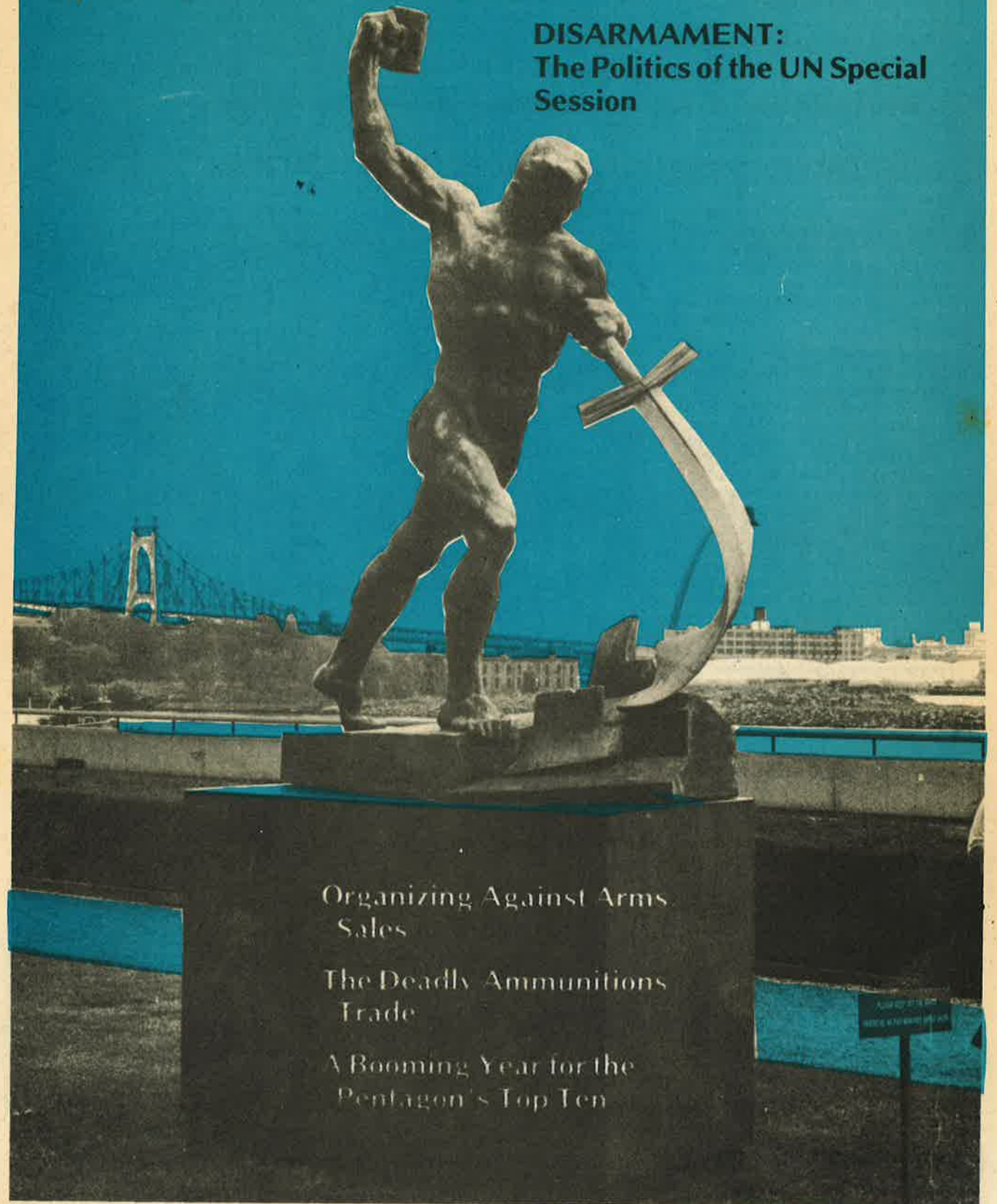


win

PEACE & FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

May 25, 1978/40¢

DISARMAMENT: The Politics of the UN Special Session



Organizing Against Arms
Sales

The Deadly Ammunitions
Trade

A Booming Year for the
Pentagon's Top Ten

LETTERS

I'm sending you a batik banner I took to the Barnwell demonstration, to beautify your office and to use on the appropriate occasions. I doubt that I'll make it to Seabrook but I'd feel good about my batik being used there. I also brought the WIN issues covering the last Seabrook occupation to Barnwell, where they were well appreciated by people. I did civil disobedience at Barnwell for the first time, and your moving coverage of Seabrook was certainly a factor in my decision to do so.

My WIN subscription ran out last winter and I was starting to miss it. Recently, I've been using back issues a lot as resources—e.g. the Peace Conversion issue from last October.

—MAGGIE HOUSE
Atlanta, Ga.

It is hard to understand why pacifist/radicals in 1978 find **The Romance of American Communism** by Vivian Gornick "a wonderful, essential book" as Marty Jezer puts it in the May 4 issue. He is joined by Ann Morrisett Davidon who finds the interviews "strongly empathetic" and by Sidney Blumenthal who feels it "novel" that a book is published in the US "which offers the controversial thesis that members of the Communist Party are human beings." (I didn't know that there was any controversy about that except among yahoos.) But that is not what **The Romance** is about. It's about nostalgia, yet another attempt to transmogrify the CP from the reactionary, anti-socialist organization it was and remains, into a force for social progress, a part of the Marxist movement.

Whether or not its members were "human beings" (what kind of human beings, by the way, could have applauded the Moscow Trials and Stalin's murder of millions?) is irrelevant. What matters is the nature of the Party of which they were members, the nature of Stalinism which destroyed the socialist movement, not only in the US, but all over the world.

Far from being empathetic, Gornick's interviews are hokum. No discussion of politics. No reminders of the changes in Party line to meet Russian requirements—from the Popular Front one day to "fascism is a matter of taste" overnight with the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact. Not a word about CP approval for jailing American Trotskyists under the Smith Act, the Party's decision that interning over a hundred thousand Japanese Americans in concentration camps was "necessary." Nothing about the sordid internal life of the CP, the trials and expulsions of real and imagined dissidents. With selective amnesia, Gornick's sub-

jects remember their class struggle activity, working with fruit pickers, organizing unions and leading strikes. Not a word about their role as finks, scabs and strikebreakers during World War II.

The Romance is meretricious. Oh, there is the ritualistic expression of dismay about the crimes of Stalinism but Gornick's purpose is not only to "rehabilitate" these old-time CP'ers, many of them vicious Party hacks in their day, but to rehabilitate the Communist Party. Her conclusion is that the CP, that Stalinism was historically necessary because it taught "the current generation of Marxists" about vision, dogma and the idea of socialism. A bizarre, even ghoulish thought, made worse by the fact that despite the existence of Stalinism—the murders, concentration camps, totalitarian enslavement—there are many among the new generation of "Marxists" whose ideal society is North Korea, who worship Kim Il Sung and Mao and whose heroine, until yesterday, was Chiang Ching. There are even those who idolize Stalin. What vision of socialism can such people have?

Far from being wonderful and essential, Gornick's book is dishonest and harmful in its perpetuation of the myth that the CP played a progressive role in American life.

—PHYLLIS JACOBSON
Brooklyn, N.Y.

The debate in WIN on censorship of **Snuff** films has not been a happy one. John Lauritson makes much of the fact that **Snuff** films are a hoax. And yet, he has little to say about the present media-orchestrated campaign to mock and vilify women. In too much of the advertising and pornography it has been a commonplace tactic to brutalize. In this context Lauritson's nitpicking about detail is altogether offensive.

John Hevelin makes a cogent and lucid defense of the First Amendment. His distinction between terrorist speech and terrorist acts is a useful one to draw. He also does deal with the increasing violence against women, and is right to view the current pornography as more a symptom of the profound social illness which this violence reflects than a cause. But he is too oblivious to the impact of institutionalized propaganda. The advertising and pornography tactics do grant a strong measure of social legitimacy to the assault on women. They dangerously exploit festering hatred and rage. And they give diffuse, inchoate hostility a viable framework. Hevelin therefore grossly underestimates the valid fear of violent pornography.

By contrast, Barbara Deming makes fear the only serious consideration. She

calls openly for state censorship and plays fast and loose with freedom of speech. With Barbara Deming I am profoundly bitter and shocked. As a young person moving toward a radical vision, she was one of my first teachers and models. One learned from her how to mingle complexity and passion. She could speak with force while not grinding an ideological ax. Now she eloquently articulates the halftruth and crudely negates libertarian values.

On the left at present there is a pervasive contempt for liberty. Too many of us wish to silence all dangerous and evil expression. Look closely at the debate in WIN on political persecution in socialist Cuba and Vietnam. See how many of us would put reactionaries behind prison walls for merely advocating their viewpoint on politics. Watch the recent debate on the left over the contested right of Nazis to hold street demonstrations. As a Jew, I support this right, and I am neither complacent nor myopic about Nazi influence. The Nazis are not only harmless fanatics, but the potential cutting edge of a movement which might well inflame latent anti-Semitism. Yet, as a radical seeking to project a vision for a new future, I must defend their freedom. I must resist a walk down the Stalinist road.

John Lauritson neglects the fear and pain of women; he evades the meaning and weight of their protest; he will not attend to the depth of their appeal. Barbara Deming casts too many fundamental concerns to the wind. Things among us are indeed unhappy.

—ARNOLD SACHER
Forest Hills, N.Y.

This is in response to Marty Jezer's letter in your May 4 issue on the question of whether "alternative businesses foster social change." Through moving around, I missed the April 13 issue containing the piece to which he refers, so I'll just c'mon in the middle of the dialogue, seeing as how it's one that's been going on for awhile anyway and promises to go on for a while longer.

Each level at which we act out our lives is a metaphor of all the levels. If we have a sound politic-ethic, we will find strategies appropriate to each level to play out. However, at all levels—in our personal lives, our "business" (ceremonial) lives, our inner (spiritual) lives, our outer political lives—there will always be compromises and contradictions, since we have to live in the world at the same time as we turn it around. Something like changing the bed linens without dumping the patient onto the floor, or replacing the crumbling foundations while the whole family is inside having Sunday

dinner. It can't really be done, but we have no choice in the present emergency except to do it.

So, while we are in this time of waiting for the hour when we can again take on the "establishment"—the paper tiger powers out there—we can be strengthening our resolve, refining our politic-ethic, keeping up our spirits, fulfilling ourselves as individuals, and creating models of higher consciousness and behavior at other levels. Small businesses which serve useful social functions are an excellent way to do this. The question of the ethical-political validity of the

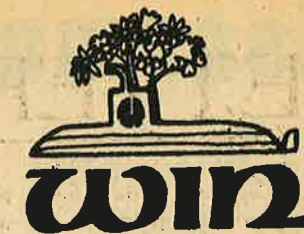
social purpose being served is significant. In other words, the contradictions of playing out a process well on behalf of a "bad" or questionable social aim, or playing out a process "evil" on behalf of an ethically valid aim must always be honestly faced and carefully weighed.

I believe that Marty and his comrades are likely contributing to social change. The full significance of their contribution remains to be seen. I hope that next time I come east I will have the opportunity to feed at Common Ground in Brattleboro, a place I have good memories of.

—MIRIAM WOLF
Oakland, Calif.



Drawing by Erica Weis



May 25, 1978/Vol. XIV, No. 19

- 4. Disarmament: The Politics of the United Nations Special Session/David McReynolds
- 8. Organizing Against Arms Sales/Mike Clark
- 11. The Deadly Ammunition Trade/NARMIC
- 14. A Booming Year for the Pentagon's Top Ten/Gordon Adams
- 16. Changes
- 19. Reviews/Steven Lydenberg and David McReynolds

Cover: "And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares..." Sculpture at UN Plaza. Photo by Patrick Lacefield.

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disarmament:

the politics of the united nations special session

by David McReynolds

The United Nations Special Session on Disarmament, opening May 23 and running for five weeks, is one of the most important, and least publicized events in the history of the United Nations. (Carter has already shown his contempt for it by excluding from the US delegation anyone from the American peace movement.) It is doubtful if one American in a thousand knows the Special Session is about to open (again, Carter must take responsibility for failing to use any of the vast power of his office to inform the public or prepare them for any serious proposals the US might present.)

Disarmament conferences call to mind—if they call anything to mind—the sadness of those held in the 1920's and early 30's, which ended in World War II. Disarmament itself is one of those noble objectives every political leader favors, and about which no political leader plans to do very much. The whole issue of disarmament seems so unreal to the average person that there is no mass constituency for the issue in this country. In contrast, the issue is so real to the Japanese, who suffered the only use of nuclear weapons, that they have gathered several tons of names on petitions to the UN and are sending nearly 500 delegates, including the Ven. Sato, head of the Japanese Buddha Sangha.

If the Special Session was on solar energy, it would be very chic, and if it was on the new international regulations for baseball it would be the main topic of every bar in town. But it is only a conference about the survival of human life on this planet—a topic the average person knows perfectly well is urgent, but also, by its nature, too vast to be dealt with by factory workers and housekeepers. In fact, as this article will attempt to show, the issues involved can only be dealt with by "average citizens," and must not be left to governments, nor, for the most part, to the peace movement

David McReynolds is co-convenor of the May 27th Task Force of the Mobilization for Survival, and is on the national staff of the War Resisters League.

which has demonstrated, in some quarters, a singular incompetence on the matter.

There are three points to be made as a preliminary to discussing the Special Session. First, to condense into a few lines the points I'd made in a recent issue of WRL News, the United Nations today has undergone a tremendous shift from the early years, when it was effectively under the total control of the United States and served as a useful cloak for a good deal of US foreign policy. With the steady liberation of much of the world from colonialism, many new nations have entered the UN, and so many of these have refused to join either the Soviet or Western bloc, that the UN simply is not under the control of either one.

Second, the United Nations has no power in itself. World Federalists and United Nations Associations often act as if the UN were in some way independent of the national states that make it up, and as a consequence they have illusions about the UN and what it can do. In fact the UN is not a sovereign power; individual states (Israel and South Africa are excellent examples) can defy UN resolutions with complete impunity, and the only power any UN delegate has is to reflect on the floor of the UN the instructions from the delegate's capital. Andrew Young, for example, does not make policy—he states policy that the US government has already agreed on. A member of the United States Congress has very real power, however limited. Congress can levy taxes on us, it can conscript us. It can require us to be jailed if we don't pay the taxes or serve in the military. And members of Congress are there until their terms expire—they cannot be dismissed by the President. There is no UN Ambassador who cannot be replaced tomorrow by his or her government. And even a unanimous vote of the UN cannot raise my taxes by a single penny. In this sense the buildings that stand just north of 42nd Street on the east side of First Avenue are illusions.

But illusions have power, because world opinion has power. And therefore the Special Session of this powerless body is, in the real political world, a powerful symbol and also a powerful political fact because of how it came to be convened. The United States, China, and the Soviet Union all opposed the Special Session. The Soviets had favored a Conference on Disarmament which would have full power to conclude a treaty that would bind the states. (I frankly doubt the Soviets are quite that eager to dissolve their whole military establishment—but whether or not they are sincere, their public position continues to be complete and general disarmament and the US has never tried to find out if the Russians are bluffing.)

The Chinese are bitterly opposed to moves toward disarmament because they recognize their own military weakness as compared to the US and the Soviet Union. They deeply fear that the real intent of any Soviet-sponsored disarmament conference would be the continuation of the uneasy

existing US/Soviet domination of the world. Bluntly put, the Chinese have said they will be perfectly happy to stop their nuclear tests and end their military programs when they see the Soviets and Americans get rid of their bombs but they absolutely reject the present "two power domination."

The Americans opposed the Special Session for the same reason the US has consistently opposed moves toward general disarmament since the rise of Soviet power—the sensible awareness that imperial capitalism has much greater need for armies than the Soviet bloc. (The Soviet need for maintaining troops in Eastern Europe is quite real—but it does not compare to the US need to maintain control over a vast and complex network of economic holdings.) In the 1920's and early 30's, before the Soviets were a major power and before wars of liberation, the US had been quite seriously interested in disarmament. We would have gained from the disarming of the imperial powers—France and Great Britain. We emerged from the Second World War a great imperial power in our own right, and from that time on have shown no interest in "complete and general disarmament."

The US and the Soviets have, after all, managed to exclude the rest of the world from the SALT talks, which are nothing but a bilateral effort to maintain sufficient armed power to control the world without continuing to pay quite as much as it now costs. The two superpowers were extremely unhappy to have the whole world called in to join the discussion. How, then, did it happen? The answer lies in the non-aligned and developing nations which now comprise a clear majority in the UN—a bloc without military power, and without any clear political agreement within itself, and yet a bloc which neither the US nor the Soviet Union can afford to ignore. These nations, ranging from democracies to military dictatorships, and including socialist and capitalist states, joined to compel the major powers to accept the Special Session. And here we have a major twist on the theme of the earlier conferences of the 1920's and 30's—in that case one intent was to curb the military power of emerging states, and in this case it is the collection of emerging states that are seeking to curb the superpowers, knowing that the long-promised funds for developing nations will never become available unless the arms race is halted. (One can think of this as a vast effort by the African, Latin, and Asian states to get some kind of "Transfer Amendment" through the UN.)

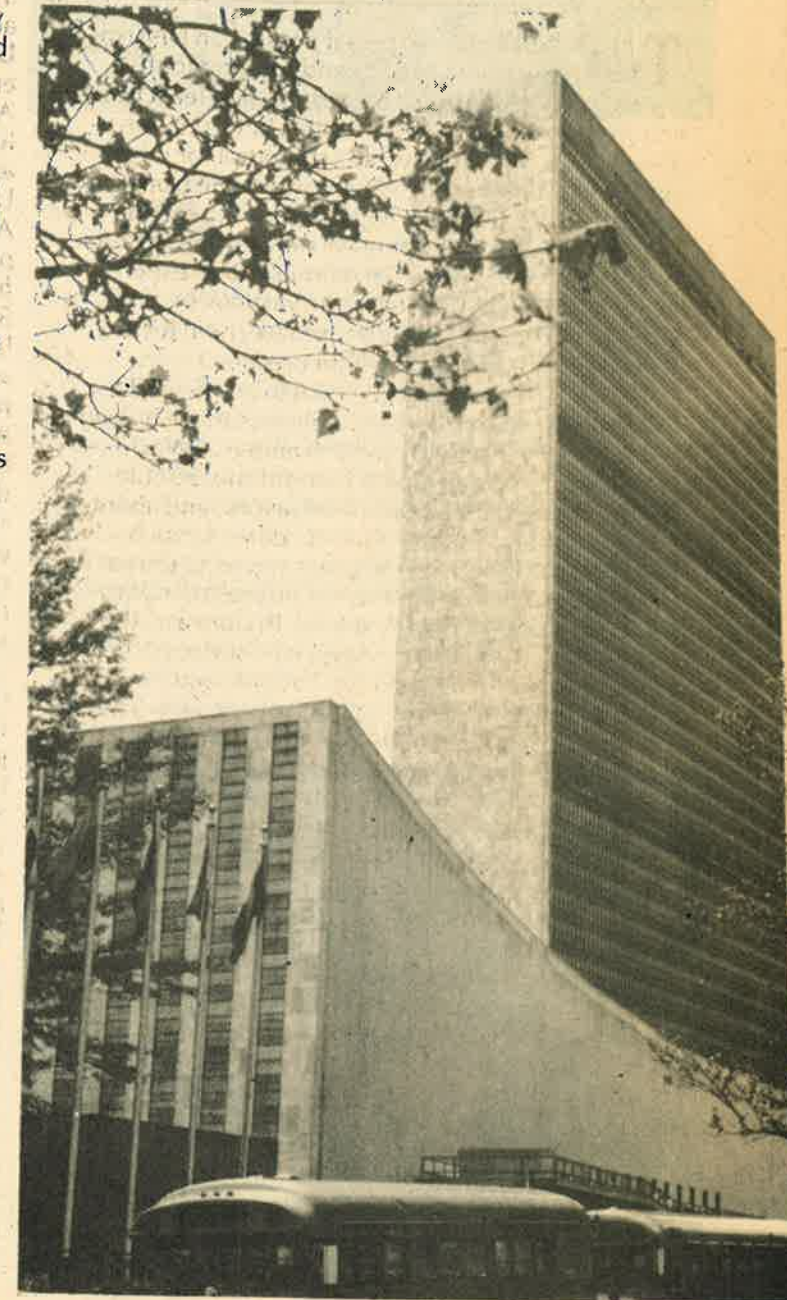
The Special Session itself cannot draw up and sign a treaty for submission to the member states. It is to be simply a forum, a "special session" to take up the problem of arms. In a certain sense it is a consultation to see if more serious action should later be taken.

I strongly support the Special Session precisely because it is a victory over the great powers, and forces the discussion of disarmament into a public

and international arena. But I have absolutely no illusions that the Special Session can do more than open a discussion. Much of the peace movement has been extremely unrealistic about the Special Session.

There is, first, a failure within the US movement to see that Soviet arms are also a problem. It is a human error to act in the present on the basis of past experience. During the Vietnam War one of the complications was that men like Dean Rusk did not see the Vietnam situation as a legitimate national struggle, but saw it—based on the memory of Munich—as an expanding Imperial China. Now, having learned from the Vietnam situation that America was the problem, we tend to look on the arms race as if it had the same single

The New York headquarters of the United Nations, where the Special Session on Disarmament will be held. Photograph by Patrick Lacefield.





Cartoon by Pat Oliphant/The Washington Star

cause. Unhappily it is much more complex. America is the greatest single part of the problem, but the problem is world-wide. The Soviets are deeply involved. If you looked at the world for a moment through Yugoslav or Chinese eyes, you might even be more worried about Soviet intentions than about those of the US.

So while we must give primary attention to the US (not because we live here, but because the US is the primary problem) we cannot afford the error of assuming there are no aggressive tendencies in the Soviet military's high command, or that all Soviet troops are going to act only in self-defense (if we had any illusions about that, the invasion of Czechoslovakia just ten years ago should have shattered them). We have also just seen the Belgrade Conference end with a clear refusal by the Soviets to abide by key provisions of the Helsinki Agreements. And in small but significant ways the Soviets have tipped their hand. When I was at the UN to lobby for UN recognition of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace (ICDP)—a firmly non-aligned group with which the Yugoslavs are affiliated—I found that it was the Soviet Union which objected to granting ICDP consultative status and finally vetoed it. (I also was present during the discussion on Amnesty International (AI), which has consultative status, in the same way that War Resisters International (WRI) does, and heard the delegate from fascist Chile make a bitter attack on AI followed immediately by the Soviet delegate who made an even more hostile attack on AI for daring to protest on the matter of political prisoners.) So... while the US is the main problem, the Soviets aren't innocent and the Chinese aren't being helpful and we must proceed without illusions that the whole problem can be blamed on any one country.

A much more serious problem is the failure of what I would call the "establishment" peace groups to understand the systemic roots of the arms race or the link between disarmament and radical economic and political change. I had a chance to watch this problem manifest itself both at the Geneva Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations that met in early March to prepare for the Special Session, and in Washington DC at the State Department's briefing of American peace groups in mid-March. In the case of Geneva the disturbing thing was that aside from the WRI and ICDP delegates, no one else seemed to notice how few non-aligned nations had bothered to show up or to worry that not a single Chinese official had been sent—or Vietnamese or Korean. It was basically a conference of 700 US/West European/East European folks who were happy with their "sense of family," honored to be meeting in the UN building in Geneva, and quite unaware even of the time of day. Most of the Western delegates did not notice that the Soviets had so heavily packed the conference that they effectively destroyed its value as an independent world forum. They didn't seem too happy to find that the Japanese had sent nearly 100 delegates—the Japanese had to fight for minimal representation on the commissions. And it was damn hard to even get a minority position registered—if you read the documents carefully you'll find that one commission recognized the rights of conscientious objectors as a universal human right and another commission report had an asterisk noting that some delegates "insisted" (how very difficult of us!) on being recorded, over Western and Eastern objections, as favoring unilateral actions toward disarmament by each and every nuclear power. Those little concessions were won by the WRI delegations, who were well represented and fought hard. But I think it was hardly worth the bother—the general political level of the conference was extremely low.

The one victory at Geneva was the post-Conference meeting of the Yugoslavs, Japanese, ICDP and WRI people, which led to calling the International Mobilization for Survival Conference. That was worth the plane fare—but getting asterisks into documents wasn't.

This general problem of a naive and ingrown approach to the Special Session has continued. It ranges from the bizarre (on May 18th something called "Planetary Citizens Inc." gave an International Peace Ball *inside* the UN building, with tickets going for \$65 each, Chase Manhattan and Chemical Banks among the five sponsors, and featuring a special "Gucci Fashion Presentation") to the incredible. The incredible is that the UN agreed to have one day set aside for Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) to speak to the official delegates, and the NGO's proceeded to set up a committee to determine who could best speak for the people of the world. I should not have been sur-

prised that the committee decided it should simply nominate itself, which it did. The speakers list was drawn up in secret and included—when it finally saw the light of day—groups as tiny as Homer Jack's World Conference on Religion and Peace, the "International Peace Bureau" which doesn't even have a full time staff of one, let alone a serious constituency, and of course the Friends World Committee for Consultation, since the chairman of the Nominations Committee was from that group. WRI, which has NGO status, has working relationships with UNESCO and ECOSOC, and represents tens of thousands of pacifists on all five continents, was neither nominated nor consulted. WRI had suggested a speaker be chosen from the Mobilization for Survival, but that suggestion was simply ignored. The irony is that this self-appointed group of establishment peace groups was bluntly told by the UN itself—when the UN saw the list of speakers—that they would have to add at least one Japanese, and it would be nice if some effort could be made to include NGO speakers from non-aligned and developing countries.

However, the nicest irony is that NGO day is June 12—and we will see who is serious, because I think any of the groups that send speakers into the hall should also have at least one person taking part in the Mobilization action at the US Mission. Rarely have we had so good a chance to contrast realities. The suits, ties, and Gucci styles will be inside. The groups with a mass constituency will be outside.

Finally, two hopeful notes with which to close. One is that despite real pressures from some sections of the peace movement against any public demonstration or rally near the UN for fear it would somehow upset the delicate negotiations, the people will be in the streets on May 27th and June 12. They will be there by the thousands. As we build a serious movement toward disarmament, we will have to confront not only the governments, but those within the peace movement who, over the years, have thought that if we walked softly and carried good thoughts peace would come. I think here of Andrew Young and the attitude some pacifists have toward him and the US Mission to the UN now that Young is Ambassador. Young is a man of courage, of integrity, and of decency. But he is also the representative of an imperial power. He is doing what he feels he can do best at this point in his life—but let us remember how Young came into public life. My guess is that Young—and more than a handful of government officials—wish to God we would stop kissing their feet and would, instead, mobilize in the streets as Young once did. He knows well enough that there were decent whites in the "Old South" who could only be liberated by Martin Luther King's marches, who were only free to act after King had created an "impossible situation" by massive confrontation. Those who are so timid about mass demonstrations and about possibly "embarrassing" Young or "embarrassing" the UN are in fact making it im-

possible for Young or Carter to do the things that in their hearts they might want to do.

The second hopeful thing is that non-aligned forces will be conferring during the Special Session. WRI, ICDP, the Japanese, the Yugoslavs, the Mobilization for Survival—some 800 persons will meet in New York on May 28th and 29th to map out the next steps in the international campaign to compel the great powers to disarm. Registration is \$10, full information by writing Peggy Duff, 11th floor, 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

The work ahead of us is very difficult. There is no major power we can look to as our ally. There are vast military and economic and cultural structures that must be overturned. We ourselves must lift our own consciousness, and realize the importance of our own lives in this work. If we look back to the liberation of India, of China, of Vietnam—or of Southern blacks—the single unifying fact was that the great mass of "ordinary people" recognized their own power, mobilized themselves, swept aside those who feared the concept of "the mass in action." For the "mass in action" is nothing but a collection of individuals finally aware of their own power, and aware that until they speak and act for themselves they have no hope.

Neither liberation nor disarmament—which is a form of liberation involving the most radical of changes—will be delivered into our hands. The invitation to the Gucci International Peace Ball on May 18 specified Black Tie. May 27th and June 12th do not require Black Tie. They require something money cannot buy and governments cannot control—your commitment, heart and soul, to work for all the years to come until we have, gently where possible, by confrontation where necessary, disarmed the great powers, thereby preparing a home for our children, and our grandchildren and all the generations still to come. Where necessary, governments can be replaced—the human race cannot.

International Mobilization for Survival Convenors, meeting in Geneva after NGO Conference. Left to right: Terry Provance, U.S.A.; Peggy Duff, Gt. Britain; Smilja Avramov, Yugoslavia; Ven. Sato, Japan. Photo by David McReynolds.





'Quick, Flimish . . . the order forms'

Cartoon by Stayskal/Chicago Tribune

Organizing Against Arms Sales

by Mike Clark

Since it was the largest single arms package in US history, the recent Congressional debate surrounding President Carter's thoughtful valentine to the Middle East was very important. Equally important was the fact that once again, given the opportunity to veto a major US arms sale (as it has had the chance to do on more than 100 occasions in recent years), the Senate decided not to block the deal. Holding center stage in the arms sales debate since Carter's February 14 announcement, the Middle East package was being discussed in the context of increasing citizen activity which calls into question not only this particular transfer of jet aircraft, but also the political and economic rationales for overall US arms export policy. This opposition movement realizes that

President Carter will not honor the letter and spirit of his May 19, 1977 arms sales policy, unless he is held accountable by a broadly-based, grassroots campaign.

The outlines of such a campaign were sketched during the course of a recent two-day conference in Washington, DC called by the Militarism and Disarmament Project of the Institute for Policy Studies and chaired by Michael Klare. (See review of Klare's pamphlet, *Supplying Repression*, this issue, p. 19.) The April 22-23 meeting brought together some 100 academics and activists to share information and plan strategy. Mike Klare set the tone for the discussions in his opening remarks by welcoming participants to what he hoped would be

Mike Clark is on the staff of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility.

a historic meeting, the beginning of a new movement.

The input from more than a dozen panelists was of a consistently high quality. Three among them were Richard Falk of Princeton University, Jan Nolan of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and Steve Cohen of the Policy Planning Staff of the US Department of State.

Falk summarized what he felt were the five goals of current US foreign policy in general and US arms export policy in particular: (1) continued access to Middle East oil; (2) containment of Third World radicalism; (3) containment of Soviet and Chinese influence; (4) defense of Israeli security; and (5) maintenance of US hegemony in Latin America. The Carter Administration's problem, Falk said, was how to make continuity with past administrations seem like discontinuity. He described foreign arms sales as one of the major components of "humanitarian imperialism," or "the Nixon Doctrine with a human face." What is needed in the present period, he said, is a people's campaign that will take advantage of tactical opportunities to oppose arms sales, e.g., Koreagate, and that will demythologize and delegitimize the myths of the new "humanitarian imperialism."

Jan Nolan spoke about the economic impact of arms sales and the role which the arms industry plays in fueling the international commerce in conventional weapons. She said that while only four to five percent of US exports are weapons-related, the dependency within certain sectors of industry is more pronounced. Furthermore, within a given sector such as aerospace, certain companies are virtually dependent upon exports for their continued economic viability, e.g., Textron—42% of total sales; Grumman—31%; Northrop—87%. Arms exports also produce jobs for an estimated 200-400,000 workers. In response to Carter's policy of last May, the military corporations have increased their already considerable pressure upon government decision-makers. Arms industry spokespersons have denounced the Carter policy as "inappropriate interference in free enterprise." This is the way that the military company views any attempt to regulate its aggressive sales promotion and cultivation of foreign governments. She concluded by warning that any serious effort to restrict arms sales must take into account the power of the military industry and its proven ability to prevail in the public policy arena.

Steve Cohen helped the conference participants deal with the central arguments of those who favor arms sales: arms sales correct regional military imbalances and therefore prevent war; arms sales buy influence and therefore defend US interests; and if we don't sell them, somebody else will, and therefore we should.

He pointed out two glaring flaws in the military rationale. First, it assumes that the concept of military balance is clear and unambiguous. Second, it ignores the fact that most political situations

usually involve more than two nations. Furthermore, he said the hypothesis that peace is more likely with the introduction of more weapons is "counter-intuitive." To demonstrate his point, he mentioned three examples in US experience in which more weapons simply assured better-armed hostilities: the India-Pakistan War, Turkish-Greek fighting on Cyprus, and the Middle East.

In countering the political rationale, he said one needs only to look at recent history. The US has seen this policy fail again and again—in Ethiopia, Greece, Argentina and Brazil, for example. The USSR has had its share as well—in Egypt, Sudan, Somalia and Ghana. Neither superpower has been very successful in achieving long-term payoffs from arms sales. Cohen suggested that this is so because no nation will ignore its currently-perceived self-interest in the name of loyalty to an earlier arms supplier. Furthermore, one's political influence is only as long-lived as the particular regime with which one is dealing.

Finally, in countering the common sense, economic rationale, Cohen put forth a moral argument. Conceding that the economic impact of the arms trade is real, substantial and undeniable, and that a cutback in arms exports *in isolation* would have an impact upon domestic employment, nevertheless he argued that it is wrong to sell conventional arms for the same reason that it is wrong to sell heroin. Something isn't made right, he said, by the fact that other people are doing it. A cost/benefit analysis cannot be made in a moral vacuum. He concluded by saying that Western European supplier nations like Britain, France and West Germany are cautious about US calls for mutual restraint, fearing that they are a cover for obtaining a still larger share of the arms market. For this reason, Cohen said, the US must cut back *first and significantly*, if we are really interested in the other suppliers following suit.

The conference was strengthened by the presence and participation of representatives from West Germany and Great Britain who reported on very similar experiences in their respective countries vis-a-vis the arms trade. Sandy Merritt of the British Campaign Against Arms Trade reported on their recent victory in stopping an arms package destined for El Salvador, their first clear-cut triumph in several years of campaigning. Also from Britain, Phil Asquith of the Lucas Aerospace Shop Stewards Combine Committee presented the vision of a realistic, humane alternative to continued industrial dependence upon weapons production.

With this input as background, the conference then began to consider the various components that a successful campaign would need to incorporate:

a) *Legislative*: Jacqui Chagnon outlined a legislative strategy which builds upon recent successful efforts to cut aid to repressive regimes. One piece of this approach was announced in Washington on

April 21. Leaders of 39 national organizations, including churches, human rights groups and labor unions, petitioned every member of Congress to exercise "responsibility for supervising and reducing the traffic in arms." The groups, including the United Methodist Church and International Longshoreman's Union, urged a greater disclosure of information to Congress and the public on arms sales and recommended that Congress have a veto over all forms of military transfers including technical services, commercial sales, and co-production licensing. More specifically, they urged that Congress:

(1) set a ceiling of \$8 billion this year on all US military exports, and steadily reduce the ceiling in each succeeding year;

(2) prohibit the sale of US arms for "internal security" purposes by countries deemed to be in serious violation of human rights;

(3) require that all major military sales of \$100 million or more be approved by an affirmative vote of both houses of Congress, rather than merely be subject to Congressional veto, as provided by existing statutes.

b) *Corporate*: I underlined the importance of understanding and addressing the US corporations that are making \$1,500,000 worth of foreign arms sales every hour. The annual shareholders' meetings of General Electric, Northrop and Textron, for example, were the scenes in 1977 and 1978 of debate about the companies' roles in foreign military sales. At the Textron meeting in Providence on April 26, the local AFSC held a demonstration and rally attacking Textron's sales overseas while church shareholders debated management from the floor of the annual meeting. On the same day in Indianapolis, General Electric's chairman Reginald Jones told church representatives that GE had, in fact, turned down certain contracts for foreign military sales in 1977, if there

were an overriding corporate interest in doing so. He then invited church groups to suggest how human rights criteria might be incorporated into such corporate decision-making. Finally, on May 9 in Hawthorne, California, Rev. Jim Lawson, long-time civil rights and nonviolent activist and one of the leaders of the 1968 Memphis sanitation workers' strike, brought the same demands to the floor of the Northrop annual meeting. The church-sponsored resolution received 4.3% of the votes cast, and 9.3% of the shareholders abstained on the vote, a rather remarkable percentage to go against management considering the issue and the audience.

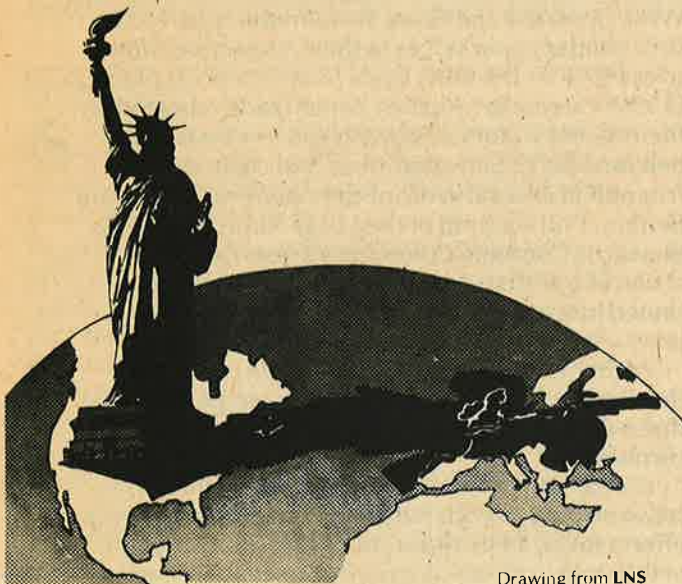
c) *Direct Action*: Ian Lind and Chuck Eppinette, staff members of the AFSC in Hawaii and North Carolina respectively, reviewed local actions that have been carried out against military installations and arms manufacturers. Lind emphasized the importance of strong local organizations, not simply to "carry out" strategies developed on a national level, but rather to do the research, develop the analysis and organize the base from which strategies and tactics can then emerge. Eppinette reported on a project just underway in North Carolina to block major arms shipments from the port of Wilmington, NC, destined for Iran, Saudi Arabia and elsewhere. Such a campaign would be significant not only for the problems that it could cause those trying to ship the arms, but also for the education that would be possible in a community finding itself at the nexus of such transfers.

d) *Consciousness-raising*: Finally, Mike Klare shared the information that two major arms exhibitions are scheduled for the US in the near future: one sponsored by the Association of the US Army for October 16-18, 1978 in Washington, DC, the other, "Defense Technology '79," planned for O'Hare Airport in Chicago February 18-21, 1979. The second will have foreign arms exports as its focus. There was serious discussion about the need for a presence at those meetings to expose and confront such amoral commercialism.

The IPS conference was a good mixture of analysis and strategy, informed by scholars and activists from around the country and around the world. The several components of a serious campaign were clearly delineated.

If such a movement is to achieve its goals, it will eventually need to insure that no Congressional debate will take place on these matters without the input of a well-organized, grassroots network; that no annual meeting of an arms-exporting company will occur without a wide-ranging debate on the nature and extent of the company's involvement; that no arms manufacturer will be at peace with its neighbors, whether at its corporate headquarters, its local facilities, or the docks from which it ships its lethal cargo; that no one in this country will be able ever again to take for granted America's right to arm the world.

That movement has already begun.

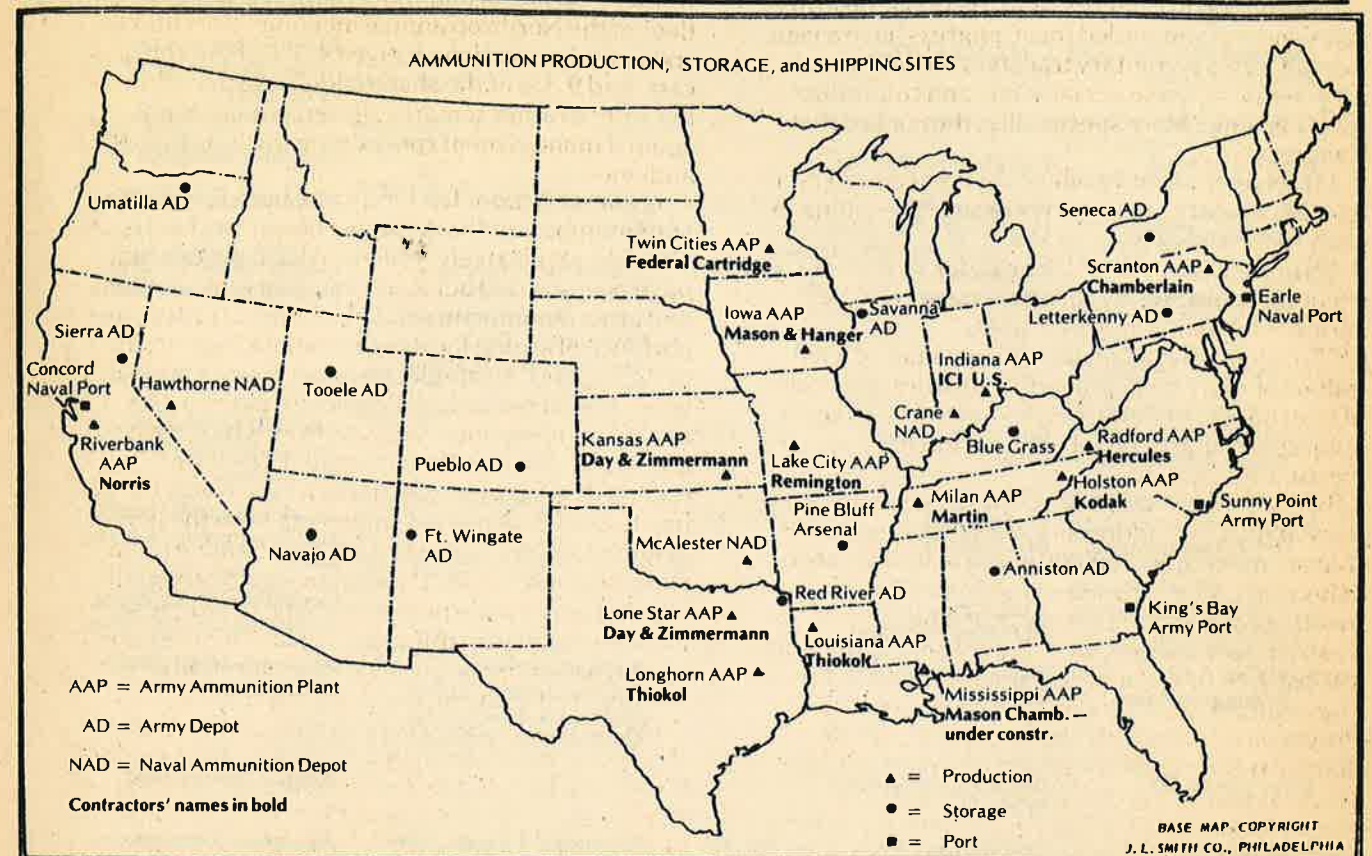


Drawing from LNS

The Military-Industrial Atlas of the United States

The Deadly Ammunition Trade

NARMIC MAP NO. 4



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The United States is selling lethal military ammunition to at least 27 countries around the world. Grenades, mines, explosives, and antipersonnel cluster bombs are being produced at government-owned facilities run by private companies for private profit. They are being sold, not only to our traditional allies, but also to repressive dictatorships such as Nicaragua, Ethiopia, South Korea, and the Philippines. They are being used to arm both sides in the volatile Middle East.

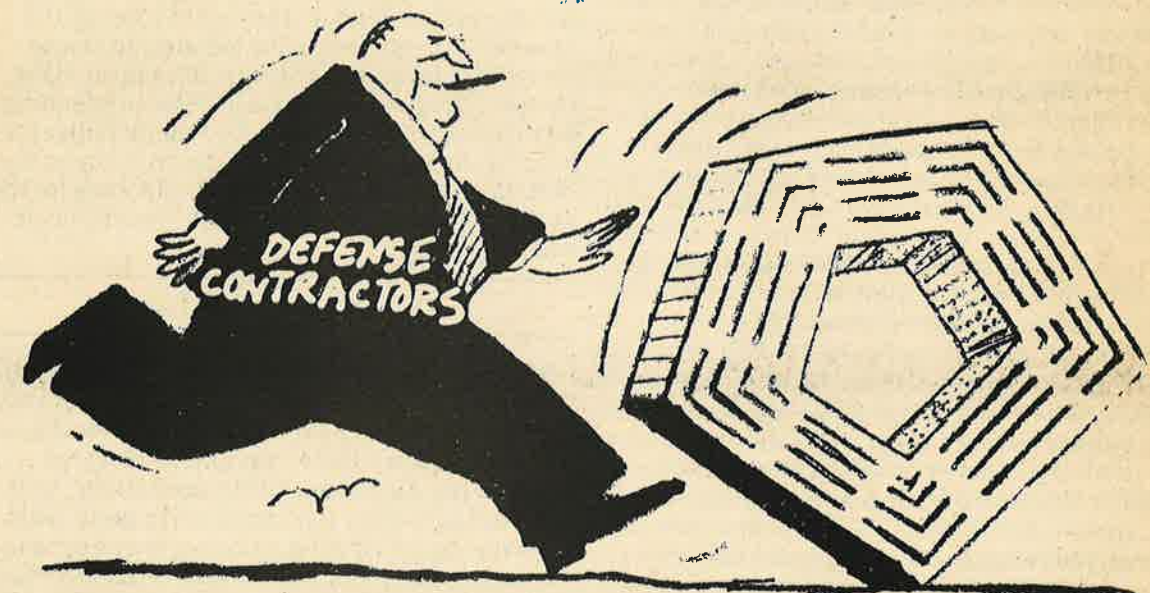
This map shows for the first time, the places where munitions are assembled, stored, and shipped abroad. The assembly of munitions (from components produced by private industry), and the filling of them with explosive charges (in some cases under conditions which "expose many people to the hazards of handling explosives" according to a 1973 Army report), are done at Army Ammunition Plants and Naval Ammunition Depots valued at more than \$10 billion. Most of these plants are owned by the government but operated by private companies which last year were awarded nearly \$500 million in government contracts for this

work. The storage of munitions is in 80-foot-long "igloos" at 12 Army Ammunition Depots which are part of the Army depot system costing the taxpayer \$1 billion a year to maintain. Shipping is done from the one West Coast and three East Coast ports shown on the map.

This map and the accompanying list of sites, annual cost, munitions produced, and countries to which they are sold, were compiled from public government and industry sources by NARMIC (National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex), a project of the American Friends Service Committee. For more information on individual sites, write NARMIC. Our special thanks to Elaine Cruder for assistance in preparing this publication. This map is fourth in NARMIC's series, *The Military-Industrial Atlas of the United States*. Previous maps appeared in WIN, 12/1/77, 2/2/78, and 4/20/78. For more copies of any map in the series write NARMIC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102. Single copies, 10¢ each; ten or more, 6¢ each; \$4 per hundred; plus 20% postage on all orders.

Site & Company	Location & Railroad	1977 Orders [Millions]	Sales To	Description
Anniston AD	Anniston, AL—SR			Ammunition storage
Blue Grass AD	Lexington, KY—L&N			Ammunition storage
Concord Naval Weapons Station	Concord, CA—AT&SF, SN, SP			Ammunition port for Asia and the Pacific
Crane NAD	Crane, IN—CMStP&P			Assemble bombs
Earle Naval Weapons Station	Colt's Neck, NJ—PNYC			Ammunition port for Africa, Europe, and Middle East
Ft. Wingate AD	Gallup, NM—AT&SF			Ammunition storage
Hawthorne NAD	Hawthorne, NV—SP			Assemble bombs
Holston AAP Eastman Kodak	Kingsport, TN—CC&O, SR	\$72.223	Chile, Iran, Israel, Korea	Manufacture explosives
Indiana AAP ICI United States	Charleston, IN—B&O, Conrail	\$36.080	Argentina, Ethiopia, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Korea, Netherlands, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Thailand, Venezuela	Load propellant charges for artillery ammunition
Iowa AAP Mason & Hanger	Burlington, IA—CB&Q	\$10.110		Assemble grenades, warheads, and other ammunition
Kansas AAP Day & Zimmermann	Parsons, KS—MKT, SL-SF	\$31.764		Assemble cluster bombs, artillery ammunition and fuzes
King's Bay Military Ocean Terminal	King's Bay, Ga—Blue Star Shipping			Commercial shipping of munitions and explosives
Lake City AAP Remington Arms	Independence, MO—MPL		Australia, Austria, Belgium, Israel, Korea, Nicaragua, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Thailand	Assemble small arms ammunition
Letterkenny AD	Chambersburg, PA—WM			Ammunition storage
Lone Star AAP Day & Zimmermann	Texarkana, TX—MPL, SL-SW	\$97.470	Argentina, Canada, Chile, Iran, Israel, Korea, Philippines, Spain, Tunisia, Venezuela	Assemble detonators and other ammunition components
Longhorn AAP Thiokol Corp.	Marshall, TX—L&A	\$17.852	Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Korea, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, Tunisia	Assemble rocket motors, flares, and pyrotechnics
Louisiana AAP Thiokol Corp.	Shreveport, LA—IC, L&A, SL-SW	\$23.931	Argentina, Australia, Greece, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Korea, New Zealand, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Taiwan, Turkey	Assemble projectiles warheads, mines, and fuzes
McAlester NAD	McAlester, OK—MKT, CRI&P			Assemble bombs
Milan AAP Martin Marietta	Milan, TN—IC, L&N	\$30.871	Ecuador, Iran, Israel, Italy, Norway, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia	Assemble cluster bomb dispensers, fuzes and other munitions components
Mississippi AAP Mason Chamberlain	Picayune, MS			Assemble antipersonnel artillery shells (plant under construction)
Navajo AD	Flagstaff, AZ—AT&SF			Ammunition storage
Pine Bluff Arsenal	Pine Bluff, AR			Assemble white phosphorus shells

Site & Company	Location & Railroad	1977 Orders [Millions]	Sales To	Description
Pueblo AD	Pueblo, CO—AT&SF, MoPac			Ammunition storage
Radford AAP Hercules, Inc.	Radford, VA—N&W	\$114.218	Australia, Belgium, Canada, Greece, Iran, Jordan, Morocco, Netherlands, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Taiwan, Turkey	Manufacture explosives and chemical material
Red River AD	Texarkana, TX—MPL, SL-SW			Ammunition storage
Riverbank AAP Norris Industries	Riverbank, CA—AT&SF	\$3.327		Assemble artillery and projectiles
Savanna AD	Savanna, IL—CB&Q			Ammunition storage
Scranton AAP Chamberlain Mfg. Corp.	Scranton, PA—Conrail	\$43.976	Iran, Israel, Jordan, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia	Assemble artillery and projectiles
Seneca AD	Romulus, NY—Conrail			Ammunition storage
Sierra AD	Herlong, CA—CF, SP			Ammunition storage
Sunny Point Military Ocean Terminal	Southport, NC			Ammunition port for Europe, Africa, Middle East
Tooele AD	Tooele, UT—NW, PIE, UP, WP			Storage, chemical munitions
Twin Cities AAP Federal Cartridge	New Brighton, MN—MT	\$2.558		Assemble projectiles and small arms ammunition
Umatilla AD	Hermiston, OR—UP			Ammunition storage



Drawing from Stars & Gripes/LNS

A Booming Year For the Pentagon's Top Ten

by Gordon Adams

The last defense budget prepared by the Ford Administration, which was the first administered by Jimmy Carter and Harold Brown, gave an immense boost to America's military contractors, according to data recently released by the Pentagon. The Department of Defense awarded just over \$50 billion in procurement and research and development contracts in fiscal year 1977, a huge jump from the \$42 billion awarded in FY1976.

The same familiar contracting companies dominated this burgeoning military market (see Table of Top 10). Most of these firms increased the value of military contracts received in 1977 over their total for 1976. In fact, to get on the Top 100 list in 1977, a firm had to receive over \$60 million in DOD contracts, compared to the \$42 million needed in 1976.

The top 10 contractors are virtually the same companies as in previous years; even the top 25 showed little change. All but one of these 10 firms increased the value of DOD contract dollars they received, further revealing the growth of the military market. Moreover, the leading 10 firms continued to receive over 30% of the DOD's contract dollars, as they have over the past six years, indicating continued concentration in the military market.

Despite the claims many of these 10 companies have made about diversifying their business away from defense contracting, all but two of the top 10 increased their dependency on the DOD contract dollar. Moreover, since the subcontracting these firms do is not reported in the DOD data, their dependency on the Pentagon may be greater than reported.

The Carter Administration's first and second Gordon Adams is director of military research at the Council on Economic Priorities.

defense budgets (FY1978 and 1979) will only boost the industry further. Several major programs are getting into full production this year and next: the A-10 attack plane (Fairchild/Air Force), the F-16 fighter (General Dynamics-United Technologies/Air Force and foreign co-production), the F-15 fighter (McDonnell Douglas-United Technologies/Air Force and foreign sales), the F-18 fighter (McDonnell Douglas-Northrop-General Electric/Navy), the cruise missile (Boeing and General Dynamics in competition/Air Force and Navy), the new strategic M-X missile in research and development (Martin Marietta/Air Force), major helicopter programs (United Technologies/Air Force and Navy), and a new M-1 tank, costing over \$1.5 million each (Chrysler/Army).

The political pressure is clearly on to keep the defense budget high, as the recent votes on the Transfer Amendment in the Senate and House show (14 in favor in the Senate; 97 in favor in the House). The continuing rise in defense spending deprives other programs in the federal budget of funding, increases contractor dependency on the DOD dole, and makes conversion planning for the work force and communities both more difficult and more urgent.

Company Review of Top 10

McDonnell-Douglas: Repeats as #1. Major 1977 programs: F-15 (Air Force); A-4 and F-4 (Air Force, Navy and export); F-18 (with Northrop, for the Navy); Harpoon missile (Navy); YC-15 (cargo plane for the Air Force). 1978 expectations: Will stay high on the list. F-15 program to grow, with export orders; F-18 production order due to be increased by Congress; DC-10 has been selected as next Air Force Advanced Tanker/Cargo Aircraft; A-4 foreign orders pending. YC-15 has been cancelled by the Air Force.

Lockheed: Repeats as #2, despite reported de-

Company	Rank [1977]	Contracts [mil \$]	% of Sales	Rank [1976]	Contracts [mil \$]	% of Sales
McDonnell Douglas	1	2,574.1	71.4	1	2,464.6	68.8
Lockheed Corp.	2	1,573.4	44.9	2	1,509.8	46.9
United Technologies (B)	3	1,584.7	28.5	5	1,233.1	23.7
Boeing	4	1,579.9	35.7	6	1,176.3	29.4
General Electric	5	1,519.6	8.5	4	1,347.0	8.4
Rockwell Int'l	6	1,479.8	25.0	10	966.0	18.4
Grumman Corp.	7	1,428.1	91.3	8	982.0	64.5
General Dynamics	8	1,371.5	45.3	7	1,073.0	41.9
Hughes Aircraft (A)	9	1,093.4	n/a	11	910.9	n/a
Northrop	10	1,046.7	65.4	3	1,480.2	116.4

SOURCE: Department of Defense, Top 100 Contractors for Fiscal 1977; CEP The Defense Department's Top 100 for 1976; percent of sales calculations by CEP.

(A) Privately-held corporation; financial statistics unavailable.
(B) 1976 sales include Otis Elevator, which became a wholly-owned subsidiary in July, 1976.

cline. Major 1977 programs: Trident missiles (Navy strategic missile); C-141 stretched version (Air Force); S3A anti-submarine plane (Navy). 1978 expectations: Trident will grow; C-141 stretch will grow; major spending to rebuild the wings of the cost-overrun Lockheed C5A will bring the firm \$1 billion or more in coming years; C-130 exports likely. S3A production ended in April, 1978.

United Technologies: Rose on the list to #3; although the firm claims to be diversifying, dependency on DOD also increased. Major 1977 programs: Pratt & Whitney engines for F-14 (Grumman/Navy); F-15 (McDonnell Douglas/Air Force & export); F-16 (General Dynamics/Air Force and foreign co-production), E-3A Advanced Warning and Control Aircraft (Boeing/Air Force and export); large helicopter contract awards to Sikorsky Division (Navy and Air Force). 1978 expectations: More engine work, especially for F-15, F-16, and E-3A; more helicopter work.

Boeing: Rose on list and in dependency, despite major increases in commercial sales. Major 1977 programs: E-3A AWACS (Air Force and export); cruise missile (Air Force); B-52 upgrade work (Air Force). 1978 expectations: All these programs will grow, including exports of the AWACS. With the cancellation of the B-1, Boeing's cruise and B-52 work has been accelerated.

General Electric: Major 1977 programs: B-1 engines (Rockwell/Air Force); F-18 engines (McDonnell Douglas-Northrop/Navy); S3A engines (Lockheed/Navy); Trident program contracts; radar contracts. 1978 expectations: Continued engine work, though B-1 cancellation will cut into expected contract income.

Rockwell: Rose from 10th in 1976 and increased dependency. Major 1977 programs: large amounts on the first production year of the B-1 bomber. 1978

expectations: A large drop for the firm, as a result of the B-1 Cancellation, though termination negotiations may last two years and end with a golden handshake for Rockwell. Company has no major prime work outside this program.

Grumman: Jumped in contracts and in dependency. Major 1977 programs: F-14 fighter (Navy); A-6 attack plane (Navy); E-2C patrol plane (Navy). 1978 expectations: None of these programs have a long future, though they will continue in 1978. Grumman is a prime candidate for conversion planning.

General Dynamics: Large increase in DOD contracts; one of the booming firms in military business. Major 1977 programs: missile programs (all services); Tomahawk cruise missile (Navy); overrun-of-the-year, award-winning Trident submarine (Navy); F-16 (Air Force and foreign co-production). 1978 expectations: Trident subs' costs will grow; F-16 will speed up and costs will grow; missile work will grow; cruise program accelerated.

Hughes Aircraft: Remains high on the list; closely-held firm and reports no public financial data. Major 1977 programs: Missiles (all services); helicopters. 1978 expectations: Roland missile work due to increase (Army).

Northrop: Dropped from #3 in 1976 and reduced dependency. Major 1977 programs: F-5 exports, channelled through the DOD; sales dropped in 1977. 1978 expectations: F-5 sales overseas will continue to be pushed; F-18 collaboration will increase DOD business (McDonnell Douglas/Navy).

The Council on Economic Priorities' annual newsletter on the DOD's Top 100 contractors will appear in June. Copies can be ordered for \$1 from the Council on Economic Priorities, 84 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011.

changes

TRANSFER AMENDMENT FAILS IN SENATE AND HOUSE

The Transfer Amendment, a legislative measure that would have cut the defense budget by \$4.8 billion and transferred the funds to social programs, suffered ignominious defeats on Capitol Hill recently, yet another reflection of the rightward drift in the Congress. The Senate bill, introduced by Senator George McGovern (D-SD), was voted down by a 77-14 margin on April 25. A more modest reduction of \$1.4 billion in military spending proposed by Senator Thomas Eagleton (D-MO), was killed on a 70-21 vote. In the House of Representatives, despite a spirited and eloquent debate dominated by pro-Transfer forces, the amendment failed on a 313-98 count on May 3. The only bright spot in the budget battle over defense expenditures was the general failure of advocates of increased military spending to add more money for the Pentagon above President Carter's proposed hikes. —Newsdesk

JUNE 12 SIT-IN FOR DISARMAMENT AT US MISSION

The Mobilization for Survival is sponsoring a "Sit-In for Survival" on Monday, June 12 at the United States Mission to the United Nations in New York City. The action, which will include civil disobedience, is designed to focus attention on US responsibility and complicity in the arms race and to put popular pressure on the United States to undertake bold unilateral initiatives to halt weapons production and substantially slash military spending while increasing

funding for human needs programs. The Sit-In for Survival Task Force of the Mobilization has prepared and delivered a detailed position paper to the US Mission which includes a list of demands in this vein. In the unlikely event that the United States takes substantial action toward any of the demands, say June 12 organizers, then the action on that date will be one of support for such initiatives.

Those wishing to participate in the June 12 action will assemble at 10 am at Bryant Park (41st St. & Sixth Ave.) for the march to the US Mission. Options will be available for those not engaged in civil disobedience. Civil disobedience participants, however, are encouraged to undergo nonviolence training on either Sunday, May 28 (at the Catholic Worker, 55 E. 3rd St. from 2-6 pm) or on Sunday, June 11 (with times and locations to be announced). For more information on the June 12 activities, contact the Sit-In for Survival, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (212) 475-1180. —Newsdesk

WORTH A TRY?

The insurance business is not quite as dull as it may seem. Take, for instance, these claims filed with the Aetna Life and Casualty Insurance Co.

In one case, a man who was tormented by mosquitoes in the middle of the night sprang out of bed and, unable to stand it any longer, sprayed the pests into oblivion. When he awoke the next morning, he found that he had sprayed his bedroom and clothing with red enamel paint rather than with insecticide. He asked Aetna for compensation for his error.

And then there is the claim filed by the gambler who says he stuffed

his winnings in his trousers after a successful day at the race track, only to watch his good luck go up in smoke when he accidentally set his pants afire while lighting a cigarette.

And then there was the mortician who filed claims with Aetna saying he suffered back strain from lifting one too many caskets.

Aetna has refused to disclose whether the claimants got any money from the company.

—Straight Creek Journal

CAMPAIGN TO IDENTIFY GI HERBICIDE POISONING INITIATED

A national campaign to identify cases and assist in claims of Vietnam veterans suffering from herbicidal poisoning was announced in New York on Friday, May 5.

Citizen Soldier, a GI rights organization, announced Project Search and Save, the national outreach campaign in conjunction with other veterans groups and environmental organizations.

More than two million GIs might have been exposed to dioxin, a deadly poison contained in Agent Orange, the herbicide used to defoliate the jungles of Vietnam, explained Michael Uhl of Citizen Soldier.

Dioxin is known to cause birth defects in babies and cancer in laboratory animals. A less toxic form of 2,4,5-T, a principal component of Agent Orange is widely used in the United States for crop and forest management.

The issue of dioxin poisoning in veterans Uhl continued, was first brought to light by Maude de Victor, a Chicago Veterans Administration benefits counselor who noticed a correlation between

medical claims of clients and their duty in combat areas in Vietnam. De Victor assembled over 60 cases with symptoms of dioxin poisoning: chloracne (rash), nausea, dizziness, anxiety, personality changes and congenital birth defects in children. When the Veterans Administration refused to take action, she took the story to the media.

A local television special in Chicago resulted in more than 800 veterans contacting the VA or veterans' counselling groups in an effort to file claims for their ailments.

One veteran, Milton Ross, a 28 year old black ex-Green Beret explained he first felt nausea, dizziness and psychological problems after exposure to Agent Orange in Vietnam in 1968. The causes of his symptoms though were diagnosed as resulting from a head wound and all later claims for benefits from the VA were disallowed.

In 1971, after separation from the service, Ross said, his son Richard was born with birth defects, missing the last joint in his fingers and toes. Until realizing that both his own symptoms and his son's birth defects were the result of Agent Orange, Ross said the strain on his family life was severe. Nevertheless, the VA has specifically disallowed all claims for "genetic damage" saying dependents are not covered.

Barry Commoner, the noted biologist and environmentalist further explained the history of dioxin poisoning. Dioxin, Commoner explained, is an unintended but inevitable by-product in the manufacture of herbicides. A further problem of dioxin poisoning, Commoner continued, is that some symptoms may not appear for years after exposure. Dioxin is absorbed into the body fat. Years later, after a sickness that results in weight loss, Commoner explained, the dioxin could be released into the bloodstream and more serious symptoms could occur. "It is like a time bomb," Commoner said, "and not enough is known about it."

The dioxin peril may not be limited to Vietnam veterans,

claimed John Stauber, an environmental activist. Stauber displayed a can of common weed killer that contains 2,4,5-T, a component of Agent Orange. Five million acres of land in the United States will be sprayed with herbicides this year, said Stauber.

Project Search and Save announced the following phone number: (800) 221-7938, in their effort to reach veterans who might be suffering from dioxin poisoning.

The coalition of veterans and environmental groups is also calling for an immediate EPA ban on the use of all herbicides including 2,4,5-T and silvex, which contain dioxin and a crash research program to further determine the effects of dioxin contamination on humans.

—Daniel Rosen

CALIFORNIA WOMEN'S PRISON BESET BY CORRUPTION AND MALTREATMENT

California Institute for Women (CIW) at Frontera is ready to come apart at the seams.

Disgruntled staff members and 700 unhappy inmates, including SLA member Emily Harris, detest the smoggy, fly-blown prison located in a dairy-farming area on reclaimed riverbottom land 30 miles east of Los Angeles. Nearby are state prisons for men, youths and addicts, thus the region is known as Corrections Valley.

CIW's medical facility and vocational school are particularly substandard; in general, women inmates do not enjoy the same rights, privileges, services and programs that men inmates do, but that's not saying much.

According to horror stories relayed by prisoners in public hearings and correspondence, CIW has maggots in the kitchen, perverted male guards, sadistic counsellors, price-gouging in the canteen and snoops in the mailroom.

Staff psychologist Jerrold Cohen says the administrators harass and frustrate his efforts to provide the only therapy available to inmates. Cohen accuses administrators of commandeering his office furni-

ture and confiscating the restroom key so that he had to use the inmate toilet. According to Cohen, psychiatrist (and now chief medical officer) Dr. James Vines resorts to ridicule and medication in lieu of treatment. Vines once told reporters and legislators assembled at a prison hearing: "Women have more emotional problems than men."

Vines replaced Dr. Clayton Halverson, a decrepit, shuffling pathetic figure who resigned his post after testifying in the hearing.

A lackluster performance by warden Kathleen Anderson, a former guard, shed very little light on prison conditions. Anderson hides in her office behind special bulletproof glass. Subordinates say she is unaware of rule violations by her own staff, or that she doesn't care.

Ex-offenders serving as legislative interns to Assemblyman Richard Alatorre have interviewed inmates in an unused dining hall on the "main campus." (Such euphemisms are very popular in the state prison system). Alatorre and aides have also met "off-campus" with dissident staff, in a nearby tacky golf-course bar. Inmates and staff agree that CIW is an abomination: underfunded, inadequately staffed and incompetently managed. Specifically, they charge mismanagement of the inmate welfare fund, arbitrary local rules not in the State manual, unqualified staff, unaccredited hospital, experimental and forced drugging, unsanitary conditions, fire risks, out of date and demeaning educational offerings, and religious discrimination, particularly against Black Muslims.

—John Maybury

EVENTS

APTOS, CA—Women's Gathering on Nonviolence and Feminism with speakers, workshops, entertainment, and more on July 7-9 at Monte Toyon Camp. Costs are \$27.50 for lodging, meals, and registration. For more information, contact: Women's Gathering, c/o WRL-West, 1360 Howard Street, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 863-8641.

BOSTON, MA—Rev. Douglas Wilson and Rev. Philip Zwerling will speak on "An End to Religion?" on Sunday, May 28, 11am at Morse Auditorium, 602 Commonwealth Ave. Sponsored by the Community Church of Boston.

BOSTON, MA—Boston to Seabrook Safe Energy Walk will leave Boston on June 17 and arrive on June 23. For more information, contact Boston Clamshell, 2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140 (617) 661-6204.

BURLINGTON, KS—Demonstration against the Wolf Creek Nuclear Plant on Sunday, June 25, 12 noon at John Redmond Reservoir with speeches, music, and picnic. For more information, contact the Sunflower Alliance, 4311 Holmes, Kansas City, MO 64110 (816) 753-5370.

GROTON, CT—Support demonstration by the Trident Submarine Conversion Campaign on Monday, May 22. For more information, contact: Joanne Sheehan, CNVA, RFD 1, Box 430, Voluntown, CT 06384 (203) 376-9970.

ITHACA, NY—Anarcho-feminist gathering on June 9-11 at the Cayuga Center, Route 89, in Ithaca with workshops, music, dance, etc. For more information on registration, write TIAMAT, c/o Coleman, 304 Dey St., Ithaca, NY 14850.

NEW JERSEY—Nonviolence training sessions for Seabrook occupiers will be held May 21-June 10 in Monmouth, Mercer, Essex, Union, and Bergen counties. For more information on exact times and locations, call the SEA Alliance at (201) 538-6676 or (201) 539-9016.

NEW YORK CITY—Nonviolence Training for Seabrook Occupation in the New York City area will take place in May at times and places to be disclosed. For more information on the sessions, contact: Grace Hedemann, WRL, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (212) 228-0450.

NEW YORK CITY—"An Evening of Native American Spirituality," a benefit for the Mobilization for Survival, on Wednesday, May 24, 8pm at Cathedral of St. John, 113th St. and Amsterdam. \$3 Admission. For more information, call Clergy and Laity Concerned at (212) 964-6730.

NEW YORK CITY—Religious Convocation for Survival will be held on Thursday, May 25 and Friday, May 26 with workshops, worship and witness. For more information, contact the Mobilization for Survival at (212) 475-1180.

NEW YORK CITY—Tongbai Tongpao, former political prisoner and chief defense lawyer for the Bangkok 18, will speak on human rights in Thailand on Friday, May 26, 7:30pm at Washington Square Church, 135 W. 4th St. For more information, contact the Union of Democratic Thais (212) 533-1463.

NEW YORK CITY—Rally at the United Nations for Disarmament, May 27. Speakers and performers include: Helen Caldicott, John Conyers, Jimmy Durham, Suni Paz, Pete Seeger, Marian Stamps, Dan Ellsberg, Sweet Honey. Local marchers assemble at 10am at 14th St and Broadway and 86th St. and Broadway; main march assembles at 41st Street and 6th Ave. at 12 noon. For more information, contact the Mobilization for Survival, 339 Lafayette St., (212) 475-1180.

NEW YORK CITY—The Fellowship of Reconciliation national conference on May 25-30 at Manhattan College in the Bronx. For registration and other information, contact: Richard Deats, FOR, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960.

NEW YORK CITY—International Women's Gathering sponsored by the Mobilization for Survival-Feminist Task Force on Sunday, May 28, 11am-1:30pm at Stuyvesant Park, 15th Street and 2nd Avenue. Speakers, displays, literature, refreshments, informal rabble-rousing. For more information, contact: Feminist Task

Force at (212) 673-1808.

NEW YORK CITY—"Sit-In for Survival" at the United States Mission to the United Nations on Monday, June 12, 12 noon. Assemble for march to the US Mission at 10am at Bryant Park (41st St. and Sixth Ave.). A legal demonstration will be held in conjunction with the civil disobedience. For more information, contact Sit-In for Survival, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (212) 475-1180.

ROWE, MA—Dave Dellinger will lead a workshop on "The History, Present, and Future of Nonviolent Action" on June 2-4 at Rowe Conference Center. For more information and registration, contact Rowe Conference Center, Kings Highway Road, Rowe, MA 01367 (413) 339-4216.

SACRAMENTO, CA—Peacemakers Orientation Program in Nonviolence on July 21-August 4 at the Catholic Worker House, 243 Bay Drive. Cost: \$3 per day. For more information and to register, write Peggy Weingard, PO Box 4793, Arcata, CA 95521.

SAN FRANCISCO, CA—Disarmament March and Rally to coincide with the UN Special Session on Saturday, May 27. Marchers will gather at 10am at Union Square and proceed to a rally at the Civic Center. Sponsored by the Northern California Alliance for Survival, 1360 Howard St., San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 626-1465.

SAN LUIS OBISPO, CA—Transformation/restoration/blockade of the Diablo Canyon nuclear facility on August 6-9 with energy fair, legal rally and civil disobedience. For more information, contact the Abalone Alliance, 452 Higuera, San Luis Obispo, CA 93401.

SANTA CRUZ, CA—Nonviolent Organizers Training Session on June 17-30 in Santa Cruz. For registration and more information, contact Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

REVIEWS

SUPPLYING REPRESSION

by Michael T. Klare
Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Que St. NW,
Washington DC 20009/75¢.

Effective policing is like 'preventive medicine.' The police can deal with threats to internal order in their formative states. Should they not be prepared to do this, 'major surgery' [i.e., military intervention] would be needed to redress these threats. This action is painful and expensive and disruptive in itself.

Michael Klare has again cast his unerring eye over the wealth of documents which the US government puts forth each year to search out those statements and facts which clarify what, in fact, our national policy in military affairs is. This time, in **Supplying Repression**, he has documented concisely and convincingly the ongoing US military aid and sales to the national police forces of a number of the most dictatorial regimes in the world.

The above quotation was taken from the 1971 Congressional testimony of Under Secretary of State, U. Alexis Johnson, in support of the Office of Public Safety (OPS), which had been established by President Kennedy to aid countries "in the development of modern, 'professional' police forces dedicated to 'maintenance of an atmosphere of law and order under humane, civil concepts of control.'" In fact this meant, according to Mr. Klare, "strengthening of the counterinsurgency and social-control capabilities of the police at the expense of all other considerations."

The establishment of OPS in 1962 corresponded to a general shift in emphasis at that time in US foreign military sales and aid from providing allies with security from external threats (such as attack by the

Steven Lydenberg is a free lance researcher and writer in the Boston area. David McReynolds is on the national staff of the War Resisters League.

Soviet Union) to providing security from internal threats (such as an attack from leftist guerrillas within).

When a rigorous and logical pursuit of this interventionist policy had, by the early 1970's, led the US into several embarrassing and costly situations, such as those in Chile and Vietnam, Congress and the public reacted. In 1974, Congress passed a Foreign Assistance Act which established for the first time the principle that aid should be denied to governments which engage in systematic violations of human rights. This legislation also banned US aid or training to foreign police forces—and the OPS was disbanded. Furthermore, during the first few months of the Carter Administration the new President took several strong public stances against human rights violations abroad.

However, despite Congressional legislation and Presidential statements, basic administration policy has not changed and, as this report points out, the police forces of various nations with established records of human rights violations continue to receive US aid and training. For example, the International Narcotics Control (INC) program, established by President Nixon in 1971, continues to supply the Thai National Police Department with commodities which are "basically the same as those furnished under the Public Safety program," according to a General Accounting Office report. During 1973-78 there were \$142 million in INC grants awarded to foreign law enforcement agencies, many of which were also major recipients of Public Safety assistance. The US Department of Defense also continues indirect assistance to foreign police through its training and aid to programs which are partially military in nature, but which can easily be converted to use by police and paramilitary forces.

The report makes several specific recommendations for Congressional actions to prevent the continuance of such aid, while acknowledging the difficulties of effective legislative controls as long as basic administration policy apparently remains unchanged. In conclusion, the report cites one important, but often overlooked consequence which the continuation of this policy of supporting oppression abroad will have, and has already had:

...there is a grave penalty for inaction: the certainty that the pipeline of repression will increasingly carry a reverse flow of political violence. For, by becoming involved in the creation and nourishment of authoritarian systems abroad, we cannot hope to escape their ravages at home. Already, the governments of South Korea and Chile have sent their minions to the United States to pervert our institutions [including even Congress itself] or to murder our citizens and guests [as in the case of the assassination of Orlando Letelier and Ronnie Moffitt in Washington on September 21, 1976]. If we are to protect our own freedoms and liberties from the inflow of barbarism, we must halt the export of repression to foreign governments.

—Steven Lydenberg

THE GAME OF DISARMAMENT
by Alva Myrdal
Pantheon Books/hard cover/398pp./\$15.

This is a book which *should* be read "by all people interested in preserving civilization on this earth" (to quote from a book jacket blurb by Senator Stuart Symington), but won't be, not because the subject isn't important, but because the writing is pedestrian. Alva Myrdal has written a book which will be required reading in any serious course on disarmament, giving a brief history of pre-World War II disarmament efforts, tracing the rise of the postwar arms race, and documenting the absolutely insane arms spiral of recent years. It will not, however, find a mass audience, not even within the peace movement. One must labor through it and in the end one gains the impression of having been given more information than was needed on some subjects that are of secondary value.

This problem is particularly clear in what I found to be a somewhat tortured discussion of "outlawing the use of cruel weapons and methods of warfare." There are certainly ways of killing which are more painful than others, but there is an almost macabre element to any discussion about how to conduct a war without inflicting death in cruel and random ways. Ironically, the single most humane death I can think of would be nuclear — if you were lucky enough to be at the exact center of the blast, where objects are vaporized — just as studies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki make it clear that for those not killed almost instantly, nuclear death is among the most appalling ways of dying one can imagine. However I think those searching for "uncruel ways of killing" need always to consider not only the moral issue of who and how (and why) one kills someone, but the network of family and friends who suffer terribly from the death, whether it came swiftly or slowly and with great pain. It is in the nature of death that while each of us must confront it totally alone, the effect touches many others.

Where Myrdal is on the strongest ground is in examining two major aspects of the arms race, that of the "games element" in the US/Soviet relationship, and the other the "stupid element" as regards political leadership in Europe. She arrived at her conclusions somewhat reluctantly.

A rational, decent, concerned Swedish citizen with a long and distinguished public career, it is obvious that in her years of work as Sweden's Minister of Disarmament she was driven step by step to realize that her own proposals — and those of a handful of other diplomats who pressed for disarmament — were not truly welcomed by either the US or the USSR. If there is lacking in her book a close analysis of the political and economic dynamics of the arms race here and in the Soviet Union, it is still clear she moved from assuming the great powers had really wanted to disengage, to realizing they had no intention of ending their arms race. She was driven, if not to a total paci-

fist position, to something very close to it. She emerges as one of a rare handful of people who, having been deeply involved in the structure of power, concludes quite firmly that pressure in the streets will be a necessary ingredient of any arms negotiations. Paradoxically, I must contrast her position with that of some in the peace movement itself who are so impressed by the structure of power that they make the error of thinking power is a kind of dust that will rub off on them by close association with those who have it — and end by being deathly afraid of any street actions.

As she points out, the Soviet Union has traditionally set forth a very strong disarmament position knowing the US would never accept it and thereby gained an enormous propaganda advantage, while later agreeing behind the scenes with the US negotiators on some position that would permit the two sides to leave their military elites unthreatened. (Those on the Left who don't believe the Soviet — and Chinese — military elites help hammer out the foreign policies of the Communist bloc are, in their own way, as naive as liberals who really believe American presidents want to disarm.) She documents lost opportunities and lays special stress on the treachery of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of the early sixties. This was hailed by the peace movement (and claimed by the Soviets and US) as a major step forward. It was no such thing — it simply made certain that any nation signing the treaty would not be able to join the nuclear club, while those already in it were free to continue testing underground — and they have continued doing just that. The result is that both major powers steadily refined their nuclear weapons and were able to accelerate the nuclear arms race by developing more accurate guidance systems to carry smaller nuclear warheads. It is for this reason, among others, that she is extremely suspicious of the SALT talks. (Among the other reasons, and a damn good one, is the determination of the US and Soviets to pursue arms talks bilaterally, even though the entire planet is involved. The SALT talks inherently assume the right of the two major powers to act "on behalf of" the whole race — something the Chinese have quite properly denounced.)

Ms. Myrdal takes deadly aim at the governments on her own continent, and their truly appalling lack of political sense. The Soviets and the US, eager to make sure that *if* war comes, it will *not* occur on their own territories, have long since "war-gamed" Europe as the first battleground. The incredible thing is that the European states have accepted a situation where *if* war comes, they will be absolutely devastated, and they have helped insure this by such actions as the development, by France and England, of nuclear weapons. Such weapons give those two nations no real military bargaining power but they do insure that the Soviets *must* assign nuclear weapons to key targets in France and England. If I write here with a certain passion, it is over the historically deadly combination of incompetence in high office and a public which assumes their national leadership knows what

it is doing. Americans learned from the Vietnam experience that the "brightest and best" proved, after testing, to be among the least bright and the worst. The current neutron bomb controversy carries this point forward — some of the NATO states are actually requesting the neutron bomb, even though it makes nuclear war more likely and their own destruction more certain.

Finally — because I want here to touch only on some of the main points in the book to encourage serious students to check it out of the library — she is to be commended for realizing something not all in the American peace movement accept: Soviet arms are a problem, and even as pacifists urge unilateral disarmament they must accept a political analysis which

recognizes the *problem is multilateral*. Critical as Alva Myrdal is of the US, this book is not an anti-US tirade, but a very carefully reasoned assault on the *arms race and all those nations which have joined it*. Nor does she close the book without offering a series of suggested steps which, while too limited from the pacifist point of view, do help the reader to see that getting out of the arms race will take us as much time as it took to get into it, and that even absolute objectives must be achieved with specific and limited steps. I very much regret the writing does not sparkle — because this is a *must* book for every serious student of the disarmament problem.

— David McReynolds

PEACE CONVERSION

A WIN Special Issue



Edited by NARMIC and Bruce Birchard. A special 32-page WIN with articles on community-based disarmament projects and conversion projects in Colorado, Hawaii, and California plus a peace conversion organizing guide and extensive bibliography with drawings by Peg Averill. Now in its third big printing! Order in bulk today for use in your local campaign, study group, or organization.

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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 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: PO Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063 (408) 432-1626.

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.

The spring term is beginning at the Free Association, an independent socialist education center in New York City which is cooperatively run by its members. Workshops, lectures, and courses cover topics such as, "May '68 and a critique of everyday life," "Forms and effects of cultural imperialism." For information, call (212) 242-9361 or 691-0699.

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

FEED THE CITIES, NOT THE PENTAGON: Write Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107.

PUBLICATIONS

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 Special 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 St., New York, NY 10012.

SEABROOK '78: A HANDBOOK FOR THE OCCUPATION/RESTORATION BEGINNING JUNE 24 is available from the Clamshell Alliance, 62 Congress Street, Portsmouth, NH 03801. 32 pages including maps, photographs, and an educational text, all for only \$1.25 including handling. Sure to be a collector's item.

INTERNATIONAL SOLDIER'S MOVEMENT is a history of GI organizing in Europe with conclusions relevant to GI organizers here. Send \$02 plus 25¢ postage to RECON, 702 Stanley St., Ypsilanti, MI 48197.

SERVICES

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 peoples 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, PA). Contact: Brandywine Peace Community and Alternative Fund, 51 Barren Rd., Media, PA 19063.

LIVING ALTERNATIVES

Apartment Available-immediate occupancy in Sheepshead Bay, Brooklyn NY, on the waterfront. Rent FREE in exchange for house watching and general repairs-plumbing, carpentry, etc. needed. Please call Betty Blake at (516) 785-8836.

Male, 26, lifetime WIN subscriber, seeks room in coop or semi-coop in Cambridge, MA. Please call Duncan Harp—(617) 547-0484.

Seeking more social change workers (anti-nukes, feminism, peace, etc.) to live/work in Maine. Room and board offered. Share homestead responsibilities. Contact Palmyra Dome, RFD 1, Newport, ME 04953.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Two community organizers to develop grassroots independent citizen action groups among low-income and racial/ethnic minorities in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Two years experience preferred, or other experience negotiable. Salary negotiable depending on experience. Send resume to: Coalition for Social Action, 1026 3rd Ave., SE, Cedar Rapids, IA 52403 (319) 362-6681.

WANT TO EDIT CALC REPORT? CALC REPORT needs a new editor to work out of Clergy & Laity Concerned's national office in New York City. The job includes responsibility for soliciting and writing articles, editing, proofreading, layout, some photography, coordination of mailing, and promotion of this publication, published ten times a year. Applicants should have experience and skills in writing and layout, though some training is anticipated. Send resumes and/or requests for further information to CALC REPORT, Clergy & Laity Concerned, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038. (212) 964-6730.

Opportunity for conscious, self-motivated responsible co-worker with Community Mailing Service, a small, steadily growing computerized mailing service cooperative serving many peace and civil rights groups (including WIN). Ability to work with others, an organized mind and work habits, and a commitment to working in a collective are essential. Familiarity with computer mailing technology useful, not essential. Necessary training will be provided. Long term commitment important. Reasonable movement compensation. To start July. Community Mailing Service, Inc., 3525 Lancaster Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19104 Phone: (215) 382-6096.

CCCCO/An Agency for Military and Draft Counseling is looking for a person with skills in public speaking, writing and publishing, fundraising, program coordination, and typing to take primary responsibility for a national counter-recruitment effort and possible new program or programs of the organization. Salary \$7,000 and benefits; job is full-time. Send writing samples; references; resume of work, movement, peace, and anti-military experience; and reasons for seeking job to Atte; Carol McNeill, CCCC, 2016 Walnut St., Philadelphia, PA 19103. (215) 568-7971. We have particular interest in women and third world applicants. Employment begins Sept. 1st, applications requested before July 15th.

HELP I

THE CLAMSHELL ALLIANCE desperately needs funds to help prepare for the coming occupation/restoration June 24. We need thousands of dollars for phones, buses, printing and other supplies. Support the fight against the Seabrook Nuke, a local battle with international significance. Send checks, money orders or cash to: Clamshell Alliance, 62 Congress St., Portsmouth, NH 03801.

Better Active Today than Radioactive Tomorrow! The Mobilization for Survival May 27th Disarmament Rally Project Office needs fundraisers, letter stuffers, leafleters, button hawkers, collaters, sandwich boarders, straight thinkers, and all varieties of volunteers for tasks large and small. Contact Susan Blake or Anne Boggan at 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012. Phone: (212) 475-1180.

Alternative Research Group cut off from the world needs readable input and friends abroad. Miguel Grimberg, C.C. Central 1933, Buenos Aires, Argentina (1000).

WANT TO MAKE NOISE? Come to the Mobilization for Survival religious convocation May 27 rally with your funky instrument. You must be free May 26 6pm-10pm and Saturday May 27, all day. Linguistically talented people especially needed for this Bread and Puppet Theatre piece. Call (212) 475-1180.

Forming ham radio network for peace and work alternatives and to connect with 200 amateurs. Open to MFS, MNS, mother earth. Contact: Rick, 2324 NW Columbia, E. Wenatchee, WA 98801.



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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.

We want your help in this nonviolent protest. Return the coupon.

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.

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* Send me information about the Mobilization For Survival, Disarmament, and the schedule for the United Nations Special Session.

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MOBILIZE FOR SURVIVAL!



Hiroshima the day after bombing

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MASS RALLY AT THE UN MAY 27

Three marches from various points in Manhattan will meet at Bryant Park on May 27 (41st Street and Sixth Avenue) and will leave at noon for the United Nations. Speakers at the rally at Dag Hammarskjold Plaza include Helen Caldicott, Dan Ellsberg, Marian Stamps, Rep. John Conyers. Pete Seeger, Suni Paz, Rev. Kirkpatrick and Sweet Honey and The Rock will perform. Call (212) 475-1180.

RELIGIOUS CONVOCATION MAY 25-26

International Religious Delegation will participate in a Celebration of Life, workshops, Interfaith Worship, and processions to the South Bronx (on May 25) and the UN (on May 26). call (212) 964-6730.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S GATHERING MAY 28

A gathering at Stuyvesant Park, 2nd Ave. at 15th Street, to share information, develop cooperation

among women's organizations, and discuss disarmament as a feminist issue. Call (212) 475-1180.

INTERNATIONAL MOBILIZATION FOR SURVIVAL MAY 28-29

A conference of the International MFS to plan projects, link nuclear weapons and power, and build solidarity. To register, call (212) 475-1180.

SIT-IN FOR SURVIVAL JUNE 12

A mass nonviolent sit-in to dramatize the urgency of disarmament and the need to stop nuclear power will be held at the United States Mission to the UN (45th Street and First Ave.). Training in nonviolence will be on June 11. Call (212) 475-1180 or 228-0450.

Contact:
UN PROJECT OFFICE
339 LAFAYETTE STREET
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