

win

peace and freedom through nonviolent action

June 15, 1978/40¢

FIVE DAYS IN MAY The Mobilization Spring Disarmament Campaign



New York • San Francisco • Religious Convocation
International Mobe Conference
Visiting the Nuclear Missions

4. Thousands Rally at UN on May 27th/Patrick Lacefield
6. Bay Area Protest Draws Two Thousand/Michael Berkowitz
8. "Therefore Choose Life That Your Children May Live..." Bill Frelick
10. Taking the Message to the Nuclear Powers/David McReynolds
11. The International Mobe Looks to the Future/Peggy Duff
13. Scout's Honor in Iran/Adam Finnerty
16. Changes
17. Tax Talk/Susan Wilkins
19. Reviews/Elliott Linzer and Randy Kehler

Cover: Demonstrators walking down 42nd St. toward the UN. Photo by Grace Hedemann

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WIN is published every Thursday except for the first week in January, the fourth week in March, the second week in June, the last two weeks in August, the first two weeks in September and the last week in December by W.I.N. Magazine, Inc. with the support of the War Resisters League. Subscriptions are \$15 per year. Second class postage paid at New York, NY 10001 and additional mailing offices. Individual writers are responsible for opinions expressed and accuracy of facts given. Sorry—manuscripts cannot be returned unless accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Printed in USA

LETTERS

This is in response to the letters from Joan Cavanagh, et. al., (Letters, WIN 5/11/78) concerning abortion and the Catholic Peace Fellowship conference held in Amherst, Mass. on April 1st. This year the Fellowship addressed the questions of right-to-life and disarmament, in an attempt to draw the connections between the two.

I would like to consider specifically some of the questions raised in the letter signed by the eleven women, but first I want to tell you who I am. I am a woman, a feminist, something of a closet anarchist (where I must remain until I get a better grasp on the facts involved), and against abortion. I will declare, at the outset, that I have sat-in in an abortion clinic (although not in the fashion of the Pro-Life Nonviolent Action Project—more on that later) and at the Pentagon, Seabrook, and Electric Boat where the Trident is being built. The only difference I can see between my action in the clinic and my other "acceptable" (to the peace movement) actions is that in the clinic the violence is occurring: it is not in construction, it is not being discussed, it is happening.

I agree that women are indeed victims. To claim that abortion is the solution to that victimization is, however, a classic example of the oppressed turning on the even more oppressed, the even more helpless, the even more vulnerable: the unborn child. It is a case of "blaming the victim," a position we women are put in constantly, in regard to rape, unwanted pregnancy, etc. How then, can we turn and do the same to the child in our womb? Certainly, no one would claim that the child is the root cause of patriarchy? Surely no one would accuse the child of complicity in the systematic oppression of women? Surely no one would hold the child responsible for the place of women in society? Why then, is the child the one to die?

They say that "it is simplistic to 'save' one life and not the other." O, yes! I can't tell you how much I agree. But they go on to say "...abortion must be an option." Isn't that in direct contradiction to their previous statement? Aren't they as guilty of simplistic logic? Aren't they "saving" one life and not the other?

I, too, have doubts about the style of many abortion clinic sit-ins. I do not think that rushing in to chain oneself to an operating table is the most sensitive way to deal with a very sensitive issue. The same questions can be raised, however, in reference to actions at the Pentagon: are we doing our best to experience the suffering of a sister or brother involved in a lifework that is death-business? My action in the clinic was a very quiet one, almost unnoticed by clinic

personnel and by the women and men in the waiting room. I wanted, in some intangible way, to affect the "spiritus mundi" which, right now, is a very black and dismal spectre.

I hope what I am about to say will not appear unduly harsh: forgive me, I cannot think of another way to put it. It seems to me that the logic which claims that until we have a non-patriarchal, non-misogynist society, the murder of babies must be an option is as convoluted as the logic which claims that until we have a peaceful world, Trident submarines must be an option.

For years, we have been struggling to get free of the system's solutions, we have been digging to the roots, becoming radical: why, why, why do we now accept and even embrace, the system's offering of abortion? Abortion is a patriarchal solution: it operates on the assumption that women are responsible for their pregnancies; that men and communities are absolved from responsibility. Abortion encourages isolationism; it makes it easier for communities (and ultimately, the patriarchy) to ignore what is happening...to refuse responsibility.

Perhaps, as you say, sit-ins in abortion clinics do nothing to dismantle the patriarchy. But certainly, abortion doesn't either. Neither the people I know who have had abortions, nor the people I know who have sat-in, are happy with what is. Surely together we can come up with a new way: one that does not further victimize either victim: the woman, or the child.

—JO MCGOWAN
Belchertown, Mass.

Oh no! Could it be that in Jim Forest's noble argument for nonviolent revolution in South Africa he denies us our most important tool in the struggle? No, I am not speaking of armed conflict, but of the economic boycott of South Africa. Contrary to the implications of his "The Nonviolent Alternative in South Africa" (WIN, 5/11/78), the movement to deprive South Africa of all social legitimation and economic investment is supported by virtually every major black organization in South Africa and provides Americans with their most direct leverage for the transfer of power.

Jim's argument that "no consensus" on the economic/social boycott of South Africa exists is tantamount to saying that the Montgomery bus boycott should have been abandoned because some blacks still rode buses. In fact, nearly every major liberation organization in South Africa has called explicitly for foreign economic withdrawal, including the African National Congress of South

Africa, the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, the Black People's Convention, the South African Students Organization (SASO), the Colored Labor Party, the South African Indian Congress, etc., etc.

In the words of Nobel Prize laureate Chief Albert Luthuli: "The economic boycott of South Africa will entail undoubted hardship for Africans. We do not doubt that. But if it is a method which shortens the day of blood, the suffering to us will be a price we are willing to pay."

These statements for corporate withdrawal are explicitly outlawed by the "terrorism act" of South Africa. Nonetheless, pleas for withdrawal are continually renewed.

Moreover, the demand for corporate withdrawal provides a constructive route of action for Americans who wish to aid the struggle for majority rule in South Africa. The movement on college campuses against university investments in corporations active in South Africa is the largest since the days of ROTC. Unions and pension fund sponsors are being pressured by their members to act similarly. Currently underway is a boycott of American banks with outstanding loans to the South African government and corporations with facilities there, as is a legislative effort to disallow Export-Import bank loans for American corporate projects in South Africa.

I strongly encourage Jim, and any WIN reader who wishes to learn more of the effects of American economic involvement in South Africa, to order "United States Investment in South Africa," \$2.00 from the South Africa Catalyst Project, 570 Oxford St., #E, Palo Alto, CA 94306. Students interested in organizing their campuses for economic withdrawal should also write Catalyst. Care to take on your local bank? Write Stop Banking on Apartheid, c/o AFSC, 2160 Lake Street, San Francisco, CA 94121. To join the ExIm bank campaign, write the Washington Office on Africa, 110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002.

Our effects are already being felt. Many major universities are divesting stocks or voting stocks against South African investments. Citibank and Chase Manhattan have agreed to no more loans to the South African government. In the words of banned South African journalist Donald Woods, economic withdrawal "represents the last legitimate pressure that could save the situation."

Join us!

—SETH FOLDY
Cleveland, Ohio

I am sorry that Arnold Sacher is shocked and embittered by my arguments that Snuff should be censored. (WIN, 5/25/78) (Snuff is the movie in which a man achieves orgasm by disembowelling a woman—the movie whose promotion leads the movie-goer to expect to watch not a simulated act of

deadly sadism but a real one). Sacher does acknowledge that institutionalized pornography is "a strong measure of social legitimacy to the assault on women"; but he says that I make fear "the only serious consideration" and play "fast and loose with freedom of speech." He is shocked, too, by those who would deny the American Nazi party the right to march through Skokie, Illinois—home of many Jewish survivors of the German Nazi terror. He sees a pervasive contempt for liberty on the left, now. Many, he says, would "put reactionaries behind prison walls for merely advocating their viewpoint on politics." He says, "I must resist a walk down the Stalinist road."

Of course we must resist that walk. But I ask Sacher, who writes of me with such disdain, "She calls openly for state censorship": does he approve of libel laws, and of blackmail laws? If he does, he too calls for censorship and should be less quick to cast me out with those words. The issue surely is: what must we censor, and what must we be very careful not to censor? The right to express dissent I hold as sacred as he does. But the right to libel I do not hold sacred. And the right to threaten I do not hold sacred. Both Snuff and the projected Nazi march through Skokie I would name not spoken but dramatized threats. If you wanted to stretch a point, you could say that a political statement is implicit in each threat: "There is a master race;" "Women belong to men—to do with as they please." But if you argue that this implicit statement must be allowed its

hearing, even if it takes the form of a threat—you are forgetting that one of the effects of a threat is to inhibit the free speech of others.

There is little danger that the political point of view implicit in Snuff will lack a hearing (the view that women belong to men). It is, after all, the point of view of those who run this country. The real danger is that those threatened by Snuff will lack a voice. The intimidation of women takes many forms under patriarchy; for the patriarchal credo—the credo that one is entitled to own another human being—tends by its very nature to assume threatening forms. And the State, which is the product of patriarchy, which exists to perpetuate patriarchy, does little to protect women from any of these assaults—whether the brute assault of rape or battery or the more sophisticated assault of, say, economic discrimination. So—women live in fear. And so there is a real danger that they will not find their voices, that they will be afraid to find them. Too many women are still afraid to allow themselves to think thoughts that dissent from the patriarchal view of what our place is. They are afraid even to admit to themselves that they are afraid. For that is a dissenting thought. The patriarchal myth is that we are protected. Yes, I do give a great deal of consideration to the problem of fear among women. But I deny that this is to play fast and loose with freedom of speech. The two issues—of terrorism and free speech—cannot be separated.

—BARBARA DEMING
Sugarloaf Key, Fla.

DON'T APPLAUD—JUST THROW MONEY

In the last issue we included a note calling your attention to our recent fund appeal which you all should have received in the mail by now. One reader called and vowed to send a contribution saying that she "didn't take the appeal so seriously" 'til she saw a plea in this space. Hoping that may be the reason many of you have yet to respond, we're being just a bit more upfront and throwing in a staff picture as well. We'll do anything to charm you.

Seriously though, the situation is very serious indeed. We owe our mailing service (movement folks such as ourselves) \$500, our printers about the same amount and owe a bunch of individuals and two alternative funds several thousand dollars in loans. Last—but certainly not least—our staff collective is collectively 46 weeks behind in salary.

Many thanks to those of you who have contributed thus far. We hope the rest of you can respond as soon and as generously as possible.

In case you were wondering what we look like, here we are: Mike, Susan, Murray, Pat, and Lauri, at the WIN table, May 27th, Dag Hammarskjold Plaza. Photo by Elliott Linzer.





Giant bird, loaned by the Bread and Puppet Theatre, soars in front of Grand Central Station, New York, during the International Religious Procession, the climax of a 2-day International Religious Convocation for Human Survival. Photo by **Becky Cantwell**.

Thousands Rally at UN on May 27th

by **Patrick Lacefield**

May 27 may well have been page 29 news to the *New York Times*, but to the 15-20,000 people who turned out in New York City on that day to call for action towards disarmament it did much more than revive "memories of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements." If the roar of the crowd in Dag Hammarskjold Plaza when activist Dave Dellinger posed the question "Who says the peace movement is dead?" is any indication, then the movement is indeed alive and well and the success of May 27 was the beginning of the building of a mass movement against the arms race, nuclear power and for a reordering of priorities to meet pressing human needs.

The day began modestly enough with feeder walks from several areas of the city to the main assembly point in midtown Manhattan. Sponsored by the New York City Metropolitan Mobilization for Survival, participants walked from Brooklyn, Union Square, and the Upper West Side. As the feeder routes reached the assembly area at Bryant Park and thousands stepped off on the march

Patrick Lacefield is on the WIN staff and is on the working committee of the June 12 "Sit-In for Survival."

acrosstown to the United Nations, it became obvious to all that this was the largest disarmament gathering in the United States since agitation around nuclear testing in the early 1960's, before American involvement in a little-known country in Southeast Asia caused the peace movement to divert its energies toward dealing with that quagmire for nearly a decade. "If only five thousand had come, we'd have felt we suffered a real defeat," said Mobilization organizer Dave McReynolds. "If ten thousand had come, we'd have felt we were in the ball park. But with 15, we think we scored a major victory."

The march to the UN was nothing if not colorful and enthusiastic. Over 500 Japanese, including saffron-robed Buddhist monks and Hibakusha (A-bomb survivors) led an international contingent that included individuals and groups from over a dozen countries (including Canada, whose Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced to the UN Special Session the day before that Canada was unilaterally phasing out its nuclear armed planes and would not produce nuclear weapons).

Participants from nearly 30 states of the Union carried banners and signs ranging from "Pittsburgh Mobilization for Survival" and "Nebraskans for Peace" to the more philosophical "The Frog Does Not Drink Up the Pond in Which He Lives" to

the religious "Mennonites for Peace," "Jewish Peace Fellowship," and "Quakers for Disarmament." There was the Bread and Puppet Theater, whose huge white birds on poles and giant hooded spectres of death drew the attention of onlookers who lined the streets to watch the march, more than occasionally shouting out words of encouragement or applauding.

Thousands of demonstrators massed at Dag Hammarskjold Plaza near the United Nations to hear an afternoon of speeches and music from such persons as Australian pediatrician Helen Caldicott, Dave Dellinger, Mobilization coordinator Terry Provan, Reverend Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick, and many others. But perhaps the most moving speakers were those less renowned like the ten year old girl standing on a chair so she could reach the microphone and pleading that "the next generation have a chance for survival." Or 82 year old Masuto Higasaki, a Hiroshima survivor, who described seeing bomb victims' skin "hanging like rags" and lamented that his own children are even today undergoing treatment for the effects of that fateful bomb dropped almost 33 years ago.

Vietnam veteran and author Ron Kovic followed Masuto Higasaki to the stage and, leaning forward in his wheelchair, told the cheering crowd, "We are here to tell our leaders that people come before weapons and power. It is time to fill the streets and the universities once again..." Then he and A-bomb survivor Higasaki embraced and Kovic proclaimed, "We are symbols of the living death! We are here to hold the leaders of this country accountable."

Standing on the rostrum decorated with photographs of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Rep. John Conyers (D-MI) denounced President Carter for his

Masuto Higasaki, an A-bomb survivor from Hiroshima speaks at the rally at Dag Hammarskjold Plaza. Photo by **Patrick Lacefield**.



Some of the thousands of "Nuclear Victims" at the symbolic die-in, May 27. Photo by **Grace Hedemann**.

refusal to attend the UN Special Session and for sending Vice President Walter Mondale instead to deliver a speech which focused more on excoriating the Soviets in Africa and on the US commitment to NATO than on the principles of disarmament upon which Carter has lavished much rhetoric since taking office. Carter's refusal to attend a Session that he had urged other world leaders to be present at and the tone of the US presentation infuriated many nations at the UN. His lame excuse of "not having the time" mollified few, if any, since Washington is but 200 miles away. Conyers read a letter that he and 18 colleagues in the Congress had sent the President asking him to reconsider his decision.

"This is important, Mr. President," Conyers read, his voice building to a crescendo. "We plead with you to listen to the people who elected you. Come to New York, Mr. President. This is the most important subject we will ever discuss—whether we live or die."

As Pete Seeger led the crowd of thousands in "If I Had A Hammer," a Mobilization delegation walked to the US Mission to the United Nations to present tens of thousands of signatures on petitions in support of the Mobilization demands—zero nuclear weapons, stop the arms race, fund human needs, and ban nuclear power. For nearly an hour and a half, they met with Ambassador Andrew Young, who had watched the rally from a nearby balcony and was said to be delighted at the massive outpouring of support for disarmament. The cordial discussion aside however, Mobilization activists reminded Young that they would be back on June 12 for civil disobedience barring bold initiatives by the US government towards disarmament in accordance with the Mobe demands.

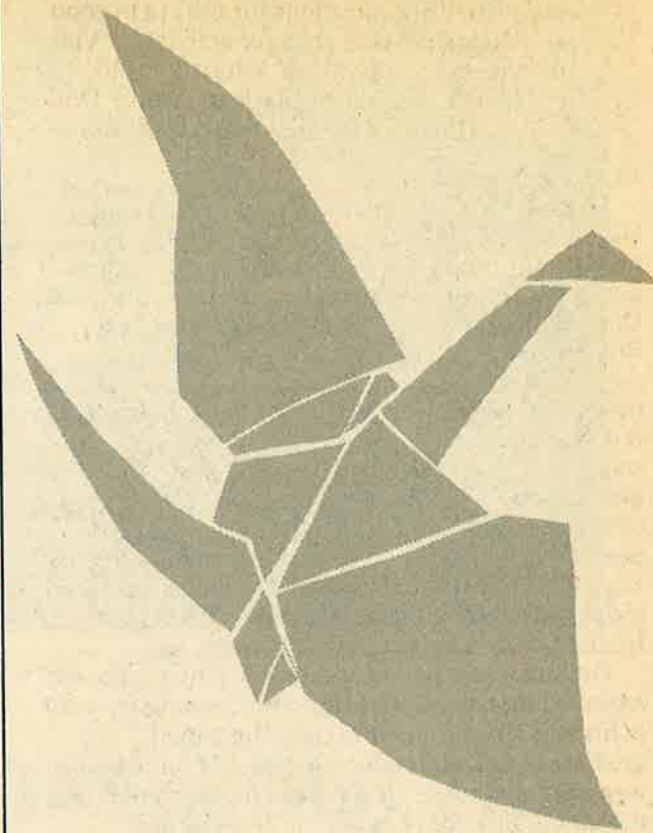
Meanwhile, in Dag Hammarskjold Plaza, the rally climaxed with the sounding of an air raid/civil defense siren. As its shrill alarm sounded, echoing throughout the Plaza, thousands of people, each wearing a tag identifying him or herself as a "nuclear victim," dropped to the ground in a simulated "die-in." A deathly silence fell over the Plaza as Japanese Buddhist monks beat their drums and chanted prayers for the dead and stark black and white "No More Victims!" banners were unfurled throughout the crowd. After ten minutes, the drums ceased, the "dead" were resurrected and the crowd joined hands and lifted their voices in song with Pete Seeger and all the other speakers and entertainers. The Spring campaign of the Mobilization for Survival was at an end.

Walking home from the rally, I happened to pass a poster commemorating the Special Session produced by the UN Non-Governmental Organizations. "To disarm," it read, is, according to the *Living Webster Dictionary*, "to reduce to peacetime proportions, to deprive of means to attack or power to terrify and to turn suspicion or hostility into friendliness." How much easier it is to define a word than to bring a concept to fruition. Perhaps the best way to look at May 27 is as the first step in a worldwide "Long March" to make disarmament a reality rather than a mere abstraction.

Marching down 42nd Street toward the United Nations. Photo by Grace Hedemann.



6 WIN June 15, 1978



Bay Area Protest Draws 2,000

by Michael Berkowitz

One way to look at a demonstration is to consider it as a piece, however small, of social change. On May 27, two thousand demonstrators met in San Francisco to take part in this change. The demonstrators marched from downtown Union Square to the city's Civic Center where they heard speakers, participated in workshops and availed themselves of information and literature at an afternoon Peace Fair.

The morning march both reflected the subdued tone of the 70's and harkened back to the exuberance of the 60's. In the course of the long procession, there were many of the committed winter soldiers that have sustained the disarmament movement through periods when it was not necessarily chic to be radical. Seniors and middle-aged veterans of Women's International League for

Michael Berkowitz is a writer and community activist in Berkeley, CA.

Peace and Freedom, Fellowship of Reconciliation, American Friends Service Committee and other well-established organizations turned out in good number. Alongside were younger activists of Vietnam and anti-nuclear protests. Young and old, male and female, but hardly black and white. Only a scattering of blacks, Chicanos and Asians were present.

Still the parade was diverse. Marchers carried flags from various countries of the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament. Balloons reading "Arms Race or Human Race," various posters, floats and banners were displayed. Among the marchers were emissaries from Japan, clad in traditional garb, beating noisemakers and chanting as they had in the Continental Walk. A huge, inflated globe was rolled along the route by several people. Other marchers wore costumes, including masks of death. The entire procession was led by a lively group of musicians who rendered a stirring version of "The People United Will Never Be Defeated" as the march reached San Francisco's Civic Center where the rally was held.

At the rally, the demonstrators were confronted with a symbolic model of the deadly Trident submarine. Disarmament balloons were released, as at other anti-nuclear demonstrations. As the marchers settled in, a series of speakers stressed the importance of shifting America's priorities away from arms and toward human needs.

Reverend Cecil Williams of the Glide Memorial Church reminded the gathering that funding the arms race deprives people of jobs and basic survival needs. Williams pointed specifically to the United States' role in Africa. Two of San Francisco's Supervisors returned to this theme as they read a proclamation from the Mayor declaring May 27 as Disarmament Day and urging other mayors to do likewise. Jim Wood's UN Cantata, sung at the UN's founding three decades ago in San Francisco, was sung along with the music of Victor Jara and other songs of liberation by the group Pueblo Unido. Folksinging, jazz and rock provided a nice balance to the afternoon's speeches and workshops.

One of the most moving presentations was made by Sheridan Tatsumo, representing Hibakusha, survivors of the nuclear holocaust, numbering some 200 now living in the Bay Area. The Hibakusha themselves could not be present due to their medical condition and the hate mail and harassment they got after appearing at another rally. Three of the Hibakusha had their medical benefits terminated because radiation poisoning is not insurable. Tatsumo urged the audience to write letters supporting Congressional Bills 5150 and 8440 which would provide medical services to US citizens who were in Hiroshima and Nagasaki when the bombs fell. So far the American government refuses to pay for the results of the "lawful action of the US government." In Japan, the 350,000 sur-

vivors are supported by the Japanese government. In the United States, 82 million dollars has been spent on researching the victims, but nothing has been spent for medical care.

Following the speakers were a series of workshops, new games and a Peace Fair with booths and entertainment. Information was exchanged on the struggles for disarmament and social justice throughout the world, including the Trident campaign, the Longest Walk, environmental actions, gay rights and nuclear proliferation. The afternoon workshops were an excellent way to end a full day. The sessions gave everyone a chance to participate by exchanging views as well as information. Listening to the dialogue was like getting a state of the movement message. One had to take heart as Charles Schwartz, a University of California physicist who had been arrested at a sit-in protesting the university's war weapons research, patiently explained the potential compatibility of socialism and ecology to a young participant who earnestly wondered about "Red China and the other communist countries." One came away with the feeling that there was much work to do, but much energy to do it with.

All in all, the rally was a small piece of social change as it provided a format for people to exchange information and ideas, and make their voices heard by the community and local politicians. But to make for broader social change, more is needed. The length of the lines of demonstrators wending their way through the streets was impressive. But more people are needed to make a greater impact on the mass society. We must go further outside our familiar groups and organizations, to re-recruit the people who helped end the war in Vietnam. We must reach across class and racial lines to speak to our brothers and sisters who have the same concerns that we do. Finally, we must provide more concrete linkages from rallies to projects, so that a demonstration does not become an end in itself. The occupations of Seabrook on the East Coast and Diablo Canyon on the West Coast this summer provide just the opportunity. See you there.



Thanks to the multitude of folks who gave of their time, talent and labor to make the May 27th Rally for Disarmament an inspiring and significant political event. A new beginning has emerged. Accolades to all (each?) of you. Onward!

— Norma Becker
National Co-coordinator
Mobilization for Survival



The Most Venerable Fuji, 93-year old leader of the Japan Buddha Sangha, shares his enlightenment with the children of the South Bronx.

“Therefore Choose Life That

Your Children May Live...”

by **Bill Frelick** with photos by **Becky Cantwell**.

From as far away as Japan and as near as the South Bronx, religious people by the thousands converged on the United Nations over Memorial Day Weekend to call for an end to the arms race, nuclear technology and weaponry, and the redirection of governmental priorities toward funding human needs. The International Religious Convocation for Human Survival began Thursday afternoon May 25 amid the rubble and burned-out buildings of the South Bronx. The devastation of urban decay caused by a militarized economy was dramatically compared with the destruction of cities in wartime. Ms. Fumiko Amano, a survivor of the Hiroshima nuclear bombing, said the scene reminded her of Hiroshima. She joined religious leaders of the South Bronx in building a “Monument to Life” from the garbage and debris on the same Charlotte Street site where Jimmy Carter had earlier stood and promised aid.

That evening, a Native American blessing opened the Celebration of Life at the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue. The tone of celebration provided by such performers as Schlomo Carlebach, Suni Paz, the Bread and Puppet Theater, and Allen Ginsberg was interrupted by a moment of silence in which members of the audience spontaneously called out names of loved ones who were victims of the arms race.

The following day, people from a wide variety of religious traditions crowded into New York’s

Bill Frelick is on the staff of Clergy and Laity Concerned and was program coordinator for the International Religious Convocation for Survival.

Church of St. Paul the Apostle to bring the united voice of the world religious community to the government leaders of the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament. Father Paul Mayer, the convenor of the Religious Task Force of the Mobilization for Survival, told the gathering, “Just as it has been said that war is too serious a business to leave to the generals, so we say today that peace is too serious a business to leave to governments.”

A true international spirit developed among the participants in the Convocation as Moslem and Jew, Christian and Native American, Hindu and Buddhist stood together in prayers for peace and justice. They raised their voices in a united appeal saying, “We need no leader to define for us an enemy, nor to tell us what we need security for and defense against. Instead we affirm that our earth’s security rests not in armaments, but in the justice of adequate housing and food, in the justice of meaningful education and work, and in the justice of an economic order that gives everyone access to our earth’s abundance.” The religious community’s call to action further declared, “We unite ourselves with sisters and brothers the world over to join together in communities of resistance to the nuclear threat. Before us today are set life and death. We choose life that we and our children may live.”

The Religious Convocation then poured into the streets of New York led by the Youth Choir of Harlem’s Second Canaan Baptist Church. Gospel singing blended with the chant of the Japan Buddha Sangha as the procession passed through Times Square on the way to the UN. There, Japanese delegates presented rubble from Hiroshima to an official of the UN Special Session. The

official, Ambassador Ralph Harry, was also presented with dirt from Rocky Flats, Colorado, where plutonium triggers are manufactured for use in all of America’s nuclear weapons.

Our past and our present were dramatically set forth by the Religious Convocation to the government representatives to the UN. In doing so, the world religious community affirmed that our future will be the responsibility of a committed movement of everyone who is concerned with the survival of humanity as a whole.

At a Witness for Survival in the South Bronx, May 25, participants concluded a ceremony focussing on the human costs of the arms race by building a monument to life out of the rubble of the South Bronx.



Survivors of the A-Bomb dropped on Hiroshima came to join with thousands on May 27 to express their longing for peace. The folded crane design is a Japanese symbol memorializing the dead of Hiroshima.



Photo by Grace Hedemann

Taking the Message to the Nuclear Powers

by David McReynolds

During the first week of the Special Session — May 22-27 — the Mobilization for Survival sent delegations to the Missions of every nuclear power. The most widely publicized visit was on Saturday afternoon, May 27, with Andrew Young. The other visits were also important, stressing our international concern, a concern underlined by the fact that Peggy Duff of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace took part in all the visits except the one to Andrew Young.

As the only person present at all six visits I've been asked to give some summary of the value of such visits. The most important fact is that they took place. The first week of the Special Session was a hard week for any of the Missions to see us. Yet each Mission made time, and in each case the discussions took at least a full hour. The British, while friendly, sent the lowest level of official to meet with us; the Soviets gave us Ambassador Victor Likhatchev of the Geneva Continuing Conference on Disarmament; the Chinese designated Counselor Chou Nan; and of course the US sent in the chief ambassador and much of his staff. (Let me underline that while the US government as a whole had done a very poor job presenting its case at the UN, Ambassador Young went out of his way to hold open Saturday, to permit full press coverage, and to later walk among the crowd two blocks north of his office. One might feel Young was seeking to "co-opt" the movement by his openness to it — but I suggest his attitude reflected the concern of one wing of the US government to help encourage ele-

David McReynolds is convenor of the International Task Force of the Mobilization for Survival and on the national staff of the War Resisters League.

ments of the public that oppose the new Cold War).

Governments do not like to encourage independent citizen's movements. The fact that each government met with us suggests none dared appear openly hostile to a developing movement and, to a lesser extent, each might have hoped to influence us. If the US is divided on policy, I suspect the Soviets are also divided and moderate elements in the Soviet leadership may desperately want to encourage the forces of moderation in the US. The Chinese visit was politically most important, in view of their very hard line in foreign affairs; the meeting would not have taken place if they had seen the Mobilization as Soviet-oriented. It was the "non-aligned" character of the Mobilization which made the visit possible — and friendly. All six visits were friendly, but one expects that of diplomats. Our side did, of course, raise the basic moral issues with each Mission. But in each case we asked specific hard questions of policy — we pressed the British and French to consider unilateral withdrawal from the nuclear arms race, urged the Soviets to give up the "Co-Chair" position in the Geneva Continuing Conference on Disarmament (a very sore point to the French and Chinese), and of course urged a series of initiatives on the US.

Beyond that, little of substance can be reported. We were heard out, but did not sense any serious willingness to move. The visits did establish two very important things. One, the Mobilization for Survival is strong enough to merit a fair hearing from the nuclear powers. Two, the delegations made it clear that we were initiating a process of "independent diplomacy" based not on guns but on what hopefully will become an increasingly powerful independent movement of an international character.

The International Mobe Looks to the Future

by Peggy Duff

(Hibakusha) in Europe and through the States and many overseas delegations to New York, to take part in the Mobilization activities.

The Strategy for Disarmament Conference organized by the International Mobilization on May 28 and 29 opened up a new phase: the International established itself as an ongoing organization. It was agreed that it should continue as a coalition coordinating activities on disarmament, against the nuclear threat, and the arms race, and that there would be new consultative centers in Australia, Canada, Scandinavia and on the West Coast of the United States. The International Mobilization for Survival News Service will become a regular publication, on a subscription basis, and will continue to publish all reports on actions sent in by the consultative centers.

The Conference agreed on a program of action for the coming year covering a wide range of activities. This will be published in the next issue of the News Service and will be sent to all participants in the conference. The Program includes support for making the UN Disarmament Center a full scale agency of the UN, like the FAO and UNESCO, and

The International Mobilization for Survival first saw the light of day in a room in the Masaryk Center opposite the Palais des Nations in Geneva in October 1977. It was set up as a short-term international with only one purpose — to coordinate activities worldwide concerning the UN General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament. With the support of major peace internationals, the War Resisters International, International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace and International Peace Bureau, and of the United Movement against A and H bombs in Japan and the Mobilization for Survival in the US, three coordinating centers were set up in Europe, Japan and the United States and an editorial office to produce a monthly news service with ICDP was established in London.

In the months that followed that first meeting, the new International organized and coordinated a rash of meetings, conferences, marches, lobbying of governments, tours of Japanese survivors

Peggy Duff is the general secretary of the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace.

International Mobilization Representatives present UN officials with disarmament petitions. From left: Barton Hunter, Fellowship of Reconciliation; UN official; Guy Marchand, Union Pacifiste, WRI; David McReynolds, War Resisters League; UN official; and Peggy Duff, International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace. Photo by Karl Bissinger.



for movements concerned with disarmament to have consultative status with it. It is proposed that August 6, Hiroshima Day, should be recognized as an international day of protest.

A variety of ongoing campaigns are suggested: against foreign bases and missile guidance systems, against military alliances, for the UN to monitor and register arms sales between governments and especially the sale of repressive weapons to police and counter-insurgency forces, and for campaigns against arms bazaars of which two are planned in the States, in Washington in October and Chicago in February.

The Conference also agreed to support activity around military camps, with sessions on alterna-

tives to military defense, to support individuals who refuse military service or to pay war taxes, to urge all governments to recognize the right to conscientious objection, and to investigate the use of nonviolent and direct action strategies and encourage transnational actions.

In one way, the Strategy for Disarmament Conference was unique. It seems to have been the only conference concerned with the Special Session which invited speakers from non-aligned and developing countries (which initiated the Special Session). Professor Smilja Avramov from Yugoslavia was one, Eqbal Ahmed of Pakistan another and there was also Cu Dinh Ba from the Vietnamese Mission to the UN.

THE END

Lest we forget the real finale of any rally: the clean-up crew.



Photo by Grace Hedemann

Scout's Honor in Iran

by Adam Finnerty

Sometime within the next 12 months the parents of 2,500 American boys are going to have to decide if they want their sons to help support the Shah of Iran.

They will have to make this hard decision because the next World Jamboree is going to be held in Iran. That country has been ruled dictatorially by Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi through the aid of secret police (the dreaded SAVAK) and military courts, and has been condemned by Amnesty International as a "major violator" of human rights.

It seems ironic that an organization that stresses a high standard of ethics and ideals would be sending an estimated 2,500 boys to a gathering that, in the words of one human rights activist, "will be a publicity coup for the Shah." Yet behind the irony lies the fact that the United States has maintained a consistently supportive relationship with the Shah—regardless of his repressive practices—ever since the CIA helped bring him to power in 1953. "I think our delegation [to the meeting that picked Iran as the Jamboree site] was very aware of Iran's status as a US ally," a Scout spokesperson told me candidly.

At the time of the coup in which the Shah took power, he was seen by the United States as a bulwark against Soviet encroachment from the north (as well as "communist" revolution from within). Today, the US finds itself looking to the Shah for supplies of energy, for sales of arms and industrial goods, for a military "counter-presence" to the Soviet Union, and for support of our peace initiatives in the Middle East.

Thus when the Shah visited the United States last fall, Jimmy Carter—Christian, idealist, Honorary President of the Boy Scouts—stood firmly and stoically alongside the "King of Kings" on the White House lawn while hundreds of Iranians in exile—masked to prevent retribution—demonstrated on the sidewalk. There were clashes between the demonstrators and a crowd of supporters who had been flown in by the Shah's officials, and the tear gas that was used to quell the

Adam Finnerty is currently working on a book called Rules of the Game: A Primer for Americans on Human Rights and he is a part of the Movement for a New Society.



Drawing from the Boy Scout Handbook.

disturbances wafted across the lawn and brought tears to the eyes of those participating in the ceremony. (See WIN, 12/1/77, for an account of the demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco.)

Jimmy Carter may feel that he has to give tacit approval to the Shah of Iran in support of his "broader" foreign policy goals—but the Boy Scouts? The contrast boggles the mind. *Macleans Magazine*—the Canadian equivalent of *Newsweek* or *Time*—found itself not a little shocked at the prospect of Canadian Scouts attending the Jamboree and wondered aloud if the Scouts had lost their "innocence."

"Iran may torture, murder, exile and unjustly imprison," *Macleans* commented, "but by God the Shah sure throws a great party—so great in fact that the Boy Scouts are quite willing to forgive his indiscretions and hold their World Jamboree in his country next year. The Scouts, including 1,500 from Canada, will have the run of a 2,000 acre site replete with a man-made forest and lake, brand-new dormitories, and five olympic-size swimming pools. This prospect, apparently, is enough to make a scout abandon a little old lady in the middle of the road."

The Fifteenth World Scout Jamboree will be held July 15 to 23, 1979. An estimated 20,000 Scouts from 118 countries will attend for a week in order to "exchange ideas, share in competition and fellowship, and spend a week together in fostering the ongoing concept of a world brotherhood of Scouting." Those certainly seem laudable goals, and not surprisingly, the Boy Scouts have been hard pressed to understand why they are being criticized.

"Scouting is a non-political activity," stresses Barclay Bollas, a spokesperson for the Boy Scouts national office in North Brunswick, New Jersey. "Our participation in such an event should be a positive contribution to good will and under-

standing." He and other Scout leaders emphasized that the holding of a Jamboree in Iran did not imply support for or endorsement of the government.

"My God," said one Scout leader in Philadelphia, "why don't they leave the kids alone?"

But Amnesty International sees the issue in a different light. The Nobel Peace Prize-winning organization has sent delegates to observe trials in Iran. They have received numerous letters and allegations of torture, of midnight arrests, of people just "disappearing" into the Shah's prisons. Their conclusion: that Iran is a "highly repressive" state which does not respect human rights, and that the Boy Scouts should have the country for their international meeting "changed to one with a better human rights record than Iran." The US office of AI intends to write to local Scout organizations to ask them to support a change of venue. The Canadian chapter of AI has already done so, and the response from the Scouts was a decided "no change."

"The fact that an organization as prestigious as the Boy Scouts would meet in Iran will be taken as a sign that things must be improving," says Larry Cox of Amnesty's New York office. "It will be a propaganda victory for the government."

Mr. Cox stressed that the Shah was attempting to upgrade his public image, not through reforms—as AI and the International Commission of Jurists have recommended—but through manipulation of the media. "He is attempting to convey the impression that things have gotten better, but the situation has not improved; there are cosmetic changes, but no substantial change has taken place."

Amnesty International, and other human rights groups with an eye on Iran, are concerned that international meetings by humanitarian organizations will help support the Shah's desired image, and erode pressure on him to change. They point

out that the Boy Scouts are not the only organization to aid the Shah unwittingly: last year the International Union of Child Welfare Agencies met in Iran, and this September the Girl Scouts and Girl Guides will hold an adult-level conference in the country.

But will the Boy Scouts respond to the plea? The answer is not clear. The organization is obviously in an awkward position. The past 14 Jamborees have all managed to be held in countries that—at least at the time of the gathering—were not considered to be highly repressive. But Iran is clearly and currently a country whose behavior is completely at odds with what the Scouts supposedly stand for.

Were the US and Canadian national Scout organizations to ask for a change of location, or to discourage their members from attending, they would risk offending other Scouting countries who would feel they were "politicizing" the organization. And with other large Scout organizations including the dictatorships in the Philippines (1.8

million Scouts) and Indonesia (also 1.8 million)—it would be surprising indeed if these countries would feel happy with a change of location on "human rights" grounds.

The issue, however, is not going to go away. "Liberty to the Captives," a Philadelphia-based human rights organization (Box 12236, Phila., PA 19144), is presently organizing a national campaign to get the US Boy Scouts to boycott the gathering. Richard Taylor, a spokesperson for the group—and a former Scout—says that his group is asking former Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts to contact their local and national chapters to protest the gathering. LTC also intends to contact churches on the denominational and local level, and ask them to put pressure on the Scouts to amend their plans. "All of the churches have taken very forthright stands on the human rights issue," Taylor says, "and this is a clear ethical question that comes down to the very personal level: Would you want your son to support the Shah of Iran?"

The pain grew more excruciating, more and more difficult to endure. . . . There was no way out of the agony. I really felt that. There was nothing I could do.

I was like a mother delivering a baby. The pain is there and goes on. Nothing can be done but wait for the birth of the child. And in that situation, the birth of the child was the arrival of death.

. . . The whipping stopped. They picked up a pair of tongs, gripping and tearing my flesh. They began compressing my fingers in a vice. They said they were going to pull out my nails, but they did not do that. Perhaps they did not want to leave any permanent proof of their crimes.

— Personal testimony of Ashruf Dehquani, an Iranian woman who escaped in 1973 and is currently underground in Iran.

A person who does not enter the new political party and who does not believe in the three cardinal principles which I referred to, will have only two choices. Such a person belongs in an Iranian prison, or if he desires, he can leave the country tomorrow without even paying an exit fee. . . . He is not even an Iranian, and he has no nation, and his activities are illegal and punishable according to law.

— Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi proclaiming the formation of a one-party system in Iran, 1975.

The situation in that country disturbs me greatly. . . . I know that there are tens of thousands of political prisoners in Iran and that the civil and human rights of Iranian citizens

are violated all too often. I am distressed that the United States continues to support such a repressive government.

— Representative Don Edwards, Chairman, House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights.

Iran is a respected member of our association which adheres to the aims and principles of our world organization. As a member of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts we are not in a position nor would we try to alter the decision [to hold the 23rd World Conference in Iran] made at the last conference in 1975.

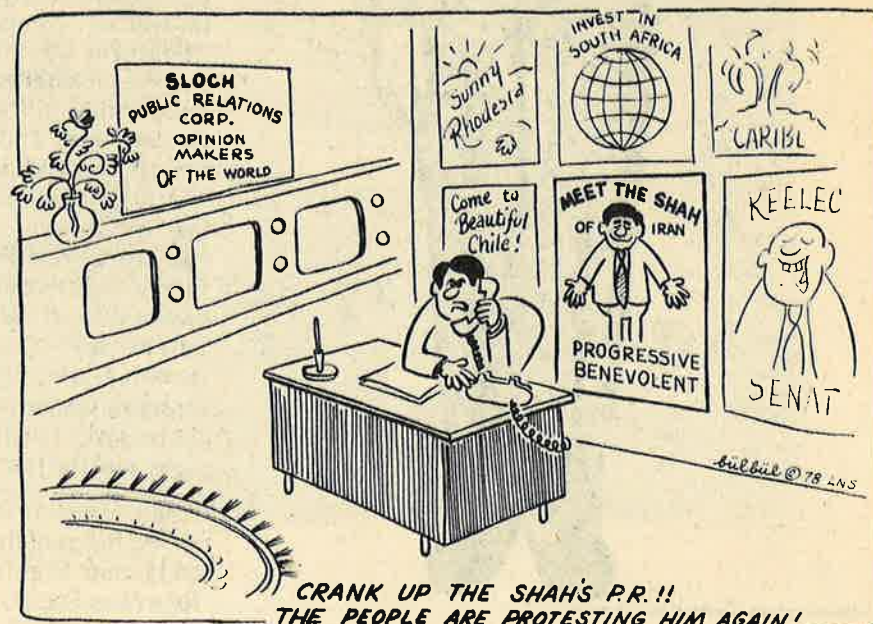
— Barbara G. Hayes, Chief Commissioner, Girl Guides of Canada

By wearing the uniform, Scouts can give strength and courage to each other by standing together for some things that are right. That's what the uniform really means—that we are bound together by our beliefs. So that is the challenge to you. To stand up for what you think! To do that where everyone can see you! To help your Scouting brothers take an open stand by taking it yourself.

— The Scout Handbook

Many methods of torture are alleged to be in use, including both physical and psychological, but those which are mentioned most frequently are: beating of the feet, weighted handcuffs, insertion of electric cosh or bottle into the rectum, and placing the prisoner on an electric grill which is then heated.

— Amnesty International



Cartoon by Bulbul/LNS.

Changes

AIM ACTIVISTS SKYHORSE AND MOHAWK ACQUITTED AFTER YEAR-LONG TRIAL

Native American activists Richard Mohawk and Paul Skyhorse are free—but only after spending three and a half years behind bars and in the courts fighting murder charges. The morning after they won an acquittal and were released from a Los Angeles prison May 24, Richard Mohawk reiterated to the press his understanding of why the government put them through the longest pretrial hearings in California history and then a trial lasting over a year. He insisted they had been singled out because of their activity in the American Indian Movement (AIM).

Mohawk had earlier told the jury very much the same thing. "The evidence will show that the FBI seized upon the unfortunate murder of (cabdriver) George Aird (in October 1974) by three other persons in the camp in which we lived, and sought to tie us, two AIM members, to that murder in a continuing campaign to destroy the political viability of the American Indian Movement in the Indian and non-Indian communities here in Southern California and across the country." After more than a year of testimony and 10 days of deliberations, the jury apparently reached the same conclusion.

"The prosecution had no believable eyewitness testimony linking Skyhorse and Mohawk to the crime," defense attorney Skip Glenn summarized to the jury, "no physical evidence linking them to the crime, no believable motive to link them to the crime, and all circumstances are entirely consistent with their innocence."

Meanwhile a string of evidence including fingerprints and

bloodied clothing led to three other people arrested at the scene of the murder and charged. But they were later granted immunity and the charges against them dropped.

The government made a clear choice in charging AIM activists Skyhorse and Mohawk and not charging the other three, Marvin Redshirt, Holly Broussard and Marcy Eagle Staff. At what level of government that choice was made is unclear.

— Liberation News Service

REAL HARD CORE LITERATURE

A bookstore in Northern California is promoting Richard Nixon's memoirs in a unique fashion—displaying it as "pornography" with each copy wrapped in a plain, brown paper bag. Cody's Books in Berkeley is also promising to have Nixon or a "Nixon clone" on hand to help promote the work. When asked what that meant, a store representative said someone will be on hand to tell lies to their customers.

— Straight Creek Journal

CARTER GIVES OK TO "BLAST BOMB" PRODUCTION

The Carter Administration has asked Congress to approve funds for an atomic "blast bomb," officially dubbed the Reduced Residual Radiation bomb. Designed to demolish military structures and mountain passes or dig craters, the blast bomb is the counterpart of the neutron bomb—it cuts down on radiation and heightens blast effects.

Word of the Pentagon's latest tactical nuclear weapon and of the Carter Administration's blessing came as Department of Energy (DOE) officials published an unclassified version of testimony before the House Appropriations subcommittee last month. The funding for the blast bomb would be contained in the DOE budget.

"Development of the blast bomb is part of the overall modernization of tactical nuclear weapons," said Dave Johnson of the Center for Defense Information (CDI). "When looked at in these terms, Carter's delay of neutron bomb production was a relatively small decision because the development of tactical nuclear weapons is going forward."

Johnson indicated the US could use the blast bomb against fortified military command posts in Korea and Europe and might turn the nuclear weapon on third world liberation movements.

While downplaying the military significance of the reduced radiation bomb, the CDI staff member said its development will be certain to escalate the arms race since the Soviet Union will probably attempt to duplicate the weapon.

"The blast bomb primarily reflects the push of weapons laboratories to stay in business while constantly coming up with new refinements which they can sell to military and civilian leaders," Johnson said.

Meanwhile, as the arms race continues with no let-up on the horizon, DOE officials told the subcommittee the department will require \$1.5 billion to maintain its share of nuclear weapons production next fiscal year—an increase of \$70 million.

— Guardian

"NO NUKES!" CRY HEARD DEEP IN THE HEART OF TEXAS

An estimated 200 people attended the first statewide anti-nuclear power rally in Texas on May 20th. The gathering took place outside the gates of the Comanche Peak nuclear power plant construction site in Glen Rose, 35 miles Southwest of Ft. Worth. The plant is 40% complete and is expected to be the first nuke to begin operation in the state. The Armadillo Coalition of Texas (PO Box 15556, Ft. Worth, TX 76119) sponsored the event.

Participants included citizens from Austin, Houston, San Antonio and a dozen other Texas cities as well as the Ft. Worth-Dallas area. The rally included the release of 400 helium-filled balloons with tags requesting the finders to return them with the time and location discovered so that the range of radiation (from daily emissions as well as possible accidents) could be plotted.

After the rally the crowd drove back to Ft. Worth to attend a series of workshops, a strategy session and the Texas premiere of the film "More Nuclear Power Stations."

— Jim Scheinbeck

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—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.

NEVADA CITY, CA—War Resisters League/West Regional Conference will be held August 25-27 at John Woolman School. For advance registration and more information, contact: WRL/West, 1360 Howard Street, 2nd floor, San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 626-6976.

NEW YORK CITY—Nonviolence training for New York City Seabrook occupiers will take place on June 17-18. For more information on the sessions, contact the NY Clamshell Training Committee, c/o WRL, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (212) 228-0450 or 624-8337.

NEW YORK CITY—Martha Kearns will speak on "Susan Saxe and Me" on Thursday, June 15, 8 pm, at Brecht Auditorium, 186 W. 4th St. Admission: \$2. For more information, call (212) 989-6493.

NEW YORK CITY—Joseph Fahey, Eileen Egan, and James Finn will speak on "The Catholic Church and Disarmament" on Monday, June 12, 1:30 pm at Plowshare Coffeehouse, 777 UN Plaza. Sponsored by Fellowship of Reconciliation.

NEW YORK CITY—Benefit for Seabrook activities with David Amram, Rev. F. D. Kirkpatrick, Utah Phillips, and others on Friday, June 16, 7:30 pm at Ethical Culture Society, 2 W. 64th St. Tickets are \$5 (\$3.50 for students). For more information, call (212) 222-9106.

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 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 more information and registration, contact Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

SAUGERTIES, NY—"Say No to Nukes!" Rally on Saturday, June 24, 1 pm. For more information, contact: Blackbird Outreach Group, 76 Grandview Ave., Catskill, NY 12414. (516) 943-2202.



Here's some War Tax Resistance news from the West Coast and the Midwest:

Still Ain't Gonna Pay For War No More is still available from the folks who published it in Minnesota last year. There are only about 200 copies left, so order now. The price of the supplement is 50¢ each, with a \$1 quantity discount for each 20 copies ordered. Due to a grant from the Bay Area People's Life Fund, up to five free copies of the booklet can be sent to individuals and groups who cannot afford to pay. For your copy write to: Minnesota War Tax Resistance, c/o 122 W. Franklin, Rm. 302, Minneapolis, MN 55404.

The *Seattle Sun*, Seattle's largest weekly, printed a lengthy sympathetic article on war tax resistance in April. The writer of the article interviewed Seattle area resisters, Betty Johanna and Irwin Hogenauer. Hogenauer, who was a CO in World War II, served two years in a "civilian concentration camp" from which he went AWOL and ended up serving ten months of a two-year prison sentence. He went to prison not wanting "the state to take my body for its diabolical use" and left it "with a firm conviction that they were not going to get my money either." And he has refused to pay federal taxes since 1946.

Outreach of this sort is vital to the growth of the tax resistance movement. The "general public" seems much more open to the idea of refusing some or all federal taxes than it did, say, five years ago. The war has come home now in the form of unemployment, inflation, nuclear weapons and power plants proliferating, welfare cutbacks, etc., issues which many people who did not relate personally to the war in Indochina can relate to directly now, because they must. Big corporate gains are our losses and they really hurt. Even *Esquire* magazine, (perhaps following *Playboy's* lead) has a major article on tax "rebellion" which *Esquire* sees as widespread and cooking.

Another form of outreach, April 15th demonstrations, all over the country, whether low-keyed or dramatic, were lively and effective. In Ann Arbor, Michigan, a diverse group of 60 war tax resisters and supporters gathered at the Ann Arbor federal building April 15th to "publicly, communally, and joyfully" refuse to pay for war. Clowns danced on the steps of the federal building while demonstrators handed out helium balloons with attached cards reading "Say yes to life-Don't pay war taxes." A street theatre group acted out the options for the use of tax money and demonstrators sang peace songs. A specter of death, shrouded in black, stood to the side

holding a cardboard neutron bomb. After the singing, theatre and mailing of 1040 forms, the demonstrators released a hundred balloons with the WTR message. One of the organizers of the demo said "We've told our neighbors and the IRS, now let's tell the world. The last thing the IRS wants is for news to get out that people are protesting the arms race by not paying war taxes." For more information about this newly formed WTR group contact Bill Van Wyke, 2222 Fuller, #1207, Ann Arbor, MI 48105 (313) 761-5007.

Karl Meyer recently sent me the following material which he thought might interest and amuse TAX TALK readers.

Karl was a member of the first group refusing the telephone excise tax and author of the first leaflet promoting phone tax refusal in 1966:

I told you that I have been receiving letters from IRS inquiring about my 1975 tax returns. These inquiries have come in the form of a series of slightly differing, and progressively more insistent, printed form letters, which number four so far.

The IRS might find all of the answers to its inquiries in the text of a soapbox talk that I gave on April 15, 1975 at a tax resistance rally in the Federal Building Plaza outside the main IRS office in Chicago.

In that talk I gave three basic reasons why I had been a tax resister, at that time, for fifteen years:

1] The taxes I would be expected to pay are insignificant to the government, but are very valuable and important when directed to the small voluntary associations for peace and social welfare to which I give instead.

2] For my own sake, for my own life, it is important that I take a stand, that I respect myself as a person who can not and will not be compelled to participate in the murder of other people through tax paid armaments.

3] For the future of society it is important to preserve the tradition of dissent, disobedience and resis-

tance to the evils of the massive warfare states. So I remained simple-minded, single-minded and just plain stubborn.

Well, perhaps someone high in the IRS building was listening to me that day, three years ago. Perhaps they thought I was just talking. Perhaps they didn't believe me. Perhaps they have spent the three years since then clawing through piles of canvas mail bags full of tax returns, searching for one that maybe came from me.

And yet, after checking their records, after searching, after several searches, after much searching, they still haven't been able to locate my 1975 tax return. All I can say is, "Good luck, friends, and keep on looking."

Karl has successfully resisted payment of almost all federal income tax since 1960. From 1968 to 1970 he prevented withholding by claiming sufficient numbers of dependents on W-4 forms. (Note: you can now claim "allowances" which are anticipated itemized deductions and as far as we know no one has yet been hassled by the IRS for claiming large numbers of allowances). He did not file tax returns or inform the IRS directly but was known in the peace movement as an outspoken advocate of war tax resistance. (He once told me he felt that his ultimate prosecution by the government was chiefly the result of his being such a "blabbermouth.")

On April 15, 1971, he was charged in Federal Court on five counts of claiming extra exemptions on W-4 forms. On May 21 the prosecution cited his long record of convictions for anti-war protests and read excerpts from his *Catholic Worker* articles advocating WTR. He was sentenced to two years and \$1000. He was released on parole after serving nine months. The fine was never collected and Karl has persisted to refuse to pay federal taxes ever since. For details of this man's long standing resistance see *Ain't Gonna Pay For War No More*. Karl Meyer can be reached at 1209 W. Farwell, Chicago, IL 60626.

—Susan Wilkins

Reviews



BIOLOGY AS A SOCIAL WEAPON
Ann Arbor Science for the People Editorial Collective
Burgess Publishing Company, Minneapolis/1977
\$5.95 (paper)/Available from Science for the People,
897 Main Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139
\$5.00

Throughout modern history, when oppressed people have struggled for their own liberation, theories have developed to "prove" that the oppressed are not worthy of equality because of characteristics innate to their biology. These theories can be combined under the rubric of biological determinism. We have seen it in various forms, from the "divine rights of kings" through the race and IQ debate and the current popularity of sociobiology.

This book comes out of a conference on biological determinism held in Ann Arbor in 1975 sponsored by Science for the People. The papers contained in this thin volume (154 pages) cover a wide spectrum of issues, including race and IQ, sex roles, aggression, the environmental crisis and sociobiology. Some of the papers were written by people well known in their fields (Richard C. Lewontin and Murray Bookchin), some by people less known and two are written collectively (by the Genetics and Social Policy Group and the Sociobiology Study Group of Science for the People).

Racist and sexist ideology has always had to invent a pseudo-scientific basis to legitimate itself. The restrictive immigration laws of 1924 were the result of "scientific studies" which "demonstrated" that Anglo-Saxons and northwest Europeans were superior to eastern and southern Europeans. The resulting quotas were with us until the 1960's. Forced sterilization laws were based on the supposed heritability of feeble-mindedness, criminality, alcoholism and other socially undesirable traits as well as generally accepted racist beliefs.

In spite of the repudiation of these ideologies by most scientists, racist and sexist biologies die slow deaths in the public mind. How many readers remember the news stories linking XYY chromo-

Elliot Linzer is writing a dissertation on genetics and ideology and is active in Science for the People. Randy Kehler is active in the Franklin County, Massachusetts Alternative Energy Coalition, and served time as a Vietnam draft resister.

somes with aggression and criminality in the 1960's? Do you remember proposals to screen the chromosomes of all newborn males to determine, at birth, which ones will grow up to become psychopathic criminals? Today, just ten years after the original flurry of articles on XYY chromosomes, almost all research in this area has ceased because it is now clear that the original association between XYY chromosomes and aggression was the result of sloppy research and premature conclusions.

To effectively counteract racist and sexist ideology, it is essential to understand the lack of scientific support these ideologies have. **Biology as a Social Weapon** is a powerful tool in this struggle.

THE USE AND ABUSE OF BIOLOGY:
An Anthropological Critique of Sociobiology
by Marshall Sahlins/University of Michigan Press,
Ann Arbor/1977/\$3.95 (paper).

In 1975, Edward O. Wilson, a Harvard entomologist, had his massive tome, *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis*, published in a flurry of publicity in both the scientific and mass media. In it Wilson tried to develop a single theory of social behavior which would apply to all animals from ants and wasps to humans. If he chose not to include humans in his theory, it would be controversial only among those scientists who study animal behavior. By his inclusion of humans, Wilson has added the newest chapter to the history of biologically deterministic ideology. Wilson and other sociobiologists argue that genes play an important part in the way we behave, and because genetics is not easily changeable, existing social relations and hierarchies are universal, natural and beyond our intervention.

Sahlins shows how the mechanisms Wilson postulates, kin selection and reciprocal altruism, just do not operate in humans the way they might in insects. Furthermore, the existence of culture, the cumulative and noncumulative transferral of information and traditions from one generation to another, operates in humans to reduce or eliminate any effect genes might have on our social behavior. Wilson's sociobiology is a work of ideology, not science, which attempts to show that what is is what ought to be. Sahlins correctly demonstrates how Wilson's biology is used to bolster the status quo by attempting to prove that western, competitive; sexist, capitalist institutions are the result of innate human characteristics.

THE PHOENIX

James Cooney, editor/Morning Star Press, RFD, Haydenville, MA 01039/year subscription \$10, single issues \$3.

In the Editorial Note of the Spring '76 edition of a beautifully bound and printed little literary journal called **The Phoenix**, editor James Cooney writes:

On this Spring evening in this last week of April in this year of 1976 a gentle rain is falling here in West Whately and the air outside is soft and warm and fragrant. Across the fields by the orchard brook, peepers are calling out to one another in cries of pure jubilation: joyous hosannas over their resurrection and re-birth. Listening to them evokes a pang of envy; then deepening melancholy for envying so lowly and circumscribed a joyousness. Yet if one could only call forth to one's fellow beings so confident a note as theirs at this hour in human history. It's been so long since any steadfast good news has cheered the human scene. Here in this Bicentennial Year with its obscene commercial hoopla in conjunction with the obscenities of another Presidential campaign, the year 1976 shapes ever more discernibly into the year of America's great debacle. How can anyone imagine the phantasmal farce of another presidential campaign?

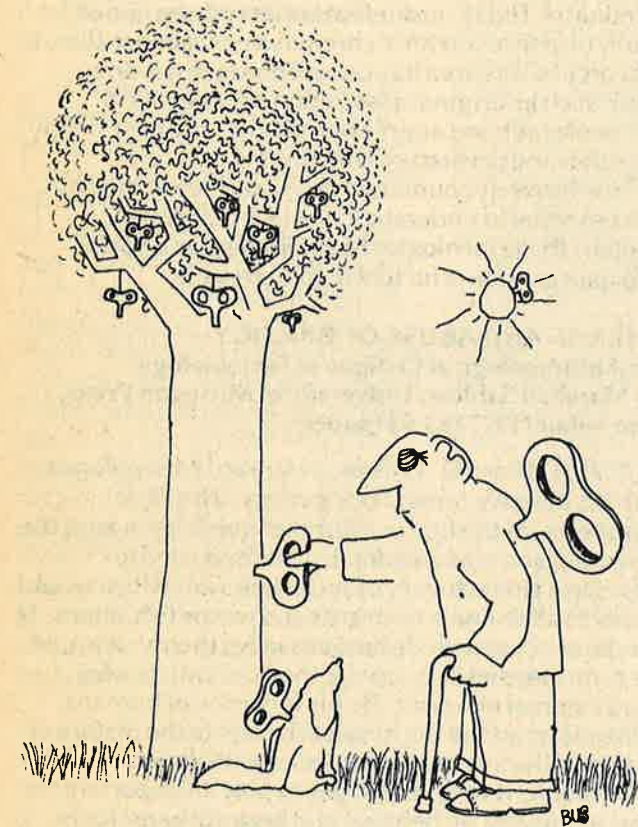
But perhaps the profoundly altering events now so perceptibly, yet invisibly, close to the upheaval will usher in sudden astounding transformations rather than immense chaos and grief. Perhaps these transformations are being heralded in the most unlikely places by solitary scattered humans such as Kim Chi-Ha and Andrei Sakharov...

The volume begins with seven poems by Kim Chi-Ha, the imprisoned Korean poet now serving a life sentence for speaking out against the tyranny and oppression of the puppet South Korean government. "Even my starving, sick, depleted body, burning away in undeterred revolt, at the end it remains as something to strike with..."

The Phoenix is primarily a journal of short stories, and this issue contains some of the very best I've ever read. Though none of the stories is typical, Florence Stevens' "American Migrants" is typically moving. It's about a young black girl named Debbie whose family has surreptitiously taken refuge in a rural, all-white church.

Her mind drifted as she lay there enjoying the luxury of being the only person awake. She wondered about the people of this church; speculated about the new house; then fell to thinking of her own future.

—Elliot Linzer



Drawing by Bus

I have only one negative comment on **The Use and Abuse of Biology**. It was written in a hurry, to be available early in the debate over sociobiology and suffers from the haste in which it was published. I would have appreciated it if some of the points were discussed at greater length and the references were more fully documented.

Most of this book is easily understandable by anyone with a minimal background in anthropology and interested in the sociobiology debate.

—Elliot Linzer

What would she be ten years from now? One thing sure, she knew what she wouldn't be! She wouldn't be a replica of her mother, haphazardly married, having one baby after another, growing fat and worn out and grumpy, and always moving, moving, moving.

Mattie and Stub, Debbie's mother and father, have searched all over the countryside for a house, even a shack, to rent—but nothing has turned up. Despite their Sunday morning disappearing act and their attempted vigilance during the week, the Tyson family is eventually discovered. The congregation is split down the middle about what to do, and a special parishioners' meeting is called. Unbeknownst to everyone, including her family, Debbie finds a hiding place behind a door with a slender crack through which she watches, with trembling apprehension, the startling events which follow. For the unexpected outcome of this sad account, you'll have to get yourself a copy of this issue of **The Phoenix**.

I wish there were space here to give you a taste of some of the other delights, like the one about the young employee at the Niagara Mohawk power station, or the one about the old canal attendant whose granddaughter turns the tables on him, or the hilarious spoof about the talking horse who rides his cowboy friend into a ghost town inhabited by uppity, anthropomorphic rats.

Most of the stories in **The Phoenix** are not the works of well-known authors; in fact, many of these writers are published here for the first time. Unlike most literary journals, the selections in **The Phoenix** are not chosen for reasons of literary style alone. Although Jim Cooney claims that each issue takes its own form, clearly each is also formed by the consistent vision—at once angry and powerful, loving and gentle, of Jim himself.

Because it is my good fortune to live only three houses down the road from Jim Cooney and his family, I've had the occasion to learn a bit about the history of the journal. Jim, at age 28, and his wife Blanche, at age 19, put out the first volume of poems and stories in 1938—setting the type, printing, and binding by hand—in Woodstock, New York. Due to economic obstacles that were largely the result of their ardent opposition to World War II, they were forced to close down the print shop in 1940. During its brief, two-year life, however, **The Phoenix** gained a sizeable following both here and abroad. Among the early contributors were D.H. Lawrence, Kay Boyle, Robert Duncan, William Everson (now Brother Antoninus), Henry Miller, and Anais Nin, the latter two being published in America for the first time in the pages of **The Phoenix**.

In the Spring of 1970, after 30 years spent farming in West Whately and raising four children, the Cooneys and their friends painstakingly secured an old press and began publishing once again. Their first creation was a bound set of the 1938-40 volumes, which is still available upon request.

I can't end without mentioning the subsequent (Summer and Fall, 1977) issue of **The Phoenix**. The dedication on page one of this unusual edition reads: "In honor of, and with love for, Louise Michel, Katherine Breshkovsky, Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Toller, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and all the others, known and unknown, who preceded us with such grace and valor in the ongoing human struggle for truth and freedom."

While containing several excellent short stories and a wonderful poem by Harry Murtagh entitled, "Mary, Mother of Jesus," this volume is primarily a collection of little-known prison writings, by those whose names appear in the dedication and also by a contemporary prisoner, Joseph Asher, who is currently corresponding with the editor from the bowels of the Louisiana State Penitentiary in Angola.

No prison writings I've read have come closer to my own prison experience during the Indochina War, than the letters of Ernst Toller, a young German socialist of Jewish parentage who, in 1919, became the first president and commander of the army of the short-lived and brutally decimated Bavarian Republic of workers, peasants, and soldiers. Here's an example:

It is dreadful to be exposed day after day to the monotonous, constantly repeated noises of this place. From the cells above and from below and from all sides the sounds come to you. Noise in the corridors, bunches of keys jangling, cell doors with their heavy iron bars slamming shut, roll calls of names by the wardens, the clomp of hob-nailed boots, or, more dreadful still, the shuffling of rubber soles. Day after day chains of sound strangle you with their dissonance.

(However)... I would make myself out poorer than I am if I did not acknowledge that imprisonment has also bestowed upon me hours of fullness, of listening to the inner voice, of devotion to that multitude of little things whose character and inner meaning and beauty are only realized, divined, seen and felt, by a man who lives the meditative life of a monk. Beyond the prison walls there is too much restlessness; we are blind, we love too little, we do not love as brothers or with a great enough devotion. One life who lives in a cell learns to know the blessed depths of the power to love.

—Randy Kehler



People's Bulletin Board

Free if no exchange of \$\$ involved
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PUBLIC NOTICE

The National Military Discharge Project of the ACLU Foundation will merge with the clinical program at American University effective July 1, 1978 and will continue to be involved in the full range of veteran's problems. Contact: National Veterans' Law Center, Washington College of Law, American University, Washington, D.C. 20016.

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) 423-1626.

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

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 non-violence. Articles and pamphlets by Camus, Gandhi, Gene Sharp, Barbara Deming, Mark Morris, George Lakey and the WIN double issue on Seabrook are to be found and much more as well. Send \$2.50 per study kit to WRL/West, 1360 Howard Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. Special rates are available for bulk orders so order them for your study group, teach-in, or classroom.

SEABROOK '78: A HANDBOOK FOR THE OCCUPATION/RESTORATION BEGINNING JUNE 24 is available from the Clamshell Alliance, 62 Congress Street, Portsmouth, N.H. 03801. 32 pages including maps, photographs and an educational text, all for only \$1.00 plus 25¢ for handling. Sure to be a collectors item.

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 people's needs.

Brandywine sponsors educational programs, action campaigns, and public demonstrations in order to highlight the moral, political, and economic imperative of disarmament. Additionally, the group is making a positive statement with its alternative fund. This fund, comprised of refused war taxes, personal savings, and group deposits, makes interest-free loans to social change and service groups (primarily in Delaware and Chester Counties, Pa.). Contact: The Brandywine Peace Community and Alternative Fund, 51 Barren Rd., Media, Pa. 19603.

LIVING ALTERNATIVES

Novelist will exchange 20 hrs. weekly labor for hermit-style room and board. Rocky Mtn. area. Felix Singer, 1351 Washington, Denver, CO 80302.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Two community organizers to develop grass-roots 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 Avenue SE, Cedar Rapids, IA 52403 (319) 362-6681.

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.

CCCO/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 reason for seeking job to Attn: Carol McNeill, CCCO, 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.

Fundraiser/Program Developer required by the Gray Panthers, (Age and Youth in Action) a national volunteer network seeking radical social change and the elimination of discrimination based on chronological age. The Gray Panthers are not a "senior citizens" pressure group. Maggie Kuhn is the founder and national convener.

The person sought must have fundraising experience and is needed to secure funds from foundations, corporations, government sources, private individuals, etc. Full-time position with a minimum commitment of two years. Salary \$14K to \$18K.

Please send letter with resume to Edith Geise, Interim Executive Director, The Gray Panthers, 3700 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, PA 19104.

HELP!

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

Help—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 money to the Clamshell Alliance, 62 Congress St., Portsmouth, NH 03831.

FORMING HAM-RADIO NETWORK for peace work; alternatives and to connect with 200 amateurs. Open to MFS, MNS, mother earth. Contact: Rick, 2324 NW Columbia, E. Wenatchee, Wash. 98801.

WRL LITERATURE

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SUPPLYING REPRESSION. Michael Klare. How the US gives financial backing to fascist dictatorships. 55pp \$0.50

UNACCEPTABLE RISK. McKinley Olson. Contains some startling facts about the dangers of nuclear energy. 280pp \$2.25

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ALSO—If you have a friend who has been mugged, send them a copy of the article "After You're Mugged" by Carey McWilliams. Copies free from WRL.

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