

December 18, 1975 / 30¢

win
PEACE & FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

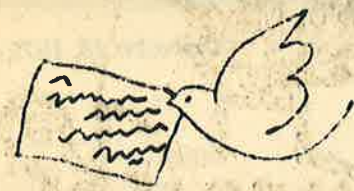
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Join the
Continental

WALK

for Disarmament
and Social Justice

plus MURRAY BOOKCHIN and CRAIG SIMPSON on SPAIN



I was extremely impressed by David McReynolds' article [WIN, 11/27/75]. It really gave me a much firmer commitment to racial nonviolent action as a way of life and not simply as an oral palliative. It is so easy for me to be tempted by the possibilities of reform that we need to constantly remind ourselves that we must strike at the core of the problem—to say NO to the system which oppresses us, as Americans and millions of others around the world, and to say YES to building a new society based on freedom and non-violence.

—PETER SHIRAS
Ithaca, NY

I was pleased to see Wendy Schwartz' piece on the A.J. Muste Memorial Institute [WIN, 11/20/75], and hope that her words will bring new donations, large and small, to the Institute. A movement without funds cannot function and the Institute provides one of the best ways of directing funds to the educational work of the nonviolent movement.

I would like to make a couple of corrections to Wendy's piece. She states that the Institute helped send WRL's delegates to the International Conference of Peace Researchers and Peace Activists (ICOPRAPA) and to the WRI Triennial "both held in Belgium last summer." Actually both conferences were held in Noordwijkerhout, The Netherlands. More importantly, though, the Institute did much more than simply send WRL's delegate to ICOPRAPA. In fact it was the Sponsoring Organization for this conference and had there been no AJMMI, it is questionable whether the conference could have taken place. As the principal organizer of ICOPRAPA I have particular reason to be grateful to the Institute and especially to Ralph DiGia who did yeoman work in assisting with the raising and the disbursement of a large part of the funds for the conference.

Those of us present at ICOPRAPA feel we made a good beginning in the task of linking action and research. Those who would like to assist in carrying this task forward I invite to order a set of the workshop reports of the conference (eight reports on themes such as "nonviolence research and its application," "liberation movements:

violent and nonviolent," and "rural revitalization as a prerequisite to a nonviolent global economy"). This may be done by sending your name, address, and one dollar to me.

—BEVERLY WOODWARD
148 N Street
S. Boston, Mass. 02127

I was just rereading the various letters of reply to Leah Fritz's "resignation" letter [WIN, 10/30/75]. It seems to me a shame that this controversy has largely come down to a defense and/or personal criticism of Leah Fritz since I see the source of conflict in broader terms. I am distressed by the difficulty which the pacifist community has in understanding the feminist perspective. For many people feminism represents only the issue of women liberating themselves from the suppression of their identities, culture, and economic livelihoods within our present society. Radical feminism is saying something more than this which many are choosing to ignore; namely that the process we use to organize our society at present is at the root not only of the oppression of women but all oppression. Pacifists have been saying something similar about process for a long time. Historically pacifism has been identified as a women's point of view. It seems to me that radical feminists are articulating what is basically a deeper understanding of nonviolence and its sources. I don't think what Leah Fritz was asking for was only a broader coverage of women's liberation activities (though I would certainly support this); rather I feel she was calling for an emphasis on incorporating a feminist perspective with the already nonviolent perspective of WIN. To me this is highly appropriate; and it is only to be expected that since most men have yet to look seriously at feminism as a process, that women will lead in this direction. So far, in fact, only women have attempted to make this connection for WIN readers.

—BRAD BURKHART
San Francisco, Ca.

I have just read the article "Nuclear Opposition in Europe" [WIN 9/25/75]. In the first paragraph of the article it is stated that "due to public protest in New Zealand, the government there has called a permanent halt to its nuclear program." Unfortunately this is not the case. The NZ government has not yet embarked on a nuclear program, and a decision will be made in 1977 whether or not to go nuclear, and this will largely depend on an assessment of the country's coal reserves. However things are getting organized on the anti-nuclear front, and hopefully the breathing space will mean that the consciousness of the general public can be raised sufficiently by education, to permit popular direct action like that at Kaiseraugst and Why! if our government decides to go ahead with nukes (as seems likely at present).

—HOWARD KEENE
Christchurch, New Zealand

Sid Blumenthal writes [Letters, WIN 11/27/75] that we must not let wishful thinking substitute for accurate reporting and appraisal of events in Portugal. Precisely my point. That the male left press has substituted rhetoric in the place of reportage when it has made some token attempts to deal with the reality of women's struggles in "revolutionary" Portugal is the problem. Articles have appeared in *Power of Women* (a British feminist paper) and *Majority Report*. The current issue of *Off Our Backs* contains further information on the development of Portuguese feminism in a long article, some of which is a reprint of an article by Jo Anne Preston published by New American Movement. The report of violent attacks on MLM and the general indifference and hostility with which Portuguese feminists are faced with from the left political parties are in all the above mentioned articles.

My hope is then that just as David indicates how radicals have been slow to wake up to ecological and environmental issues which are so very real, so too will radicals wake up to the reality of patriarchy and understand that absent a commitment to feminism there will be no revolution. This hope seems to take us back to understanding events in Portugal too, for while no left political party supports the MLM, feminists continue to work for such parties, for the women of MLM see the links between capitalism and women's oppression. The left political parties however don't seem to understand the links between capitalism and patriarchy, links which make patriarchy a mighty buttress to capitalism as it divides and drains the working class and relegates women out of the revolutionary process.

—GARY MITCHELL
New Brunswick, NJ

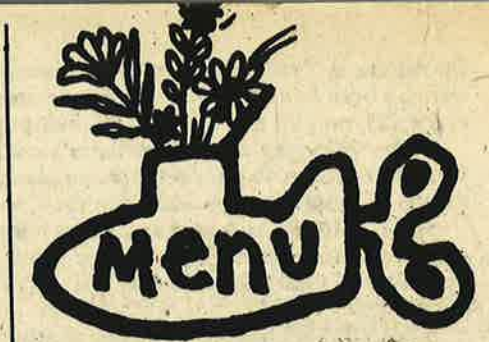
Incubator

Eggshells with orange beaks rock under bare lightbulbs and glass. The chicks step out wet and greasy, down sticking to their heads in matted clumps, bits of shell still clinging to their pronged toes. Pecking and hopping they dry to yolk-hued fluff at the agricultural college in Farmingdale New York where their continuous almost electronic peeping is broken by another—a wail a scream of speakers I know from Central Park Road it means: go into the cinderblock hallway where there are no windows or under the desks, hands on beat heads, giggling. Everyone begins to follow yellow and black arrows, moving purposefully and solemnly toward air-raid shelters; air aid shelters I think they are called as my neighbors acquire them like swimming pools. My mother directs us four toward the exit; as we cross the parking lot we're the only moving things above ground. A uniformed guard runs towards us stops us, go back! My mother stands her ground, her brood big-eyed around her. "The radiation would get us if the blast didn't," she argues. Me I have Ban The Bomb and Doublemint Gum singing together inside me. I drink powdered milk aged 6 months in our basement because of fallout strontium 90. and whole milk, whenever I can get it. Their discussion is unreal like the evening news but I know my mother's getting into trouble with a policeman and move toward her till my forehead touches her soft fur lapel. "Well—get into your car then," the man splutters. It's where we're going anyhow so we settle in and drive away from a crime for which others have been jailed; silent with triumph and we children, with relief. I stare out the window from the seat beside my mother, not ready to turn to her; to reveal how full of fear my eyes were and how dazzled.

—Sharon Mattlin

The Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice (see pages 4 through 10) will be a major focus for activists throughout the coming year. WIN will be reporting on its progress as well as providing a forum for the many questions that the walk raises. We'll be doing this while continuing to keep an eye on developments everywhere—from Spain to Los Angeles (see pages 10 through 29). That's what we're here for. But we can't do it without your help. Please do what you can to keep the sub from stalling so near the end of its long voyage.

—WIN



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Cover: Walk logo designed by Ed Hedemann.

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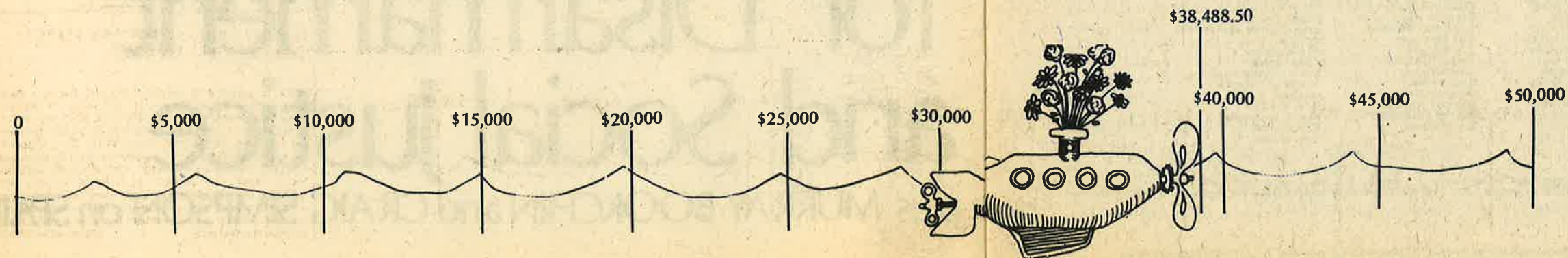
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On August 6, 1945, with the atomic bombing of the people of Hiroshima, war should have become unthinkable. Whatever war had been before the nuclear age, whatever logic human beings and nations had used to justify the slaughter of their neighbors, on that day war became, indisputably, a crime against humanity.

Today, 30 years later, war remains a crime against humanity. That fact is still not clear to citizens of the United States. It is still not clear to our neighbors on planet Earth. Most dangerously of all, it is still not clear to the leaders of governments, to those who now have it in their power to destroy us and our planet.

Since 1945 we, as Americans and as human beings, have been preparing death for ourselves. We have been preparing death for future generations. It is the death of nuclear annihilation. We are unable to express the human meaning, which is the only real meaning, of nuclear war, other than to say that it would likely be total death—of ourselves, our civilization, our planet.

Since 1945 we have been waging another kind of war on our neighbors. It is the death of sickness for which there is not enough medicine. It is the death of starvation because there is not enough food. To prevent nuclear war lies within our power. But what of those who are dying now because we attend to military matters before we heed the cries of human suffering?

For 30 years the great powers have talked about disarmament. They have called for disarmament while planning new weapons. They have denounced each other while budgeting more funds for death. They have talked to us of arms control while making their bombs and missiles more deadly. And today the nations are more heavily armed than ever.

Thirty years have passed, and it is still not clear to all that war has become a crime against humanity. Thirty years have passed, and it is still not clear to all that to prepare for war is to make war.

WE NEED TO ACT

We ask you to join with us in a Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice, a walk which will cross 1/8 of the planet's surface. It may seem to many to be a small and weak action in face of the high councils of government. But the case for disarmament must be taken to the people, town by town. There is a powerful symbol in this simple action of walking, a realization that great goals are reached slowly, and that so fundamental a change as we demand must begin in our neighborhoods and our communities. For here is where the issues must be discussed, and here is where true action will begin.

Military spending priorities continue to rob our sisters and brothers on this planet of dignity and even of life itself, while continuing to fuel the fires of inflation and unemployment. Foreign policies based on fear and mistrust continue to foster ever-increasing arms stockpiles. Nuclear arms continue to threaten total destruction. Non-nuclear arms continue to be used to repress social change and to preserve patterns of injustice, while carrying the risk of escalation from limited war to total nuclear war.

We cannot wait for the governments to act of their own accord. We know that those who control the governments are trapped in the illusion that militarism can defend the interests of their nations and their peoples. The last 30 years have shown that, without massive public pressure, governments will not take a single step toward disarmament. Only after extraordinary international pressure, including mass demonstrations, direct actions, and civil disobedience, did the United States and the Soviet Union finally end the atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons.

It is we the people who have allowed these military machines to be built, and it is we who can dismantle them by our action. It is in our power to say no to the machinery of death. It is in our power to say yes to life and future.

SIGNERS OF THE CALL TO THE CONTINENTAL WALK

Ralph Abernathy	Robert McAfee Brown	Jules Feiffer	Sid Lens	Benjamin Spock
Bella Abzug	Stephen G. Cary	W.H. Ferry	Walter Lowenfels	Dorothy R. Steffens
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SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS

American Friends Service Committee; Catholic Peace Fellowship; Catholic Worker; Clergy & Laity Concerned; Fellowship of Reconciliation; Sane; Southern Christian Leadership Conference; War Resisters League; War Tax Resistance; Women Strike for Peace; Women's International League for Peace & Freedom.

ENDORING GROUPS

International Confederation for Disarmament & Peace; International Fellowship of Reconciliation; War Resisters' International.

DISARMAMENT— THE REVOLUTIONARY IMPERATIVE

It is in this spirit that we invite you to join with us in our march across the length and breadth of this country during the celebration of its 200th year.

We invite you to join with us in declaring our independence from the machinery of death. We invite you to join with us in declaring our interdependence with our neighbors on all parts of the globe.

Today, almost two centuries after the start of the American Revolution, the revolutionary act is disarmament. The revolutionary act is to identify and eliminate the causes of war, which lie in the sexual and social and economic structures of our societies. The revolutionary act is to recognize that life and survival will come from our willingness to struggle against all who hold power over other human lives. The revolutionary act is to divest ourselves of all power that is power over other human lives.

The United States was the first nation to unleash the horror of nuclear war. Now it possesses an arsenal of death unrivaled in human history. It is fitting that we should renew ourselves in 1976, the year of the Bicentennial, that we as residents of this country should lead the way in demonstrating that peace and disarmament are in our interest and the interest of all humankind.

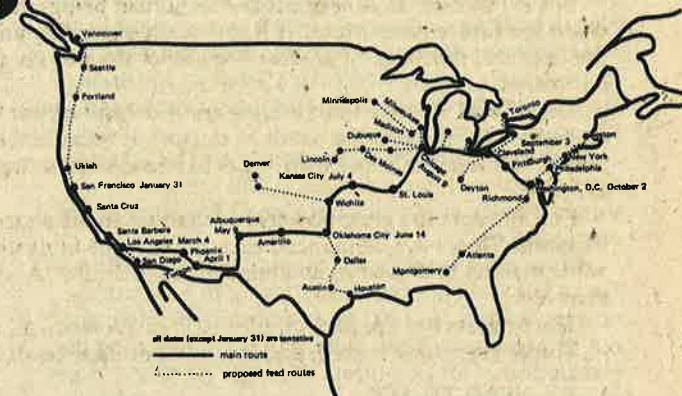
We believe that every step taken by each person on the Walk across the nation will be a step toward the distant but vital goal of disarmament, toward survival, toward the alleviation of human suffering, toward the elimination of the causes of war.

We believe that disarmament is the greatest and most urgent challenge facing humanity. We will begin walking to meet that challenge in early 1976. We hope that you will join your steps with ours.

—from the Call

Organizing the Walk

BY Ed Hedemann



Why would anyone donate fifty bushels of wheat to a walk across the North American continent? Why would anyone *walk* across the North American continent?

There are perhaps as many reasons as there are walkers, organizers, and supporters from the 47 states* who have expressed interest in the Walk. The Montana farmer who donated the wheat is responding to the Ford-Kissinger grain sales to the Soviet Union. Organizers in Vancouver/Seattle area (which will have a car caravan leaving for San Francisco on January 1) are focusing on the Trident Submarine. People in New England will be working against nuclear power plants.

The Walk provides an opportunity to be part of a dynamic and exciting event during a year which is not only the bicentennial of the United States, but an election year and the first year since 1950 in which the US will have no involvement in Vietnam!

ORIGIN

Though the idea for the Continental Walk grew out of a desire to focus on disarmament, there was a realization from the beginning that disarmament could not be taken in isolation. The struggle against the arms race and militarism must be intertwined with the struggles for social justice if they are to succeed.

A task force was formed by the 1974 WRL National Committee to look into doing a major project on militarism and disarmament. This task force brought in a number of interested peace groups which, after several meetings, decided a cross-country walk focusing on disarmament would be the most timely and effective project.

Though there was general enthusiasm for the idea, only the War Resisters League (in an expanded Executive Committee meeting) gave the go-ahead for the project. A proposal was drafted in light of criticisms and comments from several individuals and consultation with a half dozen groups. This proposal called for a May coalition meeting which resulted in the formation of the steering committee for the Walk and the involvement of ten national peace and social justice groups.

REGIONAL ORGANIZING

Though the Walk has a steering/coordinating committee (composed of representatives of the sponsoring

groups in consultation with representatives from organized regions) which meets every two weeks, most of the organizing and decision making remains at the regional and local levels.

The best organized region to date is in California. A San Francisco office is staffed by four people—Stephanie Brown, Ann Gonski, Steve Ladd and Scott Ullman. Peter Klotz is the Northern California coordinator, operating out of Santa Cruz, and Mandy Carter is doing the same for Southern California.

Two regional meetings have been held in California, as well as several local ones. Bay Area women are currently drafting a leaflet relating sexism and militarism, and plans are underway for a promotional women's festival, with music, dancing, films, and theater.

The International Fellowship of Reconciliation recently announced plans to coordinate an international walk for August, 1976, in France, starting from the World War I battleground of Verdun.

Bill Wood (New Orleans) has expressed interest in investigating the possibility of several people floating down the Mississippi from Minneapolis to New Orleans raising similar issues. This "continental float" might intersect the Walk at St. Louis.

Other ideas have been suggested: planting trees along the route, bringing a gigantic helium-inflated dove or peace symbol along, and 5 million people on Interstate 40 on July 4, holding hands to link both coasts. While some of these ideas are off the wall, a lot of enthusiasm has been generated and people feel that this is an effective, continent-wide event that they can participate in.

STRUCTURE OF THE WALK

Fifteen years ago the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA) sponsored the San Francisco to Moscow Walk for Peace. Though the current Continental Walk has a lot of similarities with this pioneering effort, the differences are many and significant.

The main route of the Walk, beginning in San Francisco January 31, will cut through 13 states before it ends in Washington DC, sometime in October. The several branch routes (see map) will raise the total number of states involved to 32, so far, plus Canada and Mexico.

Though approximately 100 persons have expressed interest in doing long distance walking, the emphasis

*Alaska, North Dakota, and Utah are the only holdouts.

is on people walking through their own communities to link up with people in the next ones. The Walk is expected to average 15 miles per day—20 miles per day on the open road, and 10 miles in metropolitan areas (the SF to Moscow Walk averaged 3 miles per day). Organizers in each community are encouraged to not simply "see" the walkers through their community, but to relate the Walk to local concerns. If local people are battling a proposed nuclear power plant or the closing down of a day care center, then the Walk can incorporate a people's hearing, a teach-in, a debate, stage some guerrilla theater, a festival, a demonstration to focus on those concerns.

Each step along the Walk, people will be asked to sign a petition. If we collect 200,000 signatures, we should be able to unroll a petition in Washington, DC, one mile long!

Those of us working for the national organizing office of the Walk are frantically trying to get buttons, posters, leaflets, and petitions designed, printed, and out to organizers. Mary Robinson is coordinating the production of an Organizers' Manual. All this is in addition to taking care of the correspondence, sending out calls (70,000 distributed so far), putting out the bi-weekly Walk NEWS to organizers, keeping the mailing list in order, trying to keep the regions in touch with each other. Though the day-to-day operation of the office is taken care of by Larry Erickson, Joanne Sheehan and Ed Hedemann with help periodically

THREE IMPORTANT JANUARY DATES

JANUARY 1—A car caravan from Vancouver, British Columbia will start a trek down the West Coast, through Seattle and Portland. This caravan will reach Ukiah (California) around January 21. If you want to participate in the caravan, contact the Portland or Seattle organizers.

JANUARY 23—People will walk from Ukiah to San Francisco. Contact organizers in Ukiah if you want to be a part of that leg.

JANUARY 31—The Walk begins in San Francisco with a rally. Contact the Bay Area office for details. They need all the help they can get.

from Rick Gaumer, Grace Hedemann, Jim Peck, David McReynolds and Ralph DiGia and volunteers, we are continually scrambling to keep our heads above the paperwork. So anyone in the New York City area who would like to help, please give us a call.

In addition, there are special task areas such as long distance walkers' coordination and training (handled by Gail Pressberg), publicity, fund raising, and coordination of speakers.

THE FINALE

Groundwork is underway to develop a scenario for the end of the Walk in Washington, DC. Sometime in October, walkers will simultaneously enter Washington from the North, the South, and from the West (maybe even from the East, if Scott Herrick brings his sailboat up the Potomac). The Southern route is expected to have heavy participation from SCLC.

The finale may be a multi-day event involving a film festival, music, speeches, religious services, leafletting, seminars, and preparations for continuing the struggle—since we don't expect the government to "surrender." Suggestions for demonstration sites include the White House, Congress, HEW, IRS, Departments of Labor and "Justice." But the most often cited target has been the *pentagon*. If you have ideas

for events in DC, send them to the Continental Walk office or to Gail Pressberg, AFSC, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102.

CONTINENTAL WALK ADDRESSES

NATIONAL

The Continental Walk, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, 212-677-5455.

REGIONAL

Washington—Tom MacLean, c/o Soup & Salad Rest., 40 Lower Pike Place, Seattle, WA 98101, 206-623-5700.

Oregon—Elizabeth Gorman-Prunty, AFSC/CALC, 2032 SE 11 St., Portland, Oregon 97214.

Northern California:

North of Bay Area—David Patton, 817 Cypress Ave., Ukiah, CA 95482, 707-462-0421.

SF Bay Area—The Continental Walk, 1380 Howard St., San Francisco, CA 94103, 415-626-6976.

South of Bay Area—Peter Klotz, The Continental Walk, 127 Franklin St. No. 3, Santa Cruz, CA 95060, 408-425-0436.

Southern California—Mandy Carter, The Continental Walk, 3359 Canyon Crest Road, Altadena, CA 91001, 213-797-8973.

Arizona—Lani/Joe Gerson, 1114 Maple, Tempe, AZ 85281, 602-967-8431.

Texas/Oklahoma—Mary Robinson, The Continental Walk, 1713 W. 11 St., Austin, TX 78703, 512-474-5155.

Kansas/Missouri—Mike Haught, The Continental Walk, 3950 Rainbow Blvd., Kansas City, MO 66103, 816-432-0350.

Chicago Area—The Continental Walk, c/o Women for Peace, 2240 N. Lincoln, Chicago, IL, 314-929-6690.

New England—Ed Lazar, AFSC, 48 Inman St., Cambridge, MA 02139, 617-864-3150.

THE CONTINENTAL WALK
339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012
212-677-5455

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ PHONE _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

- I support the Walk; please keep me informed.
- I would like to walk through my community.
- I am interested in walking a large part and perhaps the whole distance across the Continent.
- I would like to be an organizer for the Walk in my city/region.
- I am willing to house some of the walkers if they stop in my community.
- I am interested in sponsoring a long distance walker.
- Enclosed is \$ _____ to help with the organizing expenses.
- I can help in other ways _____
- Please send _____ copies of the Call to me; enclosed is \$ _____ to cover expenses. (10¢ each, 5 for 25¢, 100 for \$4, 1000 for \$35.

Disarmament is not only an urgent question, because we may all die in a nuclear holocaust. People are suffering *today*, in this country and all over the world, because we have not disarmed.

Every community that the Continental Walk will go through has very pressing needs that are not being met. People are concerned about jobs, food prices, housing, adequate medical care, quality education, childcare, a good public transportation system, clean, cheap sources of energy, and many other issues which affect their daily lives. While these needs remain unfulfilled, the desires of the military-industrial complex are being met with vast sums of money, material resources, and human energy.

The focus of the Walk is not only disarmament but also *social justice*. As human beings we have a need and a right to live decent lives in a just society. In order for those needs to be met the priorities of this country (and most countries) must radically change. The Walk is a way of calling for those changes. While demanding disarmament we are demanding justice.

This year the Federal government will pour over \$100 billion of our tax money into military programs, thus robbing every community of money that should be used to meet local needs. That's about 55% of our tax dollars that will go to the Pentagon. For an average family of four, according to estimates of SANE, almost \$2000 of their taxes will go for military programs, while only \$300 will go for health care, \$257 for education and social services, and \$107 for community and regional development. But there is more to it than that.

Right now, the United States is in the midst of its severest economic crisis in four decades. Inflation is


eating away at our spending power and millions of people are out of work. Hardest hit by this crisis are minority peoples, women and old people.

According to various studies by economists and members of Congress, spending on the military is one of the prime causes of our current inflation. As Senator Alan Cranston puts it: "Military expenditures are the most inflationary. They do not produce goods or services people can use, nor do they really contribute to the national security. . . Our current inflation started with the huge costs of the Vietnam War."

Further studies reveal, as the Bureau of Labor Statistics noted, that "Dollar for dollar, more jobs can be created by non-military spending." Though the figures vary, all of these studies show that each billion dollars redirected from military production into civilian production can produce anywhere from 5,000 to 100,000 more jobs. The military's huge cost-overruns and waste, combined with the need for more highly skilled (and therefore more highly paid) employees for building weapons systems, lead to this situation. Redirecting military spending to civilian production would not totally eliminate unemployment but would be a step in that direction.

These studies should help alleviate fears among many that disarmament means putting defense workers out of work. A well-planned program of conversion carried out over a number of years would help create more jobs and put workers in a more stable job situation that is not at the whim of unpredictable military spending.

But war and the preparations for war have become a very profitable business in this country. Not only



people are
suffering because
we have not
disarmed

BY Joanne Sheehan and Steve Ladd

does the military protect American business interests in other countries, it also fills the coffers of defense contractors here with huge profits. The line between military security and corporate security was long ago erased as the interests of both have become intertwined in the military-industrial complex. The corporations involved in defense contracts work hand in hand with the Pentagon to create powerful lobbies in Washington that push for expensive new weapons systems and military allocations. In addition, military officers often become top executives in businesses with defense contracts, and many of these executives often gain powerful positions in the federal government where they can influence decisions about military expenditures.

What this means is that the struggle for disarmament and social justice cannot be successful without attacking the corporate structure which has control over peoples lives and dominates our military policies. Simply marching against this weapon system or that expenditure will have only a very limited effect unless we also strike at the reasons for the military priorities being set.

Militarism and arms are inevitably linked to repression and dictatorship. They are the means for perpetuating social injustice and economic oppression. Witness the US role in Indochina, in providing military aid to help overthrow the elected leaders in Chile, in aiding dictators in South Korea, the Philippines, and Spain; and in aiding other governments to suppress popular movements for self-determination. The military is no longer used to protect our borders or make the world safe for democracy, if in fact it ever was. Rather it is used to project and defend American political and economic power abroad. In order to make the world safe for America's corporate investments, the US must defend and reinforce those governments that are supportive of our economic interests in their countries.

As opposition movements have become more vocal in this country in recent years, repression has increased on the home front. The military has played a significant role in attempting to repress these movements, and the weapons, tactics, and other technology developed by the military (particularly in Vietnam) have on numerous occasions been employed by normal police forces. Many veterans come directly out of the army and become police or prison guards, either because they can find no other work, or because they feel their military experiences made them well-suited for that kind of work. The result of all this is an increasingly militarized police and intelligence force able to more quickly, efficiently, and brutally repress movements for social change. Any moves for disarmament then are both a challenge to the nature of repression here and a means to blunt US power throughout the world.

At the very core of much of America's militaristic policies is both racism and sexism. To the leaders in this country, Third World people are an entity only to be exploited or ignored. The very nature of America's priorities which favor the military and its repressive ventures into Third World countries at the expense of meeting human needs here is the best indication of how racist attitudes shape the policies of the US. It is non-white peoples who suffer most from these priorities. In this country minority groups are hardest hit by inflation and unemployment. They are the ones who are forced to "volunteer" for the white

man's army because they can't get jobs anywhere else, only to be kicked out of the military with bad discharges, far out of proportion to their numbers in the armed services, when they raise their voices against racism in the military.

Women suffer much from the nature of American priorities which favor military needs above human needs. For instance, the unemployment rate among women is substantially higher than among men. But the connections between sexism and militarism goes much deeper than that, and in fact strike at the very basis for people arming. If we look closely at the use of power of people, at possessiveness of people or resources and at one dimensional thinking which recognizes only one right, we discover these to be aspects of militarism and sexism. War is in reality the ultimate expression of machismo and the clearest indication that men dominate our society and our world to the extent that they have the power to destroy it. We go to war because men know no other way to relate to each other than through violence or the threat of violence. Preparation for battle serves the many emotional and material interests of men, and women playing men's roles (Golda Meir and Indira Gandhi), from their macho ego interests to their corporate interests. We build up our military to ridiculous proportions so that we can make sure that we are the "toughest" or the "manliest" nation in the world. The domination of these militaristic attitudes in our society is one of the most blatant and dangerous ways that sexist attitudes are reinforced. They perpetuate and reinforce male rule, male power, and male attitudes that very effectively keep women "in their place," and label struggles for gay liberation as "abnormal."

Working for disarmament must mean working for social justice. It means that we are more concerned about food, shelter, jobs, child care, education—life itself—than having more armaments than any other country with the capacity to blow the world up several times over. Our government does not share these concerns. To bring all poor Americans above the poverty line in 1971, * \$11.4 billion would have been needed. That was the *low* estimate that year for the B-1 Bomber. The developmental excess on the B-1 Bomber came to \$2.1 billion—the same amount needed for the vetoed child care program. The 1972-73 cuts in the Federal Mental Health Budget amounted to \$65 million, the same amount spent on one C-5a aircraft. The 1972 Federal Health Budget deficiency was \$2.3 billion which is equal to the overrun cost on the C-5a aircraft and main battle tank. To build and equip 750 schools in 1971, and pay 35,000 teachers' salaries for one year would have cost \$6 billion. By 1969 we had lost 6,000 aircraft in Indochina—\$6 billion worth. The Washington DC subway system (still not completed) was estimated originally to cost \$2.98 billion which is equal to the cost of a nuclear aircraft and support ships. In 1973, \$3 billion was needed to rebuild blighted areas in US cities, but what was it spent on? Not the cities.

Disarmament is inevitably linked to the struggle for social justice. We will not achieve social justice without disarmament, and we will never achieve disarmament without gaining social justice. To achieve either means attacking the root causes of both and working for a radical transformation of our society.

* Statistics from article by Seymour Melman in NY TIMES, Dec. 4, 1974.



THE DISARMAMENT CONNECTION

RICK MALISHCHAK

Writing about disarmament is as elusive as writing about one of those wondrous animals found only in medieval bestiaries. You can supply all sorts of vivid details about its form, size, color, its habits and its personality. You can even give it a name. None of this means that such an animal exists, ever has existed, or for that matter ever will. Disarmament is, at this point in history, the dream-stuff of peace activists, researchers and educators.

Fables and fantasies, however, can sometimes touch reality more closely than facts and figures. So far the bulk of what's been written and said about disarmament consists of facts and figures, mostly documenting in various ways disarmament's non-existence. (The best people-oriented primer I know is an article by Homer Jack called "Everything You Ever Wanted to Know About Disarmament, but didn't have the time to learn." It's published by SANE and should be read by everyone interested enough in disarmament to be reading this issue of WIN.) Information about the technical side of disarmament is a necessity.

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Over-reliance on technicalities, of course, has drawbacks. As an example there's the case of my generally intelligent although occasionally reactionary neighbor, who agrees, despite some of his other politics, that production of nuclear overkill is economically unsound and might even concede that it can be just the least bit dangerous to our security. But there's no way that he's going to warm up to a discussion, for instance, of the relative merit of multilateral treaties as a means to achieve general and complete disarmament, or unilateral disarmament as opposed to bilateral arms control negotiations. Just no way.

This has been the disarmament problem—it's been a specialty item. By our neglect of disarmament while working on various other urgent social concerns, we've conceded it to the specialists. The language of disarmament has been consigned to the realm of jargon. Disarmament is missing from the public forum as well as from the public agenda.

Meanwhile, as my neighbor can tell you with justifiably more dismay than I can, New York City residents are about to be subjected to still higher levels of taxation in order to "solve" our financial problems. One reason for our local fiscal crisis is the fact that the federal government's spending priorities have been building up the economies of states with heavy concentrations of military production, at the expense of states like New York which are heavily dependent on civilian production. And one result of this policy has been a net loss to New York City of federal revenues that could have prevented the city's budget crisis if the city had been allowed to spend a just share of its own people's money on its own people's needs. And one result of this is more taxes.

The Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice is going to make a lot of connections—connections between people, connections between communities, connections between two coastlines, and connections between and among many local bread-and-butter issues and the broader issue of disarmament. The Walk will take disarmament out of the libraries and put it in the streets. It will begin to make disarmament as urgent and immediate an issue in the public consciousness as it already is in reality.

And this is just where reality meets dream, where fact and fantasy come together. We don't know whether a disarmed world will come into being. We can't be sure what a substantially disarmed world will look like. But the fact of a world armed to the teeth is a reality. And the assumption that it will require even more armaments to make us secure is not a fantasy, it is a lie, a lie that is in process of starving people in this country and in all parts of the world, people who can't afford to be fed because military power is the top priority of their governments. It is a lie that has combined with irresponsible technology to bring us to the very edge of mass destruction and megadeath far beyond the limits of our imagination.

The dream of disarmament is more real than government policies that revolve around militaristic assumptions. Those policies shut the eyes of their proponents to the human suffering all around them, the suffering that could be alleviated in a disarmed world. Those policies shut the eyes of their proponents to the unspeakable peril that a nuclearized world must face every day, to the hideous destruction wrought by non-nuclear arms every day. The human cost of our failure to disarm is the only real measure of the magnitude of the crime.

The disarmament dream is real because it gives foremost consideration to the human factor. It is difficult if not impossible to conceive of a world of social, sexual, racial, and international justice that nonetheless remains armed to the teeth. Disarmament includes the

process of achieving justice, and disarmament is a part of that process. Regardless of whether or not the revolutionary act for American colonists in 1776 was to pick up the gun, it is clear that the truly revolutionary act for all of us in 1976 is to work to see that all the guns are put down, that they are dismantled and their parts used in building a new society and a new planetary consciousness based on respect for human needs and active concern for human grievances.

A major focus of the Continental Walk will be to promote interest in unilateral disarmament. Unilateral disarmament is a concept that will frighten and anger many people. It is also one which needs to be injected into the public debate as a practical alternative to the current situation of national and global insecurity. We must introduce people to the concept in an intelligent and sensitive way. We must educate people to the fact that unilateral disarmament is not surrender. Together with its collateral concept of nonviolent civilian defense, unilateral disarmament is a far cry from the form of surrender that is currently a cornerstone of our national policy, the surrender of our entire population as hostages to the escalating spiral of the nuclear arms race. Just as "Out Now" was at first an extreme position on Vietnam and later came to be widely accepted, unilateral disarmament needs to be the rallying point, the "cutting edge," of the growing disarmament movement.

An incidental effect of unilateral disarmament's role as political vanguard will be to provide a greater share of public credibility for other less radical methods of disarmament. Unilateral initiatives for disarmament are one such method. A foreign policy consistently based on bold unilateral initiatives would promote trust among peoples and governments, reduce tensions, and encourage reciprocal responses from other nations. Such a policy would include unilateral initiatives in decelerating the arms race (such as stopping the B-1 bomber) as well as in many other areas (for example, establishing a publicly-held grain reserve earmarked for the poorer nations). As a new idea, the concept of unilateral initiatives will usually be received with much less initial hostility by ears that might otherwise be deaf to the whole notion of disarmament. It can serve as a viable fall-back position as well as having its own validity and integrity.

Two steps that must accompany any serious efforts toward disarmament are conversion and development of an alternative defense system. Conversion can mean either the concept of economic conversion of military industries to civilian production and military bases to civilian uses, or the concept of Peace Conversion. As put forth by the national campaign to stop the B-1 bomber, Peace Conversion includes redirection of tax dollars and industrial production to meet real human needs and therefore encompasses economic conversion. In addition it would include some radical social changes that would be related to disarmament simultaneously as causes (creating conditions favorable to disarmament—and effects (becoming more feasible as progress toward disarmament is made). It would mean a decrease in the domestic economic pressures that contribute to acceleration of the arms race. It would mean the freeing of countless workers who are now in effect economic hostages to the weapons industry. It would mean improvements in our way of life at home and in the way we relate to our neighbors on planet Earth, improvements that would be impossible in a heavily armed world. It would enable us to "afford" in economic terms a greater degree of trust and mutuality with other peoples.

But it would not require blind faith in others' good intentions, the kind of faith that will never materialize, because it would be combined with an alternative means of defending human values. Civilian defense or

nonviolent resistance is a source of tremendous untapped power in achieving security without recourse to pre-emptive domination. Military power can offer only the promise of mutual destruction, not real security. The long and generally overlooked history of nonviolent defense is something that the Walk will seek to publicize. Some military people who have listened to the case for civilian defense have been impressed, and there is no reason to suspect that the public will be any less open to this exciting option of people defending their own culture and their own values, rather than relying on a military establishment that has become a source of massive insecurity, both politically and economically. The time is right in the Bicentennial year to initiate public debate on a truly revolutionary means of providing deterrence and defense without the hazards of militarism and a war economy.

Nonviolent civilian defense is aimed at defending a people and their culture rather than at protecting only the territory in which they live. It involves running some risks, but these are of a lesser magnitude than the ones we already run in a world where nuclear capability breeds nuclear counter-capability in a seemingly endless cycle. It involves a major overhaul of public perception of the nature and problem of security. But as a policy rather than a belief, it does not require any formidable overhaul of people's moral values. A major objective of the Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice is the promotion of nonviolent civilian defense.

Disarmament is also an environmental issue. The case for disarmament needs to be taken to people concerned about the quality of life, because nuclear weapons pose the greatest existing threat to the planet. There are enough nuclear weapons already stockpiled to conceivably destroy the ozone layer that protects all living things from ultraviolet radiation. Survivors of a nuclear war would envy those who died in the initial blasts. The food chain would be destroyed or seriously damaged. A slow and lingering death would await the survivors. Disarmament should also include the dismantling of nuclear power plants and reliance instead on benign sources of renewable energy. Security can never be achieved in a world in which potentially destructive nuclear materials are permitted to exist and proliferate.

Finally disarmament is a means to bring our country into a more mutual relationship with other countries and peoples. Interdependence is a fact of life and must receive recognition and embodiment in our political and social institutions. A "balance of power" between the superpowers is an outmoded concept. There are numerous centers of political gravity, and none are secure unless all are. Especially terrifying is the research and development that is proceeding on the cruise missile, a potential nuclear Saturday-night special that practically any nation would be able to possess and use. Unless all peoples perceive their mutuality of interest in disarmament, a holocaust may become almost inevitable. Canadians will be joining us in the Continental Walk, and Europeans are planning a simultaneous disarmament activity.

Disarmament, then, is more than the act of eliminating weapons, and it is also less. It is more because it involves so many interrelated factors beyond the simple question of whether or not to plan for and to use violence in defense of human values. And it is less because the act of eliminating weapons will itself be part of a larger process of transforming our lives and our societies. Above all, disarmament is necessary. But the one thing disarmament shares with nuclear holocaust is that neither is, in the last analysis, inevitable. History will not proceed without us. Let's point our toes in the right direction, and walk.

Death normally invites eulogy—even for a Mafia capo. Accordingly it is not surprising that the death of Francisco Franco summoned up the usual tribute from the acolytes of "relevancy"—a genre of people who are likely to praise any dictator from Stalin to Franco for "modernizing" their countries and ushering them into the "industrial age." In the case of *El Caudillo*, Nixon happened to lead the pack. He praised Franco as "a loyal friend and ally of the United States... who brought Spain back to economic recovery" and "unified a divided nation through a policy of firmness and fairness toward those who had fought against him." At the other end of the spectrum, according to some press accounts, unmeasured numbers on both sides of the Spanish frontier opened their wine flasks and got drunk. I suspect that an immense section of Spanish public opinion is reflected by those young Madrileno who, when asked by American television interviewers why they filed past the coffin, bluntly declared that they wanted to see if the "old fascist" was really dead.

There is a comfortable conclusion toward which all sectors of opinion are likely to converge, notably that Franco's death "spells the end of an era." That Franco may be the "last" of the "old fascists" whose personalities gave a face to the cold technocratic fascism of our own era has some truth, although Franco's "personality" could accurately be dismissed as one shade of gray painted on another. In terms of his personality, the man was a deadening blank. The point seems to be that Franco provided a "face," in contrast to present-day bureaucrats who are indistinguishable from the

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Cartoon from Liberation/LNS.

machines they operate. The regime could name *avenidas* after him and saddle his diminutive figure on marble horses in nearly every city in Spain. What could well rescue his reign from the opprobrium it deserves is forgetfulness, not forgiveness. A loss of a sense of history is perhaps the greatest support that could underpin the cult of "relevancy." It is this forgetfulness, equalled only by the ignorance that has settled around the Spain of the thirties, that may well salvage the name of Franco and exalt his impact on Spanish society.

Let me stress that if Francisco Franco was denied a place beside Hitler and Stalin as one of history's most terrifying mass murderers, it was only because of the demographic limitations imposed upon him by the Iberian peninsula. Hitler had the hundreds of millions of Europe from which to collect his mountains of corpses; Stalin, the many tens of millions in Russia. Franco was limited to 24 million people. According to Gabriel Jackson, a liberal historian of the so-called "Spanish Civil War," some 800,000 died out of those 24-million between 1936 and 1945. The figure may well have been as high as a million.

The "Red Terror" imputed by many historians particularly to the Spanish anarchists (for whom Jackson has neither sympathy nor understanding) is belied by Jackson himself in a brief but telling sentence. "In Catalonia and the Levant the anarchists arrested many a landlord and monarchist on the assumption that he had probably backed the uprising, but most of these people were released when the evidence, and the testimony of villagers who had known them for years, indicated they had nothing to do with the uprising." By contrast with the admittedly inflated figure of 20,000 executions which he places in the republican zone, Jackson observes that the "largest single category of deaths were the reprisals carried out by the Carlists, the Falangists, and the military themselves. Physical liquidation of the enemy behind the lines was a con-

NOTES ON THE DEATH OF FRANCO

by murray bookchin

stant process throughout the war. The Nationalists had, by definition, far more enemies than the revolutionaries: all members of Popular Front parties, all Masons, all officeholders of UGT or CNT unions or of Casas del Pueblo, all members of mixed juries who had generally voted in favor of worker demands. The repression took place in three stages. At the outbreak of the war, the arrests and wholesale shootings corresponded to the revolutionary terror in the Popular Front zone; but there were a great many more victims because such arrests and shootings were officially sanctioned and because so large a percentage of the population were considered hostile. In the second stage, the Nationalist Army, conquering areas which had been held by the Popular Front, carried out heavy reprisals in revenge for those of the revolutionaries and in order to control a hostile populace with few troops. . . . In the third stage, which lasted at least into the year 1943, the military authorities carried out mass court-martials followed by large-scale executions."¹

If one adds 100,000 "battle casualties"—a loose phrase that often included the execution of prisoners—to the 20,000 executions in the republican zone, the Francoists may have systematically slaughtered close to 700,000 people and possibly as many as 880,000. Following Franco's military victory in 1939, the slaughter began in earnest. It continued unrelentingly up to the early forties, when Franco, courting the Allies after Hitler's retreats in Russia, began to reduce the executions. Possibly as many as 300,000 people were executed in this five-year period.

I know of no account of this carnage more compelling and dramatic than Elena de La Souchere's "when time stood still" in her deeply perceptive work *An Explanation of Spain*. In Madrid alone, five permanent courts-martial tried prisoners in "batches" of 25 and 30. Accusations were merely perfunctory, based primarily on charges of membership in a leftist organization or participation in public office rather than supportable "atrocities." The percentage of those . . . accused, rightly or wrongly, of 'blood crimes' was minute," notes Souchere. Following an admonitory harangue by the military prosecutor, the defense was allowed a "brief collective plea." Then the entire group was sentenced (usually to execution) without the military judges so much as leaving the hearing room.

"A number of prisoners spent months and sometimes even years on death row and, two or three evenings a week, were submitted to the anguish of hearing their names on the rollcall of men to be executed the next morning. In Madrid during the first two years of the regime, there were at least three hundred men in every 'batch.' The condemned spent their last night in the prison chapel, standing, kneeling, or seated on the stone floor. At dawn, their hands were tied behind their backs and the lower parts of their faces were bound with rubber muzzles so that

1. Gabriel Jackson: *THE SPANISH REPUBLIC AND THE CIVIL WAR: 1931-1939*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; 1965, pp. 532-34. Compare Jackson's 14-page meticulous survey, "Deaths Attributable to the Civil War" with Hugh Thomas's flippant two-page appendix, "The Casualties of the War," in *THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR* (New York: Harper & Row; 1961). Thomas, with almost no substantiation, concludes that "the total number of violent deaths in the Civil War was about 410,000." The conclusion is of a piece with the work as a whole, perhaps the sleaziest history to be written on the whole period—all the more because the author, opinionated to his ear lobes, professes to be scholarly and objective.

during their last trip, their chants and huzzahs! for the republic would not incite people to riot. Then they were hustled into trucks and taken to the cemetery where, in the chill fog of early morning, soldiers with sleep-heavy eyes waited and held their machine guns ready. In single file the condemned walked across a sort of gangplank, its wood already battered by previous machine gun fire. When the gunners had again polished off their task, officers with heavy revolvers leaped here and there over the every-which-way bodies, to deal the coup de grace to those still breathing."²

This is the story of the "face" of Francisco Franco, the story we are requested to forget, to bury with Franco's own corpse in the "Valley of the Fallen." In my view it takes a conventional Marxist as well as a Fascist to exculpate horrors of this kind in the "higher name of history." One may reasonably ask how many millions were slaughtered in much the same fashion by the Russian Bolsheviks, the Chinese Maoists, the soft-spoken Ho, and the volatile Castro. Nor can we exculpate the liberals, figures like Thiers who, as early

2. Elena de La Souchere: *AN EXPLANATION OF SPAIN* (New York: Random House; 1964, pp. 249-50.) As to the "anarchist excesses" so widely celebrated by Franco and by liberal historians of the "Spanish Civil War," it may be well to quote Angel Ossorio y Gallardo on the Barcelona popular tribunals in 1936. According to Ossorio, the tribunals "respected the rights of those on trial to the point of exaggeration and military traitors were nobly defended by republican lawyers and even anarchists." See Angel Ossorio y Gallardo: *VIDA Y SACRIFICIO DE COMPANYS* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada; 1943, p. 246). Ossorio's testimony on this score is all the more reliable because, as a Catholic, he opposed the anarchists and his account was published well after he had departed from the Catalan capital.



as 1871, provided a strategic model for Franco by withdrawing from Paris when his position proved to be untenable and returning with a conquering army not to achieve victory but to enact a bloody "final solution" to the century-long unrest of the Parisian sans-culottes. Franco followed an identical policy. Having failed to capture the major cities of Spain in July, 1936, he shifted the thrust of his rebellion from a typical military *pronunciamento* to outright military conquest. The social movements that had played so creative a role in Spanish history for nearly 70 years were to be utterly uprooted and destroyed. This was no ideological or institutional act; its goal was outright extermination of every militant, even every focus of unrest.

Forgetfulness also threatens to conceal the fact that the "Spanish Civil War" was above all a sweeping social revolution—in Burnett Bolloten's words, a revolution "more profound in some respects than the Bolshevik Revolution in its early stages" and, I would be inclined to add, in any of its stages. It was primarily an anarchist revolution, whether guided by massive anarcho-syndicalist organizations such as the CNT-FAI or the result of 70 years of anarchist agitation. Franco smashed this movement. Whether it had the resilience to return in anything resembling its original form after the blood-letting it suffered would now be idle speculation in view of the changed social conditions in Spain.

Inextricably bound to Franco's victory, however, was the aid he acquired from the Spanish Communist Party. It is impossible to write the biography of Franco, to give an account of his "National Movement," or to explain his success without stressing the counterrevolutionary role of Stalin and the Communists in Spain. From the murder of Andres Nin in a secret Stalinist prison to the Communist execution teams who shot wounded anarchist militiamen during the Battle of the Ebro, the history of the Communists has been marked by such a ruthless commitment to counter-revolution that it bears comparison only with Ebert and Noske in Germany. The comparison was made in the most cutting fashion by Camillo Berneri, one of the most widely respected Italian anarchists of his day, shortly before he too was killed by Stalinist agents in May, 1937, in Barcelona.

In time some of us came to realize that the Communist Party's activities formed perhaps the most important of the unwritten chapters in the history of Spanish fascism. To place the party on the "left" had marked our deference more to symbolism, rhetoric, and tradition than to political reality. What now boggles my mind is how little this harsh fact is understood today within and, far less excusably, outside of Spain. The emergence of a neo-Stalinism so widespread that it can enrapture contributors to WIN as well as the hacks who write for the *Guardian* is evidence of a "forgetfulness" much closer to stupidity than to a lack of memory. As if the verdict of Spain were not enough, a recent verdict from Portugal might seem to suffice for years to come. "The Communists have let us down again," bitterly declared a leftist journalist in Lisbon after the recent military uprising, "as they let the rest of the left down in Chile after the coup."³ It is time to recognize that this is neither "treachery" nor "betrayal" but the consequences of a totally misplaced belief in the revolutionary nature of authoritar-

3. THE NEW YORK TIMES, November 27, 1975.

ian "socialism" as such. The Communist Party in every country of the world is no more on the "left" than Franco's Falange; it can no more be "red-baited" than the followers of George Wallace or Ronald Reagan.

To speak frankly, however, I strongly fear that this verdict will not suffice. It is understandable that the Spanish people, who have been denied access to their own history, will see in the well-financed and well-organized Spanish Communist Party a lever for social change. But it is utterly unforgivable that American and European radical intellectuals, particularly those who profess a non-authoritarian approach, so readily surrender their moral probity with each change in the political winds as to reinforce the illusion that the Communist parties are socially redeemable.⁴ Here the cult of the "relevant" and the "contemporary" betrays itself as the lack of an organic insight in which the background of events is seen as much a part of the future as the present.

Franco's victory in 1939 did not form the prelude to the Second World War as the historians tell us. It marked the definitive end of the classical working class revolutions which began in 1848 with the June insurrection of the Parisian proletariat. Step by step, each major European country exhausted this heritage, a heritage from which traditional anarchism and socialism derived their hopes and their theoretical equipment. In France, all the later fireworks notwithstanding, the heritage ended with the fall of the Commune in 1871. Thereafter, the French proletariat never seriously challenged the established order *as a class*, however theatrical its participation in the events of the thirties and the sixties. Indeed, as a class its activity was siphoned into institutionalized parties and unions, organizations to which it has been obedient for more than a century. Eventually, it was not Thiers and his executioners who were to bring the revolutionary heritage of the French working class to an end, but the advent of modern large-scale industry and the powerful discipline it exercised upon the workers themselves.

In Germany, this era was almost certainly over by 1920, revealing itself in the assimilation of the Social Democratic and Communist parties to the capitalist system. In Russia, the era ended with the crushing of the Kronstadt sailors in 1921. America, the center of large-scale industry and mass production *par excellence*, never even rose to the level of a labor party, much less an insurrectionary proletariat.

Militancy and violence should never be confused with revolutionary behavior and revolutionary action. The American class struggle has been militant enough, but rarely has it evolved to the level in which sizable numbers of workers were to challenge the social order itself. Indeed, never has it risen to the level of consciousness where self-activity could yield the promise

4. Consider, for example, Marcuse's astonishing statement: "Today, where the Communist parties still are mass parties in opposition, they adhere to a 'minimum program' of parliamentary strategy. In their practice (though by no means in their official ideology), they recognize the political weakness and the non-revolutionary attitude of the majority of the working class under advanced capitalism—an evaluation far more accurate than that of some of the radical groupings on the Left. However, these Communist parties are not the Social Democracy of the recent past, and not of the present—in spite of their reformist strategy. For Social Democracy still persists as a working class organization, and the Communist parties and unions are still the only mass organizations on the Left of Social Democracy. By virtue of this constellation, they are still a potentially revolutionary force." Herbert Marcuse: *COUNTERREVOLUTION AND REVOLT* (Boston: Beacon Press; 1972, p. 41).

of self-management which we associate with a libertarian socialist society.

Spain alone carried the classical tradition well into our own century. Here, every classical working class movement, indeed, almost every revolutionary sect, played out its programmatic role with guns in hand. Each exhibited its possibilities and limitations within the traditional framework that had been created by the 1840s. With the collapse of the Spanish revolution a full history of proletarian socialism—whether syndicalist or Marxist, libertarian or authoritarian—came to an end. As in France, modern industry with its concomitant shifts in population from the countryside to the cities, its reformist working class, its merger with the state, its use of economic controls, its fostering of a technocratic sensibility and hierarchical mentality, and its wide commercial base—all have combined to change Spain more profoundly in the past decade than in the past century.

The extent of these changes can be measured by the occupational shifts within the Spanish population itself. Spain, as seen through the picaresque novels of its traditional authors or the misty eyes of romantic tourists, has long been categorized as a hopelessly pre-industrial nation, almost as though a traditional national temperament could perpetually surmount fundamental economic realities. This vision might have had some validity as recently as 1960, when agriculture was still the country's major activity, embracing nearly 42% of the population. Within a mere span of 12 years, the shift from rural to urban occupations has been spectacular. By 1972, only 27% of the Spanish people were involved in agriculture and the trend is still downward.

By far the overwhelming majority of Spaniards are now engaged in industrial production, construction, service activities, managerial tasks, professional work, commerce and governmental responsibilities. Contemporary Spain ranks 10th among the most industrialized nations in its gross national product. The gross national product has been increasing at a rate of about 7% to 8% annually. Foreign investment in Spain is enormous. Despite the recent economic slump which reduced the labor force in the American auto industry by 1/3, Ford continued to invest some \$350 million in its installations in Spain. As one State Department official recently observed: "Spain is now one of the most heavily industrialized nations in the world."

The shift in Spain from agriculture to industry and commerce has created an entirely new constellation of social forces with new political, cultural, and temperamental realities. Spain now possesses a substantial managerial class, more American in its outlook than Hispanic. The *abraccio* is giving way to the handshake; the *siesta* to the luncheon. Surrounding this managerial class is a supportive army of salesmen, technicians, statistical analysts, advertizing legmen, accountants, bookkeepers, secretaries, typists, receptionists, and clerks—all oriented toward the Spanish version of the "American dream" of upward mobility and suburban amenities.

The susceptibility of this sector to social radicalism is likely to be minimal, if not non-existent; it is liberal at best and by no means totally bereft of authoritarian proclivities. It may desire a more democratic form of government in which to voice its interests, but certainly one that is moderate, prudent, and well-tamed. Such a sector did not exist on a large scale in the thirties.

As a sizable part of the urban population, it is the most significant buffer to "extremism." The new managerial class and the aspirants that follow in its wake form the mass base for a constitutional monarchy or a republic and would in themselves be sufficient to cushion the shockwaves that plunged Spain into social revolution 40 years ago.

More enigmatic than the managerial sector is the Spanish working class—the class that still forms the great hope of the thirties' generation on both sides of the Pyrenees. Except for the Basque region, it would have been difficult by present-day standards to regard this class as fully industrialized 40 years ago. In Barcelona, the textile workers who were to fill the ranks of the CNT were largely employed in shops of less than a hundred workers owned as family concerns. Often,



A pro-Franco rally in Madrid. Photo by Henri Bureau/LNS.

the most radical of these workers were of recent rural backgrounds, at most a generation removed from a peasant or craftsman status. A marked tension between the intimacy of the pueblo and the anonymity of the city, between work regulated by the seasons and work regulated by the clock, exacerbated the ubiquitous material misery that burdened Spanish life and evoked a fiery, intensely libertarian response. Not surprisingly, Madrid, a city composed of bureaucrats, retailers, and craftsmen had a predominantly Socialist "proletariat." The construction workers in the capital were mainly anarchosyndicalists. The Barcelona workers were overwhelmingly anarchosyndicalists; the more privileged railroad workers and the skilled machinists in the repair shops tended even in Catalonia toward the Socialists. One could clearly delineate between a hereditary proletariat and a transitional one—the former drifting into Socialist unions, the latter into anarchosyndicalist ones.

The Spanish workers of the seventies are increasingly the creatures of multinational corporations—in part, too, emigre workers who have been employed by giant industrial enterprises in France and Germany. Despite the arduous nature of their work and the comparatively low wages they earn, they are in a very significant sense a part of the industrial bureaucracy of modern-day capitalism. Unlike the old patronal system which imparted a "face" and a certain comprehensibility to Spanish capitalism, the modern corporate structure is anonymous and totally bereft of human scale.

To the Barcelona workers of the thirties, "collectivization" with its concomitant system of self-management at the base of the economy had an authentically personal character. The popularity of

anarchosyndicalist doctrines stemmed in no small measure from its tangibility and relationship to everyday experience at the workplace. The Barcelona workers of the seventies, by contrast, live in a comparatively atomized world of industrial gigantism where "nationalization" is likely to seem more "realistic" and the concept of a workers' state more appropriate to the prevailing economy than a stateless society. Which is not to say that I regard the dissolution of Spanish society into the multinational corporate world as the least evidence of "social progress." Quite the contrary, I have no ecological or social reason for viewing this development as anything other than a profound retrogression that would serve only to reinforce hierarchy, centralization, state-control, and eventually replace the terror-ridden but overt fascism of the

Franco dictatorship by the "friendly" but concealed fascism of a technocratic dictatorship.

But the fact of this change must be introduced into our estimate of Spain's future development if we are not to cloud our vision with illusory hopes. Vincente Romano, in a rather naive introduction to a volume of documents by the Spanish Workers' Commissions, stresses that "any future federation of Spanish labor unions will have to abandon the old divisions which existed before the Civil War and will have to include all workers without distinction as to their political or religious beliefs." This view is grossly misleading. It reflects any significant tendency within the commissions themselves, it would replace the intensely political unionism of the Spanish proletariat, once so rich in its idealism and sense of social commitment, by the "pure-and-simple" economistic unionism of the American proletariat, so deadening, bureaucratically stultifying, and hopeless in its social prospects. Above all else, as we shall see, such a unified trade union movement would again benefit the Spanish Communists and to some degree, the Spanish Socialists. The differences between the Socialist UGT and the anarchosyndicalist CNT in the thirties were serious enough. The tragedy is that these differences were not carried far enough—that the CNT, with a naivete that often slipped into a gross betrayal of its own principles, surrendered its revolutionary goals to the cause of "proletarian unity."

If the Spanish workers follow the path of "unity," economism, and organizational centralization, they will behave no differently than the working class elsewhere. Organizational "unity" on this basis will serve only to institutionalize them as pillars of a multinational corporate society, however militantly they strug-

gle for their practical day-to-day interests. Their organization will no longer presuppose a radical change in society; rather, it will presuppose precisely the opposite: a struggle *with* capitalism, not *against* it. This kind of struggle is intrinsically a negotiable one that occurs within the parameters of the prevailing social relationships. As to the precapitalist rural origins of the proletariat, they will disappear with the pueblo itself. Agribusiness lies as much in store for Spain as it does for France—and with the development of agribusiness, the erosion of the peasantry as a force for social revolution.

A "unified" Spanish labor movement had already become the cry of the CNT during the "Spanish Civil War." To the degree that it was achieved, it benefited neither the anarchosyndicalist segment of the labor

movement nor the Socialist, but primarily the Communist. Today, a "unified" Spanish labor movement could almost certainly be controlled by the Communist Party. Another harsh fact must be faced concerning Spain: by nearly every account available to this writer, the Spanish Communist Party is the best-organized as well as the best-financed political movement in Spain. Its membership has been estimated to be as high as 80,000 and is almost certainly not less than 30,000. Membership in an illegal organization has a very tenuous meaning, to be sure, and the Communists have notoriously inflated their membership figures in all their parties. But there does seem to be widespread agreement, even among opponents of the Communists, that no political organization in Spain has comparable power and resources.

Illegality itself confers this advantage on the Communist Party, just as it serves to impart a democratic, nearly anarchic character to the Workers' Commissions. The Communists command resources from abroad that other potentially larger illegal organizations clearly lack. Their position is also enhanced by the aura of power that emanates from their affiliations with the "Eastern Bloc" in Europe, even though the largest of the two Communist parties in Spain opposed the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia and probably has very little access to Soviet resources.

The Spanish Communist party divided over the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1969. The "official" Communist Party (i.e. Soviet controlled) is currently guided by Lister, the notorious Stalinist who forcibly disbanded the anarchist collectives in Aragon during the Spanish Revolution. The "unofficial" party is led by Corriollo and probably has the greatest amount of sup-

port on the Peninsula. Corrillo has tried to build an Italian-style party with support from Monarchists as well as liberals and has directed its appeal to almost any willing ear in Spain.

Centralized, fairly well-knit, and "efficient," the Communists create an image of considerable power, an image that is not without attraction to many Spaniards who have been taught to respect power by the dictatorship itself. By contrast, the Workers' Commissions (which are by no means controlled by the Communists) must adopt decentralized forms of organization and loose, highly democratic structures if they are to maintain the widespread adherence they enjoy in Spain—structures which political parties prudently avoid as too libertarian.

Between the comparatively well-organized Communists and the loosely organized Workers' Commissions, the Socialists, republicans, constitutional monarchists, and nationalistic parties live in a contradictory reality. Centralistic in theory, they carry on an ill-organized existence in reality. Accordingly the Communists have been buoyed to the top of the illegal political world of Spain—and I must emphasize the word "political" because the Workers' Commissions and the anarchists face an entirely different situation—precisely because of the dictatorship, not despite it. Considering the size of the managerial, professional, and white collar sectors of Spanish society, I strongly doubt if the Communists would be nearly as strong as they are today if organizations that appeal to the middle classes were free to function in Spain. It remains supremely ironic that Franco's "crusade against communism" has ultimately done more to establish the Communists as the largest political grouping in Spain than any other single factor apart from Russian "aid" during the 1936-39 period.

The Workers' Commissions are large, anarchic in structure, and too naive in their attitude toward hardened political like the Communists to realize the dangers that are implicit in their cry for "unity." They do not profess to be a substitute for an institutionalized trade union federation. In the event that they were legalized, they would quickly become a battleground for conflicting social movements, such as the Communists, Socialists, Catholics and anarchists. The Communists, who are often mistakenly believed to "control" the commissions, reportedly have been very much discredited among them owing to the party's failure to support the recent Basque general strike. The Socialists

seem to have much less influence among the Spanish workers than the press has led us to believe, although they and the Communists would seem to be the most likely heirs of the commissions—in short, a French-styled union movement, rhetorically radical, but pragmatically reformist and bureaucratic. At the present time, however, the traditional PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers Party, to use the official name of the organization) is in considerable disarray and its capacity to influence Spanish events depends heavily upon its legalization.

The great unknown in Spain is the size and influence of the anarchist groups. The American press and the respectable anti-Franco *juntas* that have been soliciting governments and the public for financial assistance are patently unwilling to acknowledge any anarchist presence in Spain until evidence of anarchist activities literally explodes in the form of dramatic *atentados*. Even anarchists abroad had begun to despair that the memory of an immense anarchosyndicalist movement in the thirties had any meaning for Spain in the seventies. As recently as a few weeks ago, the most pessimistic accounts I heard denied the very existence of an anarchist movement in such traditional centers of anarchism as Barcelona and Zaragoza. Occasional actions by Spanish anarchists seemed to be little more than episodic events, carried off by small desperate groups which had filtered in from France.

There is now evidence that this image is inaccurate. Recent police roundups of scores of anarchists reveal that the size and certainly the influence of the movement has been greatly underestimated. Although I have heard enough conflicting opinions to wonder whether this movement is very large or very small, I am quite convinced from the police arrests that an indigenous substrata within Spain nourishes anarchist activity and organization. It would indeed be surprising that a CNT or at least CNT nuclei do not exist in Spanish factories and villages. Acknowledgement of CNT activity appears even in Workers' Commission documents I have read.

It is also clear that the anarchist movement in the "interior" is very fragmented in terms of its ideology and practice. It is divided between the exiles abroad and the "illegals" in Spain; between "old timers" and youth; between those who emphasize propaganda and others who demand action; between libertarians who feel that many Marxian concepts can no longer be ig-



Spanish peasants giving the republican salute in 1936. Photo by Chlm.

nored and the adherents of a largely moral anti-authoritarianism. Finally, it is divided between those who wish to retain anarchosyndicalist doctrine in all its orthodoxy and individuals who believe that traditional anarchism and Marxism must be transcended by a new form of libertarian socialism.

The divisions between the exiles and indigenous groups or the old and young are themselves quite traditional and occurred throughout the history of the anarchist movement in Spain. The need to perpetuate orthodoxy or transcend it in the face of historic social developments—this, quite aside from the old battle between revolutionary purism and reformist accommodation—is the most interesting of all. Owing to the illegal nature of the movement, it is difficult to determine whether the trend away from orthodoxy is nourished by Maoist or New Left influences.

Unlike other western European countries, Spain has had only a superficial contact with the New Left concepts of the sixties. The illegality of workers' organizations and the political character of many strikes have made the Spanish Left highly working-class oriented. Critiques of the labor movement so common in the United States are not readily accepted by Spanish revolutionary organizations. Enormous significance is attached to the working class in changing Spanish society—not merely by left and center organizations but even by "enlightened" sectors of the bourgeoisie which see an institutionalized labor movement as a safety valve in preventing an avoidable class war. Accordingly, the primary reform in Spain is seen to be not merely the legalization of "responsible" political parties, but more significantly, "responsible" trade unions. I suspect that even a well-groomed syndicalist federation would be acceptable, a federation that would almost certainly render a militant revolutionary anarchist movement inconsequential.

The greatest single prop to the Franco dictatorship has been the United States, and the American people remain more deeply implicated in Spanish developments than any other in the world. American aid rescued the dictatorship during its most difficult period in the fifties when the peninsula moved closer to revolution than at any time since 1936. American investments and tourism nourished the dictatorship throughout the sixties. American military bases in Spain remind the people that the regime has reserves over and beyond its police and armed forces upon which it can call

in the event of any decisive crisis. Indeed, American and Spanish military forces have trained together and vague clauses in the military agreements between the two countries allow for armed American intervention in Spanish internal affairs. Visits by Nixon and Ford have reinforced Franco's sagging prestige in precarious periods of the dictator's rule.

Today, the one feature that vitiates any meaningful analysis of Spanish conditions is a gnawing sense of uncertainty. We know from the foreign press that popular resistance occurs daily and on a widespread scale. But the true relationship of forces within the army, the church, the working class, the middle classes, the national groups, and the resistance organizations has been effectively obscured by the regime. As long as the free expression of ideas is forbidden, all the strata that compose Spanish society and the groups that profess to speak in their name do not even know their own strength and influence.

This sense of mutual ignorance, sustained partly by the legitimation the United States gives to the regime, represents a very explosive factor in Spanish social development. It makes any effort to venture a prognosis about the course of events virtually impossible. In the course of this labyrinthine "transition," Spain could well take a bloody turn—by no means one that would favor the Left—that could not have been foreseen a few years earlier. The conviction which I developed during a visit to Spain some eight years ago, notably that the people had been too embittered by the slaughter of the thirties to slip into civil war, is no longer a certainty. A friend well-informed on Spanish conditions reminds me that 60% of the Spanish people today have no memory of the conflict. Militancy has replaced restraint among young Spaniards and the restless national groups. It would be wrong to believe that a bloody clash within Spain is impossible. The Spaniards are no longer the defeated people of the forties, nor do the warnings of the previous generation carry any weight in the formulation of popular decisions.

Tempo is now everything. The ticking of the clock has replaced the "proverbial" tolling of the bells. With each passing week, grim frustrations are turning into aggressive anger. It would be ironical indeed if Spain, a country in which elementary bourgeois freedoms would probably suffice to remove the threat of a popular uprising, exploded in revolt—not because the regime, following in Franco's footsteps, acted too forcefully, but because it acted too late.



Kiss my flag! A Spanish soldier performs a ritual obscenity before duly selected representatives of church and state. Photo from LNS.

Resistance Against Fascism in Spain

BY Craig Simpson

In late October this year, a well known Catalan priest was released from Carabanchel prison in Madrid after 2½ years confinement. The release was a major victory for the nonviolent and pacifist movement in Spain.

Most of the Western and radical press coverage of the events in Spain has focused on the activities of the Basque nationalist group, the ETA—their violence against the Spanish police, and their repression by the Franco regime. The implication, as with other conflicts, is that violent revolution is the only way to resist fascism. But after spending three weeks traveling and attending meetings and conferences in Spain earlier this year, I discovered that opposition to the Franco regime isn't so clearly oriented toward armed struggle; that the violence is only a part of the political perspective in Spain; that most action could be considered *unviolent*; and that there is a new and rapidly emerging consciousness for nonviolent revolutionary struggle. The release of Fr. Luis Xirinacs from prison was a sign of the nonviolent movement's strength and influence.

In Spain there is no freedom of the press, no public assembly, only one political party, no rights for workers to organize, no autonomous provincial control. This year's crackdown on political opponents of the regime has resulted in over a thousand people being detained during the state of exception between April and July. Over 200 were detained in September. Government supporters are asking the death penalty in approximately 150 cases. On Sept. 10, Reuters reported that police in the Basque country had used a bullring and a warehouse to hold prisoners. Torture in Spanish prisons is well documented by Amnesty International and other groups.

Craig Simpson, recently returned from the WRI in Brussels, didn't have time to visit the WIN farm.

Police are everywhere. While riding in the country near Guernica with a nonviolent woman activist, I realized the terror the Spanish face regularly. My friend grabbed my arm and pointed quietly to "La Guardia Civil." Two of the political militia stood staring at passing cars, pulling over and searching some. They carried large submachine guns and shotguns, while a truckload of political police waited in the trees around the turn. I quickly pushed the leaflets I was reading under the car seat.

Unregistered meetings of over 20 people are illegal. All publications must be approved by the censor before distribution, and texts of speeches must be approved beforehand.

One youth was shot by police in Bilbao, a few months before I visited there for distributing leaflets on the street. The police said that it was an accident.

In Madrid, I read in a local paper that three Catalan youths were sentenced to three years' imprisonment for attempting to smuggle in political posters from Portugal.

The death penalty is legal and has been carried out regularly against opponents of the regime over the years, most recently for five activists of the ETA and FRAP. Anarchist Salvador Puig Antich was hanged in 1974.

The violence isn't limited to the government. The Warriors of Christ the King (Guerilleros del Cristo Rey) are right wing vigilantes who operate openly and freely without government interference. According to Amnesty International the guerilleros have not been responsible for deaths in the Basque region "but they have undertaken an effective campaign of terror against relatives and sympathizers, as well as against lawyers and priests who dared defend civil rights. They have dragged a defense lawyer from his house and beaten him; assaulted whole families who have relatives in ETA; beaten a 72 year old priest in his library

outside Bilbao; and bombed, burned or machine-gunned a dozen houses, offices, and commercial establishments owned or operated by Basques with separatist or civil rights aspirations. It is common knowledge that the guerilleros are off-duty police. Earlier this year a number of Spanish police were caught in France terrorizing members of the refugee community there.

Of course the violence isn't limited to the right. Left and Separatists have been involved in assassinations and bombings for several years. But of all the thousands of illegal political organizations in that country, only two publically recognize or participate in revolutionary violence: Euzkadi Ta Azkatasuna (ETA) and Revolutionary Anti-fascist Patriotic Front (FRAP). The ETA is the most well-known of the many Basque nationalist organizations and has been in existence since the '60's. In the 1970's, a major split in the organization occurred when the Marxist-Leninists seized control and the Trotskyists were bounced. The Trotskyists formed ETA VI. The original ETA's choice of weapons is revolutionary violence, mostly in the form of assassinations of political police. The Basques I spoke with during my visits in the Northern provinces spoke angrily about the ETA's assassinations, although they gave support to their political program of independence and socialism. The police and government use these attacks as excuses to detain and possible torture any political suspect.

Each year the Basque community holds its annual national gathering in Guernica, the center of culture and traditions. Although regional separatism is not permitted anywhere in Spain, the authorities have never interfered with the gathering, for fear of general revolt. So each year, Basques in exile, underground and aboveground publicly reaffirm their history and culture—an incredible display of the strength

of nonviolent protest. This year a few days before the gathering ETA guerillas assassinated a police undercover agent as he left his home in San Sebastian. This incident gave the government an excuse to crack down by searching cars, breaking into homes, tightening border checks and detaining large numbers of people. The ETA guerillas face the most severe repression of any group in Spain, but this only gives them more credibility.

The FRAP is a highly disciplined Maoist guerilla group, small in actual membership but not limited to the Basque provinces. FRAP is also a main target of government repression.

Millions of people are involved in the resistance against Spanish fascism, both inside and outside the country. They are workers, students, religious, nationalists and separatists, military people, antimilitary people. Most of these groups are, if not nonviolent, at least unviolent. The experience of the civil war—the broken homes, the hatred, the infighting between leftists inside the Republic, the thousands in exile and all the death—showed a need for new tactics.

The workers are the strongest of the anti-government forces, and always have been. Despite severe repression, abolition of all trade unions and the laws declaring all strikes illegal, workers are continually protesting against unemployment, their low wages and imperialism.

Students, especially in the major cities, support local workers' struggles by shutting down their universities. Thousands of clandestine groups organize in high schools, colleges, factories and churches to build support for those on strike.

Women are growing more and more conscious. Lyda Falcon and other Feminists have had a powerful influence on Spanish women, and some of their writings have been published legally and distributed widely.

The church has been the pillar of the Spanish state. All clergy are paid by the government. In the Civil War, the church blessed planes that bombed Madrid, but today many priests and nuns are imprisoned for their involvement with the resistance.

Cracks are even beginning to appear in the military, which has been well known for its discipline and dedication to preserving fascism. All officers and enlisted men are watched carefully and the events in Portugal have frightened the military very much. Despite the law that no two officers can meet together to discuss politics, on October 14 an Anti-fascist Democratic Military Union of Spain (UMD) surfaced in Paris. This group claims over 400 officers, and advocates total amnesty for political prisoners, return of all exiles and recognition and rights of workers. "The UMD calls for democratic elections, favors giving up the Spanish Sahara, condemns 'terrorist violence' and opposes regional separatism." In August nine officers were arrested and charged with connection to the UMD. Three more were arrested in October. Other military people are now incarcerated for refusing to kiss the Spanish flag.

The understanding of nonviolent revolutionary change is rapidly growing in all regions of Spain due to a small group of dedicated pacifists and nonviolent activists. While in Spain I spent most of my time visiting these people, and especially those involved in the anti-militarist movement.

Conscientious objection status for the military is nonexistent. Conscription is mandatory. Every male is required to serve two years in the military. All women

must do a six-month alternative service with the Falange (the legal fascist party). Since the late '60's a number of people have been to jail and demonstrations have been held throughout Spain to raise the issue of conscientious objection. When Pepe Benunza and five other young men refused to enter the military in 1970, support demonstrations were held in many major European cities and a walk from Geneva to Madrid was stopped at the Spanish border by police. Several demonstrators were dragged away and beaten when they occupied the bridge between the French and Spanish border. Many supporters were arrested in Madrid on the same day.

With support from Amnesty International and War Resisters International, Pepe was released after three years' imprisonment in the Spanish Sahara. He then began work in building a nonviolent anti-militarist movement in all parts of Spain. Since his release in March, 1974, he has talked in over 200 meetings among groups and individuals and has built a solid core of people interested in promoting the ideas of nonviolence, conscientious objection and alternative civilian service. Their campaign resembles the Community of the Ark in France, where objectors to the Algerian war refused to go into the military, doing their own volunteer civil service in the community instead. Their message was clear and simple. Service for people and development of the community not service for war and death. When they were arrested the shock waves not only helped to change the conscientious objector laws in France (and, surprisingly, in Belgium as well), but it helped to raise issues directly related to French involvement in Algeria. More repression of those who refuse conscription will most assuredly produce more resistance to the military, as in the US during the Vietnam war.

The nonviolent movement activists I met are not naive; they understand the realities of fascism and are preparing themselves for the consequences of their positions. They are involved in campaigns against the death penalty, movements to stop construction of nuclear power plants, amnesty for political prisoners, rights for workers, and have taken leadership roles in the Catalan nationalist movement.

The campaigns for amnesty and against the death penalty have had great success with Justicia y Paz, an above-ground organization sponsored by the Catholic church. I went to an open amnesty meeting of about 300 people in Bilbao. A well-known civil rights lawyer from the province talked, and a speaker from Justicia y Paz read a prepared text. The crowd was very fearful of being recognized; but when a local fascist tried

to disrupt the meeting, almost everyone quietly booed him. Meetings like this are being held all over the country, and as innocent as they sound, they have had a dramatic impact.

As I write, Juan Carlos, newly crowned king of Spain has announced a general amnesty for 15,000 prisoners. Meanwhile, outside Carabanchel prison, an estimated 3,000 people demanded the release of Marcelino Camacho, a labor leader who is serving 12 years for illegal association and illegal propaganda, and 50 were arrested, including a well known movie actress.

Opposition to nuclear power plants is especially strong in Valencia de Don Juan. Peasants, workers, and residents in this area with the support of mayors and even some police tried to hold a nonviolent march to the regional capital from the proposed construction site. But as the opposition grew in strength, the *guardia civil* turned against the people and beat some demonstrators. Last June 14, Carlos Carrasco Munoz, Secretary of the Spanish Association for Environmental Planning (AEORMA) was arrested when he arrived in Leon to speak at a conference on the environmental effects of nuclear power plants. The conference had been called by 44 mayors of neighboring towns, but at the last minute the governor of Leon denied permission. The people of the area were in the streets following day, calling for the resignation of the governor, for Carrasco's release, and an end to construction plans. A hundred cars full of demonstrators drove to Leon and demonstrated at police headquarters, the governors' office, and on the main street. Armed police charged the demonstrators in all these places, injuring a dozen (including the mayor of Valencia de Don Juan) and arresting nine. Carrasco was released, however, on June 17 after payment of a 100,000 peseta fine for allegedly calling the conference. The struggle against the plants has continued, with shopkeepers threatening to boycott big business interests in Leon. Similar actions have become regular among workers in the South. In Granada, a large group of workers have become involved in nonviolent open protests. For over five years, a group of nonviolent activists, including some worker priests and nuns, have been promoting workers rights. A few years ago, they organized a demonstration against raised bus fares and were jailed for several weeks. Last April and early June they held protests against unemployment: 35 workers occupied a church and went on a hunger strike when arrested. After the archbishop visited the fasters in prison, he gave them full public support. The workers were soon released and charges dropped.

Probably the most well-known pacifist leader is the Catalan nationalist Luis Maria Xirinacs, a catholic priest who began supporting imprisoned students in the early 1960s. His fasting has raised the issues of separation of church and state, drawn support for political prisoners, and forced Catalan nationalists to openly oppose the fascist regime. On November 28, 1973, Fr. Xirinacs was imprisoned for his participation in the Assembly of Catalans. His imprisonment was opposed by thousands. In Easter, 1974, he was awarded the John XXIII Memorial while still in prison by Pax Christi International and Justicia y Paz and nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. National and international pressure forced the Spanish government to release him in late October. After he was released he spoke openly about the torture in the prisons and the infiltration of the jails by undercover police. His release was a very clear victory for nonviolence in Spain.

Pepe Benunza has stated that if it wasn't for the hard work and effort of the people at Amnesty International he would still be imprisoned in a Spanish Sahara jail. International support stopped the execution of 6 innocent people in early September. So we must build a network of support for their activities, publicize them and keep our feelings known to the Spanish government.

After a weekend of meetings with nonviolent organizers somewhere in rural Spain, this large, bearded activist turned to me and said, "You have learned much about our movement and struggle this weekend, about how we organize and our analysis of Spanish society—but there is one thing we wish you would do, you and all the people in the US: force your government to pack their bags and get out of our country."

The message was clear to me. The US has become the main supporter of Spanish fascism. When Spain was calling back all its ambassadors throughout Europe, the US was negotiating to give her more economic and military aid. The US has 28,000 military related personnel in Spain. We have spent \$7 billion on military establishments. Six thousand Spanish military personnel have been trained in the US, and the largest atomic submarine installation in the world is run by the US in La Rota. Americans clearly have a major responsibility in the continued repression of civil rights and the existence of the fascist regime. Even with the death of Franco, change cannot take place unless the American government withdraws its support. And only we Americans here at home can ever make that happen.

Protesters marching from France to the Spanish border on November 1, 1975. Photo from Liberation/LNS.



With the People at Reagan's Opening



Ronnie Reagan.
Photo by LNS
Women's Graphics
Collective.

JOHN LAMPERTI

It's hard to imagine challenging Gerald Ford from the right, but that is what Ronald Reagan is now trying to do. And it is in New Hampshire with its "first in the nation" presidential primary where Reagan's campaign must become credible, for if he can't attract many of this state's conservative Republicans he will have little hope elsewhere.

Reagan opened officially in Manchester, New Hampshire with a "citizens' press conference" on November 20. I was on hand together with some 60 friends of the People's Bicentennial Commission, who planned to raise the issue of "economic democracy" and to make visible some dissent from the evening's mainstream of well-fed conservatism. The PBC's "Common Sense Campaign" in the NH primary is designed to promote an idea, not a candidate; PBC believes (with some reason; see WIN, 10/16/75, pg. 12) that many Americans are highly aware that democracy has little to do with the economic forces and institutions which shape their lives—and that they are ready for real changes. Their campaign will use the

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NH primary and the media attention it attracts to bring these questions into the forefront of debate. In Manchester the tactics were to be questions asked the candidate, plus leaflets, signs and flags both inside and outside the hall where he was speaking.

The "press conference" was held in a posh motor lodge a few miles outside of town, reachable only by driving. There were a thousand fans on hand, all of them white and apparently prosperous; nearly all, except for the PBC contingent, middle-aged. The "secret" service men (wearing little buttons with the letters SS) were plentiful after that morning's toy-gun assassination scare in Florida, but the atmosphere was not repressive; this was a festive occasion. Former governor Hugh Gregg, Reagan's NH campaign director, warmed up the crowd for ten minutes, and the powerful loud-speaker system made his introductory chatter seem almost significant.

Now! "The Governor," his wife Nancy and an entourage of 20 swept down the aisle and up onto the platform. With little hesitation Reagan launched into an abbreviated version of "The Speech." After a joke and a Bible quote, he told us that government power is the problem—and that it stems from the New Deal. There was applause for "Washington doesn't solve problems, it subsidizes them!" (I sort of like that one too.) According to Reagan, taxes take 44% out of every dollar Americans earn. The US has lost its military superiority over the USSR in the last few years, an intolerable situation. Detente is all very well, but the Soviets must show that they want peace too. (More applause). We need to regain our "sense of mission." We must "dream the new dream," and "move forward." We need "progress instead of stagnation." But Reagan, despite his criticism of the Ford administration, obeys what he calls the eleventh commandment: "Thou shalt not speak ill of another Republican." And he promises not to "divide us" for the "great cursade that must culminate next November!"

Now for questions. "Why should the people of New Hampshire vote for Ronald Reagan instead of those other guys?" The answer sounds one of the evening's main themes: Reagan did such an excellent job as governor of California that he'd make a great President. He balanced the state budget, left a surplus in the treasury and got California bonds rated AAA for the first time. He drastically cut welfare—except for the "truly needy." When his system of strict controls was begun, thousands of "paper people" disappeared off the welfare rolls. It became obvious as we listened that the alleged welfare mess will again figure largely in his campaign. The facts that California welfare costs tripled during Reagan's tenure due to rising unemployment, and that the state budget and taxes both rose sharply, somehow weren't mentioned.

More: Reagan is against gun control legislation: "I like guns myself!" (Laughter.) The answer to crime is tough sentences. The US "gave away too much" in the SALT talks. The Russians are cheating on the agreements and increasing their military strength; thus we must spend more too because "to be second best militarily is to be last." He won't consider running on a third party ticket, since it would divide the people of like philosophy and ensure the election of a hated liberal. If elected Reagan could reverse the trend toward a welfare state, since "We did it in California!" But the wonderful reforms he tried to institute there were hampered by HEW's interference, a difficulty which President Reagan could, of course, overcome. Welfare should in any case be the job of the states,

rather than the federal government. "Forced busing" of schoolchildren is wrong. The new campaign laws are "evil." Reagan is against the Equal Right Amendment because it's "too simple" and would take away the "protection" which women have now. It is the husband's duty to provide a home for his family, and if ERA were passed women would lose more than they would gain. Above all, they might become eligible for the military draft. And (he *did* say it!) "I may be old-fashioned, but if we've got to go to war I'd like to know I'd be fighting for the little girl I left behind!"

The PBC folks asked questions too, about the domination of the US economy by big corporations (Reagan is very outspoken against big government) and about workers' control of industry through democratic determination of company management and policy. To the latter, Reagan replied that big business is *already* run by its employees, since "the president of the company is a hired hand." The owners, it seems are the proverbial widows and orphans who hold a share or two of stock or who have a stake in a pension fund which owns it for them. The men who run the company are all on salary. And if only he works hard and long enough, "The worker on the assembly line can someday be up there running the show."

The PBC's questions and signs did provoke comment. From behind me I heard some mutterings: "Disgrace!" "You can tell just by the..." "Chuck them out!" And even a whisper from the past: "Let them go to Russia and see how they like it there!" But no real hassles developed, and after the festivities were over there were even some conversations between Common Sense Campaigners and Reaganites.

Was the demo a success? Randy Barber, a PBC co-director, was pleased by the turnout and thought

it went well: the campaign had certainly made its presence known at the "conference." But the media response was disappointing: the evening TV news didn't even mention our efforts, while press reports which noted the PBC's "hard questions" didn't report the fatuousness of Reagan's answers. We have known all along that he is a polished performer; the problem is to focus attention on the content of what he says. The Manchester format, while allowing questions, prevented any discussion; Reagan always had the last word. Intelligent debate was not possible.

"And Reagan's campaign? Is he a realistic candidate, perhaps the Goldwater of 1976? I cannot believe that this animated cliché will become President of the United States. But I do see that his nomination, like Goldwater's, would drag political discussion to the right and would tend to push progressive forces into defensive positions. We would see lots of support for almost any Democratic "lesser evil" except George Wallace—just as many of us, who should have known better, supported LBJ in 1964. It would be a disaster, and it mustn't happen.

The night after Reagan's performance I was again one of a crowd of a thousand, this time at a Boston conference on "Repression and Resistance in the Third World, and the Role of United States Foreign Policy." To this audience US military strength meant not defence but oppression; giant American corporations stand for economic imperialism rather than good, sound business. The cultural gap between the two was overwhelming. If Ronald Reagan and his bourgeois supporters represent only a small, isolated fragment of American public opinion, perhaps this need not be a cause for worry. But if Reagan can attract a substantial following, the left must try to reach across that gap. It will be a big challenge.

... to secure peace
and liberty



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.



\$3 each, four for \$11. Order now and receive your copies in time for the winter holidays.

War Resisters League
339 Lafayette St.
New York, N.Y. 10012

Please send _____ copies to me:

My Name _____

My address _____

Zip _____

Series II, Data Cluster No. 1: The ISece papers. Even with the tanktrucks of ink spent describing the Domestic Operations Division of the CIA, and Operation Chaos, all published accounts, including The Rockefeller Commission Report, remind me a bit of those modern paintings where the canvas is left substantially bare and unpainted. That is, what are the specifics of Operation Chaos? What are the names and actual activities of the covert CIA agents or officers in the American war protest movement?

The truth regarding the CIA's role in domestic strife and protest may well be more grim than we realize if the allegations are accurate in certain papers we have lately encountered which detail an alleged section of the CIA, operating domestically, called the "ISece" section. The letters *IS* denote Internal Security. I do not know what "ece" is supposed to mean. According to the ISece papers we have seen, the ISece section of the CIA, virtually throughout the entire history of the CIA, has been engaged in the United States in everything from defaming and defeating political candidates the CIA did not like, to creating dissension within a certain aircraft company to get people fired, to sabotaging a certain form of city government the CIA did not like, to preparing reports on the beliefs of school and public officials.

The documents I have seen are alleged to have been written by a person with access to a Central Intelligence Agency records system called "Control Records Dispatch," located in Davenport, Iowa. The material purports to give a history of the activities of a certain CIA ISece agent active in the Pacific Northwest.

Several investigators seem to be afraid of this alleged CIA ISece agent. He is highly visible in the state of Washington, where he seems often to adopt the modus operandi of a r.w.n. (right wing nut). He is also alleged, by assassination investigator Richard Sprague in the October 1975 issue of *People and the Pursuit of Truth*, to have been a member of the team that assassinated President John F. Kennedy.

We intend to continue to examine these documents and their implications, and will try to report the re-

sults of our inquiries in further WIN Dom-Int columns. Anyone with data pertinent to these matters (except current ISece agents, please) please contact the Dom-Int Data Squad, c/o WIN Magazine.

And one more aspect we'd thought we'd mention: we hope we do not detect any deviation from the true posture of patriotism on the part of the alleged CIA ISece agent. It is to be noted, however, that the report indicates that he "was in Saigon, Indochina in December and January of 1945-46, and his reports from there were marked 'excellent.' There are no copies of these reports in Central Dispatch as they were removed in 1967 on 'draw and study order' by Col. M. Deveraux of the ISAF." (ISAF may be a typo for USAF.) Further, the report states that the agent, involved with a radio station in the state of Washington in late summer of 1969, was then ordered to report to Vietnam by November, 1969. The report notes that in the files was "a late request," apparently on the part of the alleged ISece agent, "asking cancellation of the Vietnam order." The report ends as of September 8, 1969, so maybe we'll never know if the agent was able to avoid, along with hundreds of thousands of fellow Americans, service in Nam.



Data Cluster No. 2: Regarding Sirhan Sirhan. Much of the research involving Sirhan Sirhan deals with logistics in the kitchen and pantry of the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles just prior to, and during, and right after, the assassination of Robert Kennedy. Was there a second gun? Was Sirhan robotically triggered off by the whispered code-babble of a blonde-wigged woman in a polkadot dress? Was someone hiding in and firing from the large ice machine inches away from the falling NY Senator? Or was another person firing silently next to Kennedy in the gloomy pantry filled with the high-decibel exultation of victory? It is

an extremely valid area of inquiry, but there is an additional possible gold mine of data that investigative attorneys Allard Lowenstein and Vince Bugliosi, who are deeply involved in the case, might consider. And that is to debrief Sirhan Sirhan with, say, 30 or 40 hours of voluntary interrogation under hypnosis.

There is some indication that Sirhan himself is willing, with people he trusts, to undergo such hypnotic debriefing. The State of California has apparently temporarily shaken off the forces of overt oppression, and the administration of Gov. Brown conceivably would support such a move under proper, scientific circumstances. A casual look into published works on hypnotism, such as *Hypnotism* by G.H. Estabrooks (E.P. Dutton paperback), reveals that under hypnosis, in the words of Estabrooks (p. 149), "the hypnotic subject has a memory which is often startlingly good for past events." I am, of course, speaking of learning from Sirhan the most meticulously minute details about his activities during every day from Jan. 1 through June 5, 1968.

It is my understanding that under careful hypnosis, the mind can become like a video camera, and the hypnotized person can describe just about anything he or she experienced. Sirhan could recall license plates he saw during those months, phone numbers he called, every single person he met, every meeting he attended. And if there are memory blocks regarding certain days or events, that is important also; the date and precise circumstances of any memory lapses could be determined, and these could be isolated for investigation as possible periods when he may have been programmed for murder and instructed to forget the circumstances.

Dr. Eduard Simson was the Senior Psychologist on the staff at San Quentin prison in the summer of 1969 when Sirhan first arrived on Death Row. Dr. Simson was able to administer various tests and to talk with Sirhan for about 20 weeks, totalling some 35 hours, before he was banned from seeing Sirhan by the Assistant Warden. Dr. Simson resigned his position at San Quentin as a result, and was unable, as he had planned, to interrogate Sirhan under hypnosis. Sirhan apparently was willing to cooperate.

Dr. Simson states that Sirhan, in their conversations in the summer of 1969, could recall nothing about the actual shooting. The last thing Sirhan remembered was giving a cup of coffee to a woman in a polkadot dress. Dr. Simson, a Fellow in the American Society for Clinical Hypnosis, feels that the key to the RFK tragedy lies stored in Sirhan's blocked but unforgetting mind. Perhaps Gov. Brown will set up a Special Commission of hypno-interrogation, with Dr. Simson as a member, to undertake this necessary project.

Data Cluster No. 3: Brain-washing and assassinations have become s.r.o. on college campuses. The Zapruder film, talks on behavior modification, attacks on the Warren Commission, Cowboy killers vs. Eastern Establishment killers—all are topics at conferences around the country that bear the fervor and excitement of the Vietnam teach-ins. There is, however, a certain phenomenon occurring in the network of snuff-sleuths, which is becoming more and more an item of conversation. That is, who are the agents? Here is what I mean:

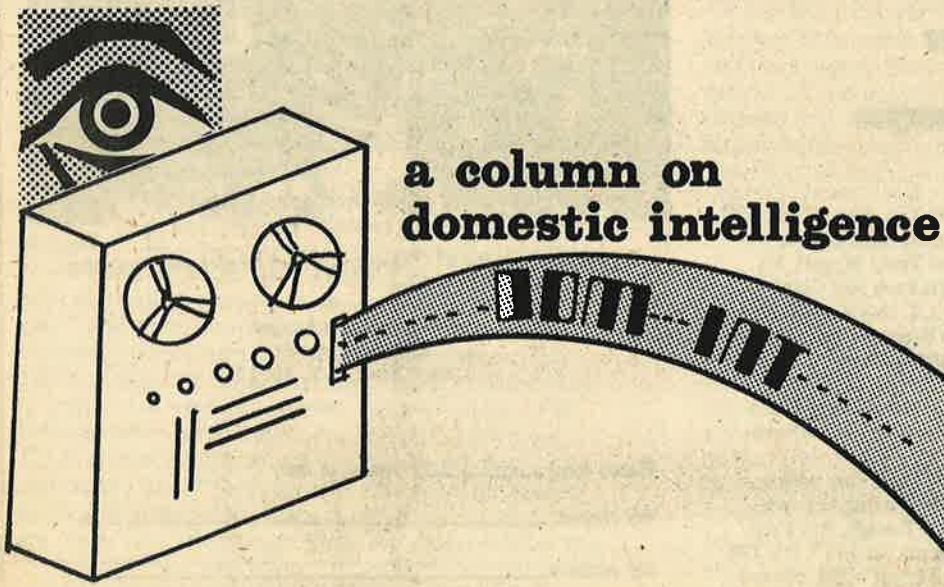
A is a famous assassination investigator, who is considered by quite a few other assassination investigators to be a government agent, perhaps even CIA. B is a district attorney's investigator about whom a few assassination investigators have suspicions that he is a CIA agent planted in the district attorney's office, perhaps to keep an eye on the RFK case. B, for his part, supposedly thinks that A is an agent for Jimmy Hoffa, rather than for the CIA. C is a very well-regarded investigator whose partner, D, thinks E, an active assassination investigator who is a successful writer, is an agent of the government. C is now suspicious of A, in that he apparently feels that A does not move forcefully enough with top-level assassination data, and therefore may be part of an assassination cover-up.

F is suspect in many quarters of being CIA, but on the other hand has good liberal credentials and has taken risks in his career to support his anti-war beliefs. G, a lawyer and very famous assassination expert, openly accuses F of being a CIA agent. E, himself accused of being a government agent, nevertheless is also suspicious of F, but thinks G is on an ego trip. G also thinks that a journalist who continues to write highly-placed articles on the JFK assassination is a government agent. H, a former high-level cop, and author of a recent book, is under suspicion of hanky-panky for publishing a possible false lead as to who actually killed JFK. A, mentioned above, apparently located the actual name of the above book's killer, who nevertheless was given a pseudonym in the tome.

I can see them sitting in the bar right now, the two data-weary assassination sleuths at the end of a long fear-suffused day. One leans over to the other and says, "Everyone's an agent but me and thee; but isn't not also true that thou wert once an army intelligence agent?"



BY Ed Sanders



**a column on
domestic intelligence**

WRI FACES FINANCIAL CRISIS

Kate Sheehan, an American staff person for the War Resisters International, says that WRI is in the midst of an extremely serious financial crisis. "There is only enough money for staff salaries and programs through December, 1975. The staff has been given notice that they will not be employed in 1976 unless sufficient funds are raised in December," says Kate in a letter to WIN and other publications and groups.

"The world situation indicates an expansion, not a reduction, in the efforts of pacifists," she continues. "Are we to have an international office, staff, and program?"

Contributions to assist the WRI can be made by sending a check to WRL, c/o Ralph DiGia, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012. Please indicate that the donation is to assist the International.

Copies of the WRI Triennial Report are available, including sections on the Middle East, conscientious objection, draft resistance, sexism, India, the Larzac, simple living, war tax refusal, Spain and a variety of other subjects. Sent by air, the report is \$2.50.

-WRI Staff

200,000 IN MEXICO MARCH AGAINST NATIONAL UNION LEADERSHIP

Marching ten people abreast, almost 200,000 workers filled Mexico City's major avenue November 15 in the largest demonstration of working people in Mexico in over a decade.

Organized by a growing rank-and-file movement within SUTERM one of the country's electrical workers unions, the demonstration was attended by petroleum and auto workers, bakers, teachers and university workers, peasants, and slum dwellers, in addition to SUTERM members.

The marchers condemned the collaboration of their union leaders with multinational corporations and Mexican companies, shouting, "Sell-out leaders must go to jail."

SUTERM locals from all over Mexico were present in force. Some of them have been on strike for months, and all of them demanded the dismissal of Fidel Velasquez, head of the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), Mexico's equivalent of the AFL-CIO.

Organizers said the march was also an homage to those who were massacred at Tlatelolco in 1968 and to

fifteen students killed in Mexico City and Monterey in June 1971.

Although the Mexican government nationalized the electrical industry fifteen years ago, electrical workers point out that it is still structured and operated like a private, profit-making monopoly.

Rafael Galvan, the head of the rank-and-file group in SUTERM called for the unification of all electrical workers in one union, for national planning of the industry, and for adjusted electricity rates to make corporations pay higher rates than the public.

SUTERM was founded when two electrical unions joined together in the 1960's after many years of inter-union rivalry. In the unifying agreement, one union retained control of the top leadership and won its demand that the new union remain within the government-supported union confederation, CTM. The other union succeeded in establishing democratic sections with relative autonomy within the new union, and weekly assemblies at the local level. It was also successful in winning an improved contract with Federal Electric, the largest electrical company.

But the old, top-level leadership has attempted to hold back the growing strength of the rank-and-file. Earlier this year, Galvan and other rank-and-file leaders were expelled from the union. Recently over half the workers in some plants where the rank-and-file movement is strong have been dismissed in mass firings.

The march was a show of workers' strength and a deep and open challenge to the ruling party in Mexico. For many years, the country has been governed by the PRI, the Institutionalized Party of the Revolution, which proclaims itself the representative of "all sectors of the population," workers and peasants, as well as the country's wealthy landowners and businessmen. The PRI claims that its brand of Mexican nationalism overcomes class conflict and eliminates the need for opposition.

The first substantive challenge to the PRI government, many observers note, was the widely supported railroad workers movement in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Although brutally crushed, this movement gave rise to the even more massive protests of 1968 when students and workers demonstrated in Tlatelolco in Mexico City, demanding liberty for political prisoners and protesting the celebration of the Olympic Games in Mexico. Eyewitnesses estimated that almost a thousand demonstrators were killed by police.

-LNS

HONEYWELL IS AT IT AGAIN

Antipersonnel bomblets of Vietnam fame are being shipped to Israel, Belgium, and the Netherlands in a fancy new configuration, the Lance, *Aerospace Daily* 10/28/75 reports. The Lance surface-to-surface missile with a range of 70 miles is fitted with a warhead filled with 860 BLU-63 bomblets. The BLU-63 is a "product improved" version of the one-pound "guava" bomblet that spewed steel balls and was dropped on the villages, cities, and countryside of Vietnam (where unexploded ordnance is still causing problems today). Like the guava, the BLU-63 can be used with a delay fuse that causes the bomblets to go off at random intervals hours after the attack, when people have come out of shelters thinking it is safe.

The Lance warheads are manufactured by Honeywell Inc. (of guava bomblet fame) and assembled at Picatinny Arsenal in New Jersey. They cost at least \$20,000 apiece. Each warhead spreads bomblets over an area half a square mile in size.

In Vietnam, guava bomblets were used in "cluster bombs" dropped from airplanes. A missile such as the Lance is much more expensive than a cluster bomb; the reason for using it (against heavily defended territory) is that it eliminates the risk (and expense) of one's own planes being shot down. In this respect the Lance is considered to be "cost-effective," and according to an Army general testifying at a 1972 Congressional hearing, "The major advantage of the Lance nonnuclear warhead would be in the early stages of any conflict, when tactical aircraft are for the most part busily engaged in trying to attain a posture of air superiority." In this view the targets are not people per se, but antiaircraft emplacements on the ground, and the bomblet-filled Lance could serve (in the general's words) to "pave corridors by selectively attacking the surface-to-surface missile systems thus enabling tactical aircraft to go in to deep penetration targets." Let's hope that civilians are smart enough to stay out of the way while this is happening.

-NARMIC

AUTO WORKERS PROTEST GM ACTIVITY IN CHILE

The United Auto Workers (UAW) executive board voted recently to protest General Motor's decision to begin a vast auto and truck assembly operation in Chile.

General Motors, Ford and Chrysler asked permission from the Chilean junta to resume their operations, which they shut down during the Allende administration, and all submitted bids to the junta in April, 1975. At that time 236,000 American auto workers had been laid off by these three companies who intended to pay Chilean workers much lower wages.

Only GM's bid was accepted from the US along with those of Peugeot-Renault and Fiat.

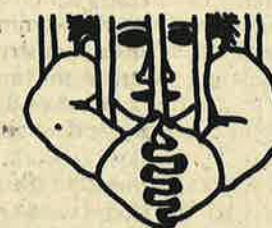
Mass rallies in Paris protested the participation of Peugeot-Renault in the Chile project, and affiliates of the World Confederation of Labor, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions are all mounting a campaign against Fiat.

But American unions, other than the UAW, have been conspicuously silent on the subject. The AFL-CIO, which issued an extremely mild condemnation of the Chilean junta during its September convention, has refused to speak out, and for good reason.

Several documented studies published in 1974 indicate that the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) was part of the CIA effort to "destabilize" the Allende government, encouraging right-wing labor activity, including the truck-owners strike in October, 1972. Since the coup, only AIFLD union activity has been allowed.

-LNS

PRISON NOTES



The struggle for improvement of conditions on Death Row at Florida State Prison continues with 43 of the 60 prisoners in that section of the penitentiary signing a petition which went to the state's governor. Another hunger strike was planned to begin December 1 with promise of support from many prisoners in the regular population. This is a historic event, possibly the first sustained nonviolent struggle involving Death Row prisoners. Letters expressing support should go to the warden at Florida State Prison, Starke, Florida 32091 and to Governor Rubin Askew, State Capitol, Tallahassee Florida.

Imprisoned draft resister Bruce Baechler has been adopted as a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International. Meanwhile a support committee for Bruce has been formed in this country. The contact person is William Samuel, 120 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, DC 20002.

All too often we neglect to publicize the positive results of a nonviolent campaign such as the IRS reversal of the sale of the Bromley home, and the government's backing down on applying the Trading With the Enemy Act to the AFSC action in shipping civilian goods to Vietnam. Another recent and significant accomplishment was the release of Professor Enrique Kirberg from political imprisonment in Chile. Kirberg's freedom resulted from a two-year program by members of the Stamford, Connecticut area group of Amnesty International, especially the tireless efforts of the group's chairperson, Mrs. Gertrude Rosenblum, who commented on the release: "There exists an international sense of outrage over the increasing violation of human rights, including the use of torture, by governments, but when people throughout the world speak out to express their concern and protest, as in the case of Professor Kirberg, even the most repressive governments are inclined to take notice."

Any book which begins "The prison system as it exists in this country must be abolished," should be useful, but *Women Behind Bars: An Organizing Tool By Resources for Community Change* is much more valuable than that. Among its 56 pages are articles by and about women prisoners, descriptions of various groups providing prisoner services and programs, and resources in the form of books, articles, films and tapes. It is an indispensable handbook for anyone working with prisoners. It costs \$1.75 and is available from: Resources for Community Change, PO Box 21066, Washington, DC 20009.

"We believe that people are taught from an early age to view women as easy, passive, sex symbols, personal property; those early childhood lessons are the basis, we believe, for forceful rape." The above is only one of a

series of interesting quotes in a duplicated letter sent out by an organization of prisoners asking support for their cause, Prisoners Against Rape, Inc. You can contact them by writing Box 25, Lorton, Virginia 22078.

Prisoners in the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility at Lucasville are working to establish a program for busing visitors from various Ohio cities. They are asking for donations, including used buses. Contact Mr. James X Branson, Jr., President, Shabass Transportation Inc., 2467 Hollywood Ave., Toledo, Ohio 43620.

Other prison support efforts in dire need of financial aid are the Prisoners' Union, 1315 18th Street, San Francisco, California 94107, and the Lewisburg Prison Project, which has filed a class action suit in court to shut down the worst section of the "hole" in the Federal Penitentiary there. Contributions should to ACL Foundation of Pennsylvania, earmarked "litigation Jordan v. Arnold," 1303 Washington Ave., Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. Both these are tax deductible.

Writing in *Transition*, a Canadian prisoner publication, James M. Smith commented, "The only persons who have the true meaning of what it is like in a prison are the prisoners themselves, or a person from a concentration camp." This is a vital point, verified by such recent ex-prisoners as the late Jimmy Hoffa, former Federal Judge Otto Kerner, and most of the Watergate criminals. Any prison project of publicity or support which fails to take into consideration the views of the prisoners is almost certainly bound to fail.

-Larry Gara

REVIEWS

ALL THE LIVELONG DAY, The Meaning and Demeaning of Routine Work Barbara Garson / Doubleday & Company, Inc / 1975 / \$7.95

It was the positive things I saw that touched me the most. Not that people are beaten down (which they are) but that they almost always pop up. Not that people are bored (which they are) but the ways they find to make it interesting. Not that people hate their work (which they do) but that even so, they try to make something out of it.

This book was written with artistry, love and a desire to be truthful. It is not easy to edit interviews. Barbara Garson has a playwright's sense for what to include and when to cut. Rather than remove herself from the narrative, she herself is right there too, as a participant, telling you her own unguarded feelings and mature reflections. In reviewing her book, I want to enter into the dialogue.

ALL THE LIVELONG DAY

The themes described in *All the Livelong Day* are consistent with what Staughton and I found in interviewing for *Rank and File*. Through a variety of scenes, Barbara Garson contrasts an active union with ineffectual unions or non-unionized situations. She illustrates wage discrepancies between men and women, skilled and unskilled, permanent and temporary, bonus and non-bonus, high and low ends of the pay scale. She has workers who must earn, and some who work to add a second income to the family or for something to do; some are young and aimless. She touches on the frustrations inherent in management's prerogative to run the plant and the demoralization which results when the union is unresponsive to its membership. But this book is not abstract sociological or political analysis. It is about human beings. And it expresses the worry that human beings are being pushed beyond human endurance.

THE MEANING OF ROUTINE WORK

Barbara Garson believes that division of labor is primarily a device for controlling the workforce. Even though it is not always most efficient in getting out production, assignment of specific tasks to specific individuals enables supervision to check on who is doing how much and to know who is responsible for errors. Jobs are reduced and simplified so that they can be performed by low-paid and easily replaceable workers. Skilled elements are eliminated as much as possible so that skilled workmen do not know more than management. However, even in the most automated situation, individual judgment or adjustments are needed to keep the machinery operating smoothly. When the job becomes "too fast for the human nerves, too insulting for the human spirit, or just too meaningless for the human brain to comprehend. . . at that point, large companies start making small plans for job enrichment. . . It only means rolling back to the point where the job is do-able."

...AND DEMEANING OF ROUTINE WORK

When jobs are fragmented and robbed of any skill, the worker loses a sense of accomplishing anything. A process of de-meaning has taken place. Barbara Garson was fas-

cinated by the numerous private devices which people used to inject meaning into otherwise meaningless work. They race each other or try to synchronize or syncopate their rhythm with that of others, or see if they can do it with their eyes shut. At worst, they merely "blank their mind" during the hours at work. So many jobs, she found, are incomprehensible to anyone who has not worked that job. We don't have the images or words to convey what a person does at work. So even a man's wife doesn't know what he does. He goes to work with his lunchbox full and he comes home tired and hungry.

Routine work is demeaning in another way in that it asks less of us than we are capable of doing. I am sure it must be a common experience to feel as I have about many jobs: they haven't invented the machine to do it yet so they hired me. Barbara Garson describes a clerk who found an error, not her own, and the conflict she felt: if all they hire her to do is check columns, why should she get behind in her production to point out something which could vastly affect some poor guy's insurance coverage? She reported the error though.

I was shocked on one job I had to find myself wanting to dress well, very uncharacteristic of me. Why? I asked myself. Because it was the only way I could assert my own sense of dignity; if nobody else cared about me, at least I could show I cared about myself. It gave me a new insight into why women in offices get so dressed up.

"Demeaning" affects people's after-work as well as their work lives. They give up initiative. Their goals are personal, not shared.

When you work day in and day out at a scientifically managed job like typing stud or packing Ping-Pong paddles, you certainly feel something is missing. But the constriction, the listlessness, the absence of that spark comes to seem like a natural part of your character. It doesn't feel as though you need a revolution; it feels as though you need Geritol.

WORKERS' CONTROL

Barbara Garson gives one example of an informal work group which has as its goal getting out the payroll and, in the process, includes a woman bringing her four-year-old granddaughter with her to work, an office party at lunchtime, and someone hastening to correct her error so people's paychecks won't come out wrong. She projects this as an ideal insofar as a goal of accomplishment is shared and achieved along with assistance to one another in many non-job concerns:

. . . They share a notion of what's important in the world: work, education, family, friends, weddings, bar mitzvahs, and, above all, children.

The women themselves have arranged their office time to encompass the important things in life. Included among those things is getting out the payroll.

The closest experience I have had to workers control was as a member of the Macedonia Co-operative Community (where Community Playthings were originated). I felt that it didn't matter whether I was scrubbing potatoes or working in the laundry or in the shop. It was all part of building the whole to which we were all committed.

"The most often repeated lament," Barbara Garson heard, "was that of being 'used,' being 'treated like a machine.'" People need to work and work well, she is convinced. At Macedonia we had a sense of being used but not abused. It was a good feeling—perhaps the way an athlete feels—of participation in an undertaking larger than anything one could do oneself, sweat, tiredness, having breathed fully and deeply. I think Barbara Garson would agree that feeling a part of a larger meaningful whole is also a basic human need.

—Alice Lynd

TALES OF BEATNIK GLORY Ed Sanders / Stonehill / 1975 / 274 pp. / \$8.95

Ed Sanders' memoirs of the early 60's in New York City flash and sparkle. His stomping grounds stretched from the depths of the lower east side to Washington Square and he recaptures them well. It's a tough funny scattered book, bursting with word energy. Not much plot really—but an accumulation of far-out characters and far-fetched anecdotes, wrapped in irony and love and garnished with a sharp eye for detail.

Oh yes, and it's fiction. Right here on the copyright page we're told, "The events and people described herein are fictitious." This struck me as weird but when I got into the book I could dig it. Ed's observations are pungent enough it's no wonder he didn't use real names. For those so inclined, the book lends itself to the Who Is Really Who Game. I found myself getting into this at first. Dreams of the intrepid reviewer spilling all. But as I got more into the book I realized I knew all these people or maybe none of them. Maybe these incidents really happened or maybe they sprang full-blown from Ed's methedrine-scarred brain. I suspect it's a bit of both.

The important thing is that with accurate strokes he captures the tang of the era. If you were on the scene then, even if it wasn't exactly Ed's scene (I was out in San Francisco), the book is sure to have lots of reverberations for you.

Where were you when you discovered *Howl*? Where when they executed Caryl Chessman? (Did you think they'd actually do it?) Where during the Cuban missile crisis?

Ed Sanders is a special kind of beatnik in several respects. As editor of *Fuck You, A Magazine of the Arts* (called in the book *The Shreek of Revolution*), he marched at the forefront of the pro-obscenity forces. He obliges here with descriptions of a "group grope" and a few other sex scenes. These strike me as tepid, doubtless a mark of the success of the sexual revolution fomented by the beatniks.

Ed is also special in that he's a pacifist and a political activist, giving the lie to the media image of beats as socially unconcerned do-nothings. For me the richest parts of the book are those picturing demonstrations and peace projects, particularly the chronicle of love and terror on the "Memphis to Washington Walk for Peace" sponsored by the "National Committee for a Nonviolent Civilization." He tells it like it was and it was funny, touching and mad. Included verbatim is the project's nonviolent discipline with its notorious "celibacy oath," so typical of that up-tight era. (What a contrast with the Continental Walk starting next month which, judging from its call, has no nonviolent discipline at all.)

Ed is also remarkable because of the extensiveness of his arcane knowledge (most of which goes over my head but I enjoy it anyhow) and his vocabulary. I bet he knows more words than Spiro Agnew. Here's some of the keen ones I added to my word list: carotid, griseous, tarvia, fane, sistrum-shaker, glyph'd, pornolaliac, flan, catafalque, micturitions, herm, chyme, scoreaceously, ziggurat and fontanel. All these words are highly recommended, as is the book.

—Mark Morris

OUR ENEMY, THE STATE and "On Doing the Right Thing"

Albert Jay Nock / Free Life Editions, 41 Union Square West, New York 10003 / 148 pages / paperback, \$2.95

Albert Jay Nock (1870-1945) started his career as an Episcopalian minister in Virginia. In 1910, at the age of 40, he left his family and the Church and went to New York to work as a writer. Early in his new career, Nock wrote an editorial for the *Nation* that denounced President Wilson for sending Samuel Gompers, the conservative labor leader, to Europe to drum up support for the first World

War. The Post Office responded by confiscating that issue of the *Nation*.

In some ways, Nock reminds me of Paul Goodman. They were both anarchists who identified their anarchism with old-fashioned conservatism. Both believed that America had been better off under the Articles of Confederation than under the central government established by the Constitution. And both believed that any kind of state was bad for civilization. As Nock put it, "the law is probably the most sordid, disreputable, and depraving institution in the country."

In other ways, Nock was more like H.L. Mencken. He was an iconoclast and a master of acid aphorism. To underline his alienation from the world he lived in, he called his autobiography *The Memoirs of a Superfluous Man*. However, unlike Mencken, Nock was not nasty. He didn't call ordinary people the uncivilized majority or the booboisie. His interest centered on the libertarian remnant who paid attention to him, but he did not denounce those who ignored him.

This book is a collection of seven essays. Six of them were first published in 1935 as *Our Enemy, the State*, and the seventh is the title essay from the 1928 collection *On Doing the Right Thing and Other Essays*. Together they give a good picture of Nock's political theory. Because he wrote in a beautifully clear style, the essays are all interesting to read. Because he was a good observer of human nature, most of the ideas are sensible. And because anarchism has been neglected since the depression, during America's 40-year fascination with centralized socialism, many of Nock's ideas still seem novel.

However, one element of Nock's thought is out of date. His economic theories are based on the work of the 19th-century economist Henry George, whose once-popular theories radicals have now discarded and academic economists no longer bother to refute. Henry George believed that poverty could be eliminated by a simple mechanism: taxing only natural resources, like land. Most takes, he pointed out, tax things people have created, like the house they have built on their property, or the salary they have earned. George believed the way to encourage creative work and to discourage financial speculation was to tax only the unearned part of people's income—the part contributed by the land itself, for example, not by the building erected on it.

In the beginning of this century, Henry George's ideas appealed to libertarian radicals as a way to be both libertarian and radical. Monopolists and bankers had distorted the libertarian economics of Adam Smith and gutted it of its radicalism. The socialist economics of the day was radical but authoritarian. The Georgians seemed to be the only economic school that was concerned both with human welfare and with freedom. Nock's generation of libertarian radicals inevitably embraced George's theories.

This new edition of *Our Enemy, the State* is scholarly, conscientiously produced, and uncensored. Free Life Editions has designed the book well and produced it carefully. Walter Grinder's introduction gives a balanced picture of Nock's life and work, and his bibliographical essay at the end is a good guide to related books. Finally, including the essay "On Doing the Right Thing" under the same covers with *Our Enemy, the State* was an inspiration. It provides a tantalizing taste of the personal side of Nock's anarchism to complement the political essays in the rest of the book.

—Henry Bass

Alice Lynd is the co-author, with her husband Staughton, of Rank and File: Personal Histories by Working Class Organizers (Beacon, 1974, \$3.95). Mark Morris and Henry Bass are frequent contributors to these pages.

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