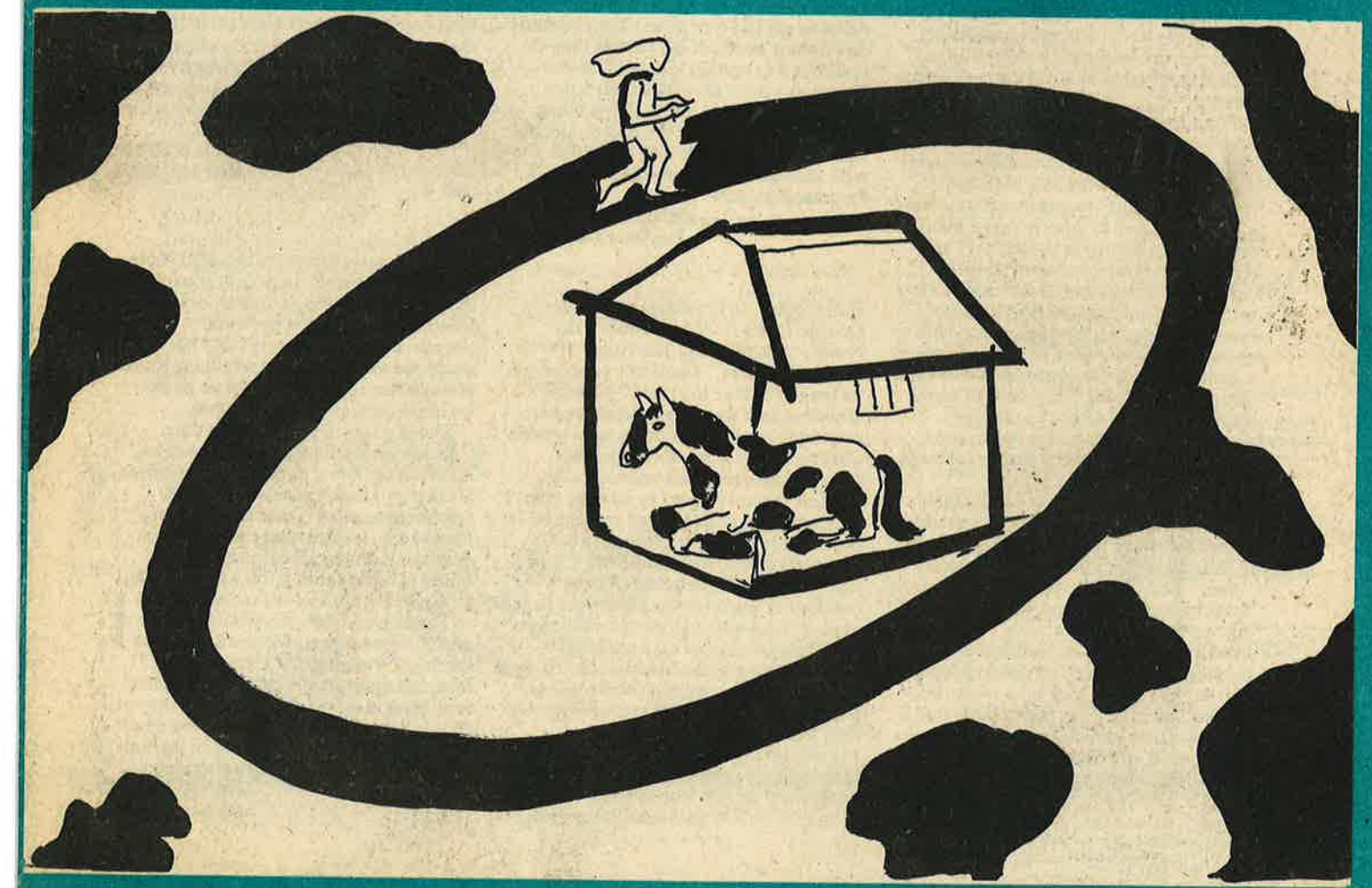


# win

PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

**Steve Trimm and Don Luce: What is the Best Path to Amnesty?**  
**Canceling America's Lease on Panama**  
**Moving South With the Continental Walk**  
**Lettuce That Glows in the Dark?**





As a male "radical," I want to thank Gary Wandachild for his forceful criticisms of the male Left, [WIN, 1/22/76], our ignorance of women's struggles, and our lack of commitment to Feminist Revolution. Yet I finished the article feeling that the very processes he decried in Leftist men, Gary adopted for himself in writing his criticisms of us.

The first step toward living a Feminist process—the repudiation of patriarchal cock privilege—means affirming the Redstockings' statement, "Our politics begin with our feelings." This statement is as valid for men as for women.

For a man to write a statement on the relationship between men and Feminism and not include any personal experience of how he as a man has responded to the imperative Feminism gives to men, is to deny his own historical relationship to patriarchy, and renders his entire criticism suspect.

Equally dangerous as the male Left's refusal to challenge patriarchy in any meaningful way, is the tendency I have observed in some men to put women on a pedestal for their oppression and their struggle, as I think Gary does to some degree. Both reactions have their source in men's defensive refusal to deal with their personal historical roots within patriarchal society.

Rather than criticising Leftist men from his patriarchal distance, I would rather see Gary join with other men in creating new meanings for words like "men" and "brotherhood"—meanings that challenge patriarchy by affirming our womanselves. For men, Feminism means a personal and political commitment to free women from the violence of patriarchy, and to free men from the patriarchal misogyny oppressing our womanselves, which keeps us, ourselves terrorizing, imprisoning, and murdering women and each other.

—JIM TIPPETT  
Florence, Mass.

#### An Open Letter to Patricia Hearst:

Although a number of years separate our lives, there is a definite pattern to our experience. Mine took place many years ago in the year of 1940.

That was the year that I received my letter which invited me to a party to be held at a place called Fort Dix, New Jersey. The invitation bore the signature of the President so I went in a spirit of trust. My age then was equal to yours so trust was a growing thing.

My disillusion began when they put me in a room where they made me disrobe prior to the tortures. They inserted needles and filled bottles with my blood. Next they issued me some weird Khaki-colored, ill-fitting clothes which closely resembled yours. They put me outside into a small tent which had no heat and woke me up at the ungodliest hours, to march. I, too, was issued a gun and had to sleep, eat and live with it. My luck was not as good as yours for I was herded into a boat and sent overseas. There I was forced to kill people who I never got a chance to meet. They were not even bank employees so we actually killed them for nothing. The same fear of being killed by our captors if we didn't, was also there.

When I escaped the ordeal, as you have, the publicity was not as great as yours. I returned to find my friends had made big money, bought large homes and climbed to the top of the work echelon while I was gone. They looked down their noses at me just as they do you, but I'm certain you will survive. You won't have to work as hard, for your story will sell many times more than mine. You have the proper people working on your side and the old draftee who won the battle but lost the war is forgotten for now...

—ERNEST STAFFORD  
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Henry Bass, in his dismissal of Henry George in his review of Albert Jay Nock's "Our Enemy The State" [WIN, 12/18/75], says "academic economists no longer bother to refute" George's theories. In a way this is true because academic economists do largely ignore George. But it does not mean that George has ever been successfully refuted, by academics or anyone else! I have read every supposed refutation I could find since first becoming acquainted with George in 1968. Every one either misrepresents George's position or presents an argument based on ludicrous suppositions. I challenge Mr. Bass or anyone else to refute George's single-tax ideas on the basis of human ethics, economic correctness, practicality, and/or whatever other test they choose.

I recommend George as the theorist that radicals should study today. His analysis is clearer and more consistent than that of Marxists, and his remedy is

totally nonviolent. George found the root of economic injustice in the private ownership of God-given land—land that is the starting point for the production of every item of wealth and services. He recommended the abolition of the land-owning privilege by the government collection of community-created land values. He further urged the abolition of all other economic privileges (tariffs, patents, restrictive licensing); the government ownership of natural monopolies (telephone, railroads, etc.); and the complete abolition of all taxes on producers (income tax, sales tax, etc.). BUT George drew the line at the invasion of individual economic rights: the right to own things produced by labor and capital; the right to work as one pleases; to make a profit; to buy and sell; to get ahead; to use one's natural talents and inclinations in the earning of a living. Therefore, his philosophy combines the best of the truths and insights contained in what are today called "the left" and "the right" political ideologies.

I strongly urge WIN readers to read George for themselves (especially "Progress and Poverty" and "Social Problems") before accepting any blanket write-off of this radical economist.

—CATHY COVELL  
San Francisco, Calif.

Miriam Wasserman's article arrived while our household was still in the throes of intense discussion about the Wandachild piece. We are utterly delighted with her cookkutter! And, some gibles are in process, so we know we're on the right revolutionary road.

—THE LILITHIANS  
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Julius Lester's letter [WIN, 2/2/76] is perhaps "helpful" in pointing out the dangers of founding contemporary feminist theory upon personal interpretations of history. But his response to Gary Wandachild is typical of male reactions to attacks on patriarchal interpretations of history.

Those who tell women that they "must wait until after the revolution," must surely know nothing of revolution. Similarly, I feel, those who regard feminism as simply one more among many basic issues (and therefore not deserving of special attention), have failed to comprehend the nature of the struggle for nonviolent social change.

Thank you Leah, Andrea, Barbara, and the rest of you, for crying out the truth: A "revolution" that is not founded upon the principles of radical feminism is no revolution; a movement that is not initiated in the kitchens and offices of our daily lives cannot be non-violent and cannot bring us a more human society.

—DAVID PERRY  
Durango, Colo.

Why hasn't there been more research done on the Social Security tax? It is the most fraudulent part of the government there is.

For example, my father is forty-six years old and has already payed in \$141,000 (information from the Department of HEW).

He has 19 more years to go and I wonder how much he will have in his account by the time he is 65 years old, and how much he will draw.

Do you see the rip off? What can be done about this? —ELIZABETH HINCY  
Fort Worth, Tex.

Julius Lester's lucid and informative letter [WIN, 2/12/76]—about race, sex, and Frederick Douglass—was a perfect anti-dote to the repetitive, hardly-readable articles on women that sometimes appear in WIN. Lester's criticism of doctrinaire approaches toward this and other subjects was eloquently made.

—RACHELLE MARSHALL  
Stanford, Calif.

When we sat down last March and figured out we needed to raise \$50,000 this year, we were worried. We had never tried to raise anywhere near that much money before.

The figures were clear. We had a deficit of almost \$10,000 carried over from 1974 and we projected a similar situation for 1975. After all, the price of printing, mailing, electricity, oil, telephones, etc. was only going one way: up. That would mean carrying debts of over \$20,000 into 1976. We knew our credit wouldn't stretch that far. The choice was clear: either we raised the money or WIN would never see its tenth anniversary.

Thanks to you, we are still here. It is continually reassuring to see the value you place on the work we do. We're like anyone else when hassles come up (once a week minimum around here); we throw up our hands and wonder if it's worth it.

This year, as WIN readers, contributors and supporters, you've answered the question decisively.

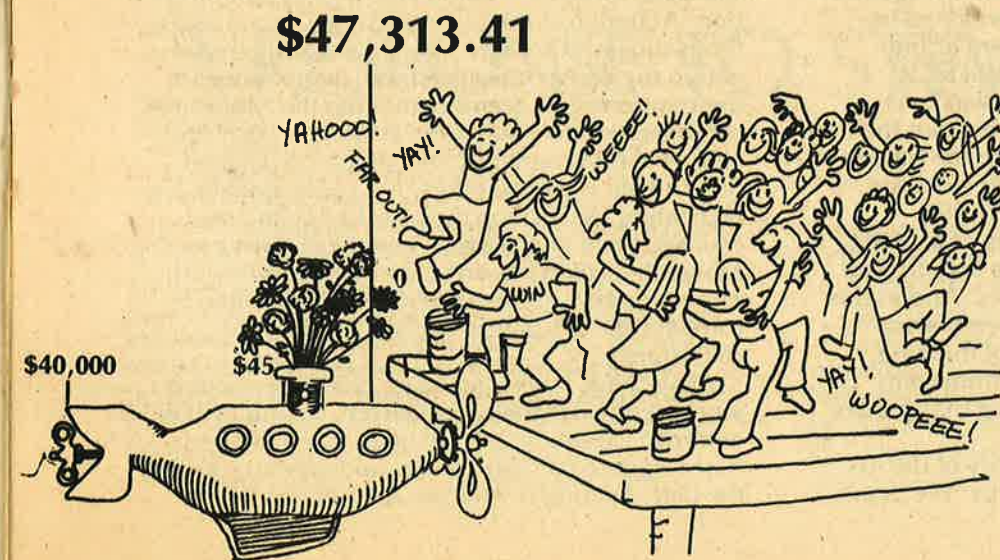
Not that we haven't recently had our close calls. Like last week when the man from the electric company came to either collect a sizable check or shut us off. We smiled and wrote the check thanks to you.

Of course, WIN continues to dance on the edge of poverty. We always have, and no matter how hard we plan, we never seem to be able to move very far from that edge. That's capitalism for you.

So while your overwhelming generosity allows us to erase the debts of prior years, the debts of 1976 are already mounting up. This fund appeal has reached its successful end. The next one won't start for a while; if you find yourself with some spare cash in the meantime, we can always use it.

Our deepest thanks to all of you who've made WIN's tenth year of service to social change possible and our prospects for another decade of promoting peace and freedom thru nonviolent action better than ever.

Love,  
The WIN Staff



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National Amnesty Week (February 23-29) appears to have touched a responsive chord in America. Over 10 governors and 16 mayors have issued proclamations in recognition of this week of concern. Over 100 California clergy have agreed to read sermons on the topic of amnesty on the weekend of February 28-29. Four high schools in Mt. Clemens, Mich. are running an essay contest on the subject of amnesty with a first prize of 100 Bicentennial silver dollars. After an amnesty rally in Boston an ex-Marine who had been underground for seven years attempted to turn himself in to the authorities on Sunday only to be told to return during business hours.

The full breadth of response to National Amnesty Week will only be known after it is over.

The renewed concern about amnesty has also rekindled debate over specific bills before Congress, in particular the Kastenmeier bill (HR 9596) which is the one in the best position to be passed. Critics of the bill point out that the majority of those in need of amnesty are excluded from its provisions.

For our readers the case is argued by Steve Trimm who turned himself in to the Ford clemency program after six years in Canada and Don Luce, Director of Clergy and Laity Concerned.

More information about the Kastenmeier bill and all other aspects of the drive for amnesty can be obtained from the National Council for Universal Unconditional Amnesty, 235 E. 49 St., New York, NY 10017. Phone: (212)688-8097.

## WHY WE SHOULD SUPPORT THE KASTENMEIER BILL

BY STEVE TRIMM

I went underground and into exile because I truly thought that things were hopeless. The government continued to commit atrocities in Southeast Asia, remaining deaf to our pleas and regarding individual human lives as expendable. At the same time, the Peace Movement, while pushing in a generally positive direction, could not stop to attend to the wounds of its individual members. Which is to say, the Movement treated individuals as expendable too.

As we work for Amnesty, we are finally getting around to attending to some of our wounded. The risk we run is that truly caring for the wounded will become subordinated to Larger Political Considerations—that the Amnesty struggle will become a mere chess piece in a larger political game.

For example, during the war a lot of facts were unearthed and publicized. Among them, the fact that thousands of people were rotting in South Vietnam's jails, more especially the Tiger Cages. It was, I feel a good thing to expose all that, but the fact of the matter is that exposure served one primary purpose: to help build sentiment against the war. The prisoners were not mentioned because we cared very much about them as individuals. As prisoners they were useful to us politically (or at least their situation was). As people, we didn't think all that much about them. Certainly we didn't think much about the people held by the North Vietnamese—their situation, their plight, wasn't useful to us politically.

Now I can agree that the achieving of a sweeping political revolution holds out the potential for improving the lot of masses of people. And in this context the individual and his fate seem insignificant. The danger with this way of thinking, however, is that it could divorce us from compassion—which ought to be the thing that guides our political action.

Once we have forgotten the sanctity of the individual human life, we lose our focus. We begin

playing a numbers game, we begin to speak and act in generalities. If 100 lives have to be lost to save 1,000, that's acceptable. If the ends are good, the means don't matter. All very well if we are LBJ and Richard Nixon—we can lay waste Vietnam in order to save the Pacific rim for the West—but do we really want to become reflections of our opponents?

Once we shrug off the importance of the individual, our political actions for a more humane world are bound to go awry, to become grotesque and a tragic farce.

I exiled myself in 1969 because I felt that the Peace Movement was the flip side of the policy-makers in Washington—that neither truly cared for the fate of the individual human being.

I'm afraid that the Amnesty Movement is on the same road. I'm afraid that it's just another issue to be exploited by the Left, with the guts of it—the human suffering—all but ignored.

The Amnesty Movement's reaction to the Kastenmeier Bill is a case in point. I wholly agree that the bill does not reach nearly far enough. At the same time, I see it as a step in the right direction. Adoption of the bill would allow home many thousands who are now exiled (including those within the USA). It would significantly reduce their suffering. It seems to me that the Movement could legitimately support the bill as a *good first step*. If the Movement could adopt the position that the bill is a good effort, if it could applaud the legislators for sticking their necks out and encourage them to go farther next time, then the Movement could have its cake and eat it too. Or, more precisely, if the Movement is motivated by compassion, it's political action would have consistency.

As we have it now, however, the Movement is scorning the Kastenmeier Bill and saying "All or nothing." With the bill being attacked by the Right, ignored by the Center, and now attacked by the Left, nothing is what we will get—and the



Cartoon by Ron Cobb.

exiles will have not choice but to stay exiled. The suffering will continue.

It seems the Movement is more concerned with ideological victory than with alleviating suffering. Anything short of total Amnesty right now—however humane the repercussions—according to our strategists, will undercut the usefulness of Amnesty as an issue, as a device for explaining our political analysis of the war to the public.

Having our analysis of the war accepted by the public, the theory goes, will inevitably lead to great social/political changes. And that is the truly important thing, for social revolution will improve things for the mass of mankind.

Friends, we can put forward our political analysis without using the exiles as an attention-getting device. We can make our political case and support a stage-by-stage march toward Amnesty too. The two are not mutually exclusive. To keep the exiles locked in exile because this helps promote social revolution is to employ bad means to reach good ends.

We must stop separating means and ends. If we don't, our revolution will have no humanity to it. If we cannot sincerely try to ease the pain of our wounded as we advance, we are advancing into a quagmire of contradictions. And few will follow us.

## A RESPONSE TO STEVE TRIMM

BY DON LUCE

I agree! We cannot let caring for the wounded in spirit and soul become subordinated to Larger Political Considerations. But I don't think we have. We in the Amnesty Movement spend hours listening and responding to each other. We make collective decisions because we feel the importance of what each person has to say. Most movement campaigns are organized around one person because we feel the injustice toward Martin Sostre, Hurricane Carter, Jane Kennedy and

Charlotte Salawati describe the overall injustices in ways we can all understand. And, because we want to see these people out of jail.

The Tiger Cages became famous because of what happened to individuals, real people. Americans saw and felt with the Buddhist monk as he looked up at us through the bars of the cages. People wrote their congressional representatives about one imprisoned person. When Bella Abzug went to Vietnam, she demanded to see Cao Thi

Que Huong and Huynh Tan Mam... not "the political prisoners."

The students at Wellesley College convinced Rep. Margaret Heckler to work for the release of Thieu Thi Tao because of a letter she had smuggled out of one of Saigon's insane asylums to me.

"Like more than a hundred of thousands of political prisoners in South Vietnam," Tao wrote, "I'm suffering a hell on earth. For six years in prison, I have lost health, knowledge, intelligence, memory. Six years constantly seeking for affronting torments and repressions, seeking for the way to live in peace, but not a minute serent! And on the result, I've been sent to the Bien Hoa lunatic asylum."

The students organized themselves out of concern for one person transferred from the Tiger Cages to the Bien Hoa Insane Asylum. And they convinced a moderate Republican representative, Margaret Heckler, to heckle the State Dept. and the Saigon regime.

The point I am trying to make, Steve, is that within three months Thieu Thi Tao was released. Sure, her case was politically useful. Because of thousands of letters about Tao, Mam, Que Huong and many others, Congress came to associate political repression and the Saigon regime. And they made drastic cuts in aid to the Saigon regime.

The question, then, is: "Did the movement use Thieu Thi Tao?" Of course we did—because we were concerned about her and 200,000 similar cases. Thieu Thi Tao and her fate became significant to us because her letters had made her real to us. And she became significant in the larger political context.

I cannot divorce compassion for individuals from political action. Nor can I disregard the views of one individual from a political action that I take.

This, however, does not mean that we will always agree. The Kastenmeier Bill is an example. I cannot put my energies into that bill because I feel that it is designed to help the most articulate, the ones from the most privileged backgrounds. In putting our energies into this, the work for a universal, unconditional amnesty would suffer. It would lessen the chances to receive VA hospital and educational benefits by those who have the greatest need.

America's middle and upper straight-white-male class has a tradition of taking care of itself. The result has been the failure to develop a feeling of trust with people outside the Great White Male Fraternity. We have to be especially careful to avoid hurting other people's chances for justice as we work for justice for ourselves.

John Maddaus of the Syracuse Peace Council described many weaknesses of the Kastenmeier Bill in a letter to an official in his church:

*We never were and still are not in touch with the vets with bad discharges—there must be 15,000 such vets in upstate New York, but aside from a dozen who have spoken with an AFSC*

*discharge up-grading counselor in Syracuse, none have been in contact with any amnesty group.*

*There is, I think a good explanation for our failure to reach the vets with LTHD's (Less Than Honorable Discharges): most of us are solidly middle class, educated, politically "sophisticated;" most of them are from working class or low income backgrounds (many are Blacks or other minorities), have less education, have not been active politically. We are socially and economically secure—they are struggling to survive. To us, they are invisible—to them, we are irrelevant to their most pressing needs as they perceive them.*

*The Kastenmeier Bill is "our" bill; it reflects our strengths (our concern for the draft resisters with whom we are in closest contact), as well as our weaknesses (especially our inability to communicate with the vets with LTHDs). The flaws of the Kastenmeier Bill are the flaws of our amnesty movement—to accept that bill is to refuse to face the need for improvement in ourselves, and in our ability to reach out and then to communicate that reaching out to others like ourselves.*

*We need to be confronting the reality of what the military discharge system really is: one of the worst forms of class and race discrimination in our society. A less-than-honorable discharge is a life-time sentence to second-class citizenship with little if any due process and equally slight chances of appeal. How long do you think this system would last if white, middle-class, college-educated people were the main ones getting these discharges?*

I do not intend to spend time opposing the Kastenmeier Bill and I do not recommend that to anyone else. Along with its weaknesses, it has a lot of merit. What I propose is that we spend our time working for a full amnesty for all. Let's have an amnesty that does not leave out all those individuals with Less Than Honorable Discharges or the civilian resisters.



Cartoon from Amex-Canada/LNS.

## U.S.—PANAMA RELATIONS

# Treaty for what? Treaty for whom?



Drawing by Nuez/Granma/LNS.

In 1903 the United States and Panama signed a treaty authorizing the United States to build, maintain, and protect a canal and canal zone across the isthmus of Panama. The 1903 treaty has been revised in the intervening years but revisions have never satisfied Panama's fundamental dissatisfactions with the original agreement. Since 1964 the United States has been committed to new treaty negotiations which actually began in 1974 on lines agreed upon by Henry Kissinger for the US and Juan Antonio Tack representing Panama. In spite of attempts by conservatives in the US Congress to block them, negotiations have continued and the issues involved are now beginning to attract public attention in the United States.

The current debate in the US on a new canal treaty with Panama has been cast primarily in terms of US defense needs, the US role in the world, and US relations with Latin America. There is also a debate in Panama about the treaty negotiations which is summarized as "Treaty for whom? Treaty for what?" ("Tratado para quien? Tratado para que?"). In Panama a new treaty is seen as essential and inevitable and the national debate is focussed on issues seen as more fundamental to the future of the country. Should control of national resources (including the Canal and the Zone) be for all Panamanians, or for the benefit of the well-to-do commercial classes? Will national

*Until recently Mary Day Kent was Assistant Director of the Latin American program of the International Service Division of the American Friends Service Committee. She has traveled extensively in Latin America.*

development be directed primarily for Panama's well-being, or be secondary to economic interests of the US and other industrial countries?

In Panama the canal as fact and symbol is in the forefront of the national consciousness of the 1½ million Panamanians. Every schoolchild, banana worker, banker, or street vendor has a strong opinion on the Canal. The national anthem has practically been replaced by a new song, "Colonia Americana... no! Es nuestro el canal" ("American colony... no! The canal is ours"). The tune and words are ubiquitous from school assemblies to casual humming in the streets. Although the government of Panama is military and unrepresentative and treaty negotiations are secret, the issues are widely discussed and all Panamanians will have the opportunity to vote on a new treaty before it can take effect. By contrast, in the United States public awareness and attention to the issue have been negligible. The policy debate on Panama has been carried on at the highest government levels: in the Senate, the State Department, within the Pentagon, and in high business circles.

This situation accurately represents the relationship of Panama and the United States. The Canal and United States military and economic presence in Panama have together been the most determining force in the country's life from independence in 1903 to the present. The US relation to Panama is essentially colonial: colonial in the most complete traditional sense in the US Panama

### BY MARY DAY KENT

Canal Zone, and neo-colonial in the country as a whole in the form of US transnational corporations and banks and a deluge of US media and cultural influence. The US presence in Panama affects nearly all Panamanians but touches only a few North Americans in any directly perceived way.

Although the US presence in Panama as a whole is significant (US banana companies and banks have been prospering there for nearly 75 years), the Canal and the Zone have the strongest impact on the life of Panama. The Canal and the Zone are the largest single source of income for the Panamanian economy. Approximately 30% of the Panamanian Gross National Income is Zone-derived. The 11,000 Panamanians employed in the Zone earn salaries as much as five or six times the minimum wage in Panama although they earn much less than the US citizens employed there. The Canal cuts across Panama in the center of the country, creating a division between the halves of the nation. The Zone is a large untapped resource of land and waters, and the location of the Zone blocks urban and commercial development of Panama's two port cities, Panama and Colon.

The Zone is in many ways a "peculiar institution." 68% of Zone land is used for US military purposes and the Zone as a whole has the character of a military base. The governor of the Zone is always appointed from the US Army Engineer Corps. All police, courts, postal service, and schools in the Zone are North American and operate without regard to Panamanian law or institutions. Only Canal Zone employees, US military and dependents are allowed to live in the Zone. US civilian Zone employees are often second or third generation Zone residents and they enjoy a privileged existence relative to comparable workers in the US as well as to Panamanian standards.

North American Zone residents (called "zonians" by Panamanians) are bitterly opposed to any change in the status of the Canal Zone and live in great insecurity about threats to their position from Panama and from US government plans for changes. Civic associations have been formed in the Zone to lobby against treaty negotiations and US State Department representatives sent to speak on the negotiation process in the Zone have been met with verbal and physical abuse. There are widely accepted reports that since the last major violent incident between Panama and the Zone, in January 1964, private gun ownership in the Zone has risen dramatically.

The US military presence in the Zone was originally justified by the clause in the 1903 treaty allowing the US to bring in troops and set up fortifications when needed to defend the Canal against attack. Panama and the US have both admitted that the Canal, under modern circumstances, is essentially indefensible. The massive military establishment in the Zone is one of its most intensely objectionable features for Panamanians. They feel it mortgages Panama to US military strategy and implicates her in US actions over which they have no control, such as the in-

vasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965, and the training given to soldiers from repressive governments at the Inter-American Training School in the Zone.

The US military in the Zone has never carried out an action to defend the Canal but they have been turned against Panamanians numerous times. Often the US military intervention in Panama has been formally requested by Panamanian authorities. The close relationship between the US and Panamanian militaries continues even while the present military government of General Omar Torrijos takes public anti-US positions on some issues. Panamanians anxious for "grass-roots" social change feel that the US military backing of the present government is stronger than ever and acts as a brake against any radical social reforms.

Since the Tack-Kissinger agreement on "Eight principles" for negotiations, announced in February 1974, treaty talks have been underway. Despite early expectations of a swift resolution and the substantial progress that has been made on some issues, Panamanian negotiators now say they feel the negotiations are about "half-way." As the question of the treaty has attracted congressional opposition in the US, the pace of negotiating has slowed and there is a strong possibility the US side in the talks would prefer to delay announcing any treaty until after the US 1976 elections to avoid the treaty becoming a partisan campaign issue. While they admit there could be tactical advantages to this, Panamanians also see this as one more instance of Panama's concerns being subordinated to priorities determined in the United States.

Under the eight point agreement the US and Panama are agreed to negotiate a new treaty abrogating the treaty of 1903, which would put a time limit on US control of the Canal, end US jurisdiction over the non-military aspects of the Zone, provide for increasing Panamanian participation in running and defending the Canal, and eventual return of the Canal and Zone to full Panamanian control. Within this framework of agreement (opposed by conservatives in the US and radicals in Panama), there remain major areas of difference to be worked out.

These differences concern the duration of a new treaty, the pace of returning the Canal Zone to Panamanian jurisdiction, the extent of lands and waters in the Zone to be returned immediately to Panama, the future and nature of US military presence in the Zone, and conditions for possible construction by the US of a new sea-level canal in Panama.

Despite the official secrecy of the negotiations, general outlines of the agreed-upon areas have been revealed by both sides. As seen by the negotiators at this stage, a new treaty would provide for continuing US control of the Zone and the Canal for another 25 years (or to the year 2000) with increasing Panamanian participation in running and defense of the Canal. Jurisdiction over the Canal Zone, other than areas strictly



Drawing by Nick Thorkelson/LNS.

necessary for canal operations, would return to Panama within three years of a new treaty. This would entail Panamanian legal, educational, and postal systems being applied to the Zone.

Many details of this return to Panamanian jurisdiction are still being worked out, particularly those touching on the educational system and application of Panamanian labor law. Panamanian jurisdiction in the Zone is one of the greatest fears of the US residents of the Zone and among the highest symbolic priorities for Panama. Lands and waters not needed for Canal operations or defense are to be returned to complete Panamanian control immediately. Panamanian estimates claim 25% of Zone land is now unused so the amount regained could be substantial. The definition of "necessary" lands is still being discussed and is proving a difficult aspect to agree on.

The Panamanian government would like to see a process of shared military defense of the Canal and is willing to allow the US to maintain three bases in the Zone during the duration of the new treaty. Although a reduction to three bases from the present 14 seems a major advance, some Panamanians point out that this would legitimize permanent US bases in the Zone for the first time by giving Panamanian consent to them. US military and government sources imply that they would accept the limitation to three bases without protest because it would lead to consolidation and greater efficiency than the present situation. Radical Panamanians are opposed to the three bases and the joint defense agreement because they fear the joint defense will be used against Panamanians pushing too hard for social change, and because the issue of removing the US Southern Command and its Inter-American Training School from Panama is not dealt with.

A major question still faced by the negotiators is the United States demand for an extension of primary US responsibility for the defense of the Canal beyond the end of the new treaty duration, perhaps up to 50 years. Panama's position is that the total control and responsibility for the Canal should be in Panama's hands at the end of the new treaty.

The question of the 25 year option the US would like to have on the right to build a new sea-level canal in Panama has not yet been dealt with in detail by the negotiators. Panama is resisting this demand but has indicated willingness to consider a five year option during which time studies and negotiations on new canal works could be carried out.

In spite of Panamanian student and radical opposition to aspects of the new treaty and some popular cynicism about the Torrijos government's rhetoric on the Canal issue, there is little likelihood the Panamanian people will reject the new treaty if and when it is negotiated. The possibility of rejection by the US Senate is much more real and of much greater concern to both sides of the negotiations. Henry Kissinger and Ellsworth Bunker (chief US negotiator) have warned of anti-US violence in Panama if a satisfactory new treaty cannot be reached without much more delay. There is talk of Panama threatening to become "a new Vietnam" if the US should decide to maintain its present colonial privileges by force. It is frequently pointed out that the Canal is in reality indefensible and the possibilities for sabotage are obvious to the most casual visitor.

General Torrijos has said that if there is an anti-US "explosion" in Panama, he will have to lead it or be overthrown by it, and he would prefer to lead it. However, despite the repeated references by US government figures to the threat of a violent situation, the Panamanian view of their strategy is not primarily oriented to violence or armed struggle. Rather, Panamanians of varying views and sectors agree on looking to international support for their cause as their best weapon. Although the US has never accepted international arbitration of US-Panamanian disputes, Panama has repeatedly taken its case to international forums and this has been effective. After the January 1964 "flag riots" in which 21 Panamanian students and three Zone police were killed, Panama broke off diplomatic relations with the US and then went to the Organization of American States to denounce the US aggression.

The United States responded by vigorously denying the charges and the right to present this bi-lateral concern to the OAS, but in April 1964 the US agreed to negotiate a new treaty and diplomatic relations were resumed.

In 1973, after nearly ten years' stalemate on the new treaty, Panama began a new phase of her appeal to world support by inviting the UN Security Council to meet in Panama, the first Security Council sessions held away from UN headquarters. The resolution presented by Panama to this session called for progress on the treaty negotiations, Panamanian jurisdiction over the Zone, a process of Panama assuming total control of the Canal and for effective neutralization of the Canal. The US strongly objected to the resolution, again claiming that this was a bi-lateral concern that was not properly the province of the United Nations. The Panamanian resolution passed overwhelmingly with only three abstentions and one negative vote. The one negative vote was the US veto of the resolution. Within a year the Kissinger-Tack agreement on the "8 points" negotiating framework was announced which included many of the terms called for in the vetoed resolution.

Since 1973 Panama has continued to take its case to every available forum, including recently the UN Conference for International Women's Year in Mexico City. As an example of Latin American support for Panama, Argentina will step aside in its turn for the UN Security Council in 1976 so that Panama can take its place, 11 years ahead of normal rotation. Panama will also host in 1976 a meeting of American foreign ministers to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the first Pan American Congress, held in Panama under the sponsorship of Simon Bolivar in 1826. The original congress discussed construction of a canal, and the Canal will undoubtedly be a most important issue for the 1976 gathering.

Asked what the response to US rejection of a treaty might be, Panamanians do not exclude the possibility of violence, but they do not respond at

all according to the US-promoted image of "all hell breaking loose." Their first reactions are turned to arbitration by the International Court of Justice, to the United Nations, the OAS and world opinion. A second line of response focuses on possibilities for nonviolent pressure on the US, such as a Panamanian boycott of the Zone.

Panamanians of all classes and politics are united in believing the cause of Panamanian control of the Canal is just. The strong Panamanian nationalism that goes with this belief has also a genuinely poetic and visionary side. Panamanians speak in moving terms of their original ideal of offering their land to be used for the commerce and communication of the world on a truly neutral basis. The motto on the shield of Panama, "pro beneficio mundi," represents a living ideal. The pain Panamanians feel about the impositions of the US control of the Canal and Zone is deeper than economic frustration or even national pride. There is a constant recurring physical imagery and identification with the violation of the country's unity represented by the Canal. Images like Neruda's of the canal where "water passes in you like a knife and separates love in two halves," the canal as sword that divides the rich and the poor, are spontaneously expressed by many.

It is impressive that this poetic, idealistic vision of the Canal and faith in international organizations and world opinion to move the US on the Canal issue still persist as strongly as they do. The US opposition to the new treaty and even the US supporters of negotiations, by their constant references to a scenario of violence, sabotage, and US military intervention reveal a lack of vision and in fact are preparing the ground for violence.

The Panamanian preference for negotiation, international arbitration and nonviolent tactics is a surprising and encouraging example for North Americans, particularly coming from a people who have lived for decades in day-to-day confrontation with a massive imposition of military and economic power on the part of the United States.



Drawing by Nuez/Granma/LNS.

## Moving South with the Continental Walk

For three months, California had been going through the worst drought in its recorded history; but on Tuesday morning (February 3rd) the climate had changed. The morning found walkers leaving Palo Alto at 8 am and it was cold and foggy.

By 9:30 am we had walked 2½ miles and joined with demonstrators who, that same morning, had leafleted the Lockheed Research Labs in Stanford Industrial Park. We gathered together for a few minutes to share the news of the day, before the group of 75 walkers began again towards Sunnyvale.

Fifteen minutes down the road, Scott Ullman, Jerry Sullivan, Ann Hitchens and myself, stopped at a coffee shop. Our conversation was marked with comments about the day and about the Walk in general. As we talked, the waitress serving our table occasionally joined in our talk. She was unsure of our politics and the life we proposed to lead, but she was warm and caring in her remarks.

The rest of Tuesday proved to be long and cold; we spent lunch together on the wet grass of a park. The afternoon brought out 100 or so people for a Lockheed/Sunnyvale demonstration.

So far, we have had few uncomfortable encounters with people. We found generosity from people in towns like Watsonville and Marina, towns hardly anyone has ever heard of. Marina is on the coast, on the Monterey Bay; a small town with a somewhat conservative population (under 10,000) that finds most of its employment in nearby Fort Ord (Army). February 10th, in Marina, was the first night that walkers were expected to buy and cook their own dinner. When a local minister heard of this, he quickly and quietly—asking no praise or thanks—called members of his congregation; before we knew it, around 20 townspeople prepared potluck meals for us and brought them to the church we were staying in.

—Blaine Metcalf

Organizers in San Francisco have consciously tried to see the Walk not as an end in itself, but rather as a beginning step towards building a stronger movement for disarmament and a re-ordering of priorities.

Steve Ladd is on the staff of WRL/West. Blaine Metcalf is a long distance walker. Late breaking news about the Walk appears on page 16.

Because of this perspective, we held a number of walk-related events in the San Francisco area prior to the Walk itself, and we plan to follow-up in a number of ways the energy and interest that the Walk generated.

The most exciting and important of these pre-Walk events was an evening of Women's Culture held a week prior to the Walk's leaving San Francisco. A caucus of feminist women met regularly as an essential part of the Walk organizing, struggling to insure a feminist analysis in the issues the Walk focused on and a feminist style in the organizing process. Out of this group of women was organized the tremendously energizing and creative Women's evening. The event drew over 400 people, mostly women, who packed a huge converted warehouse known as The Farm for an evening of film, songs, dance, talk, and thought. The crowd greeted every aspect of the evening with incredible enthusiasm and appreciation. "Janie's Janie," a film of a woman's self-discovery led off the event. Local singer Ann-Marie Hogan followed with her gentle but powerful ballads, including one on Karen Silkwood. Women who had helped organize the Walk spoke about the connections of sexism to militarism and feminism to disarmament. And the first part of the evening ended with the always splendid music of Holly Near and Jeffrey Langley.

Other pre-Walk events included some potluck meetings with Dave McReynolds in mid-November, and two speaking gigs by Dan Ellsberg in late November and early December. Both of the Ellsberg talks brought together a total of 700 people to hear about the Walk and why it was important to keep politically active. Malvina Reynolds also performed at one of these events in Berkeley.

We plan to follow-up the Walk in a number of ways. People who participated in the Walk will be informed of ongoing projects that they can get involved in, such as the campaigns to stop the B-1 Bomber and the Trident Submarine, the effort to pass the Nuclear Safeguards initiative, and war tax resistance. We are also working on some new projects as part of follow-up. They include focusing major program efforts around feminism and nonviolence; putting together educational forums on the issues raised by the Walk; doing research into the connection of the University of California to nuclear weapons development; and pushing for a national debate on nuclear policy (a project initiated by Jonah House with their dig-ins in Washington, DC).

We are also continuing to evaluate the work we did on the Walk in this area, and hope to have a written report out soon. Right now we are questioning whether the results were worth such intensive work, and how we can create a more satisfactory, feminist work-style. But we are sure that we succeeded in energizing many people and in pushing disarmament and a reordering of priorities to a much higher place on the local agenda.

—Steve Ladd

# A Nuclear War in Thailand?

HARVEY WASSERMAN

In the midst of profound instability and upheaval, another volatile issue has been added to the Thai political scene—nuclear power. On the basis of a leaked secret government report, Thai student groups have unexpectedly begun an anti-nuclear campaign here that could have strong repercussions throughout the Third World.

The controversy dates back to the early 1970s, when the military dictatorship of Thanom Kittikachorn maintained a plan for a massive Japanese-sponsored petro-chemical complex to be built on the Gulf of Siam, about 50 km southeast of Bangkok. The complex was to include a nuclear power plant about 1 km from the tiny village of Ban Phra.

The petro-chemical complex met environmentalist and anti-Japanese opposition and was shelved in 1973, just before the Thanom regime itself was overthrown by widespread student demonstrations.

Thanom's successor, Sanya Thammasak, inherited the plan for the nuclear plant and commissioned a study by his chief economic advisers. The results of the secret report, which was finished in late 1974, may constitute the first clear rejection of nuclear power by a Third World government.

The Sanya report criticized the nuclear plan for three basic reasons—environmental damage, economics and geopolitics.

It noted that hot water from nuclear cooling systems has damaged natural waters throughout

*When not being a radical historian Harvey Wasserman reports on the world-wide movement against nukes for WIN.*



The village of Ban Phra, Thailand. The sign in the right foreground points to the nuclear plant site. Photos by Harvey Wasserman.

the world, and that the Gulf of Siam, a shallow, tropical body, might be particularly prone to thermal pollution.

The report also cited the poor performance of plants in other countries, and questioned whether a plan in Thailand could be expected to save as much money as hoped for. The report wondered about the rising cost of uranium as a potential money drain.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the report stated that a nuclear plant would put Thailand into a colonial position with the United States and Japan. Under the Thanom plan, construction would begin with a loan from the US Export-Import Bank. Thailand would thus be obliged to buy an American-made plant. The report stated that Thailand would clearly be unable to train enough technicians to build or run the plant, and would thus become dependent on American and Japanese expertise. They would also be forced to depend on the US for uranium.

As a result of the report, the plan for a nuclear plant was shelved. The actual contents of the report were kept strictly secret, although its existence and general tone were well known.

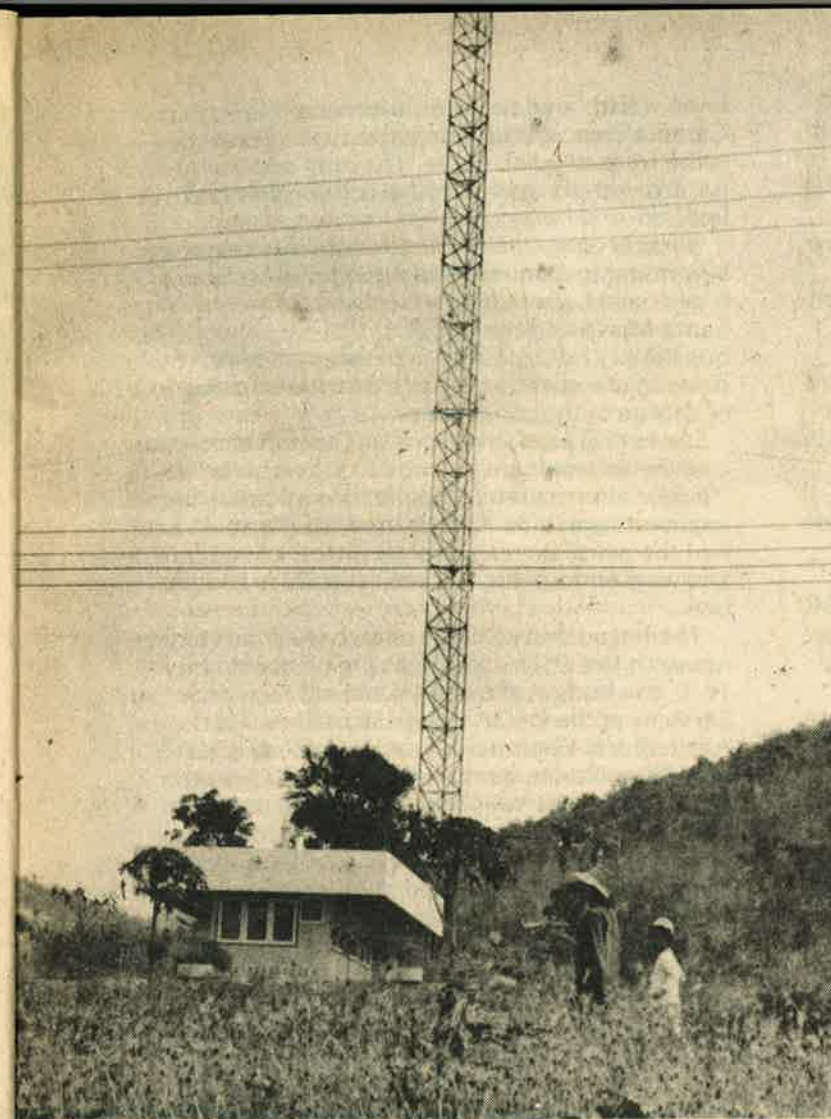
Despite the shelving of the plan, a weather tower to check wind conditions has been maintained at Ban Phra, and the actual site is guarded and blocked to the public.

In addition, student sources claim the Thai government still has 50 million Baht (\$2.5 million) on deposit with the US government for a future uranium enrichment plant.

The triumph of revolutionary movements in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam and the general instability within Thailand would appear to make the issue of nuclear power somewhat petty and irrelevant.

But student activists have decided to make the plant an issue in the coming April 4 election. For one thing, they have learned that the government plans to revise the Sanya Report. This, they claim, is a clear signal that something may be afoot.

In an interview with the Associated Press (which carried the Sanya Report leak on its international wire), a high government official confirmed that the Sanya Report would be revised by



The weather tower at the Ban Phra nuclear power plant site.

the end of 1976. The students took this to mean the likelihood of a nuclear plant in Thailand was hardly as remote as it once seemed. In a press conference held in Bangkok February 7, five university conservation clubs issued a blistering anti-nuclear statement and vowed to campaign against the plant.

The press release said: *We have been opposing this project and will continue to do so. The return of this project will meet a bigger protest than last time, with a better-informed public.*

Besides the argument against the less expensive electricity as claimed by EGAT [Electrical Generating Authority of Thailand], the building of the plant would not be economically feasible. The plant may have to close for some mechanical problems very often as has happened in other countries.

The social cost of the plant is also incalculable. For instance, the radiation will affect the balance of nature. So will the heat. Both EGAT and the government could not guarantee that cancer victims and birth defects will not increase from the building of the plant. . . . They even accepted the danger, but they also want to bring it home without considering the safety of the people.

*What would happen if the plant would be sabotaged and bombed? We could not do anything in that case. The plant would work like an atomic bomb itself.*

*What a country in the Third World like Thailand has to be cautious about is the infiltration from imperialist USA and Japan. . . . Once the nuclear plant is built in Thailand, the US military base will never go back. Our other valuable raw materials and minerals will be stolen by these imperialists until we have nothing left. Meanwhile, we will have more and more of relatives who suffered and died of cancer and birth defects.*

Privately, the students expect a right-wing government to emerge (temporarily) from the present political chaos in Thailand. With it they expect a concerted effort to build the Ban Phra plant.

Thus they are canvassing the national universities for support in an educational campaign, and are planning to demonstrate at Ban Phra within the month. In effect, they are inaugurating the Third World's first campaign against nuclear power. How they fare will be of immense importance—for Thailand and the world—for a long time to come.

If the US Department of Agriculture and major growers have their way, every head of lettuce will soon be harvested with the aid of radioactive gamma-ray machines. Initiated by growers pressuring their congressmen, the USDA began in 1968 to experiment with radioisotopes in a lettuce harvesting machine. The machine could revolutionize the lettuce industry, cause unemployment, and endanger public health.

Growers' hopes are pinned on the lettuce harvester as a way to defeat rising labor costs and unionization of workers, and to boost their profit margins. And profit margins in this giant industry are huge.

In the Pajaro and Salinas Valleys, lettuce is aptly called "green gold." With a growing season of seven months, rich soils, and irrigation, this region produces 40% of the lettuce consumed each year in the US. Total crop value exceeds \$140 million yearly, six times more than any other crop. Understandably, other growers in California and Arizona, which account for 90% of the lettuce grown in the US, keep a close watch on this region for new innovations and developments.

The key to the lettuce harvester is the selector unit which shoots gamma-rays through heads of lettuce to determine maturity. After selection, the mature heads will be automatically cut and trimmed ready for packing. Before the harvester is brought into the fields, another device for electronically measuring and recording the maturity of a head of lettuce has been developed. It too operates on gamma-rays and would be used repeatedly once the heads begin to form.

Although gamma-rays are considered perfectly safe by the USDA, obtaining government clearance for development was a problem. Once the machines are put into operation, restrictions will be placed on ownership and operation due to the radioactive source of the rays. To find a way around the use of radioisotopes, engineers at Salinas USDA developed another selector using x-rays for the same job.

"I don't know who has been concerned about x-rays used for the lettuce harvester," says Don Lenker, engineer on the project. "It's similar to x-rays used by a dentist but operates at a lower

*Donald Monkerud is a writer based in Northern California*

level. There's no detectable effect on the lettuce. Gamma-rays are the same as x-rays except they come from a radioisotope. The only additional hazard with the gamma-rays is if some would leak."

Several companies are currently interested in beginning to manufacture the machines. Prototypes have been delivered to several fields in Santa Maria and the Imperial Valley to "work the bugs out." USDA policy is to research and develop the machines and to provide all plans free of charge to the companies.

Lenker refused to provide any estimates on the cost the government has invested because it isn't "public information." But he did say two research engineers spent 2/3 of their time for 7 1/2 years and had the use of government facilities, equipment, and workers to bring the project to 80% completion.

The lettuce harvester is only a small part of the research the USDA does for agri-business. In 1970, the budget of the Agricultural Research Services of the USDA was \$158 million. The Agricultural Engineering section alone received over \$7 million to work on machines such as the tomato harvester which cut harvesting crews by 60%. Millions more were contributed to the lettuce industry with developments such as the new variety of Calmar lettuce which now accounts for 80-90% of all lettuce grown.

Currently, lettuce harvesting is a back breaking job done by *lechugeros* who are 90% Mexican green card holders working for piece rates. A good worker works bent over in the hot sun cutting and trimming as many as 20 heads of lettuce a minute. These elite seasonal workers follow the harvest across California and Arizona making as much as \$6 or \$8 an hour. These "ground crews," numbering around 3500 workers, would be entirely eliminated with the introduction of the harvesting machine. Their replacements would be hourly wage workers, who represent the bulk of farm labor, currently making between \$2.10 and \$2.85 an hour.

"The lettuce harvesting machine is about the only way the industry can go," says Bill Huffman, of the Salinas Extension Service. "Labor is around 39% of the cost and all costs are going up. This means either increasing the use of machines or increasing the cost of lettuce. There will always be

a drive to get the cost down as much as possible because prices are determined by supply and demand."

How much the lettuce harvesting machines will actually increase growers' profits is questionable. The machines will cost between \$50,000 and \$100,000 each. Lettuce is a perishable staple and is supported by a complex transportation and marketing industry whose costs are set. (It's so efficient that lettuce harvested in the morning in Salinas can be on supermarket shelves in LA the same afternoon.) A chaotic market makes profits uncertain—prices fluctuated last year between \$2.25 and \$7 a carton. Weather changes affect maturity times, consumer tastes, and market value. A hot spell will cause lettuce to mature rapidly and go to seed. A cold spell will cause people to switch from salads to soups. Although major growers have records for the past 30 years, they can't accurately forecast the market.

"You can't control the weather and you can't control the grower who tries to out-guess the market. The unfortunate thing about lettuce," relates Norman Welch, Farm Advisor for the Pajaro Valley, "is you're either making a hell of a lot of money or you're losing it. You have to have a cast iron constitution to stay in vegetables—growers are just business gamblers. Two years ago and the year before the gamblers were rolling in the dough. This year they're barely breaking even."

"Man minutes per carton," "time per head," and "bottlenecks" are some of the terms used in reports describing the lettuce harvesters' solution to the marketing, costs, and profits situation. There is no concern with making the work easier or safer for the workers. Possible effects on vitamin and mineral content of gamma-rayed and x-rayed lettuce aren't mentioned. Accidents and handling of radioisotopes or of x-ray machines aren't considered. Effects on a head of lettuce are said to be "undetectable" but the fact that the machines would go over the fields from four to seven times and that per capita consumption is more than 22 pounds per year aren't examined.

Coupled with other dangers of radioactivity in foods and in the environment, consumers may find it healthier in the long run to grow their own lettuce or forage for wild salads in their own backyards.

# Lettuce Growers Experiment with X-Ray Treatments in the Fields

By Donald Monkerud

Farmworkers in a California lettuce field. Photo by Bob Fitch/LNS.





# CHANGES



## UFW DEMANDS BOYCOTT

The UFW has called for a boycott of Sun-Maid raisin and Sun-Sweet prunes and dried fruits because of the role those growers played in the recent sabotage of California's Agricultural Labor Relations Act. The Agricultural Labor Relations Board, which supervises farm labor elections, ran out of money February 7 after the growers exerted enough influence in the legislature to block extended funding. If the work of the Board is not resumed it will be a heavy blow against farmworkers. Most of the progress under the law will be wiped out.

Cesar Chavez said, "If the growers want to fight, we'll fight. The growers can't have it both ways. They have to have war or peace. They can't have both."

"We'll beat them with the boycott and pin them to the wall. Then they'll come back to Sacramento crying for the money (for the Board)."

"The growers went back completely on their word. An agreement was made. It was not the best bill (the ALRA) for anyone. We compromised and the growers compromised."

Chavez said that when the growers and the Teamsters

couldn't defeat the United Farm Workers through the secret ballot, even by using threats and intimidation and firing workers with union sympathies, they then took away that democratic process. The workers are left with only the strike and boycott to achieve justice. "The growers can have the law and elections, or they can have no law and strikes and boycotts. They have chosen the boycott."

Sun-Maid and Sun-Sweet are the biggest agribusiness operation in Fresno County, perhaps the biggest agribusiness county in the US. They should not be confused with Sunkist, the largest citrus growers' co-op, which has reversed its earlier position and called for renewed funding of the ALRB, saying that some changes are needed in the law but the board should not be closed down while changes are being considered. Sunkist chose to avoid a boycott which was already under consideration.

A number of supermarket chains have urged releasing of funds, saying that since the ALRA went into effect last August they have enjoyed, "a period of welcome relief from the picketing and

disruptions of business we had encountered during most of the last 10 years." The stores include Market Basket and Fed Mart (California), Pathmark (NJ) and Allied Supermarkets (Detroit).

In addition to US consumers, the boycott is being taken to overseas consumer and trade councils, labor governments and the European Common Market. Exports amount to 20% of the market of these products.

**WHAT TO BOYCOTT:** Sun-Maid raisins, Sun-Sweet prunes, other dried fruit bearing the Sun-Sweet label. Please also continue to boycott Gallo wines (ANY wine made in Modesto is Gallo) and non-UFW table grapes and head lettuce. Tell the manager of the store where you shop you won't buy scab products. Then don't!

—Neil Fullagar

## EIGHT WALKERS ARRESTED AT NUCLEAR POWER PLANT

Eight members of the Continental Walk were arrested Feb. 22 at the El Diablo Nuclear Power Plant in San Luis Obispo County, California, for failure to move for a police vehicle and for trespassing. Those arrested were taking part in an act of civil disobedience on the grounds of the plant, attempting to obstruct the delivery of fresh nuclear fuel. The El Diablo plant has been the focus of controversy for months, since the disclosure by the company operating the plant that it was built without adequate safeguards directly over a fault line.

Five other Walkers were left behind to assist those arrested.

the rest of the Walkers continued their southward trek toward Los Angeles. On February 27th they are due to arrive in Santa Barbara for a day of rest, and they should arrive in Los Angeles on March 7th.

—Dwight Ernest

## WRI URGES SUPPORT OF JAILED SPANISH COs

Inside the Carcel Modelo in Barcelona, the prison where Lluís Xirinacs, the radical priest, has been conducting his daily demands for amnesty for all political prisoners, there are six prisoners who have not received the publicity which Xirinacs has. They are COs who, since last August had been working in a voluntary service project OK'd for COs by a Justice & Peace Commission but never approved by the Spanish government, which does not recognize conscientious objection. They face sentences of three to eight years.

Letters urging their release should be addressed to Sr. D. Manuel Fraga Iribarne, Ministro de la Gobernacion, Madrid, Spain. "Just be sure to list the six names so there will be no question as to what the letter is about," cautions the WRI support appeal. (There still are so many political prisoners in post-Franco Spain!) The six names are: Vicente Amurgo Galan, Ovidio Bustildo Garcia, Guillermo Louis Cereceda, Jesus Vinas I Cirera, Jose Diez Faixat and Esteban Zabeleta. And if you have time, you also can write them at Carcel Modelo, Barcelona, Spain.

—Jim Peck

## NEW YORK CITY TENANTS RALLY IN SUPPORT OF CO-OP CITY STRIKERS

Fifteen hundred New Yorkers attended a rally at Co-op City in the Bronx Saturday, February 7 in support of the massive ongoing

rent strike at the public housing project.

Since June, 1975, 85% of Co-op City's 15,000 families have withheld their rents from the Riverbay Corp., the New York State-supervised managing company of the giant housing development. Since 1970, rents have increased 60%—despite an understanding when tenants moved in that the rent would remain low—and more increases have been scheduled for the future.

Co-op residents, solidly working class, 25% black and Latin, and a large percentage of elderly people on fixed incomes, are demanding a firm program for rent stabilization and, by running the development themselves, an end to state housing corruption and mismanagement.

The rally was sponsored by City-Wide Tenants United, a coalition of New York City tenant groups, and was hosted by the Co-op City tenants' steering committee which has led the eight month long strike.

An estimated 1500 people filled the Truman High School auditorium (Riverbay has closed the Co-op City community center), cheering and waving banners supporting tenants' rights. Several speakers emphasized the need for tenant unity and pointed out that tenants everywhere are inspired by the Co-op City rent strike, the largest in US history.

Larry Dolnick, vice-chairman of the Co-op City Steering Committee, told the crowd that each of the strike leaders was fined \$25,000 plus \$1,000 a day for as long as the strike continues (not to mention a collective fine of \$250,000 which grows by \$5,000 each day).

When he declared that the committee "had no intention ever to pay the fines," the crowd responded with chants of "No Way, We Won't Pay!", which has become the slogan of the Co-op strikers.

Jane Benedict of the Metropolitan Council on Housing explained the symbolic value of the Co-op strike for smaller, previously isolated tenant groups fighting for their rights. "The attempt of the government to break the rent strike at Co-op City is an attempt to

break the strikes of anyone in the city," she said, and "the attempt is clear because tenants are on the move."

Stating that the current system of housing production is "geared toward profit, not human need," Daniel Jameson of the Brooklyn Ad Hoc Mitchell-Lama Coalition called for a complete overhaul of existing public housing programs.

Mitchell-Lama is the name of a New York State program, established in 1955, which calls for the construction of housing by private corporations with public assistance. The state aids the real estate developers through local real estate tax cuts, and through the sale of bonds to fund the projects. Co-Op City is the largest Mitchell-Lama project in the state.

The savings from public assistance were meant to be passed on to tenants, whose eligibility for Mitchell-Lama housing is determined by a maximum income formula. But Jameson demanded the establishment of a public commission to investigate the Mitchell-Lama program, the city and the state because of the ever-increasing costs and administrative "irregularities" in the program.

Charles Rosen, the chairman of the Co-op City Steering Committee, received a standing ovation when he approached the lectern. Rosen was one of the original tenant organizers at Co-op City, helping to form the Steering Committee, meeting with state bureaucrats, and most importantly, convincing his neighbors to stand fast under pressure.

"We weren't keenly politically conscious at the beginning of the struggle," Rosen explained, "but that has changed now and the strikers identify with each other as a group. People came to Co-op City expecting to live quietly, but the struggle was forced upon them. It was their only chance for self-preservation."

After reading a message of solidarity from the United Farm Workers in Delano, California, Rosen declared, "Everything is related... it's the same struggle, the same fight, against the same people."

"There's more of us than them," he continued. "The real strength is in our hands. We will not win because we're right; we'll win because we're organized."

—LNS

#### GRAND CANYON URANIUM LEASES GRANTED TO EXXON

The federal government has quietly granted the Exxon corporation three leases which permit Exxon to begin searching for possible uranium mine sites in the Grand Canyon.

The leases were granted by the National Park Service without any public announcement on Sept. 10 1975.

According to Friends of the Earth, which uncovered the Exxon Park Service agreements: "The public was completely excluded from the decision to grant the leases; there was no notice of the proposed leasings, no opportunity for public comment, and to this date no disclosure of the reasoning that led to the leasing approval."

The three leases were granted despite the fact that the National Park Service, just one year ago, rejected one of the uranium mine sites as unacceptable. At the time, the Park Service stated that access roads proposed by Exxon leading into the potential mining site "would irreparably scar the land."

No reason has been given by the Park Service for its Sept. 10 policy reversal.

The areas in question lie within the Grand Canyon recreational area rather than in the national park itself. Mining is permitted in recreational areas under carefully regulated conditions, but is never permitted in a national park.

However, all three sites lie within an area that is being recommended for permanent inclusion in the Grand Canyon National Park. The mining leases were granted to Exxon despite a congressional request that the sites be permanently added to the national park. —Borrowed Times

#### SOUTH DAKOTA "JUSTICE" SPREADS TO WISCONSIN

Menominee County Sheriff "Paddo" Fish has admitted killing Menominee Warriors John Waubanasum, Jr. and Arlin Pamanet on February 3. Fish had just returned from a trip to the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, where he apparently learned firsthand the Dick Wilson method of dealing with those who are willing to speak out against illegitimate power and brute force. Waubanasum was one of the five Menominees who had been on trial on state felony charges arising out of the Menominee Warrior Society repossession of the Alexian Brothers Abbey in Gresham last January.

The incident occurred at Wauby's house, located in an isolated, deeply wooded section of the reservation. Wauby and Arlin were both shot in the back. Taken in the police car to the Shawano hospital, Wauby was dead on arrival, shot in the heart. It was at least two hours later before Arlin was brought to the hospital. If there had not been this inexcusable and unexplained delay, Arlin would have lived.

Governor Lucey, the Attorney General's office, and the Wisconsin Justice Department had all been warned time and time again that so long as Fish remained in office, he was a threat to the safety of innocent people. A known drunkard, loser in a previous election for sheriff, Fish was nonetheless appointed sheriff last winter by Gov. Lucey. By the fall, known incidents of his dangerous behavior had become so outrageous that Alexander Askenette, Sr., a former deputy sheriff, filed a suit to order the Governor to suspend Sheriff Fish. Despite nearly two dozen affidavits attesting to Fish's drunken behavior when he brandished loaded pistols and rifles, shooting into the air, pointing the weapons threateningly into faces of innocent people, the Governor refused to suspend Fish—despite a Wisconsin statute requiring him to do so whenever he has been credibly informed that the sheriff has committed a

felony. The State Justice Department finally sent investigators to the reservation. But their report has not been publicly released, and neither Askenette nor his attorney has been allowed to see it. The Menominee Legal Defense/Offense Committee then found out that several deputies had lied to the investigators in order to protect Fish, but this information had no effect either.

The same Justice Department investigators are again on the reservation, for another "investigation." The State through its officials seems to be sanctioning the spread of the Dick Wilson plague of violence to the Menominee Reservation. This is the same state which continues to prosecute five—now four—people who tried to convert an unused monastery into a desperately needed hospital. The Abbey defendants face over 90 years each. But "Paddo" Fish goes free.

—Phyllis Girouard

#### EVENTS

**NYC—HOMAGE TO MICHAEL BAKUNIN**—Centennial Memorial 1876-1976. Speakers include Same Dolgoff, Olga Lang and Paul Avrich. Friday, March 5, 7 pm at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 8th Ave. (29th St.), New York City.

**SYRACUSE**—"Eyewitness to Revolution—A Changing South Viet Nam," with speaker Sophie Quinn-Judge. Syracuse University, Maxwell Auditorium, 4 pm, Monday, March 8.

**NEWARK**—A week long demonstration and vigil, 3/1/76-3/5/76, to protest the present course of our nation's policies, and demand disarmament and social justice at Military Park, Newark, NJ. CONTACT: Glenn Pontier, 855 Papen Rd., Bridgewater, NJ 08807, 526-1304 or Al Swenson, 324 Bloomfield Ave., Montclair, NJ 07042, 744-3263.



## books

**DETROIT: I DO MIND DYING; A Study in Urban Revolution**  
Dan Georgakas and Marvin Surkin  
St. Martin's Press / 1975 / \$10.00

This is a remarkably good book, a sort of clinical study of the dilemmas faced by radicals as they try to find organization form for revolutionary ideas. Among its virtues, it is refreshingly free of clichés and the conventional wisdoms of those on the Left who have the unassailable blueprint. What it does is recite the radical politics of a particular city, Detroit, at a particular time, 1967 to 1973, as a running chronicle—and you, the reader, can take it from there.

The chronicle begins with the "Great Rebellion" that swept the black community of Detroit in the summer of 1967, causing 41 people to lose their lives, 347 to be injured, 3800 to be arrested, and leaving in its wake a half billion dollars of property damage.

On the morrow of these events a black community newspaper, self-styled the "voice of revolution," made its appearance in the city with a press run of 10,000. *The Inner City Voice* (ICV) brought together a group of people, exemplified by editor John Watson, with former ties to SNCC, UHURU, the Trotskyists, who then fanned out into a multiplicity of activities. They were nationalistic in the sense that they believed blacks would be the vanguard of the revolution and they were in some respects quite

sectarian—many refused, for instance, to distribute leaflets to white workers. But they also had a facility for connecting their problems in the Detroit auto factories to world problems. The first issue of ICV called on blacks to join the anti-war march in Washington, and its editorials often tied the struggle of black people in America to world-wide struggles against imperialism, such as those waged by the Vietnamese and Koreans.

The newspaper, moreover, served as a link between political insight and political action. One of those who joined with the publishers of ICV in an informal study group of 30 people, was General Gordon Baker ("General" was his true first name), a radical worker at the Dodge Main plant (which I recall picketing during the sitdown strikes of 1937). With no faith in Chrysler or capitalism, and little faith in the leaders of the UAW, Baker and his associates organized the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement—DRUM—which was to be a prototype of a number of such organizations throughout the area—ELDRUM (Eldon Avenue Revolutionary Union Movement), FRUM (Ford's River Rouge Revolutionary Union Movement), JARUM, MARUM, CADRUM, MERUM, etc.

From the spontaneous violence of the Great Rebellion young black leaders now turned to militant strikes (mostly wildcat) against speed-up, safety conditions, and other horrors of factory life—some of them encompassing 4000 to 5000 workers and almost all without the blessings of UAW's leadership at Solidarity House.

"The black revolution of the sixties," writes authors Georgakas and Surkin, "had finally arrived at one of the most vulnerable links of the American economic system—the point of mass production, the assembly line. And the DRUM militants were not simply another angry caucus of rank-and-file workers... DRUM's anger was the anger of the Great Rebellion and its vision was that of a new society."

In short order the various revolutionary union movements were grouped into an areawide League of Revolutionary Black Workers, headed by an impressive coterie of young leaders—Baker, Watson, Kenneth Cockrel (a man who would make legal history in Detroit), etc. Like all angry movements some of the anger turned inward against "Toms," "honky dogs," etc., and lost vital support for the League from equally revolutionary whites or older blacks. The chapter in which John Taylor, a radical white, relates his relationships with the black leftists is a priceless description both of factory conditions and some of the problems of new movements.

From the strikes at the point of production, Georgakas and Surkin take us on a fascinating journey which includes the conversion of a Wayne State University paper into a radical sheet for the general public. Cockrel's sensational legal victories, the election of a Marxist judge, Justin Ravitz, a number of cultural efforts, and above all James Foreman's stillborn attempt to pyramid the Detroit experience into a national black political movement, the Black Workers Congress.

This short saga poses interesting questions for the American left. Will a new, new left emerge bottom-up from such local coalitions as those that formed themselves in Detroit? Will such a new, new left be led by blacks, as some in the antiwar movement believed back in the late 1960's? Will the old left or the present Maoist left play any role in this process? And what is the relationship between the politics of the streets (or factories) and electoral politics? Ravitz' victory and the ambitions of Cockrel to run for the mayoralty hint at the idea that in due course street politics finds a ballot-box outlet. There are many leftists who would reject this perspective.

In any event, what has been served by Georgakas and Surkin is a heady brew of issues that deserve wide discussion. I would have liked them to have posed those issues more explicitly and in greater detail. But that is only a matter of personal preference. As a "study in urban revolution" this book is top notch, an excellent starting point for many corollary studies and discussions.

—Sidney Lens

#### AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT ON TORTURE

Noonday Press / 1975 / 285 pp. / \$3.45 paper

*I have seen the torturer's face at close quarters. It was in a worse condition than my own bleeding, livid face. The torturer's was distorted by a kind of twitching that had nothing human about it. He was in such a state of tension that he had an expression very similar to those we see on Chinese masks... It*

*is not an easy thing to torture people. It requires inner participation. In this situation, I turned out to be the lucky one. I was humiliated. I did not humiliate others... I wasn't the one in the worst position. I was simply a man who moaned because he was in great pain. I prefer that. At this moment I am deprived of the joy of seeing children going to school or playing in the park. Whereas they have to look their own children in the face.*

—Geo Mangakis, "Letter to Europeans" (Index, vol. 1, no. 1)

Amnesty International was organized in 1961 in London for the purpose of combating the war that never ends: the humiliation of human beings imprisoned, throughout the world, for the "crime" of possessing an active conscience. On Human Rights Day, 1972, Amnesty International began a world-wide campaign to end the systematic use of torture by governments.

As this **Report on Torture** makes chillingly clear, "the use of torture has by all indications increased over the last few years. The continual limited wars of our time—civil wars, colonial wars, and [cold] wars—account for part of this, but an increasing proportion is accounted for by states who use torture as a means of governing."

As indeed it has been throughout history, "Torture today is essentially a state activity... For those who govern without the consent of the governed this has proved to be an effective method of maintaining power. To set torture as the price of dissent is to be assured that only a small minority will act."

Like small pox, torture is one of those human diseases which has no other cause, no other carrier. Amnesty International aims to isolate outbreaks of torture and eradicate it, as a medical campaign recently succeeded in doing with small pox.

But first the disease must be identified and reported in all its varieties and locations. Country by country, from America to Zambia, this book presents a "world survey of torture" in addition to reports on "medical and psychological aspects of torture" and "legal remedies."

Perhaps the most immediate, and most hopeful (as well as seemingly most hopeless) chapters are special reports on Chile and the rise and fall of government by torture in Greece, 1967-73.

Another important examination is of the cycles of torture in history. The most infamous and perhaps longest institution of torture was surely the Inquisition, which began in 1233 and lasted into the 19th century, reaching its peak of hypocrisy if not horror under Pope Innocent IV. The grip of the rack on the people of Europe was finally broken by such forthright attacks on it as the Declaration of the Rights of Man.

Since the rise (and fall) of the Nazis, however, a new inquisition has been sweeping much of humanity like a medieval plague. What this book calls the "cancer" of torture will not easily be halted. First, like any other epidemic of contagious disease, we must break the chain.

—Jan Barry

## film

### SEVEN BEAUTIES

Written and directed by Lina Wertmuller (In Italian with English subtitles).

**Seven Beauties** is Lina Wertmuller's dazzling, tour de force of human horror and political despair. It is a stunning and—in a visual way—a beautiful picture that should establish Wertmuller (her other films are *Swept Away*, *All Screwed Up*, *Love and Anarchy*, and *The Seduction of Mimi*) as one of the great filmmakers of our time.

The film is rich in ambiguity. The most dreadful horror scenes are directed with broad humor. But **Seven Beauties** is no comedy; Wertmuller's worldview is one of relentless despair.

**Seven Beauties** is about the holocaust; the theme is survival. I also took it as a statement by the filmmaker about the awesome staying power of patriarchy, but nothing she has said indicates that this was her intent. And feminism is certainly not one of her themes. The women in this film when they are not as bestial as the men, are portrayed as active collaborators in their mutual decadence. Indeed, nothing positive comes through this film. Wertmuller's political vision leaves no possibility of change. Human consciousness has become so distorted that the most elemental forms of decency are no longer possible. In such a society, survival is sufficient reward.

Two Italian soldiers are separated from their units during World War II. One is a young idealist who refuses to take part in the carnage. The other, Pasqualino—played superbly by Giancarlo Giannini—simply wants to survive. To achieve this, he ends up killing his idealistic comrade. Along the way, a socialist is shown being sent off to prison, impotent against fascist rule, but certain of his ideology, even as they take him away. An anarchist chooses a most horrible suicide rather than submit to the degradations of a Nazi concentration camp. Revolutionaries do have their honor, but they are powerless to stem the barbarian tide.

Pasqualino, however, is without morals, without honor, without any trait of human solidarity. And he is going to survive. In a series of flashbacks, Wertmuller etches out his character. Pasqualino is the brother of seven sisters who has killed the pimp of the eldest one and (in an absurdly comical scene) dismembered his body. He has become a soldier in Mussolini's army to attain his freedom from a mental hospital, where he has gotten into further trouble by

raping a woman patient whom he finds bound in bed. Pasqualino is the ultimate in machismo; a ladies' man, whose identity comes from his power over women.

To survive the ovens, Pasqualino makes use of this, his only talent. He sets out to seduce the fat, ugly sadistic female commandant of the death camp. A skinny, starving haggard caricature of his once debonair self, Pasqualino starts by giving this blonde Hildegard the eye. Pasqualino's plan evokes both admiration and disgust. Admiration for the chutzpah men have in even the most desperate situations, and disgust because our hero is sure that the way to reach this woman, to soften her heart and persuade her to spare his life, is through her cunt.

The flirtation is absolutely outrageous. Perhaps Norman Mailer would be the only other writer to conceive of such a seduction. But Pasqualino (with food in his belly, fed to him by the commandant as if he were a dog) manages to rise to the occasion.

In triumph, Pasqualino has given away the secret of his success. His commandant now knows the measures that her lover will take to assure his survival. And she uses him with sadistic pleasure, making him a participant in the murder of his comrades.

In the end, all the honorable and decent people have died. Pasqualino alone survives. Loving and flirting, killing and fucking, our hero struts his stuff; learning nothing from the experience.

Returning home after the war, he is the prodigal son. The woman who has always loved him has waited. Of course, she has become a whore. But who, in war, survives untarnished? And what does Pasqualino want from her as they blissfully enter the peaceful postwar years. Babies, dozens of them; because the world is only going to get meaner and more cruel and a man needs helpers if he is going to defend his family, his honor, and most of all, himself.

There is nothing redeeming about **Seven Beauties**. The holocaust was the decisive experience for Western civilization and in Wertmuller's hands it becomes a nightmare excursion into the Western psyche, the ultimate metaphor that describes Western life.

—Marty Jezer

*Sidney Lens' latest book is The Promise and Pitfalls of Revolution, 1974. Jan Barry coedited Winning Hearts and Minds: War Poems by Vietnam Veterans. Marty Jezer is on the WIN Editorial Board.*

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**OPPORTUNITIES**

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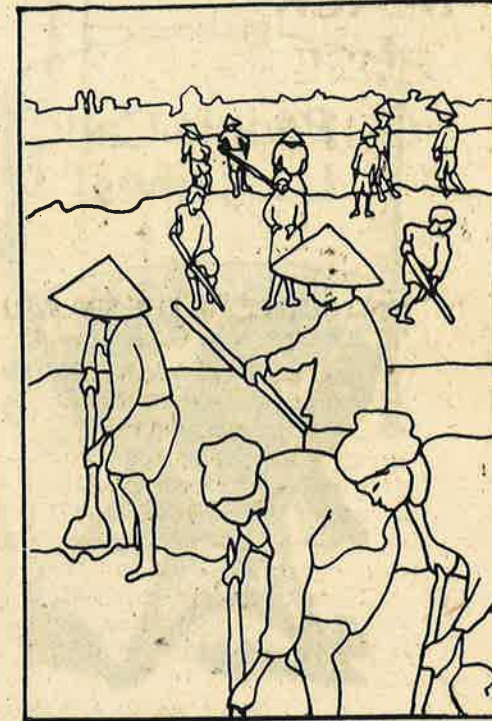
**MISC**

The Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare is calling for unpublished papers, 5,000-8,000 words in length, for a Special Issue titled "Warfare-Welfare: The Unresolved Issue of the 70's," scheduled for publication in late 1976 or 1977. Articles are being solicited about: The nature of the warfare-welfare state, patterns in the growth and development of warfare and welfare institutions; The analysis of national priorities and the warfare-welfare budget: Issues, problems, and programs for demilitarization and the enhancement of social welfare, which involve social workers and allied professionals. Ms's and inquiries should be directed to L. K. Norwood, Issue Editor, School of Social Work-- JG-14, Univ. of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195.

1st Casualty Press, publisher of WINNING HEARTS AND MINDS, is collecting poetry, prose, art and photos by Indochina Veterans for a companion anthology titled DEMILITARIZED ZONES. DMZ will examine the war after coming home: the new veterans' struggle for survival, sanity and dignity... the new army of the unemployed... the casualties of "readjustment," of a generation's collisions with government... the strengths gained from confrontation with ourselves and with the causes of the continuation of this war... the change in our views of war, Indochina and the people there. Please send work (with SASE), or requests for further information to: Jan Barry and W. D. Ehrhart, East River Anthology, 208 Dean Street, Brooklyn, NY 11217.

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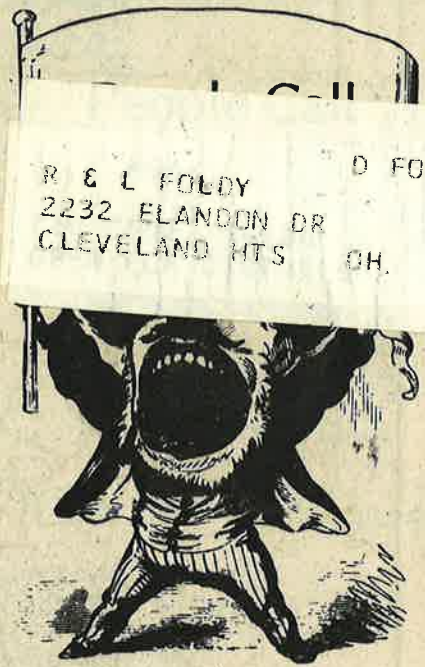


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