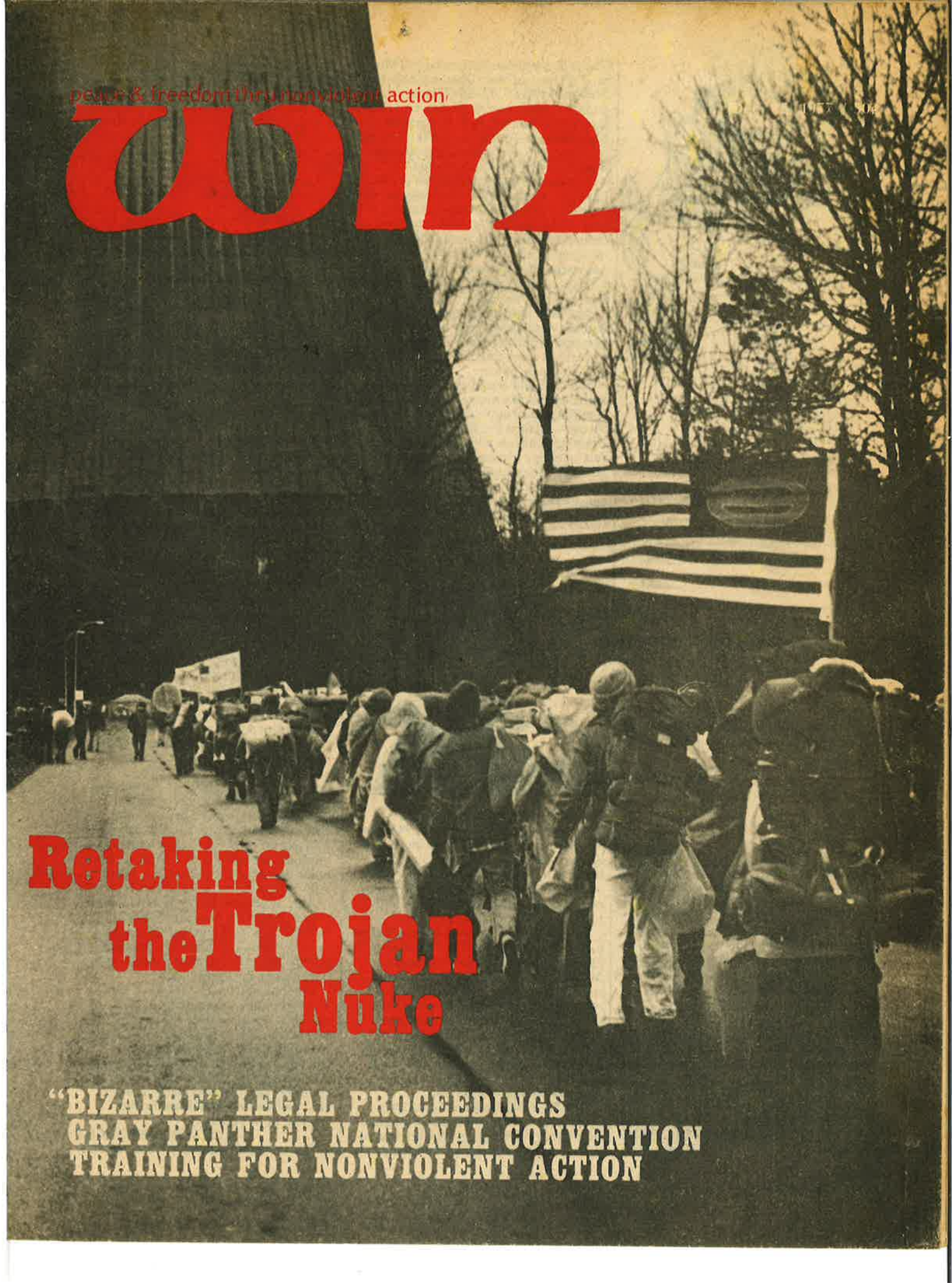


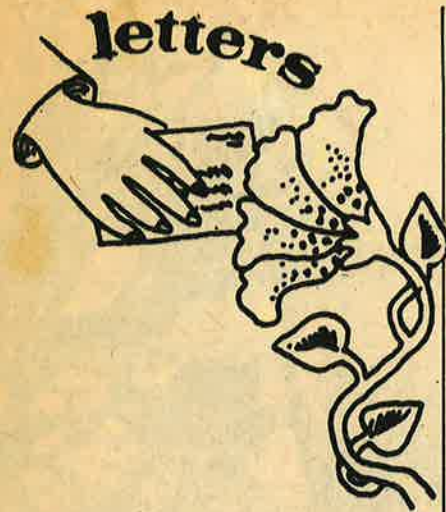
peace & freedom thru nonviolent action

# win



## Retaking the Trojan Nuke

“BIZARRE” LEGAL PROCEEDINGS  
GRAY PANTHER NATIONAL CONVENTION  
TRAINING FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION



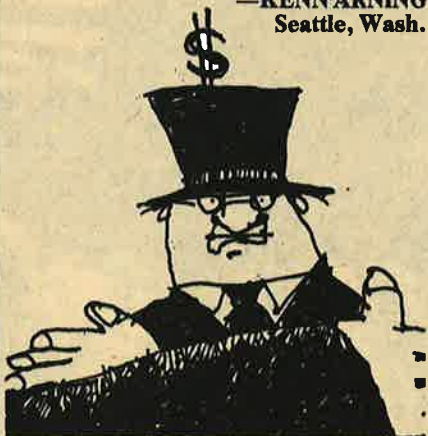
The article by Alan Tuttle and Bill Moyer on Overcoming Male Domination in the Movement (WIN, 11/10/77) was superb. The article really hits the nail on the head and echos my feelings. The Movement and our society at large really need positive, loving, courageous male models as Alan and Bill provide.

Sexism and male domination can be hard to see or face for many men. But the time has come for a major emphasis on overcoming male power. So many of the failures in radical groups and the Left movement have been directly caused by unaware males, dominating group process and being unwilling to examine their oppressive behavior.

Just as I hope that no male WIN readers would knowingly use nuclear power or act out of white racial power—I urge these same radicals to rid themselves of male power.

Alan and Bill clearly outline the steps men need to take to move away from culturally induced oppressive behavior. Please—all men reading this letter, examine your role within groups, in your relationships to men and women and to your self. Seek support from other men, form support groups within your radical caucus and get in touch with all your wonderful loving feelings.

—KENN ARNING  
Seattle, Wash.



I enjoyed your article on Workers' Cooperatives in the November 24 issue. Workers' co-ops can provide increased employment, participatory democratic decision-making in the workplace, and equality of income through worker self-owned, self-managed industries and services—it's an exciting concept!

I'd like to refer people who want more information on this to **The New Harbinger, A Journal of the Cooperative Movement**, Vol. IV, No. 3, which contains four articles, an editorial, and a reading list on workers' co-ops. Some of the information in the **New Harbinger** duplicates that in the WIN article, but a lot is in more depth, including an article on a Farmworkers' co-op in California and one on necessary conditions for workers' co-ops to flourish.

The **New Harbinger** is a quarterly journal, and would no doubt be of great interest to WIN readers who are into co-ops. A sample issue costs \$1.00, sub-

—DAVID MILLSTEIN  
Venice, Ca.

scriptions are \$8 per year. Write The New Harbinger, Box 1301, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

—BILL MEACHAM  
Inter-Cooperative Council  
Austin, Texas.

We are in the process of producing a booklet on the nonviolent occupations of Seabrook nuclear power plant site, using a lot of WIN material for it and hope that is all right with you.

I am following all the discussions on Seabrook and the armories very closely as I want to include evaluations in the booklet as well.

As we nonviolent people here have difficulties in putting our case to most people of the left, e.g. the various communist groups who rather believe non-violence to be a burden, I would appreciate reactions to Seabrook by Marxist and similar groups in the USA.

Some months ago you printed my article on the anti-nukes village of Grohnde which by now has been dissolved by the police. I feel I owe you another report at least on that part, and will try to do so, but not for another three to five weeks I fear. The new trick by authorities is to burden the demonstrators and occupiers of such a site with the costs of the police. So for Grohnde the 202 occupiers (when it was cleared by police) are to pay around 3-400 dollars and in Brookdorf about 1,800 dollars each. That seems an efficient way to break resistance in damaging peoples livelihood.

The 10th of Nov. was more or less another black day in the anti-nukes movement. Trade unions arranged a pro-nuclear demonstration. While 40,000 participants were announced the papers of today did not carry numbers, and radio-news-speakers differed between 20 and 40,000. As the purpose of the demonstration was to call for securing enough workplaces the Kraftwerksunion e.g. agreed to pay transportation of 5,000 of its workers plus pocket money each. (Kraftwerksunion just announced that they are to deliver four more nukes to Iran.)

Also, it became known behind the scenes that the union, together with Arbeitskreis Atomenergie (a new get together of nukes-industry), are each paying half of the costs of the rally in the big stadium in Dortmund.

Not long ago the Executive of the Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund had demanded a limited stop of construction work on nukes. This demand has now been changed. They now call for finishing all plants under construction. And contrary to some earlier tendencies the FDP (Liberals) decided this week that we can not live without further nuclear power plants.

—HELGA WEBER-ZUCHT  
Kassel-Bettenhausen, West Germany

To all those fighting abortion, I'd like to have you experience one year (or a lesser time, if you can't take it) of living and working with these unwanted children and youth. Go with them through the courts and jails. Broken homes and failure in class and on playground are a real part of their lives. If they are not wanted at home they will likely have trouble on the job too, granted they were given a chance at some low paying employment.

In the news recently are many cases of child beatings and wife abuse. These will demand more of our attention—and taxes—in the near future. These are happening right here in our midst—not some far away state.

Further, when abortions are not permitted, then the "cheap expert" is sought, only to result in untold suffering and death of the mother, in a high number of cases. (Your double standard is showing! Why doesn't the father

pay—in mind or matter, spirit or social "prestige?")

If you are so against taking human life, what did you do about our part in our wars—and weapons manufacture and sales? What are you doing about ROTC coming into our schools?

I would hope that each anti-abortion person (man or woman) is ready and willing to give the necessary time and loving care to find or furnish a home for the unwanted children—who are not responsible for their condition in life. Adopted children in a loved environment have a great chance to succeed—even may have their own happy home, someday.

Let's be consistent and stop claiming Christianity until we pour greater efforts into protecting human life at all levels and for all peoples.

GEO. D. WEYBRIGHT  
Syracuse, Ind.



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Cover: Occupiers approaching Trojan plant. Photo by Marcia Barrentine.

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# Retaking the Trojan Nuke

by Norman Solomon

If the second occupation of the Trojan nuclear power plant is any indication, we can expect increasing sophistication from "law enforcement" authorities in their attempts to cope with the growth of an anti-nuclear movement that is willing and able to resort to steadily-larger nonviolent civil disobedience actions. For the movement, this indicates the need for our contingency planning to become more extensive, our nonviolence training more thorough, and our realization more deeply-rooted that anti-nuclear occupations have emerged as a serious threat to multi-billion-dollar investments.

The 123 arrests in front of Trojan's gates the day after Thanksgiving came less than four months after the first Trojan occupation, when 82 occupiers were arrested after blocking the plant's gates for 38 hours. This time the occupying group was more prepared, our planning more coordinated; but even so, we had underestimated the secretive flexibility of the government, which was unwilling to keep its strategy static as it watched our numbers growing.

The first hint that we would be facing tactical innovations came in the morning, as we stood at our staging area a half-mile from the plant property. Getting ready for the march toward Trojan, we heard through our lawyers that the Columbia County district attorney was offering us a deal: citations and assignment of court dates on the spot at Trojan. As we discussed the offer in affinity groups and then at a spokes meeting, there was no enthusiasm for agreeing to treat the occupation like a traffic violation. Within half an hour the 123 occupiers had reached a consensus: *No*. We were there to occupy, and we would proceed as planned.

We walked onto the Trojan access road at about noon, and divided to cover the four gates. A seven-inch snow had covered the area three days earlier — western Oregon's largest snowstorm in nine years — but no snow was left on the ground as we sat in front of the gates. We unpacked as a drizzle turned into a medium rain.

An hour later, the same voice that had awakened occupiers in August was now back over a loud-speaker, ordering "unauthorized personnel" to leave the premises. About 40 minutes later, the second warning came. Then the lines of state troopers, this time clad in yellow raincoats and rainhats, marched forward and began grabbing

occupiers. Some walked with police; others were dragged across the wet cement. There were a number of detours through rain puddles.

We were taken to a striped police tent, photographed, fingerprinted, handcuffed with use-once throw-away plastic bands (everyone was handcuffed this time, in contrast to August when only men were), and loaded onto three buses: two yellow school buses and a gray bus with a "CD" emblem on its side. The gray bus registration card said it was owned by the Civil Defense department of a nearby county; presumably it would be used to evacuate the area in case of a nuclear accident.

"We say no to nuclear power," occupiers sang on the buses. "We want to build a better tomorrow. / We say no to nuclear power. / It's our lives, and we say no."

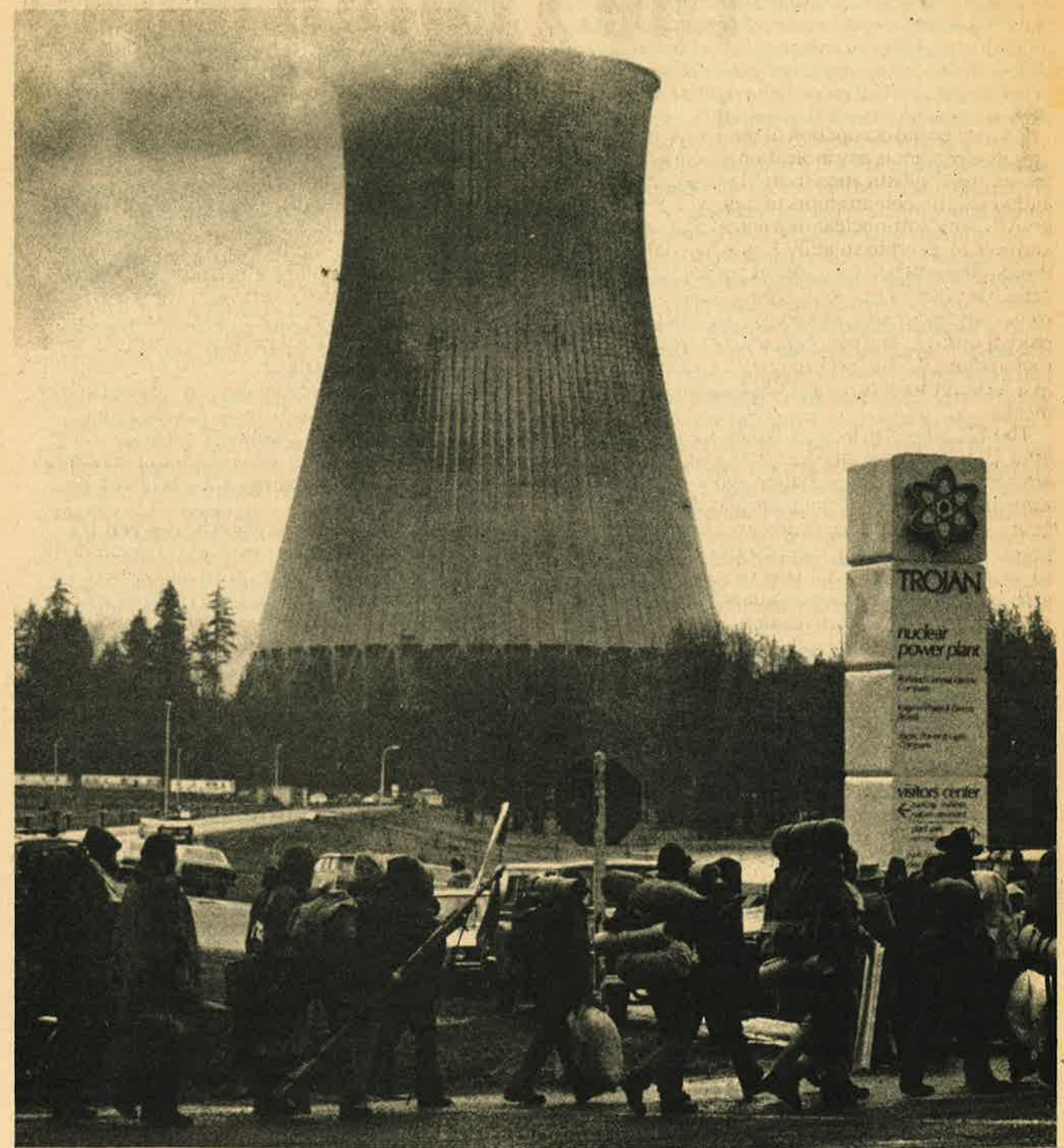
Rolling through the countryside, the land seemed beautiful, but sorrowful as it surrounded a nuclear plant generating so much radioactive waste (about 175 pounds every day). Cows grazed in pastures along the roadway; I thought about the new studies confirming that routine radioactive emissions from nuclear plants are poisoning milk and causing increased cancer rates.

Last time we had been taken to a jail in the county seat, St. Helens. This time the first part of the route was the same, but the drivers made a right turn and took us through more farmland to the Columbia County Fairgrounds, then through the barbed-wire-topped fence to a building marked "Fair Pavilion."

Inside we found ourselves in a large eight-sided room with cement floors and cement walls. It was easy to imagine bazaars, square dances, bake sales, cattle shows, cat shows and the like. A couple of dozen police were in the room; one of them began cutting off our handcuffs. When the last busload of occupiers emerged into the room, we applauded loudly, and chanted: "The People United Will Never Be Defeated."

The room felt spacious, and our spirits were high. Overhead, beaming down from the modern church-style cone-shaped ceiling, numerous electric lamps sent down strong light. Some people began playing volleyball with a tied-up sweater, taking turns being the net with outstretched arms. It seemed that we were going to be able to stay together, bask in our unity, with those in positions of "authority" forced to deal with us in a straightforward manner. This turned out to be illusion.

*Norman Solomon is a WIN correspondent active in the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance.*



Occupiers marched onto the access road on the way to the Trojan gates. Photo by Kit Dooley.

\* \* \* \* \*

Consensus among Trojan Decommissioning Alliance affinity groups had previously come up with positions on solidarity among occupiers once arrested: "No one will leave the jail unless we all leave together, except in cases of personal need of individual occupiers. Occupiers refuse to pay any bail, with the option of changing the decision while in jail. Occupiers will respect the right of any person who chooses to have bail posted."

Soon after arriving in the pavilion, occupiers reaffirmed those positions. It had, after all the preparation, seemed like an easy occupation; hardly enough time to get our feet wet.

Police asked what would be our preference for food. A good half-hour was consumed on this "issue," in which time we decided we wanted to eat food supplied by our support people, a request which officials refused. We were asked if we wanted chicken dinners, and they were sent in before we had a chance to formulate a group response. We were first told that if we didn't take the food—small boxes of Kentucky Fried Chicken—then it would be thrown away; later we were told anything not taken by us would be given to others elsewhere. We were told that whatever we didn't take within ten minutes would be removed immediately; half an hour later the boxes of food were still sitting there. Our energy was siphoned into discussing what stance to take on the offered food, proposals for fasts, etc., when in retrospect there were far more important things that needed to be discussed.

We were being lulled into a sense of security in which we began to take things more casually.

Soon after the dinner, we had an enlarged spokes meeting attended by nearly all the occupiers. It was like the Kentucky Fried Chicken dynamic all over again, with more serious implications this time. Having been informed of the possibility that we could have a mass arraignment for all the occupiers at once, we decided in favor of that idea; as soon as we'd made our decision, we learned that it was irrelevant—the two county judges would be arraigning occupiers in side rooms off the pavilion in groups of ten at a time.

Our sense of unity was very strong; our solidarity positions seemed very strong. We knew it was quite likely that first-time occupiers with Oregon addresses—and there were over a hundred occupiers in that category—would be offered personal recognizance. There was consensus on refusing to sign any personal recognizance release form until the judges would also release all those arrested—including the seven second-time occupiers and 13 out-of-state occupiers. Our leverage on the situation seemed secure.

And so it was hardly upsetting when the news first came out of the initial arraignment that second-time occupiers were being required to post \$500 in cash for bail to be released, and that out-of-state occupiers were being required to put up \$50 each. The state was putting our solidarity to the

test, and we felt sure it would hold. There was jubilation in the air.

\* \* \* \* \*

Suddenly there was commotion next to one of the exits in the Pavilion. Several state troopers were aggressively grabbing at a few people sitting on the floor. In contrast to the dragging of people away from the plant gates earlier in the day, the wrestling motions of the police seemed to be swiftly escalating—as though the troopers were starting to attack selected individuals.

Many of the occupiers in the pavilion moved toward the conflict. An occupier suggested that we get into affinity groups. A response insisted there was no time for that, people were being dragged out. Then someone shouted "Sit down!" ("In any confrontation situation with 'authorities' it is recommended that occupiers sit down," the Alliance training handbook had said), and the occupiers sat on the floor.

Moments later the lights went off, and the huge room went dark. There was a sense of freezing in the tension; one unexpected event piled on another, our situation suddenly feeling vulnerable. Spontaneously—in three months of planning sessions I had never heard it suggested—a low chant began filling the air: "OOOOOOOMMMMMM." It seemed to steady the air. The chant faded out, gradually softer. After perhaps 30 seconds of total darkness (it felt much longer), the lights came on partway; in the semi-light there was an eerie, frozen stillness, the unmoving figures of police officers silhouetted against the bare walls. Incongruously, it was as if we all were in a theater at the close of a scene, the house lights dimmed to reveal shadowed form with no detail, motionless.

When the lights came back on, our immediate situation became apparent—something none of us had seriously considered a real possibility—forcible eviction from incarceration as people refused to sign personal recognizance agreement forms at arraignment. Meanwhile the room was filling up with state police. Within a couple of minutes there were 95 police troopers standing at attention around the perimeter of the room, having marched in with military precision, their rounded wooden nightsticks conspicuously strapped to their sides.

The situation could have provided an interesting backdrop for examining patterns of liberalism—Oregon after all has a reputation for being among the most progressive states, and its governors in the past few decades have been uniformly characterized as liberals. But our immediate interests were more than theoretical. Most of us had the distinct impression it was quite possible that people would be beat up by the state's finest.

The scenario, as I imagined it in one of my more "paranoid" and perhaps more astute moments, could run something like this: Attempts to evict more people eligible for personal recognizance;

lights going out again; people being clubbed; lights going on with bloodied people being removed; the official story immediately stating that police had found it necessary to subdue prisoners who were causing disturbances and/or attacking people. The result: not only a cover-story, but also a way of tarnishing the completely nonviolent public record of Trojan occupiers, and diverting attention from the nuclear issue.

No matter what the cause or source, it seemed we could only stand to lose—physically and in terms of public impact—from a violent confrontation. Many of us were well aware that our nonviolent reputation as a group had a protective effect in lessening the chances of overt police aggression, as well as gaining us added support among the general population. In a way, as we sat on the pavilion floor, we seemed boxed in by our own preoccupation with maintaining a nonviolent image. The implicit threats of violence in the last few minutes gave the state a leverage we hadn't counted on; simply standing our ground had already resulted in the beginnings of physical aggression from police accustomed to looking at intransigence as provocation for violence.

The dilemma was intensified by our failure to anticipate the possibility that something like this would happen. Prior to the occupation, we had worked out consensus on many contingencies, but this was not one of those contingencies. People being dragged out of custody and evicted against their wills was something that hadn't crossed our minds as a serious possibility. For all our preparations, for all our cynicism about the corrupt corporate-state processes, we had been naive. And now, the sense of time pressure we felt (which we internalized as the state troopers surrounded us) prevented us from considering our options more dialectically than we did.

Meanwhile, the district attorney was telling a reporter: "We feel they don't have a constitutional right to stay in our jail."

We began to discuss our options in the one large group of over 100 occupiers remaining—all the while sensing that more of us might be dragged off at any time, sorted and either put in jail (as had already happened with a few out-of-state and second-time occupiers) or evicted from the premises (as had happened to most of the others already arraigned). With the state already having shown its willingness to physically force occupiers into "freedom," the specter of our solidarity being tried apart was upsetting.

Three proposals came under consideration: that we (1) Refuse to move from the pavilion floor, presumably forcing the state to either back down or drag people through arraignments and evict the total 103 first-time Oregon occupiers that way; (2) Agree to a group bail arrangement that had just been raised as a possibility in discussions between Alliance lawyers, the DA and the judges; (3) Walk through arraignments, physically accepting per-

sonal recognizance with the idea of regrouping outside and planning other immediate actions, perhaps including a quick re-occupation at Trojan.

For the most part the discussion was fairly sequential; a few times our process broke down and people interrupted each other. (Later self-criticism generally agreed that we should have gotten into affinity groups, or at least into one large circle rather than the random seating we were in, though the mood at the time was that we were vulnerable to being dragged off at any moment without a coherent understanding of common strategy under the changed circumstances.) Problems with option #1 seemed to include diverting the issue in the public mind (i.e., "occupying" an incarceration pavilion in addition to the nuclear plant), and risking violence we would probably be blamed for. Option #2 would mean giving the criminal justice system money, a basically distasteful idea. Option #3 would be a breach of jail solidarity, in which the bulk of occupiers would voluntarily leave the others behind.

In the midst of the discussion, which turned out to last about two hours ("If we let all of 'em talk, we'll be here until 3 o'clock tomorrow," one newspaper reported quoted a state trooper as saying), the Alliance legal team announced that it was feeling manipulated by the judge, and therefore from then on would only transmit specific messages between occupiers and the judge.

Midway through the meeting, the troopers—who'd been standing at attention in formation around us—sat down in unison on folding chairs ringing the room. This action brought immediate applause from occupiers.

A straw vote of occupiers found about 90 in favor of option #2—simultaneous release of all 123 occupiers in exchange for the total contents of the Alliance bail fund, \$2,000. Eight people said they were opposed—that essentially we were backing down in the face of intimidation tactics; "I can't stand for people to be namby-pamby," one young woman said angrily. But after more discussion, we had consensus for group bail.

It was a lousy choice; all the other options people were willing to consider seemed worse.

\* \* \* \* \*

During mass arraignment in the large pavilion room, an occupier asked the judge, James Mason, who had ordered people dragged out of the pavilion and ejected from the fairgrounds. Mason replied that he had.

Another occupier quickly followed up by asking who had decided that the lights be turned out. Judge Mason said that the lights had gone out "inadvertently," and that officials had been as "scared" by the event as everyone else. Back in Portland a couple of hours later, an occupier who had been among the first people arraigned reported that she's seen a police officer turning off a panel of light switches, and that another officer

entered the room and said, "It's all right now, you can turn them back on."

\* \* \* \* \*

Police conduct throughout the day hardly seemed haphazard. There is every reason to believe that the governor, liberal Robert Straub, was personally calling the shots. (During the first occupation, newspaper accounts later revealed, he had decided when arrests would take place, using his command of the state police as a lever against Portland General Electric Company's request for more immediate arrests.) Oregon State Police Chief Robert Fisher was present in the large pavilion room, observing our lengthy discussion in its entirety.

We were up against a state apparatus using particular strategies to counteract us, alternately offering compromises and implicitly threatening the use of violence.

Obviously the stakes are getting higher for all concerned as the nuclear issue continues to intensify.

Within four days of the November 25 Trojan occupation, a state legislator announced he was drafting legislation which would make it a felony to interfere with an operating nuclear power plant. The Columbia County DA chimed in, complaining that presently anti-nuclear protesters "know how not to put themselves in a position to be arrested for anything except a Class C misdemeanor, namely second-degree criminal trespass, punishable by a maximum penalty of 30 days in jail and a \$250 fine." He theorized that a new law might act as a deterrent against future occupations by creating a felony with a penalty of up to five years in prison for "anyone who interferes substantially with the operation of a nuclear power plant."

Other responses to the second occupation have included: complaints from state and county officials about all the tax money it costs to cope with occupations; the usual well-financed refrain about costs to electric ratepayers; a utility half-page ad in both Portland daily newspapers within a day of the occupation, proclaiming that "Trojan is doing very well indeed." ("... there are those who seek very high profile ways to express their concern and

create headlines. . . . Trojan is a good, safe and necessary power plant supplying a huge amount of electrical energy to the people of this region. . . .")

Working out of offices at 215 SE 9th Avenue in Portland as well as in several other parts of the Pacific Northwest, the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance intends to do a lot of community education in the months ahead. A third Trojan occupation is now under consideration, with discussions centering around late spring or early summer.

A mass trial for the 82 people arrested at Trojan in August is scheduled to take place the week starting December 12. Making use of a "Choice of Evils" statute which proves for breaking one law (in this case trespassing) as "an emergency measure to avoid an imminent public or private injury," the Alliance is attempting to put nuclear power on trial. Two experts on effects of low-level radiation, Dr. Ernest Sternglass of the University of Pittsburgh and Dr. Rosalie Bertell of the Roswell Park Memorial Institute for Cancer Research in Buffalo, have both agreed to testify in our defense. So has a former director of the Oregon Department of Energy, Lon Topaz, who was fired by the governor in 1976 after utilities complained that his preliminary forecast on need for power was too low.

\* \* \* \* \*

The official court complaint we were each handed during arraignment says we are accused of trespassing "against the peace and dignity of the State of Oregon." Right below the accusation is the signature of the superintendent of the Trojan nuclear power plant, as if to confirm the nexus between government authority and the vicious arrogance of capital. This is the situation we find ourselves in: the state defines its own "dignity" as identical to maintenance of corporate policies portending destruction of the human race.

As we trespass against that sort of dignity at Trojan, one of our favorite songs—"This Land Is Your Land"—includes a verse we learned outside of school:

*As I was walking along the highway  
I saw a sign that said Private Property  
But on the other side it didn't say nothing;  
That side was made for you and me.*

## Legal Proceedings "Bizarre" at Trojan

by Johnny Baranski

In less than three hours the November 25th occupation of Trojan ended as Oregon Governor Bob Straub's troopers disposed of us swiftly and efficiently. (The first occupation, August 6th, lasted 38 hours!) But the arrest was merely a prelude to what a reporter from the *Oregon Journal* later described as "one of the most bizarre set of legal proceedings on record—including a mass arraignment, forcible eviction from jail and the posting of a mass bail bond," of \$2,000.

Early on in our imprisonment, the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance (TDA) legal team had advised us that the District Attorney and two judges would be arriving later in the morning to arraign us on charges of criminal trespass and set bond. In addition, we were told that second-time occupiers and "possibly" out-of-state people could be required to post bail money; but none of the battery of some ten legal minds knew for sure. Thereupon we were given the options of mass-arraignment or self-arraignment, neither of which seemed clear to spokes or their affinity groups.

As the prosecutor and judges arrived, the spokes were in the midst of their third meeting, entangled in the mass-arraignment versus self-arraignment matter. The legal team immediately approached us with a flurry of excitement, interrupting group process and overloading our already well-taxed capabilities to think clearly about legal option on top of legal option. It all seemed designed to facilitate the court's intention to dispense its so-called "justice" rather than addressing our rights and freedoms. Many first-time law breakers, new to an arrest situation and therefore unsure of options other than those given by the legal team, relied heavily on the lawyers' knowledge and advice regarding arraignment. As a consequence, we hassled, for what seemed forever, over the systemic illogic of American courtroom proprieties, as proffered by the legal help, rather than using our own creativity toward formulating an adequate response.

Time and again the legal team pressured us to make decisions about arraignment (even about combining the two occupation trials, proposed by the DA) lest we incur the wrath of the State, and in hopes of soon getting home. It was finally proposed (with little discussion, I thought) that arraignments proceed in groups of ten, according to alphabetical order of names, in small makeshift courtrooms off

Johnny Baranski is a member of the Catholic Worker community in Portland, Oregon.

the well of the pavilion.

(A note on the legal team: while all of the lawyers and their assistants were well-intentioned in their efforts to help us wade through the legal morass confronting us and, no doubt, are committed to the anti-nuclear struggle, they seemed to lack sensitivity to our decision making process and options to respond to the legal system beyond their limited view. In retrospect it appears appropriate to encourage movement lawyers to participate in non-violence training workshops with potential occupiers for future actions. We learned a hard lesson that night: while lawyers can indeed be helpful, at bottom line they are officers of the court. One plus for the legal team was the emphatic clarity with which each stated her or his position on defending us *this time and this time only*. Thus, we were not bound to them nor they to us.)

As my surname begins with B, I was among the first ten occupiers to be herded into one of the "courtrooms" for arraignment. On the way in I decided to speak for myself (within the bounds set forth in TDA policy for the action and jail/bail solidarity).

After much confusion and paper shuffling, the judge got down to the business of having the charges read, asking us if, indeed, we were the individuals named in the complaint, and explaining the availability of court appointed attorneys. Thereupon he fielded questions any of us had and issued forms requesting court appointed legal assistance. I asked the judge (Mason was his name) if we had the right to a phone call. He replied, rather surprised by my audacity to speak, "Do you have any questions about the rights I just read?" A phone call was not among them.

Finally, the judge addressed the matter of setting bail. He informed us that second-time occupiers would be required to post 10% of a \$5,000 bond; the rest of us would be freed on our own recognizance after signing a document to that effect with the condition we not return to Trojan until the current charges were litigated. Speaking for myself again, I asked the judge if he was aware of our decision to refuse compliance with any bail terms until all occupiers were equally considered and released en masse. Somewhat perturbed, but civil, he responded that such had been duly noted.

Since one of that first ten, Jim, was a second-time occupier, and because he was indigent, the judge remanded him to the custody of the County Sheriff. The rest of us objected, saying we would refuse to sign any recognizance agree-

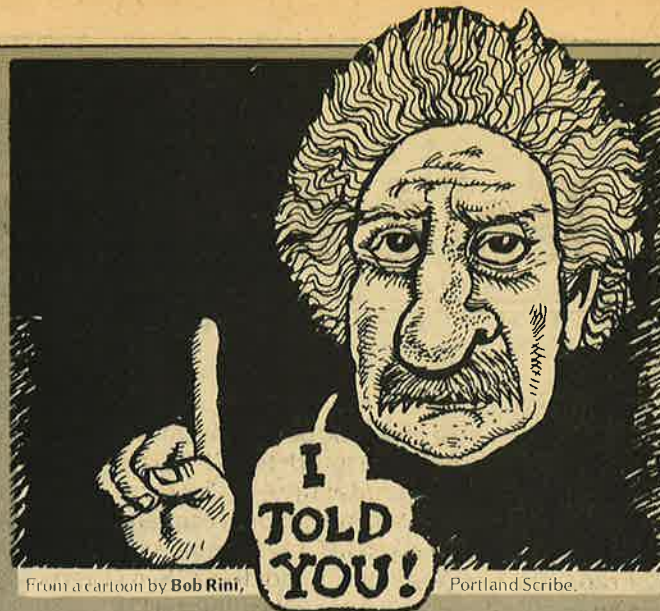
ment and thereby remain in custody ourselves until the second-timers were included in the arrangement. Rather than argue the point the judge stated there would be no need to sign any document and we were free to go.

Before taking Jim into custody and releasing us, however, the prosecutor reminded the judge that pleas had not yet been entered by the defendants. So each of us was asked what we pleaded — guilty or not guilty. Everyone, except me, pleaded, "Not guilty." Not wanting to upset my co-occupiers (nor exhibit any macho characteristics that more often than not surface from within me) but troubled by the cut and dry attitude of the speedy proceedings and our apparent powerlessness, I pleaded "an end to nuclear power." To which the judge resolutely responded by entering a plea of "Not guilty" for me.

After the legal charade was over, we began making our way to the courtroom door with the intention of joining the main body of occupiers and legal people to share our experiences, something we had agreed to do by consensus at a spokes meeting. We were suddenly stopped however, so that Sheriff's deputies could escort us from the courtroom and presumably out of the Exhibit Pavilion. After being led from the courtroom we continued walking in the direction of the other occupiers. (In the meantime, Jim was being led away to the County Jail.) Again we were stopped. Having been freed by the judge we were told that we could no longer remain jailed. Some of our group managed successfully to elude their watchful eyes; but three of us were surrounded by deputies and later a rather large and intimidating contingent of State Troopers.

Through nonviolence training workshops prior to the occupation all of us had learned that at times we would need to make a "quick decision." It was one of those times; jail/bail solidarity had been broken by power of the court (though it was still in effect as Alliance policy) and it was the obvious intent of the police to prevent the three of us from rejoining the others. After discussing our options, the three of us ultimately agreed to sit down refusing to leave, notify the main group and legal team of our decision, and wait for consensus or a possible contempt of court citation and/or charge of resisting the police.

Coincidentally, the legal team had gathered all the other defendants in the center of the pavilion to describe the initial arraignment proceedings and ready the next groups for the courtroom. As it happened, we were seen by a few of our people on the perimeter. One woman came over to ask what was happening. Explaining that we were refusing to leave until the second-timers could, we asked that she return to the others and help generate the decision-making process again on the solidarity issue. As she left us, a contingent of State Troopers



From a cartoon by Bob Rini, Portland Scribe.

began moving in to encircle and, undoubtedly, remove us from the pavilion.

Whether it was for reasons of confusion or the legal team's desire to keep the arraignment process moving, the issue we raised was not dealt with until after our forcible removal. Some three or four other occupiers managed to join with us in our resistance, locking their arms with ours, thereby making themselves vulnerable to the same consequences we might suffer.

The eviction happened so quickly as to almost not be remembered. First the troopers descended and struggled to separate us from those linked arm in arm with us. Then, perhaps three or four minutes later, we were spirited out of the pavilion and dumped beyond the main gate.

We later learned, with great relief, that those who joined us, though a bit bruised and shaken, were not in any further trouble and that the issue of jail/bail solidarity was discussed at length until consensus was reached — a mass bail bond of \$20,000 at 10% with the stipulation of promising to be in court for all further legal proceedings while, at the same time, vowing not to return to Trojan until the case was settled. To this each of the remaining defendants fixed her or his signature.

In retrospect, though our resistance solicited the force of the State and perhaps went against the grain of some occupiers who wanted to avoid confrontation, the action we decided on has raised some important issues for preparing future occupations: We need (1) more discussion and role-plays to prepare for the time immediately after arrest; (2) further exploration of nonviolent action and the concept of *nonviolent resistance*; (3) a better understanding with the legal team; and (4) a much greater period of time for affinity groups to develop, in tandem with a week-end occupation retreat where all the occupiers could get to know one another better and create a more relaxed atmosphere for decision making.

# Gray Panthers Hold National Convention

by Ruth Dear

October 27-30, over 300 people, from all over the United States, one fourth to one-third of them young people, gathered at the 4-H Center in Chevy Chase, Md. for the second national convention of Gray Panthers. I talked to Gray Panthers from San Francisco, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, San Diego, Omaha, Baltimore, Austin, Washington DC, Kansas City, Minneapolis, Madison, Miami, New York, Vermont and Connecticut. It was a busy four days marked by hard work and high spirits. "We will come out of this convention with renewed bodies and spirits, marching, singing and raising hell," National Convenor Maggie Kuhn told us at the opening session Thursday night.

That night Senator Pepper made an unexpected appearance to talk about his mandatory retirement act and to tell us that civil rights and anti-sexist legislation had eliminated discrimination in these areas. There were gasps from the audience. Dr. Paul Nathanson of the National Senior Citizens Law Center made an excellent reply: Congress could pass any number of laws but unless it also appropriated funds for enforcement and informed people of their rights, legislation was meaningless.

Friday's theme was health care. A major focus of the convention was on a no-fee national health service, community-based and tax-supported, to be made available to all. Representative Dellums, who will reintroduce his bill (HR 6894) to that effect in January, spoke to us briefly, pointing out that in 1976 \$140 billion was spent on health care in the US, even more than was poured down "that rat hole in Virginia, the Pentagon." "Very few of my colleagues will turn down socialized medicine at Walter Reed [Hospital] or Bethesda or attendance by the House physician," he added. It is the poor and oppressed who are being denied decent health care.

Dr. Question Young and Dr. Bernard Winter elaborated on this theme. Karen Ignani of the Committee for National Health Insurance presented a case for the Kennedy-Corman bill but Gray Panthers registered overwhelming support for Dellums' proposal.

Although health was supposed to be the main

Ruth Dear is the co-convenor of the Chicago Gray Panthers and is active in the Oak Park War Resisters League.

theme of the convention, the debate on a position paper, "Economic Rights-Economic Democracy," nearly stole the show, emotionally and controversially. An underpinning of GP program and philosophy is a commitment to social change. Maggie Kuhn stated in her keynote speech: "Gray Panthers must be part of the action involved in radical social change" and the next day Michael Harrington spoke on "Economic and Social Justice."

However the attempt to formulate a program for social change aroused intense feelings. There was a plea from a Farmer-Laborite from Minnesota to go more slowly. Some newly recruited people were crying as they tried to decide whether they had made too radical a commitment. In the end, this draft was never officially adopted. It is to be sent to local networks for a discussion — partly because of these reactions, partly because to socialists of all stripes it seemed inadequate.

In other resolutions the convention did urge that taxation be based on high income rather than property, that profit-making organizations be excluded from the delivery of home health care, and that Medicare-Medicaid provide home services for the chronically ill. A real first was the resolution to make all pensions subject to cost of living increases. Resolutions in support of ERA, a military embargo on South Africa, gun control, and an end to proliferation of nuclear power plants carried. A national task force on outreach to minorities was established.

Some of us, who found it hard to conceive of being near Washington DC and not having a demonstration, agitated a bit for one. Perhaps that is why on Monday, October 31, the day after the convention, about 50 Gray Panthers were recruited for a picket line outside the Chamber of Commerce in support of the bill for an office of consumer representation. Feelings about this were mixed. Some participants felt this had not been prepared with the usual thoroughness, especially since we were invited in and served coffee and anti-consumer legislation propaganda without having a ready reply. Others, however, were extremely enthusiastic about the action, feeling we were carrying out Maggie's closing words to the convention: "We are on a pilgrimage but also a lark."

**T**raining for nonviolent action is enjoying a resurgence in this country, especially in the nonviolent movement against nuclear power. As Marty Jezer has emphasized in previous issues of WIN, organizers of the Clamshell and other non-nukes alliances are using training regularly to improve on the "do it yourself" style that characterized many actions and organizing styles during the Indochina peace movement.

Training for nonviolent action was first conducted in this country by the Congress on Racial Equality in the 1940's. Training was a basis of organizing throughout the civil rights movement, where it was used primarily to prepare activists for protection in case of attack, but also to develop strategy, leadership, and citizen participation skills. Training for nonviolent action was developed in the Indian movement for independence among *satyagrahi* and has continued to be important in the Shanti Sena movement in India, preparing participants for reconciliation work during inter-religious riots and the Bangladesh-West Pakistan crisis, as well as for non-cooperation with the State of Emergency in 1975-76.

This past July, 74 nonviolent activists, trainers, and scholars joined in an International Seminar on Training for Nonviolent Action (ISTNA) at Cuernavaca, Mexico. This was not the first international conference for trainers in nonviolent action, and nonviolent activists have convened regularly in War Resisters International triennials, Pax Christi, and other associations. However, ISTNA was significant as a gathering of the broadest representation of varying cultures and experience in organizing and training for nonviolent action yet.

Conceived by participants at the International Conference of Peace Researchers and Peace Activists in 1975 and organized during two years of work by Beverly Woodward, Elaine Lilly, and a supportive international committee representing five continents, the International Seminar on Training for Nonviolent Action set out to be "a new initiative of the international nonviolence movement to strengthen the worldwide network of nonviolent action groups and to make further advances in the field of training."

Participants came from 32 countries; 29 were from third world countries in Asia, Latin America, and Africa, 23 were Europeans, 15 North Americans; and 19 were women.

In the first days, participants collected a list of expectations which ranged at least as wide as the original conference purposes, for example: develop an international exchange program for trainers and organizers; discover how cultural differences among participants affect nonviolent

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## Training for Nonviolent Action

Story and photographs by Peter Klotz-Chamberlin

action; explore how Paulo Friere's pedagogy of conscientization could work as an organizing method in industrialized countries; learn how to construct groups democratically and how to respect and reflect human dignity in groups; find an issue on which to coordinate nonviolent action worldwide; find ways for activists in the first and third worlds together to build pressure for human rights; learn experiences and nonviolent training methods of others; identify different training styles; explore relationships between nonviolent activists and socialists; discuss the struggle for demilitarization and how it can be related to global change; explore possibilities for training in nonviolent action on issues which transcend national boundaries, e.g., nuclear weapons and energy, imperialism.

Despite a suggested program prepared by the conference organizers, participants were nearly unanimous in discarding the original structure and working long hours during regional caucuses and coordinating committee meetings (composed of one representative from each continent) to redesign the order and topic of workshops, plenary meetings, and training sessions every four or five days. It was a sure sign that responsible anarchism is alive and kicking in nonviolent activists throughout the world!

The first workshops were attempts to inventory skills and develop proposals among participants in the areas of alternative education, alternative economics, evaluation of training, community conflict, group dynamics, spiritual roots of nonviolence, and international peacekeeping. The first few days, however, were largely devoted to communication difficulties—from the problem of obtaining volunteer translators for the many small group workshops and meetings which formed the heart of the conference, to the effort by all participants to clarify their own positions and understand the attitudes of others on such issues as: Can training be separate from organizing? Do group dynamics issues primarily concern dynamics within activist groups, or between activists and the state? What can the international nonviolent movement contribute to the struggle for liberation

in Southern Africa? Does peacekeeping defend justice or the status quo?

The translation difficulties were never satisfactorily resolved. The conference exploited the skills of a handful of bilingual participants, putting them to work in many workshops and small group meetings where none of the volunteers who translated for plenary sessions were available.

The lack of common language between many Latin Americans and most other participants increased the experiential difference between Latin Americans and members of the "first world." Only one North American spoke fluent Spanish, while several Europeans spoke Spanish, and four Latin Americans spoke nearly-fluent English.

Modesto A. addressed the experiential difference in a discussion of "obstacles to good group dynamics." In the mountains of Ecuador, where he works as a priest and organizer with peasants, activists gather at a wake, each wearing an identifying pin. At a certain time during the festivities, all the activists gather in one room as if they are simply one knot of conversants. While North Americans and Europeans had been suggesting such internal obstacles as abuse of consensus and lack of preparation, several Latin American participants saw repression to be the key obstacle to healthy group dynamics.

Early in the conference, the workshop on peacekeeping in international conflicts elicited a controversy which reflected political experience in repressive Latin American regimes and the Philippines which differed from the experience of Europeans and Americans who initiated the first proposals in the workshop. Michael Harbottle, a retired Brigadier General from the English army who served as chief of staff of the United Nations forces on Cypress during 1965-1968, has become interested in the possibility of a nonviolent intervention team which could seek to restore trust between sides in a civil dispute that has international implications, such as Cypress or Northern Ireland. He, along with Charles Walker, a North American nonviolence trainer who helped coordinate the Cypress Resettlement Project in 1970, and has joined other international nonviolent intervention

Many of the 74 ISTNA participants at Cuernavaca July, 1977.

teams in Bangladesh, Culebra, and elsewhere, proposed discussion of a world peace guard which would be trained in nonviolent conflict resolution skills and language skills, and would be available to intercede in conflicts between nations or within nations instead of armed forces.

Strong objections to this proposal were voiced by participants from Latin America and the Philippines. The suggestion of stopping or diffusing conflict before justice and freedom are attained in repressive nations was seen as sustaining the forces which rule the status quo.

After several days of discussion, the workshop on peacekeeping split into two groups which continued to meet until the last days of the conference, each attempting to clarify the principles involved in their perspectives. One position paper charged that "peacekeeping, or even peace building, has ever been and still is today a very subtle way to perpetuate the domination of the world by a few nation states. . . . The persons and the organized groups involved in 'peace interventions' are being used as a nonviolent means to avoid radical structural changes which prevent the transformation to a more just socio-economic order."

The other paper suggested a set of guidelines for third party intervention, claiming that nonviolent third parties could avoid being agents for suppression of struggles for justice in the name of law and order. The group considered the goals of third party involvement to include: "reducing direct physical violence in order to permit and encourage the struggle to continue in other forms, e.g. negotiation, boycott, strike action; prevent annihilation of one side by another, e.g. Nagaland, Biafra/Nigeria, Northern Ireland, Wounded Knee; encourage or initiate actions to eliminate structural violence, e.g. Cypress Resettlement Project."

During evaluation of the conference, when this controversy was brought up, Movement for a New Society (MNS) delegate Berit Lakey suggested international activists drop the term "peacekeeping" ("mantener la paz" in Spanish) and, in the future, work carefully to determine under what goals, in whose trust, and at whose invitation third parties might enter conflicts outside their own



situations.

In discussion of economics, the sharing of perspectives at ISTNA enabled a remarkable synthesis: the outlines for a decentralist communitarian economy that makes sense for activists working in a wide variety of movements, from non-violent land occupations by peasants in Colombia, to decentralizing and redeveloping industrial economies in Europe, North America and Japan, to the Sarvodaya (constructive program) movements in India and Sri Lanka. Carl Zeitlow, one member of this working group, reports "We agreed neither the capitalist nor the state socialist systems have adequately responded to issues of imperialism, militarism, repression, foreign trade, totalitarianism, energy consumption, or the environment. What we need is a socialist system based on local identity, local culture, and local resources."

What was inspiring to participants from industrial countries involved in these discussions was the wealth of experience in a variety of third world situations with communitarian socialist economies. For instance, Fernando C. reported that 800 cooperative businesses have been established in Colombia during the past five years, 500 of these on former large land estates seized through nonviolent occupations. Native American cultures in North and South America, traditional village-based economies in Africa (such as that being revived in Tanzania), and traditional Asian economies all provide rich experiences of economies where human beings are at the center. The Alternative Economics working group at ISTNA plans to edit a "Study Guide on Communal Society," to publicize experiences in communal organization.

Training for nonviolent action was the topic of several workshops and, during the last week, actual training sessions. In a workshop on evaluation of training programs, examples were given by persons who had conducted training in the North American civil rights, peace, and anti-nuclear movements, in nonviolent movements in India, Germany, and Japan, a nonviolent action collective in France, and the land occupation movement in Colombia.

Activists from Venezuela, Ecuador, and Brazil described their use of conscientization methods of political education with workers in cities and peasants in rural areas, methods which were so successful in the case of one organizer-priest that he was run out of an area when peasants grew to see the cooperation of church and state in their subjugation. Carl Zeitlow presented the nonviolent campaign strategy developed during the American civil rights movement, in which sustained actions create a crisis which threatens social institutions. Berit Lakey and Christopher Moore of the Philadelphia Life Center presented workshops on employing socio-dramas (roleplays) as training tools, and on designing training programs.

The history and obstacles facing nonviolent

movements in South Africa were presented by an exile from South Africa. Manob Mandal described training programs which have been developed in India since the time of Gandhi, especially in the Shanti Sena, founded by Vinoba Bhave in the 1950's, and continuing to offer constructive service and social conflict resolution and advocacy of human rights under the leadership of Narayan Desai. Workshops gave participants an introduction to skills or methods they had not encountered and an opportunity to learn how to present skills which previously they had only experienced.

As participants came to know some of the skills, experiences, and interests of others at the conference, working groups formed, many of which developed plans for projects to continue after the conference at Cuernavaca. It is these working groups which indicate the strongest forces which took life at ISTNA.

Resistance to nuclear power was the primary issue for 15 to 20 participants in their home situations. Europeans, Japanese, North Americans and a resident of Australia shared experiences and skills used in organizing and training for nonviolent actions against nuclear power. Latin Americans were interested in an informational workshop on the dangers of nuclear power in preparation for the time when nukes proliferate there. Plans for simultaneous actions in several localities of the world against the worldwide threat of proliferating nuclear power plants were discussed, and an international newsletter for communication among nonviolent movements opposing nuclear power was planned.

Human rights was the primary concern of a third of the conference participants. In addition to workshops on repression in the third world, role plays of responses to police intimidation, and presentations on the international struggle for human rights, a strong working group formed in the Asian regional caucus, which has since taken shape as the Asian Center on Human Rights in Hong Kong, directed by ISTNA participant Ruth Cortez. The Asian Center was specifically established to encourage support for human rights struggles among citizens of third world countries rather than relying on first world initiatives for human rights, such as Amnesty International.

Women convened regularly during the conference to discuss experiences in nonviolent action and in organizing for human rights of women, and to share different analyses of the relationship of women's struggles to movements for economic, political, and cultural freedom. Several women convened a plenary presentation and issued a position paper declaring "it will be impossible to reach the goal of human dignity and freedom without engaging the creativity and perspective of women on all levels of the struggle," and pointing out to men and women at ISTNA and elsewhere that "a movement that claims to be for justice and liberation must develop an understanding

of the dynamics and forms of oppression in its own culture so as not to become an unwitting accomplice of oppression."

A working group on compiling case studies of training and organizing experiences grew out of an evaluation of training workshops. Guidelines were developed for written histories on the topics of: toppling governments through nonviolent action, specific nonviolent actions, nonviolent campaigns, training in nonviolence and organizations for nonviolent action.

In one of the final days of the ISTNA conference, 15 participants who considered themselves trainers attempted to outline directions trainers might take in coming years. While no clear consensus evolved, the discussion was illustrative of the range of emphases held by various trainers in nonviolent action. There was one concern that trainers and organizers focus energies on a "majority issue," an issue which involves large numbers of constituents, such as the civil rights movement, or anti-nuclear power movement. Another participant suggested that nonviolent trainers can sense when a movement is ready to be initiated and seek to influence a nonviolent direction from the start (as with CORE and civil rights), or attempt to add a nonviolent perspective to a movement already underway, as German non-violence trainers are attempting in the anti-nuclear movement there, which is generally more difficult. A European trainer suggested that institutions such as Folk High Schools (adult education centers) are proper locations for training. A member of the Philadelphia Life Center pointed out that that center was created out of the failure of the Martin Luther King Center for Social Change to function creatively in a university, and that, while centers for training are needed, it is important that they be independent.

Several issues were suggested as current hot items for nonviolence training: the nukes movement, violence in the schools, and men and women organizing against rape and personal violence. There was the suggestion that trainers should focus on sharing skills in a specific geographic region, developing interest and experiences in training among people there who can continue to spread training skills throughout the region, regarding issues important to the region. It was suggested that case studies of past nonviolent actions and training can instruct us on current applications of a variety of training skills. Also, it would be good use of existing transnational networks, such as Pax Christi, War Resisters International, and International Fellowship of Reconciliation, to communicate training and organizing experiences through their newsletters, which circulate worldwide.

It was agreed during the last day's evaluation of the ISTNA conference that the group had been remarkably congenial. No ideological or personal differences wrenched apart our brief international



North American daily caucus at ISTNA.

community. We were grateful for the all-to-rare opportunity to meet with nonviolent activists from repressive situations, industrial nations, from movements with a rich history of nonviolent action, from various political and religious perspectives. Certainly the rapport which grew during discussions, parties, excursions, and meals together adds an emotional dimension to the bonds which nonviolent activists are developing around the world. Such a successful international gathering can only strengthen the reality of the transnational perspective which is central to the practice of non-violence anywhere. Whether ISTNA will have been the catalyst for further advances in the field of non-violence training depends on the success of projects which were conceived at ISTNA.

Readers of WIN may want to contribute to some of these follow-up efforts. To contact the Asian Center on Human Rights, write Ruth Cortez, Kiu Kin Mansion 1/6/F; 566 Nathan Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong. In Latin America, contact Servicio, Peru 630 5to P. Dpto. 19, 1068 Buenas Aires, Argentina. In North America, contact Beverly Woodward, 148 N Street, South Boston, Massachusetts, 02127. In Africa, contact James Annorbah-Sarpei, PO Box 2996, Accra, Ghana.

The transnational newsletter on nonviolent action against nuclear power is being coordinated by Daniel Wiener, Rutimeyerstr. 20, 4054 Basel, Switzerland. The Study Guide on Communal Society is being edited by Piet Dijkstra, 2 Westerweg, Bergen, NH, The Netherlands. Case studies on nonviolence training and organizing are being collected through Peter Klotz-Chamberlin, Resource Center for Nonviolence, PO Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063. A transnational "data bank" on training materials is being collected by Charles Walker, Box 92, Cheyney, PA 19319. For further information about ongoing work of ISTNA, papers published for ISTNA, or copies of the ISTNA full report, contact Beverly Woodward, 148 N Street, South Boston, MA 02127.



# Changes

## PHILIPPINE MILITARY COURT SENTENCES MARCOS' OPPONENT TO DEATH

Former Philippine Senator Benigno S. Aquino, Jr., the principal leader in the struggle against the martial law regime of President Ferdinand Marcos, was sentenced to death by a seven-member military tribunal in Manila on November 25. Aquino, who has been imprisoned since his arrest in 1972 following Marcos' proclamation of martial law, was convicted on what all impartial observers consider to be trumped-up charges of subversion and refused to recant, confess guilt or accept exile even after a personal audience with Marcos himself. Since martial law was declared five years ago, only one death sentence was passed on and that to a narcotics dealer. Senator Aquino had been incarcerated for four years without trial. Whether Marcos will commute the sentence is less than certain. The execution of Aquino would certainly damage prospects for future American aid for the Philippine dictatorship and reveal the farcical nature of the referendum on martial law scheduled by Marcos for December 17. — **Newsdesk**

## TWENTY-TWO SEABROOK OCCUPIERS GO DIRECTLY TO JAIL

Twenty-two people convicted of occupying the site of the proposed nuclear power plant at Seabrook, New Hampshire, last spring were sentenced to serve time in three New Hampshire jails on December 1. They were among 82 Clamshell Alliance activists who had previously been sentenced to 15 days in jail and a \$100 fine. Although many of those convicted spent

considerable time in the armories following their arrest last May and had the remainder of their terms suspended by the court, many refused to pay their fine and were remanded to custody to serve time at the rate of \$5/day. Amongst the 22 sent directly to jail are WIN friends and writers Marty Jezer and Joanne Sheehan. — **Newsdesk**

## BALLOON RELEASE RESULTS SURPRISE ANTI-NUKE ACTIVISTS

Helium balloons symbolizing radiation were released from the construction site of the Callaway Nuclear Plants near Fulton, Missouri on Sunday November 13, traveled to the bi-state St. Louis metropolitan area (100 miles East of the plant), and have also landed in eight states between Missouri and the Atlantic Coast. The balloons, released by Missourians for Safe Energy, had cards attached asking the finder to inform the group as to where the balloons traveled.

Balloons landed in Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Just as radioactive material from nuclear weapons tests enters the upper atmosphere and then falls-out thousands of miles away, nuclear materials emitted from a reactor can, if weather conditions are right, travel extremely long distances. One balloon, returned from Tappahannock, Virginia on an arm of the Chesapeake Bay, completed its 800 mile journey in less than 24 hours, being found at 4:00 PM (EST) on Monday the 14th of November.

— **Missourians for Safe Energy**

## REACTOR-GRADE PLUTONIUM WEAPON DETONATED

A nuclear weapon made from reactor-grade plutonium has been exploded by the US. The successful test dispelled the notion that plutonium generated in breeder reactors or recovered from conventional reactor fuel would not be pure enough for use as a nuclear explosive. Disclosure of the test apparently came at a nuclear energy conference in mid-September when a foreign affairs specialist for the US Energy Research and Development Administration reported the test results. It seems that the plutonium weapon was exploded some years ago but that the event was kept secret until this year. One motive for declassification of information about the test was to provide evidence about the hazards of peacetime plutonium use, a situation being cited by members of the Carter administration as a reason for control of plutonium technology in France, West Germany, and elsewhere. — **Environment Magazine**

## OKLAHOMA BLACKS END SCHOOL BOYCOTT OVER MARTIN LUTHER KING SPEECH

Black students and parents in the small east Oklahoma farming community of Boynton ended a boycott on November 11 following school administration permission for a high school senior to read Dr. Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech at a school talent show. The boycott was touched off when Sherida Jones, 17, was forbidden to read the speech by the school superintendent who characterized the famous oratory as "incendiary" and having "racial overtones" inappropriate to the occasion. Blacks comprise 50% of the high school enrollment

as well as the town's population as a whole but the school board is all white. Black residents are currently demanding amnesty for the boycotters and the appointment of a black school board member.

— **Newsdesk**

## PLUTONIUM IN THE DRAINPIPES?

In a bizarre twist to the Karen Silkwood case, attorneys for the Kerr-McGee Nuclear Corporation say they will go to court this week to stop a former worker from talking about missing plutonium at one of their plants.

Kerr-McGee lawyers say they will request that the courts issue a "gag order" against former plant supervisor Jim Smith on what the attorneys say are "national security grounds."

The unusual gag order request comes as depositions are being taken in the \$160,000 conspiracy and damage suit filed by the family of Karen Silkwood, a former plutonium worker at the Kerr-McGee plant in Crescent, Oklahoma.

Silkwood was killed in a mysterious car crash nearly three years ago. At the time of her death, she was reportedly carrying with her internal Kerr-McGee documents relating to safety violations and missing plutonium at Kerr-McGee's Crescent plant. The documents were never recovered after the car crash, and Silkwood's father has charged that the FBI, Kerr-McGee officials and others conspired to cover up the real reasons behind his daughter's death.

Former plant supervisor Smith, in a startling admission last week, stated in a sworn affidavit that a co-worker he identified as Gerald Cooper was on two occasions asked by Kerr-McGee officials and help divert high grade uranium from government stockpiles.

According to Smith's deposition, Cooper had been asked to take part in the scheme by a Kerr-McGee management official identified as "Robert Klause."

Shortly after Silkwood's death, government investigators determined that 40 pounds of plutonium — or enough to produce several nuclear weapons — was missing from the Kerr-McGee

plant. The company's officials continue to insist that the material must have been accidentally poured down drain pipes.

However, Smith in an earlier interview with *Rolling Stone* magazine, stated he personally had checked all the pipes and could not find any trace of the missing nuclear materials.

The suit by Karen Silkwood's family is expected to go to court before the end of this year. In the meantime, a number of Silkwood's former acquaintances who have given depositions about the conditions at the Kerr-McGee plant around the time of Silkwood's death say they have been threatened and followed, apparently in efforts to stop them from testifying. — **Her Say**

## OIL BUSINESS MEANS BIG BUCKS

The Energy Action Educational Foundation has released a study showing that profits for the top 21 oil companies in the first six months of 1977 were greater than the profits for the same companies for all of 1972. In a period when profits for these companies were increasing by 103%, earnings of the average worker increased by only 38.5% and the worker faced energy price increases ranging from 77.4% for gasoline to 140.4% for fuel oil. For example, Socal (the nation's fourth largest oil company) had profits of \$277 million after taxes for the second quarter of this year — a whopping 34.5% increase over the same period last year and it seems on the way to its first billion-dollar profit for a year. — **People and Energy**

## SWEDEN TO CANCEL DEBT OF POOR NATIONS

Responding to persistent calls by developing countries that the industrialized nations of the West write off third-world debts, Sweden announced last month that it planned to cancel more than \$200 million in debts owed by governments of eight poor countries.

"We are hoping to set an example that will be followed up by other countries," said Ola Ullsten,

Swedish Minister for International Development at the UN.

Sweden's action was immediately hailed by diplomats from developing nations. It follows by a month an announcement by Canadian Deputy Prime Minister Allan J. MacEachen of Canada that his nation was in the process of canceling \$254 million in debts from developing countries.

The Swedish debts cancelled were from those countries least able to pay: Bangladesh, Botswana, Ethiopia, India, Kenya, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Tanzania.

— **Fellowship**

## A TASTE OF THEIR OWN MEDICINE

The FBI is reportedly trying to track down and question a 29-year-old Colorado man who has been mailing low-grade uranium waste material to hundreds of America's power elite.

The *Village Voice* reports that Leigh Hauter has mailed the dirt-like material along with a cover letter to members of Congress, governors and leading business executives to dramatize the hazards of a nuclear industry.

The letter warns each recipient that the dirt-like substance enclosed is a low-grade radioactive waste product.

Hauter's letter also stresses that the material was not stolen from a guarded atomic site. He says he gathered the waste in public areas — lying along streams, on public roads and in fields near where uranium mining and processing are taking place.

The letter adds, "You have just come in contact with radiation. There is no practical means for limiting access to this material. . . it is a necessary by-product of the nuclear industry."

While the FBI has been attempting to reach Hauter, he told the *Voice* by telephone from Colorado that he has not gone underground. He stated: "I just thought this would be a great time to visit a lot of my friends who happen to live in the remote sections of the Rocky Mountain region."

— **Austin Sun**

## MASS. GOVERNOR SPEAKS OUT AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER

Michael Dukakis has joined Jerry Brown in the ranks of major state Governors vocally opposed to atomic energy. "I don't see much of a future for nuclear power," the Massachusetts Democrat said in a recent interview. "We haven't solved the problems of radioactive waste, and on economic grounds alone, nuclear power is becoming less and less competitive, more and more expensive."

Dukakis was the only New England governor who refused to send state troopers to Seabrook, New Hampshire last April 30, when NH Governor Meldrim Thomson requested regional help in arresting more than 1400 nuclear opponents who occupied the Seabrook nuclear power construction site. The mass arrests brought on a unique two-week mass incarceration in National Guard armories across the state, with accompanying banner headlines around the world. "I was concerned, frankly, with the way the process was being handled," said Dukakis. "Confrontation, if not provoked, at least was not discouraged by the officials up there."

Dukakis' refusal to send troops and his subsequent criticisms provoked further acrimony in the long-standing feud between NH and Massachusetts officials. It also raised the question of how Dukakis would handle protests expected in his own backyard, at the proposed Pilgrim II reactor at Plymouth. "We'll do everything we can to allocate whatever space and resources we can to make it possible for them to have the demonstration, and to do so in a reasonable manner," he said. "We would make every effort to work with the demonstrators and to avoid, if at all possible, having to arrest and to try the people involved." Dukakis, who is facing a stiff fight for reelection next fall, intimated that protestors might be allowed to spend up to a month at the plant site.

Indeed, although Dukakis said he felt the proposed Pilgrim II

reactor would be built, he expressed serious doubt about the 2300-megawatt \$2.5 billion plant scheduled for Montague, a project now meeting strong local resistance. "Citizen concern and citizen opposition could be very important," he said. "I doubt very much that with some very strong conservation efforts, and with the development of alternative sources of energy, that we will need further nuclear plants anywhere in New England, and that includes Montague and any other site under consideration at the present time."

Having thus dismissed some 5000 proposed nuclear megawatts, Dukakis expanded on his commitment to solar energy. "I think conservation and alternative sources are where we ought to be moving," he said. New energy systems must be independent of "massive utilities or massive investments." A strong commitment to solar space and water heating "could create as many as 11,000 new jobs in New England during the next decade," he added. "We have a long way to go before we in Massachusetts can say we're doing all we can for developing alternative sources of energy."

Whether the Governor will now follow his rhetoric with a strong budgetary commitment to solar energy is another question, but he has already stated elsewhere that converting to alternative energy sources might provide the state's economy with a much-needed business and employment boost.

—Harvey Wasserman

## JUDGE OKAYS DISCRIMINATION

Stanley Stahl took one look at Judy Pierce's application for a Manhattan apartment and decided not to rent to her.

It's not because she is Black, he said. Nor is it because she's a divorced 33-year old woman. The reason, he said, is because she is a lawyer and "would be a source of trouble to me as a tenant." He explained that he didn't want an educated, Black woman tenant

who is aware of her rights. He said that he preferred a less informed, more "passive" person.

And last week the courts agreed with Stahl. Justice Edward J. Greenfield of the State Supreme Court in Manhattan ruled that "absent a supervening statutory prescription, a landlord is free to do what he wishes with his property and to rent or not to rent to any given person at his whim."

Discrimination on the basis of occupation, it seems, is not technically against the law. Housing activists fear that Greenfield's ruling, believed the first explicitly allowing such discrimination, will set dangerous precedents eroding the rights of tenants.

Greenfield didn't stop at legalizing occupational discrimination. "He [a landlord] may decide not to rent to singers because they are noisy, or not rent to bald-headed men because he has been told they give wild parties," the judge continued in his ruling. "He can bar his premises to the lowest strata of society should he choose, or to the highest, if that be his personal choice."

Contacted after the ruling, Greenfield explained the legal philosophy of his ruling. Basically, he stated, property rights take precedence over the rights of people. "You have a general proposition of the law that anyone has the right to do anything with his property," he said.

—Guardian

# events

**BALTIMORE, MD**—Feminist theatre with the Texas Boots and Double Joints Theatre Company on Thursday, December 15, 7:30 pm at The Bread and Roses Coffeehouse, 426 E. 31st Street. Sponsored by the Baltimore School Thursday Forum.

**BOSTON, MA**—The Little Flags Theatre will perform "The Furies of Mother Jones" as a benefit for the Mobilization for Survival on Tuesday, December 13, 7:30 pm,

at Morse Auditorium, 602 Commonwealth Avenue. Tickets at \$5 each may be obtained at The Mobilization office, 13 Sellers Street and Thomas More Bookstore, 6 Holyoke Square—both in Cambridge.

**BOSTON, MA**—Judge Margaret Burnham, the first Black woman in Massachusetts to become a judge, will speak on "New Directions in Criminal Justice" on Sunday, December 18, 11 am at Morse Auditorium, 602 Commonwealth Avenue. Sponsored by Community Church of Boston.

**BOSTON, MA**—"Holiday Celebration of Life & Hope" on Wednesday, December 21, 7 pm, at the Church of the Covenant (Berkeley at Newbury Streets, Boston). Sponsored by the Boston Area Mobilization for Survival. For more information, call 354-0008.

**LONDON, ENGLAND**—Assembly for Disarmament and Peace, January 28 & 29, 1978, Camden Centre, Euston Rd., London NW1. For information, contact: Secretary of the Preparatory Committee, Assembly for Disarmament and Peace, 29 Great James St., London, WC1N 3EY, England.

**MAINE**—The Maine Affinity Group Information Committee (MAGIC), a statewide anti-nuke coalition, will meet on Saturday, December 17, 10 AM, at the house of Judy Barrows, 4A Main St., Camden, ME. For more information, call (207) 938-2219.

**NYC**—Holiday gift fair of Cuban arts and crafts, posters, records, books and sundry other items on Saturday and Sunday, December 10-11 at The Center for Cuban Studies, 220 E. 23rd Street, 8th Floor, for more information, call 685-9038.

**WASHINGTON, DC**—Disarmament Conference with Sid Lens, workshops, films on December 9-10, Georgetown University. Sponsored by the Georgetown Mobilization for Survival. For registration and information, contact: Georgetown MFS, 2 O'Gara Bldg., Georgetown Univ., Washington, DC 20057. (202) 625-4240.



## COURT NEWS

On December 2 Bob Anthony will be appearing in the US Court of Appeals for the third circuit in Philadelphia. A pacifist and Quaker for over 35 years, Anthony is appealing a 1975 tax court decision against him. His case seeks particularly to test the constitutional issues behind the 1961 court ruling on the A. J. Muste case that payment of income tax does not interfere with religious practice. The Muste ruling has been cited continually to short-cut the hearing of first amendment arguments by means of summary judgements.

This brief also aims to promote CO status for war tax resisters with passage of the World Peace Tax Fund Act. Congressional bills HR 4897 and S 880 introduced in the House of Representatives this year by Ron Dellums and supported by 23 other congresspeople would establish the World Peace Tax Fund.

Anthony's legal brief includes 40 court decisions which support his claim for exemption from military taxes—50 pages of legal argument and history of Quaker pacifism, 54 pages of photographs and records of peace action against nuclear weapons and the Vietnam war, plus 20 pages from Anthony's tax court brief and 30 more pages of supporting documents.

Carol Bragg of AFSC in Rhode Island and Louise and John Runnings in Seattle are also planning to appeal tax court decisions. Carol writes that she hopes to get help from the ACLU as well as from individuals and groups across the country. Let us know if you can give support of any kind.

Appeals are costly, time and energy consuming.

In New Hampshire last month Shawn and Margaret Donovan went to Tax Court. Shawn writes "We presented a statement of three pages which we both read and then Margaret presented as evidence a collage of pictures about the war... graphic photos of the final days. Needless to say the judge and IRS attorney were stunned... and I think sobered by the human face of the tragedy our statement could only inadequately talk about."

## THE PLOT THICKENS

Steve Gulick of Phila. WTR/WRL sent us the following letter from NY Telephone to a phone tax resister who has been withholding phone tax since 1972.

Dear Mr. Williams,

*I have been unable to reach you concerning the correspondence I received on August 22, 1977 regarding federal excise tax.*

*In order to qualify for exemption you must contact:*

*Philadelphia War Tax Resistance  
War Resisters League  
2016 Walnut Street  
Suite 300  
Philadelphia, Pa. 19103*

*I hope this information will be of help. Any question please call the above telephone number.*

*Sincerely,*

*K. Yevoli  
Representative*

Has anyone else received these strange instructions?!

—Susan Wilkins

# REVIEWS

**THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMANITY: AGENTS OF NONVIOLENT CHANGE IN A VIOLENT WORLD**  
by Marjorie Hope and James Young  
Orbis Books / 305 pp / \$8.95

Between an introduction in which the concept of non-violence is developed and an epilogue in which they look at the world from an early 1977 perspective, Marjorie Hope and James Young, a wife and husband team, have sandwiched in seven more or less independent chapters. The first of these is about the Movement for a New Society and, in particular, about the Philadelphia Life Center which is at the hub of the Movement. The remaining six chapters are devoted to biographical sketches of contemporary leaders in the nonviolent movement for radical social change.

Founded in the early 1970s by a group of mostly middle class peace movement and civil rights activists, the Movement for a New Society is based upon the concept of a simple life style in which participants take comparatively little in the way of material goods from the larger society while being more free to organize creative nonviolent actions designed to make fundamental changes in the way society functions. The authors trace the growth of the Movement in the Philadelphia area with emphasis upon the chain of modified communal houses in the West Philadelphia neighborhood and the involvement of the participants in helping to solve immediate critical neighborhood problems as well as in working for changes on the national and world levels.

The detailed biographical sketches cover Lanza del Vasto from France, Danilo Dolci from Sicily, Dom Helder Camara from Brazil, Thich Nhat Hanh and Cao Ngoc Phuong from Vietnam, Kenneth Kaunda from Zambia, and Cesar Chavez from the United States. In addition to carefully presenting factual background material for each person, the authors have, in a straightforward and effective manner, trace the development of the respective movements which these leaders head.

We learn about Lanza del Vasto's 1937 meeting with Gandhi and the new name of Shantidas which Gandhi bestowed upon him. Shantidas's simple-life and largely self-contained communities in France are described in considerable detail as is the participation of members of the communities in nonviolent action

*John Schuder is a professor of surgery at the University of Missouri and a long-time peace activist. Chip Sharpe lives in Arcata, California, and has recently turned 32.*

projects against the first French atomic bomb, against concentration camps in France for the holding of Algerians during the Algeria War, and for the legal recognition of conscientious objection.

Also influenced by Gandhi, Danilo Dolci took a somewhat different path as he successfully organized the villagers of western Sicily to stand up to the Mafia and to use nonviolent techniques to pressure their government for an improvement in their economic status.

In writing about Dom Helder Camara and his struggle for within the Catholic Church for social justice for the people of Brazil, the authors vividly describe the difficulties in working for radical social change or even for basic human rights in a land whose government is completely dominated by the military.

As Buddhist leaders, Thich Nhat Hanh and Cao Ngoc Phuong attempted from both within and without Vietnam to project a "third force" into the Vietnam equation and to secure an end to the war by the establishment of a noncommunist democratic government in the South.

As president of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda is unique among the leaders discussed in this book in that only he heads a nation state. And, as the authors carefully point out, his nonviolence has been a "relative non-violence."

Cesar Chavez and his long and nonviolent struggle to organize the United Farm Workers union and to make it an effective agent for social justice in California is chronicled in considerable detail. The important role of Dolores Huerta and others in building the UFW is adequately reviewed.

But **Struggle for Humanity** is more than a series of biographical sketches. Marjorie Hope and James Young have visited, sometimes briefly and sometimes extensively, with each of the leaders about whom they have written. During their visits they have explored the features which the various movements have in common as well as identified those areas in which there are differences. Although they found a certain world consciousness on the part of the leaders and a general recognition that revolutionary changes in society are needed, they also found that not all of the leaders have exactly the same vision of a new society as do the Movement people in Philadelphia. On balance the book strikes a hopeful note for the future of nonviolent action. It should be of interest to those in the peace movement as well as to students and others who are for the first time considering the role of nonviolent action in causing social change.

— John Schuder

## PASSAGES: PREDICTABLE CRISES OF ADULT LIFE

by Gail Sheehy  
Bantam Books / 1977 / \$2.50

*Somewhere in Chapter 13 of Passages the words on the page coagulated. By the end of the chapter, they had dried and flaked off. I'm sure they had as much to say to me as many of my dreams do, but as is often true with my fleeting memories of dreams, part of me is not ready to take it in. For the first time, i [sic] have a sense of parts of myself challenging and struggling to enlighten other parts. This makes me want to being to keep a journal.*

This is how I began my first journal. I was primed by nearly two years of experiencing myself in an unfamiliar place, no longer able to define myself by my activism, by my ideology, or even by my traits of personality. The identity crisis of my teens was solved easily; for the next dozen years, through marriage, fatherhood, family upheaval, and a cross-country move, I remained the civil rights/peace activist that I had decided to be. Now I find that there is more to being me, and I am fascinated by it; no longer having to take myself so seriously, I feel freer to do just that for a time.

To share with you this exhilaration of seeing the building of experiences and layering of years—and especially the acceptance of temporary stages—I decided to write a review of **Passages**.

Beyond reporting that Gail Sheehy's style is immediately engaging and that many of us would wish that her in-depth interviews had included some folks outside of the heterosexually oriented and upwardly mobile middle class, I will not attempt to present an objective review. I read the book as an inner experience, slowly digesting the parts that spoke to me and letting others slip right by. What might be most meaningful to some may have been ignored by me. This, I believe, is the real value of the book; not to categorize or predict experiences, but to guide one in reflections of joy and of significance, of accommodation to life's pace and of challenge.

I hope that the following selections, from the second chapter, from the "Switch-40's" chapter, and the concluding paragraph, will help give an idea of both the content and the tone.

*With each passage from one stage of human growth to the next we, too, must shed a protective structure. We are left exposed and vulnerable—but also yeasty*

*and embryonic again, capable of stretching in ways we hadn't known before. These sheddings may take several years or more. Coming out of each passage, though, we enter a longer and more stable period in which we can expect relative tranquility and a sense of equilibrium regained.*

*... Being open to intimacy depends on a strong identity, including a firm sense of our sexual identity. Any time our self-image becomes shaky, as it does during every passage, but particularly in the passage to midlife, we can expect our capacity for intimacy to be disrupted too. If we are to emerge from the struggle as whole beings, our sexually opposite side must be made conscious. The magical powers assigned to our partners must be given up, the projections withdrawn. And if we do this enormous work, what then do we have left?*

*Jung offers the best explanation: Above all we have achieved a real independence and with it, to be sure, a certain isolation. In a sense we are alone, for our "inner freedom" means that a love relation can no longer fetter us; the other sex has lost its magic power over us, for we have come to know its essential traits in the depths of our own psyche. We shall not easily "fall in love" for we can no longer lose ourselves in someone else, but we shall be capable of a deeper love, a conscious devotion to the other.*

*It isn't easy to grasp the connection, but it is one of the central points of this book: How is it that accepting our essential aloneness allows us to become more loving and devoted? It is because the dismay of realizing that our safety does not reside in anyone else emboldens us to feel security within ourselves. And once our individuality is no longer endangered, we can be more magnanimous in giving to another. It is possible, at last, to compose the dividedness between our Seeker and Merger selves.*

*"To be sure," says Jung, "it takes half a lifetime to arrive at this stage."*

*The courage to take new steps allows us to let go of each stage with its satisfactions and to find the fresh responses that will release the richness of the next. The power to animate all of life's seasons is a power that resides within us.*

— Chip Sharpe

**The IWW: It's First Seventy Years**, reviewed in WIN [12/1/77] can be ordered direct from the Industrial Workers of the World, 752 W. Webster Ave., Chicago, IL 60614.

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**PUBLIC NOTICE**

WINTER-SPRING Calendar of Events available from Resource Center for Nonviolence in Santa Cruz. Includes listing of resources available (books, literature, workshops, speakers, etc.) and notice of events with or about "The Power of the People" — nonviolence in America with Helen Michalowski; Love in Action with Diane K. Pike and Arleen Lorraine; Personal Story and Nonviolence with James McClelland; and much more. Send self-addressed stamped envelope to: RCNV, POB 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063. Thanks

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.

Political Spying Continues! For details and organizing ideas, contact: Campaign To Stop Government Spying, 201 Massachusetts Ave., NE #112, Washington, DC 20002. 202-574-4644.

Larry Gara will be editing the 1979 WRL Calendar on the theme "Prisons." Most of the entries will be brief, many of them quotations by prisoners or former prisoners on various aspects of prison life. Other entries will describe nonviolent prison actions, well known political prisoners, and movements to bring change such as the campaign against the death penalty. Suggestions and material, including good visuals, will be much appreciated. Write: Larry Gara, 21 Faculty Place, Wilmington, Ohio 45177.

**PUBLICATIONS**

"Dangerous Trends in Feminism," pamphlet by John Lauritsen. Speech to 4th Gay Academic Union Conference. Supports goals of WLM, but critical of certain tendencies within feminist movement.

"Disruptions, Censorship, and Bigotry," 50¢ post-paid from John Lauritsen, 26 St. Mark's Place, NYC 10003.

**International Soldier's Movement** is a history of GI organizing in Holland, France, Italy, Germany and England, with conclusions relevant to GI organizers here. Send 50¢ plus 25¢ postage to RECON, 702 Stanley Street, Ypsilanti, MI 48197.

**THE STUDY KIT FOR NONVIOLENT REVOLUTION**, produced by War Resisters League/West contains articles on the theory and practice of non-violence, both personally and politically as well as accounts of the successes and problems of contemporary nonviolence. Articles and pamphlets by Camus, Gandhi, Gene Sharp, Barbara Deming, Mark Morris, George Lakey and the WIN double issue on Seabrook are to be found and much more as well. Send \$2.50 per study kit to WRL/West, 1360 Howard Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. Special rates are available for bulk orders so order them for your study group, teach-in, or classroom.

Human Rights Action Guide available now. Rates: 1-50, 10¢ each; 51-500, 7¢ ea; more than 500, 5¢ ea. Add 20% for postage (UPS). Make checks payable to Coalition for New Foreign and Military Policy. Send orders to: 120 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002.

**HOW THE DRAGON GOT ITS FIRE** — A people's coloring book, written by 7-year old Catherine Best, illustrated by Lynn McSweeney. Makes a fantastic holiday (or anyday) gift, for both kids and adults. Just send \$2.50 (+ postage) to Red Balloon Poetry Conspiracy, 163 Prospect Park West #3L, Brooklyn, NY 11215.

"ALL ATOMIC COMICS" revised 2nd edition (Nov. 77). Excellent expose of nuke industry for all ages. 32 pages. \$1.25 (sent 1st class); 10+ 75¢ each. Colt, Box 271-W, Newvernon, NJ 07976.

People's History of Upstate New York 1978 Calendar. Beautiful, informative, provocative, inspirational! A 12x19" (9x12 folded) 6 color calendar that will make your whole year more pleasant. Featured are: Harriet Tubman; Iroquois Confederacy; 765 kV Struggle; Martin Sostre and 8 more. A unique gift! \$3.25; 3 or more \$3 each. From: SPC, 924 Burnet Ave., Syracuse, NY 13203; or available at many area stores.

**Classifieds**

**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.

UFW cards with a drawing by Peg Averill are available from WRL Southeast. This project is a joint effort of WRL/SE and the Triangle Friends of the UFW, with all proceeds going to the UFW. \$2.00 for pkg. of 10 cards with envelopes. Write to: WRL, 108 Purefoy Road, Chapel Hill, NC 27514.

Boston Clamshell is selling New Year's Cards to help raise money for operating expenses for its anti-nuclear activities. The cards were designed by one of the Boston Clamshell members and are available for \$2 for a package of 10 cards with envelopes. Contact Boston Clamshell, 2161 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140. (617) 661-6204.

**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.

**LIVING ALTERNATIVES**

House to Share: Politically conscious folks seek 4th member for house in Westbury, LI. Looking for person who desires to live in a collective, communicative atmosphere. \$110.00 plus gas and electric. Phone Jon, Kim or Liz (516) 334-5650.

In 1971 six families concerned with social change bought a six-unit apartment building in East Orange, NJ. Some are moving and we are looking for new and reliable families and individuals to share ownership and interests. Near Upsala College, NYC is 40 minutes by bus on the corner or by train 10 min. walk away. The apartment has 5 rooms, a backyard with trees and children's toys. Tenant owning is much cheaper than you think, and here at Project Share it's much more than just a nice apartment. Call 201-675-2142.

**EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES**

**DIRECTOR** — Nat'l Envir. org. seeks person with fund raising, admin. and writing skills to work collectively with staff. Salary \$9500 plus med. Send resume to Personnel, Environmental Action Foundation, 724 Dupont Circle Bldg., Washington, DC 20036.

**JOB OPENING:** Alternative Energy Researcher, Writing, Organizer. Particulars of the job & qualifications include: Monthly salary is \$550/month (no benefits); however, work hours and other aspects of the job are flexible. Person hired will share in decision-making, fund-raising, and other activities of CEP. Applicants should have demonstrated research & writing skills (typing is also necessary) as well as some experience in energy, appropriate technology and/or grassroots organizing issues. Applicants should submit a resume & short writing sample to Ken Bosson, c/o CEP, 1518 R St. NW, Wash., DC 20009 by December 30, 1977.

WIN's computerized mailing service cooperative needs a responsible, conscientious, self-motivated new co-worker to start by February. No technical skills needed since we will provide training. The

work requires the ability to work with others, an organized mind and work habits, and a commitment to working in a collective situation. We need another person with a long term commitment to providing the communications lifeblood of the movement. Reasonable movement pay. Community Mailing Service Inc., 3525 Lancaster Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Phone 215-EV2-6096.

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.

**AUTOMECHANICS WANTED:** Black Duck Motors is a community-oriented, worker-controlled, anti-sexist auto repair collective in Seattle. We have been open for nearly 4 years, primarily serving Seattle's poor and alternative communities. Our prices are low, but the shop is together enough to pay decent wages to experienced mechanics.

We are looking for politically conscious, responsible, competent (experienced but not necessarily ace) mechanics, women and men, to join us. Contact Roger Lippman at Black Duck Motors, 710 S. Jackson St., Seattle, WA 98104. Phone 206-MU2-1432.

The Middle East Peace Education program of the American Friends Service Committee in New England is in need of a work-study student or an intern. (Subsistence salary available.) For more information write: Joe Gerson, AFSC, 2161 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02140.

WYSO, the public and community radio station for and a unique institution in the Dayton, Ohio area, has an opening on its staff for a Chief Engineer. The position pays \$6500 a year. The Chief Engineer is responsible for the maintenance and development of WYSO's audio and radio equipment and for keeping the station in compliance with FCC technical and operating standards. Background in audio systems and maintenance is required; an FCC First Class License is desirable. For a more detailed job description and for more information about WYSO, contact Mark Mericle, Station Manager, WYSO-FM, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387, 513-864-2022. To apply send a resume and a statement of your views on the purposes and goals of public and community radio by Monday, December 12. WYSO is an equal opportunity/affirmative Action employer.

**PRISONERS**

Activists in max. security prisons seek correspondents. Dedicated to change thru non-violence. Write Steven C. Jevrem #136-272 and Bruce Wallace #138-631; PO Box 45699, Lucasville, Ohio 45699.

**HELP!**

Volunteers Needed!! Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC) NYC staff needs HELP. There's a lot of essential work to do. Assist with mailings, typing, layout, sorting and filing in exchange for subway fare & lunch. Call Jeanne Kaylor, 212-964-6730.

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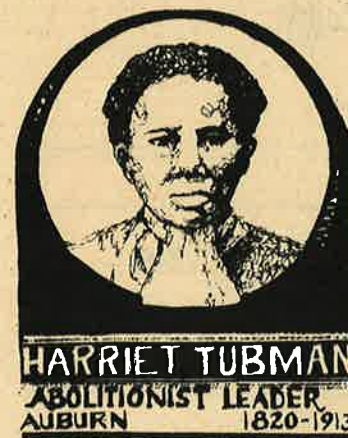
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nating with pages of text and graphics. Its 128 pages include listings of peace organizations and periodicals, American and foreign. Important dates in the history of the movement for social change are noted.

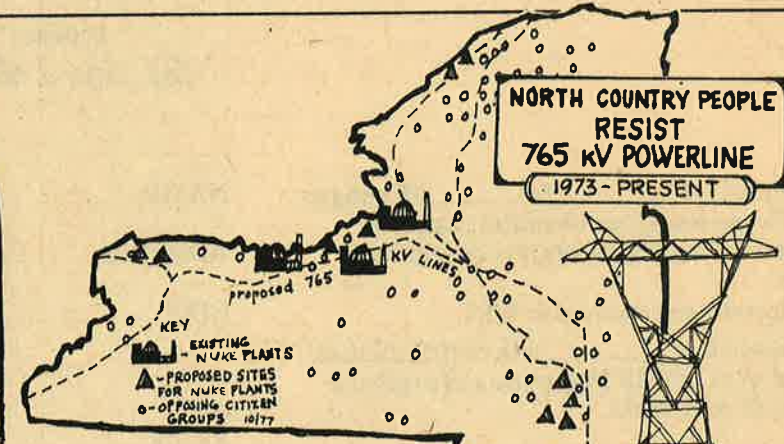
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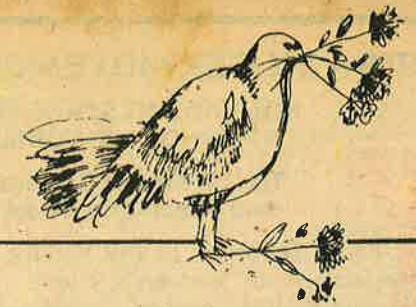
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Dear friends,

If you're starting to wonder what you can give your friends and loved ones this holiday season, we have a great idea: Give them WIN!

There's no better present than a whole year of the exciting news features, analysis, reviews, and graphic features in WIN. By giving a WIN subscription as a gift you can help WIN grow and give someone close to you a present that's like giving a different present every week for a whole year.

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People often ask us why a year's subscription only costs \$11. The reason is simple: we want to keep the price of WIN low enough so that many people can afford to subscribe. But try as we may to hold costs down, we're still tied to the same inflationary economy as everyone else. Rising costs in printing, postage, mailing and supplies make it necessary for us to raise the price of a subscription. Effective January 1, 1978, a one year subscription to WIN will cost \$15.

You can, however, take advantage of our current rate of \$11/year if you order your gift subs or extend your own right now. Plus you receive the bonus package of postcards. Don't delay on this opportunity to send WIN to your friends and family and extend your own subscription for only \$11.

Just fill in the order form and send it, with a check, back to us. Soon your special postcards will be on their way to you and your friends will receive an announcement of your gift of WIN for the new year.

Many thanks to all of you for your continuing and generous support and have a happy new year.

In peace,  
*the win staff*

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Enclosed is my renewal to WIN.

Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_ as a contribution to the vital work of WIN Magazine and to get the taxman off your backs.

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Send gift subs to:  
Enclose a separate sheet for additional gift subs.

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