, more importantly, the daily violence of this society will not be put off unless we do what we know that we have to *now!*

Our deepest thanks to the many readers who have already contributed. We realize that in many cases even the smallest donation represents a real sacrifice.

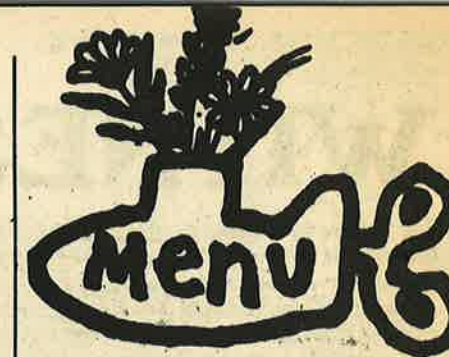
—WIN

I wish the WIN would engage in more reflection on current non-violent action. Some of the letter exchanges have been such reflections. George Lakey's B-1 article and the discussion of condemnation of some of Jane Alpert's actions were also reflections I found helpful.

Fellowship has been noting lately that US protests against the Vietnam war were not pacifist and I realize I've learned my pacifism on UFW picket lines rather than in the anti-war movement or reading WIN or even giving workshops to teachers about peace and justice. Seeing the factual account of the UFW made me want more—essays from white and minority radicals on the impact of minority nonviolent movements on US politics and society; lifestyle reflections from Barbara Deming [WIN, 10/30/75] and Art Waskow [10/23/75]; analysis of peace and freedom thru non-violent action in the context of ideological struggles; reflection on the long-range impact of collectives on local neighborhoods.

I think my discontent with some of the articles on human sexuality, the account of Kurt Groenwold being tailed in NYC [10/16/75] and Karla Jay's [10/23/75] to me unfunny description of herself as a victim with no apparent recourse but to violence—is because all of these could form workshops in nonviolence if the editors pushed the authors and the authors pushed themselves to be reflective of the ideals in WIN's title. Such efforts on all your parts would help me grow more in my living out my life nonviolently and refining my pacifist philosophical underpinnings.

—MARY ANN MCGIVERN, S.L.
St. Louis, Mo.



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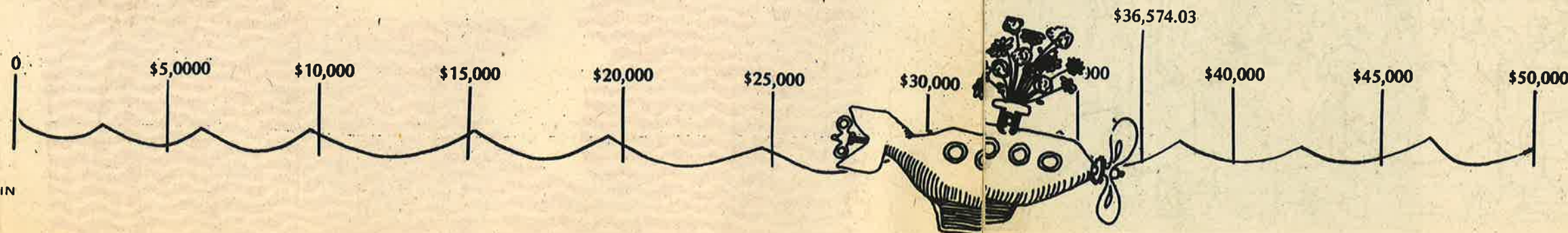
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WITNESSING FOR AID TO VIETNAM

The following testimony was made on behalf of Clergy and Laity Concerned at the House Subcommittee on Commerce on Monday, November 17, by Jay Scarborough. The hearings were held on the Bingham amendment on lifting the trade embargo against Vietnam.

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee:

My name is Jay Scarborough. I am a student at the law school of Cornell University. I have lived in Vietnam for a total of seven years, five of them as an English teacher and most recently as a prisoner. Along with 11 other foreigners, including seven Americans, I was picked up in Ban Me Thuot on March 12 this year and detained by the communists until October 30. For much of this time (five months), we were held together with 700 captured officers of the South Vietnamese army; for half of these five months we actually lived in a village near Pleiku. It was thus our good fortune to observe the daily life of people, to observe the treatment given to the officers, and to have frequent personal contact with North Vietnamese officers and troops. Through the wives of the captured officers, who were allowed to pay private visits to their husbands, we kept abreast of developments elsewhere in South Vietnam.

During my five months as a captive in South Vietnam (followed by two and a half months in North Vietnam) I neither saw nor heard anything that would warrant the hostility shown by the USA to the new government as expressed in embargoes on trade, travel, and mail. The captured soldiers were treated humanely; there was no physical or mental torture, no denial of the essentials of life—food, clothing, housing and medical care. There has been no "bloodbath"; if there had been, we would not only have seen it but also heard about it. The villagers were free to make a living as before. The depopulation of the large cities—a necessity under any regime in South Vietnam—is being carried out gradually and, as I understand it, voluntarily. I have not even heard of the expropriation of American property—what little there was—of any Americans who stayed behind. In short, I cannot see

that anything has happened in South Vietnam to justify the imposition of the embargoes. To me—and to the Vietnamese—it smells of vindictiveness.

Since I don't feel the restrictions should have been imposed in the first place, I naturally favor lifting them. Not only do I feel that these restrictions are wrong *per se*, they are also, I feel, contrary to the best interests of the United States. Oil exploration and exploitation must cease due to impositions made by our own government, before the oil companies have had a chance to discuss the matter with the South Vietnamese. The restrictions on mail hurt many Americans, as well as tens of thousands of overseas Vietnamese, who would like to contact relatives and friends in that country. The restrictions on travel, because they are so easily circumvented, serve no purpose other than to express the official hostility to the new government. Finally, it is obvious that these actions by the US government simply make more difficult the efforts by Congress and private groups to seek information on the Missing in Action. It is thus in our own interest to normalize relations with the two Vietnams; such a step will be supported by all patriotic Americans.

The Vietnamese communists repeatedly expressed to me their desire for normal relations with the United States; they were willing to let bygones be bygones. I think this is a remarkable attitude on the part of a people who have suffered as much as the Vietnamese have, due to our erroneous policies. Vietnamese of all ranks spoke to me of their warm feelings of friendship toward the American people. Evidence of this was the good treatment that we foreigners received while under detention. Our release, we now know, was a unilateral act on the part of the Vietnamese, and not part of any *quid pro quo*. Whether it was a disinterested gesture or not I do not know, but it would be useful to interpret our good treatment and subsequent release as a gesture of reconciliation on the part of Vietnam. Such a gesture demands a response, and I can think of no better response than the removal of restrictions on normal intercourse with the two Vietnams. It is my fervent hope that this will happen soon.

On Monday, November 10th, demonstrations were held in 45 cities to protest Ford Administration denial of export licenses that would allow the American Friends Service Committee to send reconstruction aid to Vietnam.

On Friday, November 14, Secy. of State Kissinger told a Congressional breakfast group that the government had reversed the decision and would grant AFSC the licenses.

It appears that the Administration was not only responding to public pressure (including critical editorials and Congressional opposition), by backing down from an untenable position, but was also trying to head off the growing sentiment in Congress for legislation which would have taken away administrative power to deny such licenses in the future. Beyond their specific effect on the Administration, the demonstrations revealed strong grass roots support for people-to-people aid to Vietnam.

The demonstrations were organized by the AFSC as an "Act for Friendship" with Vietnam. They provided an opportunity for Quakers and others to show their solidarity with AFSC's decision: for reasons of conscience. They could ship aid despite the risk of prosecution under the Trading with the Enemy Act. During the preceding month some 2500 persons donated over \$30,000 for non-licensed goods, thereby assuming symbolic complicity (and possible legal responsibility) with AFSC. Xerox copies of their donor's forms and checks were turned over to local US attorneys and presented at the White House.



People vigil in front of the White House protesting denial of export licenses to AFSC for material aid to Vietnam. Photo by Terry Koss.

Events in Washington included a march to the White House and a vigil there by 250 persons, including 80 high school students from Sandy Springs, Md., Friends School. Participating in Monday's vigil was a delegation representing six religious bodies, who were refused an appointment in the White House. The delegation consisted of Atlee Beechy, Mennonite Central Committee; Wallace Collett, AFSC; James Hamilton, National Council of Churches; Jeanne Marshall, Counsel on Church and Society, United Presbyterian Church; Pat Patterson, Board of Global Ministries; United Methodist Church; Louis Schneider, AFSC; and David Taylor, Church World Service.

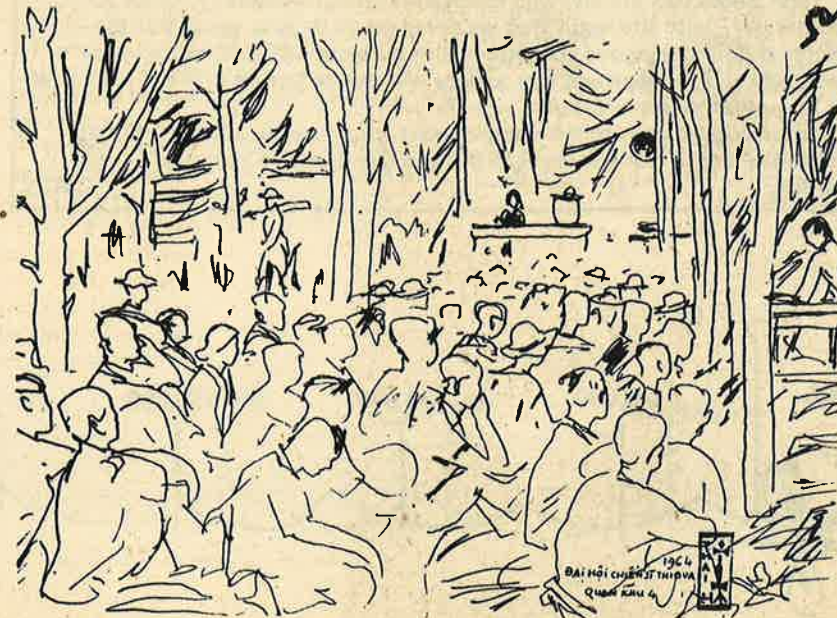
The AFSC was surprised and pleased at the response nationwide. Participation, contributions, and media coverage all exceeded their expectations. Several co-sponsors for the Bingham Amendment (to end the US embargo of Vietnam) were found during the visits to Congressional offices that followed the White House vigil. The license issue exposed the petty vindictiveness of post-war Administration policies towards Indochina. People were shocked when they heard AFSC had been licensed to ship rototillers and fishnets during the war, but was not licensed to do so during peace. And no one could understand why the AFSC was not permitted to ship yarn for children's sweaters but was licensed to ship \$200,000 worth of powdered milk for the Vietnamese to make into condensed canned milk.

The government's reversal should be seen as a real victory for the goals of the Friendshipment campaign, but that is only the beginning.

—John McAuliff



Photo by Irene Johnson/LNS.



Drawing from LNS.

Repression in Britain

THE TRIAL OF THE BWNIC 14

JOE GERSON

The British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland 14 (BWNIC 14) are 14 pacifists and anti-militarists charged with conspiring to violate the Incitement to Disaffection Act of 1934. Pat Arrowsmith, who was jailed last year under the same act, had been arrested again—this time under the Prevention of Terrorism Act! Six others have been arrested under the Incitement to Disaffection Act, bringing the total to 24. Repression is in high gear in jolly old England, focused upon BWNIC much as it was here against the Chicago 7 in 1969.

The British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign was founded in 1973 by peace activists who had concluded there could be no military solution to the civil war in Northern Ireland. Many of them had lived in the boroughs of Derry and Belfast and had observed the war first hand. Others had been active in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in the early '60's and looked more deeply and skeptically at political and military questions raised by the war than did their fellow citizens. And some were people who, after watching the situation in Northern Ireland deteriorate over the years, had come to the same conclusion themselves.

Joe Gerson is a former staff member of the War Resisters International.

The campaign began in 1973 when more than a hundred people—journalists, welfare workers, peace workers, ministers, entertainers—issued a statement giving their analysis. They called on the government to set a date to bring the troops home, to end internment (the imprisoning of people without trial), and to sever the national ties between Britain and Northern Ireland.

During the next two years leafleters showed up at military barracks, parades, and recruiting displays at town markets with news for discontented soldiers. Their leaflet, entitled "Some Information for Discontented Soldiers" advised soldiers that there were provisions in the law allowing them to be discharged for being conscientious objectors, that there were provisions for hardship and health discharges, and that it was possible to buy their way out of the army. (The British army is different from its American descendent in this way, and in the fact that many of its recruits have signed on—out of working class ghettos—for 15 years!) The leaflet also provided information on how one could leave Britain for Sweden, but pointed out the possible penalties for AWOL and desertion. The leaflet concluded with the names and addresses of counseling centers—much the same as American leaflets did during the Indochina war.

As 1973 became 1974, every British soldier had done a tour of duty in Northern Ireland. Some had done two or more, and their morale was low. Unlike 1969, when they first came to protect Catholics from Protestants reacting against the Civil Rights Movement, British troops were no longer popular with any portion of the Northern Irish community. Since internment had been initiated, Her Majesty's forces were used primarily against the Catholic population—not to protect it. Their lack of enthusiasm reflected in increased AWOL & desertion rates for their "work" grew out of their experiences rather than from leaflets which they may have stumbled upon.

Simultaneously in London and other British cities public support for the war began to decline. In addition to the articles appearing in *Peace News* and the work of BWNIC, a "Troops Out" movement was formed—largely under Trotskyite leadership—which held mass rallies and generally attempted to change and mobilize public opinion. People tired of the "Troubles" and of bombs placed in subways, streets and stores and began to wonder if any settlement

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BWNIC 14 support demonstration in front of the British Consulate in Los Angeles. Photo by Joe Gerson.

Justice Dept. Strikes Out in Gainesville (again)



Scott Camil as a defendant in the 1973 Gainesville conspiracy trial. Photo from VVAW/WSO/LNS.

NEIL FULLAGAR

A federal jury in Gainesville, Florida, has rejected drug and assault charges against Scott Camil and co-defendant Larry Taylor. Camil, former Southeast Regional Coordinator of VVAW and Gainesville Eight conspiracy defendant, as charged with two counts of assaulting federal officers, two of possession of marijuana with intent to distribute, and two of possession of cocaine with intent to distribute. Taylor was named in the two cocaine counts. One of the marijuana counts was dismissed before the case went to the jury.

The jury deliberated about an hour and a half before acquitting Camil and Taylor on all seven counts, following almost two weeks of testimony before Judge William Sessions. Sessions was brought in from Texas to hear the case because one of the two local judges was a member of the prosecution team during the Gainesville Eight trial and the other was the presiding judge.

Camil was arrested March 31 by federal Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) officers William Porter and Dennis Fitzgerald. He suffered a gunshot wound in the back during the arrest while allegedly assaulting the two agents. Fitzgerald and Porter testified that Camil had just delivered \$2300 worth of cocaine, was shown a badge and informed that he was under arrest, after which Camil attempted to take a gun away from Fitzgerald and was "accidentally" shot in the struggle. Camil said that the agents had produced the cocaine and wanted to sell him some, then suddenly put a gun at his head. He tried to escape from the car in which the three were riding but was shot by Fitzgerald who was behind him in the rear seat. Camil says that he struggled only to get away from the agents who threatened him with the gun and never identified themselves.

Neil Fullagar lived in Gainesville and was prosecuted by Jack Carrouth for draft resistance. He is now studying political psychology in Berkeley.

When Gainesville police arrived, the DEA agents were none too pleased to have an outside investigation. When the local officers asked for witnesses out of the crowd, the DEA agents remarked "we don't need witnesses." Their attitude is understandable, since the testimony of the three witnesses to the shooting, while differing in various details, generally discredited the story given by Porter and Fitzgerald. Confronted by the press with the existence of witnesses to contradict the story told by the agents, DEA Orlando office chief John LePore said a few days after the shooting, "I don't care how many horseshit witnesses you come up with."

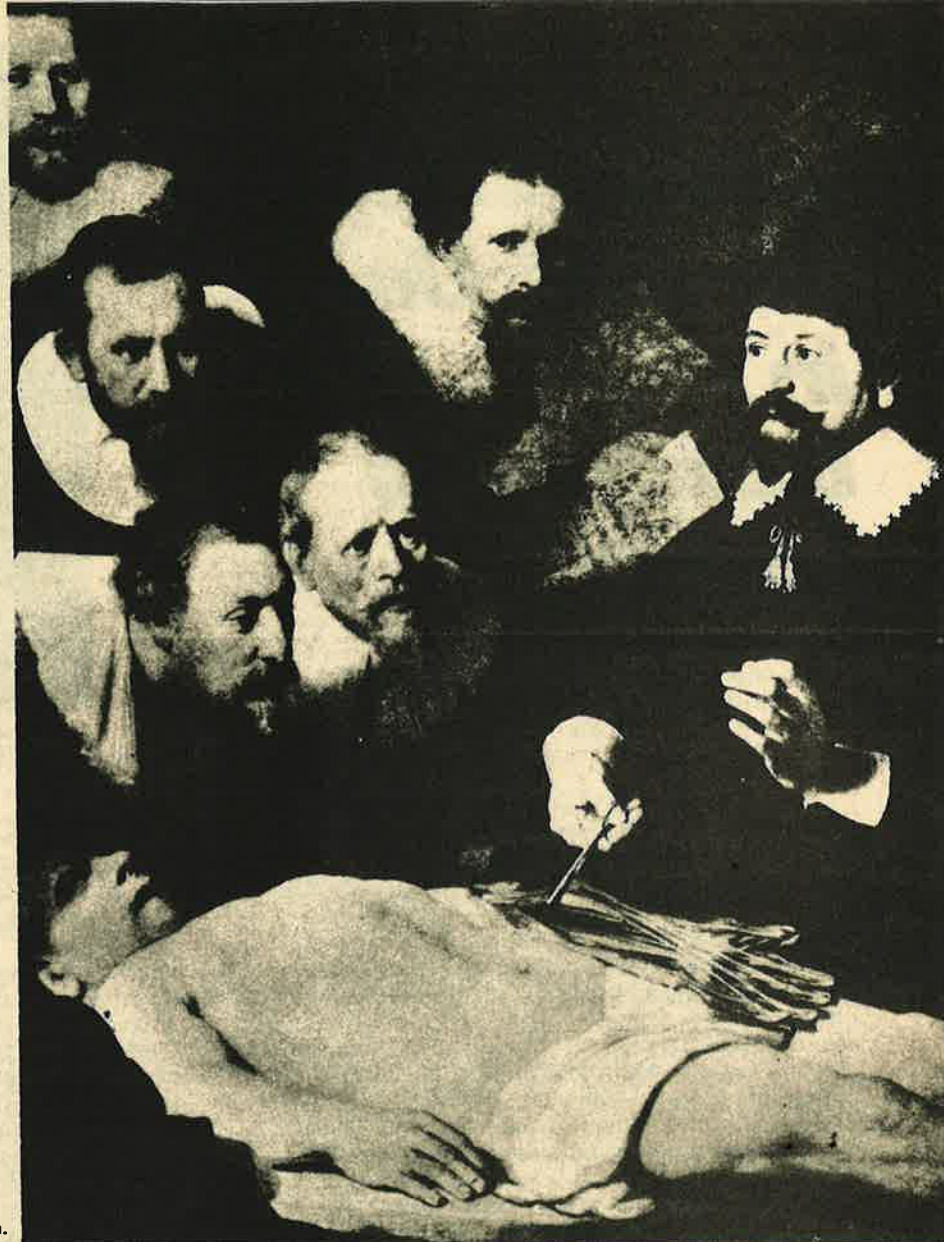
As Camil's attorney Larry Turner pointed out to the jury, the case depended "pretty much on who you believe." Apparently, the jury found it difficult to believe the version offered by Fitzgerald, Porter, Barbara Ives Davis (another DEA operator) and US Attorney Jack Carrouth, who also headed the Gainesville Eight prosecution. Several days after the verdict, the foreman of the jury told the local paper that it was the jury's opinion that the shooting was deliberate and unjustified.

The local State Attorney, who has put off presenting the case to the grand jury, for possible criminal charges, for six months may now be moved by the federal jury's opinion.

"My days in court aren't over," Camil said, "but my days as a defendant are. From now on I'm the plaintiff!" In addition to the grand jury proceedings, Camil plans civil action against the DEA and its agents. Also, he and the other seven defendants from the Gainesville Eight trial, along with two "unindicted co-conspirators," have a suit pending against John Mitchell, Jack Carrouth, Guy Goodwin (the Justice Department's conspiracy specialist), William Stafford (former US Attorney and now federal judge) and the government itself. They charge that the prosecution and the grand jury subpoenas which preceded it were part of a conspiracy to deprive them of their civil rights. The ten ask compensatory damages of \$10,000

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RESPONSES TO AN ALTERNATIVE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM



Painting by Rembrandt van Rijn.

We want to share with readers selections from some of the responses to our piece "Toward an Alternative Health Care System" in the August 7 issue of WIN. We were surprised by the large reaction: for statistics freaks, there have been 67 letters, most from health workers. Around half of these are in traditional health roles (doctor, nurse, pharmacist, etc.) and half in alternative roles (acupuncture, herbs, community organizing, etc.). Almost all are positive and enthusiastic. We've met with several of them, and a real network seems to be growing, including a newsletter. We've excerpted a few of the letters below to give a sample of the kind of input we've been getting—we find it exciting and hope you will too. Any further comments or criticisms are most welcome.

—Jim Scott & Claire Douglas (RFD 2, Box 65, Windsor, Vt. 05089)

When I finish nursing school I plan to practice *outside* of our present health care system. Because the nursing profession has been molded and manipulated by the AMA, hospital administrators, and passivity on the part of nurses themselves, I see a need to create my own role, define my own practice, and choose the setting where I will work. In doing so I hope to work with others to challenge the present health care system (which is closed, hierarchical, and unresponsive to consumers' needs) by creating alternative means of delivering health care (which are patient centered, serviced by a team of practitioners, responsible and accountable to the community).

The work involved in bringing about these changes is tremendous but so very vital. I know that I cannot work as a nurse in our present system so I am preparing now to work to change it. Working as a nurse's aide for two years, I have learned a lot about how to reform health care services in the hospital but not much about how to institute preventive services with a focus on wellness.

—Maureen Finnegan
Boston, Mass.

I am engaged in the preliminaries of that "expensive technologically oriented" miseducation responsible for the training of medical workers. I think that the best way (for me) to make these changes is to obtain the education which is offered in these institutions, thus enabling me to lawfully "practice medicine." With this legal permission one is free to forge a new place for the doctor as healer and educator. My vision of the healer is one involving orthodox and unorthodox (i.e. acupuncture, osteopathy, etc.) healing arts in a cooperative situation.

—Glenn Dubler
Medford, Mass.

... a brief history of my last few years, just in time and space, may give you an idea of where I'm coming from. It goes like this—'72 graduated from school of pharmacy, interested in clinical pharmacy, research, molecular pharmacology—facilitator of drug info center—'73 work in radiation health, environmental radiation. '74 left esoteric pharmacy field and moved near the town of Delaware Gap, Pa. to help some

friends rebuild an old house on a farm. Got a part time job in the town pharmacy, realized very shortly how important the field of pharmacy is and how much I could improve the health of local folk. In the past, community pharmacy = Rip Off. Started my head going with some insight from a macroanalysis seminar, decided I'd like to become involved in or start some kind of alternative pharmacy. The emphasis: communication, education, quality, honesty. The idea of an extended health care collective is beautiful.

—Alan Miller
Durango, Colorado

As for falling into restrictive roles, an educational and training program within a clinic would make for job rotation. Anyone is welcome to work in any position as long as there is need for it and the person is trained. We could teach each other. By offering a limited but excellent program, the community will be able to look at the coop clinic (?) and tell just what it is. A problem of many alternative systems as I see them is that they try to offer too much just to attract all sorts of people and end up being super nebulous instead of realistic. I'm particularly strong on this point right now having just experienced the downfall of a community restaurant that had no one to manage it, but had a million trips going at the same time.

—Jean Hooker
Athens, Ohio

I work at the Beach Area Community Clinic, a former "youth oriented free clinic" which is trying to grow. We have a women's clinic, a general medicine clinic, a counseling center, and a preventive medicine outreach, health screening program. We have been around four years now and see about 20,000 patient visits a year for medical reasons alone. We have grown from an all volunteer staff, to a paid staff of 30 (all earning \$700 per month for full time work, though many work only part time) and an annual budget of \$200,000. We have a small clinical lab, a large pharmacy, and good hospital backup. We still depend on and attract a large number of volunteers (of whom only a small number are from our patient population) without whom we could never see as many patients. Our patients are at least 50% from our local area (there are 16 other community clinics in San Diego) and are still about 75% between 15 and 30 years old, though we do have a pediatric clinic and our outreach program is expanding services to many older patients in the area. About 3/4 of our money comes from government contracts, but we have enough other income to be relatively independent.

Even with all the resources we have and the services we render, it is hard to call ourselves a primary care center. The vast amount of illness that we see is acute care, one shot medicine, though we do prevention, education and ongoing care through the birth control clinic and the outreach screening program, and each of our components has a good follow up system for important patients with serious problems. Nevertheless, we are only open three or four hours a day for MD type care, we have no extended hours, nor are we on call for our patients except in pre-arranged cases. Few of our patients are in family groups, so that kind of care is not emphasized. The point here is that we do what we can, providing a huge amount of needed service, and yet do not even approach the standards of a full time, full resource health facility. We have a lot of medical tasks delegated to our own trained paramedics, but it still takes a lot of MD supervision and time to be able to expand our services. It is relatively easy to treat URIs [upper respiratory infections] and birth control questions by protocol [a formal set of rules that governs the way something is treated], but relatively more

difficult to train paramedics to deal with the chronically ill adult. It takes more than we presently have.

Secondly, there is the process of our institution. For at least a year now, we have been struggling not only with our personalities and egos (I'm sure you know what kind of individual strength it takes to join an effort like this) but also with a way to get this large group of people to work well together. We have both management and communications problems. We are in fact worker (and not really board or community) controlled and we have standing finance and steering committees; there is no boss and no one who does not work with patients; we are decentralized in work collectives in each component—and sometimes that works and sometimes it doesn't. Remarkably, there is a great deal of what I would call political awareness and realization that we are trying something both different and iconoclastic among us, but of course, that doesn't minimize the fact that we all have different ways to approach the problems. Recently we have proved to ourselves that we can manage this many patients and this large a budget, but unanswered as yet is whether this large a group can develop communications mechanisms and build trust so that we can work well together. We tend to enjoy patient care more than meetings and have yet to develop painless ways of sharing and building beyond casual social interaction and occasional contemplation of our problems. The point here is that it is difficult to build a collective large enough to provide a lot of patient care and difficult to discern the balance between service and self-maintenance.

Thirdly, there is the financial thing. I have a lot of familiarity with hospitals, insurance, and federal grants, and I certainly feel that paying attention to that arena for support is not only draining personally, but likely to so compromise your ideals as to destroy them. Health financing is so fucked up that you can't get into it without selling your soul—income determinations, paper work, bureaucratic oppression. Besides, there is little payment for the health maintenance that you really are best at. We have been lucky so far to get county money (Revenue Sharing) with minimal hassle and little cooptation (though there is some as we like to keep our tail clean whenever we advocate for change out there in the system). On the other hand, even in our definitely wealthy part of the country, it is difficult to see how our community and patients can support us, for even though they give us some \$25,000 a year in donations, they are really fairly poor and oppressed too. I can get into the idea of righteously having a staff of two people for each job, but even with our relatively low pay scale, it is difficult to imagine where the resources will come from.

Finally, I want to talk about the people out there, the patients, their values and their attitudes. I don't mean to pass the buck, but therein lies a real problem. Our clinic is luckier than most—our patients are more physical and health oriented than the general population, they are also less sick; there is a lot of transience here, but we are more of a community than many other neighborhoods in this city. Nonetheless, on the whole I think our patients prefer convenience to self-concern, prefer acute care when they need it to preventive concern, prefer to use us like a gas station than to pay attention to why we are there and try to help us grow, prefer to spend money on "real doctors" and run to us when it gets too expensive, or run to them when they have a serious problem. Of course we are able to convey our attitudes and values to a few, but the rest not only drain us, they contribute little to the clinic. I think this is the way it is generally in the US and though there are small groups here and there who see through the crack to different, more

human values and habits, they are rare and rarely sufficient to get a place like ours into the self-sufficiency stage. Sometimes I wish we were a church so we would have a more understandable legitimacy to try to get this important message across.

—Jeff Gordon
San Diego, California

I think free clinics and women's health centers are very important and can be very useful and viable alternatives in big city areas where there's room for a wide range of health care set-ups, although they do, as you say, seem to be "threatening to the organized health empire." They give people some kind of choice and the latter provide a large step for liberating women by helping them gain some control over their own bodies. The thing I so like about your article is that your vision is wider than these. You want to provide an alternative system for the care of the whole person for all the people of a whole community.

To me, this humane, cooperative method of delivering health care can eventually spread to hospitals and the rest of the "empire," but must begin in a small community, one in need of medical workers, where (hopefully) comprehensive, preventive care can be offered to, accepted by, and supported by the whole community.

I agree that one should try to avoid volunteerism and/or government or foundation (with a few exceptions) grants. The former is apt to result in too chaotic an organization often weighted down by too much superstructure. And the latter keeps one willy-nilly within the system. But then, of course, comes the huge question of whether one can get enough community support to carry the effort financially. Perhaps, this could be accomplished if one could initially get together enough resources to start on a large enough and competent enough scale that the community would immediately appreciate it and respond to it.

I would like to see such a system concentrate on health care as opposed to disease care; to keep people healthy with their active participation in the process. However, this doesn't obviate disease and emergency care and one would hopefully have some linkup with facilities that provide these. And along these lines, I would like to see this effort located in a state that doesn't prohibit either home deliveries or midwives.

—Jean Williams
Putney, Vermont



It is my belief that you will achieve the greatest successes by going off in a different direction from that supported by traditional medical and dental practices in this country. I think doctors are useless for illnesses; only for treating people who have been injured in accidents they may have some value. I think, even though there is still so little known about preventive medicine via food, you could have great value if you spread the word about the dangers of commonplace "foods" sold in stores throughout the country. Also, people need to be taught simple methods of testing their own bodies so that they can detect incipient problems. It would be great if all people would someday know how to recognize when their bodies are not

quite healthy, how to determine what the problem is, and what foods, or food supplements, to take to correct the problem.

—Sam Goldwasser
San Jose, California

I work as an orderly in a nursing home where physical and emotional neglect of the patient is accepted practice for the sake of profit. I am young (19) and have been told by people (mostly older) that my desire to see a humane type of health care that emphasizes the dignity of the patient is naive and idealistic.

—Jay Paul Thompson
Mt. Vernon, Illinois



I've been involved with health through some research I did on the variety of health helpers for children (from grandma to pediatric specialties of various kinds). I have also worked with several community groups who took on "health" as an issue, and in general, wanted to deal with it non-medically. Thus, for example, they looked at and monkeyed around with traffic in order to deal with child-health, or they worked on solar-heated greenhouses in order to deal with nutrition, etc. These kinds of responses are both more direct in terms of the determinants of "ill health," and also empowering for the people involved. In a sense, my primary concern as I read through your article was along these lines. The imagery (and possibly structure) that is implied by "consumer," "producer," etc. tends to worry me. It worries me in that it tends to imply "health" is a commodity, rather than a process; that it can be "produced" in a market or industrial sense; and so on.

It is important to note that learning how to consume modern medicine, becoming a professionalized client, may not improve one's health. It may indeed work against it, especially to the extent that acceptance of modern medicine's theories of causation mystifies and distorts. The most important sources of one's health are peripheral (and becoming more so) to the operant theories. Thus, being treated for a condition but not being told how it really develops or could be fought is producing false consciousness. Professionalized clients, who come to believe in their "services" rather than their own resources, are both unable to defend their health in the future and unable to go anywhere but back to their servicer if they have trouble. Medical professionals complain a lot among themselves about how they really have no control over the processes producing "sickness" and death, but they do not pass this on to their clients. Indeed they rarely examine the negative side effects of much of what they do. Professionalized clients are easier for the system to "manage" and "serve."

Just as the "ideology of service" suggested above can be used strategically to manage and control clients by doing things "in their own interest," so too can the alleged benefits of the para-professional movement and efforts at community control be deceptive. Para-professionals, for instance, become the feeders or the front line of the professional system, offering the same theories and expectations. The idea of justifying programs by means of lay participation, when "lay"

means clients who've been professionalized, will enhance the growth of professional service and provide it to the many who felt "left out" by not having it sooner. With what result?

—Tom Dewar
Minneapolis, Minnesota

I heartily agree with you that our health care situation is a perfect microcosm of the repressive social relationships that characterize our society as a whole. I also agree with your contention... that our remarkably effective medical technology is the primary legitimating source of the exploitation that now occurs in medical practice. Indeed, modern science and technique in general command respect for authority much better than any traditional ideology ever has. The undemocratic effects of purely technical solutions to practical problems can be seen on several levels in the health care field, from personnel management to the actual "delivery" of health care to the patient... We can pluck medical technique out of its present practical context of authoritarian social relations and situate it in a new practical abode of democratic social relations. Medical technique can thus retain its effectiveness without being exploited.

This possibility of preserving genuine medical technique in a new, democratic social situation raises another reservation I have about your plans. Your creation *ex nihilo* of a democratic health care community in the idyllic countryside leaves many skilled urban health care workers, not to mention their urban patients, in the lurch. "Living the revolution now" for most of us can only mean living it right where we are, not in a romance or a pastoral myth. I work in a small community hospital, but we experience many of the problems you talk about. I find most hospital workers to be honest, sincere persons who don't need to be enlightened about exploitation, and who could utilize a vast technical potential to satisfy human needs by democratizing the institutions in which they now work...

We need to start reaching a wider audience with our ideals. There is much potential to work with, right where we are. Hospitals, for example, claim to be "non-profit" organizations: yet each year they contribute millions of dollars in profits to the monopolistic food, petroleum, and pharmaceutical industries. Last summer, hospital administrators across the country urged workers to use political power to remove price controls on hospital care, so that hospitals could peacefully coexist with the other, de-controlled sectors of the economy. Higher wages were offered the hospital worker as a "reward" for his [sic] vote, and many hospitals were saved from union organizing in the process. What if hospital workers had instead used their political power to control prices in the rest of the economy, converting its profits into better wages for themselves and lower costs for their patients?

—Ken Lambert
Lewisburg, Penn.

When somebody requires emergency care in this area it takes (at minimum) 45 minutes for an ambulance to arrive and about the same amount of time for it to reach the hospital. Adults and children die before they reach the hospital. The nutritional requirements and awareness in this area is often meager (one of my students had raw, thawed frozen pizza as a holiday meal since she has no stove at home). Like most other rural areas we need accessible health care facilities. Many of the physicians who serve this area are dying or moving away.

—Mary Lou Kearns
Middlefield, Mass.

In your listing of reasons for being rural, I missed any reference to a) the political-economic reasons for an

independent food base, b) the importance of good food for health, including the whole process of growing and the greater values of doing health education with food rather than literature about food. The task of showing the radical importance of health action is a large one; easier at the level of challenging multinational pharmaceuticals and the "medical" establishment than at the grassroot home level of healing in the sense of wholeness, love and community.

—Bill Curry
Dale Dewar
Saskatoon, Sask.

I want to write to tell you about the Green Mountain Health Center, 36 High St., Brattleboro, Vt. This is a community health center serving Brattleboro, Putney and surrounding towns. The area has a very large youth culture which, along with a number of older members of the population, forms a broad base of support. Essentially we are a struggling collective with primary emphasis on patient education, preventive medicine and self-health. Various sub-groups are into non-western alternatives, women's health problems, etc. Main activities include 1) Twice weekly clinics (using our own trained paramedics, standard treatments for common ailments and volunteer doctors); 2) Screening clinics (aimed mainly at the older population) for breast cancer, breast self-exam teaching, free PAP smears, hypertension screening and referral etc.; and 3) Special Education Programs: a community college course, self examination workshops at the women's weekend, and whatever else pops up.

We started as a "free clinic," now far past that. No longer free: we support the operation by patient payments (\$ or services), contributions, gifts from church groups, a slice of the town budget (our getting the selectmen's support was a big victory), various public and private grants.

Lest this all sounds too pat, let me emphasize how fluid the operation is, we are whatever the community of workers is and that seems to be changing from the above to a more, dare I say—"radical" consensus. (Some things are fixed: our interest in helping people to learn about their bodies and the commitment to low cost high quality care.) It seems like we are about 90% of the theoretical model you described and some folks around are probably interested in becoming the rest.

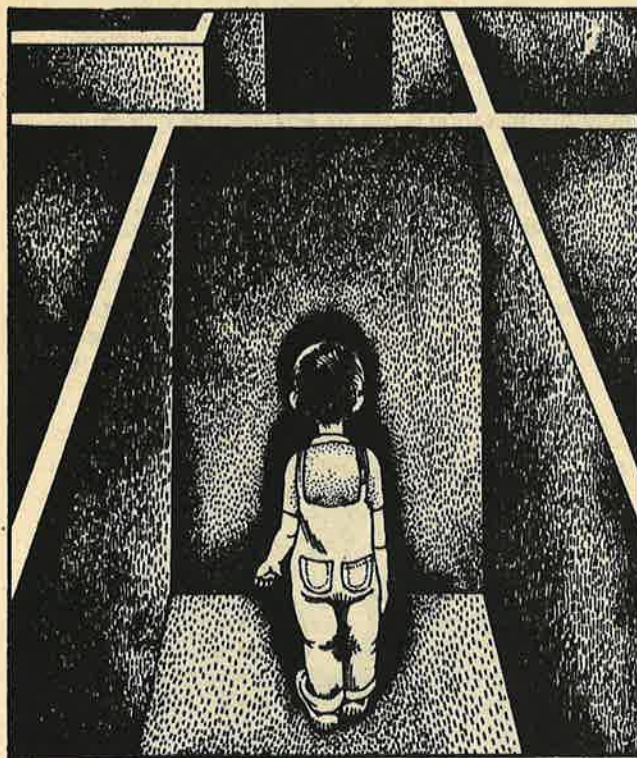
—"Dr. Ben Casey"
Brattleboro, Vt.



Poster by Womens Graphics Collective/Chicago Womens Liberation Union.

A MEETING IN MEXICO CITY

by FRED HIRSCH



Cartoon from TCB/CPF.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) came through its Eleventh Triennial Congress without an open fracture, but with a series of lightly patched cracks. The meeting drew to a close after eight days, a minimum of 20 pounds of paper per delegate, a virtual absence of open disagreement

Fred Hirsch is living in Mexico doing research on the influence and penetration of the AFL-CIO in the labor movements of Latin America.

and a score of unanimous, bored votes of conformity.

The managers of the Congress, mainly Otto Kersten, General Secretary, guided the members smoothly over a variety of important issues. They approved lengthy charters of generalized goals toward Legislative Control of Multinational Corporations, Economic Security and Social Justice, Human and Trade Union Rights, the Rights of Women Workers, Rights of Young Workers, and on Industrial Democracy. The deep contradictions among the delegates remained below the surface even as they dealt with such charged issues as Chile, Spain, Portugal and the Mid-East.

Formed in 1949, the ICFTU was a splinter group that broke away from the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), then a four year old organization of unions from east to west, reflecting the anti-fascist unity of World War II. The breakaway was led by US unions not long after the term "iron curtain" had become popular and the Cold War shivers had frozen relations with the Soviets.

Many changes have taken place since that time, but the ICFTU, with 52,000,000 members in 119 organizations in 88 countries, now led by West Europeans, is still second in size to the WFTU. Finding increased problems that cross national and ideological frontiers, the European unions have largely veered away from Cold War concepts. Their experience in WWII has made them partisans of detente, to the point that they have even broken ICFTU guidelines, building contacts with left unions. This has resulted in a pullout from the ICFTU by an angry George Meany and the AFL-CIO, and led to the formation of the European Trade Union Congress (ETUC), open to both "free" and leftist unions. These developments make the British TUC, with 10 million members, the most powerful single group in the ICFTU.

With a powerful rank and file tradition and an effective shop steward system, the British union leadership holds very close to the expressed needs of the members at the point of production. British leaders in the Mexico Congress joked bitterly about the "insanity" of the AFL-CIO in "stoking up the Cold War." They sent a fraternal delegate to Meany's recent convention in San Francisco to give a strong pitch for peace as a reverse taste of AFL-CIO medicine. Rather than celebrate Solzhenitzin, the British have received union delegations from the USSR and have signed agreements for more exchanges and cooperation. They have also spearheaded worldwide labor solidarity in the face of fascism in Chile, Spain and South Africa.

Offsetting the leftward thrust of the TUC in the ICFTU, we find the German DGB and some of the International Trade Secretariats (ITS). Many ITS operations rely heavily on US State Department funds channelled through AFL-CIO unions. The ITSs, like a good number of Third World union leaders, who are trained and sustained by a combination of AFL-CIO/State Department/multinational corporate programs, tend to stay conservatively close to the paymasters' politics. Despite such influences, the ICFTU has raised a "radical" banner occasionally in its Congress.

Facing massive unemployment figures and the challenge of multinational corporate power to already deteriorated wages, working conditions and living standards, ICFTU repeatedly calls for worldwide labor unity. Indeed, Otto Kersten has talks going with the Christian oriented World Confederation of Labor (WCL) which may unite the two groups. WCL and ICFTU have had sharp conflicts in such places as Latin America over the latter's regional subservience to Washington financed programs and policies. Also, for the first time in its 26 years, ICFTU invited observers from the WFTU to its Congress. Still, Kersten

refused to allow delegates to hear a letter from WFTU calling for efforts "to come to an understanding on a common minimum programme."

The German DGB always pressures for the re-affiliation of the AFL-CIO. Kersten says ICFTU needs AFL-CIO help because 70% of the multinational corporations are between Boston and Chicago." There are signs that George Meany too, is looking for a better international linkup. Many ICFTU delegates were asked to come to Washington "as long as they were in the Western Hemisphere neighborhood." Surprisingly, quite a few groups, notably the British TUC, turned down the invitation.

Time and the increasing need of ICFTU to meet real world problems makes it all the more difficult for the AFL-CIO to enter the world league without embarrassment. This was the first ICFTU Congress to hear an open attack on George Meany. British delegate, C.T.H. Plant railed against Meany's "isolationist... stop the world, I want to get off" policy. He linked Meany's policy with that of Gerald Ford and said: "The angry men of the AFL-CIO who smart with resentment about the fact that the world is changing and they can't stop it, should reconsider their attitude before it is too late."

Just how late it has gotten for the AFL-CIO may be judged by comparing what TUC Secretary Len Murray calls "Meany's policy of disaster... creating conditions that can lead to war," with the resolves voted by ICFTU, attacking "escalation of military expenditure" as a "threat to world peace," and demanding "work towards general and complete disarmament." While Meany calls for increased levels of arms spending and is a vanguard defender of capitalism, ICFTU takes another approach. They cite the failure of "the capitalistic and laissez-faire nature of the system" which has "favored the strong over the weak," increased the income gap and "created conditions in which the multinational companies could expand uncontrolably... The present system no longer adequately protects or promotes the interest of workpeople in any state, be it rich or poor." ICFTU says the "basic interest of trade union is to secure a more just society... not just to make an existing economic system work a little more smoothly."

J.H. Pollydore, of Guyana, was unusually clear. Even more unusually, his remarks were greeted warmly by the Congress. He said that in his country they "are trying to develop an ideology fitting to our economic problems... In 1957 our Constitution was suspended because we were flirting with Communism. Well we are flirting with Communism again and we hope this does not mean we will be disowned, and that we can count on the ICFTU if we call for your assistance." He described his country and unions as increasing their "ties with Communist countries," saying "We will have greater contacts in Cuba where there is a need for workers, where they have rid themselves of illiteracy, and where there is great satisfaction among the people." Calmly and without hesitation, Pollydore declared "Guyana has taken the road toward socialism... Our position is based on the Marxist-Leninist philosophy."

The words of Pekka Oivio, leader of the Finnish delegation found a warm applause, referring to parallel and joint action of the ICFTU and the WFTU regarding Chile, Spain and South Africa. He spoke of "the great success of a qualitatively new expression of international solidarity and of the will and ability to act... Organizations that represent different outlooks and tendencies have been able to build common fronts where the violations of human and trade union rights have been most blatant."

The convention action of the AFL-CIO on Chile is at best hypocritical and a bit hollow when compared

to the ICFTU. Meany put through a resolution which, although it opposes the excesses of the Pinochet government, complains that "free trade unionists did not mourn the departure of the Marxist regime in Chile." He also greeted two well known trade union spokesmen for the Junta as observers to the convention, Ernesto Vogel and Eduardo Rios. Striking out quite differently, ICFTU sent a lightning delegation to Chile, during the Congress. They demanded the release of political prisoners and tried to make arrangements to send a food ship to feed the families of Junta victims.

ICFTU also invited Luis Meneses, Secretary General of Chile's outlawed CUT, the labor backbone of Allende's Popular Unity, as a special observer in the Congress. Meneses called for a worldwide boycott of goods to and from Chile. ICFTU revised its draft resolution, making a boycott the main point. In his speech, Meneses declared: "The Chilean trade union movement, faithful to its profound concepts and principles of Proletarian Internationalism (his caps.), rejoices with the victories won by the people of Indochina, Greece and Portugal, and stands in solidarity with the people and especially the workers who have fought so well and so hard against Imperialism, neocolonialism and dependency... We will defeat fascism with the united action of the trade union movement and, with the power of the proletariat, we will impose Liberty, Justice and Peace." ICFTU rewarded the message by unanimously voting to form "an ICFTU-CUT Coordination Committee... to give all possible moral and material support to CUT for the development of strong, free and effective trade unions in Chile."

One area in which ICFTU has been accused of questionable contacts with the US government is in ORIT, its Interamerican Regional Organization. Swedish delegates in the Congress who refused to allow their names to be used, criticized ORIT for its domination by the AFL-CIO, in violation of the ICFTU Constitution, and for ORIT's failure to account for funds adequately. In a secret document that was not released to the Congress, ORIT is dealt with in very harsh terms. A working party of ICFTU Executive Board members has met to begin altering ORIT along "regional, structural, constitutional, ideological and organizational lines." Even Julio Etcheverry, leader of ORIT, admits "We will have a meeting soon in Caracas to decide whether or not to continue as a Regional Organization of ICFTU."

It will take some decisive and intelligent maneuvering by General Secretary Otto Kersten to keep a semblance of unity. If ICFTU can't resolve its contradictions, the WFTU, with more than 200 million members in 93 countries, will be waiting for the disaffiliates with open arms.

In its General Council meeting last month, the WFTU dealt with the very same challenges to working people as did the ICFTU. The difference is basically that WFTU includes all unions, mainly leftist unions and those in socialist countries. Instead of walking softly toward legislative negotiations with governments and international organisms, the WFTU demands "a policy of resolute action aimed at supporting worker and people's struggles for full political and economic independence and the establishment of a new world economic order." They top that off with a plea for formation of "an international organization that would include all labor unions throughout the world."

If ICFTU can fulfill some of its strong resolutions for economic justice and against multinational corporate control and fascism, it can remain a contender in the complex international arena. But it could hit the canvas if it spends the coming rounds waving olive branches at George Meany.

FORMULA for UNDER- DEVELOPMENT

DEBORAH HUNTINGTON

Corporate control of food production and distribution is an ever present factor in world hunger. Food is produced for profit, not for human needs—or wants—as seen by the proliferation of artificial foods in our supermarkets. Even more disturbing is the fact that similar unnecessary, unhealthy food is exported abroad, often without concern for the nutritional and socio-economic results. Such is the case with commercial baby formula.

Due to the rapid decline in the American birth rate over the past decade, and to the return to breast-feeding by many American mothers, the domestic market for commercial infant formula has not expanded at the rate desired by the corporations. The result has been a massive promotional campaign launched by the major producers and directed toward undermining the cultural and social values in third world areas. In order to create and supply foreign markets, this high powered campaign (posters, billboards, radio) was designed to convince people that "West is best." Breast feeding is portrayed as uncivilized and archaic. The companies publish "educational" literature and hold workshops on infant nutritional needs. . . generally not even mentioning breast feeding as an option.

The rewards of the corporate campaigns were noted in *The New York Times* last September. For the past two years, Abbott Laboratories' multinational pharmaceutical division, Ross Laboratories (SIMILAC, ISOMIL), has had a 30% increase in foreign sales as compared with a 10-12% yearly increase in domestic sales. American Home Products' Wyeth Labs (SNA, S-26) had sales worth \$60 million last year; Bristol Myers (Mead Johnson Labs) showed great profits, and the Swiss-based Nestle Corporation, which dominates 35-40% of the world baby food market, had sales of \$300 million in 1974. This expansion may be healthy for the industries, but proves to be a formula for malnutrition for the children.

The change from breast feeding to commercial feeding is detrimental for both economic and hygienic reasons. A mother suffering from all but severe malnutrition is capable of nursing her child for

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at least the first six months. Her milk, aside from being inexpensive and sanitary, provides the child with the necessary antibodies for immunization. Commercial formula is usually sold as a powder to be mixed with water, and the bottles and nipples require sterilization. Pure water, electricity, refrigeration and storage space are luxuries for most third world families. Few households can afford more than one baby bottle. The bottles are frequently contaminated; the expensive formulas are watered down so they will last longer—sometimes to one fifth of their original strength—and the child often suffers from diarrhea or gastritis. Severe malnutrition and death may result. According to a 1974 study conducted in Chile, the number of children who died from malnutrition was three times higher among bottle fed babies than among breast fed babies of the same age group. The drain on family economic resources is equally appalling: a study in Jamaica revealed that 90% of the mothers in Kingston started bottle feeding their babies before they were six months old. Based on 1970 prices, it costs \$73 to feed a child formula during the first six months. In 1972, 40% of the Jamaicans earned less than \$11 a week. Similarly, in Nigeria the cost of bottle-feeding a three month old infant amounts to more than 30% of the average Nigerian wage.

Corporations associate their names with the public health industry, and this identification is more than incidental. . . Corporate promotional activity has supplied doctors with formula-prescription forms that include the hospital's name and the company's directions. Corporate-salaried "milk-nurses"—usually registered nurses employed by companies—visit new mothers in the maternity wards, and by means of (unexplained) access to government and hospital maternity records, visit families in their homes. They counsel mothers on infant feeding, leaving samples and brochures in their hands. The nurses' position as health workers has often obscured the fact that they are first and foremost corporate representatives.

Growing criticism of these practices by such groups as the Consumers' Union, the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, and the UN Protein Advisory group, has led to several concessions by some of the companies. Milk-nurses are now identified by the company logo on their uniforms; some formula packages now state "breast-feeding is the preferred method"; and the companies presently advocate a mixed feeding, part natural, part commercial.

These measures do not undo the past damage, and in most cases perpetuate it. Mixed feeding ultimately results in dependency of commercial formula, because the less frequently a child nurses, the less milk is produced by the mother. These concessions must not obscure the fundamental issue of economic and cultural imperialism. Values which support consumption patterns economically unfeasible and nutritionally unsound are exploitive. As we become increasingly aware of the world hunger situation it becomes evident that examples such as the above are by no means unique. When corporations will not take responsibility for their actions, governments must regulate their activities. And when governments become weaker than the corporations, the initiative and authority lies with the people. We can begin by demanding changes in corporate production and distribution, and back up this demand by boycotting the goods that they produce and export.

An Open Letter to American GI's in South Korea and the Philippines

Thirteen years ago, as a soldier in South Vietnam, I arrived with ambitions to go to West Point and become the world's youngest five-star general. Ten months later I left our late exotic Southeast Asian "vacation land," an adopted Vietnamese, the direction of my life distracted 180 degrees.

One morning (for instance), a "friendly" US-armed "ally" in downtown Saigon started to shoot me and two buddies for trying to visit some friends living on the other side of "his" barbed wire. Martial law in 1963 South Vietnam, 1500 GIs sourly discovered, unmasked one of the most brutal police states of the decade.

Several million casualties (including nearly three million discarded US Vietnam war veterans), \$150-billion and a dozen years' civil strife in America later, our government's effort to maintain that martial law and its secret-police state is a nightmare which only ended, at last, this past spring.

Many of you recently stationed in south Korea and the Philippines have seen the face of martial law—declared in early fall 1972 in both places—that tourist advertisements and recruiting posters seldom describe. Some of you already have protested to our government some of what you have seen: and suffered some consequences for it.

I want to join your outrage. No one enlisted in the US military for the adventure, MOS or on-the-job-training of "propping up police states," protecting torture—of priests, poets, political opponents—then parading and saluting the torturers. Yet that, 365 days of a year, is what you do.

When the GIs and veterans of Vietnam realized our real role, the war we were tricked into providing was doomed. Self-organizations like Vietnam Veterans Against the War and many others—as well as some 500,000 "deserters" (or self-retired veterans) and the staffs of some 144 "underground" GI newspapers—brought more troops home alive from that insane blood bath than did all the promises of two run out of office Presidents. The pressures of the American public's growing peace movement brought home the rest, flags still flying.

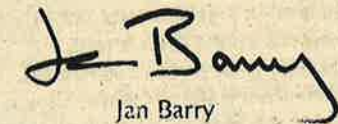
It is time—long past time—we brought all the troops, bombs, bombers and bullets home from south Korea and the Philippines, too.

Even should we miraculously blunder and avoid another murderous colonial war in either old battle zone, we cannot continue as the "green machine" palace guard for those twin warlords, Marcos and Park.

Our first President, as you may have seen on a barracks poster, put it pretty well: "When you became a soldier, you did not stop being a citizen."

Two hundred years ago, a lot of citizens in our country rebelled in order to tell an English king that they would rather die free than remain a foreign colony. Today, other patriots are risking their lives in south Korea and the Philippines to tell us "green-sleeves" what our ancestors once told the redcoats.

Please join me and many hundreds and thousands of others in America and around the world in an American revolution bicentennial campaign to bring the troops home from our Asian empire.


Jan Barry

Jan Barry was formerly class of '68 US Military Academy; president, VVAW '67-'71; coeditor Winning Hearts & Minds: War Poems by Vietnam Veterans.

could be imposed on the people of Northern Ireland. What doubts existed were fully reinforced when Northern Ireland Protestants staged a 100% successful general strike, closing down all community services and resources (including petrol and other energy sources) in the summer of 1974.

In this atmosphere the "socialist" government of Harold Wilson began to panic over the possible disintegration of public support for the war effort, and worse yet of the army itself. Military, political and cultural ties had forced the British elite to study the collapse of American support for the war in SE Asia and of the army itself. The government decided to rally support and crush the opposition with widespread arrests and a show trial.

First, Pat Arrowsmith—a long time peace activist with many ties to Wilson's Labour Party—was arrested and imprisoned under the Incitement to Disaffection Act of 1934. The act was seen as so threatening to civil liberties when it was first introduced that it was barely adopted by Parliament. And when it was adopted, it spawned the creation of the National Council for Civil Liberties, the British cousin of the American Civil Liberties Union. Pat was sentenced to two years, but was released after nine months in prison when her conviction was overturned on the basis of technicalities. The government then prepared its hoped for *coup d'grace*, the arrest of its pacifist opposition in its entirety.

There were late night knocks on doors as police raided homes and offices. They took names. They took piles of literature including hundreds of copies of the offending leaflets. And they took people for interrogation. Fourteen people, three women and 11 men, were arrested for possessing or distributing the leaflet. Some were charged with the "crime" of

JUSTICE DEPT. STRIKES OUT continued from page 7.

and punitive damages of \$1,000,000 each, and ask for an investigation of whether criminal charges should be brought against these officials and against the prosecution witnesses who purjured themselves during the 1973 trial.

The conspiracy case and the recent charges are not the full history of Scott Camil's harassment by the government. In January, 1972, he was arrested on kidnapping charges. The state attorney told the press that he had been on an extension when Camil made a ransom demand to his alleged victims' employer. Within hours the employer flatly denied that such a conversation had taken place. The charges were dropped. The following month he was busted on six drug counts. Four were dropped before trial and he was acquitted on the other two. Then in the summer of 1972 he and the seven others were indicted for conspiring to violently disrupt the Republican National Convention in Miami Beach. All eight were acquitted in August, 1973, after the jury deliberated only three hours on a complicated, 18-count indictment.

Nor have all the attacks been in the courtroom. Twice, his house has been burglarized. While he was preparing his defense for the first set of drug charges, the office of his attorney, Carol Scott, was burglarized. Early in the summer of 1975, the home of attorney Larry Turner's law clerk was ransacked. In each case, in Plumber style, valuable items were ignored, but legal papers and notes for Camil's defense were taken, as well as notes for a book he is writing about the conspiracy trial. There is also the case of Larry Turner's briefcase disappearing for a while on a flight to Gainesville in 1973, a briefcase containing, of

possessing only one copy of the leaflet. Others were charged with distributing it. All were charged under the Incitement to Disaffection Act and John Hyatt and Gwen Williams were additionally charged under the Army Act for helping deserters flee to Sweden. When the 14 appeared for arraignment, they expected the most they could get would be two years. But the government surprised them and changed the charges to conspiracy, which carries *indefinite* imprisonment, a day to life.

If the campaign had been something of a rag tag affair up to that point, it became a mass movement in its wake. People who had been vaguely sympathetic reprinted the leaflet and disseminated it throughout Britain. They handed it to all in sight: soldiers and civilians when soldiers could not be easily found.

The 14 are still on trial, and will be for at least a month as they present their defense and the jury goes out to deliberate. In their defense they will be talking about Nuremberg and individual responsibility, the inherent limitations and faults of the government's Northern Ireland policy, the rights of soldiers to speak and organize, and the rights of civilians to communicate with Her Majesty's Forces.

On September 29, the day the trial began, demonstrations of support were held outside British consulates in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Philadelphia and New York. Letters have been written to British government officials protesting the continued war in Northern Ireland and the wide-scale repression in this "Western Democracy." Statements have been published, and some people are writing about or talking about the case and its implications for the future of democracy in Britain, Europe and the West. The results of such work are always indefinite, but a recent letter from John Hyatt indicated that support from all over the world has forced the government to refrain from making even more arrests.

course, Camil defense papers. And the two FBI agents, one admittedly an electronic monitoring specialist, found in a utility closet adjacent to the defense conference room during the trial of the Eight, heavily equipped.

And even when these cases are won, we still lose. Most of the last three years of Scott Camil's life have been spent defending himself. And for each such defence, the cost in energy, time and money is huge.

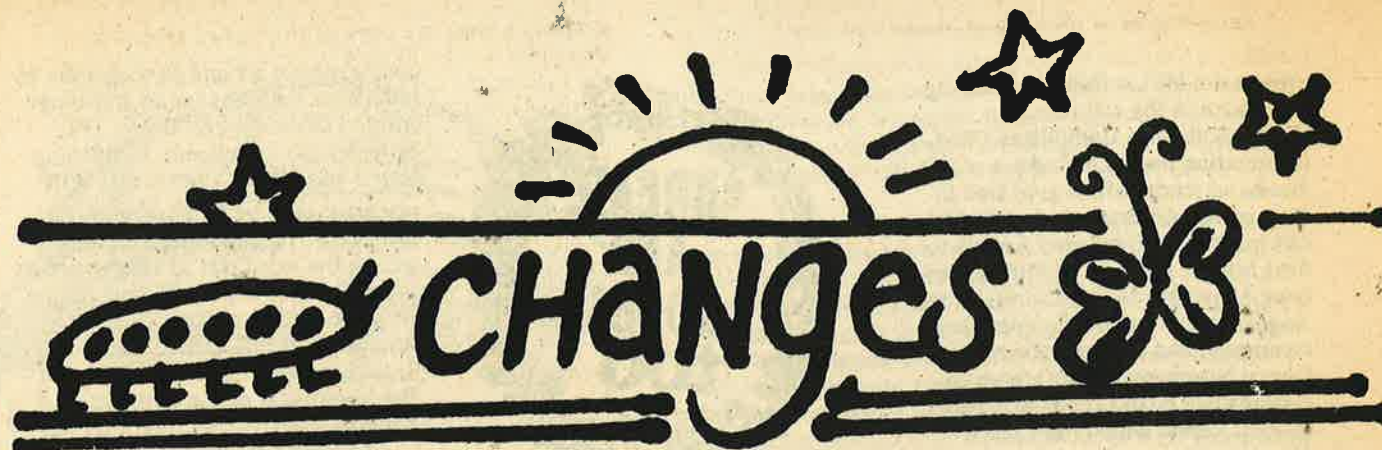
The choice of cocaine dealing for an accusation can hardly be regarded as accidental. Remember how much support and sympathy for Abbie Hoffman evaporated when the specter of the dread cocaine was raised? The same happened here. I called the VVAW office in Oakland after hearing of the shooting. Not interested, VVAW policy is not to get involved in drug cases.

The above is not meant as an attack on Oakland VVAW, but rather as a demonstration of how we let ourselves be smokescreened away from the true issues by emotional triggers.

Scott's troubles are not over, even though his acquittal was a very important victory. The IRS promptly put a freeze on his bail money for taxes allegedly owed, even though the money is not even Scott's. Scott told me, "We're \$23,000 in debt down here." Maybe even more sobering is the comment of Mike Oliver of San Francisco's Swords to Plowshares project, who put up most of the bail: "The trouble is, Scott knows this isn't the last time."

CONTACT

Scott Camil, Larry Taylor and the defense committee can be reached at PO Box 13179, University Station, Gainesville, FL 32604.



HURRICANE CARTER TO APPEAL FOR NEW TRIAL

Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and his co-defendant, John Artis, moved one step closer to a new trial in mid-November when the New Jersey State Supreme Court decided to hear their appeal. Carter and Artis were convicted in 1967 on three counts of murder based on testimony from two witnesses who have since admitted that they lied for the prosecution against each of them.

"The State Supreme Court will hear the appeal for a new trial in early January," explained Stu Ball, a member of the legal team defending Carter and Artis, "and probably rule on the case by March." In the meantime, various petitions and reports are on the desk of New Jersey Governor Brendan Byrne asking that a pardon be granted the two black men.

Over a year ago, on October 29, 1974, both Alfred Bello and Arthur Dexter Bradley, the only witnesses against Artis and Carter, recanted their testimony. "I've been living with that trial testimony for eight years," said Bello, "and it was getting to me." Bello also said that he was in Passaic County Jail when police learned that he decided to recant and as a threat "I had ribs broken by the police."

A check of local hospital records by Newark *Star-Ledger* reporter Herb Jaffe found that Bello was brought in by county jail officials for emergency treatment twice, several weeks apart, in the months preceding his recantation. After being beaten the first time, Bello said one officer told him, "maybe you'd better think whether you want to recant or not Judge Samuel A. Lerner, who heard the original triple murder trial, refused to grant a new trial based on the recantations. Though he had believed Bello when he testified against Artis and Carter, Judge Lerner dismissed the motion for a new trial

saying, "His extensive criminal record hardly adds to his trustworthiness as a witness." Lerner added that "The court finds that Bello's recantation is simply unbelievable."

In the year since Bello and Bradley admitted they had lied under police pressure during the trial, much attention has focused on the case. In the next few months the campaign to free Carter and Artis will continue as the Supreme Court considers a new trial and Governor Byrne rules on the pardon.

Carter has made it clear, though, that his case will not end if he is freed. "It is the racist system that put me in this jail," Carter said in a recent interview. "I certainly wasn't the first and, until some things change in this country, I won't be the last. How many Rubin Carters are rotting away in America's prisons?" —LNS

S-1 IN ALBUQUERQUE

A noontime rally in opposition to Senate Bill S-1 drew 500 people to the Civic Plaza in downtown Albuquerque Oct. 29. The rally was sponsored by the Albuquerque Coalition to Stop Senate Bill S-1.

A University of New Mexico law student, speaking at the rally, cited provisions of the bill that would open the door for the authorities to ban this very kind of rally and arrest her for speaking. "We should never ever let bills like this cow us," she said. A feminist speaker representing a women's contingent called the bill "totally unacceptable."

Local pressure from the state American Civil Liberties Union and Public Interest Research Group (PIRG) recently caused New Mexico Sen. Peter Domenici (R) and Rep. Manuel Lujan (R) to come out against the bill, according to a PIRG spokesperson. —The Guardian

ASK US TO PROVE ITS RESOLUTION IS NOT PHONY

The National Council for Universal Unconditional Amnesty on November 13 urged that the US prove its UN draft resolution for amnesty by all nations is not mere hypocrisy, by granting amnesty here at home to Vietnam war resisters.

In wires to Ambassador Moynihan and President Ford, NCUUA National Coordinator Irma Zigas said: "We hope the US would set the first example by granting unconditional amnesty to a million Americans who now suffer the legal and social consequences of their opposition to the US Government's official policies in Southeast Asia."

The Government's UN resolution was initiated to counter a resolution passed by the General Assembly condemning Zionism as a form of racism. It has been greeted with considerable skepticism both here and abroad in light of America's consistent support of military dictatorships and Fascist regimes (particularly Chile) where political imprisonment, not to speak of torture and murder, are an integral part of the system. —Jim Peck

MPLA SUPPORT GROUP FORMED IN NYC

A committee in support of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) has recently been formed in New York City to provide weekly, up-to-date information on the current developments in Angola.

"This is a critical time for the future of Angola," wrote the MPLA Solidarity Committee in their introductory letter. Since Angola gained independence from Portugal on November 11, Western backed forces have been making rapid advances to prevent the

progressive MPLA from maintaining its control in the country.

The Solidarity Committee's first information packet includes a recent, first-hand report which appeared in the *London Observer* on South African troops which invaded Angola to fight MPLA; the bulk of MPLA President Agostinho Neto's address to the Angolan people at the independence ceremony; and the text of a report from a November 9 Conference of Nationalist Organizations of Portuguese Colonies which took place in Mozambique.

"Our purpose is to support the MPLA by spotlighting the military and political developments in Angola and exposing the escalation of US intervention. We see this as a critical first step in building solidarity between the people of the United States and the people of Angola in their common fight against exploitation and US imperialism.

To receive the MPLA Solidarity Committee's material, write to them at 825 West End Avenue, Apt. 14-F, New York, NY 10025. —LNS

EVENTS

NYC—Rally Against Senate Bill S-1. Noon, Wed., Dec. 3 Foley Square (corner of Pearl & Lafayette Sts.). Sponsored by the NY Coalition to Defeat S-1, 346 West 20th St., NY, NY 10011.

BROOKLYN—Brooklyn WRL study-action group on nonviolent strategy and tactics continues Dec. 4, 8 pm. 55 Pineapple St., Apt. 1D. (856-5069 or 596-9433)

BOSTON—Congressman Michael Harrington speaks on "The CIA and American Freedom" at the Community Church of Boston, Morse Auditorium, 602 Commonwealth Ave., Sun., Nov. 30 at 11 am.

CAMBRIDGE—The Black Rose/Black Circles Lectures will be presenting Sylvia Kashdan, speaking on "Libertarian tradition in Cuba," Friday night, Dec. 5, 8 pm at MIT Bldg. 9, Rm. 150, located at 77 Mass. Ave.

MONTGOMERY—"The Struggle Continues," 20th anniversary of the non-violent movement (Montgomery bus boycott), Dec. 5-7. Speakers include Coretta King, Dick Gregory, Julian Bond, others. Contact SCLC, 334 Auburn Ave. NE, Atlanta, GA 30303 (404) 522-1420.



We've got a lot of things going for us here in America that you won't find in too many other countries. For instance, thanks to our free enterprise system, people like Hillcrest Publications are allowed to make a buck publishing pamphlets like "How to Kill" by one John Minnery. In Hillcrest's most recent catalog, the description of "How to Kill" says that it's a book "for the assassin rather than the defensive combatant. . . . It's also perfect if you are a member of a police SWAT squad. . . . heavy on knife work and hatchets but is also very thorough on pipe weapons. . . . good for the price." They also list books on how to make do it yourself bombs, such as *The Poor Man's James Bond*, which tells you how to make one or two ounces of nitroglycerin, mercury fulminate, TNT, tetryl and picric acid. Most of the stuff is reprints from army training manuals. If you don't believe me, write for your own catalog at PO Box 395, McDonald, Ohio 44437. You'll get an idea of exactly how heavily armed the right wing in this country really is, and, indeed, how crazy it is. Dangerous kind of crazy. . . . *Seven Days*, the fledgling weekly leftist newsmagazine, has preview edition number four ready for your perusal. The cover story is on Portugal, and the other stories in this issue, on bussing, Pat Swinton, and the New York bankruptcy round out an issue with a lot of good political analysis combined with sharp writing and good layout. They're going to try to do a total of ten preview editions before going weekly, so if you'd like to receive the next six, send \$6 to *Seven Days*, 353 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016. If you'd just like to check out this issue, send 'em a buck. . . . The East River Anthology, an alternative Press, is collecting

poetry, prose, art and photography by Indochina Veterans for an anthology entitled *Demilitarized Zones*. It's designed as a companion to *Winning Hearts and Minds*, a book that WIN readers should be familiar with. The authors are having some trouble getting the word out to veteran artists and writers, so if you are one, or know one, contact East River Anthology, at 208 Dean Street, Brooklyn, New York 11217. . . . The latest issue of the *Catholic Agitator* (605 North Cummings St., Los Angeles, CA 90033), contains a history of the Catholic Worker movement. It makes for some interesting reading. . . . People out on the west coast organizing against the Trident submarine have put together a highly informative pamphlet on that subject, describing exactly what the Trident project is, its environmental impact, and the history of political opposition to the project. Suggested donation for the piece is 25¢, and it's available from the Pacific Life Community, c/o 331 17th East, Seattle, Wa. 98112. . . . If you're interested in reading up on political assassinations in the US for the last fifteen years, you should utilize the *Assassination Resource List*. It's available from the Assassination Information Bureau, 63 Inman Street, Cambridge, MA 02139. . . . Senate Joint Resolution 107 is one that you probably haven't heard much about, but if you are concerned about the nature of US imperialism in the Pacific, you should be conscious of it. SJ 107 would provide for the dismemberment of Micronesia by creating a Northern Marianas Commonwealth, thus insuring almost perpetual colonial status for a politically weakened Micronesia. At present, the bill is stalled in Congress. To make sure it stays that way, you should write your US senator today (if you happen to be in a part of the American empire that allows for US senators—forget it if you're in Micronesia, Puerto Rico, the Panama Canal Zone, or Washington, DC) asking him to urge that public hearings be held in all parts of Micronesia so that the people affected can be heard. If you'd like to learn more about another alternative for Micronesia independence, you should contact the *Micronesia Independence Support Committee*, 1212 University Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii 96814. . . . That's it for now. If you'd like something included in this column, scoot it along to Bread and Roses too, 1724 20th Street NW, Washington, DC 20009.

—Brian Doherty



THE UNDERGROUND WOMAN Kay Boyle / Doubleday / 1974 / \$6.95

The real Gift of Freedom is a pair of shears sharp enough to cut the umbilical cord that binds us to our parents and our children. If such shears exist, one might think that it would be Kay Boyle who would possess the design for them. But alas, for all her compassion, erudition, and wisdom, she too expresses the yearnings of less sophisticated mothers and daughters who struggle for an independence they can never achieve.

In *The Underground Woman*, Kay Boyle tackles this problem of parent-child interdependence, using characters whose activities and commitments are as contemporary as their feelings are traditional. The book opens as Athena, a middle-aged mother of three daughters, is being arrested for blocking an induction center. A late-blooming activist, she nonetheless always had the moral and political feelings that finally led to her act of civil disobedience. While only one daughter can fully sympathize with Athena's action, another does not openly flaunt opposite values. It is the youngest daughter, many mothers' special one because she is last, who is a continuing source of emotional pain for Athena: she must learn to accept the youngest's life in a commune led by a Manson-like cultist. In the climax of the book, when Athena is terrorized in her own home by her daughter's fellow communards, her passive but constant anguish erupts into a more immediate fear for her physical safety. While this transformation of feelings could be a catharsis for Athena after the anger is over, she reverts back to her pattern of silently agonizing over her daughter.

But if Athena is attached to her daughter, she is strangled by her father. Her whole life has been spent trying to live up to the mythological goddess after whom she is named. Though she left her father, throughout her life she unquestioningly accepted the Greek heritage her name implied. From her overt act of becoming a professor of Greek literature to her subtler attempts to achieve a delicate balance between the obligations of a Goddess of War and a Goddess of Peace, Athena fulfilled her destiny. It is only as she approaches middle age that she can analyze the concepts of freedom and submission, confronting the possibility that

her earlier search for freedom had in fact been the ultimate act of submission. And interestingly, Athena's insight is the result of her understanding of her daughter's need to worship a "redeemer" who promises freedom but offers servitude.

The richness of *The Underground Woman* isn't limited to its exploration of the parent-child symbiosis. By placing Athena in jail, Kay Boyle introduces a political element which also advances the lack-of-freedom theme. Athena's prison experience is in part autobiographical, and at least a few of her compatriots are thinly-disguised, well-known pacifists. It is curious, then, that it is in her account of life in jail that Kay Boyle's artistry is misplaced. The natural poetry of her writing and the eloquence of her descriptions camouflage the unrelieved misery of the lives of the inmates. For example, comparing a lesbian couple to Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas assigns them an identity which prison regimen must surely strip away. However, the vivid description of Athena's attempt to help dress a parolee, who had gained 50 pounds during a year's imprisonment, in the clothes she wore when arrested is an especially poignant commentary on how hard prison life is on body and soul alike.

Kay Boyle's appreciation of the ironic and the absurd is not lost in the seriousness of the arrest scene. She notes early that no blacks are in the paddy wagon and that the arrestees are quite well-dressed and well-spoken. Her description of the few demonstrators who are vaguely daft is honest and probably rings an all-too-familiar note in the ears of activists everywhere. Too, the reaction of the "regular" inmates is one many of us have been exposed to—their incredulity at the women's intention to be arrested diminishes the gravity of the act. It's hard not to wince at these passages, which eloquently reduce an act of conscience to a scene from the theatre of the absurd. However, Kay Boyle offers no alternative to the middle class civil disobedience gesture, leaving readers (and perhaps would-be activists) to ponder whether one's cause can best be served by behavior that is so little understood.

In fact, Kay Boyle offers few answers to the many questions she raises. Athena's expulsion of the cultists who take over her house is a tentative step toward freedom at best: her primary concern is still whether she is also casting aside her daughter when she throws out her friends. Athena's second act of civil disobedience as the book ends is even more an expression of submission, for she is sacrificing her freedom again without fully understanding the reasons for it or evaluating the effect of it. She is still trying to "take part in contemporary acts of fortitude, and gallantry, and tragedy," as she believes the bearer of her name should. For Athena, and probably Kay Boyle herself, the shears which will cut the umbilical cord are impossible to create.

—Wendy Schwartz

Wendy Schwartz is chairwoman of the A.J. Muste Memorial Institute.

PROPHET OF COMMUNITY: The Romantic Socialism of Gustav Landauer
Eugene Lunn / University of California Press, Berkeley / 1973 / 430 pp.

Prophet of Community is the best biography of Gustav Landauer to have appeared. With great zeal, Lunn has collected an abundance of data and facts about Landauer's life (1870-1918) and work, which he judges fairly. He shows us

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WRITERS COLONIES. I'm putting together a handbook on colonies and retreats catering to writers. Would appreciate any leads or information on same. V.A. Levine, GG, Hillsboro, NH 03244.

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MISC.

NEWS FROM GOODBOOK & SUCH. If you've written to GoodBook & Such recently and haven't received a reply, here's why: the proprietor, Chuck Fager, has been on the road, and is now in the process of moving from Boston to California. Because of this GoodBook is "closed for alterations" until about the beginning of 1976. It will re-open though, and in the meantime its guarantee of satisfaction still stands. All inquiries will be answered and order filled. You can still write to us at the old address, PO Box 437-W, Boston, MA 02102, until a new address is established. Peace!

Viet Nam: The People's Resistance

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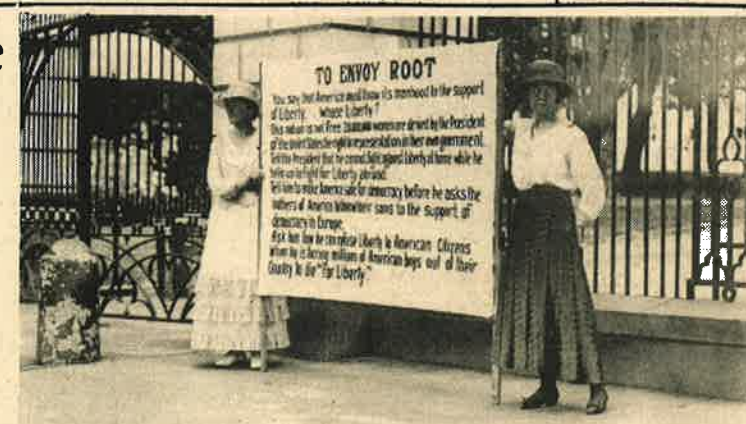


the 1976 peace calendar and appointment book of the War Resisters League

Creative nonviolence in America's past? Yes, even if "official" historians prefer not to remember Mary Dyer, Adin Ballou, Alice Paul, Cyrus Pringle, Joseph Ettor and Tracy Mygatt. We are supposed to learn about Washington, Jackson and Grant—but not Jane Addams, Big Bill Haywood, A.J. Muste and (still going strong) Dorothy Day: all those who dared to challenge the structural soundness of the nation's institutions, and who non-violently carried on the impetus of the revolution of 1776.

The WRL's 1976 calendar (edited by historian Larry Gara) helps to make the bicentennial a year of discovery of the tradition of nonviolent resistance.

The calendar has a page for every week of the year with a facing page of text and illustration. There is a listing of peace organizations and periodicals, American and foreign, and a section of blank pages and advance appointments for 1977. It's 128 pages in all, wire bound and flat-opening. At year's end, remove the appointment pages and you have a fine addition to your library.



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