

win

PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

July 14, 1977 / 30¢

Spain's Elections
More on Nukes at Home and Abroad
The B-1 Bombs
Ice Cream for the People



LETTERS

We would like to respond to the ideas concerning non-cooperation expressed in Marty Jezer's article "Learning From the Past To Meet the Future." [WIN 6/16 & 23/77] As non-cooperators held in the same armory as Marty (Concord), we have a somewhat different interpretation of the meeting held to discuss the separation of sexes, and of the impact of non-cooperation in general.

Rather than a "spokes meeting which degenerated into a mass meeting" the meeting to discuss sex-separation began as one in which anyone could be recognized through her/his spoke. The hysteria and high emotion of the meeting were not mainly results of the discussion of cooperation vs. non-cooperation, but rather they came from tensions around Tony's role as mediator between the state troopers and us. Further, there was a feeling that solidarity necessarily required that everyone do the same thing, regardless of their moral stands, rather than a mutually supportive situation in which individuals were free to do what they felt they had to. One of the reasons that consensus is used as a decision making process is that it does not allow the majority to dictate the moral actions of the minority.

We agree with Marty that the Seabrook action is only one in a whole movement to a free society and we agree with Mao that "politics must be in command." However, it's important that we be sure the politics we are living now are the ones we want to keep. Politics which are dictatorial, which insist that everyone "cooperate" for the collective good, are not the politics of a free society. It is indeed a strange interpretation of democracy which defines it as operating only when the dissenting elements have been removed. Within the limits of non-violent direction action, there are many individual acts of conscience, as evidenced in the Seabrook action. Some people pled guilty, some accepted bail, some p.r., some stayed in jail to the end, some were dragged to the bus, some walked, some gave their names, some didn't, some fasted, some ate, two people escaped to buy ice cream—none of these actions need to be excluded because they differ from the actions of the whole, because there is no "action of the whole."

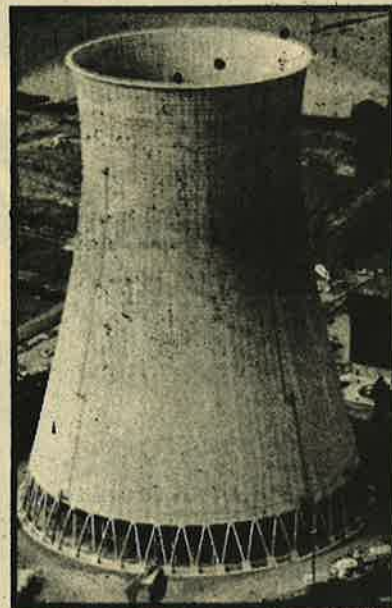
At no time during or after the occupation did any of the non-cooperators attempt to pretend that their position was somehow more moral than the position of any other clam. We attempted to express our view that diverse reactions to any situation could be (and were) mutually supportive.

According to Marty, non-cooperation should be abandoned as a tactic because

it is politically ineffective. Using the same logic, the 18 original occupiers should not have done what they did because essentially, theirs was simply a witness and not a politically effective action. But certainly, the occupation of the 1414 could not be called ineffective, and its roots are in the occupation of the 18. What we are saying is that non-cooperation could be extremely effective if used on a mass scale, and like any mass movement, its beginnings are small. It would force the courts to deal with the issues of nuclear power and not with the extraneous issues of guilty and not-guilty.

Furthermore, we see almost any action as being political, and as such, inseparable from morality. We reject the Machiavellian concept that politics exists only in thesis or synthesis and that therefore, any action is acceptable as a means to one's ends. Rather, we believe that the substance of any new society will be built on the political actions which have gone into its formation, and if we expect a moral society than those actions must, in and of themselves, be moral as well.

—CHRIS NEIMAN
—JO MCGOWAN
a.k.a. Jane & Jo Doe
Belchertown, Mass.



Concerning WIN and Tom McLean's article on Trident [WIN 6/16 & 23/77].

Shit! Where I come from, nuclear weapons and opposition to them are taken a bit more seriously than five seconds at the end of an hour meeting or seven paragraphs at the end of a serious magazine. As one of the people who sat in a "circle" at the May 21st Trident

demonstration, I'm just a little indignant that the lives of 200 odd people could be treated as cavalierly, that the bomb be treated with less respect than a proposed nuclear power plant.

It's good to draw connections. The photo at the beginning of the article speaks of six arrestees being Seabrook graduates. The "we" used continuously throughout the article speaks of group sensitivity but also defines us all in a perspective of totalitarian destruction or resistance.

But what of this human cost? The risk, the sacrifice, the lives of those who participated, why were the symbols ignored? Sure, three people were found chained to a gate—but those chains were wrapt in our own blood, a symbol of victims; sure, people, five of whom were arrested for planting a garden, had the tools of their trade, but what of land lying fallow for too long; sure, eight people sat in a circle around painted symbols—a skull internalizing the words "how does your child's mind scream?", but what of the blood, their own blood, which stained and ran down the memorial erected by electric boat honoring those submarines produced to protect the American way.

We were at electric boat as promised. The numbers, whether 1800 or 200, don't matter a whole lot. It's the personal, the individual statement which amounts to more than the whole. So let's not forget those who walked, leafletted, carried banners and signs, carried the Trident monster or dealt with infirmities over those 11 grueling miles. And let's not forget the effects of nuclear weapons from the first tests in the desert to Aug. 6, 1945 in Hiroshima; from the change in mentality and policy to those oppressed and exploited, maimed and murdered under the bomb's olympic view.

It is incredible that 1800 people could confront an issue like nuclear power and risk arrest, even more so, that 600 could hold out for two weeks til bail solidarity was granted. But nukes are only one issue among many. Tho the plants affect the planet ecologically, the effects, world wide, are not felt immediately. If a plant blows, a geocentric area is affected.

The bomb affects the entire planet, now! It is truly the whole spirit of our planet being nailed to a cross of iron. We of the Atlantic Life Community have been witness with everything from silent vigil to civil disobedience at all launching and keel laying blasphemies at electric boat for over a year, starting with the first Trident, "Ohio."

There are many more of us, individuals and communities across the nation and Canada, who consider the

nuclear weapons issue a major priority and focus. Jonah House in Baltimore has had an ongoing campaign at the Pentagon for two years; the fine work Pacific Life Community has been doing around the Trident base in Bangor, Washington; the work Great Lakes Life Community has done around Trident's trigger finger, Seafarer; or the mountain States Life Community with its "disarm or dig graves" campaign. Very little of this news has reached my ears thru WIN.

I was at Seabrook and will probably return. But, it is with pain that I see you devote two issues to that action in contrast to a few poorly reported almost obscure paragraphs to the worst obscenity yet to be created.

Maybe it is time that WIN people unlock themselves from their editorial ivory tower, open their rose colored windows and begin to question their own priorities. It would be good to see more gut level reporting as in Seabrook thru participation. In love, I say that words are not enough. Nothing is sacred from the kneeling safety of idolatry.

—ED GERSH
The Whales Tale
Hartford, Conn.



I wish to express my disappointment that CALC decided to call off its sponsorship of the civil disobedience action at the White House entrance, in protest against the B-1, hoping to sway President Carter's decision.

Calling it off as an act of good will because Carter had agreed to make "a" decision before the end of the month seemed to me to be falling into the trap of his usual coopting. He is a past master at

WIN is looking for a new staff member. We need someone with editorial experience to take principle responsibility for copy editing, proof reading, editing reviews and corresponding with writers. You must be willing and able to work collectively and understand that working for WIN, while philosophically rewarding, involves long hours and low, often irregular pay.

Other skills in layout, design, fundraising, or writing would be helpful. You should have a commitment to nonviolence, feminism and preferably, some background in the Movement. We particularly encourage women, gays and non-white people to apply. We also ask that you be willing to make a minimum commitment to work for one year at WIN.

If you think you might be a good person to join the WIN staff, write us a letter: WIN Staff, 503 Atlantic Ave., 5th floor, Brooklyn, NY 11217. Tell us something about yourself and your experience; and don't forget to include your name, address and phone number so we can get in touch with you.

that, and manages so often to fragment and weaken his opposition. We ought to know by now.

It did seem to those of us who decided to sit in, that it was a most propitious time to stay firm and push our advantage and to insist upon a decision consistent with his pre-election promise.

He managed to divide what would have been a cohesive group and what would have been a sensational action—and a first, in his administration. Perhaps he would really have had some second thoughts, if the 200 who were demonstrating had sat in, instead of the 18 of us. Then too, it seems to me we would have kept faith with our own commitment.

I hope we've learned for the next time.
—CONNIE HOGARTH
Pleasantville, NY

I regret the Joe Gerson, who holds a sound and brave stand on the Palestinian problem, feels that he should recommend Arthur Koestler's *The Thirteenth Tribe* for reading [WIN 6/2/77].

Some antisemites and opponents of Zionism use such material in their discussions. It is a legend which has no roots in history. In the folk tales of Russian, the word "Khazars" is mentioned; Russia consisted of many tribes, and they battled one another.

A Jewish philosopher wrote a philosophical book on the essence of Judaism and he titled it "A Letter to a Chazar"—this is all. One of the realities in Jewish life is that, in spite of the holocausts and mass annihilations, every Jew can point to five or six hundred years from which they derive. Every Jew is divided—they must be either from priesthood or a subordinate to the priesthood or a simple Jew.

The long history of Jews, suffering and martyred, does not justify them in driving out a nation from its homeland, or justify bloodshed with a quotation from the Bible. All the books about Khazars do not have to be an answer to Zionism.

—DAVID BERKINGOFF
Bronx, NY



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Cover: Posters on display at a political rally in Spain. Photo by Chip Berlet.

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The Reign In Spain Stays Mainly The Same

CHIP BERLET

Election day was uneventful in the ancient walled city of Avila, a provincial capital in one of Spain's 52 voting districts for the June 15 elections. We had been told to expect terrorist violence and saw soldiers armed with submachine guns guarding power stations and other strategic targets on election day, but there was little violence in Spain as voters went to the polls.

Residents of Avila, a rural district high in the mountains north of Madrid, voted peacefully along with their fellow citizens for deputies and senators to form a new Spanish Parliament whose first task is rewriting a constitution to replace the code enforced by the late Generalissimo Francisco Franco. The dictator's death some 20 months ago heralded a move towards democracy, but the newly elected coalition government headed by Adolfo Suarez is not the unreserved victory for democracy as hailed by the Western press.

Suarez and his Union of Democratic Centralists (UCD) drew support from the centrists and conservatives, and siphoned off a sizeable vote from the ultra-right parties and fascists who saw the socialists gaining. The UCD was also strong because Suarez had been the Premier during Spain's first halting steps toward democracy and he represented the status-quo during a period of political and economic chaos. Suarez and his party was also a

Chip Berlet is a freelance writer, who recently reported on the Washington Post pressmen's strike for WIN.

Basque nationalists openly display their flag at a political rally outside Madrid.
Photos by Chip Berlet.



refuge for people who feared a leftist victory meant a military takeover. Still, the election was greeted with elation by most Spaniards, and it ushered in the rebirth of the Socialist and Communist parties which made dramatic gains in a short period of time.

The people who voted in Spain's last free elections are now in their sixties or older, so for most Spaniards this was the first opportunity to pick from a choice of candidates. Several Marxist-Leninist and leftist parties are still illegal in Spain, however, and their presence was noted solely through posters and painted messages calling for a boycott of the elections, and sporadic bombings.

Furthermore, the system of assigning representation in the new Parliament was contrived to favor conservative rural districts and larger parties. In fact, although the popular vote went to parties left of center, the UCD captured far more seats in Parliament.

Suarez had been appointed by Spain's King Juan Carlos to be caretaker premier until the elections. His coalition of center-right parties pulled only 34 percent of the popular vote, but UCD ended up with almost a majority in the House of Deputies, and, with the support of some of the 41 center and conservative Senators appointed by the King, the UCD controls the upper house completely.

Both the Socialist Party of Spain (PSOE) and the Communists (PCE) had made strong gains in the weeks prior to elections and when the votes were in, the Socialist Party had captured 28 percent of the vote, and the Communist Party 9 percent. The neo-fascist Popular Alliance, which originally had been expected to finish a close second, fell to fourth place with 8 percent. The rest of the votes were divided among numerous parties ranging from ultra-fascist to those few groups left of the Communists which have been legalized.

The Socialists, led by Felipe Gonzalez, lagged only 6 percent behind the Democratic Centralists in votes, but due to the biased representation system, they trailed UCD in the number of seats in both houses — 119 to 165 in the House of Deputies, and 35 to 105 in the Senate. The Socialists are already calling for new elections once the new constitution is written, but both Suarez and the King are expected to insist the representatives have been elected to full terms.

Shortly after the elections the King named a respected jurist to head the new Parliament. Had he failed to name someone by the first meeting, the post would have automatically gone to the oldest member of the Parliament, 81-year-old Dolores Ibarruri, "La Pasionaria," the president of Spain's communist party who returned from 40 years of exile to win a delegates seat.

Franco had banned the Communist Party in 1939 and held the country in an iron-fisted dictatorship until his death. Franco's most obvious legacy to Spain is a cloud of fear and anxiety which hung over the elections. Two weeks before votes were cast, more than 50 percent of Spain's 23.5 million eligible voters refused to disclose their party preference, not because most hadn't made up their

minds, but because they were afraid to tell the pollsters. They remembered the slaughter of Socialists and Communists after Franco's military revolt crushed democracy in Spain 41 years ago.

Wherever we went in Spain, we heard rumors that the military was about to seize power, and many people said they never expected the elections to happen. When Spain's Communist Party was officially legalized two months prior to the election, several government officials and military leaders resigned in protest.

The military, conservatives, and fascists are alarmed by demands for regional autonomy by the Basque provinces and Catalonia, both industrial areas which resisted Franco in the civil war, and which currently are strongholds for Socialists and Communists. Although banned, the Communist Party of Spain maintained tightly-organized clandestine union organizations with much influence in the industrial regions during Franco's reign. If granted autonomy, the Communists and Socialists will dominate the industrial areas, and therefore the military has threatened to intervene if too much autonomy is granted.

The anxiety and outlook of many Spaniards was reflected in the eyes of a 60-year-old woman who sold us some simple kitchen pottery from her closet-sized shop in Madrid. She told us the potter who supplied her now had been unemployed for seven years, and soon would be out of work again because the pottery factory was shutting down. Spain is facing eight percent unemployment and a 30 percent inflation rate this year and its economy is at the point of collapse unless drastic measures are taken.

The shopkeeper considered herself an anarchist, as do many fiercely independent Spaniards, and she liked what the communists had to say about helping the workers. But she was afraid that the communists did not have the power to keep the country intact. She feared that if the communists did well in the elections, the fascists and the military would seize power like they did before, and they would crush the workers. She remembered how the dead filled the streets during the civil war and she said the "wolves" were in the streets again. The wolves, she said, were the opportunists who fed off the people. She told how the local tax collector was skimming off money he collected and investing in wine while people on her street were starving. When she mentioned the wolves and the fascists she spat on the floor because she hated them so intensely, but she didn't think the communists could keep them in line. She was impressed by what Suarez had accomplished in so little time, and spoke of him as an honorable man.

Suarez had moved to the left in the weeks before the election, and the Socialists and Communists had moved right. But with her fears of the reaction to the Communists, she thought the Centralists or Socialists were more likely to hold Spain together, and she wanted or needed that security. She was old, she said, and tears welled up in her eyes. At least under Franco she knew she could go to the hospital and be taken care of. Now she wasn't sure



Left: A child rides piggy-back holding the flag of the Spanish Workers' Communist Party. Above: Selling newspapers at a political rally.

of anything, things were changing so fast, and the wolves were on the streets of Madrid once again, and she was afraid.

Despite the fear underlying the elections, most Spaniards greeted the return to democratic forms, and were excited by the prospect of voting.

In Torrejon, a small industrial city outside Madrid, we stepped into a store to buy vegetables just as a caravan of honking cars passed by showering the street with socialist leaflets. The shopkeeper quickly pushed her children outside shouting "Look, Look!"—political demonstrations were still a recent innovation in Torrejon and the frenzied activity increased its pace as the election drew near. Torrejon itself was completely plastered with colorful posters ranging from fascist to communist, with scattered painted messages from clandestine groups. On a small side street we wandered into the local Communist Party headquarters and found dozens of people crammed inside stuffing envelopes and crating leaflets for distribution.

In Barcelona, a leftist stronghold, the street where families took their evening stroll was lined with tables offering political tracts and campaign literature. In the port city of Tarragona a caravan of cars endlessly circled the center of town with heads, flags, and bullhorns sticking out of every car window in an effort to gain support for a leftist coalition. In Segovia, the face of Suarez smiled from a mosaic of campaign posters slapped on an aqueduct built by the Romans. In quiet Campo Real, a few miles from Cervantes' birthplace near Madrid, an army of youngsters systematically covered every tree with Popular Alliance posters; followed later in the night by another army of

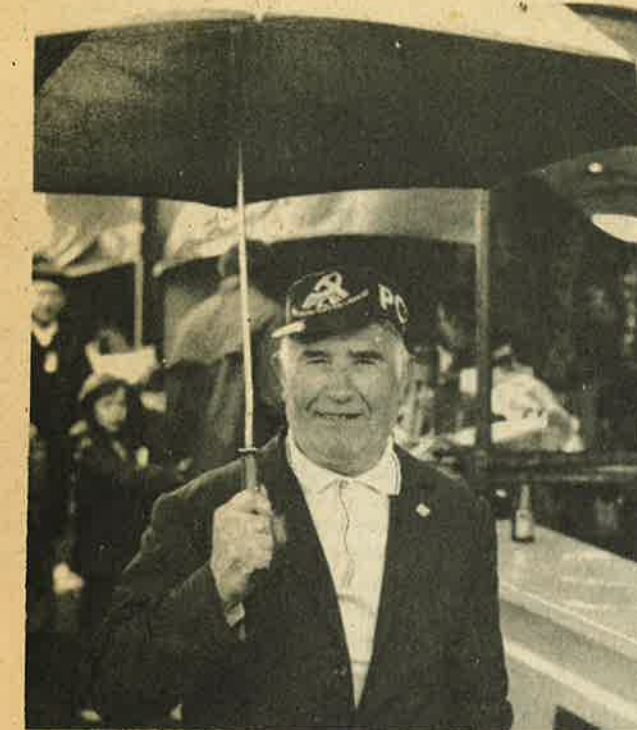
youngsters who systematically tore them all down.

On the train from Madrid to Segovia an old man explained to an older woman dressed in Spain's traditional widow's black how the voting would work. As we passed a large park he pointed to where the day before Spanish Communist Party leader Santiago Carrillo had addressed a crowd of 200,000 to 350,000 which came to an all day festival sponsored by the Communists. The road from Madrid had been clogged for over seven hours by cars carrying flag-waving Communists who passed knots of people who cheered or booed depending on their political affiliation.

Many of the communists attending the rain-soaked rally seemed to be confirming that the party was really legal; testing to see if the tanks would roll in and crush their festival and signal a return to fascism. They were disappointed when La Pasionaria was unable to attend and listened patiently, but with little enthusiasm, to a lackluster speech by party leader Carrillo. Their excitement was reserved for the festival itself, with booths selling communist-grown oranges, giant red flags with a yellow hammer and sickle, and mounds of newly-printed literature and propaganda.

There were booths with information on struggles in Chile, Argentina and Palestine; and booths with beer and sandwiches. It turned into a Spanish Communist Woodstock, with the Internationale blaring from a dozen loudspeakers and on the lips of thousands of people, many of whom had brought their children to see for the first time in four decades what the losing side in the civil war had been fighting for.

The memory of the civil war permeates Spain, and although it is seldom talked about, except by the fascists who won, the scars run deep and have never really healed. We met one person whose father had been dragged away from the dinner table and shot for being a communist shortly after Franco seized power. It was not a unique story, nor



one which lay solely in the past. Earlier this year the dreaded Civil Guard gunned down demonstrators in the Basque provinces who were demonstrating for regional autonomy, amnesty for the predominately Basque political prisoners, and legalization of all political parties and organizations. The three demands were picked up by socialists and communists throughout Spain, and demonstrations and strikes escalated.

On January 24 five communists were assassinated in a Madrid labor office by the fascist Anti-Communist Apostolic Alliance. This incident sparked a new wave of strikes led by leftists, and the retaliation murder of several police by terrorists. Assassinations of leftists, fascists, and police continued through March along with increasing demonstrations around a variety of leftist political and economic issues in industrial centers such as Madrid, Catalonia and the Basque provinces. The situation grew so volatile that the government was forced to crack down on fascist gangs, liberalize worker's rights to organize and strike, grant some cosmetic autonomy, and modify the laws banning most political parties. Only then did the violence subside. During this period the caretaker Suarez government also rounded up hundreds of members of clandestine parties to the left of the Communist Party of Spain.

Suarez is an old hard-line anti-communist and it is because of this reputation that he was able to convince the military to not seize power during the turbulent first three months of 1977. Suarez spent the week before legalizing the Communist Party in a round of meetings placating military officials and anti-communist political leaders. "We defeated (the Communists) in the (civil) war," he is quoted as saying, "and now we will defeat them at the polls."

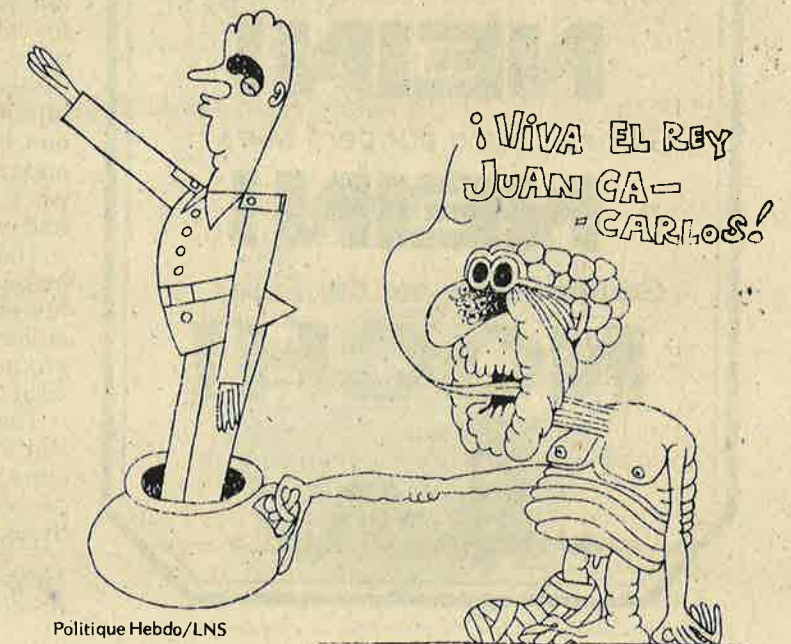
A member of the Spanish Communist Party comes out of the political closet.

Had Suarez failed to legalize the Socialist and Communist Parties, another civil war would have been almost inevitable. In another shrewd move, Suarez disbanded the fascist National Movement, Franco's para-governmental political organization which controlled extensive family, youth, sports, and womens programs as well as 35 newspapers and 45 radio stations. The National Movement would have been a ready-made political force for the ultra-right-wing Popular Alliance headed by former Interior Minister Manuel Fraga Iribarne. Fraga had been expected to be the strongest challenger to Suarez.

Suarez at one point had been Secretary General of the National Movement, as well as an influential member of two ultra-conservative Catholic organizations. It was through these affiliations and his governorship of conservative Segovia, that he was able to piece together his center-right coalition which attracted support from voters who normally were aligned with more conservative or outright fascist parties. Suarez, however, did more than seek electoral support from his fascist friends, he made them part of the government.

When Suarez disbanded the National Movement, he took the bureaucrats and officials and merged them into Spain's governmental structure. The National Movement's assets went to the Finance Ministry, its media became part of the Information Ministry, while its local programs were placed under the Ministry of the Presidency.

With Suarez now in control of a newly-elected government, the fascist bureaucracy has become institutionalized and will have a critical impact on proposed solutions to Spain's political and economic problems. Suarez will institute only those reforms necessary to prevent an uprising, otherwise, the dead hand of Franco still guides the government.



Politique Hebdo/LNS

ATOMKRAFT? NEIN DANKE!

HELGA WEBER-ZUCHT

On Sunday June 12, about 30 people began an occupation at a meadow just across the road from the nuclear power station at Grohnde, West Germany. Various local no-nukes groups had decided on this action on June 6, as they expected a court decision soon on whether the nuke's construction would be stopped or continued. These groups laid down conditions for the occupation:

1. nonviolent occupation only
2. no party politics on the site
3. occupation to continue until all work for the nuclear power station is stopped.

Two days before the occupation the groups had received word that work was to start on the cooling towers built in the meadow. Although this information was not correct, the groups feared a repetition of last year's surprise and decided to proceed anyway. A year ago, a huge field of wheat had been cut down, barbed wire fences had been erected and police with watch dogs had been "installed" to safeguard the beginning of building for the Grohnde nukes, all in the course of one night.

The first occupation of the site was in February, when several hundred people arrived with flowers and songs (though obviously there were some tools for cutting the fence). No violent confrontation took place and the occupation lasted for about two to three hours. Some attempts were made to establish affinity groups on the site, not in advance, and no one thought they would work. Some went ahead and cut the fence, while others were still discussing whether to act. Still, people thought the process had worked satisfactorily.

The demonstrators left of their own will after being asked to do so by local no-nukes groups who feared a violent confrontation such as had occurred at the site in Brockdorf earlier in the month. The groups were concerned about the loss of sympathy such a confrontation would provoke.

The second occupation occurred on March 19. Within the month the fence had been fixed in concrete, with added rows of NATO barbed wire. Some people came heavily "armed" with things they thought would be useful to tearing down the fence.

Helga Weber-Zucht works with the German no-nukes movement.

After several hours of battling between the thousands of demonstrators and police, who used water cannons and tear gas, the fence had been broken in a few places, several people had been injured and the site had still not been occupied. Everyone went home.

At the June occupation, many of the people were from nonviolent action groups. Others agreed with nonviolent means for tactical reasons, but were open to changing their minds. One of the great difficulties in the German anti-nukes movement is some groups belief that only hard or violent con-



frontations will mobilize the population. These groups are constantly trying to increase their influence, so there are always conflicts over political questions.

The same day that the occupation began, mobilizing phone calls were made all over Germany and within less than 20 hours about 600 people were on the site—unfortunately only a few from local villages. These local people will have to be convinced that the anti-atom village must grow strong (without arms of course) and that it especially needs their support.

On the very first day a wooden tent-like house was finished, with a fireplace and toolshed. Within one week another wooden round house, with windows, a door, a turnable platform on top, a kitchen-shed, a lavatory and a childrens' playground had been built. We have also built a well—about 30 feet deep—and many more wooden houses are planned. People intend to make Grohnde a real anti-atom-village, with a youth center for the locals, as there is nothing of that kind available in the area. Wood, tool money, food are brought along as donations by locals and other people. A bank account was opened and within two days carried more than 3000 deutschmark (\$1200).

The occupiers try to organize themselves. An outreach group goes round the villages, talking to people and inviting them to visit the new anti-atom-village and listen to information about nuclear power plants, look at the wind-generator and learn about the dangers of nukes. They seem to come along, even if it takes time. Even the workers

from across the road, who built that power station, come in the evenings and give a hand in building the anti-atom-village. There are plans to build a house for the foreign workers from the power plant, as they live under very poor conditions inside the fences.

By the weekend following the occupation about 1000 people were there. It became difficult to carry through all those good ideas and intentions, like individual responsibility and no hierarchical structures. Tensions grew here and there—but on the whole things have been fine so far.

The occupiers intentions are:

- To stay on the site, in order to stop that nuke, as it will not be possible to produce energy without the cooling towers.
- To win the local people over, so that they can make it their anti-atom-village.
- To help build mutual aid in the neighborhood.
- To start a sort of folk high school, instead of collecting signatures and distributing leaflets.

So far, the police have not taken an open interest. However, from inside the fence of the building site a constant eye is kept on the anti-atom-village, and every move is watched. The plant is still growing steadily, looking somewhat like a Roman amphitheatre.

On June 14th, the Court decided that work must stop on the building site, though not until two months after the written decision is delivered to the Preuszische Elektrizitats AG. This means work will not stop for three more months when most of the reactor building will be finished. The case was won by a pharmaceutical firm, after the Court ruled that the nuclear power plant in its day-to-day work—without any accidents—is producing so much radioactivity that the medicine produced in the nearby villages (about one mile away) will be worthless.

If you feel like writing an encouraging letter to the occupiers write to:

Anti-Atom-Dorf
An der B 3 (Federal Road No. 3)
3254 Emmerthal/Grohnde 77
West Germany.



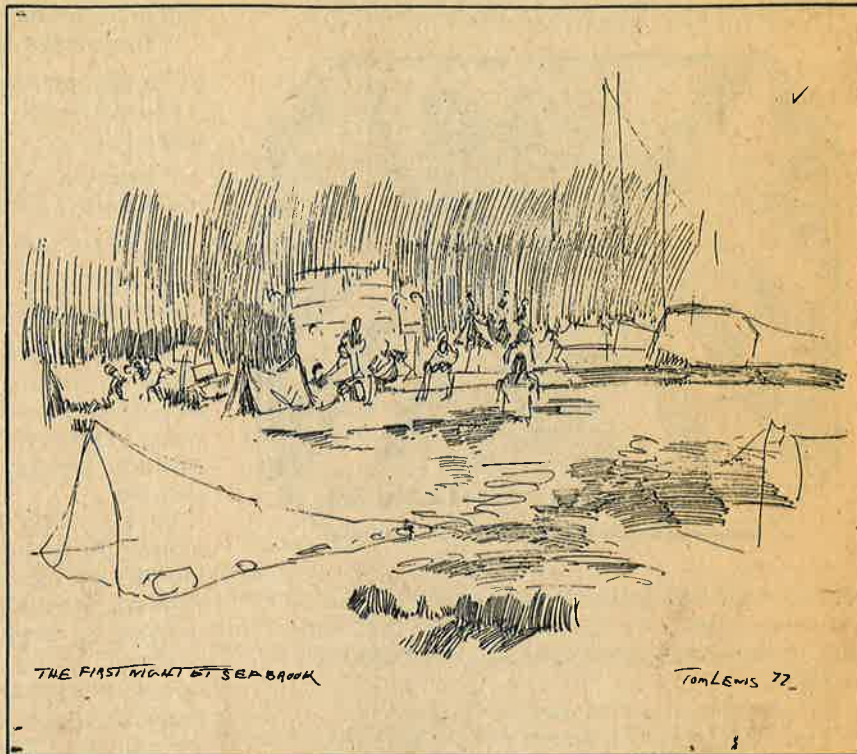
Drawings from the German anti-nuke paper PARDON



SEABROOK DRAWINGS BY TOM LEWIS

Tom Lewis is another artist who has combined his politics and his art in the movement, beginning with work in civil rights with CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) and through the anti-war marches and actions. Most recently, he participated in the occupation of Seabrook and Concord Armory and chronicled events with notes and drawings, some of which are reproduced here. Tom works and lives in Cambridge, Massachusetts where he shares a print-making studio with artist Ellie Rubin

-WIN



THE FIRST NIGHT AT SEABROOK

Tom Lewis 77

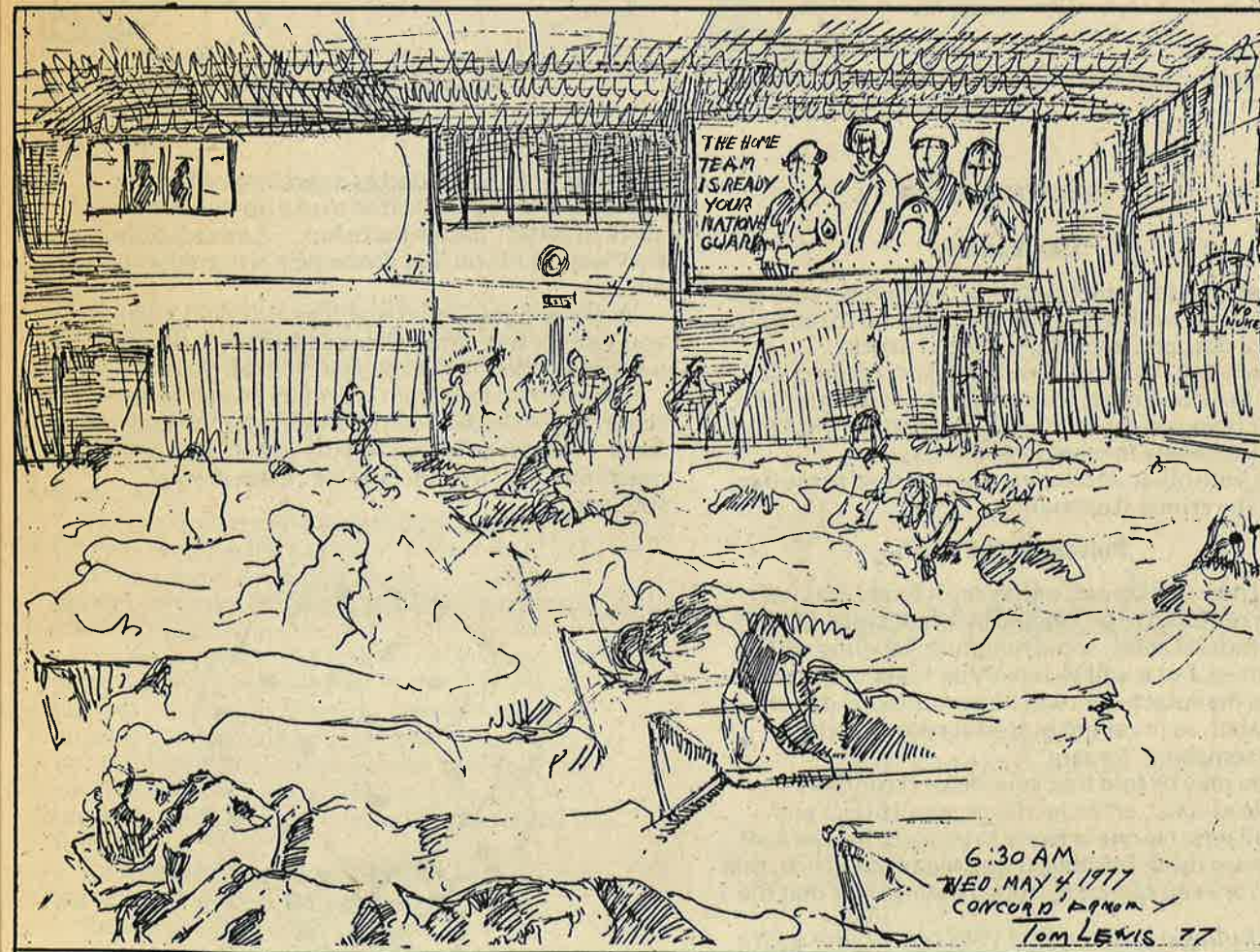


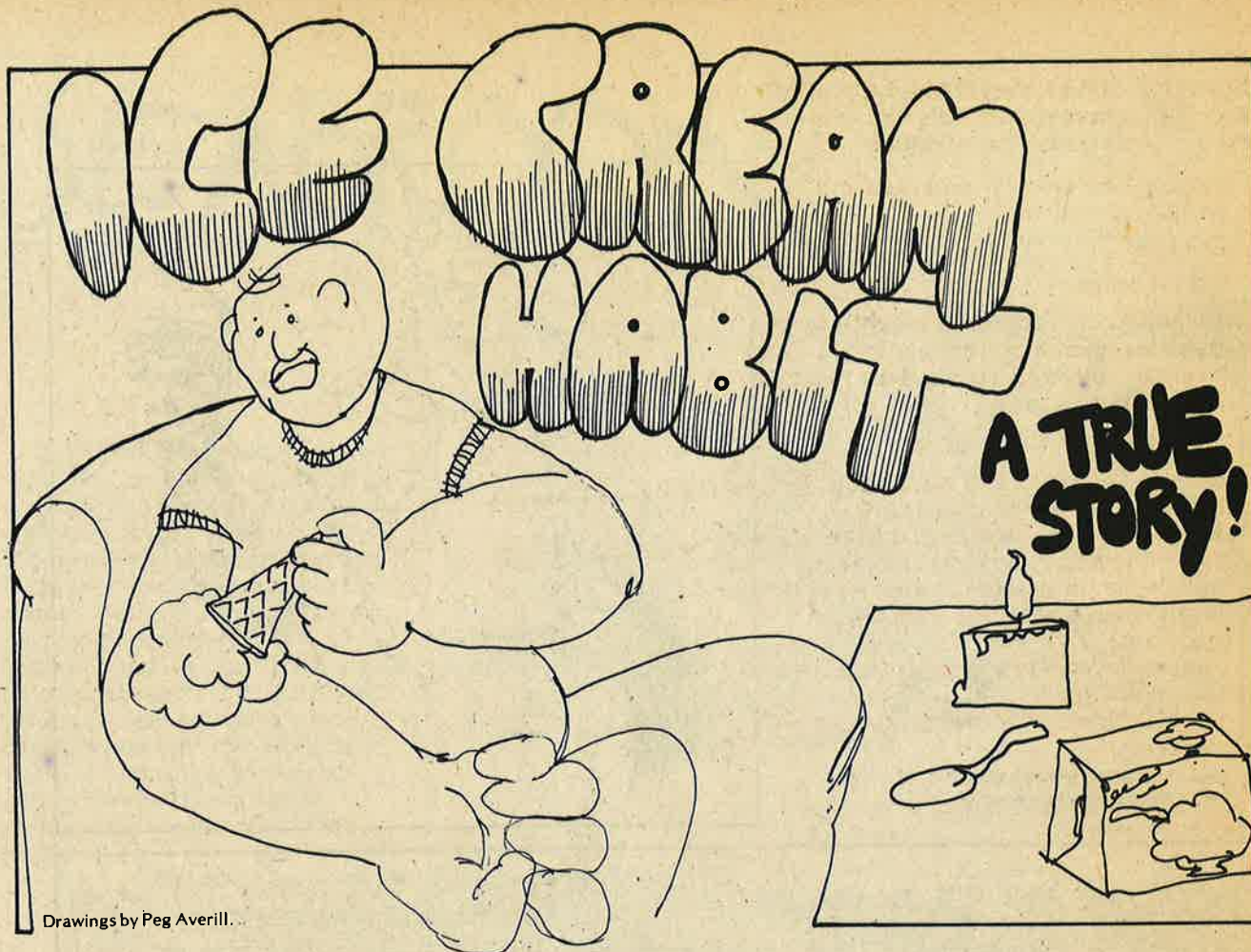
IN A STEEL BOX WRITING TO BE BOOKED

Tom Lewis



CHOW LINE-UNDER DAREST AT THE CONCORD ARMORY





Drawings by Peg Averill.

NEIL FULLAGAR

Confession

As ashamed as I am to admit it, just a few years ago I was a Baskin-Robbins junkie. Hooked to the tune of \$2 a day, and left a demoralized wreck.

Each day I would hurry to meet my connection near the University, then rush home with my 31 fix. After doing up the quart, I would nod out until time to raise money to repeat the process.

As with other addictions, mine forced me to deal with the criminal element.

Poison Plastic Fluff

Until now, ice cream, unlike most foods, has not been required to be labeled by what's in it. Under new federal rules, some minimum labeling will be required, but it will be mostly by function. In some cases manufacturers will be permitted to directly mislabel, as in calling butterfat recovered from cheesemaking "cream."

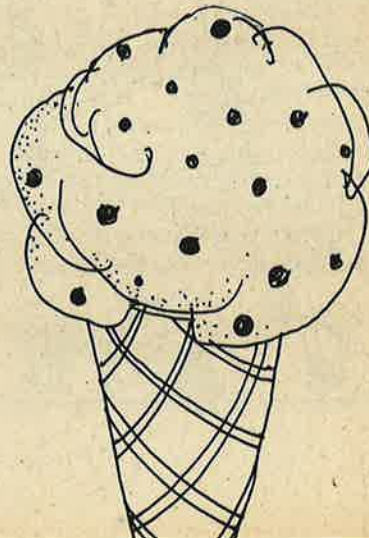
You may be told that your dessert contains artificial color, artificial flavor, emulsifiers and stabilizers. No one is likely to tell you that the contents are used, besides in ice cream, to kill lice, thin paint or keep radiators from freezing. Nor that the

Neil Fullagar is a frequent WIN contributor with a sweet tooth.

color has been identified as a carcinogen but the industry is being permitted to use up its 800 ton stock to avoid "undue hardship." And certainly they won't tell you that the principal ingredient is air.

Water weighs about eight pounds per gallon. If you've ever wondered why a carton of ice cream weighs so little, it's because it's not all there!

Commercial ice cream is grossly sweet, to continue in the tradition started with sugar in baby-food... not just the fruit but the vegetables and the meat, too. And the colors of ice cream are surrealistic.



By the mid-sixties, the FDA had approved over 1500 different chemicals for use in ice cream. Some curious ones include:

Ammonium, calcium, potassium and sodium casinates

Oat gum

Carrageenan

Microcrystalline cellulose (slightly larger particles are now put in bread by ITT Continental. Still larger particles are made into paper, like this page.)

Diocetyl sodium sulfosuccinate.

If it says chocolate, you may be getting amphenyl acetate or propylene glycol.

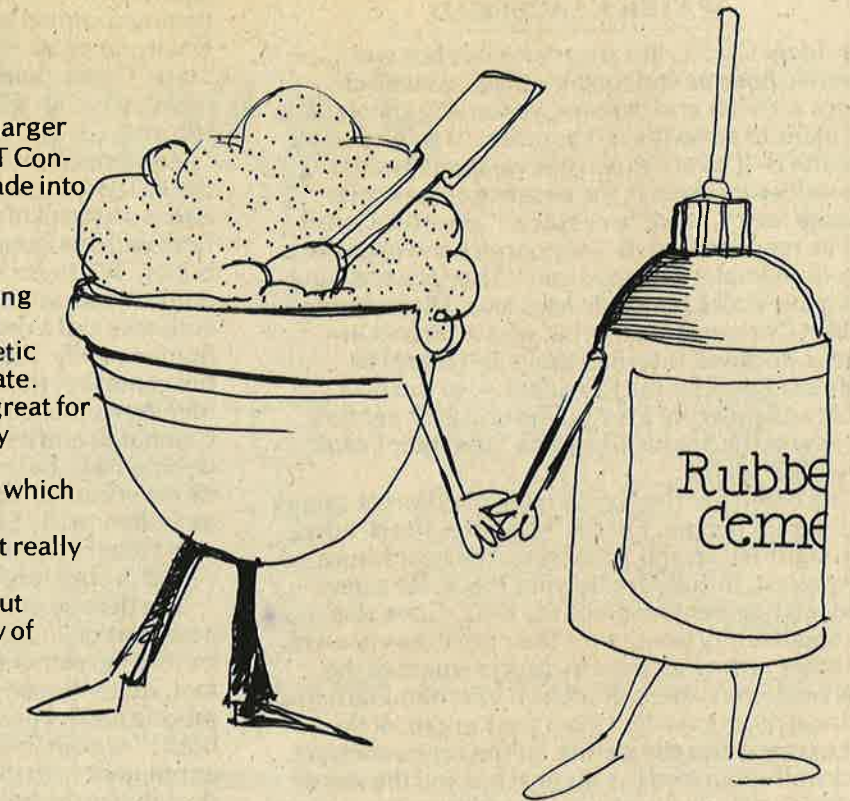
Strawberry flavor may be glacial acetic acid, benzoacetate, or methyl salicylate.

Vanilla may be piperonal, which is great for killing lice and is related to some heavy tranquilizers.

Banana flavor may be amyl acetate, which is a fine paint thinner.

You may think its pineapple, but is it really ethyl acetate?

Butyraldehyde makes a dandy walnut flavor, as well as improving the quality of rubber cement.



Cure

I can't recommend a diet of all ice cream. But, in moderation, *real ice cream* is a good, legitimate food, with protein, calcium and vitamins A and D. Besides, it tastes good.

But in most places, you simply can't buy real ice cream without a lot of weird chemical ingredients. But... you can take the matter into your own hands and make it.

You need a freezer — preferably hand crank. Check rumage sales and Aunt Tillie's attic. You could use one of the modern electric jobs, but it doesn't come out the same somehow and cranking is half the fun.

Put the freezer in the freezer, with ice packed around it. Pour in the cream to chill while you do the rest. Beat eggs, then mix with the milk, salt, sugar (honey, whatever), and the fruit, chocolate, etc. Pour the whole business into the freezer can, cover, and fill tub to top with ice and salt. Crank until it fights back. Uncover carefully and eat joyfully.

Experiment. It's your ice cream. Use more or less of anything if it tastes better.

Ice cream to the people!



1 quart fresh heavy cream
1 quart whole milk (use not quite all)
3 eggs
½ teaspoon salt
½ cup honey
1 quart strawberries
half mashed
half in large pieces

—N.F.

The B-1 Gone But Not Forgotten

PATRICK LACEFIELD

President Carter, in a surprise move last week, stunned liberals and conservatives, as well as peace activists and defense workers by announcing his plans to scrap the B-1 bomber. "I think that in toto the B-1, a very expensive weapons system basically conceived in the absence of the cruise missile factor, is not necessary," asserted Carter.

The reaction from B-1 supporters and opponents was immediate, ranging from "They are breaking open the vodka bottles in Moscow" (Representative Robert Dornan of California, whose district includes Rockwell International's B-1 plant) to "Three cheers for the President—we can now avoid squandering \$100 billion on a 20th century version of the Spanish Armada" (Senator Frank Church of Idaho).

The demise of the bomber meant different things to different people. For the Air Force, the B-1 decision signified an end, at least for the near future, to their quest, initiated in the mid 1960s, for a new manned bomber to replace the B-52. Gone also was the opportunity to enhance their prestige vis-a-vis the other armed services by procurement of the new weapons system. Rockwell International had a political plum snatched from their grasp; of the three companies competing for the prime contract, Rockwell submitted the highest bid and the worst performance specifications. In addition, the company left no stone unturned in exerting political pressure to assure production of this lucrative contract. Millions of dollars were expended for propaganda and Rockwell lobbyists swarmed over Capitol Hill in a cogent example of high-pressure salesmanship.

Leading the struggle against the B-1 bomber was the Stop the B-1 Bomber National Peace Conversion Campaign, a coalition of 26 national organizations, including peace, church, environmental, and labor organizations, initiated by the American Friends Service Committee and Clergy and Laity Concerned. Over the past three years, as a result of the efforts of the Campaign, popular resistance has grown against the B-1. A recent Harris poll revealed that 44% of the American people opposed production of the B-1, as compared with 27% in favor. Demonstrations against the B-1 bomber took place in over 100 cities and towns last January and a recent "phone-in" day sponsored by the Campaign flooded the White House switchboard with anti-bomber calls.

There can be little doubt that the peace movement and its allies have won a victory with Carter's decision, but the question remains: how much of a victory has been achieved? A weapons system has been eliminated—no mean accomplishment in

Patrick Lacefield, a long-time anti B-1 bomber activist, is the newest member of the WIN staff.

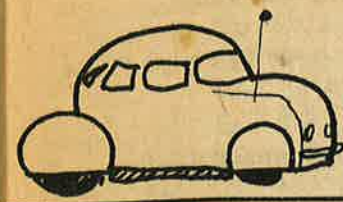
these days of rising military spending—and the movement demonstrated that by focussing on a particular project we can emerge the victors even with resources limited as compared to Rockwell and the Pentagon. Forging the diverse coalition against the B-1 was likewise valuable in establishing common ground with organizations such as Environmental Action, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and others which augurs well for cooperation in the future.

As a presidential candidate, Carter denounced the B-1 as "a system which should not be funded and is wasteful of taxpayers' dollars." By keeping faith with his campaign promise, he has saved \$27 billion, but these savings will not be applied to domestic social programs currently facing financial cutbacks and a decrease of their ability to meet human needs. Carter did not make his decision in the context of the "people versus weapons" ideology advanced by the Stop the B-1 Bomber Campaign and its Congressional allies. Rather his decision was basically technocratic, defined in terms of cost-effectiveness and strategic strength, as evidenced by Secretary of Defense Brown's statement that had the B-1 been 30% less expensive it would probably have been approved by Carter.

The demise of the B-1 bomber does not signal an acceleration in American efforts to reach an arms control agreement by the Carter Administration. In fact, quite the contrary. By substituting the cruise missile for B-1 production as more "bangs for the buck," we diminish significantly the chances for an agreement with the Soviets. The cruise missile will destabilize the balance of power and bring about massive problems insofar as the problem of verification is concerned in arms control talks.

The problem of peace conversion was not of concern to Carter in his decision. While the headlines blared "10,000 Jobs Lost" and television interviews sought out B-1 workers who spoke of their financial difficulties, Carter has made no moves to support the concept of peace conversion or legislation already introduced in Congress which would provide benefits and training to defense workers whose jobs are terminated.

Our response to Carter's termination of the B-1 bomber should be seen as twofold. On the one hand, we must rise to the defense of Carter's decision since it will continue to draw hostile fire from those sectors of the Congress, the American public, and the military-industrial complex whose knee-jerk reactions predictably oppose any move, even the most minimal, to slash military spending or move toward genuine disarmament. Carter, however, is not offering this as a first step toward either reordering national priorities or a more conciliatory position on arms control. The task remains with us to initiate a serious debate on an alternative strategy of "national security," renouncing our nuclear first-strike policy, controlling weapons research and development and substantially cutting back warheads and military spending, while applying the dividends toward programs meeting human needs.



CHANGES

US SENATE DEBATES NEUTRON BOMB BEHIND CLOSED DOORS

On July 1, the United States Senate excluded the American people, the press and even most Senate staffers to decide the fate of the "enhanced radiation warhead," more commonly known as the neutron bomb. The neutron bomb is being touted as a "clean weapon" which reduces the blast effect incurred in the use of a conventional nuclear warhead while killing through radiation.

Funds for this new warhead were tucked away in the Energy Research and Development Administration budget for "public works" and yet President Carter has stated that he only recently learned of the bomb's existence. However, Carter clearly desires that the estimated 10 million dollars remain in the budget until he reaches a production decision, prior to October 1—the start of fiscal year 1978.

Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Oregon) led the fight against the bomb in the closed session, stating that "my personal view is to ban the bomb." In response Senator John Stennis (D-Mississippi) asserted the weapon was "the best news I've heard in years" and Secretary of Defense Harold Brown characterized the neutron bomb as "a useful military adjunct." Hatfield's motion to delete production funds for the bomb went down to narrow defeat, 43-42, but debate will continue following the July 4 recess due to the threat of a fili-

buster by Hatfield and Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.).

Letters in opposition to the development of this weapon should go to your United States Senators as well as President Carter so that this particular attempt to make nuclear conflict more "clean" and "thinkable" might be nipped in the bud.

—Newsdesk

PRO-NUCLEAR RALLY

Some 3,000 people demonstrated June 26 in Manchester, New Hampshire, in response to the protest over the May 1 weekend against construction of a nuclear power plant in nearby Seabrook. Newspaper accounts reported that a majority of the crowd were union members.

But the rally was financed and organized by utilities and union bureaucrats, not working people and consumers. Two utilities—one of them on Long Island—offered to pick up the tab for travel costs and provide a free lunch and dinner for any employee who wanted to go.

The New Hampshire Voice of Energy, which sponsored the rally, received \$1500 from Public Service Corporation, which owns the disputed Seabrook nuclear plant.

The crowd heard a message from Peter Brennan, who gained national notoriety in 1970 as a construction-trades union official who defended violent attacks on anti-Vietnam War demonstrators in New York City. Brennan also served as Nixon's Secretary of Labor.

Other speakers included the state's ultrarightist governor, Meldrim Thomson, who once advocated arming the national guard with nuclear weapons, and Prof. Norman Rasmussen, author of a widely criticized report that "proved" that nuclear plants are safe.

—Militant

RIGHT AROUND THE CORNER?

According to the New York Times of June 16, 1977, Pat Stark, president of the national Fraternal Order of Police believes "the only thing that's going to stand between this country and a complete takeover by the Communists is the people who wear the badge and the gun." Stark made these remarks at a convention of Arizona law enforcement officers in Flagstaff, Arizona and also claimed that four of Carter's top appointees were "registered Communists." Asked to document this charge and disclose names, Mr. Stark declined.

—Newsdesk

WHO SAYS STEVENS IS A BUM EMPLOYER?

James D. Finley, chairman of the board of J.P. Stevens doesn't think the giant, union-busting textile firm is such a bum outfit to work for. Indeed, it's very generous—to him anyway.

Stevens paid him a salary of \$184,000 in 1976 with a bonus of another \$184,000. That's \$368,000 for one year's hard work, up from a total of \$230,000 in 1975.

The company's president, Whitney Stevens, does okay, too.

He pulled down a 1976 combined salary and bonus of \$296,000.

Each of them will be entitled to a pension of more than \$91,000 a year on retirement.

Workers for Stevens who retired in 1974 received lump sum payments of \$770 and no pension to follow, after years of service at substandard wages.

— North Carolina Anvil

EVENTS

AUSTIN, TX— American Friends Service Committee sponsors a conference on "Toward a New International Economic Order: Cooperation or Confrontation?" with speakers and workshops, Friday, July 29-Saturday, July 30. For information, contact: Ken Carpenter, AFSC, 600 West 28th St., -102, Austin, TX 78705. (512) 474-2399. \$10 registration fee.

BANGOR, WA— The Pacific Life Community is sponsoring a Summer long program, June 25 - August 14, to build nonviolent resistance to the Trident base at Bangor. For information on Bangor Summer workshops and actions, contact, Bangor Summer Task Force, PLC, 616 24th Ave. East, Seattle, WA (206) 324-7184.

LACEY, WA— The WR: Annual Conference at the Grinwo. 1 Conference & Retreat Center, August 11-14. For information, contact: WRL, 331-17th Ave. East, Seattle, WA 98112 or 339 Lafayette St., NY, NY 10012.

MEDIA, PA— The Brandywine Alternative Fund will sponsor a series of "presences" in the Chester and Delaware county areas during August 6-9, the Hiroshima-Nagasaki bombing commemorations. Anyone interested in participating can contact BAF, (215) 656-0247 or 565-1765.

NYC— Member of the American-Portuguese Overseas Information Organization will speak on "Update on Portugal" at the Free Association, 5 West 20th St., Friday, July 15, 7:30 pm. For more information, call 212-691-0699.

NYC— Hearing by New York City on denial of permit for Columbia University's nuclear reactor. A large turnout will encourage denial

of the permit, at 9:30 am, Thursday, August 4, at the Health Department, 125 Worth St. For more information, contact: Lorna Salzman at Friends of the Earth, 675-5911.

PORTLAND, ONTARIO— Disarmament Education Workshop hosted by Project Ploughshare, focussing on development of issues and skills, July 15 - July 25. For more information, write: Ploughshares, Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3G6.

SAN LUIS OBISPO, CA— The Abalone Alliance is organizing a nonviolent direct action against the Diablo Canyon nuke for the August 6 weekend. Area residents interested in participating in this and other anti-nuke activities in southern California can contact the Alliance at: PO Box 1598, San Luis Obispo, CA 93406. (805) 544-7148.

SANTA CRUZ, CA— The Resource Center for Nonviolence will hold a series of "Conversations in Nonviolence" with Ira Sandperl, July 14-23 and August 12-21. Sessions will be at the Center, 515 Broadway; suggested donations \$30-50. For information, contact the Center at: PO Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063, (408) 423-1626.

We would particularly like to list events people are organizing around Hiroshima and Nagasaki days. Many groups will be sponsoring actions relating to nuclear power and disarmament. To get your action listed in EVENTS, send it on a postcard to: Events, WIN, 503 Atlantic Ave., 5th floor, Brooklyn, NY 11217. Be sure to include time, date, place and name of the sponsoring organization. Don't forget to send an address and phone number for people to contact.



Hello Friends. There's a lot happening.

NEW WTR COUNSELORS & ALTERNATIVE FUNDS:

Rod Nippert
Rt. 1, Box 90B
Amesville, Ohio 45711

Rod is also writing a regular WTR column for *The Peacemaker*, which has moved to PO Box 4793, Arcata, CA 95521.

WRL/WTR in Seattle now has a "rejuvenated" alternative fund. Their new, complete listing is:

War Resisters League/War Tax Resistance
331-17 Ave. East
Seattle, WA 98112
general info: 206/525-9486
Louise

WTR counselors:
206/362-8106 (Irwin— He also does counseling by mail.)
206/322/2447 (Alice/Larry)

Seattle Alternative Fund
206/323-1113

MASS. TAX RESISTANCE GROUP

A few tax resisters in Franklin County have been meeting since April in an attempt to form a support group. Persons interested in being part of this group should contact Wally and Juanita Nelson, Woolman Hill, Deerfield, Ma. 01342.

TAX COURT

Two Seattle area resisters had Tax Court hearings on June 6. These

are the first west coast Tax Court doings I've heard about and I'd like to know about others. It's useful for us to keep track of the number of court cases, where they take place, when, with what arguments, and what decisions.

In Boston last month Bob Carey, a Quaker from New Hampshire and Paul Monsky of Cambridge, took IRS to court; it was the second time for both. While on May 9 Robin Harper, long time war tax resister and founding member of the Brandywine Alternative Fund, went to court again. Harper, who has taken his case to court several times, has openly refused payment of Federal taxes since 1958. The 48 year old carpenter who serves on the maintenance staff at Pendle Hill, a Quaker Study Center in Wallingford, PA, began his tax protest during the nuclear testing of the late 50's and continued throughout the war in Indochina. Recently Harper stated, "My conscience continues to be stirred by the insane stockpiling of hydrogen bombs and the feverish development of such weapon systems as the B-1 bomber and the strategic cruise missile."

In New York, Jeff Marx, a Jewish pacifist, introduced arguments to Tax Court emphasizing the unique position of peace within the Jewish tradition. Special Trial Judge Johnston, in granting the IRS' motion for judgement on the pleadings noted, "Petitioner's argument is that under the compulsion of the traditions of his faith, he has a special role to play 'in bringing about the Messianic Age.' This requires him to eschew all form of violence whether against nations or individuals, and to refrain from supporting such actions if taken by others. It is his sincere belief that only by faithful adherence to the traditions of his faith will world peace be achieved."

In spite of the fact that all our WTR cases are denied a full hearing because of the inevitable "motion for judgement on the pleadings," the presence of resisters in court arguing against the motion is still a meaningful event. It is always dramatic because we are odd presences in those neat, middle-class courts and because courts are very like

theaters with their stages, casts of characters, conventions, conflicts, and often moving displays of emotions, beliefs, and struggles. Transcripts from political trials have made exciting performances in courts and theaters in recent years. I think we need to get some on prime time TV.

NUKES AND TAXES

With Seabrook still fresh in our minds and the growing mobilization against use of nuclear weapons and power sprouting local and national anti-nukes groups, I've been thinking a lot about the need now to stress our protest against nuclear power in war tax resistance. It's all part of the same insane military/corporate greed game, isn't it? Only now the stakes are infinitely higher for everyone. It seems time to find out exactly what portion of tax dollars is going into research and development of nuclear weapons and power plants and to let the people know. New England WTR is planning a brochure on the subject and I hope WTR folk throughout the country will consider similar projects and links with groups like Mobilization for Survival.

On April 15 activists Saunders Dickson and Robert M. Smith blocked entrance to the IRS office in West Chester, PA by chaining themselves to the office doorway. The nonviolent action was taken to protest the use of taxes for nuclear weapons. According to a statement issued by the activists, who are members of the Brandywine WTR Center, "Today we chain ourselves to these doors to interrupt the flow of taxes for nuclear arms. The shackles laid upon these doors represent the shackling of Americans and all of humanity to nuclear overkill policies and weapons systems."

Along with those chained to the IRS doorway, other persons held banners saying, "Our taxes pay for 3 H-bombs a day" and "Nuclear Arsenal: Humanity's No. 1 threat."

Dickson and Smith were arrested and released with citations. In mid-May a hearing took place and the men who let off with a summary disorderly charge and a \$70 fine.

The following article appeared in the *Boston Globe* on June 6, 1977.

The United States is about to begin production of its first nuclear battlefield weapon specifically designed to kill people through the release of neutrons rather than to destroy military installations through heat and blast.

Funds to start building an "enhanced radiation" warhead for the 56-mile-range Lance missile are buried in the Energy Research and Development Administration portion of the \$10.2-billion public-works appropriations bill now before Congress.

Note that funds for the "enhanced radiation" warhead are "buried in the Energy research and Development Administration portion of the \$10.2 billion public works appropriations bill . . ." We suspect that much of other death-works taxes are hidden under seemingly benign programs. Remember "Food For Peace?" So even if you pay that part of your federal tax that supposedly goes for constructive works, aside from the CIA, FBI, etc., you will be paying for weapons systems, chemical warfare and other horrors.

WORLD PEACE TAX FUND

WPTF reports that 80,000 of their war tax protest cards were ordered before April 15 this year and that "The flood of cards has caused members of congress to take the issue far more seriously than ever before." Four new sponsors of the WPTF Bill are Rep. Robert W. Edgar (D-PA), Daniel Glickman (D-KS), George Miller (D-CA) and Richard Nolan (D-MN). Mark Hatfield (R-OR) and Mike Gravel (D-AK) co-sponsored the Senate bill. (The Senate bill 5880 and the House Bill, H.R. 4897 are identical.) WPTF urges letters to your reps urging sponsorship of the bills.

A 20 minute slide show for potential supporters of the WPTF is being produced by Georgia and Ed Pearson. If you have materials or suggestions on content, get in touch with them promptly at 44 Bellhaven Rd., Bellport, NY 11713.

— Susan Wilkins

Reviews

THE RAPE OF OUR NEIGHBORHOODS

William Worthy
New York: William Morrow & Co. / 276 pages / \$8.95
hardcover / 3.95 paper

Near where I live on Roxbury's Fort Hill is an empty valley where a neighborhood was destroyed a decade ago for an expressway that was never built. Half a mile away is the site of what was to be a 4-level interchange with another expressway, between two large housing projects. I-95 and the Inner Belt, dreams from an earlier age, would have done for Boston and Cambridge what the Cross Bronx did for New York.

At least the residents of those projects were saved from getting gassed alive. The area has been devastated. A jagged five-mile-long scar remains — at once testimony to the powerlessness of the poor who stood in the way of the Department of Public Works, a tribute to the coalition that finally killed these highways, and a challenge for that same coalition (now the Southwest Corridor Coalition) to organize orderly, beneficial development.

Two horrifying chapters of Robert Caro's work *The Power Broker* detail how Robert Moses munched through one Bronx neighborhood with autocratic disdain for its residents, who vainly attempted to convince him of an alternate route that would have taken fewer houses and caused less disruption. One generation later, the Cross Bronx resembles nothing so much as a giant sewer for cars, flanked by gutted tenements.

Fortunately, the Boston expressways amassed too many enemies for the DPW to overcome, once they had united: Cambridge academics, white ethnics and inner city blacks whose homes were on the line, Hyde Park and Roslindale property owners, and suburban ecologists alarmed by plans to slice through a wildlife reservation.

The Rape of Our Neighborhoods. The title shocks the reader. But just as women are learning to defend themselves, so the sub-title offers a vigorous rejoinder: "how communities are resisting take-overs by colleges, hospitals, churches, businesses and public agencies."

It is a book born of personal struggle. I first heard of William Worthy in the mid-1960's, when Phil Ochs recorded a protest song-tribute to Worthy, a journalist who had visited Cuba and had his passport

John Kyper is a member of the Fort Hill Faggots for Freedom collective in Roxbury. John Atlas is a lawyer and tenant organizer. He was one of the founders of Shelterforce (380 Main St., E. Orange, NJ 07018), a national housing publication, which is attempting to draw local housing activists together to form a stronger national movement.

revoked by the State Department. Early in 1970 he was informed that his apartment building, facing New York's Columbus Hospital, had been bought by the Hospital to be demolished for a parking lot. Imperialism had come home.

Like increasing numbers of others who have stood in the way of Interstate highways and urban renewal projects, Worthy and some of the other tenants decided to stick together and fight the hospital. They stood their ground and survived the bluffs of hospital administrators, heatless mornings, the defections of tenants who had been bought out to move, and even outright terror (an unleashed attack dog in the hallways) by a management firm hired to get them out. Finally, after six years of struggle — after embarrassing the administrators again and again about their lies and dishonesty — the tenants won.

Because Columbus is a religious hospital, the hypocrisy and ruthlessness of its administrators became the perfect foil for the tenants. Their most ingenious tactic was to address an appeal to the Pope — in Latin. Properly used, the mass media can become an arm of the struggle.

Worthy demonstrates that hospitals and other "nonprofit charitable" institutions are no less rapacious and capitalistic than any other business — something I well know after working for two years as a conscientious objector in the Deaconess Hospital, part of a Boston medical complex of ten hospitals and Harvard Medical School that is slowly leveling several neighborhoods for their version of "progress." Columbus Hospital, too, is part of a complex, nicknamed "bedpan alley"; and the need for more medical facilities in that neighborhood was, at best, questionable at a time when hospitals in poor neighborhoods are being cut back. The allure of federal monies for medicine, education and highways has spawned an incredible corruption of values, which plays upon the diseased logic of expansionism: bigger is necessarily better.

The fight to save one small apartment building from the wrecking crane is an exciting story upon which Worthy builds an admirable handbook for community organizers. He suggests tactics, citing many similar struggles, both those that have succeeded and those that have not. The book's bias toward New York and Boston reflects the foci of Worthy's life, and in part also the origins of this movement in the older, more industrialized sections of the nation. (Houston, after all, still has no municipal zoning, enamored as it is, still, with "progress.") **The Rape of Our Neighborhoods** is a must for activists concerned by the institutionalized destruction of our quality of life, and determined to fight back at every turn.

DIARY OF A MAD PLANNER

Robert Snetsinger
New York / Winchester Press / 1976 / \$6.95 / 177
pages, hardcover

Diary of a Mad Planner is a fitting companion to William Worthy's book, another embattled perspective on the workings of "progress." Robert Snetsinger has written a small volume, but one that combines passion with a dry, hitting humor: "Americans worship dead cars instead of God! In the beginning there were headlights and in the end taillights. Each year 50,000 lives are offered on the altar of the highway."

Snetsinger begins with the same theme as Worthy. His father was forced to sell the family farmstead when it was bisected by a new superhighway. "My home town makes good," the first chapter, describes how a community of a few hundred became a sprawling series of subdivision in a Midwestern megalopolis. The continuity has been broken, and "now like the Acadians we must wander from place to place, rootless."

But the book does not dwell on sentimentality. The author reviews his experiences as a member of various municipal planning commissions. He describes the power plays and corruption that inevitably seem to come into play when there is "Prime land ripe for development" (another chapter) — the highway lobby and its allies, construction companies that build shoddy houses, the developers of highrise Forest Lawns. Perhaps most novel in this context is his critique of the American mania for pets and well-trimmed turf as poor replacements for the wildlife and vegetation that got decimated in the rush to suburbanization. So many such communities, he says, are ruled by a "country-club Cosa Nostra."

One thing that mars Snetsinger's excellent little book, however, is the author's occasional, subtle homophobia. Who needs to be told that New York's Central Park is "filled with deviates and drug pushers?" It's a gratuitous touch that, really, has no place in such an enlightened book. — John Kyper

HOUSING: An Anarchist Approach

Colin Ward
Freedom Press / London / 1976

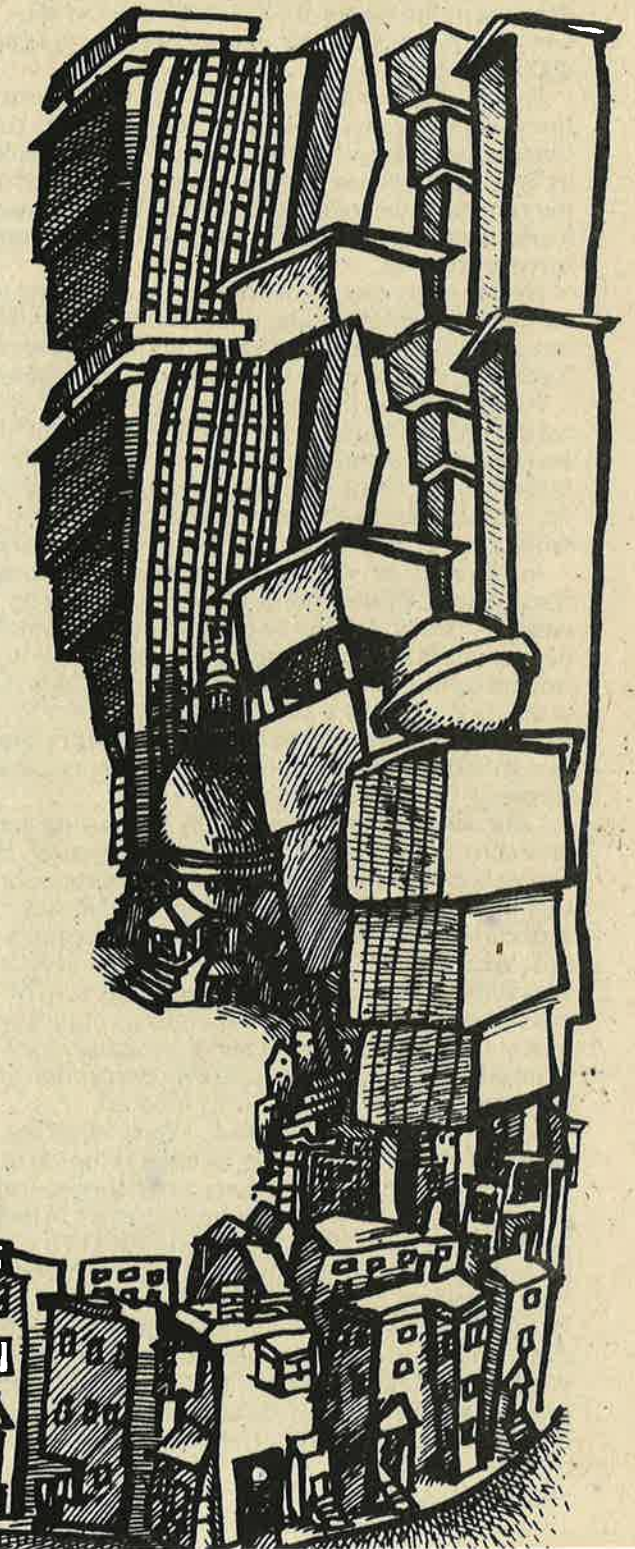
TENANTS FIRST! A Research and Organizing Guide to FHA Housing

and
COMMUNITY HOUSING DEVELOPMENT
CORPORATIONS: The Empty Promise
Urban Planning Aid, 639 Massachusetts Ave.,
Cambridge, MA

In recent years local housing struggles have increasingly gained national attention.

Nearly 60,000 people in Coop City, New York withheld \$27 million in rents for over a year despite service cutbacks, court injunctions, threatened fines and jailings of leaders, threatened utility cutoffs and the anti-strike propaganda of the mass media. After 13 months the rent strikers stabilized rents, stopped all evictions, and replaced the corrupt housing management with the strike leaders.

With the help of thousands of demonstrators chanting "we won't move" the International Hotel Tenants Association forced San Francisco officials to back down from evicting 80 elderly tenants.



In Massachusetts, the Tenants First Coalition, a statewide group of tenant unions numbering over 4,000 people, has been fighting a large corporate landlord for over six years using rent strikes and eviction blocking.

In Michigan, the Ann Arbor Tenants Union (AATU) after six years of tenant militancy including rent strikes, won an unprecedented collective bargaining agreement with one of the city's largest landlords. The settlement means lower rents, better maintenance and most significantly, control over lease clauses in the future.

In what is shaping up as a massive rent strike, growing at the rate of 30-40 apartments per day, Detroit's public housing tenants are uniting against a 400% rent hike.

Rural tenants in Pennsylvania and Hawaii are using direct action to save their homes against large corporate developers. Mobile homeowners are striking in Delaware. In New Jersey the longest public housing rent strike led to tenant management. In New York an increasingly more militant squatters movement is growing.

Nearly every city in the country is witnessing rent strikes, eviction blocking, tenant takeovers and other struggles against unscrupulous landlords, greedy banks and the uncaring machinery of government.

Accompanying the emerging movement is a political debate that has divided the left throughout history and has serious implications for the future of the housing movement. Shall wealth and property be divided or shared? Should the housing activists emphasize private cooperative or public housing?

In other words, will housing activists side with those who on the one hand advocate dividing up wealth—protecting the ownership rights of small homeowners and encouraging cooperatives and private community development corporations. Or will activists emphasize public ownership or municipalization of private rental housing, and tenant actions that will forge alliance with groups intent on overthrowing the whole system.

Colin Ward, a British authority on housing and anarchist propagandist, sides with the former. His recent book **Housing: An Anarchist Approach** brings together articles covering 30 years of advocacy of the anarchist path to housing. He includes accounts of the post World War II squatters movement and of do it yourself housing in Britain and elsewhere. In his discussion of public housing he blames its failure on the lack of tenant involvement and the imposition of official policies on people whose own perception of their housing needs is systematically ignored.

In the fourth part of the book, Ward raises the question of professionals vs. people, bringing to mind Lewis Mumford's exhortation to a whole generation of planners, architects and administrators to look beyond their own conflicting specialities to the larger problem of creating a humane environment for human beings. Unfortunately, much of Ward's book is disconnected and uninspiring. Those interested in these ideas and in most of the topics covered by Ward would be better off reading Paul and Percy Goodman's *Communities: Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life*, Lewis Mumford's *The City in History* and

Murray Bookchin's *The Limits of the City*.

The closing part of the book addresses the question of ownership. Ward argues against municipalization of private rented housing and for independent housing cooperatives. The State is the enemy, the ethos is voluntarism, the strategy tenant controls through private cooperatives.

Tenant "control" or self management is undoubtedly an important short term means of ameliorating the most authoritarian aspects of bureaucratic and private landlord control. But there are limitations that belie its radical potential. Ward himself raises a number of objections to his version of tenant control including that "tenant takeovers presuppose and exalt the virtues of ownership, while in a desirable social order private ownership of real property would not exist." Ward adds, "... I believe in social ownership of social assets, but I think it's a mistake to confuse society with the state. Co-operative ownership seems to me to be a better concept of social ownership than ownership by the state or by the municipality." Ward concedes "... that a great deal of education will be needed before we achieve tenant control. ... Before you start a co-operative society you have to have some grasp of cooperative principles. Any tenants' association that takes the idea serious would have to set out on a long campaign of education and propaganda."

Moreover, the demands for ownership by a few are not only easily incorporated into the present system but tend to coopt those making the demand from engaging in larger political activity. It is not the content of the demands for tenant control, but the circumstances in which they are made which must be questioned.

Earlier attempts at workers control and worker's self management at the factory are instructive.

Germany is an example of workers control without public ownership (nationalization). In the coal and steel industries, management and labor have equal representation on the bodies that manage the industries. In other German industries workers elect a smaller percentage of the board of directors.

Workers limit the power of management by joining in assuming responsibility for production quotas, patterns of investment and other management decisions but have no power to direct the whole economy in any essential way. Ultimate economic power remains with those persons who provide capital for industry: large shareholders, the banks. The role of the workers is really advisory since the right to select among a number of options is determined from above.

Tenant ownership or "control" in the US is similar to "workers control" in Germany since there is no public ownership of the housing industry and the capital that finances it. The dangers of this type of tenant ownership are excellently spelled out in two books published by Urban Planning Aid, 639 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Massachusetts: **Tenants First! A Research and Organizing Guide to FHA Housing**, and **Community Housing Development Corporations: The Empty Promise**.

Faced with financial squeeze and the increasing threat of organized tenants, many owners want to get rid of their developments. These two books warn that tenants desiring control over their living conditions



Grassroots/LNS

may end up bailing out their landlords and saddling themselves with immense problems and inadequate resources to deal with them. Like the factory workers tenants often find themselves with increased responsibility and less control.

As **Tenants First** points out, most major expense items of existing apartment buildings are not subject to much control by the owners. In many projects mortgage payments take about 40% or more of the rents. Property taxes take about 15% to 20%, utility bills 10% to 15%, insurance 2% to 3% and a management staff 5% of the rents. At least 3/4 of the rent goes for costs that are beyond tenants control. The remaining 20% to 25% which tenant owners can control has to cover maintenance and repairs, and usually much more money is needed for repairs and maintenance since the landlord has milked the building without spending for needed upkeep.

Eventually the resident board in "control" inevitably reaches the point where it must choose between raising rents to cover increased costs or letting the building go into default and possible foreclosure.

Changing ownership patterns in housing will not put decision making power in the hands of tenants. Tenants may own the building but they still don't control the sources of capital needed to repair and build. It may be possible to go out into the market and borrow the capital to buy or build, but tenants must pay the market price for capital, land, and construction (or pay the taxes to subsidize these prices). And once new housing is built or cooperatives bought, it's not only necessary to repay the borrowed capital but there is no way to prevent increases in the cost of utilities, property taxes, insurance, maintenance and so on.

Michael Stone, one of the authors of **Tenants First** writing in an academic journal sums up the problem:

Effective housing strategies can only be based upon an understanding of the relationship of the housing problem to the distribution of income, the structure of the capital markets, the role of the state, the significance of private ownership of land and housing production, and not be limited to a focus on owners and ownership of dwellings. That is, the housing problem must be understood in terms of the structure and in-

herent contradictions of the institutions of capitalism, and strategies must be based upon a recognition of the economic as well as political necessity of altering this entire set of institutions before a solution is really possible

Activists need to form citywide and state wide tenant organizations and exert pressure on the owners, banks, and all levels of government through rent strikes, demonstrations and political action. In addition the movement must raise the fundamental questions of power and profit and begin to develop coalitions, political organizations and class consciousness that will lead towards a socialist or radical democracy.

Tenant control is a humane, democratic form of public housing, but should not be presented as an alternative to public ownership. Cooperative housing may not be the best strategy but for many tenants it is a necessary short term option, even though it runs the risk of leading to a greater financial burden. Moreover, when cooperative housing is a result of a political struggle—a squatters action, a rent strike which drives the landlord out of business—those involved begin to realize there is a class enemy that is responsible for their problems and that even ordinary people, when united, can do something about it.

The need to overcome cynicism and powerlessness underlies the larger significance of the housing movement. A majority of Americans have been taught since the day they were born that history is not of their making—that human nature never changes. Any changes that do come are a result of great men, deities or national forces, not their collective effort. Therefore, by including experiences such as tenant takeovers and cooperatives, as part of the strategy, the housing movement demonstrates that "ordinary" people can shape their own destinies.

The housing movement is growing numerically and politically. No tenant organization however, is on the verge of taking power in their municipality or area, and the long range effect in terms of contributing significantly to the movement for social change is not yet clear. Nevertheless, what is happening in housing struggles is at times exciting, has definitely led to successes, and has revolutionary potential.

— John Atlas



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RADIO ACTIVITY is WBAI's ongoing coverage of the fight against nuclear energy. Tune into 99.5 fm on the first and third Thursday of each month at 8:30 PM.

If you are interested in disarmament, feminism, war tax resistance, nonviolence or organizing a WRL local chapter and you live in the South, then please contact the new War Resisters League Southeast Regional Office, 108 Purefoy Road, Chapel Hill, NC 27514. 919-967-7244.

PUBLICATIONS

"NCLC is alive & the anti-nuke, alternative energy movement is their latest target!" Send 13¢ stamp for copy of article (6-7-77) on what they're trying to do to the Clamshell Alliance. The people united will not be defeated. Be aware. We will win, without violence! (Terrorism is the Government's Tool.) Order copies from: COLT, Box 271-W, Newvernon, NJ 07976.

Memoirs of a Solar Greenhouse. Tales of a solar shack built from junk in a cold, cold winter. Plans with photos & drawing. \$2 from E. J. Whiting, 328 John St., Ann Arbor 48104.

JOURNAL OF WORLD EDUCATION has a special summer issue on Education and Human Rights. JWE, Box W, 3 Harbor Hill Drive, Huntington, New York 11743.

Phoenix Poems, 22 poems about being a woman, by Joan Freewoman. Available for \$2.00: Movement for a New Society, 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143.

PRODUCTS

Holly Near, Victor Jara, Margie Adams and about a hundred more women's, labor and other political records available through Bread and Roses Mail Order Catalogue, 1724 20th NW, Washington, DC 20009. Most albums \$5.50 + .50 postage. Write us for any political record or for free catalog.

If you have a copy of the "Active Nonviolence" slide show there is now available a cassette of the script recorded by Vivian Sandlund of the Clamshell Alliance. Several sets of the slide show are still available at cost. For details contact Larry Gara, 21 Faculty Place, Wilmington, Ohio 45177. (513) 382-3569.

"WE CAN STOP THE NUKES—SEABROOK '77" Bumpersticker available for a donation (pay whatever you can afford—all proceeds go to the Clamshell Alliance, Seabrook, N.H.) Order from Kate Donnelly, Box 271-W, Newvernon, NJ 07976. Send 13¢ stamp for information on nuclear power.

"Committed to Change" is a cooperative board game designed to teach about women and minority group people who have contributed to American history. Appropriate for school or family use, the game

is geared toward high school level adults. It's available for \$5.00 from: Nancy Schniedewind, 155 Plains Road, New Paltz, New York 12561.

SERVICES

The Brandywine Alternative Fund is a group of Delaware and Chester County Pennsylvania citizens working to reorder priorities away from military programs of war and war production to a greater emphasis on people's needs and social development. Besides sponsoring educational and action programs, the group is making a small yet positive step to reorder priorities with the "alternative fund." This fund, comprised of refused war taxes, personal savings, and group investments, makes interest-free loans to social change and service groups (primarily working in Chester and Delaware counties). For information about Brandywine Alternative Fund loans contact: The Brandywine Alternative Fund, 302 S. Jackson St., Media, PA 19063. (215) 565-0247.

The Fatted Sprout is an alternative food service with a conscience. We can provide low cost, individually-tailored vegetarian food for organizations and groups from 25 to 3000. We are a collective within The Movement for a New Society. Contact us if we can help you with food issues or food for your group: 906 S. 49th St., Philadelphia, PA 19143, (215) 729-5698.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

"Peace Intern," full-time position with Rhode Island American Friends Service Committee. One-year apprenticeship in nonviolent social change organizing. Starting Date: September 6, 1977. Stipend: \$200/month plus free room. Application deadline: August 1, 1977. Contact: AFSC, 2 Stimson Avenue, Providence, Rhode Island 02906. Phone: (401) 751-4488.

Woolman Hill, very small, very alternative high school/farm collective in Western Massachusetts is looking for three people with energy for teenagers and specific skills in: outreach and fundraising; counseling and office work; general maintenance and auto repair. Room/board and low pay, close community, beautiful spot: Write about yourself. Woolman Hill, Deerfield, Mass. 01342.

Position available. National coordinator for Friendship, coalition of organizations seeking normalization of relations with Vietnam and providing people-to-people aid for post war reconstruction. Must have knowledge of Vietnam, organizational experience and able to live in NYC. Movement wage. Apply: Friendship, 777 UN Plaza, NYC 10017. Tel: 212-490-3910.

WIN's computerized mailing service cooperative needs a responsible, conscientious, self-motivated new staff person to start by Sept. No technical skills are needed since we provide training. The work requires the ability to work with others and an organized mind and work habits. We need some one with a long term commitment to providing the communications lifeblood of the movement. Reasonable movement salary. Community Mailing Service Inc., 3525 Lancaster Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Phone 215-EV2-6096.

Seeking more social change workers (poverty, peace, feminism, anti-nukes, etc.) to live/work in Maine. Room and board provided. Write L. Dansinger, RFD 1, Newport, Maine 04953.

New Midwest research institute seeks unselfish, socially-conscious, non-careerist, MA-PhD MOVEMENT fund-raisers. Prefer economists, political-scientists, etc. Semi-scholarly studies on war-peace reconversion, etc. Applicants must READ Gross and Osterman "The New Professionals" pp 33-77, Studs Terkel "Working" pp 525-527, 537-540, Claudia Dreifus "Radical Lifestyles," and address themselves to the contents of this advertisement. Midwest Institute, 1206 N. 6th St., 43201.

HELP!

I'm looking for information (in English) about the split in the Japanese anti-nuclear movement between Gensuikin and Gensuikyo. Would be interested in hearing from people with first-hand

knowledge or with ideas about references. Contact Ian Lind, 1139-9th Ave. #41, Honolulu, HI 96816.

Prisoner seeks information, articles, periodicals—on Taoists Lao Tzu/Chuang Tzu and other related philosophy & ideas. Richard G. MacDonald, 28987-120, PO Box 33 USP, Terre Haute, Ind. 47808.

Convict desperately needs communication with movement people who might assist in obtaining out of state parole. Eddie Hoskins #144-731, PO Box 45699, Lucasville, Ohio 45699.

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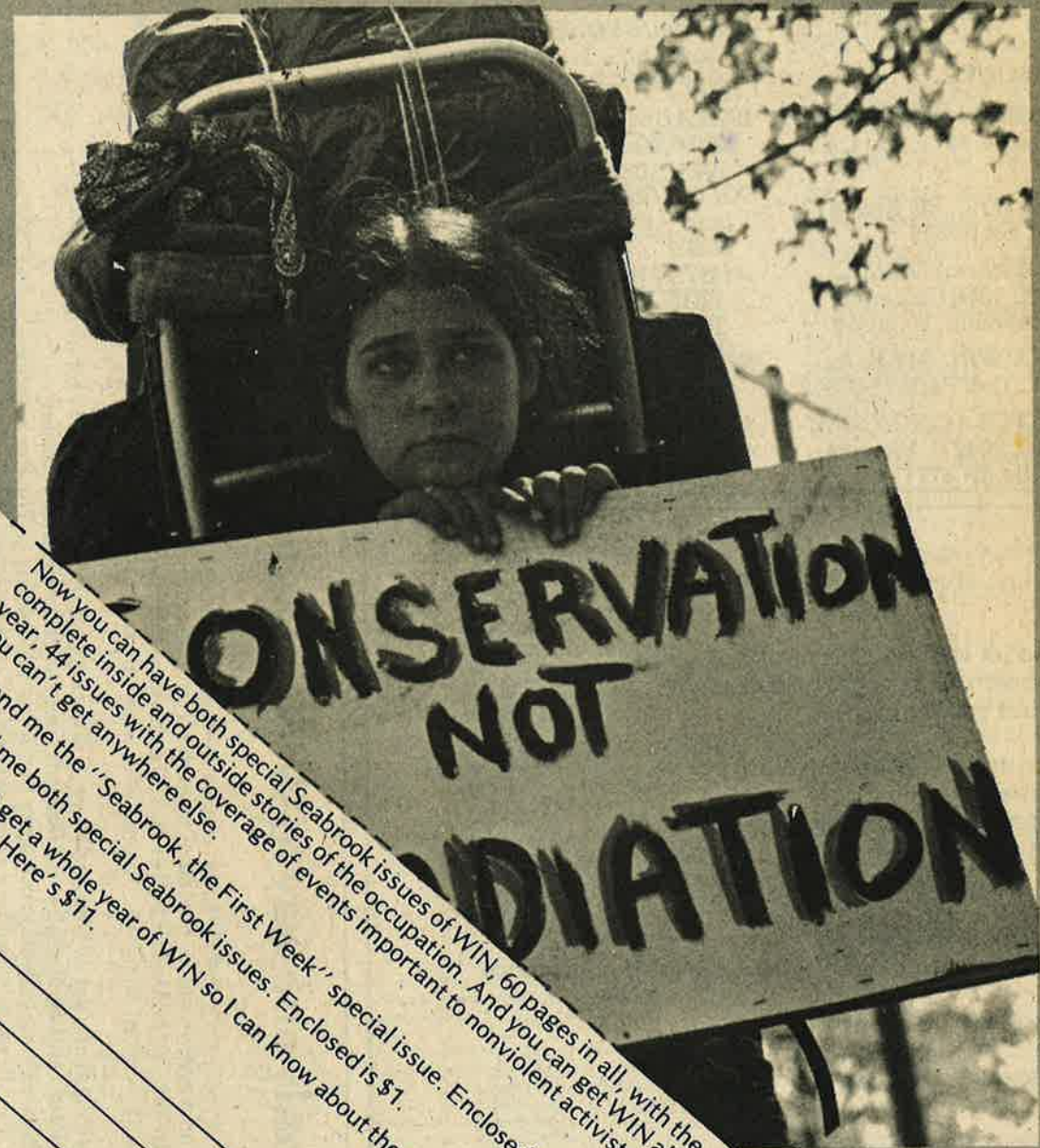
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