

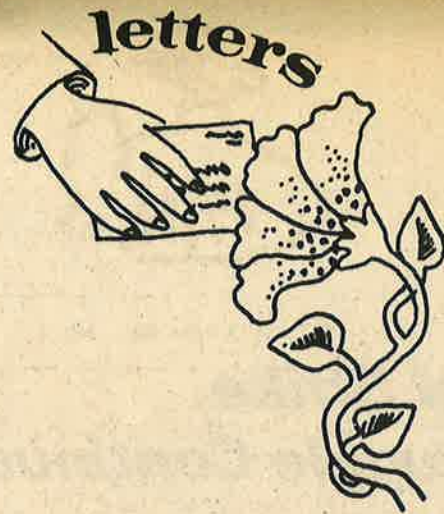
win

PEACE & FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

April 27, 1978/40¢

Lessons of the Coal Strike
The Coal Strike Ends: the Struggle Continues
Generating Power for the People *Israel Notebook*





Catherine Lowe's letter of 2/16/78 was, to me at least, a critical questioning of the entire editorial policy of WIN, as well as a questioning of WIN's analysis of social issues. In the 14 months since I've been reading WIN regularly, I don't recall any explanation of the policies of WIN on how articles are chosen or solicited, how they are changed (the editing process), and where the responsibility for WIN's political perspective lies.

The following are important questions to me, and perhaps to many others. I sincerely hope you can respond to them in your pages:

How are articles obtained? Are people asked to write them? Or do most authors voluntarily send in an article? Do you get more articles than you can print? If so, how do you choose which are printed and which are not?

If there are no articles dealing with certain political perspectives, such as sexism as the root cause of violence, is that the primary responsibility of the WIN staff, because they control what goes into the paper, or the WIN readership, because they're not sending any articles of that kind in? Or both?

What is your editorial policy? **Peace-maker**, in its February issue, printed at least part of its basic guidelines, which relate to length, literacy, and prohibition of articles advocating violence. Does WIN have similar guidelines or additional ones? If so, what are they? And what does the WIN editorial board do?

If the example of Bill Moyer and Alan Tuttle (Custer's Last Stand) is not isolated, some changes are made in articles without the author's knowledge. WIN is not a current events paper. If significant changes are recommended, can't they be sent back to the author(s)? Time should not be that crucial. If the changes are insignificant, why make them?

On the bottom of page three of each issue, you say, "Individual writers are responsible for opinions expressed and accuracy of facts given." Why should writers be held responsible if you change their words and meanings? If you feel there are real "inaccuracies" in the article, you have the freedom to make editorial comments within or at the end of the article.

Finally, I see a lot of names reappearing in articles and book reviews. How about an appeal and encouragement for new people to write for WIN? Then we might get exposure to some of the political perspectives that haven't been adequately represented in WIN.

—LARRY DANSINGER
Newport, Me.

To respond to your questions:

Some WIN articles are solicited from specific individuals and organizations, while others arrive unsolicited. We do indeed receive more articles than we print. Whether an article runs or not depends on a number of factors: that we feel it is well written, or at least clearly written; that the article offers important information on a current event; provides cogent or insightful analysis, furthers dialogue among activists or offers constructive criticism within the movement. We could go on, but there is actually no list of criteria for an article's acceptance. All articles are discussed at weekly staff meetings; final decisions are made there.

The staff tries to keep abreast of important topics, fill gaps, and expand the scope of WIN's coverage. But because of our limited resources we are sometimes not as successful as we would like. We count on WIN's activist readers to help us where and when this happens, both by submitting articles or by suggesting where we might seek them.

The editorial board meets once a month to discuss WIN's past content and offer suggestions on sources for future articles. They also assist in fundraising and promotion programs. They do not exercise any direct control over WIN or its content.

In many articles, some changes are necessary for grammatical reasons. Precious few writers fail to violate the English language in some fashion, and we attempt to rectify the situation to the best of our abilities. When significant changes are necessary we try to return the articles to the writers or, at least, consult with them. WIN is a current events paper operating under a weekly deadline, and if we wish to publish an article quickly, our author contact can

only go back and forth for a brief period. We try to be sensitive to an author's concerns, but the line between changes in content for grammatical versus editorial purposes is sometimes fine. Authors and editors have different perspectives on this, but few authors expect their material to reach publication untouched. We do not (nor does any publication) always find the perfect balance. Our editorial changes are almost exclusively concerned with style; we never edit articles with the intent of changing the meanings or conclusions.

We continually encourage WIN readers to write and constantly seek new authors. Many articles that appear are by people whose writing is new to WIN. Of course, our regular correspondents provide a valuable backbone of continuity in many areas. Since many of them are veteran activists in a wide array of fields, their experience creates a firm base for their insights which are highly valued among WIN's readers. —WIN

To Rodney Robinson (WIN, "Letters" 3/30/78), wherever you may be: the US Post Office has informed me, via return mail, that you have "Moved, left no address." I would very much like to join you in a "Swords into Plowshares" demonstration at the United Nations this May, but lack a means of contacting you.

I would suggest that interested blacksmiths (including friend Robinson) contact me, as soon as possible, so as to bring this excellent idea into reality at the UN Special Session on Disarmament.
—ANDY SWIHART
1800 Shroyer Rd. Apt 4
Dayton, Ohio 45419
(513) 293-0384

In a review of the film *Blue Collar* (WIN, 3/16/78) Jim Peck said "the film gives a beautiful overall view of the Detroit scene: the ugliness, the thruways, the factories, the pastboard-looking workers' homes in the suburbs—no scenic beauty anywhere."

What's so ugly about factories and thruways? This statement is a slanderous and grievous insult to all your readers in the mighty motor city.

It's true Detroit has a lot of ugly parts, but it's got a whole lot of good things too. As for housing stock, despite well publicized mismanagement and fraud involving HUD and FHA property, contributing to large areas of decay and abandonment, the quality of housing remains consistently better (and at more reasonable prices) than in most urban areas. Most homes in Detroit and the surrounding area are detached one and two family dwellings. And there is a lot of remodeling and home improvement work done. Building standards and codes are substantially stronger than most parts of the country, particularly New York and the Northeast coast.

I don't have time to write about all the wonderful and not so wonderful places and people we have. I mean, how many cities have the Hoa Hoa Inn (an Appalachian-Chinese restaurant), Martha Jean the Queen Steinberg, and a thirty-year one-cent paint sale?

Anyway how can you call a place ugly that has given America Aretha Franklin, Vernors Ginger Ale, Strohs Firebrewed Beer, and the Big Boy? No more knocking the motor city, ok?

—MISTER BELVEDERE
Detroit, Mich.

It appears that David Albert is a victim of wage slave ideology in his paragraph on food coops in "Do Alternative Businesses Foster Social Change?" (WIN 4/13/78) He calculates his coop's worth at 95¢/hour. This measuring of money

versus time to establish a wage rate is an old capitalist idea that insures good profit making and reasonable control of the work force.

An analysis of a food cooperative via wage comparisons seems out of place, to me, in an article authored by an anti-capitalist activist. (This I assume from the biographic note.) Food coops are attempts by people to come together not only for financial savings, but to build feelings of self-reliance and to create some spaces to enjoy yourself in this consumer-materialist rat-race that is America. Coops aren't work factories that exchange savings for sweat. The labor needed to run a cooperative can be non-oppressive, slower, more congenial than in the average workplace. A coop can be a fun place to be in whether shopping or helping out with the work.

David Albert must remember a lesson from capitalism: it's real hard to get loose and have fun if money is always on your mind. I don't know how much David measures his time to be; currently I get around \$3.50/hour for mine. This wage is an iron ring, and I resent it as a slave symbol of how a capitalist economy controls me. The time I spend at my coop is my time—I'm there of my own free will. Measuring that time at so much an hour is just a silly exercise in capitalist mathematics. If your time is so valuable you can always pay 95¢/hour for the neon splendor of your local A&P.

—KEN KOZBERG
Allston, Mass.



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Cover: photo of mineworker from Pacific News Service.

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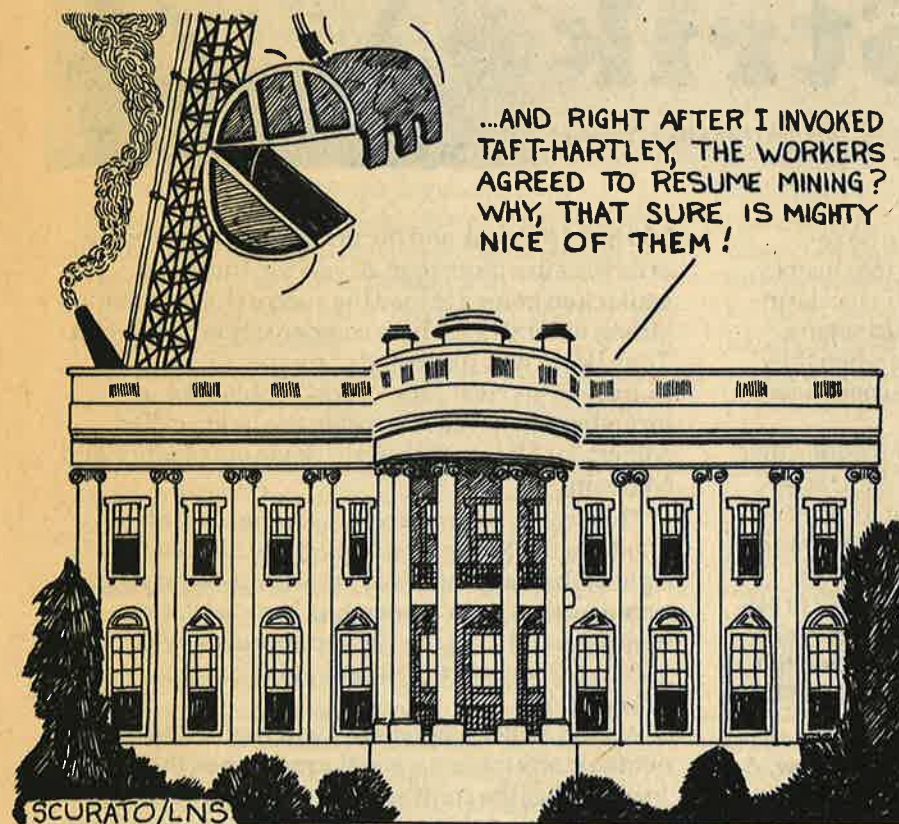
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Cartoon by Michael Scurato/LNS.

Empty coal cars in Pennsylvania—one month after strike began. Photo by Mark Zola/YS.

The lessons of the 1978 coal strike concern everyone in the US who uses electricity

Coal Lessons of the Strike

by Jennifer Axelrod

Finally the 1978 coal strike seems to be resolved. Before it begins receding into history, can some logic perhaps be discovered in its alarming course? Can its surprises be made to seem a little less arbitrary than they appeared when they hit? Clearly, we'll be hearing from the coal miners again.

It wasn't only the newspaper-reading public that was taken by surprise. The coal strike's intractability was equally unforeseen by most of its principals. When the earlier negotiated settlement was rejected in February by the membership of the United Mine Workers of America, the UMW president, Arnold Miller, was as surprised as everyone by the abyss separating him from his rank and file.

Back in 1972 when he was elected, Arnold Miller

Jennifer Axelrod freelances from Huntington, Virginia. Her articles frequently appear in Maw, A Magazine of Appalachian Women, 644 8th Street, Huntington, WV 25701.

had been the rank and file personified. Retired by arthritis after more than 20 years in the mines, Miller had helped to lead the successful fight for a strong federal black lung compensation bill. When Tony Boyle was suspected of complicity in the murder of his rival Jack "Jock" Yablonsky, a groundswell movement within the union called Miners for Democracy swept Boyle out of office and Miller in.

Then came 1974 and contract time. One of the planks of the Miners for Democracy had been the right of the rank and file to veto any contract negotiated by the UMW leadership. Very well: the miners would have the right to approve or reject the 1974 contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

Arnold Miller's popularity was high in 1974 and not too many miners were alarmed when they learned that the contract would, by implication, disavow their right to stage local strikes about local

issues—issues like mine safety, working conditions, hours, etc. Some of the union's West Virginia activists did get together and start a "Right to Strike Committee" which then published (under the gruff title *Contract Stinks*) a vilification of the contract and of Miller as its architect. These activists objected to the contract's elaborate new grievance procedure. If a miner felt endangered and considered his mine to be in violation of the federal Mine Safety Act, his recourse would be to report the violation to the union. If the union couldn't get satisfaction, it could appeal to five successively higher levels of government.

Traditionally, an endangered miner's recourse had always been to get out in front of his mine and picket it, bringing the whole workforce out on strike until his safety grievance was satisfied. Now he would be expected to go on working and hope for the best. (In practice since 1974, the average case has taken 44 weeks to resolve. In West Virginia, 90% of the decisions have gone against the miners, in favor of the companies.)

So while the 1974 contract didn't explicitly forbid local unauthorized strikes, by introducing an alternative grievance procedure (Arnold Miller's pride and joy), the contract implied that local strikes were no longer necessary. Since 1974 the companies have followed a policy of appealing the decisions which go against them, all five steps up the appeal ladder if necessary, meanwhile securing court injunctions against local unofficial strikes. In three years the courts have levied \$100 million in fines against the union for strikes by UMW members of which its leadership disapproved. A small percentage of the fines have been paid. Most are on appeal.

And in the 1978 contract negotiations the companies have insisted that the new agreement include a clause explicitly outlawing strikes unauthorized by the union's leadership.

This is essentially what the conflict, and the confusion, has been about.

There is one other bone of contention. It arose only last summer, when several companies quit paying benefits to retired miners covered under a welfare and retirement fund devised by John L. Lewis in 1946. The companies and the union, jointly responsible for the fund, had somehow allowed it to go bankrupt, meanwhile lavishly endowing a new welfare and retirement fund established in 1974. The timing of the 1946 fund's bankruptcy couldn't have been more fortunate for the companies. When benefits ceased to many of the older ex-miners last summer, wildcat strikes immediately broke out far and wide, accompanied as always by charges and counter-charges within the UMW. Thus the union suffered new factionalism on the eve of the contract negotiations.

But really, why all these unauthorized wildcat strikes in the coal fields—that's what the rest of the country wants to know. Certainly mining is dangerous work, but so are other occupations whose union contracts have long since incorporated "no-strike" clauses. Is mining that much more dangerous than steelworking or construction? Or are miners simply an undisciplined lot?

I believe the country can only hope to receive an answer to its query by beginning to take an interest in more than just the uninterrupted flow of electricity to its electric outlets. Mining ultimately depends on the morale of the miners, and not much has been contributing to that morale lately. Not much has been contributing to that morale, really, since the end of World War II, but automation has taken up the human slack. Until now.

Coal mining was first established in Appalachia in the last two decades of the 19th century under the aegis of hardbitten Scotch and English entrepreneurs, highly skilled operators and engineers who brought over from the old country a stern, Calvinistic ethic. Their loyalty to their employees, albeit somewhat stingy, was nonetheless unfeigned. In return they demanded loyalty from their men—a loyalty which few in the first or second generation of Appalachian miners begrudged them. They were rough, colorful, competent bosses, not loathe to go down the pit and swing a pick themselves.

But the owners were men who wouldn't bend. The United Mine Workers, for instance, was anathema to them. For 40 years years they held out against it, not yielding an inch, until their resistance was broken in 1933. After that they ceased, as it were, to draw life from the mines. They continued to draw the money, but many of them moved away and left daily operations in the hands of managers. In the 1930's the miner's loyalty shifted from his company to his union.

But was it indeed his union? That's what he's been asking of late with ever greater insistency, for unionization came to Appalachia from the top down, not from the grassroots up.

True, the epic struggles of the early 20th century to unionize the Appalachian coal industry are legion. Who has not heard of Mother Jones and her nocturnal organizing forays along Cabin Creek, West Virginia under the shadow of Pinkerton machine gun nests? Who hasn't heard of Harlan County, Kentucky?

What isn't so well known is that those decades of brave and bloody confrontation—all those secret union pledges in the woods, paid for later at the butt of a mine guard's gun—actually accomplished nothing toward either ameliorating conditions or

establishing the union. The low wages, the child labor, the brutal production quotas, continued unchanged. From the 1890's, when the UMW first sent organizers to West Virginia (among them Mother Jones), until 1933 when Franklin D. Roosevelt became president, all the will in the world couldn't break the paternalistic company-town system brought from the British Isles by the company founders. Elsewhere in the nation the UMW made progress aplenty. Its Illinois, Indiana and Pennsylvania members secured model contracts. But in West Virginia and Kentucky, which together mine half the country's coal, union members were hunted men.

Then in 1933 all that changed overnight. With the passage of the National Recovery Act, John L. Lewis saw his chance. Included in the NIRA was a vague and apparently meaningless provision recognizing the right of workers to engage in "collective bargaining." Lewis seized on that provision, publicized it, insisted that it guaranteed federal protection to union organizers and members, and proceeded to commit the entire UMW treasury to a drive to organize Appalachia. He sent out a hundred organizers to hold mass meetings and announce, "The President of the United States wants you to join the union." The UMW "obligation" was recited by massed miners throughout the region. Within two weeks southern West Virginia, the scene of so many agonized failures, was organized.

Roosevelt signed the NIRA bill on June 16, 1933. On June 19th a UMW organizer named Van Bittner wrote from West Virginia that Logan County, the bastion of anti-unionism, had been organized. On June 22nd Van Bittner wrote, "The entire northern (West Virginia) field, as well as the New River, Winding Gulf, Kanawha field, Mingo and Logan are all completely organized. We finish up in McDowell, Mercer and Wyoming Counties this week." (Quoted in Irving Bernstein, *The Turbulent Years*, 1971.)

Thus was the fabled loyalty of Appalachian miners removed like a mantle from the shoulders of their bosses to the shoulders of the no less paternalistic John L. Lewis. What the miners had failed for 40 years to achieve for themselves had been visited upon them like a bolt of lightning. The coup was followed in summer 1933 by an Appalachian Joint Agreement that improved wages and conditions. When the Supreme Court struck down the NIRA in 1935, the threat of a strike nonetheless enabled Lewis to get a better contract for his men. The 1937 Appalachian Agreement again raised the daily wage, despite the continuing depression. Not until 1939 was there a UMW strike in southern West Virginia. After a six-week walkout Lewis settled for a union-shop clause and, in view of the 1939 recession, forewent a wage increase that year.

After a one-month strike in 1941, Appalachia's miners finally achieved wages equal to those of northern miners: \$7 a day.

The only significant mining area to survive the 1930's un-unionized was Harlan County, Kentucky, a bastion of "captive mines" owned by other than mining companies.

What's significant about all this for the 1970's is the long shadow of how after their years of futile self-sacrifice, Appalachia's miners finally achieved unionization. Before 1933, to take the union pledge was a dangerous and, essentially, individual moral step. To join in 1933 along with everyone else carried no danger but also no glory. *Realpolitik* from the top had accomplished what the ultimate in moral commitment from the grassroots had abjectly failed to achieve. The lesson has not been forgotten.

When miners feel they've been worsted by the outside world, by the world of *realpolitik*, any spark is sufficient to set off local strikes. This has been true since the 30's. What's different since the 1974 contract is that those local strikes are no longer being viewed by management as the signal to negotiate. Rather than sitting down to air the grievance and negotiate it, the operators' new policy is to seek a court injunction. And the courts have been ordering injunctions against the local strikes, spurring the aggrieved miners to try to spread their strikes as far afield as possible in hopes of establishing a position of strength from which to negotiate. This explains the extensive

Miners assist an injured comrade. Photo from *The Militant*.



In Virginia, armed troopers failed to force miners back to work. Photo from *The Call*.

wildcat strikes of the summers of 1975 and 1976, originating in West Virginia but spreading nationwide.

The 1975 wildcat, idling 80 thousand miners for several weeks, was the eye-opener. The monolithic image of the United Mine Workers evaporated that summer, perhaps never to be reestablished. At the time, I was a printer for Appalachian Movement Press in Huntington, West Virginia. A rumor was circulating that the Right to Strike Committee, the group for which we had printed the *Contract Stinks* literature in 1974, was coming back together over some sort of local grievance at an Amherst Company mine near Logan, West Virginia. The next evening the phone rang and I found myself talking to someone with the Right to Strike in Beckley, West Virginia. It was along toward evening, almost quitting time. The caller asked if we could work late to print 30,000 copies of a leaflet.

He and some others arrived about dark with the copy. They slept out in their car while we typeset the leaflet, which struck a note of stark but eloquent militance, and churned out 30,000 copies. We finished about 1 am and I went out to wake the miners. They paid in cash — \$1, \$5 and \$10 bills they said they'd collected earlier in the day at a rally.

The next morning another call came. The caller, a woman this time, identified herself with the Right to Strike in Charleston, West Virginia. Could we print 20,000 copies for them of the same leaflet? She said the strike activists were working around the clock, driving from mine to mine in pairs to picket the shift changes.

Incredibly, it was working. Within a few days 30,000 of West Virginia's 40,000 miners were on strike and the walkout was spreading to Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Several hundred roving picketers were idling most of the country's coal production. Pretty soon the railroads announced freight personnel layoffs for lack of coal to haul. A federal court injunction carrying \$100,000 a day fines against the UMW was ignored. Mining areas were pervaded by a holiday atmosphere.

What was incredible to myself and others not born and bred in the mountains was that, beyond the original strikers in Logan County, none of the thousands involved had a grievance. There was a tradition which said "never cross a picket line, not even a one-man picket line." Against the grain of economic self-interest, the tradition was being honored. There was no hope of gains accruing: the contract had two more years to run. Most miners seemed aware that the Right to Strike Committee consisted of radicals, but 1975 proved no exception to their historic indifference to the ideology of their organizers.

As the strike wore on week after week, and began wearing thin, it began to dawn on the miners that the Right to Strike Committee had no intention of negotiating with anyone. We printed 30,000 copies of a second leaflet for the Committee and 20,000 for a third, but nary a whisper did they contain of grounds for compromise. And it soon became obvious that the country's miners didn't relish going on strike only to discover they were following people who didn't believe in exacting concessions from the opposition and then going back to work. The Right to Strike Committee held out for all or nothing and got nothing. Since 1975 its members have been *persona non grata* among their fellow miners.

The 1976 wildcat strike, equally extensive but of shorter duration, somewhat rectified the unpleasant taste left from the previous year. Local and district level UMW officials unexpectedly emerged as champions of the right to engage in local, unofficial strikes. At the 1976 UMW national convention in Cincinnati they secured unanimous passage of a resolution that the next contract should guarantee the local right to strike over unsettled local grievances. In negotiating with the companies this year, Arnold Miller has ignored that resolution.

Many UMW members feel that the union needs to change presidents again. A petition to recall Miller has gathered "tens of thousands" of signatures. Unfortunately, the bridge between the union's leadership and its rank and file may not be that easily rebuilt. The history of coal mining in Appalachia suggests that there's not going to be found any passageway back to the verities of an earlier, simpler day. The UMW, faced with ever-growing competition from non-union Kentucky coal — not to mention the vast ununionized strip mines of the West — is going to be fighting for its life these next few years. Inevitably, the union will have to demand ever greater discipline and predictability from its members if it wants to hold onto its past gains won at the bargaining table.

The question is whether the Appalachian miner, alienated now not only from the bosses he so fervently admired when mining first entered his

mountain fastness, but also equally from the union which in the 30's inherited their mantle, will begin looking to some new quarter for a champion worthy of his loyalty—and, if so, to what quarter? Or will the Appalachian miner finally begin waking up to the fact that he really needs no champion beyond the dignity and national importance of his eerie occupation?

My own belief is that wages not only trail adequate and equal benefits and the local right to strike in importance to the miner, but that all three together are less crucial than the need for genuine communication between miners and the rest of us! The cash nexus is inadequate to meet the coal crisis! Going down in a dark pit to dig day after day, year after year, requires an unusual level of morale. The loyalty between miner and miner still keeps that morale alive. The choice before the rest of us is to somehow make ourselves participants in that bond of loyalty or to find ourselves increasingly its pawns and victims. The UMW has been protecting us from the miner's ire, and if the UMW breaks up it's we who'll be exposed to blackmail by the companies.

Curiously enough, Europe, and particularly England, faced a similar crisis toward the end of the 1920's. Patrick Geddes made a comment at the time which perhaps merits pondering. "We have dared to affirm that the coal situation is far more than a money squabble," he said. We have treated it as a collapse of the paleotechnic order of industry, yet with opening for the neolithic order."

Miners leaving work in Raleigh Co., West Virginia, on the last shift before the national UMW strike, Dec. 5, 1977. Photo by Doug Yarrow/LNS.



The Coal Strike Ends: the Struggle Continues

by Bill Griffen

"Men, if you must die with your boots on, die for your families, your homes, your country, but do not longer consent to die like rats in a trap for those who have no more interest in you than in the pick you dig with."

The speaker, John Siney, an early union organizer, stood in front of Pennsylvania's Avondale Mine where 179 coal miners lay dead—victims of a mine explosion. The year was 1896. Because the mine owners had refused to spend a comparatively few extra dollars from their profits, an escape exit was never built at the mine. (Boyer and Morais, *Labor's Untold Story*, NY, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, 1955, p. 45.)

The owners of coal mines have continued that tradition of profits over the safety of the miners ever since. In the past 30 years mine accidents have taken the lives of 15,719 miners, an average of 523 per year. More than 750,000 have been injured in the mines and over 3,000 miners die from black lung each year. (*New York Times*, 12/4/73 and *Wall Street Journal*, 8/31/74, p. 8.)

While it is true that coal mining is the most dangerous occupation in the US (the fatality rate is seven times the average for workers in all American industries), industrial work in general is "hazardous to your health." In 1968 there were 14,311 industrial deaths in the US; that is the same number of lives lost in Vietnam that year! In 1969 there were one million new cases of industrial disease. (*Work in America*, Report of a Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, M.I.T. Press, 1973, p. 26.)

It is no wonder the miners, at the top of the hazardous occupations list, have fought so hard for the benefits of health care and the right to independently strike against unsafe mine conditions (so-called "wildcat" strikes).

There are important lessons to be learned from the miners' courageous struggle against those who send them into the mines. Most important,

Bill Griffen organized mineworker support activities in Cortland, NY.

how are we led to perceive this struggle? How does the media present the issues of the strike to the general public? Listening to the no-nonsense, insightful 15-second-a-shot TV interviews with a few selected striking miners, one might answer that the networks are more than "fair" with the miners and their cause. Most of the miners effectively present their case of being sold short: first by the Bituminous Coal Operator's Association's regressive contract offers, and then by their own UMW leadership, Arnold Miller, et. al. Some of the miners also manage in their few seconds ration of prime-time news to pin-point the larger issue: their fight to protect the use of the strike—the worker's sole weapon against the entrenched power of the owners.

In addition to the systemic alliance with mass media, the affluent owners can call upon an arsenal of weapons: the financial assets that accumulate as generation after generation dig that coal out for them, support from political power ranging from the executive to the lower levels of government, and the management of public opinion through slick advertising campaigns (union leaders tried borrowing this page from management's book and put out a hard-sell on contract ratification on the 1st vote, but it fizzled—the rank and file are not easily conned).

While it is true that the miners get tube-time to plead their case, the TV networks, *Time*, *Newsweek*, the *New York Times*, and most daily newspapers manage to put the strike (and any other labor struggles for that matter) into a certain, limited perspective. Therein lies the tremendous power of the media to mystify and render terribly complex what is a basic question: *What is a just, democratic economic system?*

The mass media appear to be objective and fair since they do describe some of the symptoms of injustice. However, these injustices are treated either casually or as inevitable—part of an imperfect world. In a struggle between coal miners and mine owners, the media assumes the battle to be somewhat even. Our society is supposed to be "pluralistic" with an approximate balance of power in the social order. As *US News and World Report* puts it, "In seeking the upper hand union, management and government all seemed to lack the needed trump cards." (3/20/78, p. 14.) But the historical reality is that capital has always trumped labor.

Failing to face that fundamental fact, the marketers of news rush on to describe the results of the "capital over labor" scenario, a scenario our economic system plays out in each generation. Sample:

And as coal supplies dwindle, life in Terre Haute, a city ringed by 20 coal mines, becomes more bleak. Nearly everyone, from factory to first-grade stu-

dents, is feeling the pinch from cutbacks in electric power. (*US News & World Report*, 3/20/78, p. 18.)

"Nearly everyone" in the miners' country "is feeling the pinch," but not everyone.

Their homes probably tell as much about the differences among the men who belong to the Bituminous Coal Operator's Association as the bottom lines of their companies balance sheets. In suburban Pittsburgh, top executives of US Steel, which owns the sixth largest coal company in the country, live in elegant mansions. In Greene County, PA, the owners of small coal mines may own the biggest houses in town, which are usually simple frame dwellings. In Pikesville, KY, some owners of mines that suddenly boomed because of the energy crisis have built French provincial-style houses, known locally as Cinderella Castles. (*Time*, 3/27/78 p. 15.)

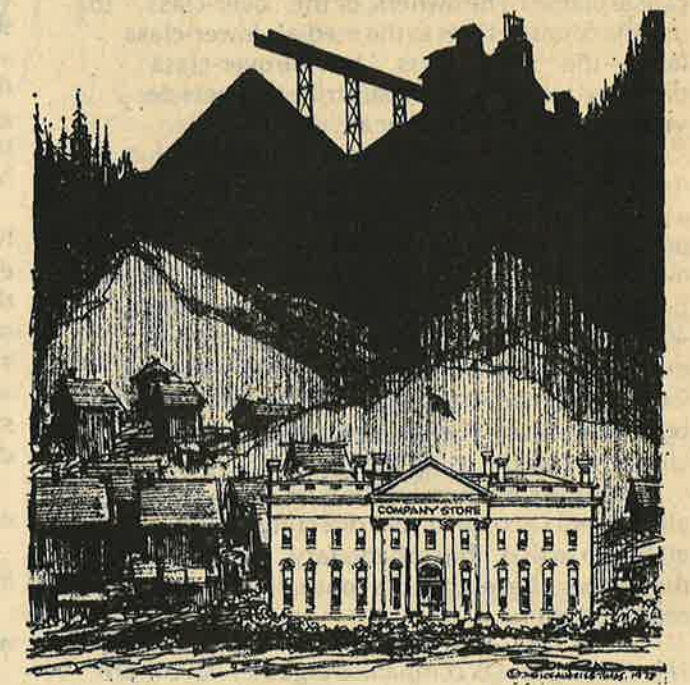
Time Magazine goes on to make the point that there exists a class system within the owner's upper class. But the all-encompassing class system that always seems to escape *Time's* editors' attention has produced consistent results in the past 70 years: the richest fifth of the population takes approximately 40% of the total income while the poorest fifth gets only five percent! (*Business Week*, 9/12/72.)

Along with every symptom of economic injustice the media cites, the theme of what the miners' strike is doing to the rest of us is tirelessly hammered away at.

Across the broad heartland of the US, the lights began going out. . .

Thus, on the outcome of the chaos in the coal fields hung not only the pay and benefits of 160,000

Cartoon from *The Los Angeles Times*.



soft-coal miners, but the future course of the economy, the comfort of millions and the reputation of the Carter administration itself.

... many more factories will cut back on operations and lay off employees...

In the meantime, the nation suffers. It's estimated that if the coal strike lasts until April 1, three million Americans will be thrown out of work due to power cutbacks caused by shortages of coal.

—Quoted from national news weeklies

In the feverish hand-wringing over worsening economic conditions, the unmistakable message comes through—the strike and strikers are the cause of it all. Even if the miners settle, the strike has caused serious economic problems chorus the media. Their "big" pay raise "... will give the inflation spiral another twist," boosting the price of electricity and other products that rely on coal. What's more, *US News and World Report* tells us, "The pay jump is sure to encourage unions in other industries to seek big increases, too." (3/20/78, p. 12.)

The media this time will plug the coal miners' demands into the "increased wages cause inflation" myth. Next time it will be the auto workers' or teachers' or farmers' or construction workers' increased wages that will cause inflation. Studies using the government's own statistics lead to the opposite conclusion: *wage increases are a response to inflation*. Inflation, fueled by the drive for higher and higher profits clearly precedes and sets in motion the demand for more wages. The case of the coal miners is not different.

And who remains immune from any possible causal blame? The owners, or the "over-class," to use the counter-term to the media's lower-class label—the "under-class." It is the over-class' distorted picture of the coal strike that gets developed and printed; after all, they own the "cameras, film and processors," to extend that metaphor. Missing from the mass media picture is a portrait of the over-class itself. Although only four percent of the US adult population is in this class, it owns 36% of all the nation's total wealth, 27% of all privately held real estate, 33% of cash holdings, 40% of non-corporate business assets, 63% of privately held corporate stock, 78% of state and local bonds (non-taxable), and 99% of all corporate bonds and notes. (Urban Institute at Penn State University study, using IRS figures.)

While the right hand of the over-class and their allied media apologists are directing public attention to that "big inflationary" pay increase for the miners, the left hand is concealing what is really going on.

The 400 largest US companies together have more

than \$60 billion in cash—almost triple the amount they had at the beginning of the 1970's. . . . This enormous pile-up of cash has come about partly because corporate profits have climbed by \$30 billion since the start of 1975. . . . most corporations are ignoring their critics and are piling up cash at a handsome clip—to as much as 30% of total assets at some fairly large corporations. (Business Week, 3/13/78 p. 62.)

But that \$2.35 an hour increase those miners are to get over the next three years is going to cause an "inflation spiral"! And so it goes—blame the victim, never the victimizer.

In their struggle against big business, big government, big media and big labor leaders, the coal miners are delivering a crucial message to working women and men everywhere. *The miners have drawn a line against the rate of exploitation and that is a necessary message for all workers to put forth.* The next step is to draw the line against exploitation itself. In moving toward that second step, the miners' strike has once again reminded us of the obstacles we face. One segment of the working class will be played against other segments with increased frequency while any segment of the working class attempting to draw lines against exploitation will be isolated from the entire consuming public in an attempt to discipline militant workers. There are some hopeful signs that the divide-and-conquer strategy is losing its effectiveness as other unions and working people respond with food, money and support for the besieged miners. Calls for solidarity are elevated from empty phrases to concrete supportive actions.

True, much of the support is unorganized, piecemeal and at times ineffectual; but so were the early protests against the war in Vietnam. One of the breakthroughs in creating a real movement of support for the struggle of the Vietnamese was the development of an analysis of what was really going on—not what we were told was going on. We learned, to paraphrase Walt Kelly's Pogo: "We have met the enemy and they are some of us."

We thank the miners for dramatizing once again how the system works to benefit the few at the expense of the many. We also pause to recognize the long line that have marched before the coal miners—the field hands, the textile workers, the steelworkers, the window washers, the cannery workers and so on—those who have marched in strength, dignity and in solidarity to the same drummer.

It is we who plowed the prairies; built the cities where they trade;

Dug the mines and built the workshops; endless miles of railroad laid.

Now we stand outcast and starving, mid the wonders we have made;

But the Union makes us strong.

They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn;

But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel can turn.

We can break their haughty power; gain our freedom when we learn;

That the Union makes us strong.

Solidarity Forever!

—"Solidarity Forever" by Ralph Chaplin from Joyce Kornbluh's *Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology*

To join those marchers and give life to the phrase "Solidarity Forever!", I urge support for the following committed groups. The end of the strike does not mean the end of the struggle.

Miners Support Committee of
Southern West Virginia
P.O. Box 3182
East Beckley Station
Beckley, West Virginia 25801

Miners Support Committee
c/o Mountain Community Union
321 Richmond Avenue
Morgantown, West Virginia 26505

The New York UMW Support Committee
156 5th Avenue
Room 819
New York, New York 10010



Drawing by Miners Art Group/LNS.

Dirt

I clean houses for my living,
dust the shutters
that rich lawyers, urban planners
put up to keep the world out.
I can't see the dust, the dried up guilt and greed
but they can feel it.
so they hire me
to clean. I vacuum ashes of burned witches
off the floors in priests' apartments—
vacuum cobwebs out of corners, webs that weave
stories of women killed
by coathangers, women dead in childbirth
because abortion violates
the right to life.
I scrub toilets
for rich doctors and their families—
flush away the "spare parts" ripped from women
in surgery for no reason—

no reason but the price tag
or the color of their skin.
I dust the ghosts of Chinese peasants
off fine porcelain—dust the anger
and the pain of South Americans
who sell their crafts for pennies to survive—
dust spells from magic dolls
now seen as useless objects—dust
tiny seals preserved in stone
while real ones are slaughtered
for their coats.

I make three twenty-five an hour.
don't you think they should pay more?
without women like me
things would be,
you know, so
messy.

— June Blue Spruce



Israel Notebook

by Stephen Suffet with photo by Diana Davies



In many ways I found it difficult to believe that Israel is a nation at war, with an undisclosed number of troops carrying out search and destroy missions in southern Lebanon and many more administering territories captured in 1967. All the routine signs of homefront mobilization are absent. Billboards which could easily be pasted over with rousing patriotic posters are instead adorned with advertisements for popular American movies such as "The Turning Point" and "Julia." Consumer prices are high, but commodities are readily available without shortages or queues. Even gasoline, which costs about 45¢ a liter, is plentiful enough not to be rationed.

A bitter and sometimes violent strike has closed the port of Haifa for three months, but the government has not yet resorted to frantic cries of "national security" to force the strikers back to work. On April 1, a radio-TV-newspaper strike began, and no one denounced it as "treasonous" or a threat to the war effort.

The busy streets of downtown Jerusalem are crowded every day but Saturday (Israel's day off) with shoppers who do not seem particularly worried about the prospect of a terrorist bombing, although there have been many over the years. And the Coast Road, the scene of the recent bloody guerrilla raid, is still heavily traveled despite its proximity to the impossible-to-completely-secure beaches of the Mediterranean.

Palestinian Arabs from Gaza and the West Bank journey throughout Israel taking jobs, buying and selling produce in local markets, and visiting relatives. Every day visitors from Jordan, ostensibly an enemy state, arrive across the Allenby Bridge. Arab merchants in the Old City of Jerusalem openly peddle articles which one might think would be forbidden: the green, white, and black flag of Palestine; the red and white embroidered military *kafiya* (headdress) of the Arab Legion; the stamps, coins, and currency of even the most hostile nations such as Libya and Iraq.

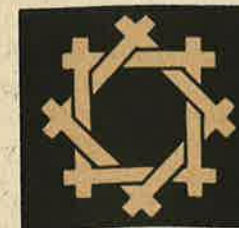
Stephen Suffet visited Israel during late March and early April of this year.



Nightclubs, bars, and discos throughout the country are crowded, and there is not even the slightest talk of a blackout or curfew. The music one hears is not nationalistic or military songs, but current pop tunes from Great Britain and the United States. Wine, whiskey, and beer flow freely. Visiting one of Israel's night spots, it is hard to imagine that a war is going on.

Yet in other respects the evidence of war is inescapable. On a trip to Ein Geddi, a green oasis amid the Judean Desert not far from the Dead Sea, I observed several groups of school-aged hikers, each of which was accompanied by one or more rifle-carrying adults. Along the Jordan Valley Road which runs through the occupied West Bank there are a number of military checkpoints where soldiers routinely search vehicles for explosives. Camouflaged transport planes can be spotted on the far runways of Ben Gurion Airport near Tel Aviv, and police carefully inspect the handbags of anyone approaching the Western Wall in Old Jerusalem.

But by far the most noticeable sign of the continuing war is the vast number of people one sees in military uniform. Everywhere I traveled I saw soldiers — young recruits and old reservists, men and women, immigrants and native-born *sabras*. They filled bus terminals, restaurants, and roadside refreshment stands. They were in every city, town, village, and settlement I passed through. At times it seemed like half the country was in the service, and in a way it is, for Israelis are liable for reserve duty through age 55. Many reservists were in fact called up for the Lebanon campaign.



I spoke at length with one reservist who had just returned from a week on the Lebanese front. His

name is Zev, and he had come to Israel from the Soviet Union four years ago. Now 30 years old, Zev was attending technical school in Haifa and living in a small village about 15 kilometers away when suddenly summoned to arms a few days after the Coast Road attack.

The next day he crossed the border to join an artillery unit, where he witnessed scenes of absolute destruction. Israelis entering Moslem villages found that air strikes had forced the local inhabitants to flee in advance of the attack. Hand grenades were tossed into abandoned buildings to wipe out anyone who might have been hiding inside. Occasionally the soldiers saw a white flag fly from a house, or spotted elderly residents who hadn't left. In those cases no grenade would be thrown, but the soldiers would proceed to the next building to continue their operations.

Sometimes as the Israelis entered a Christian village, friendly people would turn out in the streets to cheer and flash victory signs to the troops. Even there, however, Zev reported feeling sorrow and disgust as he saw 13 and 14-year-old boys carrying guns and wearing the uniform of the private Christian militia which fights alongside the Israelis. The Lebanese Moslems and the Palestinians also use youngsters in their armies. Southern Lebanon just isn't a place for a child to be a child these days.

Many people told me that morale among the Israelis in Lebanon is much lower than it had been in any previous conflict. Although casualties are relatively low (18 dead as of April 3, including several from "non-hostile" causes) and actual face-to-face combat is rare, the overwhelming power of the Israeli force has made many of its own troops uneasy. Chief of Staff Mordecai Gur recently stated that he would have been surprised and even embarrassed if his soldiers *hadn't* felt any ambivalence. He went on to say that he was sorry for the destruction that was caused to the civilian population, but that it was necessary in order to risk as few Israeli lives as possible while still ensuring a maximum dislocation of the Palestinian guerrilla movement.



Hasidim en route to the Wailing Wall.

Zev was glad to be home, but he was so upset by his experience that he took an additional week off from school. Yet, like every Israeli I talked with, he felt that his government's actions, although regrettable, were justifiable. Not one person I met doubted the necessity or the propriety of the Lebanon campaign; they only wished that it were finished quickly.



While there is agreement among Israelis* concerning Lebanon, there are many areas of public policy over which opinion is divided. One such area is the question of how Israel shall approach peace negotiations with its Arab neighbors.

For strategic reasons, Israel is committed to retaining at least a small slice of the Syrian Golan Heights, and for historic reasons Israel will never voluntarily give up any part of Jerusalem. The

government has expressed a willingness to return most or even all of Sinai to Egypt in exchange for a permanent peace agreement, but at the same time Menachem Begin has adamantly refused to consider a pull-back from the West Bank region. Such inflexibility has been a matter of concern for many Israelis, especially since Begin recently began referring to the area as "liberated" rather than "occupied." Most Israelis feel that their country must maintain some type of presence in the West Bank (which Israelis call Samaria and Judea), but believe that negotiations with Jordan over the status of that region are possible and desirable.

Early in March a group of 300 reserve military officers, many of whom were combat veterans of elite units such as the paratroopers, published a letter to the Prime Minister in which they questioned the wisdom of his hard line. In it they stated their willingness to fight again if need be, but demanded that their government first do all that is possible to avoid a future conflict. Despite the exceptionally moderate and conciliatory tone of the

*Note: I use the word "Israelis" to mean Israeli Jews. For the most part I did not speak with members of Israel's non-Jewish minorities including Arabs, Druzes, Circassians, etc.

officers' letter, Begin reacted angrily to it and declared that its signers represented only a tiny minority of public opinion.

In order to refute Begin's assessment of their strength, the reserve officers called upon all who supported their letter to demonstrate in Tel Aviv on Saturday evening April 1. They expected a few thousand people to appear, but to their surprise five to ten times that many showed up. According to one BBC reporter, 35,000 Israelis took part in the demonstration. Even the most conservative estimate place the size of the crowd at 25,000.

The demonstration was as low-keyed as the original letter, with one featured speaker declaring: "We are not here to change the government, but to get the government to change its position." Nevertheless, it was the largest peace demonstration in Israel's history, and it was all the more remarkable because it came on the heels of the terrorist attack and the Lebanon invasion.



I was discussing US politics with several Israelis one evening when the topic of American Indians arose. Suddenly someone suggested, "You know those Indians are going about it the wrong way, pressing their land claims in court. All they really have to do is plant a few bombs, hijack a couple of airplanes, and kill some children. They'll be invited to the United Nations with the whole world applauding them."

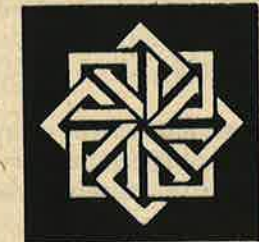
The remark was made in jest, but it indicates much of the frustration which Israelis experience. They are attacked by terrorists and the world is silent; they strike back and they are condemned for it. Until this is understood and dealt with, there is little chance that Israel will alter its present bargaining position.

The primary concern of Israel is security. It is a nation of refugees who landed on its shores for reasons not of ideology, but of survival. Its people came from Europe, and later from Arab countries

and then Russia. Many are now arriving from Latin America and South Africa. They have known fear and insecurity in their native countries all too well, and they seek haven in Israel for the simple fact that they have nowhere else to go. If Israelis tend to be distrustful, it is because their collective experience has not been one which is conducive to developing trust.

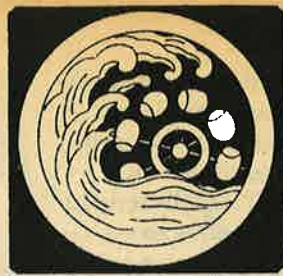
Just outside of Jerusalem is Yad Vashem, a memorial museum of the Holocaust which chronicles in minute detail the atrocities committed against the Jews in the 1930's and 40's. As I passed through the exhibits I couldn't fail to notice how much emphasis was placed on the fact that the British closed off Jewish immigration to Palestine in 1939, just as the Nazis were about to launch their extermination campaign. The very existence of the Jewish state is dedicated to the proposition that such a callous and deadly betrayal shall never happen again.

Now everywhere the Israelis turn—from the one-sided resolutions of the UN to the pressure placed on their government by Jimmy Carter—they sense that history is repeating itself. I am not saying that they are either right or wrong in their appraisal of things, but I am saying that despite internal disagreements over such issues as the reserve officers' letter, Israeli will not be ready to discuss peace until they feel their security needs have been met.



Do Israelis believe there is a chance for peace? Many do, but they are not optimistic. There are simply too many "ifs" involved: "If Sadat can hold sway." "If Hussein would join the talks." "If the PLO can be defeated." "If the situation in Lebanon can be stabilized." "If Carter can be persuaded." And even: "If Begin can be more flexible."

Some would add: "If the Red Sea would again drown our enemies!" For a few Israelis this last remark is as much a wish as it is a witticism.



Generating Power for the People

by Marty Jezer with design from Rainbook

Priate utilities in southern Vermont are fighting for their existence. At town meetings this March, voters in Brattleboro, Vermont and in 13 towns in the West River Valley decided to establish committees to study the feasibility of creating municipal utilities with their own public generating plants.

Fifteen communities in Vermont, including Burlington—the largest city—already have municipal power. Springfield, Vermont, with voter approval, is in the process of buying out the investor-owned utility (IOU) that serves its area and building its own hydro-electric plant.

If Brattleboro and the West River Basin Energy Committee (WRBEC) join Springfield in creating their own public power projects, the Central Vermont Public Service Company (CVPS)—the largest investor-owned utility in the state—will lose most of its customers in southeastern Vermont. As public power projects promise lower electric rates as well as local control, the idea is sure to snowball. Conceivably, CVPS could be driven out of the state.

More than 2,000 communities in the country have their own municipal systems. But very few generate their own electricity. Most buy from large federal projects like the Bonneville Power Authority in the Pacific Northwest and from Tennessee Valley Authority. In the East, most municipalities purchase wholesale power from the investor-owned utilities. They can sell to their customers cheaper because they don't have to pay stockholder dividends.

The municipal utility in Burlington is an inspirational model for the downstate Vermonters. Burlington recently became the first utility in the country to burn wood for electric power. Its own staff converted a fossil-fuel boiler into a wood-burning facility and brought it on line below budgeted cost. Burlington is also looking into nearby hydro sources and a solid-waste burning plant. Burning garbage to produce steam and electricity will also solve the city's garbage and landfill problem.

Marty Jezer has been working on public power in Brattleboro for three years and says he never expected to see this much progress. For an in-depth analysis of IOU's and public utilities, see his article in WIN, 4/14/77.

Just as Springfield, Vermont is going to utilize the hydro potential of the Black River which flows through the middle of town, WRBEC is studying the feasibility of converting two federal flood control dams on the West River into hydro projects. And Brattleboro is discussing intervening in the relicensing procedure of the Vernon hydro dam on the Connecticut River, which is currently operated by New England Power Company, one of the largest IOU's in New England.

Hydro dams on navigable waterways must be licensed by the federal government every 50 years. The license of the Vernon Dam is currently up for renewal. Under federal law, a public utility has licensing priority if it can prove that it can operate the dam as well as its original owner. Obviously Vernon Dam is a long-shot. Despite the law, no take-over has ever occurred. And Brattleboro would first have to organize its own utility to compete for the license, a process that will take a number of years. But the people of Brattleboro have decided that a take-over is an idea worth pursuing.

WERBC was initiated by a group called the Middle Income Consumers Council and the Brattleboro project was initiated by Community Action for Safe Energy (CASE). CASE described its project as "A Business Proposition That Makes Sense." Both groups did preliminary research on their own. As they developed their information they presented it to town officials and, through public meetings, radio and the press, to the townspeople. Now that the various towns have adopted their proposals, CASE and the Middle Income Consumers Council have formally withdrawn from the projects, though members of each group remain active on the two official committees.

Vermont gets a large portion of its electricity from nuclear power plants. Private utilities that dominate the New England power grid have continuously ignored hydro and other alternatives in favor of nuclear power. CVPS, for instance, is an investor in the controversial Seabrook nuclear plant. Because of opposition to nuclear power, New Englanders in general, and Vermonters in particular, are knowledgeable about utility problems and aware of the dangers of nuclear power. But they have always demanded of nuclear critics that they come up with alternative sources of power.

Talking about various alternatives is meaningless unless one has control of capital. Public power puts investment capital into the hands of the people. It gives the public the authority to determine how electricity is going to be generated.

The battle for public power is going to be intense. The IOU's are fighting for their very existence. But by the strength of the town meeting victories, the initiators of these public power projects have shown that they have earned the respect of the people.



THOUSANDS RALLY IN WASHINGTON TO OPPOSE BAKKE DECISION

An estimated 20,000 people converged on the US Capitol to call on the Supreme Court to overturn the Bakke case. Allan Bakke, a white student, sued the University of California because he felt minority admissions quotas had denied him a place in medical school. His suit was upheld in federal district court. Opponents of the decision fear that such a ruling will destroy the progress of affirmative action programs since the civil rights agitation of the early 1960's.

The marchers assembled at the Ellipse behind the White House. They marched down Pennsylvania Ave. to the Capitol, around the Capitol and rallied on the West Lawn. It was a sunny spring day and the line of march was spirited with lots of chants and songs.

Speakers at the rally called on the Court to rule against Bakke's claim and preserve affirmative action enrollment programs at colleges, universities and in industry.

— Jim Peck

ACLU SUES ATTORNEY GENERAL GRIFFIN BELL AND THREE FBI OFFICIALS

Attorney General Griffin Bell, former FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley, and two other FBI officials are being sued for having violated the statutory and constitutional rights of four people whose telephone conversations were overheard on a warrantless wiretap placed on the telephone of David Truong, a former anti-war activist who has been accused of spying for Hanoi. The suit asks for damages and injunctive relief. The complaint was filed today in the US District Court of the District of Columbia on behalf of four defendants, Jacquelyn M. Chagnon, Beverly J. Chagnon, Roger E.

Rumpf, and John F. Kelly, all acquaintances of Truong, by American Civil Liberties Union attorneys Mark Lynch and John Shattuck.

Attorney General Griffin Bell authorized the FBI to conduct a warrantless wiretap on David Truong's telephone from May 11, 1977 through February 6, 1978, purportedly to obtain information deemed essential to the security of the United States and to protect national security information against foreign intelligence activities.

The judge presiding over the criminal prosecution in the case has already determined that a substantial portion of the wiretap was in violation of Truong's rights under the Fourth Amendment and Title 3 of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968.

— ACLU News

TROJAN DECOMMISSIONING ALLIANCE ANNOUNCES NEW CAMPAIGN AGAINST OREGON NUKE

Civil disobedience to shut down the Trojan nuclear power plant will take place with people arriving at the site on four consecutive days in August, the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance announced April 12.

Declaring that "in all conscience we cannot allow the continued operation of Trojan," the Alliance said that concerned citizens will arrive at Trojan to nonviolently block entrances to the plant starting every day August 6 through August 9, as part of an ongoing effort to shut down the nuclear plant.

There were over 200 arrests on trespassing charges at Trojan last year during two Alliance-sponsored protests, as demonstrators blocked entrance gates at the plant. In the first mass trial of the protestors, all 96 defendants were

acquitted by a Columbia County jury after hearing defense testimony by expert witnesses on dangers of nuclear power.

The Alliance is sponsoring a community education campaign throughout Oregon in the coming months, focusing on short-term and long-range health dangers and economic drawbacks of nuclear power at a grassroots level.

The anti-nuclear coalition also announced plans for a week-long informational trek through communities all over Oregon, culminating in convergence on Salem the evening of Friday, June 23, to be followed by a rally at the state capital the next day. On the same day as the Salem rally, demonstrators will be occupying sites of proposed nuclear plants at Satsop, Washington and Seabrook, New Hampshire.

"We are taking action in self-defense, in defense of the people of the Northwest, and for children and grandchildren who already are burdened by the nuclear wastes being generated by Trojan and other nuclear reactors," the Alliance said.

— Trojan Decommissioning Alliance

SCRAMMING NUKES IN SCOTLAND

Britain's first occupation of a nuclear power plant site will take place May 6. On that day, SCRAM (The Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace) is co-ordinating a mass march, rally, and occupation at Torness in Scotland.

According to SCRAM "Torness would only be the start." The South of Scotland Electricity Board (SSEB) has said they want to build another ten nuclear stations in the next 20 years, in Scotland alone. The SSEB has already at least 20 percent too much electricity generating capacity. There is good evidence to suggest that their forecasts of future electricity demand are much exaggerated.

"In contrast to other countries, there has never been a large scale manifestation of public opposition to nuclear power in Britain. It is time we showed our strength."

— Clamshell Alliance News

GAY PAPER IN LONDON SUFFERS COURT DEFEAT ON "BLASPHEMY" CHARGE

The London-based newspaper *Gay News* recently lost an appeal of a conviction under England's Blasphemous Libel law.

The paper and its editor were prosecuted under the statute after one of the country's best known anti-gay crusaders, Mary Whitehouse, filed a suit against the paper. Whitehouse charged that the paper had "unlawfully and wickedly" libeled the Christian religion when it published a poem depicting Jesus Christ as a homosexual.

In addition to upholding the original conviction, the three judges on the British Criminal Court of Appeals also granted court costs to Whitehouse. —LNS

MAJOR ANTI-NUCLEAR VICTORY IN NEW MEXICO

The first major victory in the anti-nuclear movement in New Mexico came April 3rd when Chem-Nuclear of Bellevue, Washington announced its plans to abandon its proposed nuclear waste disposal site outside of the scenic town of Cimarron.

The company named four reasons for dropping its license application: 1) projections that the state would not approve of the permit application within 15 months while the company hoped for reprocessing to begin within 6 months; 2) the DOE report recommending the federal government take over licensing of low-level radioactive wastes; 3) requirements placed on the company by the Environmental Protection Agency for additional geohydrologic work costing the company in the neighborhood of \$500,000; 4) the owner of the land proposed for the burial refused to renew the contract to allow Chem-Nuclear to operate on the property with an option to buy later.

Despite these reasons the local citizenry of Colfax County had organized to stop the site from being built. In mid-February the Cimarron Chamber of Commerce voted 32-0 against the site. The town had invited the Cactus Alli-

ance to hold its January meeting in the town and offered housing for free in a motel as well as the community center for meetings.

In a state where the nuclear industry began and has nuclear research, proposed burial and uranium mining this victory in Cimarron is extremely significant for the whole anti-nuclear movement. —Craig Simpson
Cactus Alliance

WHY PAY YOURS; THEY DON'T PAY THEIRS

As the April 17 Internal Revenue Service (IRS) tax form deadline has just passed, remember that 17 US corporations paid absolutely no federal taxes in 1976 despite combined earnings exceeding \$2.5 billion.

In a recently completed survey into the corporate practices of 108 US corporations, Rep. Charles Vanik (D-Ohio) disclosed that the companies were today paying half the taxes in proportion to their revenue that they were paying 10 years ago.

The congressman's investigation confirms the view that US workers proportionally shoulder the burden of federal taxes while the corporations take advantage of a plethora of loopholes and get off easy.

"The reason pollsters so often find that the voters in their samples harbor suspicion they are being cheated is, curiously enough, that we are being cheated," commented writer Murray Kempton recently, in reference to Vanik's findings.

Among the study's revelations:

- United States Steel paid no taxes in 1976 despite an income of \$518 million.

- The average family of four with an income of \$10,000 paid a higher proportion of taxes than did Mobil Oil, which settled for a 4.5% tax on revenues of \$3.8 billion.

- Exxon was prompted to pay the same rate of income taxes, 8%, as a US worker who took home \$6000 annually. The giant corporation paid 8% in taxes on earnings of \$7.5 billion. —Guardian

'BURGER HIGH TEST, AND A REGULAR FRIES'

If your food looks a little greasier than it used to and you can't figure why, check the ingredients label on the side of the package. You may find a substance called "Torutein" listed but you will never find an explanation of what that awful sounding thing is.

Torutein is the newest product from the oil companies, those wonderful people who brought you oil spills, DDT and PCBs. It is the coming thing... a petroprotein.

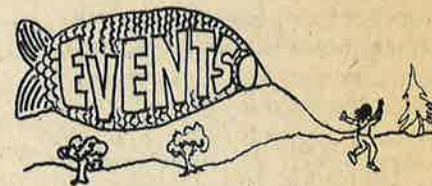
Presently, you can find Torutein in convenience meat products, baked goods, frozen foods, some Gerber baby dinners, soups, gravies, Wise barbeque chips, tortilla chips, Milani salad dressings, Prince's macaroni, French's croutons and LaChoy Chinese food products. Even though petroprotein is a hidden product today, tomorrow's future looks like a gusher.

Amoco Foods (a division of Standard Oil of Indiana) future recipes will include what they call "food analogues." Analogues are actual food items that will be created totally from synthetics.

"We're working on something we call 'The Clam Thing' right now," said Marketing VP Jack Shay. "It's an extruded plastic-like product. It has the texture of clams, the flavor of clams and it looks like a piece of clam without the shell."

Shay hopes that eventually his company will market a whole line on snack foods. And we can say "Fill it up" at the supermarket as well as at the service station.

Ah yes, better eating through chemistry. —Harrisburg
Monthly News



BARNWELL, SC—National Mobilization for Survival and Palmetto Alliance action against the Barnwell Nuclear Fuel Reprocessing Plant, April 30-May 1. For more information, contact the Pal-

metto Alliance, 18 Bluff Rd., Columbia, SC 29201 (803) 254-8132.

BOSTON, MA—Helen and Scott Nearing speak on "Continuing the Good Life" at the Community Church, Morse Auditorium, 602 Commonwealth Ave., Sunday, April 30, 11 am. For information, call (617) 266-6710.

BROOKLYN, NY—Sandy Merritt of the Campaign Against the Arms Trade, London, speaks on the International Arms Trade at Park Slope Methodist Church, 8th St. and 6th Ave., Sunday, April 30, 11 am.

BUFFALO, NY—"Wannsee," a play by Eric Bentley, will premiere on Thursday, April 27 at the Pfeiffer Theatre in downtown Buffalo. For more information, call (716) 831-2045.

CAMBRIDGE, MA—Andre Cardinal will speak on "Quebec Labor, Nationalism and the Parti Quebecois" on Friday, April 28, 8pm at MIT, 105 Massachusetts Ave., Building 9, Room 150. Sponsored by the Black Rose Lecture Series.

CHICAGO, IL—Dr. Homer Jack will speak on "Human Extinction Before 1990? The UN Special Session on Disarmament," on Sunday, April 30, 11am, at the Third Unitarian Church, 301 N. Mayfield. For more information, call (312) 626-9385.

DENVER, CO—National action against the Rocky Flats Weapons Facility on April 29-30. Sponsored by the Rocky Flats Action Group, AFSC, MfS, WRL, FOR. For more information, contact the Rocky Flats Action Group, 1428 Lafayette St., Denver, CO 80218 (303) 832-1676.

KENT, OH—Annual commemoration of the Kent State massacre, beginning Wednesday, May 3, 7pm with concert by Barbara Dane and a vigil. Memorial program, Thursday, May 4, 11:30 am at Campus Commons. For more information, contact May 4th Task

Force, 241 Student Center, KSU, Kent, OH 44242 (216) 672-3207.

MORRIS, IL—Rally and demonstration against the "Morris Operation" nuclear power plants, beginning Sunday, May 7, 1pm at Gebhard Woods State Park. For information, contact the Bailly Alliance, 711 S. Dearborn, Room 548, Chicago, IL 60605 (312) 764-5011.

NEW BRUNSWICK, NJ—Debate between Ralph Nader and Shephard Bartnoff, president of Jersey Central Power and Light Co., at Rutgers College Gym, College Ave., Friday, April 29, 8pm. For information, call (201) 932-7681.

NEW HAVEN—Conference on "Women in the Paid Labor Force" at the New Haven YWCA, Saturday, April 29. For information, contact Judy Robison, New England Cooperative Training Institute, 216 Crown St., room 404, New Haven, CT 06510 (203) 776-0451.

NEW YORK CITY—New York Democratic Agenda conference on NYC redlining, health care, social services, etc. with Paul Dubrul, Michael Harrington, Robert Abrams and others on Saturday, April 29 at the Hunter College Playhouse. For more information, call (212) 260-3270.

NEW YORK CITY—Mobilization for Survival benefit concert with Daniel Berrigan, Rev. F.D. Kirkpatrick and others on Friday, April 28, 8pm at Union Theological Seminary, 120th St., and Broadway. For more information, call (212) 673-1808.

NEW YORK CITY—Day of Friendship and Solidarity with Vietnam program at Tishman Auditorium, NYU Law School, 40 Washington Sq. South, Friday, April 28, 7:30pm. \$2 donation. For information, call (212) 586-5744.

NEW YORK CITY—Jim Wallis, editor of "Sojourners," will speak on "Prophetic Communities," May 5, 8pm at Maryhouse, 55 E. 3rd St. Sponsored by the Catholic

Worker.

NEW YORK CITY—Rally at the United Nations for disarmament, May 27. Speakers include: Helen Caldicott, John Conyers, Jimmy Durham, Marian Stamps, Dan Ellsberg. For information, contact the Mobilization for Survival, 339 Lafayette St. (212) 475-1180.

NORFOLK, VA—Second Tidewater Lesbian/Gay Conference will be held at Old Dominion University on May 26-28. For more information contact ODU Gay Alliance, P.O. Box 11123, Norfolk, VA 23517.

PHILADELPHIA, PA—"The Furies of Mother Jones," a production by the Little Flags Theatre, will be presented on Friday, April 28, 8pm at International House, 37th St. and Chestnut. For more information, call 474-9592.

PROVIDENCE, RI—New England Training Center for Community Organizers will hold a training session May 15-24. For more information, contact Bernadette Brennan, NETCCO, 19 Davis St., Providence, RI 02908 (401) 274-5268.

ROCHESTER, NY—Regional May Day March and Rally on Saturday, April 29. For more information, contact: May Day Coalition, c/o Great Clearing Bookstore, 144 Webster Ave., Rochester, NY 14609.

SOUTH ORANGE, NJ—Energy Conference with Ralph Nader and Amory Lovins on Sunday, April 30, 1-5pm at Temple Israel, 432 Scotland Rd. Admission \$2. Sponsored by the SEA Alliance. For more information, call (201) 744-3263.

UPPER MONTCLAIR, NJ—New Jersey SANE dinner with Margaret Mead on Saturday, April 29, 8pm at the Women's Club, 200 Cooper Ave. For information, call (201) 744-3263.

VOLUNTOWN, CT—Movement for a New Society Northeast Regional Gathering at Community for Nonviolent Action, May 5-7. For information, call Mary at (617) 623-5326.



IMPERIAL BRAIN TRUST: THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS AND US FOREIGN POLICY
by Laurence H. Shoup and William Minter
Monthly Review Press / 334pp. / \$17.50

On February 24, 1974, Zbigniew Brzezinski was quoted in the *Chicago Sun Times* as saying that he and his colleagues on the Trilateral Commission were "confident that we have access to the governments of our countries." Today, over four years later, Brzezinski and his fellow "commissioners" no longer have that access, at least not to the US government. They no longer have it because they no longer need it. For today, in a very real sense, they are the US government.

Not only Brzezinski, but the President himself, Vice President Mondale, Secretary of State Vance, Treasury boss Blumenthal, Defense chief Brown, SALT negotiator Warnke, Panama Canal negotiator Linowitz and a host of other administration figures were charter members of the elite, international policy-planning group established by David Rockefeller in 1973.

With such a concentration of corporate power behind him, Carter's election provoked understandable explosions in the radical press. Article after article issued forth, probing the perspectives and plans of the subterranean organization that had captured the executive branch by storm. The overwhelming consensus, with good reason, was ominous.

As Harvard professor Samuel Huntington declared in the Commission's eighth task force report, *The Crisis of Democracy* (1975), the US and other advanced capitalist societies suffered from an "excess of democracy," which could be counteracted only by a resurgence of governmental authority. A central concern of the Commission, the report announced, would be the fortification of "governability" here and abroad by "restoring the balance between liberty and authority."

Huntington may not have taken the words right out of Jimmy Carter's mouth, but he apparently spoke the President's mind. Shortly after his inauguration, Carter appointed him the National Security Council's coordinator for security planning.

On the whole, the early analyses of the Trilateral Commission and Huntington's report were instructive and significant. They alerted readers to the coming of a new and regressive ideological

Bill Blum is a progressive attorney in Los Angeles.

climate and they did much to dispel Carter's populist mystique as a political outsider. They were deficient, however, in explaining the Commission's all important political origins.

To uncover the shadowy genealogy of the Trilateral Commission one must turn to Lawrence Shoup and William Minter's **Imperial Brain Trust**, a 1977 Monthly Review Press release that provides the clue to this and many other crucial questions in just three letters: CFR. The letters stand, of course, for the Council on Foreign Relations, corporate America's premier "think tank" and the behind-the-scenes initiator of both the Trilateral Commission and the great bulk of American foreign policy since 1939.

Clearly written and meticulously documented, **Imperial Brain Trust** offers a critical Marxist account of the Council's 60-year history. Its 334 pages contain all the details—the people, the places, the events and the ideas—behind America's climb to international supremacy in the 20th century.

But **Imperial Brain Trust** is far more than a compendium of interesting facts and figures. It is, above all, an analysis—not only of the Council on Foreign Relations, but of the American power structure as a whole. No recent work has done more to reveal the capitalist basis of American government and the concrete nexus between politics and economics.

From its inception in 1918 as a posh New York City dinner club under the chairmanship of Wall Street lawyer Elihu Root, the function of the Council has remained essentially the same. By bringing together the leaders of business, government and academia in an atmosphere of privacy and candor, the Council has offered the capitalist class, in the words of the authors, "the opportunity to get itself together," transforming it from a fragmented "class-in-itself" to a politically coherent "class-for-itself." Through its study groups, internal debates and its prestigious journal, *Foreign Affairs*, the Council has been both a research facility aimed at articulating national problems and an instrument of political persuasion aimed at solving them.

While not entirely without political influence during its formative period, it was not until the eve of World War II that the marriage between the Council and the government was consummated. As Shoup and Minter explain, "The Second World War and the subsequent cold war were decisive turning points in the history of American policy. They marked a move on the part of the United States toward a full-blown imperialism—a largely successful attempt to organize a single, world-spanning political economy with the United States at the center. Providing the intellectual rationale and leading this thrust toward global power was the Council on Foreign Relations."

The impact of the CFR was initially felt through its "War and Peace Studies Program," a series of study groups concerned with analyzing the long-term strategic problems of the war and formulating a blueprint

for a new world order in its aftermath. The program was inaugurated on September 12, 1939, at a meeting between Hamilton Fish Armstrong, editor of *Foreign Affairs*, and Assistant Secretary of State George S. Messersmith as a joint project of the Council and the Department of State.

Out of the study groups came the proposals that would guide US foreign policy for decades to come. To ensure prosperity and security after the war, the US would have to organize economic and political control over what Council planners referred to as the "Grand Area," a section of the globe which then included the Western Hemisphere, Western Europe, the Dutch East Indies, China and Japan.

At the war's end, the Grand Area was rechristened the "Free World" and Council member George Kennan, writing as "Mr. X" for *Foreign Affairs*, was quick to supply the modus operandi for everyday life in a bipolar universe: the doctrine of containment. At the same time, the Council's hand was felt in the field of international economic reconstruction with the creation of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. And to add a note of legitimacy to big-power imperialism, the Council played a decisive role in the formation of the United Nations.

As the cold war deepened, the Council's work multiplied to maintain pace with the growing problems of keeping the world safe for monopoly capitalism. The case studies treated by Shoup and Minter include the Cuban Missile Crisis, the postwar policy toward China and, most importantly, the policy toward Vietnam. The role of the CFR in policy-making was nowhere more vital than in Southeast Asia. During the period from 1940 to 1973, when the US struggled to keep Indochina within the Grand Area, the authors identify 25 central figures involved in official decision-making on Southeast Asia. Of these, 18, or 72%, including Henry Kissinger and Dean Rusk, were members of the CFR.

But as the Vietnam war so graphically illustrated, the world that the CFR helped to create is now in a shambles. The liberation movements in the Third World, the economic revival of Western Europe and Japan and international economic instability have devastated the old order and forced the Council back to the global drawing board. The final and most absorbing chapter of the **Imperial Brain Trust** takes up the CFR's plans for the future.

According to Shoup and Minter, neither the capitalist class as a whole nor the Council itself is yet united on the appropriate strategy for dealing with the world crisis. Since the defeat in Vietnam, a "great debate" over foreign policy has been raging.

From that debate have emerged two fundamental positions: the conservative "power-realist" conception, represented by Kissinger, which stresses the traditional virtues of national sovereignty (*US uber alles*) and balance-of-power diplomacy; and the liberal "transnational" outlook, represented by

Brzezinski, which emphasizes international cooperation and planning and recognizes that the United States can no longer police the world alone.

Within the Council at present, the transnationalists have the upper hand, as is reflected by the two programs the Council has launched to restore global equilibrium: the Trilateral Commission and the less celebrated 1980's Project. Although the Commission is legally autonomous (because its membership is international, while CFR standing is limited to American citizens), the Council provides leadership for both groups. The majority of US "commissioners," are CFR members, and 11 Council directors, including David Rockefeller, sit on the Commission.

Of even greater importance, the basic objectives of the two enterprises are identical. According to a 1975 Council memo, the job of the 1980's Project, whose strategists include the ubiquitous Professor Huntington, is to examine the alternatives "for coordinating policies among the advanced industrial societies and for creating desirable . . . centralized supranational institutional mechanism." In similar fashion, the Trilateral Commission describes itself as a group of "private citizens of Western Europe, Japan and North America" whose goal is to "foster closer cooperation among these three regions" on problems of common concern.

The transnational design thus appears to be a "united front" of the Western powers aimed at collective management of a rejuvenated world capitalism. To date, the Project and the Commission have issued more than a dozen publications, calling for such "reforms" as a trilateral approach to the energy crisis (aimed at energy conservation and reduced dependence on OPEC), a renovated international monetary system and the creation of a government-sanctioned Trilateral Advisory Commission to synchronize the economic and political policies of the trilateral regions.

The ultimate question, of course, is whether the transnational design will succeed. By any yardstick, capturing the Carter administration was a major first step. But since taking office, Jimmy Carter has proven an ineffective standardbearer, his credibility severely tarnished by the continuing economic crisis, indecisive leadership and the embarrassment of the Lance and Marston affairs. The trilateral alliance has also been beset in recent months by internal discord, highlighted by persistent trade disputes with Japan and conflict with West Germany over the proper pace of European economic expansion.

As a result of these and other difficulties, the future of trilateralism, and of the country as a whole, remains very much in doubt. Those who would move the US in a genuinely democratic and progressive direction have been offered an invaluable inside look at "the trilateral opposition" by Shoup and Minter's insightful study. The task now is to transform that insight into positive political action.

—Bill Blum



peoples bulletin board

Free if no exchange of \$\$ involved and only 20 words in length. Otherwise \$2 for every ten words.

PUBLIC NOTICE

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.

The new Spring/Summer Calendar of Events for the Resource Center for Nonviolence is now available. All the information, times, and dates of major actions, events, study groups, workshops, and training sessions in nonviolence offered by the Resource Center are provided in this full page, color calendar. To find out more and get your copy, write or call the Resource Center for Nonviolence: P.O. Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063 (408) 423-1626.

SOME OF US DID SURVIVE THE SIXTIES! There are thousands of us in the Fellowship of Reconciliation who continue to work for a just and peaceful world. Join us! Write to: Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271-W, Nyack, NY 10960.

SWORDS INTO PLOWSHARES Biennial FOR Conference will be held in New York City May 25-30. For information write Richard Deats, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960.

PUBLICATIONS

SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE: Carter's Use of the Issue, Indonesia's Garrison Showcase, Kampuchea and the World Press, Martial Law and Underdevelopment in the Philippines, Vietnam's Political Reconstruction, Split in the American Peace Movement, "Thailand's Catch-21"; **Southeast Asia Chronicle**, \$1.00, Dept. E, P.O. Box 4000-D, Berkeley, CA 94704. Free catalogue of materials on Southeast Asia available.

Di Yugnt Shtimme — The voice of the Jewish Socialist Youth Bund — #7 — Winter 1978. In this issue: French Jews and the French Left; Women of the Bund; The Future of Secular Jewishness; and more! Subscriptions: \$2.00. 25 East 78 St., NY, NY 10021.

The Study Kit for Nonviolent Action, produced by War Resisters League/West contains articles on the theory and practice of nonviolence, 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 St., San Francisco, CA 94103. Special rates are available for bulk orders so order them for your study group, teach-in or classroom.

The Continental Walk Book reduced to \$2.50 for limited time only! Checks should be made payable to "Continental Walk." WRL, 339 Lafayette, New York, NY 10012.

SERVICES

The Portland Military and Veterans Counseling Center has begun a Pre-Enlistment Education Project with a grant from the local CETA Consortium. If you would like a copy of the CETA proposal, letters of support, samples of pre-enlistment literature, or more information, send \$1.00 to cover postage costs to: Pre-Enlistment Education Project, PMVCC, 633 SW Montgomery St., Portland, Oregon 97201.

Expert typing and proofreading. Cheap rates for WIN readers. Will pick up and deliver in Manhattan. Call 201-485-5163.

The Brandywine Peace Community and Alternative Fund is a nonviolent resistance community (both live-in and extended). We are working for peace,

disarmament, and a change of values and priorities away from war and its preparation to an emphasis on peace, social justice, and people's needs.

Brandywine sponsors educational programs, action campaigns, and public demonstrations in order to highlight the moral, political, and economic imperative of disarmament. Additionally, the group is making a positive statement with its alternative fund. This fund, comprised of refused war taxes, personal savings, and group deposits, makes interest-free loans to social change and service groups (primarily in Delaware and Chester Counties, Penn.). Contact Brandywine Peace Community and Alternative Fund, 51 Barren Rd., Media, Pa. 19063.

LIVING ALTERNATIVES

Group of artisans, artists, academics starting alternative college community somewhere in New England seeks members. Write: Cooperative College Community, 90 Summer, Williamstown, MA 01267.

Hodaka: MNS related, activist, feminist, vegetarian house; space for older woman, gay man; 4600 Springfield Ave., Phila. Pa. 19143.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Work and live in a spiritual/educational community as canning & freezing coordinator (5 months), office person (3-6 months), child care coordinator and assistant buildings & grounds person. Room & board and small monthly stipend. Jane Bishop (301) 486-6262. Koinonia, P.O. Box 5744, Pikesville, Md. 21208.

WYSO-FM radio is seeking a Program Director. The person filling this position has the primary responsibility for creating and scheduling all of WYSO's cultural programming and for recruiting and supervising volunteer and staff programmers to produce the same. The position pays \$7000 a year with two

weeks paid vacation and a full health insurance plan. For more information, contact Mark Meride, WYSO-FM, Yellow Springs, OH 45387.

WANTED: Managing Editor for the Rochester Patriot, a semi-monthly newspaper covering local investigative reporting, consumer news, & non-rhetorical coverage of progressive & community issues. Duties: Mostly investigative reporting, some editing, layout, working with volunteers. Subistence pay, health benefits. Send resume, writing samples to 215 Alexander St. Rochester, NY 14607.

Teacher, certified K-9, looking for teaching position in rural community. Experienced in multi-cultural, individualized instruction. Contact: Malcolm Ian MacKenzie, 1721 College Ave., Des Moines, Iowa 50314.

HELP!

Mobilization for Survival May 27th Disarmament Rally Project Office New York City urgently needs volunteers for tasks large and small. Work at home or from our office. Your ideas, as well as your work, are more than welcome. Contact Anne Boggan or Susan Blake at 135 West 4th St., New York, NY 10012 Tel. (212) 673-1808.

Alternative research group cut-off from the world needs readable input and friends abroad. Miguel Grinberg, C.C. Central 1933, Buenos Aires, Argentina (1000).

Interested in discussing nonsexist & nonviolent child raising with other parents. Write Linda Weimeister, 2230 E. Fairmount Ave., Balto., Md. 21231.

Feminist seeking women's nonviolent self-defense anecdotes for article suggesting alternatives to martial arts. Write Pam, 420 Dean St. Brooklyn 11217.

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Hiroshima the day after bombing

The issue is not whether a major war will take place in the next 25 years— but with what weapons it will be fought!

Handwritten Japanese text, likely a slogan or prayer, written vertically.

REST IN PEACE
MAN WILL NOT REPEAT THE SIN

SPRING ACTION PROGRAM

APRIL 29-30: ROCKY FLATS, COLORADO
Direct Action at Rocky Flats Nuclear Site
Contact: Rocky Flats Action Group, (303) 832-1676

APRIL 30-MAY 1: BARNWELL, SOUTH CAROLINA
Direct Action at Nuclear Reprocessing Facility
Contact: Palmetto Alliance, (803) 771-9999

MAY 21: Rally at Hollywood Bowl, Los Angeles, (213) 937-0240
MAY 22: Direct Action at Trident Base, Bangor, Washington (503) 231-0014

MAY 25-27: RELIGIOUS CONVOCATION FOR HUMAN SURVIVAL, NYC
International gathering of people from diverse religious groups demanding that our planet be saved from impending nuclear holocaust. (212) 964-6730

JUNE 24: SEABROOK, NEW HAMPSHIRE
Reoccupation of Seabrook Nuclear Construction Site.
Contact: Clamshell Alliance, (603) 436-5414

FUNDS ARE URGENTLY NEEDED TO FINANCE THE SPRING ACTION PROGRAM.

Please mail in as much as you can today!
At stake is the survival of our planet.

MAY 27: UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK CITY
Massive INTERNATIONAL DEMONSTRATION at Dag Hammarskold Plaza during U.N. Special Session on Disarmament. Floating Lantern Ceremony led by Japanese Delegation.
Contact: Mobilization for Survival
135 W 4th St., NYC 10012—(212) 673-1808
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SIT-IN for SURVIVAL

STOP RUNNING IN THE ARMS RACE

SIT-IN ON JUNE 12th AT THE UNITED STATES' MISSION TO THE UN!

during the Special Session on Disarmament (May 23 to June 28) the Mobilization for Survival is calling for many actions. * On June 12 we will bring the message, "Some nation must be first!" To take the first step, to start a movement away from the suicidal arms race. **We will go, American citizens, to the representatives of our government to non-violently demand that our nation, mightiest of A-bombers, take concrete actions, unilaterally if necessary, to slow the deadly preparedness for annihilation.**

A sit-in may not be legal, and civil-disobedience is never lightly undertaken, but worse than a violation of an order to move on is the global blackmail and the potential genocide that the Atom-trusting governments, particularly our own, threaten to inflict on all humanity.

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SIT-IN FOR SURVIVAL/ 339 LAFAYETTE ST./NEW YORK/ 10012 (212) 475-1180

- I am prepared to participate in the Sit-In. Please contact me.
- I'm not prepared to risk arrest, but want to participate.
- Let me know how and where.
- I want to contribute \$ _____. I know it is much needed.
- * Send me information about the Mobilization For Survival, Disarmament, and the schedule for the United Nations Special Session.

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Address _____
City _____
State/Zip _____ Phone _____

