

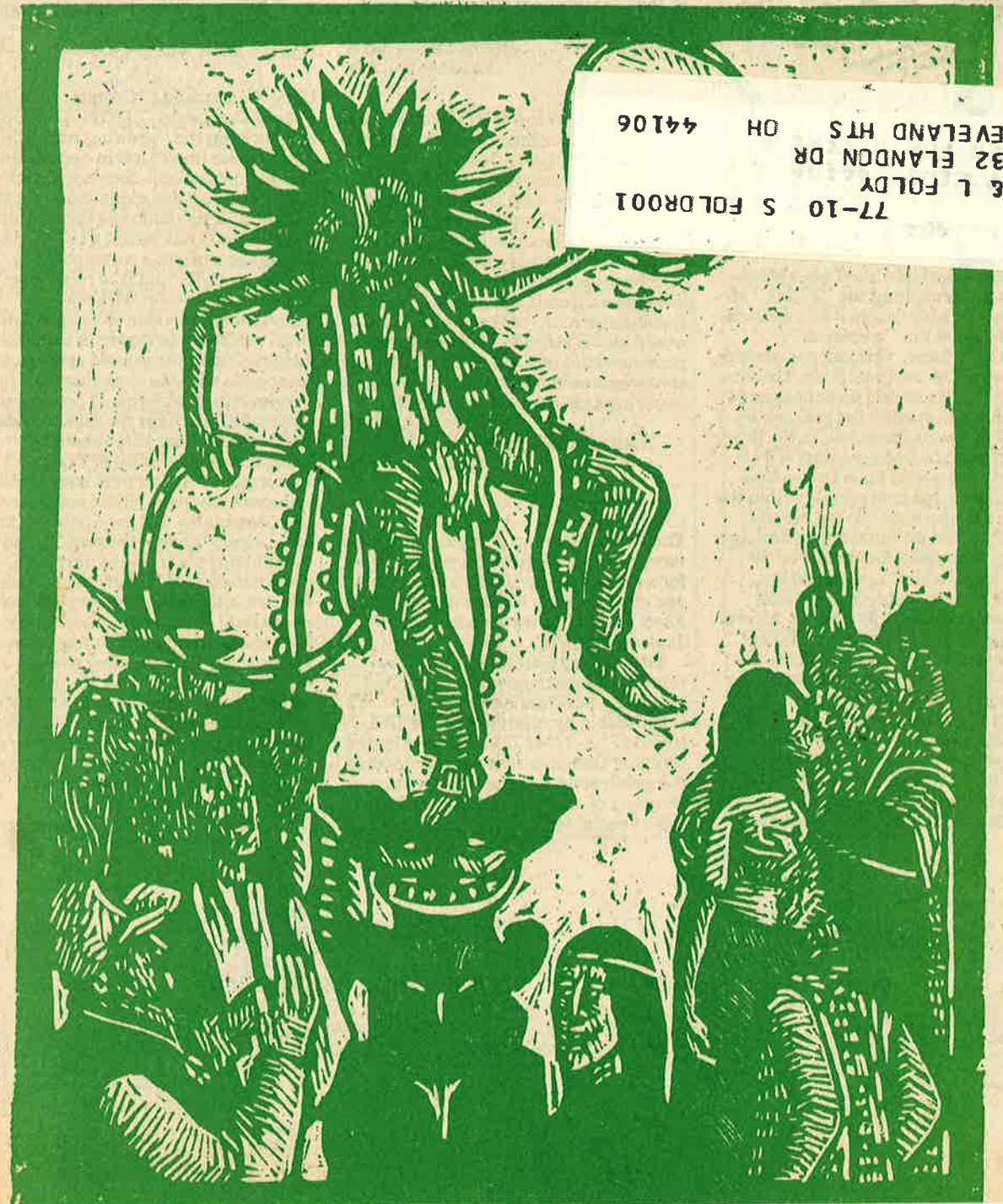
February 19, 1976 / 30¢

# win

PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

**Socialist Dilemma in  
Portugal;  
Farmers Battle Worldwide  
Military Expansion;  
Latest News from the  
Continental Walk;**

## More Terror at Pine Ridge





The anti-abortion letter by Evelyn K. Samras of Gainesville [WIN, 1/29/76] was so blatantly rhetorical that there might be a tendency to dismiss it out of hand, but it brings up a number of considerations which we should be prepared to deal with when confronted by such diatribes.

Samras asked why the Peace Movement is not protesting the "killing" of "babies" by abortion as it had successfully protested the "wholesale slaughter" of war. This can and should be answered on several levels, but certain basic ideas should be kept in mind. A primary one is not to let yourself be defined by your opponents. In the first place, if she had been reading WIN regularly she would have known that WIN did give space to people within the Movement who were having second thoughts about abortion not so long ago. But they discussed the matter on an ethical level, which Samras did not.

In the second place, Samras asks Movement people to join her cause and tries to guilt trip us about it. "Where are you now?" she asks twice, but we can ask with more relevance where the anti-abortion people were then. Did they get their heads cracked in Chicago or join the peaceful masses who marched in Washington and other cities? And where are they now? Do they fight the death penalty or demand gun control? Do they oppose death-

oriented systems like the B-1 bomber and nuclear power plants? Do they support life-oriented actions like Friendship and the Continental Walk? Samras would have us join her cause, but it is clear that the anti-abortion people not only seldom joined ours but were often on the other side. The true sincerity of their self-proclaimed life orientation is questionable.

The polemic devices used by anti-abortionists and incorporated in the letter hardly deserve the bother of rebuttal, but they should be noted. Again there is the matter of redefining issues. Samras would have it that the motivation of the "war merchants" was population control: "We need war to control the masses!" This would bring the anti-war issue within the parameters of her group's cause; but the Movement correctly identified the hawks' primary motivation as being imperialistic. —**BOTH SIDES NOW** Jacksonville, Fla.

I was pleased to see WIN highlighting plans for the Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice [12/18/76]. I personally feel that such an action as the walk is of major importance in this the Buy-Centennial year.

But there is much to be done—and help is needed. Everyone should make an effort to support the Walk especially as it passes through the various communities on route to Washington, DC. I would like to hear from all interested persons in the Indiana, Ohio, Michigan area who would like to help organizing in our areas in support of the Walk.

—**CRAIG GLASSNER**  
Humanity House, 475 W. Market St.  
Akron, Oh. 44303.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has forwarded your letter of April 26, 1975 for a release determination concerning one of our reports located in their files. Their letter to us was received on January 19, 1976.

Included with their letter was the report: a Department of Defense Intelligence Information Report (identifiable by reference to DDIR 1 650 0167 72, 1 Dec 72), authored by our office on Okinawa. The report concerns the publication and distribution on Okinawa of anti-war literature. The report contained a listing of the ad-

resses for such publications. The only information in the report which is pertinent to your request is the following address, which is quoted:

WIN  
339 LAFAYETTE  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10012

The report does not contain any other information which is pertinent to your request. That is neither, WIN Magazine, nor Maris Cakars are mentioned in our report in the FBI files, except for the address of WIN, quoted above.

The document itself is not being furnished to you because, other than the portion quoted above, it does not fall within the scope of your request.

—**RUDOLPH M. SCHELLHAMMER**  
Headquarters Office of  
Special Investigations  
Department of the Air Force  
Washington, DC

Now we know where we were! —**WIN**

Gary Wandachild ("Complacency in the Face of Patriarchy," [WIN, 1/22/76]), in criticizing the "growing retrenchment on the [male] left in opposition to feminist priorities" does not include an additional possible explanation for this situation. If revolution defined by most male radicals has meant a change in substance without a corresponding change in style, that is, a redistribution of wealth and power without questioning the value of social relationships mediated by power or ownership interests, then those male radicals will be at odds with the view that calls for elimination of all forms of power and ownership. Perhaps the men Wandachild criticizes are threatened by thoughts such as those of Peggy Kornegger: "Traditional male politics reduces humans to object status and then dominates and manipulates them for abstract 'goals.' Women, on the other hand, are trying to develop a consciousness of 'Other' in all areas. We see subject-to-subject relationships as not only desirable but necessary. . . . When we say we are fighting patriarchy, it isn't always clear to all of us that that means fighting all hierarchy, all leadership, all government, and the very idea of authority itself. . . . Challenging sexism means challenging all hierarchy—economic, political and personal. And that means an anarchist-feminist revolution." [From "Anarchism: The Feminist Connec-

tion," *The Second Wave*, Spring, 1975; Kornegger's emphasis.]

—**DAN GARTNER**  
Palo Alto, Ca.

I was intrigued by Wandachild's patriarchy article [WIN, 1/22/76], and at the same time by arguments by feminists and others against organized sports. This reading of his article and the argument occurred while I was watching the Steelers/Cowboys football game 1/25. Did any of you argue about the merits of watching that game? What has been resolved as a result? Was it a good game? Can a 'radical' watch such a spectacle/or be a fan? How about the battle of the sexes? Is there a movement analogy with groups & fans & taking the field and competing? How about cooperation? Is WIN-ning possible in the face of patriarchy? Will G.M.W.'s & Bob Lamm's article [WIN, 1/29/76] help keep the WIN sub swimming with feminist support? What is the real, symbolic & empty significance of the victory for the "once is not enough" Steelers? —**MIKE OCHS** Butler, Pa.

Rather all take one step to the left than a few move so far that they have to shout to be heard.

In practice, it's good to have people strung out all along the path. Some will

stop and be there to guide others. Some will find the most sensible routes.

I believe in presenting my beliefs as radically, cogently, and undogmatically as I can. If people trust me, they will accept my having those beliefs.

As for action, I would not feel comfortable asking someone to aid me until I had helped with their problems and struggles.

Wendy Schwartz, good article [WIN, 1/15/76]. —**WILL WERLEY** Essex, Md.

I got mugged last week for my copy of WIN. What do you call that?

—**TAD RICHARDS**  
New York, NY

Getting the WIN knocked out of you. —**WIN**

#### WHAT HE SAW

Saw the tent fold up  
With him in it;  
Watched the tent pole snap,  
The stakes fly under the flaps;  
Saw the tent fold up  
With him in it,  
On a quiet evening  
In Boston.

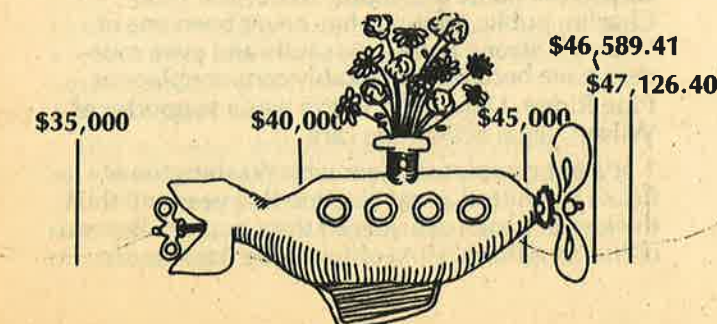
—**David Michael Nixon**

For \$600 you can't buy a jet fighter or a navy destroyer. \$600 won't even get you one wing of a B-1 bomber or one engine on an aircraft carrier. You can't buy the rights to a strip mine in West Virginia or tear down a nuclear power plant for \$600. It won't come close to electing you (or anyone else) to high government office. And, of course, you can't buy peace of mind for any price.

But for \$600 you can free WIN from last year's debts. In the past two weeks we've raised over \$6,000 and we are less than \$600 away from our goal of \$47,126.40. This will guarantee that WIN won't be hampered by past debts. We want to continue bringing you news you can't get anywhere else. With that mere \$600 we can continue to serve as a vital connection between people and groups working to make this country and the world a better place to live. It will free WIN to look ahead to our tenth anniversary year unburdened by last year's debts.

\$600 can buy quite a lot.

Peace,  
WIN



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#### STAFF

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Dwight Ernest Mary Mayo  
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Murray Rosenblith

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Wendy Schwartz\* Martha Thomases Art Waskow  
Allen Young Beverly Woodward

\*Member of WIN Editorial Board

Box 547 / Rifton / New York 12471  
Telephone: 914-339-4585

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Woodcut from Akwesasne Notes.

Dick Wilson is on his way out. It can't happen soon enough for everyone concerned with the rights and lives of Indian people.

Strongman at the 13,000 member Pine Ridge, SD Reservation since 1972, Wilson had become a symbol of tribal government corruption and federal favoritism because of his ripoffs of federal funds and his terrorist tactics, backed up by what is essentially a federally-funded private army. His harassment of the American Indian Movement (AIM) supporters and traditional Indians generally was the major cause of the 1973 Wounded Knee occupation. On a local level, at the nation's second largest reservation, Wilson's behavior paralleled that of Washington, which is engaged in a many-faceted attempt to destroy Indian protest.

Wilson lost his January 27 bid for a third term as tribal chairman (to Al Trimble, 1,169-1,801, with 200 votes still undecided) only because the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service monitored the election, apparently in a fair way. Secret ballot elections aren't taken for granted at Pine Ridge; voting rights gains in other parts of the country seem remote. The US Civil Rights Commission described Wilson's 1974 victory over primary winner (and AIM leader) Russell Means as "permeated with fraud." The Commission's report was suppressed for one year and its recommendations for a new election ignored by the Interior Department. Election irregularities included voting by some whites, no outside monitoring of the ballot count (which Wilson himself supervised), and harassment of Wilson's opponents. A lawsuit to overturn the election has just reached the Supreme Court, a bit late to be of

*Susan Abrams is an activist and media person who reports regularly on American Indian and other struggles on WCAS in Cambridge. She reported on the FBI invasion of Pine Ridge and its repercussions in WIN, 9/25/75.*

# Reformers Make Small Gains at Pine Ridge

## Harassment of AIM Supporters Continues Unabated

BY Susan Abrams

use. According to the plaintiffs, Wilson had prepared a list of homes to be firebombed in the case of his election loss. Some voters were bribed with alcohol, some welfare recipients were threatened with loss of their benefits.

A poor winner, Wilson is not surprisingly a poor loser. Retaliation for his election loss this year came even before the January 27 runoff. Wallace Little Junior, a strong friend and aide to victims of Wilson's harassment in the past, himself lost an eye and a hand in an explosion January 24. Someone threw a Molotov cocktail into his brother Richard's home on January 31. Their brother Jimmy, who had called for Wilson's impeachment even before Wounded Knee 1973, was beaten to death last September. Four days after the election, another well-known Indian rights activist, Byron DeSersa, was killed, in what a member of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee (WKLDOC) in Rapid City, SD described as a "clear act of retribution for Wilson's defeat" and perhaps "the beginning of an out-and-out war" on Wilson's part. Some of Wilson's followers, referred to generally as "the goons," shot into the house of the elderly Dull Knife couple in Wamblee, a physically isolated stronghold of anti-Wilson sentiment. The BIA then arrested the couple, traditionalists but not activists, on a charge of "malicious mischief." A January 31 shooting spree by "goons" in Wamblee even included the home of Senator Abourezk's son Charlie; public relations has never been one of Wilson's strong points. Assaults and even murders have become remarkably commonplace at Pine Ridge. Unless the victim was a supporter of Wilson, legal action was rare.

It's not completely clear why Washington officials permitted a real election this year and thus the loss of a man considered their puppet. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) officials are notoriously

loath to interfere with compliant tribal officials, citing "Indian sovereignty" on those occasions where it is to their advantage.

The Civil Rights Commission's report with two years of Indians' pleas to back it up, was obviously the major factor. A delegation of Pine Ridge elders, in Washington last Fall seeking help under combined FBI/Wilson terror, renewed the pressure. After ten weeks of officials' excuses, financial difficulties, and homesickness, they were awarded a (less than 15 minute) appointment with Gerald Ford. In his published statement, Ford assured the Oglala representatives that "all people working with me will be sympathetic and... cooperative," and expressed his gratitude and encouragement at the chiefs' responsible behavior which he described as being "in the best interest of the country and... of all the true natives of this great country." He ended with: "And have a good day."

Other reasons suggested for Washington's decision to monitor this election include pressure from business people seeking a more stable atmosphere for their contracts and the fact that long-time BIA employee Trimble was obviously more palatable to Washington than Russell Means had been. The Wilson-dominated Tribal Council declared, too late for protest actions to be mounted, that Means was ineligible to run this time, saying he was no longer a resident of the reservation. Had he had a choice, Means wouldn't have spent much of the past two years facing trial in court after court in several states. Trimble has been commuting to Pine Ridge from Albuquerque!

Perhaps even Wilson had become an embarrassment to Washington because of his violence and inflammatory language. Said one tribal member of the cowboy-hatted chairman, "Every time he opened his mouth, a toad fell out."

With Wilson remaining in office until April 6, Al Trimble is not a person to be envied. He will need all the courage he can muster. WKLDOC is urging people to contact BIA Commissioner Morris Thompson in Washington, calling for Trimble to be installed immediately. But according to his campaign manager Judy Cornelius, Trimble would rather wait it out. Changing the by-laws to move up the date would require putting the reservation in federal receivership, setting a precedent for another takeover as soon as Trimble clashes with Washington (as is expected).

The first Sioux to serve as BIA superintendent at Pine Ridge, Trimble's 14 month term ended last Spring when the BIA booted him out on Wilson's insistence. At first friendly to Wilson and hostile to AIM, Trimble ended up being accused by Wilson of "handing over the reservation to AIM on a silver platter." Trimble protested Wilson's pocketing of federal funds, neglect of the needs of the traditional people (among the poorest and most isolated), catering to the whites who own 1/3 of the reservation, and other habits which have helped keep the unemployment rate as high as 70% and the life expectancy down to 46.

With Trimble not available for comment, I asked Judy Cornelius for his opinion of AIM now. She described him as "having no real problem with AIM" and said his ideas "are probably every bit as radical" as those of AIM, in terms of what changes need to be made. Trimble, Cornelius asserted, sees a number of orderly steps on the way to change which AIM overlooks.

AIM supporters are somewhat mixed in their opinions of Trimble. While some are skeptical of anyone who has spent most of his adult life "hobnobbing with BIA officials who have ripped off Indians," most recognize that Trimble has gone through changes and point to his honesty and courage in standing up to Wilson, both during

his superintendancy and in the election. In any event, almost anybody would be considered an improvement over Wilson (and Trimble is better than many others). Trimble is expected to do what he can to halt the violence and to see to it that federal funds help people in need rather than line the chairman's pockets. Under the tribal government/BIA spoils system, many jobs will be up for grabs (a plus this time); the "goons" are about to be out of jobs.

Trimble would like to decentralize the BIA structure, thus aiding those outside the BIA center/Wilson stronghold of the village of Pine Ridge itself. He is also expected to cut the ties to Nebraska business interests which Wilson had cultivated, thereby draining money from the reservation.

The very form of current tribal government, as authorized by the 1934 Wheeler-Howard Indian Reorganization Act, sets unfortunate limits to basic change. The Act imposes a foreign structure on tribal life. Instead of following natural leaders, chosen by consensus, Indians must elect officials responsible to (and easily corrupted by) the BIA rather than to their people. Many traditional people at the reservation have therefore never participated in the elections. In the past, that made it easier for Wilson to pack elections with his supporters.

Apart from Wilson's election defeat, native activists, especially those at Pine Ridge or those involved in the Wounded Knee occupation, have little to celebrate. While the FBI presence at the reservation has diminished since two FBI men were killed June 26, the harassment continues. Three of four men (one is underground) charged in those deaths have been held for months on \$250,000 bond each. There has been no investigation into the death of an Indian that same day. Joanna LeDeaux has been in jail since September 16 for refusing to testify before a grand jury on that day's incidents; she has asserted her independence as member of a sovereign nation.

The last in the extensive series of trials on the Wounded Knee charges was not over until last November 13. Trials on other 1973 and 1974 charges are still pending. Even those who are not convicted will have spent years living under the threat of imprisonment with their energies tied up in defending themselves in court (and, sometimes, against physical assaults as well) rather than in strengthening their movement. FBI/BIA cooperation in surveillance and harassment of so-called "militant" Indians has been known for some time. Hank Adams of the Survival of American Indians Association in 1974 exposed documents which revealed that the Justice and Interior Departments had, for ten years in South Dakota, been "denying police protection to Indian persons, properties, and rights, and refusing to prosecute offenses against them." Targeting, in the late 1960's, a "disruptive criminal element" at the Pine Reservation (on the basis not of their violating laws but of questioning US government policy and of asserting their own political rights),

government agencies initiated a policy of refusing to heed their requests for aid (cf. *Akwesasne Notes*, Early Summer, 1975). The military's illegal and disguised presence at Wounded Knee during the 1973 siege, under a plan for testing treatments of civil disturbances (here called "Garden Plot") was described in declassified documents earlier this year (cf. *New York Times*, December 2, 1975 and Ron Ridenhour and Arthur Lubow's "Bringing The War Home" in the November, 1975 *New Times*).

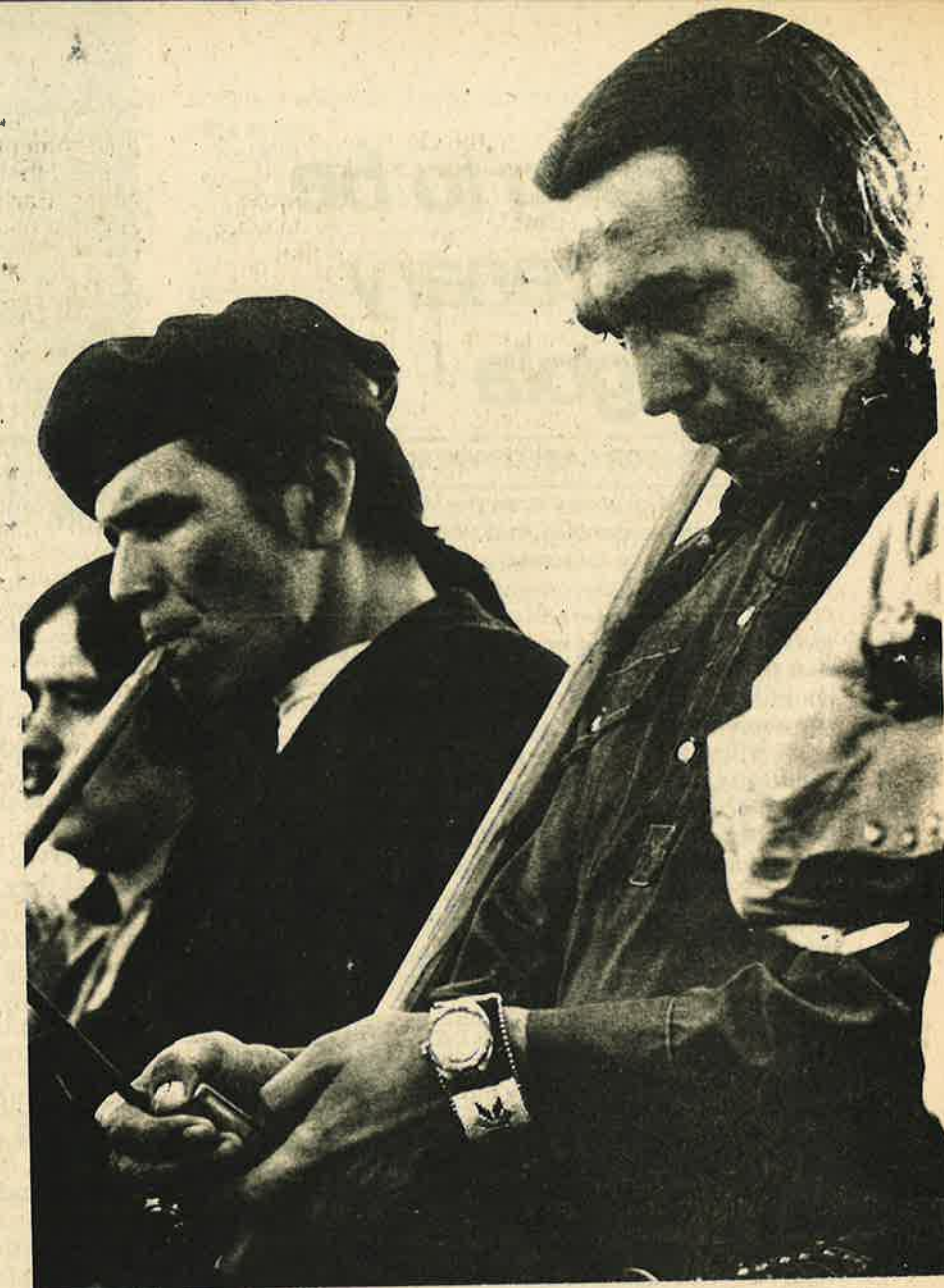
Russell Means, sentenced December 31 to four years on a 1974 charge, faces several more trials (with a combined maximum sentence of 111 years). Leonard Crow Dog, the highly respected spiritual leader of AIM, given five years' probation on a Wounded Knee charge in August, was sentenced November 20 to five years in prison on charges of "aiding and abetting an assault," in what seems a calculated insult to Indian cultural life and a way to demoralize AIM. Within the past six months, AIM supporters have been arrested on what they say are trumped up charges in Kansas, Minnesota, Oregon, Nevada, and other states.

Dennis Banks was arrested January 24 in El Cerrito, California, after having been underground since August, when he failed to show up for sentencing on a 1973 charge arising out of a police riot. Now fighting extradition to South Dakota, Banks had fled the state, his lawyer John Thorne said, because he believed "if he spent a day in jail [there], he would not come out alive." Thorne will raise the issue of treaty rights and, thus, the lack of US jurisdiction in Custer, SD, where Banks had originally been arrested.

Having spent millions of dollars on trials related to Wounded Knee, the US government faces an embarrassing track record on obtaining convictions and, according to WKLDLOC lawyer Lew Gurwitz, has had to resort to other tactics. The small WKLDLOC staff, with funds enough for only one meal a day, must scramble from city to city (and sometimes state to state) defending its clients. Some WKLDLOC lawyers and legal workers were beaten up by Dick Wilson's men last February; in October, FBI men broke into all three WKLDLOC offices in South Dakota, ransacked files, and attacked some of the staff or held them at gunpoint.

The newest government assault on WKLDLOC came in January of this year, as three lawyers received subpoenas to testify before a grand jury. The unprecedented tactic (with the possible exception of some Mafia cases) is an attempt to "drive a wedge" between movement groups and their lawyers. Denied their rights for so long, Indians will now have a tougher time getting lawyers they trust to defend their rights. "Lawyers and legal workers are now on notice that when they seek to represent Indians in American courts, they will be subject to being hauled before grand juries, with all the power and threat to them that those institutions represent" (statement in support of Marty Copleman, the

Dennis Banks and Russell Means. Photo from Voices from Wounded Knee.



first lawyer subpoenaed, from the Center for Constitutional Rights, NYC). The implications for lawyer-client confidentiality and for political trials generally are grave.

With the US galloping into the Bicentennial year, it seems no accident that the Army has decided to protect its own, clean up American history, and help downgrade present-day Indian protest by declaring the 1890 Wounded Knee massacre not to have been a massacre. On December 29, the 80th anniversary of the massacre which marked the end of the (official) wars against the Indians, the Army issued its report on a bill introduced by Senator Abourezk to pay \$3000 each to the heirs of the Wounded Knee victims. Asserting that "great restraint and compassion" had been shown "in the events leading up to the encounter," the Army said it would be "unfair and inaccurate" to call "the spontaneous and heated battle" in which both sides got "carried away" a massacre (*New York*

*Times* and AP stories, 12/30/75). The report has been getting more publicity than much of the Wilson-inspired terrorism at the reservation where Wounded Knee is located or the federal government's continuing attacks on Indian activists.

#### CONTACT:

WKLDLOC is urgently in need of money, fundraisers, lawyers/legal workers and experienced media people (the latter both in Rapid City and in Washington, DC). Contact them at Box 2307, Rapid City, SD 57701; 605-348-5846. Other ways to help include: joining local Native American Solidarity Committees (NASC) or forming new ones (contact NASC at Box 3426, St. Paul, Minn. 55165); urging the press to give more and better coverage to issues of Indians' rights (also a means of preventing violence); writing to Ford, Congress, the Justice Department and Bureau of Indian Affairs.

# Refusing to be a Mercenary in Angola

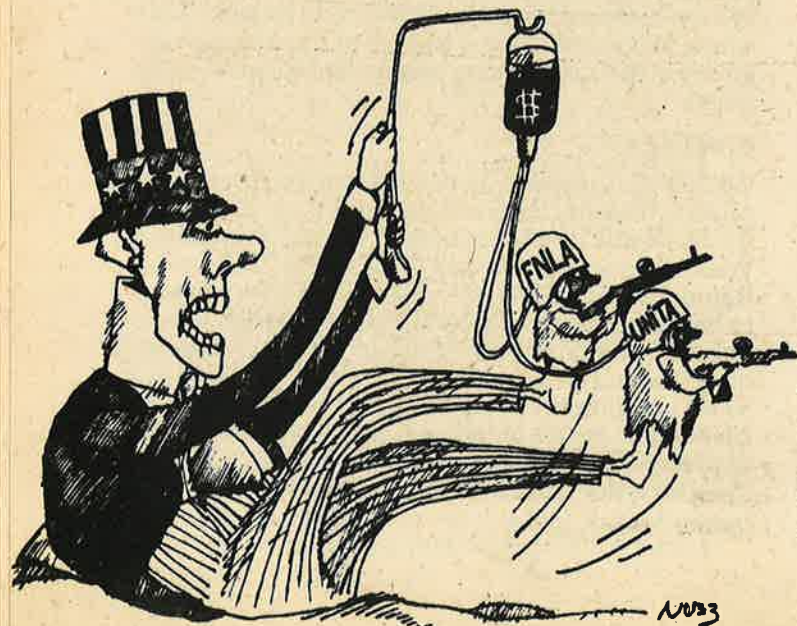
MAJOR CARLOS WILSON

Contrary to assurances from the White House and various federal agencies that CIA funds are not being used to hire mercenaries for duty in Angola and that the US government is not employing civilian Vietnam veterans as mercenaries in Angola, it has long been known in the vet community that their services as mercenaries are eagerly sought by several CIA front organizations. Angola is merely the newest contract.

A civilian helicopter company in Oakland, California, was recently picketed by the VVAW after discovery that the firm was a CIA front hiring vet helicopter pilots for duty in Southeast Asia and other duty assignments. Journals such as *Soldier of Fortune* have featured articles on the mechanics of becoming a mercenary in Africa, complete with addresses of where to write and suggestions such as, "Don't forget to list medals received for Vietnam duty."

James A. Scott of El Kamas Enterprises in Anaheim, California, a former Special Forces veteran and CIA mercenary himself, represents but one of several CIA fronts hiring Vets for mercenary duty. And the hiring is hardly secret: Scott is quoted as saying that, although in the past contracts were made in an underground matter, demand for combat experts for duty in Latin American, Rhodesia and Angola has reached such a

Major Carlos Wilson is the author of *The Tupamaros: The Unmentionables* (Branden, 1974).



Cartoon by Nuez/Gramma/LNS.

high level that his company has now begun advertising publicly. His firm works not only through "private contractors" but through special arrangements with embassies, and has contracted for duty with paramilitary organizations inside the United States.

It is difficult to estimate the exact number of vets who have been hired for mercenary duty because CIA front companies contract in secret, but a reasonable estimate is close to 125,000 over recent years for duty in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the United States itself. There are presently several hundred Vietnam veterans in Angola, with several hundred more scheduled for immediate departure. Denials by the White House and government agencies involved implies that, while such contracting is not "approved" by the government, no action is being or will be taken to stop the flow of vet mercenaries.

Without doubt, the Vietnam veteran has been and continues to be the outcast of the '70's. "GI benefits" such as the educational bill, home loans and even hospital care at the VA hospital, are woefully inadequate. Few vets desire a welcome home parade or even a simple "thank you" for many recognize their error in serving in that unjustified war. But they quickly grow tired of hearing, "Serves them right." They have to hide the fact that they served in Vietnam if they want any chance for employment. \$1200 to \$1500 a month in mercenary pay becomes tempting under such rejecting conditions, especially for those long off the unemployment benefit lines and still unemployed.

But I plead with all Vets not to forget the vital lessons learned from Vietnam, especially the lesson that "national interests" in that tiny nation meant the killing of old women and men, murder and even the wholesale slaughter of children, gang rapes, and the total destruction of a once beautiful land. "National interests" in the case of Vietnam also meant the attempt to block the right to self-determination of the people of an entire nation who struggled for that very concept.

Service in Angola will be no different nor will the return from Angola. The crimes against the people will be the same, as will the crime against yourself should you elect such duty. It is not easy I realize for I too am a Vietnam veteran who must go through the remainder of life praying and crying for forgiveness of my crimes. But now is the time for the true test of the promises we made to ourselves from Vietnam. And for me, there is no unemployment period too long, not enough spit in America nor too many "Serves-you-right" chants to force me to take up arms against those who struggle for self-determination. No offer of benefits can cause a change in my stand. I know this is equally true of most Vietnam vets, and I salute my sisters and brothers who share this stand.

But for those who may find doubts, I plead with you to exercise your good judgement and reconsider; remember the promises to yourselves. If you are approached by the "Merchants of Death," let the message ring loud and clear: There are still veterans who have no price tag on their souls!



David Fine. Photo from Takeover.

## DAVID FINE CAPTURED IN CALIFORNIA

JAN FALLER

Five and a half years have passed since the August 24, 1970 early morning bombing of the Army Math Research Center (AMRC) on the University of Wisconsin Madison campus. Five and a half years, plus one long, political mitigation that ended in the conviction on second-degree murder charges of bomber Karlton Armstrong, presently serving a 23-year sentence.

Now, with the arrest in California of David Fine, another trial is being readied in Madison. Twenty-three-year-old Fine is the second of four persons indicted by a Federal Grand Jury in connection with the AMRC bombing to be brought to trial. The bombing—a political act in protest of genocidal war research carried on by the center—resulted in the accidental death of a physics researcher, Robert Fassnacht, despite a prior warning asking police to clear the building. The other two persons involved, Dwight Armstrong, younger brother of Karlton, and Leo Burt, are still at-large.

Fine, appearing considerably more aged than the 18-year-old boyish face that has for five years decorated the FBI-Ten-Most-Wanted list, was taken into custody by two Federal agents on January 7, in San Rafael, Calif., where he had been living under the name of William James Lewes, and collecting unemployment insurance. Bail was initially set at one million dollars.

The news of Fine's arrest set a tremor of activity within the Madison community, bringing together leftist splinter groups and drawing out anti-war

Jan Faller is a student and free-lance writer living in Madison, Wisconsin.

activists who had grown politically dormant in the past years.

Repeating the same steps taken for Armstrong's capture two years ago, the anti-war community formed a Freedom committee immediately following news of Fine's arrest. When Fine returned to Madison five days following his capture, the committee, along with Fine's parents, Manuel and Ann Fine, had garnished enough support and testimony to persuade Federal Magistrate Barbara Crabb to reduce bail. She set the figure at \$30,000—a sum paid for by the committee and a \$25,000 mortgage on Manuel Fine's home. Magistrate Crabb released Fine on bail in the custody of James Rowen, once an anti-AMRC activist, friend and co-worker of Fine on the UW student paper, the *Daily Cardinal*, and his wife, Susan McGovern, daughter of Sen. George McGovern. Rowen now works in Madison as assistant-to-the-mayor.

Fine's attempts to secure release met with two legal stumbling blocks. The first was an attempt by the FBI and the US attorney to appeal Magistrate Crabb's decision to reduce bail. The other was a move by an office-seeking District Attorney who had Fine rearrested on state charges only twenty minutes after he was freed on bail from Federal charges. The Magistrate's decision, however, was upheld, and the state judge released Fine on \$75,000 recognizance bond.

Fine's release is his first legal victory, and one that lends strong credibility to an anti-war movement that for so long battled a system that perpetuated the war in Vietnam. Fine, a long-time activist with SDS both at his Wilmington, Del. high school and on the Madison campus, said that his political perspective hasn't altered much during his life underground. "In the era of Victory of the Vietnamese, Americans no longer trust a government which waged genocide in Indochina and has lied to the people about the war, Watergate and the CIA, among other things," Fine said. "Due to this mistrust, and the lessons we learned in the anti-war movement, I feel there is great potential for significant social change in the US."

The Fine defense will be under Atty. James M. Shellow, an excellent criminal trial lawyer who has to his record the defense of the Camp McCoy Three and anti-war activist Father James Groppi. Facing seven state charges and five Federal charges, which could carry up to two life terms plus additional penalties, Fine has pleaded innocent. The Federal trial is set for May 17th.

Local support for Fine has been heavy among community groups for whom opposition to AMRC war involvement has become a cause. The *Daily Cardinal* donated \$5,000 to his defense and pledged full support. Fine, meanwhile, has reacquainted himself with Madison, and reintegrated himself into the community working hard to make his bail freedom permanent freedom.

### CONTACT:

David Fine Freedom Committee  
Box 93  
Madison, Wisc. 53701

## the role of the Socialists:

# PORTUGAL'S POLITICAL DRAMA

BY Sid Blumenthal

Estoril is an unlikely place for a leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party to live. The ever reliable *Arthur Frommers' Dollar Wise Guide to Portugal* says, "This chic resort along the Portuguese Riviera has long basked in its reputation as a playground of kings. Fading countesses arrive at the railway station, monarchs in exile drop in at the Palacio Hotel for dinner, the sons of assassinated dictators sunbathe by the pool—and an international *joie de vivre* pervades the air."

But Victor Cunha-Rego, the former campaign manager and chief of staff for the General Secretary of the Socialist Party, Mario Soares, told me "The rents have fallen considerably since March 11." March 11 is the date on which General Antonio de Spínola staged an unsuccessful rightist coup. Many of the wealthy residents of Estoril fled the country.

Cunha-Rego is a highly influential Socialist. He identifies himself as being on the right wing of the party. During a four hour discussion at his home in mid-September, he explained his strategy for the party, which generally has been presented in the Western press as the democratic alternative to a Communist dictatorship. "My big disillusionment with America was Kissinger," he said. "Mario Soares and I had two meetings with him in Washington." The details of these encounters, one lasting 20 minutes and the other a half hour, were not publicly reported. They apparently occurred in 1974 when Soares was Foreign Minister. Cunha-Rego states that although he and Soares tried to explain to Kissinger the necessity of American support for their position, he was "rude." Cunha-Rego believes that the US Secretary of State was personally unimpressed with Soares and definitely miffed that Portugal's Foreign Minister did not speak English. Kissinger told his visitors that he had met with General Spínola, who had made a favorable impression because he is "a strong man." The Socialist petitioners left the American capitol in dismay.

There are, however, Americans possessing the political sophistication to comprehend the Social-

*Sid Blumenthal is a contributing editor of the Boston Phoenix and a news commentator on WCAS-AM in Cambridge. He is editor of Government by Gunplay to be published by New American Library in March.*

ist dilemma. These men, according to Cunha-Rego, belong to the CIA. "I have never read better analyses of the Portuguese situation than those made by the CIA," he said. "They are the smartest men I have ever met."

Despite its image in the West, the Portuguese Socialist Party was not a powerful force when the Armed Forces Movement, in rebellion against the colonial wars in Africa, overthrew the old regime on April 25, 1974. Cunha-Rego confided that the party had only 227 members at the time. Yet he feels—and this is apparently the guiding concern of the Socialist leadership—that only their party could stave off a fascist reaction, like that in Chile.



A man working on a northern Portuguese farm that peasants turned into a cooperative. The owner, with his many business interests, fled Portugal after the overthrow of fascism in April, 1974. Before the coup, only 7% of the farm's land had been farmed, with another 150 acres of olive and cork trees. Since the olive trees require only one month of labor every year and the cork crop is harvested once every nine years, they provide little work for the villagers.

Eight months ago, 34 peasants from the village formed a cooperative and occupied the land. They planted wheat, corn, potatoes, a several acre garden and they began grazing cattle between the olive trees.

Since the coup, peasants, especially in the South have expropriated land once belonging to large landowners, and many cooperatives have formed. However these gains have been threatened by increasing rightist influence in the government in recent weeks. Photo by Phil Spinelli/LNS.

The Communist Party and the other left groupings moved too fast, he stated, arousing and threatening the *real* right. This strategy of forming a center bloc in a polarizing atmosphere from a position of organizational weakness is what led the Socialist leaders to Kissinger's door.

"The CIA has not been very active in Portugal, unlike they are in Spain," Cunha-Rego declared. (Since my meeting with Cunha-Rego, the Associated Press has reported that the CIA has funneled \$10 million a month since July, 1975 through Western European Social Democratic sources to the Portuguese Socialist party.) He added that the CIA is "working very hard against Franco [This

was before Franco died.] They are trying to get a liberal neo-capitalism."

At a briefing at the US Embassy, a State Department political officer assured me that the Socialist Party is not a radical force. "But isn't the Socialist Party socialist?" I asked. "There are all kinds of socialism," he replied in a voice betraying mild annoyance with my naivete. The view from the American Embassy is that the Socialists will "digest" the radical economic and social measures already instituted and not seek to extend them. "They can be dealt with," I was told.

When I wondered why the US should treat the Portuguese Socialists so benignly after the "destabilization" of the Chilean Socialist government, the State Department official explained that the situations were not comparable. In Chile powerful forces were asking the US for aid, the free press was threatened, and most importantly, Allende began a policy of expropriations violating traditional agreements. Although this presentation of the history of American-Chilean relations was mostly lies, it did demonstrate how the State Department feels about a genuinely socialist movement. The Portuguese Socialists, I was told, would act in a reliable manner, following "established procedures."

As I left the Embassy briefing and shook hands with the political officer, I noticed that a coffee mug embossed with the symbol of the Portuguese Socialist Party rested on his desk.

Postscript: After the confused revolt by Leftist paratroopers at the Tancos airbase in November, 1975, the Lisbon press was generally purged of leftists. Victor Cunha-Rego became editor of *Diario de Noticias*, a morning daily which previously had leaned in the direction of the Communist Party.

Clearly, there are several tendencies within the Portuguese Socialist Party. Cunha-Rego represents a more rightist stance than others. Although the Socialists currently occupy many government offices and control significant institutions their hold is precarious. Partly initiated under their respectable cover, an authentic right-wing upsurge is occurring. Leftists cannot operate publicly in northern Portugal as the old fascist forces are regrouping and becoming bolder. The Socialists know well that the right will not be satisfied by the elimination of Communists and those to their left; if the right really makes a come-back the Socialists are marked targets too. Yet they have persisted in a visceral kind of anti-communism; their organizational weakness also militates against any common front with the Communists. The way in which they move in the future will be mainly predicated on their assessment of the virulence and strength of the right.

And what of the Americans esconced in the Embassy? Cunha-Rego told me that he wouldn't be surprised if they started to back forces to the right of the Socialists once the SP appeared successful. Undoubtedly, the CIA is fiddling with other political parties. These maneuverings are preliminary to the next phase of the unique Portuguese revolution.

# The Worldwide Nonviolent Resistance to Military Camp Expansion

By Craig Simpson



The problems of farmers and peasants are well-known and similar all over the world: state and corporate land grabbing; the rising cost of seed, equipment, and fertilizer; the difficulty of getting water and proper irrigation assistance. . . . Recently, however, farmers and peasants in many countries are facing a new difficulty, the expansion of military camps and bases onto their land. Whether it is for a firing range in Sweden, a helicopter training base in Texas, an air base in Micronesia, or an urban guerilla counter-insurgency base in Southern France, the military of any country can, with little effort or parliamentary resistance, uproot those living in the area to carry out their death dealing and death training.

Peasants and farmers rarely have enough power or confidence to fight huge military power. When resistance does appear, the government steps in and promises compensations which are sometimes not delivered or are only token amounts. If the resistance continues the government and the military will use any means in their arsenal to win expansion. Rural people with little support from the outside world or little understanding of the politics involved, give up, try to find a home close by or move to a large city.

However, in the last several years, more and more farmers are resisting land expropriation by government and military. More and more people are beginning to see the military as an enemy to their very survival. In some cases peasants are publicly questioning not only why world powers who are talking about "peace and detente" should be increasing military facilities and budgets, but also why a military should be needed at all. Pacifism is the logical extension of their developing anti-militarism, so nonviolent resistance has become the technique of struggle.

Sustained nonviolent struggle by farmers against the military has reached full reality only on the Larzac plateau in Southern France. In other areas parliamentary politics are being tried, in still others, violent resistance. But the struggles of those using either parliamentary politics or violence have not continued or sustained their struggle for an extended period.

At Remmere in Vastergotland, Sweden, the military obtained the land for extension before the local people knew enough to organize a campaign. The expropriation was sanctioned by the government as well as the military. Now the people in that area are desperately trying to organize and have hired the famous Swedish lawyer, Henning Sjostorm, to work on their case.

At Skillingard (also in Sweden) a campaign has been going on for several years to stop a firing range from being constructed. The range would amount to another 8,000 hectares on top of 4,000 which the military already has in that area. Over

*Craig Simpson is a former staff member of the War Resisters International.*

100 families are threatened by the expansion. This struggle has been well publicized on TV and in the press in 1975 but nothing will be done until the 1976 election. The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society (a new WRI section) is giving the farmers support.

Several other areas are threatened by military plans as Sweden spends 10,000 million Krona on defense per year placing her third or fourth in defense expenditure per capita for nation states.

In Belgium a similar struggle has been going on for several years against a camp of 3,000 hectares in Marche-en-Femne, a region in Southern Belgium which is best known for its beautiful forests and farmland. Here 67 peasants formed GACIM (Action Group Against the Military Camp Construction). In 1972, after a meeting with the Minister of the Army, the peasants decided the camp expansion was unnecessary because many bases in Belgium are empty and unused.

When they called for support to save their land, many of the traditional peasant syndicates and trade unions refused. Because of the economic situation in the rural area the local authorities and administration accepted the base construction and sold their land immediately to the government (the same land they had previously bought by taxing the peasants). So legal and parliamentary action was difficult from the very beginning. Direct action was necessary to make their plight known.

In 1972 GACIM members chained themselves to the parliament to publicize their cause. Soon afterward they turned their cows loose during a soccer match in Anderlecht Football stadium. In 1973, during a dock strike in Anvers, they showed their solidarity by sending farm and milk products to the strike fund trying to gain a broader audience and support workers in similar situations. Their last demonstration was held in May, 1975, when 900 people working against the 30 million Belgian Franc purchase of a fighter plane marched with the peasants in the city of Marche-en-Femne to show joint support for their causes.

The latest word, however, is that the peasants have just about given up. This happened for a variety of reasons: the lack of support from a large cross section of the Belgian population, the pressures and intimidation by the government and the military to get off the land, a breakdown in group unity, problems of ideological differences.

In Texas, the farmers of Gattsville are relying almost completely on mobilizing support in the Senate and House. The group formed to stop the expansion of Ft. Hood, the largest military training camp in the world, is called "Our Land, Our Lives." The two divisions and helicopter brigade stationed there feel crowded. 25,000 hectares of land isn't enough; the army wants 24,000 more. "According to Paul Allen Williams of the War Resisters League South Central regional office

which is working to build support for Our Land, Our Lives, "The expansion is unnecessary and is a further example of wasteful military spending in addition to escalating the capacity for violence and threatening our security."

Our Land, Our Lives has gotten support from bank presidents, the Chamber of Commerce and others who are working together to swing support of Senators and Congressfolks. The group is making every attempt not to be red-baited and has avoided making any strong anti-militarist statements or seeking support from the pacifist community. They are now waiting for Congress's response.

Across the seas in the Micronesian Island of Tinian, the US Air Force has been interested since May, 1973 in building a huge \$144.6 million military base and supply complex. "US land needs are extensive . . . so much so that we feel we should acquire the Northern 2/3 of the island for military purposes. We feel we should also ask to acquire the Southern third, but would make this part of the island available to current residents for normal activities and community life," according to Frank Hayden Williams, chief American spokesman, as quoted in RECON (summarized from the Friends of Micronesia Newsletter). "The people of Tinian, many of whom had previously welcomed the prospects of limited military presence on their island are 'visibly angry,' according to administration spokesman Frank Chong. Immediately following the announcement, signs opposing military plans began to appear. Former Mayor Joe Cruz said, 'I have always been quoted as being pro military, but moving San Jose [where the entire population lives] is too much. . . .' Felipe Atalig, a member of the Congress of Micronesia said he doubted the people would allow themselves to become virtual peons on their own land, 'as US proposals would have it.'

"One Congressman from Palau points out that some of the proposed military uses for Tinian may be a 'smoke-screen' for taking attention away from Guam and Palau. The US made public in August 1972, plans to take over 28% of Palau for a Marine guerilla base, airfield and 'storage facility.' There is almost universal opposition to bases on the part of Palauans."

In Scotland there are protests against American Polaris bases; in the South coast of England, people have been trying for years to retrieve land taken from them by the military in World War II; and there is military camp resistance in several places in West Germany.

But the country where camp extension has become a major issue is France. The center of these struggles is Larzac, a large plateau in the Southern part of the country where peasants and farmers have been resisting the expansion of a French military training camp since 1970. Their creative nonviolent actions have given strength and encouragement to peasants in Fontevraud,

Friche, and Riversalites to begin or continue resistance. The Larzac peasants have also supported people resisting construction of nuclear power plants and ski resorts in the same way. The Larzac struggle has lasted longer and has been much more successful because of: 1) their use of creative, imaginative nonviolent tactics; 2) the growing support of a wide variety of groups and individuals locally, regionally, nationally and now internationally; and 3) their continued and developing anti-militarist perspective.

When the Minister of Defense in France announced the intention of the government to expand the small training camp on the plateau from 3,000 hectares to 15,000 hectares, the peasants of the region were unorganized and confused. While attempting legal channels they met peasants from other areas whose land was expropriated by the military. These peasants told of the government's



Marchers at the National Day of Support for Larzac, Paris, May, 1975. Photo by Craig Simpson.

compensation promises that never came. They saw quickly that no help was forthcoming from the authorities. When Lanzo del Vasto began speaking in churches and community centers on the Larzac about nonviolence as a creative force for social change the peasants became interested.

In the following years the actions of the 103 peasants drew interest and support from French people in all walks of life. [See WIN 10/10/74 and 1/30/75.] Thousands of people have become attracted to their cause and related their struggles to the Larzac fight. Conservationists, opponents of both nuclear weapons and nuclear power plants, tax refusers who give 3% of their refused taxes to the Larzac, pacifists and anti-militarists. Trade Unionists, peasant leaders, and a large group of leftist organizations have held solidarity actions. Outside support gives the peasants the encouragement to continue.

In mid March, 1975 a bomb went off at the door of Augusté Guiraud, destroying a large part of the

house and slightly injuring him, his wife and seven children. Guiraud was at the point of fear and despair and was about to give in to the military pressure after five years of struggle. But thousands of people from all over France sent chairs, tables, mattresses, plates, and cups as well as money and food. The 100 support committees throughout France held a national day of support for the Larzac peasants in almost every major city in France. Even one of the country's leading architects has volunteered to help rebuild the damaged house.

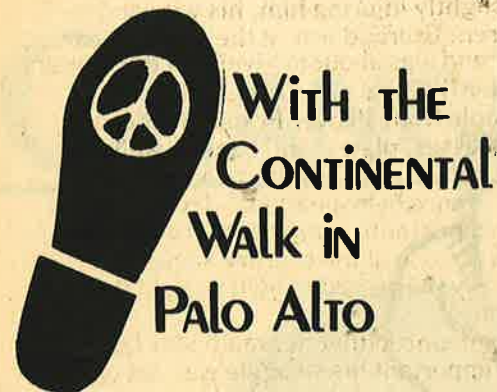
Guiraud announced that he would stay because he saw how important his struggle was not only to the small group of peasants on the Larzac but to people throughout all of France.

Now the Larzac resisters are not working against the military just to keep their land and sheep as during the early stages in their struggle.

They have come to see the military as an instrument of illegitimate power—as an oppressor and invader not only on the Larzac but throughout France and in the Third World. They are now encouraging resistance to the military and some of the peasants have burned their military papers.

They have also gone to other military camps and met peasants in the surrounding areas who want to keep their land. They have talked to them about nonviolence and the need for resistance to the military and have organized support for them from all over the country.

So a victory in Larzac could be important, not only for a small group of French peasants, but it could give hope to peasants and farmers throughout the world as they struggle for a society in which they are no longer the victims of mass society and mass neglect. Demonstrations, vigils, letters to the French President are all ways of giving support. But we also have to begin to make one, two... many Larzacs throughout the world.



February 11. The Continental Walk is proceeding from Castroville to Monterey, heading for Los Angeles. Five Japanese Buddhists have joined the Walk as representatives of the Japanese peace movement and will continue with it to Washington, DC.

The most serious incident thus far occurred near Cotati, Ca., when a shot-gun was brandished from a passing truck. That area is the home of the Posse Comitatus, a right wing vigilante group.

Our thanks to Steve Ladd for helping us to keep our readers posted on the walk's progress and to Michael Berkowitz who filed this report from Palo Alto after the Walk passed through on February 3.

—WIN

The Continental Walk came through Palo Alto this week. Down a part of Steinbeck's El Camino Real, the main traffic route between San Francisco and San Jose, California, marched almost a hundred women and men, children and adults, whites and people of color.

They moved deliberately. Past the golden arches and the gas pumps, the Safeways and the freeways; over the concrete, by the leveled orchards where now only apartment houses grow. People turned their heads, read the signs, accepted literature. Some honked, waved—other shook fists. "You left wing communists!" screamed one irate man out of his speeding car's window. A marcher turned smiling to her companion: "Left wing communists?"

The night was spent in Palo Alto, sharing dinners and conversation with families throughout the community. News and views were wide-ranging, the words reflected commitment, awareness. "We're just going to Santa Cruz." (Just one hundred miles!). "We took the kids out of school for a week, took vacation a little early." "If the [California] legislature doesn't appropriate more money for the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, the farmworkers may have to take their struggle back into the streets—continue the boycotts and

picketing." "Who does Kissinger think he's fooling? Not the MPLA."

In a nearby church hall the marchers heard messages of support from local groups. Greetings were exchanged, poems read. The local committee—WILPF, WRL and the Institute for the Study of Nonviolence—had worked hard to provide more food than could be eaten and more literature than could be read.

The march didn't seem to be a singing march—maybe a chanting march. The five Buddhist priests had kept up a steady chant as they walked. Their presence was inspirational: In a foreign land, unable to speak the language, they remained friendly, helpful and courteous. The Buddhists brought with them greetings and a message of solidarity from the mayor of Hiroshima.

At the evening meeting we were shown a film which documented the tragedy and horror of the atomic attack on Hiroshima. How ironic that the President who ordered the nuclear bombing is now celebrated as a folk hero. How sad that the current President has endorsed the policy of first strike. If they could see the film, the destruction of human life, would they change their minds as march sponsor Daniel Ellsberg had changed his?

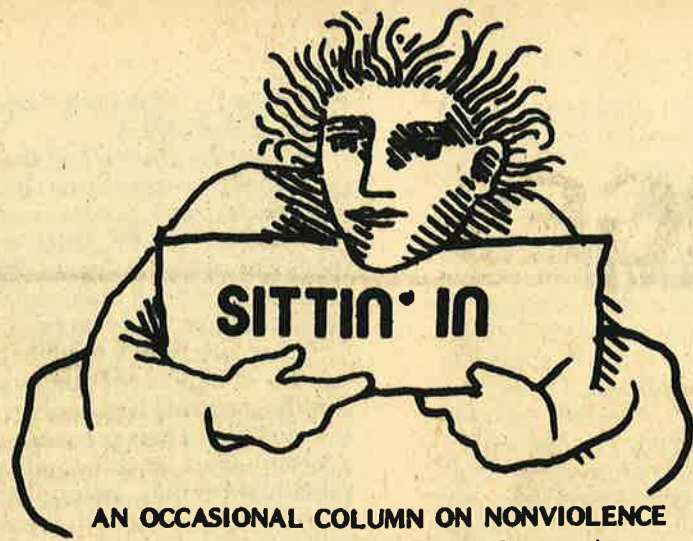
The next morning the marchers took up the offensive against the weapons industry. The strip between Palo Alto and San Jose is so crowded with Department of Defense welfare corporations that it is a veritable research, development and manufacture shooting gallery. Continental Walkers and members of the Mid-Peninsula Reconversion Project walked through the early chill and fog to greet workers with an informational picket, as they arrived at Lockheed's Palo Alto research facility. Next, busy intersections and a large shopping plaza in an adjacent town were leafleted. And a huge model of the Trident was the center for a demonstration in Sunnyvale, where the submarine was designed.

The march has gone now, headed South. But hopefully some of its spirit will linger. The Walk is not a sixties counter-cultural festival. The constituency seems a little more mature, more experienced, maybe more committed, but also realistic. "Are you going all the way to Washington?" I asked one marcher. "Well, I don't know. I'll try, I'll go as far as I can." The numbers, at least right now, are smaller than expected. That may change. But this is a time for winter soldiers. A time to forge alliances and build, learn from example and then act. We must push on international and national fronts, but not ignore community and personal growth, as the halcyon sixties so often did.

As the marchers filed away, I felt a strong urge to join them. Two miles... why I could walk for... But that would ignore the work that remains within reach, and that is one of the lessons of the march. Let us continue in their spirit. We may not all go to Washington, but then there is much to do in our own neighborhoods, in our own lives.

—Michael Berkowitz





AN OCCASIONAL COLUMN ON NONVIOLENCE  
800 word contributions are invited from readers

### MARIAN HENRIQUEZ NEUDEL

A look at the depiction of pacifism in American literature and media, especially movies and TV, reveals that the pacifist has a very clear place in American mythology. The story has been told, time and again, beginning with *Sergeant York* and proceeding to its recent artistic nadir in *Death Wish*, of the good-guy pacifist who sees the error of his/her (viz. Grace Kelly in *High Noon*) ways and fights back when confronted with bad-guy violence. Sgt. York, of course, was for real; but that fact alone hardly explains why his story caught on so readily in the popular arts. Many people who, having personally experienced armed combat (and proved their own competence at it), were by that very experience changed into pacifists. Their stories are not only as factual, but often at least as interesting and dramatic as Sgt. York's. Many pacifists were changed into militant socialists by the experience of bad-guy violence at the hands of police, prison guards, and other minions of law and order. They too fail to make it into popular awareness. The archetypal movie pacifist is a person on the way out of pacifism into the American ethos of good-guy violence.

By "good-guy violence," I mean violence on the side of lawfully-constituted authority (civilian or military), or in defense of the weak (individual or collective). In either case, violence is sanctioned only in response to what is depicted as bad-guy provocation of the gravest sort. The fighting pacifist is only the far end of a continuum which also includes the reluctant or retired gunfighter, the Army boasting proudly that "peace is our profession," and Truman using the A-bomb on Hiroshima "to end the war as quickly as possible." Ideally, the American way of killing involves reluctance, sorrow, and righteous indignation—never plain ordinary blood-lust, greed, or even fear. On the level of national politics, we have entered wars in the same spirit. Wilson and Lyndon Johnson probably felt it perfectly consistent to avow peaceable intentions during their electioneering and then to go war almost immediately afterwards because "they forced us."

What is really dangerous about good-guy violence, of course, is that it harnesses both the

physical force of fear, greed and bloody-mindedness, and the moral force of pacifism. The police in Chicago in 1968 may have whistled "Hi-ho, hi-ho, it's off to work we go," on their way to the Hilton, as one story alleges—but they also felt they were defending a profoundly threatened way of life. Without that moral fervor, they might have been a lot less enthusiastic.

And this in turn explains why so much attention is given to events that can be interpreted as bad-guy provocation—sometimes to the point even of either rigging the event from behind the scenes, or fabricating it out of whole cloth (viz. the Tonkin Gulf incident, the Maine, and the alleged Plot to Assassinate Everybody in Chicago in 1968). It might also have a lot to do with the disproportionate attention paid to black-on-white assaults and robberies, again often to the point of outright fabrication. Such an emphasis requires a corresponding de-emphasis on our provocative acts (e.g. calling off the 1956 elections in Vietnam). In short, good-guy violence not only facilitates dishonesty, it requires it.

In many cases, those at the top of violent structures in this country have no good-guy illusions whatever. But they find it convenient to use the moral fervor of those who will actually have to give up their money, their energy, their children, or their lives; and in order to do this they must nourish popular illusions. Every way, including the "war on crime," must be made to look like a war even a pacifist could fight in. Then the pacifist who still obstinately and perversely refuses to fight in it must be discredited, portrayed as a blind idealist, or a hypocrite with some ulterior motive (like the secret hope that The Other Side will win).

More recently, of course, this whole set of fabrications has become more transparent. It is no longer a striking revelation that "fighting for peace is like screwing for virginity," and "Father Mother, the fighting chaplain" has become a butt of well-deserved humor. But nobody yet has done a movie or TV show about the hundreds of unknown ex-soldiers who will never soldier again because they have seen human faces where faceless targets used to be. Until one of these hits the screen, we will still, as a nation, not have learned the lessons of Vietnam.

# CHANGES

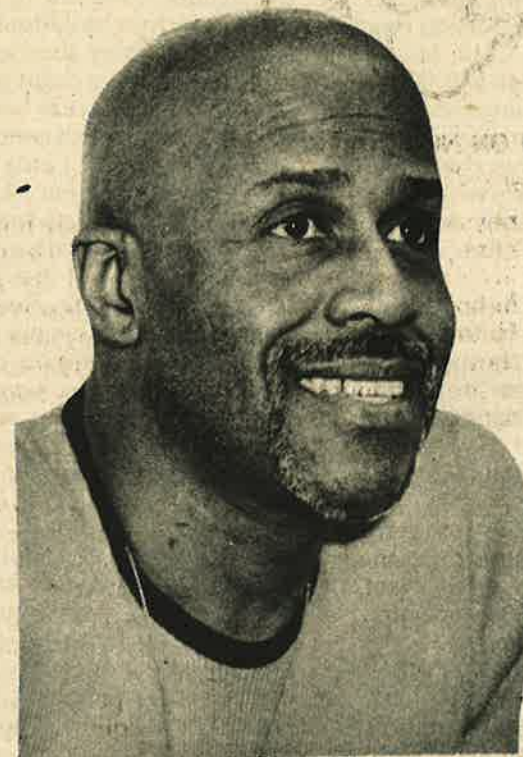


Photo of Martin Sostre from the Martin Sostre Defense Committee/LNS.

### MARTIN SOSTRE RELEASED

Martin Sostre, the 52 year old black, Puerto Rican prisoner who received clemency from New York Governor Hugh Carey at Christmas time, was released from Greenhaven Prison Monday, Feb. 9, 1976. Sostre had been serving a 21 to 30 year sentence since his conviction in 1968 of the sale of \$15 of heroin.

Supporters of Sostre's clemency bid included Amnesty International, which had declared him a Prisoner of Conscience "imprisoned not for his crimes, but for his ideas," as well as many others ranging from Angela Davis to Jean Paul Sartre. NY State As-

semblywoman Marie Runyon joined with Father Daniel Berri-gan and Ossie Davis as chair-people of the Committee To Free Martin Sostre. Nobel Peace Prize winner Andrei Sakharov called on Governor Carey to free Martin Sostre "in the name of all men and women throughout the world imprisoned for their convictions."

Martin Sostre's strength and courage carried him through eleven beatings in the New York State Prison system, over four years of solitary confinement and many death threats.

—Committee to Free Martin Sostre

### BOB CANNEY JAILED IN FLORIDA

Bob Canney is now doing time in Florida for yet another of the police caused "riots" of the anti-Vietnam war years.

The time is April 18, 1970, Straub Park, St. Petersburg, Fla. Over 1,000 people are gathered from all over Florida; the first state wide effort to protest the war and a large scale joining of the anti-war and black movements. Bob is one of the speakers. During his speech he says, "Let's bring the goddamn war home and begin dealing seriously with the problems which confront us here."

After his speech he is sitting on the grass with friends when he is attacked from behind by six plain clothed cops. They start hauling him away, he struggles to get loose; instant rocks and bottles; instant attack by 100-200 riot police; instant riot. Sound familiar?

Rally organizers believe provocateurs were planted in the crowd. The city council had passed a city ordinance one week before the rally making public profanity illegal. Canney and others were arrested and many people got clubbed. His original charge of profanity was dropped but a felony resisting arrest charge was kept. He was tried in Sept. 1970 and sentenced to an indeterminate 6 mo. to two years in prison.

At the trial no defense witnesses were allowed by the judge because their names had not been submitted ten days in advance. From 1970 until last fall there were various appeals and rejections. In addition, Canney lost his job as an instructor at the University of Florida.

Canney was jailed Nov. 26, 1975 after going to court for a "sentence reduction hearing." Canney's brother, retired US Air Force Major Herbert Canney of St. Petersburg, telegraphed

Gov. Reubin Askew asking that his brother be pardoned, or "at least given time to put his affairs in order, like they did with the Watergate defendants."

Unsuccessful attempts have been made since to get him out on bond. The US Supreme Court has refused to hear the case. Mrs. Canney is asking Gov. Askew to empanel a grand jury to investigate the conspiracy of law enforcement agencies which set up the original riot.

Meanwhile, Bob's other brother, Vincent, was arrested in late Dec. for distributing "Come Unity," an underground paper with articles about his brother's case. A defense committee continues to gain momentum and legal actions continue. For more information contact the Bob Canney Support Committee, PO Box 1463, Gainesville, Fla. 32602. Write to Bob Canney, 027953, at Avon Park "Correctional Institution," PO Box 1100 Avon Park, Fla. 33825 — **Bob Freeston**

### NUCLEAR INITIATIVE

Californians concerned about the dangers of nuclear power development have succeeded in qualifying the Land Use, Nuclear Power and Safeguards Act for the November ballot. The initiative would forbid any new construction of nuke plants in California until 1) either existing federal law limiting the utilities' liability is changed or the utilities agree to waive any limitations of their liability, and 2) a legislative determination has been made that the plants are substantially safe. Existing plants and those now under construction will be permitted to remain in operation while the consideration of safety goes on, but will be closed down after five years if one and two above have not been met.

Since the AEC, the utilities and the nuclear industry advertised widely during the sixties that safety problems were solved and there is no danger from nuclear power plants (they now admit that

many claims were untrue), all the initiative demands is that they show by 1981 that they have accomplished what they claimed they had in 1965. — **Neil Fullagar**

### THREE ENGINEERS SAY NO TO NUKES

Three managing engineers at General Electric's nuclear reactor plant in San Jose, Calif. have quit their \$30,000 to \$40,000-a-year jobs and volunteered to work for the anti-nuke movement in California. Together they had put in a total of 54 years with GE. They announced their decision at a press conference Feb. 2 in San Francisco.

Gregory Minor, one of the three said: "My reason for leaving is a deep conviction that nuclear reactors and nuclear weapons present a serious danger to the future of all life on this planet."

Dale Bridenbaugh, another, commented: "From what I've seen, the magnitude of the risks, and the uncertainty of the human factor and the genetic unknowns have led me to believe there should be no nuclear power."

Richard Hubbard, the third, remarked: "I am now convinced that there is no way you can continue to build (nuclear) plants and operate them without having an accident."

Each cited different incidents or problems which led to their decision to quit. These included India's nuclear test, the health effects of radiation, the US decision to sell reactors to Israel and Egypt and the severe accidental fire last year at the world's largest reactor complex in Brown's Ferry, Alabama. — **Jim Peck**

### FLORIDA WOMEN'S CLINIC SUES DOCTORS

The Tallahassee Feminist Women's Health Center has filed suit against several local physicians whom Center members believe have conspired to put the clinic out of business and monopolize women's health care in their community.

According to the suit, the local physicians have pressured three doctors to terminate their employment with the center, and some of them say they would deny backup medical treatment for women in emergency situations.

Many women use the services offered by the Women's Choice Clinic rather than the independent physicians. Even one of the opposing doctors has admitted that second-trimester abortions in Tallahassee have definitely decreased over the year because of the women's health center.

"It is evident," Linda Curtis of the Feminist Women's Health Center wrote in the paper *Herself*, "that the medical community sees us as 'competitors' they would like to do away with. Because this seriously endangers our survival, and therefore women's health in this community, we have no choice but to view this as an attempt to seize control over women's health care for their own profit."

"We have filed suit," Curtis continued, "because this monopolistic behavior has expressed itself in a manner that not only violates our rights as women and as consumers to own and operate a needed medical facility, but also we believe it violates the law." — **LNS**

### EIGHT WEEK LONG PITTSBURGH TEACHERS STRIKE ENDS

A militant, two-month long teachers' strike in Pittsburgh, Pa. ended suddenly January 26 with a 1,486 to 657 vote to accept the proposed contract and go back to work.

"It was really a split vote," commented Cindy Wells, a first grade teacher active in the strike. "Almost a third of the membership voted against the contract. We got a fairly good financial settlement, but we stood still on everything else."

"Everything else" included demands for more reading programs, smaller class size, and more job security for young teachers. During the stormy six-hour meeting in which teachers discussed whether or not

to accept the contract, reading specialists wrote up a statement on the lack of reading programs, and there was much all-around heated debate.

"We didn't lose on education issues," summed up Wells, "we just didn't gain. All along the union leadership had told us, 'we're standing firm.' They didn't say, 'oh no, we're not going to be able to get this,' and so we were all surprised by the terms of the contract."

The strike remained strong throughout its eight weeks. Some 93% of teachers and paraprofessionals stayed out consistently, and there were often more than 1500 people at a time on picket duty, despite massive fines levied on both the union and all individual teachers.

Fines against the union, totaling \$105,000 are still in effect, but Allegheny Court of Common pleas Judge Donald Zieger admitted soon after the strike was over, that there was no way that the individual fines could be collected.

All 4,400 teachers and paraprofessionals are now back in the schools, but already, the Board of Education has announced that there will be layoffs—the rumored figure is 200—in the future. — **LNS**

### JUSTICE DEPARTMENT WILL NOT PROSECUTE THOSE INVOLVED IN CIA ASSASSINATION PLOTS

The US government has decided that prosecution of those involved in CIA assassination plots in the past amounts to "a dry hole," according to one Justice Department source close to the investigation.

The CIA is known to have been involved in assassination plots against at least three heads of state: Fidel Castro in Cuba, Patrice Lumumba in the Congo, and Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic.

The Justice Department says that it is still leaving open investigations of more minor CIA illegal activities, including the Agency's 20-year program of opening foreign mail entering the US; more than 60 wiretaps and bugs used illegally by the Agency; and

at least one burglary committed by the CIA employees.

The Criminal Division is also said to be investigating former CIA director Richard Helms for possible perjury before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1973.

The Justice Department will have to hurry, however, if it wants to prosecute former director Helms on a possible charge of authorizing illegal burglary; the five year statute of limitations for that charge expires some time in February. — **LNS**

### ELDRIDGE CLEAVER ON ZIONISM

Eldridge Cleaver, who has recently returned to the US and is now in a California prison awaiting trial, has bitterly accused the Arab people of being "amongst the most racist people on earth."

Cleaver, who spent several years in Algeria, condemned the campaign to equate Zionism with racism, declaring that "Jews have not only suffered particularly from racist persecution, they have done more than any other people in history to expose and condemn racism."

Following are excerpts from Cleaver's statement on Zionism and Arab racism:

Two aspects of the recent UN resolution labelling Zionism as racist both shocked and surprised me. Shocked because of all the people in the world, the Jews have not only suffered particularly from racist persecution, they have done more than any other people in history to expose and condemn racism. Generations of Jewish social scientists and scholars have labored long and hard in every field of knowledge, from anthropology to psychology, to lay bare and refute all claims of racial inferiority and superiority. To condemn the Jewish survival doctrine of Zionism as racism, is a travesty upon the truth.

Secondly, I am surprised that the Arabs would choose to establish a precedent condemning racism because it can so easily and righteously be turned against them. Having lived intimately for

several years amongst the Arabs, I know them to be amongst the most racist people on earth. This is particularly true of their attitude towards Black people. No one knows this better than Black Africans living along the edges of the Sahara.

Many Arab families that can afford to, keep one or two black slaves to do their menial labor. Sometimes they own an entire family. I have seen such slaves with my own eyes. Once I pressed an Algerian official for an explanation of the status of these people, and he ended up describing a complicated form of indentured servitude. The conversation broke up when I told him that it was nothing but a hypocritical form of slavery.

I have the deepest sympathy for the Palestinian people in their search for justice, but I see no net gain for freedom and human dignity in the world if power blocs, because of their ability to underwrite sagging economies for a season, are able to ram through the UN resolutions repugnant to human reason and historical fact.

The combination of Communist dictatorship, theocratic Arab dictatorships, and economically dependent Black African dictatorships are basically united in their opposition to the democratic forces inside their own borders. This gives them a lot in common and lots of room and motivation to wheel and deal amongst themselves. But it is not a combination deserving of respect by people from countries enjoying democratic liberties and traditions of freedom. It is a combination that must be struggled against.

It may seem paradoxical that I write these words from a prison cell in California. I am certainly not a stranger to racism—I have personally experienced it in the ghettos and prison yards of America. But I have also personally shared the experience of thousands of men and women now languishing in the prisons of Communist and Third World countries. The cause of democracy and freedom can best be served when men and women speak out against the forces that seek to nullify them, even if this means speaking out from a prison cell.

— **News Desk**

# REVIEWS



**Source Catalog 3: ORGANIZING FOR HEALTH CARE, a Tool for Change**  
The Source Collective / Beacon Press / Boston, Mass. / 1974 / \$5.95

**Organizing for Health Care** is an excellent introduction to some of the political issues of health care in the US. The book is organized into 11 sections ranging from "Community Health Organizing," "Hospitals," and "Women's and Third World Health" to "Occupational Safety and Health," and "Health Financing and Planning." Each section starts with a strong analysis of the problems in each area, a platform for change and specific ways change can be implemented. It then lists specific groups, books, publications and audiovisuals concerned with the same issue.

The message of the book is that total restructuring of our health services should take place in order to meet people's needs. The program the authors propose, though, concerns local action. They emphasize change brought about by community action: local groups "rising up angry," doing Nader type research and then organizing, demonstrating, occupying, protesting, as well as getting power positions (on boards, in local governments, etc.) and/or creating alternatives.

This type of community action is, like the book, a necessary first step. It advocates working both within the system, to make it more rational and responsive, and outside the system, by creating alternative models which do serve people's needs in a non-oppressive and humane way. Both approaches may then provide models when (and if) national restructuring occurs.

The strength of the book lies in its analysis and its program. The catalog within each section is less successful. Not meant to be comprehensive, it contains a scattering of representational groups and resources across the country—some radical, some liberal, some even government run. We were disappointed that in the area we know best—women's health—the book lists only six clinics and seven women's health collectives from among the hundreds across the country. Moreover, choices

seem arbitrary, neither necessarily the most active nor the best known. The women's health book and periodical list is also arbitrary, incomplete and much too brief. As an introduction, however, it would serve at least to give you an idea of what the Women's health movement was about. (The *New Women's Survival Sourcebook's* section on Women's health is a much more comprehensive and useful listing of both groups and resources.)

Most groups listed in the 11 sections of **Organizing for Health Care** are not specifically involved in health care; they are community action groups, pressure groups and centers organizing around specific concerns (such as AIM, Black Panthers; National Sharecroppers, Gray Panthers, Daughters of Bilitis, etc.).

In the introduction the authors state they are not trying to be comprehensive, but to "assist the people challenging outmoded and oppressive institutions." Their role is as a resource and information tool and this they have accomplished.

A warning to readers of this as of other similar social change directories is in order:

1. Just because a group is or is not listed one shouldn't assume that the group is therefore either good or bad or even particularly relevant.

2. There is a tendency to take groups and projects at face value (the difficulty of knowing what each group in a particular city is doing let alone nationwide, is self evident). Some groups are listed as having specific programs which in reality exist only on paper, and other groups are represented as they ideally wish to be rather than describing what they are actually accomplishing and how they are in fact structured.

3. One should allow for the constant flow and flux of community energy. What was a specific group engaged in a specific program at the time of writing (1974 in this case), may have changed structure, become regressive, been wasted by schisms and factions, been taken over by another group with a different agenda, or have died.

The specific listings in **Organizing for Health Care** show actual examples both of social change within the health field and of groups worth investigating and joining. Minority groups make up the majority of the listings, all with similar agendas, which brings up the possibility of health care as a uniting issue. The major usefulness of the book though is in its analysis and program. It doesn't just complain but also points the way to change.

**BLUEPRINT FOR HEALTH: A Multinational Portrait of the Costs and Administration of Medical Care in the Public Interest**  
D. Stark Murray / Schocken Books, NY / 1974 / \$7.50

**Blueprint for Health** is a useful primer on health systems in different parts of the world. The reference point is the National Health Service in Britain, which Murray was involved in designing and in whose success he has a personal investment. He presents the arguments for a national health system (pointing out that the US is the only "major western power" without such a system), and argues for a comprehensive national health plan financed

through taxation, rather than the insurance schemes used in several countries and proposed in the US. Under an insurance system, doctors and hospitals continue to profit from illness, as they render a bill for services (usually only sick care is covered) which is paid wholly or in part by the insurance scheme. In a complete system (or prepaid system) a certain amount of illness is planned for over the whole population, and health workers are paid by salary. Thus their stake is in keeping people well (less work, same pay) and they are encouraged to attempt prevention, education, etc. The book gives a rundown of the systems in most European countries, as well as several Third World countries (unfortunately ignoring the Chinese model which seems by far the most successful in a country of limited resources). The analysis is rather superficial and the inadequacies of each country's health delivery system are poorly documented (with the exception of the US which is continually—and justly—found lacking). The book does not challenge the context of Western technological, industrial medicine, and does not address the overall political issues of power: of people over their bodies, of medicine as a reflection of the larger political realities, of the hierarchical nature of most health systems. A truly radical analysis of the health system would have to deal with these realities and suggest ways to change the system.

**HEALTH/PAC BULLETIN**  
Health Policy Action Center, 17 Murray St., NY, NY 10007 / \$7.00 per year

A publication that has tried to provide a consistent radical critique of the American health system is the **Health/Pac Bulletin**. Although their choice of issues has at times tended to be provincial, focussing on New York City and San Francisco (where the bulletin is produced alternately) rather than on national issues, **Health/PAC** has in general been a very good resource for political analysis of health issues particularly as they relate to institutions and empire building.

Two recent issues are of particular note. One, *National Health Insurance: he who pays the piper lets the piper call the tune*, a Health/PAC report by Louise Lander is a summary of the various proposals for a national health insurance scheme. It is an excellent review of the current proposals and a devastating critique of their deficiencies. There is little discussion of viable alternatives. Nevertheless it is a clear and concise review and analysis of a very confusing group of proposals.

The other, *MCHR: An Organization in Search of an Identity* by Howard Levy & Rhonda Kotelchuck, is an analysis and history of the Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR). This is valuable not so much from a health organizing perspective as from a movement political point of view. It typifies many of the problems that beset groups which arose during the 1960s. MCHR started as an organization to provide medical presence during the civil rights work in the south in the early '60s. Medical presence at a wide variety of movement activities continued as an important function of many chapters. Though there

were several exceptions, in general MCHR never developed a program of its own, but rather moved from issue to issue with the rest of the left. This lack of an underlying political analysis of health issues meant that local chapters tended to wax and wane depending on what was happening politically in their area.

Another major problem in MCHR, as in so many movement groups, was political infighting and factionalism. Because it lacked a clear political stand, discernable philosophical values and analysis, and long term strategies based on this analysis, it was hard to know what, in fact, one was joining. This made local chapters open to takeovers, with the political "heavies" of the Revolutionary Union (RU) or the Communist Party (CP) insisting on a certain line and others therefore, finding it no longer useful and dropping out.

The national group, described by Levy & Kotelchuck as CP dominated, seemed always the weakest part of MCHR. The local groups, though, remained firmly decentralized; perhaps this made them more vulnerable to take over, but it also assisted the positive accomplishments of the group. Local chapters were able to initiate programs appropriate to their areas, using MCHR as an umbrella organization, and ignore the rifts elsewhere and the unworkable programs decreed by the national office (such as the inopportune national health crusade of 1971). Out of these local efforts came some work of lasting value such as Boston's *Patients' Rights Handbook* and its "Politics of Health" bibliography and the Occupational Health Project which is now in San Francisco.

*Health Rights News*, MCHR's publication, has been suspended because of lack of funds and interest; few MCHR chapters still function and many of these are RU dominated. However many individual MCHR people are still organizing local study groups, forums and projects, using the name MCHR as a drawing card. The authors conclude: "those factors that have led MCHR to the brink of total



"The people who make aspirin wish you had a headache right now..."

demise" are "its latter day contempt of democratic dissent, its disdain for theoretical perspective, its unwillingness to concretely analyze its activities and its impatience with the slow task of building bases." The analysis of MCHR that leads to these conclusions is useful to anyone involved in attempts at organization/movement building. The unanswered question remains: How do you keep people together to fight a common enemy and bring about social change when it is so much easier to fight your friends?  
— Claire Douglas and Jim Scott



**THE MANUAL OF PRACTICAL HOMESTEADING**  
John Vivian / Rodale Press / 340 pp. / \$8.95

The author of this book believes that he and his family are "uniquely prepared to face up to the severe economic, environmental, and resource depletion problems facing the world."

That is probably true. "A homesteading family," as John Vivian observes, "can become almost nonconsumers of the earth's limited or nonrenewable resources."

Like John Vivian, I am very happy to be living in the country and to be involved in a homesteading experience. The back-to-the-land movement is an important political response to the existing mode of life in the United States, though most of the people involved think of themselves as apolitical. As a response to the competitive and destructive values of this society, homesteaders are engaged in an effort that is at once decentralist, nonviolent (with the possible exception of hunters) and nurturing.

Most of this book is in the "how to" vein, and since I'm not the homesteading veteran that John Vivian is, I'm not really fit to comment on the specifics of his approach to beekeeping, grape-growing or skinning rabbits. He offers a stupefying panorama of the possibilities of life on a homestead. This is a useful volume, no doubt, and recommended for both practicing homesteaders and for contemplators.

As for you political critics of us back-to-the-land folks, I think that by reading a book such as this, you can at least respect the incredible amount of physical labor (productive and beneficial) that takes place on a farm such as the Vivians'.

John Vivian is at his best when he shares his know-how, which is 99% of the book. His political outlook, however, leaves a lot to be desired, even if it does pop up only occasionally. He has a bit of the ex-urbanite self-righteousness: I believe that homesteaders have to at least recognize the existence of urban life and urban people in a way that is loving and harmonious, not antagonistic.

Also, it seems that John Vivian takes his nuclear family lifestyle very much for granted, as if the social change he acknowledges as urgent will not touch his traditional and precious manhood. There are oc-

casional references to "Louise" and the children, and one can only assume that their view of the homestead would be quite different. John Vivian never talks about cleaning house or washing dishes or making the place look pretty.

One final note: there's not a word in the book about the demon automobile. The necessity of a car and/or truck in country life, and the problem and cost of maintaining these vehicles, is one of the biggest woes a homesteader faces. It merits comment and concern.  
— Allen Young

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Some of us go back to the land and some of us have fantasies about it. I suspect there is a more profound distance here than merely resolution or will power; my daydreams are much too full of cuddly rabbits and Grandma Moses farmhouses to ever become a reality. I agree with E.B. White that "this is one farm on which there will be no culling. I'm putting the whole flock into the laying house. Those that like to lay eggs can do that; the others can sit around the groaning board, singing and whoring." And, like White, the only way I could ever afford a farm would be to have a hefty outside income to support a very expensive hobby.

Nonetheless, the one thing I do have in common with genuine homesteaders is that I read books about getting back to the land. Ken Kern, Calvin Rutstrum, *Mother Earth News*, you name it, I've read it, particularly when it's 20 degrees below here in Montreal and my thesis is stuck in a rut (i.e., anytime at all this winter). In fact, I suspect that we fantasizers read more of that stuff than real homesteaders, who are presumably both too busy and too poor.

For both types—dreamers and doers—Lewis and Sharon Watson have come up with a brilliant idea: the **Earthbooks Lending Library**. They have an annotated catalogue of over 300 inspirational books, everything from *Sauna: The Finnish Bath* to *Starting Right with Turkeys*. You pay a \$5.00 membership fee, which is refundable when you cancel, and 65¢ for each book or magazine you borrow. They pay postage to you, you pay postage back to them, and you get about three weeks to read each book. If you want to keep a book, you just send them the discounted price (based on wear and tear) minus 50¢. In fact, I suspect that Earthbooks is a better deal as a used book outlet than a lending library.

Filling in the order blank is a real fantasy trip. Should I get something heavy and responsible, like Ehrlich's *The End of Affluence?* Or something purely recreational, like *Raising Earthworms for Profit?* I really ought to read *Our Bodies, Ourselves*. Maybe I'll be really practical for once, and order *How to Earn a Living in the Country without Farming*.

— Dena S. Davis

Claire Douglas and Jim Scott wrote "Toward an Alternative Health Care System" in WIN 8/7/75. Dena S. Davis was WIN's typesetter once-upon-a-time. Allen Young writes lots of reviews for WIN.

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I enclose: \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for items checked.

I enclose: \$ \_\_\_\_\_ contribution to the WRL.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_